

**Memory in Architecture:
Contemporary memorial projects and their predecessors**

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1. Introduction

1.1 Interest

'The ruins left of our city still protected us from the cold and the burning sun. They protected us just enough to let us endure this somehow, I smugly thought.'
Dževad Karahasan¹

This research began with a very personal quest to design a memorial that would commemorate both my private and the collective experience of the Siege of Sarajevo (1992–96).² In 1992, when Lebbeus Woods³ was working on his book *War and Architecture*,⁴ the destruction of Sarajevo by heavy artillery fire was in full swing. While one of the many targets was being destroyed – the city's twin towers, 'Momo & Uzeir' – Woods made the pessimistic statement that the burning towers of Sarajevo were 'markers of the end of an age of reason, if not reason itself, beyond which lies a domain of almost incomprehensible darkness'.⁵

In the same year, images of Sarajevo's children depicted as angels appeared on streets and ruins, as part of an art project entitled 'Angels on the Walls'⁶ (Fig. 1.1). These life-sized collages became part of the city's architecture as a silent witnesses to the atrocity, slowly disappearing together with the walls bearing them. After continuously having been exposed to severe uricide for almost four years, the city and its citizens faced peace from a place defined by overwhelming architectural and psychological debris, which now had to be confronted in its real scale and meaning.

Woods, a compassionate observer, preoccupied himself with the issue of memorializing Sarajevo's architectural wounds, even though he claimed that the architecture he proposed does not commemorate anything, but instead accepts losses but also gains inflicted by war.⁷ The architect intuitively recognized a need for order that was lingering among citizens and he believed that architecture could provide it. Determined to create possibilities for re-establishing a sense of control and order in Sarajevo, the architect focused on

¹ Dževad Karahasan, *Sarajevo: Exodus of a City*, trans. Slobodan Drakulić, Connectum: Sarajevo, 2010, p. 67

² The Siege of Sarajevo by the combined forces of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Army of Republika Srpska, which started on 5 April 1992 and lasted until 29 February 1996, is often referred to as the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare.

³ Lebbeus Woods (1940–2012) was an American, New York-based architect and artist, widely regarded as a creator of visionary architecture, who devoted much of his work to exploring the role of design in situations of crisis such as design concepts for Sarajevo, Havana and San Francisco. Woods is the author of several books including *The Storm and the Fall*, *Radical Reconstruction* and *OneFiveFour*.

⁴ Lebbeus Woods, *War and Architecture*, Pamphlet Architecture, Number 15, Princeton Architectural Press, 1993.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 3.

⁶ 'Angels of Sarajevo' (1993) was a project by French photographer Louis Jammes.

⁷ Woods, op. cit., p. 14.

the city's wounded tissue including even the smallest details, for example a damaged window (Fig. 1.2).



Figure 1.1



Figure 1.2

In this way Woods aimed to make a distinction between architecture as a weapon of destruction, or part of the problem in war, and architecture as a system of protection. Along this Janus-faced characterization of architecture, he proposed architectural forms for establishing the order needed for continuation of life in peace. He termed them as ‘the scab’ and ‘the scar’, arguing that ‘the natural stages of healing might not be pretty, judged by conventional aesthetic standards, but they are beautiful in the existential sense.’⁸ (Fig. 1.3) In this view, architecture can act as a symbol of the resilience of the human spirit and the will to live of those targeted for destruction.

My interest in the role of architects as creators of order in devastated environments started in the post-war atmosphere in Sarajevo when making sense of things was a priority. An eagerness to tell the story of the survival was widely present among the citizens, and it seemed to be getting stronger as life continued to be normalized and the eternal fire of the Second World War memorial (WWII) in the centre of the city was lit again. At the same time, the ‘other’ side – the participants in the war who, actively or inactively, supported the destruction of the city – had and still have a different memory of the events. As the issues surrounding possible ways of memorializing the war started to become more prominent, the complexities of the memorializing process began to unfold, demonstrating the contemporaneity of memory and the looming presence of counter-memory.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 24.

For various reasons, it was too early to talk about an official commemoration. Instead, many small and spontaneous commemorations took place. It was not until a decade later that more structured ideas about commemorating the siege started to emerge, perhaps best exemplified by the ‘Tunnel’, a remnant of a life-saving underground structure that was dug under the city’s airport during the siege. In 2006, while I was working on a graduate project for a memorial to Sarajevo’s experience of terror, similar issues were raised in a difficult discussion about how to commemorate the events of 9/11 in New York City. What was instantly clear, in the midst of arguments between those who fought for reconstruction and those who pleaded to leave the newly-created void as a signifier, is that the memorialization had to be experiential and informative. The survivors wanted their loss to be recognized and memorialized.

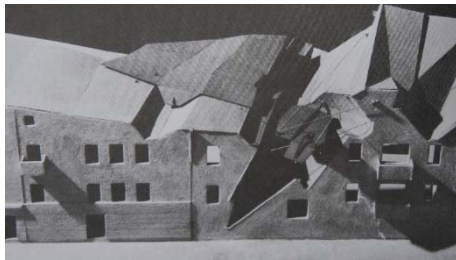


Figure 1.3

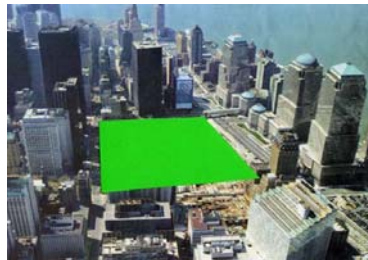


Figure 1.4

In 2011, the art exhibition ‘September 11’ was held by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the attacks.⁹ This was a difficult task since, unlike architects, few artists had reacted to the tragedy. Of the many works chosen on the basis of their possible indirect reference to 9/11 (all of which were created before 2001), Ellsworth Kelly’s 2003 proposal to memorialize the site with a green patch of land, inspired by Indian burial mounds, was the only work to directly address the issue of memorialization (*Fig. 1.4*). Kelly’s collage drew attention to the much needed space for the psychological process of mourning that seemed to be neglected in the rush to reconstruct and rebuild, a strategy supported by many of the architects who delivered numerous design proposals for the memorialization of 9/11. As though foreseen by Woods’s thought on the burning towers of Sarajevo, the issue of architecture as associate to both destruction and the healing of the human spirit was the locus of interest after the attacks on New York City on 11 September 2001. Judging by the on-going conflicts but also of forced displacements of people all over the world, the issue is not likely to become less prominent.¹⁰ Since the beginning of the millennium, numerous memorial projects have been dedicated worldwide, particularly in Europe and the United States.

⁹ MoMA PS1, ‘September 11’ exhibition, 11 September 2011–9 January 2012 (<http://momaps1.org/exhibitions/view/338>, Accessed 28.01.15).

¹⁰ See: *Armed Conflicts Database; Monitoring Conflicts Worldwide* (IISS), (<https://acd.iiss.org/>, accessed 21.05.2015)

The rapid development of this specific form of architecture poses several questions: Why is memorial architecture relevant to the survivors today, particularly in cases of collective traumatic experiences? What is the role of architects and the architectural space of memorial architecture in the memorialization of tragic events and difficult histories? How did the architectural form of memorial architecture develop in the 20th century and the first two decades of this century, and what were the tipping points in its development? This dissertation tries to give answers to these questions.

1.2 Significant studies

The discipline of memory studies is considered to be, broadly speaking, an interdisciplinary nascent field that addresses issues of memory and the convergence of past and present in a given sociocultural context. For example, the journal *Memory Studies* sets out to provide a 'critical forum for dialogue and debate on the theoretical, empirical, and methodological issues central to a collaborative understanding of memory today'¹¹ and therefore 'examines the social, cultural, cognitive, political and technological shifts affecting how, what and why individuals, groups and societies remember, and forget.'¹²

Since the 1980, in Europe and the United States there has been a noticeable interest in issues of memory, and in particular war memory, including the field of architectural history. As the starting point of this upsurge in interest, two significant publications are usually underlined: British geographer and historian David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* and French historian Pierre Nora's *Lieux de Mémoire*.¹³ These works, particularly Nora's elaboration on 'lieux' and 'milieux' of memory,¹⁴ forge the connection between memory and place. Concerning publications that deal with war memory, an accent has been placed on dichotomies and polarizations in the approach as some scholars tend to analyze from a strictly 'political' emphasis¹⁵ whereas others

¹¹ Andrew Hoskins (Ed.), *Memory Studies*, University of Glasgow, UK in cooperation with Wulf Kansteiner, State University of New York at Binghamton, USA; Catherine Stevens University of Western Sydney, Australia and John Sutton, Macquarie University, Australia (<http://mss.sagepub.com/>, accessed 28.01.2015)

¹² Ibid

¹³ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, 1985 and Pierre Nora (Ed.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Gallimard Paris, 4 Volumes, 1984-1992, translated as: *Rethinking France*, Volume 1: *The State* (1999); Volume 2: *Space* (2006); Volume 3: *Legacies* (2009); Volume 4: *Histories and Memories* (2010), University of Chicago Press.

¹⁴ Nora argued that 'milieu de mémoire' or 'environment of memory' was characteristic of European societies before 19th century when monument building was an effort assigned to the aristocracy, the church and the state. As the process of industrialization introduced profound societal changes, these environments of memory were gradually replaced by 'lieux de mémoire' or 'sites of memory', for example archives and monuments. In Nora's view these sites constitute outward signs of memory that are no longer present as a strong inward experience. See: Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,' in: *Representations* 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-24.

¹⁵ See for example: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge Press, 1983

conceive their argument from humanistic perspective in which the bereaved and their psychological loss holds prominent position.¹⁶ Similarly to the journal *Memory Studies*, authors that criticize established approaches try to create a more nuanced and mediated model that takes into account different agents that influence representations of war memory, including forms of commemoration and mourning, and individual psychic responses.¹⁷

In the field of architectural history that considers physical manifestations of memory, several architectural journals have dedicated their issues to the role monuments and memorials have played in politics and culture in previous and current times, for example *Harvard Design Magazine*.¹⁸ More recent publications dedicated to architectural memorials are *C3 Magazine*¹⁹ and the *Journal of the department of Interior Design* at Rhode Island School of Design²⁰ which explored the topic further, focusing also on ruins and historical monuments.

Unlike other disciplines that are dealing with issues of remembrance and commemoration, there are few authors who devoted attention to commemorative monuments and memorials, and even fewer who analyzed the designing process of memorials, and the exerting influence memorials have once they are built. Among these is the well-known scholar of Holocaust memorials, James E. Young, who in his book *The Texture of Memory*²¹ provided an overview of several memorial sites dedicated to the remembrance of the Holocaust in Europe, America and Israel. In some cases Young explored the designing process, as in his discussion of the agonizing dilemma about a figurative or non-figurative approach illustrated in a decision Nathan Rapoport²² (1911-1987) had to take when creating the Warsaw Ghetto Monument (1948).²³ The *Texture of Memory* is a valuable source of showcasing a variety of forms employed in the memorialization of the Holocaust, and offers an elaborate overview of how these differ based on their cultural context and national agenda. Emphasis is given to the emergence of so called 'countermonuments' in Germany, for which Young further plead in

¹⁶ Such approach is exemplified in: Jay Winter, *Sites of memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge University Press, 1995

¹⁷ T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The Politics of war memory and commemoration. Contexts, structures and dynamics', in: T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (Eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, Routledge Studies in Memory & Narrative, Routledge: London and New York, 2000, pp. 3-85, pp. 15/16

¹⁸ *Harvard Design Magazine: Constructions of Memory: On Monuments Old and New*, No. 9, Fall, 1999.

¹⁹ Magazine *C3*, No. 281, January, 2008; *C3*, No. 323, 2010 and *C3: Death and Architecture*, No. 345, 2013.

²⁰ *IntAR, Difficult Memories: Reconciling Meaning*, Rhode Island School of Design, Vol. 04, April 2013.

²¹ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, Yale University Press, 1993

²² Nathan Rapoport was a Polish sculptor who in 1950 immigrated to the United States where he lived until his death. Rapoport's work includes several sculptures in public spaces, such as Liberation memorial (1985) in New Jersey, portraying an American soldier carrying the body of a Holocaust survivor.

²³ See: Young, 1993, pp. 163-184

his later work *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*.²⁴

Another influential work is Sergiusz Michalski's *Public Monuments: Art in a Political Bondage 1870-1997*²⁵ that focused on public monuments from the end of the 19th century 'statuomania' in Paris, via the Bismarck cult and *Nationaldenkmäler* in Germany up to the Holocaust monuments and memorials upsurge in the nineteen-nineties. Michalski demonstrated how public monuments were used for various political purposes, but also how the aesthetic form followed political climate changes. By analyzing the most influential monuments, Michalski underlined several key turning points in aesthetic representation, for instance the period when a traditional Beaux-Arts monument descended from its tall pedestal in order to approach the viewer. Michalski elaborated on the, then perceived as novel, new impulses of the 'countermemory' generation as well, although in a rather concise way. In his chapter 'Invisibility and Inversion', Michalski recognizes a number of key features employed in public monuments: invisibility, as demonstrated in the works of German artists Horst Hoheisel, Jochen Gerz and Micha Ullman; 'black forms' as an evocation of the 'non-representational nature of darkness and annihilation';²⁶ and finally the use of 'mirror-like reflections' in public monuments and memorials that aim for the involvement of the visitor.

These aspects are at length inspected by Young in the already mentioned *At Memory's Edge*, in which the author offered an insightful discussion on works of the above mentioned artists, alongside Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, David Levinthal's *Mein Kampf* (1993-94), Rachel Whiteread's Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial in Vienna (2000), Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock's Memorial to the Deported Jewish Citizens of the Bayerisches Viertel (1993), Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin (2001). Young concludes with the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe (MMJE) in Berlin (2005), where he participated as a member of the jury. The monograph demonstrates how art can be utilized as a tool for initiating change. In the two Berlin's architectural examples, however, the analysis does not go beyond a discussion of the design concept and theory, omitting the issue of the effect and influence these memorials have on both the city and the memory they are supposed to embody. Young examines the social effects of public memorial spaces elsewhere,²⁷ by employing what he terms the approach of 'functional analysis of art'.²⁸ In this

²⁴ James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, Yale University: New Haven and London, 2000

²⁵ Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in political Bondage 1870-1997*, Reaction Books Ltd: London, 1998

²⁶ Michalski, op. cit., p. 186

²⁷ James E. Young, 'Holocaust Museums in Germany, Poland, Israel and the United States' in: Konrad Kwiet and Jürgen Matthäus (Eds.), *Contemporary Responses to the Holocaust*, Praeger Publishers: London, 2004, pp. 249-274

²⁸ Young argued that the art of public memory, next to aesthetic and historical relevance, encompasses also 'the activity that brought them into being, the constant give and take between memorials and viewers, and, finally, the responses of viewers to their own light of a memorialized past.' Op. cit., pp. 251/252

approach, instead of the memorial space alone, it is the viewer who is charged with the extraordinary obligation to 'complete' the work of memory, as the author explained: 'because the murdered Jews can respond to this gesture (Germany's will to remember expressed in creating the memorial) only with a massive silence, the burden of response now falls on living Germans who in their memorial visits will be asked to recall the mass murder of a people once perpetrated in their name, the absolute void this destruction has left behind, and their own responsibility for memory itself.'²⁹

Focusing more on the architectural performance of memorials and art works dealing with commemoration, is a book by Mark Godfrey - *Abstraction and the Holocaust*.³⁰ Here, the author explored the designing process and the actual use of the MMJE after it has been built. Godfrey further focused on several visual artists who engaged with the representation of the Shoah through abstract language demonstrated in the works by Morris Louis, Barnett Newman, Frank Stella and others. Among these, one chapter is dedicated to the analysis of Louis Kahn's (1901-1974) design concept for a Memorial to the Six Million Jewish Martyrs (1966-72), planned to be installed in New York. Godfrey also provides an account of art pieces commissioned for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (1993), in which he offers an insightful elaboration on how art fulfils the task of the building, whether by augmenting its architecture or by working against it.

The Jewish Museum and the MMJE in Berlin are also given prominent space in Shelly Hornstein's book *Losing Site: Architecture, Memory and Place*.³¹ The author placed the two memorials in the wider context of the city, examining how they relate to their surroundings. Informed by, among others, Edward Casey's book *The Fate of Place*,³² it is dedicated to the relationship between architecture, memory and place. Next to a broad range of case studies, including the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao and the Louvre in Paris, Hornstein gives a brief account on Dani Karavan's (born 1930) memorial to Walter Benjamin in Portbou, Passages (1994), arguing that experiencing the memorial 'in situ' is a prerequisite to understanding its space and its relationship to the place. Hornstein's work is a valuable insightful and wide-ranging contribution that connects several disciplines in an attempt to create a wider framework for analyzing architecture. At the same time, Hornstein's perception on the memorials discussed in the book is derived from a personal perspective and therefore its objectivity can be questioned at times.

Probably the largest overview of contemporary ways of remembering in the context of the United States is given in Erika Doss' *Memorial Mania: Public*

²⁹ Young, 2000, op. cit., p. 223

³⁰ Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2007

³¹ Shelley Hornstein, *Losing Site: Architecture, Memory and Place*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011

³² Edward Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, University of California Press, 1997

Feeling in America.³³ Wondering why so many memorials are being built in America today, Doss charts an incredible variety of themes, modes and forms of representation, including temporary memorials. Stating that memorials embody public feelings, Doss distinguishes five main categories of these feelings into which the observed memorials fall: 'grief' is assigned to contemporary modes of mourning such as temporary memorials, 'fear' is related to terrorism memorials, 'gratitude' is connected to the memorialization of WWII, 'shame' relates to memorials dealing with issues of national morality such as Duluth's Lynching Memorial (2003) in Minnesota, and finally 'anger' deals with contested memories and historical revisionism. The book is widely acknowledged since it provides an abundant source of information and gives a detailed image of tendencies in commemorative practices in America. However, the aesthetic qualities of the assembled memorials and their design processes are only briefly explained at times where they support the author's main argument about the contemporary obsession with memory building.

A first work that critically assesses many recently established memorial museums is *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*³⁴ by Paul Williams. Selecting case studies across nations and contexts, *Memorial Museums* engages with the goals and strategies of these institutions while trying to assess their public significance. Williams acknowledges the diversity of the field of memorialization and points out the lack of an over-arching theoretical framework to structure the analysis of the actual commemoration. At the same time he raises many questions about the future of memorial museums. In chapter four, attention is given to location and spatiality in memorial museums by attending to issues of architectural space, authenticity and the aesthetic implications for a museum's use and function. In this respect, *Memorial Museums* as a comparative study offers a credible starting point for future research.

Other significant sources on the topic of designing contemporary memorial spaces can be found in forms of essays in transnational comparative studies, for example *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design* edited by Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn.³⁵ Furthermore, several publications are dedicated to particular memorial sites.³⁶ For this dissertation a research by Patrick Amsellem, which goes in depth in investigating a process of creating the Deportation Memorial in Paris (1962), offered a detailed

³³ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania*, The University of Chicago Press, 2010

³⁴ Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, Berg-Oxford New York, 2007

³⁵ Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Ed.), *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection: Washington D.C., 2001.

³⁶ For example see: Massimo Mucci, *La Risiera di San Sabba. Un'architettura per la memoria*, Libreria Editrice Goriziana, Sesta edizione, 2012; Bernhard Schneider, *Daniel Libeskind, Jewish Museum Berlin: Between the Lines*, Prestel Verlag, 1999; *Yad Vashem, Moshe Safdie – the Architecture of Memory*, Lars Muller Publishers, 2006; Lawrence Halprin, *The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial*, Chronicle books: San Francisco, 1997.

analytical view on this particular period that made profound impact on later developments in the field of memorial architecture.³⁷

In this brief overview of relevant literature, dealing with the issue of designing and building memorials and monuments, my intention was to point to the lack of scholarly work focused on how the process of designing and construction of a memorial in a particular context influenced the final outcome and its reception. By analyzing these aspects in different contexts and topics, this dissertation proposes to create a broader view within the existing body of knowledge and add guidelines that could be consulted in architectural practice.

1.3 Scope and boundaries

Technically, this dissertation is focused on architecture as a space for remembering and is therefore concerned with the following key issues: how architecture supports memory work, what the role of the designer is, and what is the impact of his design once the memorial is installed in the real time and space. Before addressing these questions, I seek to situate memorialization in a wider context to be able to observe it more critically, and attend to several points which are relevant to the process of creating a memorial. This methodology includes an approach that consults different disciplines (namely psychology, anthropology and sociology) in order to establish a relevant framework for contemporary projects. Main questions that I ask are concerned with a purpose for creating the memorial on a given location, its translation into an architectural concept, its materialization, and finally the influence of the memorial space on the visitors.³⁸ These aspects form a framework for the analysis of the five case studies discussed in this dissertation. By focusing on contemporary memorial architecture, I seek to answer how the process of designing a memorial today translates memories of human losses into an architectural space. The criteria for choosing case studies was mainly based on two aspects: variety of commemorative themes and their popularity in the media and architectural publications. Therefore, five case studies are commemorating different events that caused violent deaths - terroristic attacks, wars and the consequences of the European colonial past, but also victims of 16th century superstitious beliefs.

The process of creating a memorial brings with it a wide range of issues and are, like any architectural project, closely confined with the financial

³⁷ Patrick Amsellem, *Remembering the Past, Constructing the Future. The Memorial to the Deportation in Paris and Experimental Commemoration after the Second World War*, Doctoral dissertation, New York University, 2007

³⁸ I address the spatial influence on the visitor based on several points: my own experience as a visitor (I purposefully conducted visits before pursuing any in-depth exploration, in that way trying to assimilate with a common visitor); information from existing reviews written down by visitors; information gained from interviews with the employees about the most utilized routes and reactions of the visitors. Any more comprehensive and data-based observations would require a research on its own.

grounding. However, building a memorial is further complicated by the involvement of additional tasks such as preservation, representation or evocation of memory and are therefore (almost always) directly facing strong emotions and sentiments. It is often the case that all these aspects are subjects of multilayered views on a particular memory and also deeply embedded in the political and social context. Next to these defining tasks, a memorial is normally a focal architectural edifice of its built context and therefore acts as representation of that particular context, often becoming a frequented touristic attraction. If we understand representation of memory, both individual and collective as ‘the function by which symbols, or simulacra, or surrogates, come to stand for some absent referent’,³⁹ it is inviting to comprehend how this manifests and what does it mean for memorial architecture in particular. What are the symbols, simulacra or surrogates used in many contemporary memorial projects?

In order to address these questions, I considered both the theoretical approach and the field work. Accordingly, my thesis is divided into two parts. The first, and the largest, part of this thesis is dedicated to addressing several issues such as the notion of memory and the process of mourning, funeral architecture, limits of architectural representation and a historical overview of significant architectural developments from the 18th century until the current times. In an interdisciplinary approach that takes cues from psychology, philosophy, and anthropology, political and social history together with art and architectural history, the purpose of this part is to establish a framework in which the contemporary examples can be analyzed. The second part is focused on detailed analysis of five contemporary memorial projects including their design, construction and performance.

The methodology of the working process included visiting most of the monuments, memorials and museums discussed in the dissertation, as well as (where possible) conducting interviews with designers, employees and members of memorial committees involved. In this way, the discussion aims to involve less theoretical and formal descriptions but instead to tackle the issues that occur in practice. Hence, architecture’s operating time and space as media of communication with visitors is the main focus of the analysis of case studies. The architectural examples were selected based on the following questions: Who is the commissioner and what is the context? What were the demands and expectations? What was the design solution to a particular task and how did the design process develop? How does the realized building operate in practice and how does it affect the visitor? I aim to understand a process of constructing a memorial by focusing on the information available in journals, newspaper articles, pamphlets and books, but also the data acquired from conducted interviews and inquiries. I scrutinize the build environment in order to provide an overview of questions that are faced in practice.

³⁹ Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and memory Crisis*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1933, p. 8

The case studies, all of them contemporary architectural projects, were selected to complement each other and to give a diverse range of commemorative topics. The case studies are 11M Memorial (2007) in Madrid's Atocha station, commemorating victims of a terroristic attack; the Steilneset memorial in Vardø (2011), dedicated to the victims of witch-hunting; a comparative analysis of two memorial museums in Drancy (2012) and Mechelen (2012) both memorializing the Holocaust; the Memorial to the abolition of slavery in Nantes (2012) and finally the International memorial 'Ring of Memory' dedicated to soldiers of WWI in Notre-Dame-de-Lorette (2014).

The wide scope of this investigation does not suggest that the aim of the research is to be a summary of memorial architecture nor to develop a singular strategy to the understanding of contemporary memorials. Instead, the aim of my dissertation is to distinguish a set of issues, demonstrated by means of case studies, which are commonly addressed by commissioners and designers of contemporary memorials and in that way provide a framework for future projects. I argue that this way of approaching the topic can contribute to a better understanding of the design process and can therefore be applied in practice.

1.4 Research outline

The dissertation is structured in seven chapters, including the introduction and the conclusion. The second chapter 'Architecture and the memory of violence' is an overview of relevant positions with regard to understanding memory, remembrance and its counter side, oblivion, as socio-cultural processes. The chapter studies the contested position of architecture as a sign of collective identity which is also the reason for particular buildings to become an immediate target for destruction in times of conflict. Addressing some difficult aspects of memorialization, the chapter discusses architectural notions of monument and memorial as similar but different forms, making a clear distinction between the two as a condition for the choice of case studies and examples in the historical overview.

The third chapter 'Making loss tangible: the psychology of architecture for death' deals with psychological aspects of mourning, particularly difficult mourning related to the experience of trauma, and the facilitation of its ritual. To understand memorial architecture as a response to this, various proposals and designs for funeral architecture by different architects in different historical periods are observed. In this framework, attention is also given to cemeteries as concepts of commemorative landscapes containing features relevant for memorial architecture, such as transitional spaces.

'Building memory now' is the fourth chapter, dedicated to a number of significant issues involved in the design of a memorial object, namely: the context of a globalizing world; the authenticity of the chosen location; the tacit knowledge of architects related to the preconceived notion of permanence in

architecture, and finally, the question of incorporating deductive aspects in a design. Through addressing examples in both architecture and art, the chapter sketches the context in which contemporary designers work. Here I tackle the relation of architecture, as fixed entity, and memorialization, as highly intricate process, in the context of the conception of spectacle in Western cultures. Criticism of the 'society of the spectacle'⁴⁰ and spectacle in the modern era in general⁴¹ are valuable in their own right, but in the first part of this chapter I seek to address mechanisms of representation instead of focusing on the effects.

Chapter five is a brief overview of significant architectural developments with regard to memorial buildings, as shaped by different political climates. The overview is concerned with architectural projects and concepts in Western Europe, with a few examples from the United States and fewer from South and East Europe, as well as countries from other continents.⁴² In order to achieve a better understanding of contemporary developments, the overview begins with examples of monuments and memorials from the 19th century onwards. There are four divisions within this chapter, following the development of commemorative architecture before and after the two world wars, the inter-bellum period, as well as the upsurge in commemorative efforts after 1980. Of course, the material remains of commemorative efforts are as old as human civilization, and it would be an enormous effort to categorize them all, which is not the purpose of this study. Nevertheless there are several turning points in the commemorative architecture of the 19th and 20th century, as depicted in the historical overview, which had a profound influence on many later developments in the field of memorial architecture.

Finally, 'Five contemporary memorials as case studies' discusses five chosen memorials, mentioned before, in terms of their context, architecture and effect. Analyses of architectural spaces are structured around two questions: the design process and the materialization.⁴³

⁴⁰ Guy Debord, *Society of Spectacle*, Red and Black: Detroit, 1977

⁴¹ See for example: David Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity, An inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Blackwell: Oxford, 1989

⁴² Reason for this selection was my aim to show the development of the commemorative architecture in the West where transcultural exchange of information was the forming ground for the development of typologies whereas other parts of Europe (and the examples including the former Soviet Union), were more resistant to influences and also in large part determined by the state policies. There are several examples which I found valuable for this discussion and they are listed in the *leporello* with a few examples from Israel, Mexico and Chile.

⁴³ Due to the rather wide area of issues that needed to be addressed and, as a consequence, the abundance of information in the text, more detailed discussions of particular topics are added in the footnotes. Also, biographical data of the individuals mentioned are added where they contribute to the argument.

2. Architecture and the Memory of Violence

2.1 The notion of Memory

'Remembering, we forget.'

Siegfried Sassoon¹

The very understanding and use of the term 'memory' is often open to interpretation: it is susceptible to contestation as it can refer to various aspects and fields of research. Its rather flexible connotations open a field of possibilities for wide use of the word, and it is therefore no wonder that the popular term 'memory boom' has often been discussed in regard to different fields since it was introduced by historian Jay Winter.² In 2000 he explained that today's 'memory boom' is connected to the variety of social and political groups who are claiming their right to a public representation of their significant memories and experiences.³ Recent scholarship is concerned with the 'terminological profusion' and the 'semantic overload' that follow the growing rhetorical power of the word, causing the meaning contained in the notion of memory to erode.⁴

In order to approach the field of memorialization more precisely, one has to distinguish between two types of memory: on the one hand memory as a multifaceted mental ability, a still an enigmatic 'reconstructive process';⁵ and on the other, memory in a cultural sense which comprises notions of 'social memory', 'material or medial memory' and 'mental or cognitive memory'.⁶ Even though the two are different processes, the cognitive interpretation of 'remembering' is metaphorically transferred into the sphere of cultural memory.⁷ The notion of memory is further complicated by its occurrence on different

¹ Siegfried Sassoon, 'To One Who Was With Me in the War', in: Jean Moorcroft Wilson, *Siegfried Sassoon: The Journey from the Trenches: a Biography (1918-1967)*, Routledge (New York), 2003, p. 178

² Jay Winter is an influential scholar in the study of the First World War and its place in twentieth-century European history and culture. He obtained his PhD and DLitt degrees from Cambridge University. Winter is Charles J. Stille Professor of History at Yale. He has edited or co-edited 13 books and contributed more than 40 book chapters to edited volumes. He is co-director of the project on *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919*, which has produced two volumes published by Cambridge University Press, the first on social and economic history, in 1997, and the second in 2007.

³ Jay Winter, 'The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies', in: *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 27, Fall 2000, pp. 69-92

⁴ David Berliner, 'The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology', in: *Anthropological Quarterly*, January 2005, pp. 197-211

⁵ Daniel Schacter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, The Mind and The Past*, New York: Harper Collins, 1996, pp. 100/101

⁶ Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning (Eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, De Gruyter Berlin/New York, 2010

⁷ Op. cit., p. 4

levels such as personal, familial or national, all related to different modes of remembering and referring to the past.⁸

All these notions are related to the discussion about contemporary commemorative architecture, which can be seen as a product of selective remembering and is therefore inevitably distorted. In this changeable and selective process in which '[a] way of seeing is a way of not seeing; a way of remembering is a way of forgetting too,'⁹ memory remains a fluid concept even when inscribed into a permanent architectural form.

The experience of WWII introduced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a declaration adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948,¹⁰ as well as the universal recognition of the crime of genocide.¹¹ These groundbreaking developments were lingering in the shadow of the difficulty of representing the insurmountable loss of human lives and the unspeakable destruction of a human being. The burdensome quest for artistic expression of such destruction was famously discussed in the works of Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979) and Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), among others. Shortly after WWII Adorno had come to the drastic conclusion that to write poetry after Auschwitz would be barbaric.¹² In later years Adorno revised this radical notion, arguing that 'it is now virtually in art alone that suffering can still find its own voice, consolation, without immediately being betrayed by it.'¹³ However, Adorno still believed that committed art should be prohibited. It is driven by an omnipresent moral to not forget for a single instant, a moral which 'slithers into the abyss of its opposite' due to the aesthetic, stylized representations of suffering

⁸ Op. cit., p. 7

⁹ Michael Schudson, 'Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory', in: Schacter, D. L. (Ed.), *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. 346-365, p. 348

¹⁰ The full text of the Declaration, ratified in 1976, is published by the United Nations on its website, see: 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights', *the United Nations-official website* (<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>), accessed 22.09.2015)

¹¹ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was approved and proposed for signature and ratification in 1948, but its entry into force was in 1951. See: Samantha Power, '*A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*', Basic Books, 2002, pp. 61-65. Katerina Gregos and Elena Sorkina, *The State of Newtopia Human Rights*, Ludion: Antwerp, 2012

¹² Theodor W. Adorno, '*An Essay on Cultural Criticism and Society*' (1949), in: *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1967, pp. 17-34. p. 34. Adorno argued: 'The more total society becomes, the greater the reification of the mind and the more paradoxical its effort to escape reification on its own. Even the most extreme consciousness of doom threatens to degenerate into idle chatter. Cultural criticism finds itself faced with the final stage of the dialectic of culture and barbarism. To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric. And this corrodes even the knowledge of why it has become impossible to write poetry today.' Ibid.

¹³ Theodor Adorno, 'From "Commitment"' (1962) in: Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Eds.), *Art in Theory: An Anthology of Changing Ideas 1900-1990*, Blackwell Publishers, 1992, pp. 760-764, p. 761

that 'make an unthinkable fate appear to have had some meaning; it is transfigured, something of its horror is removed.'¹⁴

Nonetheless, all the significant developments in human rights and transitional justice since the 1990's had memory as a central issue since in its 'plasticity' it is itself a flexible and transformative notion and therefore potentially a 'powerful agent of change'.¹⁵

In the scholarly field of humanities, increasing attention to the issue of cultural memory and how societies remember is particularly noticeable since the 1980's. Since then a large body of research in cultural memory, characterized by its interdisciplinary base, produced an abundance of concepts and terminologies, urging for a conceptual foundation. Compared with the memory studies from a century ago, what differs and possibly causes the new wave of memory studies is, as Paul Connerton¹⁶ explained, a shift in interest from primarily individual to cultural memory. Connerton suggests three factors which together contributed to this obsession with memory: the strong impact of WWII; transitional justice as a process of examination of difficult histories and memories of countries that have recently moved from an authoritarian past toward more democratic systems of governing; and finally the process of decolonization which influenced both colonizing powers and previously colonized countries who needed to re-appropriate their memories.¹⁷ Others have recognized the phenomenon in Western Europe, expressed in the emergence of museums devoted to themes related to imperial expansion and its 'exotic vestiges', as a cultural strategy of neutralizing the effects of the problematic past.¹⁸ A similar process is developing in South America, where six museums of memory and human rights have been inaugurated since 2006.¹⁹

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Alleida Assmann, Linda Shortt (Eds.), *Memory and Political Change*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 4

¹⁶ Paul Connerton, a pioneer in social memory studies, currently serves as Professor in the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University and an honorary fellow in the Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies at the University of London. Connerton approaches memory as a cultural construction rather than as purely individual psychological phenomena. In his book *How Societies Remember* (1989) Connerton distinguishes between inscribed and incorporated memory and he separates them by associating inscribed memory with representations such as texts and monuments while incorporated memory is defined as that which people transmit to one another through rituals. More recent works include *How Modernity Forgets* (2009) and *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (2011)

¹⁷ Paul Connerton in: Jeffrey Kastner and Sina Najafi, 'Historical Amnesia: An Interview with Paul Connerton', in: *Cabinet*, A Quarterly of Art and Culture, Issue 42: Forgetting, Summer 2011 (http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/42/kastner_najafi_connerton.php, accessed 14.05.2015)

¹⁸ Caroline Ford, 'Museums After Empire in Metropolitan and Overseas France' in: *Journal of Modern History*, Volume 83, No. 3, September 2010, pp. 625-61

¹⁹ Andrés Estefane, 'Materiality and Politics in Chile's Museum of Memory and Human Rights', in: *Thresholds 41*, Spring 2013, pp. 158-171. Memory museums have been built in Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Colombia.

The controversial term 'collective memory'²⁰ was coined by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs²¹ (1877 - 1945), who emphasized the endurance of memory only through the frameworks and space provided by social groups (*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*): memory as a socially embedded construct, only possible to develop within specific social arrangements. The official commemorations and memorials are the connecting tissue of collective memory. As forms of collective remembrance they ask for participation, and are able to evoke emotions in its participants.²² In this way collective memories can influence or even become a personal memory. Material objects and edifices together with visual arts, films and literature are carriers of cultural memory, since they are entangled with the process of remembering and are therefore immediate agents in the construction of identities. By being mediums of externalization of memory, these support the imaginative reconstruction of the past and help in constructing one's own identity, in a process termed 'autobiographical memory.'²³ Scholars working in the fields of anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, literary studies, history and other, attend to the concept of memory as a socially active agent, essential for the construction of identity. Jan Assmann²⁴ (born 1938) explained collective memory as 'the reusable and available texts, images and rites of each society, with the preservation of which it stabilizes and spreads its self-image; a collective shared knowledge, preferably (but not necessarily) of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based.'²⁵ Inextricable from individual and collective

²⁰ Olick, Jeffrey K., 'Collective Memory' in: *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, MacMillan Library Reference; 2nd Edition, November 2007, pp. 7-8

²¹ Maurice Halbwachs was a French philosopher and sociologist known for developing the concept of collective memory. Halbwachs was a student of David Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), French sociologist and philosopher, who wrote on commemorative rituals in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912). Durkheim was of great influence on Halbwachs landmark study *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925). His most important contribution to the field of sociology appeared in his book *La Mémoire collective* (1950) in which he advanced the thesis that a society can have a collective memory and that this memory is dependent upon the 'cadre' or framework within which a group is situated in a society. Halbwachs also made an opposition between history as formal and abstract and memory as 'lived' and meaningful.

²² Nancy & Lock Sheper-Hughes, Margaret M., 'The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology', in: *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 1(1), 1987, pp. 6-41; Michael Rowlands, 'Remembering to forget: Sublimation and Sacrifice in War Memorials', in: Adrian Forty & S. Kuchler (Eds) *The Art of Forgetting*, Oxford: Berg, 1999, pp. 129-145, p. 133

²³ Susan Schwartzberg, 'Re-creating the Past: Notes on the Neurology of Memory', in: Marc Treib (Ed.), *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, New York and London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 42-60

²⁴ Jan Assmann is a German Egyptologist. He works very close with his wife Aleida Assmann, who also studied Egyptology and English literature. Together they have very much influenced and formed the discourse about the existence of a collective memory – a cultural memory.

²⁵ Jan Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, Munich: Beck, 1992, p.11, quoted in: Jay Winter, 'Remembrance and Redemption-A Social Interpretation of War Monuments', in: *Harvard Design Magazine*, Constructions of Memory, Fall 1999, Number 9: 71-77

memory, more precisely the construct of the two, cultural memory is a process, bound up with complex political stakes and meanings.²⁶ While exploring the construction of collective memory through the construction of monuments in France after WWI, Daniel Sherman²⁷ explained the conventional character of culture as a collection of signs, constructed in a process of representation in order to interpret the already existing signs. As a result, a culture can be explained as a 'repository for the beliefs and values of a group of people and for signs and interpretive strategies they share.'²⁸ Consequently, an artefact that is a product of the representational process becomes a sign of a particular culture.

Running parallel to the work of Halbwachs, explorations of social memory by German art historian Aby Warburg²⁹ (1866 –1929) were materialized in visual projects such as *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1924–1929).³⁰ With its name recalling *Mnemosyne mater musarum* (Mnemosyne the mother of muses), personifying memory with her pool in Hades complementing the river of forgetting, *Lethe*,³¹ Warburg's utopian project consisted of a large constellation of symbolic images. These were aimed to animate the viewer's

²⁶ See: Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, The AIDS Epidemic and the Politics of Remembering*, University of California Press, 1997

²⁷ Daniel J. Sherman is professor of art history and adjunct professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. In addition to editing several books in critical museum studies, he is the author of *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (1989), *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (2001) and *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire, 1945-1975* (2011)

²⁸ Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of memory in Interwar France*, The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p. 6; Sherman refers to Richard Terdiman's book *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, Ithacan Cornell University Press, 1993; *representation*: the function by which symbols, or simulacra, or surrogates, come to stand for some absent referent.

²⁹ Abraham Moritz Warburg, known as Aby Warburg, was a German art historian and cultural theorist who founded a private library for Cultural Studies, the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg, later the Warburg Institute. At the heart of his research was the legacy of the Classical World, and the transmission of classical representation, in the most varied areas of western culture through to the Renaissance.

³⁰ Mnemosyne consisted of 63 wooden panels covered with black cloth, on which were pinned pictures from books, magazines, newspaper and other daily life sources in a non-discursive, frequently digressive character. Even though the Atlas avoids any linear critical narrative, its themes and contents can still be categorized in nine thematic sequences: 1. Cosmological-genealogical prologue; cartography, 2. Ancient cosmology, 3. Transmission and degradation of Greek astronomical thought in medieval Arabic, medieval and Renaissance European astrological imagery (Baghdad, Toledo, Padua, Rimini, and Ferrara), 4. The 'afterlife' of classical 'expressive values' in the Renaissance, mainly late quattrocento art, 5. 'Inversion,' ascent, and descent in the Renaissance (esp. in the cinquecento) and after; from the muses to Manet, 6. Virgil, Dürer, Rubens, and the northward migration (*translatio*); Neptune and nature, 7. Baroque excess, *art officiel*, and Rembrandt's mediation; theatricality and anatomy, 8. Final 'inversions': advertisement and transubstantiation (Eucharist); the sacred and profane. Christopher D. Johnson, *Memory, Metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of Images* (Signale: Modern German Letters, Cultures, and Thought), Cornell University Press and Cornell University Library, 2012, pp. 11/12

³¹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p.1

imagination and awareness of symbolical images, and the power they assert on the development of culture and thought. Intuitively charting images from Alexandrian Greece to his contemporaries in Weimar Germany, and thereby opposing the definition of 'atlas', Warburg aspired toward a creation of a dynamic 'thought-space' or *Denkraum* where one would become aware of both subjective and objective forces that shaped Western culture.³² Influenced by the nascent thought about the psychology of perception, Warburg focused on the concept of *mimesis*, or the identification of the viewer with the objects where prominence was given to the notion of empathy as a 'force active in generation of style.'³³ In order to obtain an emotional engagement with the object that would result in 'emphatic reciprocity', the mimetic process, according to Warburg, needs to be mediated by imagination.³⁴ Hence the employed images, as symbols of the unconscious, transform into logical 'dissociative allegorical signs.'³⁵ At the same time Warburg understood social memory as a backdrop for this transformation, as he explained: 'the task of social memory emerges quite clearly: through renewed contact with the monuments of the past the sap should be enabled to rise directly from the subsoil of the past.'³⁶ In this sense, Warburg's work offered an example for understanding cultural memory through its material legacy and participation.

This theory echoed neoplatonic mnemonists who created deeply embedded architectural constructions in their minds in order to organize a large body of knowledge based on remembering, a method already mentioned by the Greek poet Simonides of Ceos in the first century BC.³⁷ Even though terms such as mnemonics, mnemonize or memorous have rather disappeared in modernity, the mechanisms

³² Warburg commented on this conceptual space in his essay on Luther, Dürer and astrology. Ibid

³³ Matthew Rampley, 'From Symbol to Allegory: Aby Warburg's Theory of Art', in: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (Mar., 1997), pp. 41-55, p. 44

³⁴ Robert Vischer in his essay '*Über das Optische Formgefühl: Ein Beitrag zur Ästhetik*' (1873), argued for art as 'an intensification of sensuousness' through which mediating role of imagination, a 'fluid medium', could invest the emphatic object with an emotional content. Op. cit., p. 45

³⁵ Op. cit., p. 55

³⁶ Op. cit., p. 52

³⁷ Simonides was witnessing a terrible accident in which a roof of a dining room collapsed, after he briefly left the space, killing and mutilating everyone who was present in the room. By remembering who was seated where during the dinner, Simonides managed to reconstruct the event and help in the identification of the bodies. Cicero mentioned this discovery and elaborated further: 'The best aid to clearness of memory consists in orderly arrangement [...] [P]ersons desiring to train this faculty select localities [loci] and form mental images of the facts they wish to remember and store these images in the localities, with the result that the arrangement of the localities will preserve the order of the facts, and the images of the facts will designate themselves.' Pim den Boer, 'Loci memoriae-Lieux de mémoire', in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, De Gruyter Berlin/New York, 2010, pp. 19-25, p. 19

these strategies have employed still exist.³⁸ Mnemonists structured their imaginary memoryscapes by attaching facts to emotionally evocative images and then categorizing the selected images within an architectural space that was already familiar. In that way a dispersed body of knowledge was structured and evoked when needed, by a reference incorporated in the imagined, architecturally designed place. This process is echoed in the contemporary understanding of how remembrance works, as suggested by anthropological studies which indicate that in most cases the ‘preservation of recollections rests on their anchorage in space.’³⁹

Observing how the art of mnemonics works, Patrick Hutton⁴⁰ recognizes something akin to Freud’s interest in the deep structure of the mind and human unconsciousness. Hutton connects Freud’s theory about screen memories⁴¹ with the classic mnemonic code, a substitution of an image for an idea. Still, the purpose of screen memories as mnemonic images that displace deeper, hidden memories, Hutton describes as ‘reverse mnemonics’, because they help us forget traumatic experiences, rather than to remember them.⁴² Forgetting is a part of remembering, even considered necessary, inevitable in every decision on what and how to commemorate. The demanding issue of exclusion and inclusion in remembering was elaborated further by French psychiatrists from the

³⁸ Frances Yates demonstrates how these techniques of art of memory in their essence remained and exist till this end. In their search for the hidden structure of the universe mnemonists Giulio Camillo and Giordano Bruno developed mnemonic techniques which were in fact designed architectural models. Camillo’s mnemonic design was in a form of a memory theatre appropriating an imaginary stage for all human drama to take place, while Bruno inclined towards a more complex design of a memory wheel in order to provide a paradigm for all knowledge of heaven and earth. Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966, Pimlico edition, 1992.

³⁹ Nathan Wachtel, ‘Memory and History: Introduction’, in: *History and Anthropology* 12, 1986, pp: 207–224, p. 216

⁴⁰ Patrick Hutton is professor emeritus of history at the University of Vermont. His scholarship has focused on modern European intellectual history, including such topics as the French revolutionary tradition, mass politics in modern France, modern uses of the art of memory, the Neapolitan philosopher of history Giambattista Vico, the French philosopher Michel Foucault, the French historian Philippe Ariès, and the German literary critic Walter Benjamin. His current research project concerns the memory phenomenon in contemporary historiography.

⁴¹ Sigmund Freud’s essay ‘Screen Memories’ (1899) is one of his first treatises on memory and repression, appearing a year before the *The Interpretation of Dreams*; it is an extension of his work on mnemonic symbols and the recollection of trauma in hysteria, a paper written as he was beginning to develop the idea of unconscious fantasy. Later, he concluded that such memories, so long as one knew how to interpret them, supplied the best available source of knowledge about the ‘forgotten’ childhood years. Any memory could be a screen memory in as much as one aspect of it screened out something unacceptable to the ego. Sigmund Freud, ‘Screen Memories’ (1899), in: Gali S. Reed and Howard B. Levine (Eds.), *On Freud’s ‘Screen Memories’*, Karnac Books London, 2015, pp. 1-25

⁴² Patric H. Hutton, ‘The Art of Memory Reconceived: From Rhetoric to Psychoanalysis’, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 48. No. 3, July- September, University of Pennsylvania Press 1987, pp. 371- 392

nineteenth century, who sought to understand precisely how much forgetting is beneficial before it can be regarded as a disease.⁴³ Apart from the clinical point of view on forgetfulness, Hutton based his argument on Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) notion of 'counter-memory',⁴⁴ which concerns the proclaimed problem of oblivion and amnesia in modern times, demonstrated in the occurrence of counter-memorials.

In a similar vein Pierre Nora argued that 'modern memory' is mainly archival and that it 'relates to the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image.'⁴⁵

Once again, monuments and memorials are an indelible part of both collective and personal memory, since they provide a framework through which memories are localized, but it is the anthropological value of a commemorative structure that shapes its meaning.⁴⁶ Cultural memory invested in, for instance, a memorial, is a kind of memory that expands in time and can be passed on to the following generation. The same applies to political memory, which is best reflected in institutionalized projects of memory, official monuments or consecrated places. Hence, monuments and memorials are an inseparable part of the dynamic memory process, as the prolific history of memorial architecture shows. As a representation of memory, memorial architecture, or more precisely a monument, is symbolic and therefore open to interpretation. Reading monuments as symbols implies an understanding of their usually intricate background, since symbols stand for the most fundamental and at the same time vaguest concepts of human thoughts and ideas, often very difficult to convey.⁴⁷

The issue of inscribing and reading memorial architecture is particularly contested in the aspect of difficult memory, which makes the creation of memorials a complicated task. If we understand commemoration as performative, or more precisely a 'collective representation of a shared view of a past worth recalling',⁴⁸ the selection of narratives to be performed and commemorated is a far from easy task for any nation dealing with inglorious or traumatic events. Here too, decisions about

⁴³ Théodul Ribot, the founder of the *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, Albert Guillon and Eugene Azam; See: Michael Roth, *Memory, Trauma and History: Essays on Living with the Past*, Columbia University Press, 2011

⁴⁴ Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Cornell University Press, 1977

⁴⁵ Nora, op. cit., p. 13

⁴⁶ See: Inge Melchior and Oane Visser, 'Voicing past and present uncertainties: The relocation of a Soviet World War II memorial and the politics of memory in Estonia', in: *Focaal-Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 59, 2011, pp. 33-50

⁴⁷ Zdzislaw Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity: Essays in Political Anthropology*, State University of New York Press, 1993, p. 25

⁴⁸ Jay Winter, *Shadows of War: The Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 20

what and how to commemorate are often contested, inevitably leaving out details and parts of the narrative.

Prolonged debates that accompanied plans for the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, also referred to as 'Holocaust Monument',⁴⁹ which will be discussed in chapter 6, perhaps best illustrate how contested the contemporary perception of form and use of a commemorative monument or memorial can become due to the selective remembrance. Even more so because the memorial was intended to commemorate the genocide as a whole, on a site whose historical significance was decidedly ignored in favour of a more general symbolic.⁵⁰ Similarly, the case of Milan's Shoah Memorial 'Binario 21' (2013) in the Milan Central Station⁵¹ grappled with this issue, in an atmosphere of indifference to the fact that Italy was an active participant in the Holocaust.⁵² Some argue that the sudden interest in memorial architecture in Italy has to do with assuaging a sense of awkwardness while avoiding the acknowledgment of guilt for an estimated 8000 Jewish deportees.⁵³ At the same time, the veneration of the imperial war criminal Rodolfo Graziani, a fascist commander known also as the 'Butcher of Fezzan', who was sentenced to nineteen years imprisonment by an Italian war crimes tribunal for collaboration with the Nazis, has produced a mausoleum in Affile, a village south of Rome, to memorialize Graziani as the town's 'famous son'.⁵⁴ The front of the Mausoleum, dedicated in 2012, reads 'Patria' and 'Onore', inscriptions that display a national pride which in this context directly refers to the very dark chapters of Italy's past. However, this dedication is not a staggering surprise if one looks back to Berlusconi's plan from 1994 to establish *foibe* as the

⁴⁹ The official name of the memorial is 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' but the common name 'Holocaust-Denkmal' became simultaneously established.

⁵⁰ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989. The origins and Political Function of the Vél d'Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin*, Berghahn Books: New York, Oxford, 2005

⁵¹ The station (1931) was designed at the request of then Prime Minister Benito Mussolini to reflect the ideology of Italian fascism. The secret track used for deportation of Jews in WWII, rediscovered in 1995, lies underground in a short distance away from the 24 regular platform, to the east of the station's main entrance. Since 2002 there was a plan to build a memorial, the Memoriale della Shoah al binario 21, to 7000 Jews deported to concentration and extermination camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau or Bergen Belsen or to Italian collection camps such as Fossoli and Bolzano, from Milan in 1944. The memorial designed by Morpugo & De Curtis Architetti Associati (inaugurated in 2013) features a large inscription reading 'Indifferenza' at the entrance.

⁵² At the same time few memorials devoted to the victims of Holocaust are in progress or were recently dedicated. Two memorial projects are still to come: a Museum of the Shoah in Rome is going up at Villa Torlonia, one of Mussolini's favorite retreats, and a National Museum of Judaism and the Shoah is planned at the site of a former prison in Ferrara.

⁵³ Bridget Kevane, 'A Wall of Indifference: Italy's Shoah Memorial', *The Jewish Daily Forward* (<http://forward.com/articles/139293/a-wall-of-indifference-italy-s-shoah-memorial/>, accessed 11.06.2012)

⁵⁴ David Willey, 'Italy Memorial to Fascist hero Graziani sparks row,' BBC News, Rome, 15.August, 2012 (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19267099>, accessed 16. 09. 2012)

'Italian Holocaust'.⁵⁵ Simultaneously, the matter of infamous colonial episodes is a highly contested arena that involves other European countries as well, perhaps equally disturbed and uncomfortable with questions concerning public acknowledgments and apologies.⁵⁶ Monuments and memorials are the most commonly used media for defining political battles in the public realm.

2.2 Constructing traumatic memory

'The Jews were not to be annihilated and then forgotten, but annihilated and then remembered.'
Elisabeth Domansky⁵⁷

'There were never any mosques in Zvornik.'
Branko Grujić⁵⁸

A speech Colin Powell, former United States Secretary of State, gave to the United Nations Security Council in 2003, with the purpose of making a case for a war against Iraq, will also be remembered for the covering up of a tapestry rendition of Picasso's *Guernica* (1937) that was prominently standing behind the speaker. The reasons for covering up the art work, whose powerful message about the carnage and destruction of civilians in war, lurking behind Powell's political justification to begin the war against Iraq, remained controversial in spite of the official attempts to justify the act with an explanation that the sharp lines and gray tones of *Guernica* were not convenient for television cameras. The irony of covering up *Guernica*, a world-known synonym for human suffering, in the chambers of the UN while considering the possibility of creating new carnage, is all too obvious. The 1937 carnage of *Guernica* in the Basque region (something Europe witnessed for the first time in full description through daily coverage

⁵⁵ *Foiba*, originally used to depict a deep natural sinkhole made by water erosion, was popularized in 1943 by the Fascist press in reference to killings committed by Yugoslav partisans.

⁵⁶ So far only Germany in 2004 offered public apologies to Namibia for the massacres of Herero and Nama peoples (1904-08), involving some 80,000 people. The French and British government, for instance, are avoiding confrontations with their colonial legacy. See: Herman Paul, *Key Issues in Historical Theory*, Routledge, 2015, p. 74

⁵⁷ Nazis planned to build a museum of former Jewish life in Prague which would celebrate the Final Solution. See Elisabeth Domansky, "'Kristallnacht", the Holocaust and German Unity: The Meaning of November 9 as an anniversary in Germany', , *History & Memory*, 4:1, Spring/Summer 1992, pp. 60-94, p. 60

⁵⁸ Serb mayor Branko Grujić quoted in Carol J. Williams, 'Serbs Stay Their Ground on Muslim Lands: Conquering Warlords Bend History and Reality in an Attempt to Justify Their Spoils', in: *Los Angeles Times*, 28th March 1993 (http://articles.latimes.com/1993-03-28/news/mn-16253_1_bosnian-serb, accessed 29.01.2015)

by media) was an admonishment to the proximity of the catastrophe.⁵⁹ The act of covering up only demonstrated Guernica's power as an art object in service of memory. As effective symbols for the revision of the past or the legitimization of previous political orders, architectural monuments are, with a similar intention of 'covering up', the most common targets for destruction in times of turmoil and war. The rearrangement of commemorative monuments 'asserts the recurrence of national power and humiliates the former master because the destruction of a statue symbolically devaluates the commemorated person or event from sacred to profane.'⁶⁰ Architecture in general and commemorative monuments, together with sacred spaces and other architectural edifices of high identification value, easily become targets and tools for dehumanization of 'the other'.⁶¹ The term 'memoricide' as used by Robert Bevan⁶² is in direct relationship to the destruction of architecture as the signifier of a collective memory of otherness. Logically, monuments are supporting the feeling of belonging to some bigger group and they provide an illusion of permanence and stability.⁶³ Therefore, monuments are material tools for the establishment of identity, encouraging the feeling of belonging and continuity, whereas the deliberate destruction of an architectural monument aims for the humiliation of the other, accompanied by a coerced forgetting. Dehumanization aimed at one people goes hand in hand with the destruction of their architectural edifices; such was the case with the Kristallnacht in 1938, Mostar's old bridge in 1993, New York's twin towers in 2001 and many more examples throughout history that were destroyed in order to annihilate the people who created them. As Bevan put it: '[t]he continuing fragility of civilized society and decency is echoed in the fragility of its monuments.'⁶⁴ Along this line, Yugoslavian architect Bogdan Bogdanović⁶⁵ (1922-

⁵⁹ See: Gijs van Hensbergen, *Guernica: The Biography of a Twentieth-Century Icon*, Bloomsbury Publishing, New York and London, 2004; Simon Schama, *Power of Art*, BBC Books, 2006

⁶⁰ Melchior et. all., op. cit., p. 35

⁶¹ Here I refer to the notion of 'the other' as a notion that designates different ethnical, religious or cultural background of a certain group of people.

⁶² Robert Bevan is a Sydney-based journalist and author. He is former editor of *Building Design* (UK) and writes regularly on architecture, design and housing issues for national newspapers and magazines in the UK and Australia. Bevan is the author of *Architects Today* (2004) and *The Destruction of Memory* (2006).

⁶³ Hannah Arendt argued that 'the reality and reliability of the human world rests primarily on the fact that we are surrounded by things more permanent than the activity by which they are produced.' In: Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition: A Study of the Central Dilemma Facing Modern Man*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, Second Edition, 1998, pp. 95/96

⁶⁴ Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Reaktion Books Ltd, 2006, p. 8

⁶⁵ Bogdan Bogdanović designed numerous commemorative monuments and memorials across the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Bogdanović was also a prolific writer, concerned with problems of the topics of history, problems of modern cities, death and utopia in the cities and so forth. He also coined the term 'mali urbanizam' (small urbanism) as an opposite of

2010) observed that the need to build runs parallel to the need for destruction. The Column of Trajan (107-113 AD), for example, materializes this assertion by representing both the destruction of Dacian buildings and the construction of Roman camps juxtaposed in one architectural edifice. Bogdanović understood that the contemporary destruction of architecture occurs due to ‘modern barbarians’, who in times of war have an opportunity to feed their latent hatred toward cities.⁶⁶ There is an abundance of historical records asserting this connection, for example Rome’s uricide over Carthage under the exclamation *Carthaginiem esse delendam*,⁶⁷ the extensive destruction of monuments during the French Revolution, or that in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states at the end of WWII. This is true even today, when we witness, among others, the outrageous destruction of Timbuktu shrines in Mali, Palmyra in Syria or the ongoing erasure of Palestinian heritage. As a response to the overwhelming destructive powers, some recognize that the pace of destruction exceeds rituals provided by commemorative practices; this calls for some kind of a new mnemonics in which monuments and memorials can become vital social figures.⁶⁸

As opposed to destruction that prevailed during the WWII and in line with rethinking representation after Auschwitz, but then with a much needed distance in time during which events of WWII became more clear and documented, the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998) stressed that ‘one must, certainly, inscribe in words, in images.’⁶⁹ Hence the urgency and the necessity to represent the event, the Holocaust in this case, was present, but a form or medium in which this would be possible had to be found apart from the conventional ways of representation, since the event exceeded them. Lyotard believed that the common ways of archiving memory, such as inscribing or recording, are not sufficient because anything that has

‘big urbanism’ which referred to the 1960s large urban projects which, according to Bogdanović, lacked the aspect of humanism.

⁶⁶ The modern barbarians are, according to Bogdanović, semi-urban population that has problems with identifying whether it belongs to rural or urban area and therefore belongs to neither. This opposition delivers hatred towards cities as some unreachable ideal. Bogdanović also argued that killing of the ‘personality of the city’ is even bigger crime than the destruction of it. For elaboration on Bogdanović work see Vladimir Vuković, ‘Writing about Cities. Literary Works of Bogdan Bogdanović about Cities and Urbanism’, *SAJ*, Volume 3, No. 1, 2011, pp. 1-14

⁶⁷ ‘Carthage must be destroyed’ was used in political speeches by M. Porcius Cato.

⁶⁸ See Andrew Shenken, ‘The Memory Industry and its Discontents: The Death and Life of a Keyword’, *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, Marc Treib (Ed.), New York and London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 218-239

⁶⁹ Jean-François Lyotard, *Heidegger and ‘the jews’*, trans. Andreas Michel and Mark S. Roberts, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990, p. 26; Lyotard believed that the necessity to represent cannot be avoided, but still made a clear distinction arguing that ‘it is one thing to do it in view of saving the memory, and quite another to try to preserve the reminder, the unforgettable forgotten, in writing.’ *Ibid*

been inscribed can also be effaced.⁷⁰ In contemporary society these questions are equally current, and representations of memory are constantly facing dilemmas such as whether it is possible to commemorate destruction with destruction; or with architecture that tries to recreate destruction by constructing spaces evocative of traumatic experiences. In both situations destruction, with all its negative aspects, becomes a prequel of construction.

There are two significant points that need to be addressed here in relation to the construction of commemorative architecture today: the understanding of trauma and the appropriation of a memorial space. The understanding of psychological trauma is still a developing field of research, but certain fundamentals have been established, including three variables that figure in the process: an objectively defined event, the person's subjective interpretation of its meaning, and the person's emotional reaction to it.⁷¹ The diagnosis of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) provided a basis for the further conceptualization of trauma as a stressor that is "generally outside the range of usual human experience."⁷² Until recently it was believed that a representation intended to address trauma actually constituted an impossible witnessing, since psychic trauma which happened in the past was often considered as too overwhelming to be grasped by the victim at that moment and therefore inaccessible.⁷³ Even though the reenactment of a traumatic event was considered important in two ways, as testimony and as cure, witnessing trauma would imply witnessing incomprehensibility. To articulate trauma and transform it into a narrative memory was approached with reservation because of the risk to 'lose both the precision and the force that characterizes traumatic recall.'⁷⁴

This standpoint has been challenged as research has shown that survivors recall their traumatic experiences very well.⁷⁵ As a 'disorder of memory',⁷⁶ caused by the vivid remembrance of traumatic events, PTSD involves a complex state of instability that concerns memorialization of traumatic events.

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Richard J. McNally, *Remembering Trauma*, the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 2003, p. 78. McNally points here to these variables as they were asserted by the psychologist Bonnie Green.

⁷² Op. cit., p. 8. PTSD was recognized in 1980 by the American Psychiatric Association and listed in the third edition of its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III). Ibid

⁷³ Cathy Caruth (Ed.), *Trauma: Exploration of Memory*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. Caruth argued: 'The trauma is a repeated suffering of the event, but it is also a continual leaving of its site. The traumatic re-experiencing of the event thus carries with it what Dori Laub calls the "collapse of witnessing," the impossibility of knowing that first constituted it. And by carrying that impossibility of knowing out of the empirical event itself, trauma opens up and challenges us to a new kind of listening, the witnessing, precisely, of impossibility.' Ibid, p. 10

⁷⁴ Cathy Caruth, 'Recapturing the Past: Introduction', in: *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154, p. 153

⁷⁵ McNally, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ Op. Cit., p. 9

According to some scholars, this instability can be overcome through recognition by the 'other'.⁷⁷ For instance, Lyotard identifies the repression of otherness as a main problem of memory in the modern condition. A similar argument was proposed by Adorno, in what he called non-identity: a mental state created without reading the traces of memory in which, therefore, there can be no recognition of difference, hence no stable identity. Unstable identities of particular groups are reinforced by the lack of acknowledgment from the 'outside', from other groups. In relation to emotional pain, it is proven necessary that individuals who suffered need to have their pain and suffering recognized by others.⁷⁸ If not confronted and recognized, denial of these feelings obstructs healing and can lead to social death. It is by now a well-known argument that if not confronted, difficult memories can become seeds able to destroy nation-states, as we have seen with the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the consequences of which are clearly visible in the architecture of monuments and memorials in most of its former republics, now independent nation-states.⁷⁹ In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, many monuments are purposely built to humiliate 'the other' while glorifying crimes and perpetrators.⁸⁰ Such is the case with survivors of the concentration camps that existed in northern Bosnia during the early 1990s. Survivors of these camps and their families have been facing a persistent denial of their right to commemorate former places of gross human rights violations committed against them. Ironically, their

⁷⁷ In this respect while discussing the 'impossible witnessing', Cathy Caruth argued that: 'trauma itself may provide the very link between cultures: not as simple understanding of the pasts of others but rather, within the traumas of contemporary history, as our ability to listen through the departures we have all taken from ourselves.' Caruth, op. cit., p. 11

⁷⁸ Veena Das, 'Language and body: transactions in the construction of pain', in: Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe I. Bourgois (Eds.), *Violence in War and Peace: an anthology*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, 2004, pp. 327-333

⁷⁹ Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History*, New York: St Martin's, 1993; Sharon Macdonald discussed European 'memory complex' in Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, Taylor and Francis, 2013

⁸⁰ Rachel Irwin and Velma Šarić, 'Call for War Memorials Divides Bosnia – Little consensus on whether monuments commemorating wartime help or hinder reconciliation process', Special Report, International Justice, ICTY, TRI Issue 673, 6 December 2010 (<http://iwpr.net/report-news/calls-war-memorials-divide-bosnia>, accessed 29.01.2015); At the same time, the rich architectural heritage of monuments and memorials in the region is exposed to two sombre possibilities: it remains abandoned or actively misused. The outstanding Partisan Memorial Cemetery (1965) in Mostar is now a forgotten landscape of debris while the salient monument and museum at Kozara serve as a stage for nationalistic ceremonies and improvised propaganda exhibitions. Serbia and Croatia grapple with the communist monumental heritage and invest in patriotic monuments devoted to the glory of their fight for independence. Macedonia, in a quite different monument frenzy, invested in a project entitled *Skopje 2014* that aimed to rebuild its 'antique past'. Balkan's memory mania seems to go hand in hand with the mania of destroying memory, since many executed memory projects are created either as a weapon in the contest for bigger and better or as a methodological tool for reinforcing national myths while justifying national crimes

requests for marking former sites of suffering are refused by the official authorities who, in most cases, were present in the camps as perpetrators. Without an established context in which painful memories can be recognized and expressed, trauma becomes more evident for the survivors as they find themselves in an unimaginable situation that is most closely described as lingering in the 'narrative void.'⁸¹ A void that is felt even more because of the fact that there are still thousands of people missing in the area of former concentration camps.⁸²

In cases like this memorial architecture serves the purpose of collecting existing narratives related to living memories. It is also a sign of recognition of people's suffering, an escape from annihilation. Through building memorial architecture both public and intimate commemorations are invigorated. In this way a sense of continuity is created and feelings of belonging are strengthened by offering a space for people to channel their emotions.⁸³ This was particularly true in the context of post-WWII Germany, when excessive and triumphal patriotic mourning was established as a counterbalance to the fragile national self-esteem.⁸⁴ Since there is no consensus about what precisely constitutes a traumatic stressor, and the issue only appears to broaden, it is difficult to establish one unifying platform that could support representations intended to address trauma. The materialization of memory relies on individual memory, which is often unreliable and therefore an unstable point of reference for the creation of identity. In fact, any representation or recording of memory, both official and non-official, is performed with the inevitable time distance from the lived experience and is therefore inevitably a process of negotiating the 'authenticity' of the recreation.⁸⁵ The paradox produced by the

⁸¹ Ed Vulliamy, *The War is Dead, Long Live the War: Bosnia: the Reckoning*, The Bodley Head, 2012, p. xlii

⁸² In the area of northern Bosnia and Herzegovina, municipality of Prijedor, few notorious concentration camps were established by the Serbian army at the beginning of the war in 1992. It was the first time after WWII that citizens in Europe had to wear a mark, in this case it was a white ribbon around their arm, in order to distinguish whether they belonged to a Muslim community. The places of these infamous camps are now part of Republic of Srpska which is still strongly negating the purpose of these camps and numbers of people killed and missing. In a particular case of the former concentration camp Omarska, originally a steel mine, survivors are trying to establish an official memorial. Even though a promise that the memorial will be built was offered to them, by the present owner Lakshmi Mittal in 2005, there is still no sign of progress due to, among other reasons, constant obstruction by the Republic of Srpska. At the same time Mittal sponsored construction of Anish Kapoor's 'Orbit' for the 2012 Olympic Games in London, which the survivors appropriated and named 'Memorial in Exile'. See: Andrew Herscher, 'In Ruins: Architecture, Memory, Countermemory', in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (December 2014), pp. 464-469

⁸³ Rowlands, op. cit.

⁸⁴ Pieter Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation. Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945-1965*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

⁸⁵ Jacques Derrida in *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1995) argued that that particularly in archiving memory, forgetting by exclusion is inevitable, as he put it: 'if there is no archive

necessity to memorialize the past and thereby sacrifice its authenticity by being selective, in other words creating by forgetting,⁸⁶ is contained in any archiving of memory or design of a memory object. Many advocate small-scale commemorations and memorials, arguing that only those can be really authentic in the memory work of specific kinship groups. This approach is supported by memory studies that place kinship as a connecting part for all levels of memory processes.⁸⁷ Small-scale commemoration, as Winter pointed out, is more resistant towards the ulterior political motives of those in power, since these motives 'lead to a high jacking of the event and its deployment as a means of legitimating the current order.'⁸⁸ In other words, the sites of mourning can easily be transformed into 'sites of mobilization'⁸⁹ that facilitate official commemorations for purposes of extremist political ideologies, as occurred for example in Germany, where the commemoration of WWI, developed under the democratic aspirations of the Weimar republic, was gradually subsumed in exercises of nascent fascism. An unprecedented example of such mobilization could be seen under Benito Mussolini's (1883-1945) rule of Italy, when monuments and memorials were re-used or built as a reinforcement of fascist propaganda. The act of highjacking also echoes the words of the French king Louis-Phillippe, who in 1836 dedicated an obelisk from

without consignment in an *external place* which assures the possibility of memorization, or repetition, of reproduction, or of reimpression, then we must also remember that repetition itself, the logic of repetition, indeed the repetition compulsion, remains, according to Freud, indissociable from the death drive. And thus from destruction.' Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Trans. Eric Prenowitz. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 11/12

⁸⁶ Paul Connerton recognized seven types of forgetting: repressive erasure; prescriptive forgetting; forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity; structural amnesia; forgetting as annulment; forgetting as planned obsolescence; and forgetting as humiliated silence. See: Paul Connerton, 'Seven Types of Forgetting', in: *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 33-50

⁸⁷ Janet Carsten (Ed), *Ghosts of Memory*, Malden, Oxford, Victoria Blackwell Publishing, 2007; Carsten argued that memories are transmitted within families which makes kinship one of the most important aspects in memory studies.

⁸⁸ Jay Winter, 'Thinking about silence' in: Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio, Jay Winter (Eds.), *Shadows of War: The Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 3-32, p. 28; See also: Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press (New Haven & London), 2006

⁸⁹ George L. Moose, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1990

Luxor at the Place de la Concorde⁹⁰ with the words ‘it would not recall a single political event.’⁹¹

Still, there is yet another form of destruction of material memory edifices – their own invisibility. In order to become valuable points of reference in the first place, memory and its traces need to be appropriated. If this is not the case, most likely the unclaimed objects of memory will be exposed to neglect, a process which is difficult to study and therefore remains neglected itself.⁹²

The case of the *Sarajevo Roses* is rather intriguing as an example of the slow pace of destruction of memory traces which results in obscuring remembrance (Fig. 2.1). Imprints of the mortar shells fired on Sarajevo during the siege of the city from April 1992 to February 1996 were vividly present in the city’s buildings, streets and pavements for few years after the siege ended. At one point traces of these mortar shells on the streets of Sarajevo were filled with a red coloured material, strongly suggestive of human blood. The designer of these memory traces, Nedžad Kurto,⁹³ explained that this simple design gesture was intended as a silent reminder for those who remember victims and particular circumstances caused by the explosions. Indeed, there are no plaques or any other kind of explanation attached to the *Sarajevo Roses*. In the course of the following years, these intriguing reminders of the siege, the victims



Figure 2.1

of these mortar shells on the streets of Sarajevo were filled with a red coloured material, strongly suggestive of human blood. The designer of these memory traces, Nedžad Kurto,⁹³ explained that this simple design gesture was intended as a silent reminder for those who remember victims and particular circumstances caused by the explosions. Indeed, there are no plaques or any other kind of explanation attached to the *Sarajevo Roses*. In the course of the following years, these intriguing reminders of the siege, the victims

⁹⁰ Conceived as the Place Louis XV in 1749, this square was renamed into Place de la Revolution and became one of the most politically charged, infamous places in Paris between 1793 and 1795 since more than 1300 people were guillotined during this period. Among other known public figures, King of France Louis XVI was executed on this square at the beginning of the Reign of Terror. Few decades before, a competition for a design of the space around the equestrian monument depicting Louis XV, father of the beheaded Louis XVI, was won by Jacques-Ange Gabriel in 1755. Gabriel’s design evolved around the equestrian statue which became the center point of the architecturally framed space of the square. The statue depicting Louis XV was removed following the beginning of the Reign of Terror and a guillotine was built next to the remaining pedestal where, ironically, his son was executed. A turmoil that followed succeeding historical events was best displayed with the change of name and frequent redesign of the square.

⁹¹ Barry Bergdoll, ‘Monument: Antimonument: Enlightened Problems’, in: *Architectural Review*, Royal Academy Forum, October 2002, Volume CXCII, No 1268, pp. 89-96; Next to the obelisk, there are no other traces that would indicate the events from the history of the Place de la Concorde.

⁹² Andrew M. Shanken, ‘Towards a Cultural Geography of Modern Memorials’, in: Jill A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and Christine Stevenson (Eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Erick Fernie*, Boydell & Brewer, 2012, pp. 357-381

⁹³ Nedžad Kurto (1945-2011), a renowned architect and architectural critic from Bosnia and Herzegovina, was author of numerous publications including *Sarajevo MCDLXII - MCDLXCII (Sarajevo 1462.-1992.)*.

and trauma of its citizens, deteriorated as their red colour bleached or new layers of asphalt were added on top, leaving only a few in sight on random locations. Kurto explained that the *Sarajevo Roses* are memorials of documentary significance. They do not need to be looked after and they might disappear anytime, they are not a monument but also not a particularly stimulating innovation. Instead, they were intended to be a discreet signifier for *loci* of commemoration.⁹⁴ The preservation of shrapnel perforations is not new and was practiced in several places, for instance in Beirut and Budapest, as an immediate suggestive attempt to keep the cause of a severe trauma alive, as if preventing the perpetrator from escaping the place of a crime. But in the case of the *Sarajevo Roses* the essential question, related to their future existence, remains in the shadow of their appropriation. They are supposed to belong to the citizens of Sarajevo, but due to a highly perplexed political structure, a consequence of the Dayton Agreement which ended the war in 1996, Sarajevo's roses remain only a silent reminder destined to disappear, as the concept of 'belonging to the citizens' proved to be a too ambiguous idea in the aftermath of the siege. In this way, the roses constitute a two-fold assignment that seems to concern most of the contemporary memorial projects and their designers. I have tried to bring attention to two issues that are often overlooked by designers: understanding trauma and the appropriation of a memorial space. The overarching question in the creation of a memorial should address how the design can add meaning to a memory-work that naturally involves many participants, both now and in the future. As for future generations, memorials could possibly provide a significant locus for processing the legacies of trauma, since a recent study has indicated that psychophysiological trauma can have intergenerational effects.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Nedžad Kurto, 'Memory of the Dying City' in: Azra Junuzović, *Sarajevo Roses: Towards politics of remembering*, Sarajevo: Armis Print i Udruženje za zaštitu tekovina borbe za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, 2006, pp. 147-150

⁹⁵ Rachel Yehuda, Nikolaos P. Daskalakis, Linda M. Bierer, Heather N. Bader, Torsten Klengel, Florian Holsboer, Elisabeth B. Binder, 'Holocaust Exposure Induced Intergenerational Effects on FKBP5 Methylation', in: *Biological Psychiatry. A Journal of Psychiatric Neuroscience and Therapeutics*, Published online: August 12, 2015 ([http://www.biologicalpsychiatryjournal.com/article/S0006-3223\(15\)00652-6/abstract](http://www.biologicalpsychiatryjournal.com/article/S0006-3223(15)00652-6/abstract) , Accessed 09.10.2015); this is the first demonstration of an association of pre-conception parental trauma with epigenetic alterations that is evident in both exposed parent and offspring.

2.3 Making a distinction between ‘monument’ and ‘memorial’

*An officer of the Nazi occupation forces visited the painter (Picasso) in his studio and, pointing to Guernica, asked:
‘Did you do that?’
Picasso reputedly answered,
‘No, you did.’
Theodor Adorno⁹⁶*

The often quoted remark by Robert Musil that ‘there is nothing in this world as invisible as a monument’⁹⁷ perhaps best describes the process of disregard of a monument’s power as *aide memoire*, and its invisibility as an outcome of public neglect. Writing in the 1930s, Musil of course referred to the traditional notion of a public monument, an edifice dedicated to the memory of a person or an event, usually taking the form of a sculptural work installed on a pedestal.⁹⁸ The discussion about the invisibility of monuments implies that there is an expiration date for the monument’s performance of memory, related to the intricate set of circumstances that produced the monument in the first place. Referring to Musil’s observation, Young observed that the reason for this invisibility is ‘the essential stiffness monuments share with all other images: as a likeness necessarily vitrifies its otherwise dynamic referent, a monument turns pliant memory to stone.’⁹⁹ In this sense, monuments imply an act of termination since monuments are seldom erected for the living, but the affective nature of a monument should keep memory alive for posterity.¹⁰⁰ The ‘affective nature’ of a monument is what is often neglected, a tendency also recognized by Young, who argued that ‘too often, a community’s monuments assume the polished, finished vaneer of a death mask, unreflective of a current memory, unresponsive to contemporary issues.’¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Theodor Adorno, ‘On Commitment’, in: Frederic Jameson (Ed.), *Aesthetics and Politics: The Key Texts of the Classic Debate within German Marxism*, 1977, pp. 177-195, p. 178

⁹⁷ Robert Musil, ‘Monuments’, in: *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, translated by Peter Wortsman, Hygiene Col., 1987, pp. 64-68, p. 61

⁹⁸ According to the Oxford dictionary a ‘Monument’ has its origin in Middle English (denoting a burial place), via French from Latin *monumentum*, from *monere* ‘to remind’ and it stands for: a statue, building or other structure erected to commemorate a notable person or event; a statue or other structure placed over a grave in memory of the dead; a building, structure, or site that is of historical importance or interest; an enduring or memorable example of something; Angus Stevenson (Ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of English*, Oxford University Press, Third Edition 2010

⁹⁹ Young, 1993, op. cit., p. 13

¹⁰⁰ David Lowenthal, op. cit., p. 323

¹⁰¹ James E. Young, ‘Memory/Monument’, in: Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History*, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, Second edition, 2003, pp. 234-247, p. 245

Since humans first left traces of human culture, carved in rocks, it has been man's primal need to leave a lasting trace of a short human life, as a permanent sign or even admonishment for the future. One inscription on a Bogumil tombstone, a *stećak*¹⁰² from 1334 that reads 'Don't overturn my tombstone for everything what is hope will become illusion and worry'¹⁰³ tells the essence of this human effort. The French historian Françoise Choay¹⁰⁴ (born 1925) argued that a monument entails the concept of a defense against the traumas of existence, and that the affective nature of a monument is 'antidote to entropy, to the dissolving action of time on all things natural and artificial, it seeks to appease our fear of death and annihilation.'¹⁰⁵ Hence, the power of a monument resides in its affective nature and the ability to stir up emotions in people with regard to the monument's story. According to the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl¹⁰⁶ (1858-1905), who in 1903 published his famous *Moderne Denkmalkultur: sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, a monument in its oldest and most original sense is 'a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations.'¹⁰⁷ According to Riegl, the perception that future generations will have of a monument is dependent on the existing context, norms and values or the *Kunstwollen*¹⁰⁸ of an epoch. Riegl recognized three types of monuments: intentional, unintentional and monuments possessing

¹⁰² Stećci are medieval tombstones originating in the 12th century and connected to the heretic Bosnian Church. Recognizable for their unique decorative symbols and carvings, there are app. 60,000 of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina alone and nearly 10,000 in the neighboring three countries: Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia. See: 'Stećci-Medieval Tombstones', (21/04/2011), UNESCO-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5618/>, accessed 21.05.2015)

¹⁰³ Ševko Kadrić, *Bogumili kao Inspiracija*, Hamlet-förlag, 2007, p.44

¹⁰⁴ Françoise Choay is a renowned architectural and urban historian and art critic who taught at Paris-VIII, in Louvain-la-Neuve, in politénico Milan, Chaillot and the United States (MIT, Princeton, Cornell) and was awarded the *Grand Prix national du Livre d'architecture* in 1981 and 2007. Her work include *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism* (1997) and *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (2001).

¹⁰⁵ Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Cambridge Press University, 2001, p. 7

¹⁰⁶ Alois Riegl was an Austrian art historian dealing with the medieval and late Baroque times; seminal member of the so-called 'First Vienna School' of art history; key figure for modern methods of art history whose methods, including formalism, structuralism, post structuralism and reception theory, were adopted by art historians in the late twentieth century. His work includes following studies: *Problem of Style* (1893), *Late Roman Art History* (1901), *The Dutch Group Portrait* (1902) and *The Modern Cult of Monuments* (1903).

¹⁰⁷ Alois Riegl, 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin,' in: *Oppositions*, 25, Fall 1982, p. 21

¹⁰⁸ *Kunstwollen* or 'artistic will' as the force driving the evolution of style was evident to Riegl in both high and low art, as he argued: 'In the modern view, every monument possesses art-value only insofar as it answers to the modern *Kunstwollen*.' In: Kurt W. Forster, 'Monument/Memory and the Mortality of Architecture', in: K. Michael Hays (Ed.), *Oppositions Reader*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1998, pp. 18-35, p.35

'age-value'.¹⁰⁹ In the question of preservation, the first category or intentional monuments, is specific because these had a more or less protected status in the course of history, unlike the historic monument, a term introduced in the nineteenth century along with the growing interest in the preservation of historical heritage and the recognition of 'style'. The intentional monument commemorating a person existed in many cultures and was usually exposed to the wantonness of succeeding generations once the people who created and dedicated it were no longer among the living. Only with the Renaissance, when the notion of beauty was given a prominent place, people began to understand monuments for their commemorative value, as part of their heritage and not only as a mere display of patriotic recollections.¹¹⁰

An intentional monument in its original sense is not only an informative structure from a specific historical period, but also an engaging edifice invested with living memory. To this category belong only 'those works which recall a specific moment or complex of moments from the past.'¹¹¹ Much later, art historian Horst Janson (1913-1982) made a distinction of three categories of Western monuments: the funerary monument, the monument to historical ideas and events, and the monument commemorating great men.¹¹² In principle, a commemorative monument is always built with the intention to last. However, this has often proved impossible and led many monuments to end up as mere signs of the failed infrastructure of memory they initially embodied, transforming them into uncanny or unwanted reality.¹¹³

In memory studies the term 'memorial' is often used interchangeably with the notion of a 'monument' and rarely distinctions are made between the two. This is also true in the field of architecture since designers often intertwine the two notions. Doss demonstrated how in the American context the two words are used to depict a variety of commemorative projects, ranging from traditional stone obelisks to other facilities including parks, highways, libraries and so forth. This is

¹⁰⁹ Riegl's observation recognizes two categories of values, opposed to one another: 'commemorative' (Erinnerungswerte) and 'of-present day' (Gegenwartswerte). 'Age value' Riegl assigned to commemorative values since it derives from monument's age and traces its imprints on the monument. While historical value relates to the historical knowledge and is thereby restricted to few, age value has immediate appeal since everyone can perceive it immediately. See: Choay, op. cit., pp. 111-116

¹¹⁰ Riegl, op. cit., p. 26

¹¹¹ Riegl, op. cit., p. 24

¹¹² Horst W. Janson, *The Rise and Fall of the Public Monument*, New Orleans, LA: The Graduate School, Tulane University, 1976, p. 1

¹¹³ Andrew Shenken, 'Towards a Cultural Geography of Modern Memorials', in: Jill A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and Christine Stevenson (Eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Erick Fernie*, Boydell & Brewer, 2012, pp. 357-380

the heritage of the post WWII debate about 'living' memorials.¹¹⁴ At the same time, Doss argued that the word 'memorial' appears to be more popular, since many relatively recently built projects such as the Pentagon Memorial (2008) or the Oklahoma City National Memorial (2001) are denoted as memorials. There is also a hint that designers seem to perceive monuments as celebratory whereas memorials are commonly understood as spaces of a profoundly contemplative nature that can offer more possibilities.¹¹⁵ This distinction in purpose and content was recognized by Arthur Danto¹¹⁶ (1924-2013), as he explained: 'Monuments make heroes and triumphs, victories and conquests, perpetually present part of life. The memorial is a special precinct extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead. With monuments we honor ourselves.'¹¹⁷ Danto situated his argument in a discussion about the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial (VVM, 1982) in Washington D.C. as a memorial to defeat instead of victory. Danto perceived the memorial as a moral connection between the Washington Monument (1885) as a symbol of triumph and the Lincoln Memorial (1922) as a temple of submission. While this is perhaps true in this specific context, it cannot be taken as a formula since many monuments invite retrospection, and at the same time memorials are not necessarily non-celebratory quiet precincts. When the VVM was erected, the opposing views in the bitter debates regarding the memorial's appearance and meaning marked its first years. The

¹¹⁴ In *Memorial Mania* a subchapter entitled 'Memorial versus Monument' is dedicated to the nuances in use between the two notions. Doss, op. cit., pp. 37-48

¹¹⁵ Doss referred to Maya Lin, who stated that her works are memorials and anti-monuments, and also James Ingo Freed who argued that memorials do not celebrate things and are less restricted. Doss, op. cit., p. 39

¹¹⁶ Arthur Coleman Danto was an American art historian and philosopher who was devoted to exploring the nature of art. Danto was a prolific author on contemporary and classic art and philosophy. Next to being editor of *The Journal of Philosophy* (1965-2013) and art critic for *The Nation* magazine, Danto wrote numerous books including: *The Transformation of the Commonplace: A Philosophy of Art* (1981), *After the End of Art: Contemporary Art and the Pale of History* (1997), and *What Art Is* (2013).

¹¹⁷ Arthur C. Danto, *The State of the Art*, New York Prentice Hall Press, 1987, p. 112. Marita Sturken argued similarly that monuments are a means to acknowledge the past, whereas memorials pay tribute to the dead. In: Marita Sturken, 'Monuments: Historical Overview', in: Michael Kelly (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, New York: Oxford University Press, Volume 3, 1998, p. 274. Michael Rowlands scrutinized war monuments stressing that there are three points that need to be fulfilled before a monument becomes a memorial: 1) acknowledge the importance of death and destruction that constituted the sacrificial act while acknowledging the loss incurred by relatives, communities and nations and indicating an acceptance that the violence and suffering took place and that the sacrifice will not be forgotten; 2) show an acceptance that the violence takes place in a context where it is claimed that something has been gained instead, providing a transformation of a sense of collective loss into an object of devotion and passion; 3) ensure that the dead are deified as part of that logic in the sense that they become embodied in the idea of the collective while giving the message that the role of the living is to recognize the debt and express a willingness to reciprocate. Rowlands, p. 144

memorial has been discussed in an extensive body of literature.¹¹⁸ Consisting of two long dark granite walls inscribed with the names of the dead, cutting into the landscape, the memorial constitutes an important development in the conception of an architecture of remembrance, as will be elaborated in later chapters (Fig. 2.2; 3). The designer, Maya Ying Lin (born 1959), sought to materialize the unrepresentable pain of loss as a scar, as Lin put it:

*'I thought about what death is, what a loss is... a sharp pain that lessens with time, but can never quite heal over. A scar. The idea occurred to me there on the site. Take a knife and cut open the earth, and with time the grass would heal it. As if you cut open the rock and polished it.'*¹¹⁹



Figure 2.2



Figure 2.3

The memorial embodies some of the ideas that changed the perception of what a monument should look like, an issue that seems to remain actual since times immemorial. Lin's memorial invites for participation on several levels and manages to remain a contemplative and emotional realm, demonstrated by its ongoing acceptance and popularity. The memorial is also contradictory to its context, the Washington Mall. This notion of contradiction is what counter-monument (Gegen-Denkmal) artists implemented in their artistic strategies. Also using dark color as an expression of mourning, Sol LeWitt's (1928-2007) work *Black Form Dedicated to the Missing Jews*

¹¹⁸ To name just a few: Sonja K. Foss, 'Ambiguity as Persuasion: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial', in: *Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 326-340; Charles L. Griswold, 'The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography', in: *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Summer, 1986), pp. 688-719; Jeffery Karl Ochsner, 'A Space of Loss: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial', in: *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-), Vol. 50, No. 3, February 1997, pp. 156-171; Nicholas Watkins, Frances Cole and Sue Weidemann, 'The War Memorial as Healing Environment: The Psychological Effect of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on Vietnam War Combat Veterans' Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms', in: *Environment and Behavior* 2010, Vol. 42, No. 3, pp. 351-375;

¹¹⁹ Maya Lin quoted in: Charles L. Griswold and Stephen S. Griswold, 'The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography', in: *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Summer, 1986, pp. 688-719, p. 718. For a discussion about several analytical approaches to the memorial see: Gill Abousnnouga and David Machin (Eds.), *The Language of War Monuments*, Bloomsbury Publishing: London and New York, 2013, pp. 66-72

(1987) contemplates the non-representational nature of trauma together with the exhaustion of the traditional repertoire of memorial expressions (Fig. 2.4). *Black Form* was originally conceived for a location in front of Munster's castle on the spot where an equestrian statue of the German emperor William II stood, and it



Figure 2.4

was designed in connection to LeWitt's other work, *White Pyramid*, which was installed in the castle garden. *Black Form* recalls an enlarged sarcophagus whereas *White Pyramid* recalls pharaonic funerary monuments or Mesopotamian and Persian ziggurats, a place of the divine and the gods.¹²⁰

A scholar who endorsed counter-monuments, James Young, argued that the most influential project, or even the paradigm for the whole generation of artists and architects after the Holocaust, was the *Monument against Fascism* (1986) by Jochen and Esther Gerz¹²¹ (Fig. 2.5). This project is significant since it has moved physical form into the realm of psychology and dematerialization. The concept of a disappearing monument introduced by the Gerzes tackled the meaning of a monument in general, but it also addressed the way a mourning process can develop. What is perhaps possible to recognize is the literal translation of the psychological concept of 'working through' and 'coming to terms with the past' into the physical form of a disappearing column. After being revealed to the public and inviting people to participate by writing on the column's metal surface, in the course of a few years, from 1986 until 1993, the column slowly vanished into the ground. Each participation or action of writing on the surface activated a specially embedded system which sunk the column further into the ground. What remained at the end is a memory object, the artefact of the sunken column, visible through a glass window at the lower street level. On the place where the column once stood, a plaque remains saying that '*Nothing can in the long run replace our own protest against injustice.*'

¹²⁰ The original conception of the work was destroyed since the Black Form was due to frequent vandalistic acts relocated in 1988 to Hamburg-Altona to serve as a monument for the missing Jews of Altona while the White Pyramid was moved into the University's botanical garden.

¹²¹ Young, 2000, op. cit., p. 139; Young argued that the memorial 'has not only returned the burden of memory to those who come looking for it but has changed the way a generation of artists and the public have come to regard the very idea of the memorial' which became 'apparent not only in the somewhat monumental piles of articles written about the memorial but in the dozens of 'countermemorial' projects that became the standard for subsequent Holocaust memorial competitions in Germany.' Ibid

Today, more than two decades since the sinking of the Gerz column, the invitation for participation that the project introduced seems to be the accepted strategy in public monuments and memorials, even in national projects that are highly politically coloured. An example is the *Mémorial National de la Guerre d'Algérie* (2002) in Paris, dedicated to the memory of the soldiers who died for France in the Algerian war and conflicts in Morocco and Tunisia.¹²² The memorial consists of three aligned columns, approximately six meters high, with alphanumeric screens running vertically along the front of each column. Next to the columns is a small computer terminal that allows visitors to search for a particular name which, when detected in the system, is displayed on one of the columns¹²³ (Fig. 2.6).



Figure 2.5



Figure 2.6

Similarly to Gerz, the designer Gérard Collin-Thiébaud employed columns, the most common iconography of war monuments, as a starting point in his quest to create a 'new type of memorial for the third millennium.'¹²⁴

For the purpose of this study the definition of a monument includes an architectural or sculptural composition, or combination thereof, dedicated to a person, event or particular act. A monument is intended primarily as a visual marker. This depiction relates to what has been understood as a 'traditional' monument.

Accordingly, a memorial has a similar purpose and designation, but it differs from a monument in several aspects. Differently from a monument, a memorial is an architectural construct that is defined by its employment of space as an architectural tool. In other words, instead of creating a representation of what is being commemorated, a memorial sculpts space in reference to its topic. In this way a memorial space is inevitably engaging a visitor on more levels, not

¹²² The monument stands on the Quai Branly, close to the Eiffel tower, and was inaugurated on 5 December 2002 by Jacques Chirac. The monument is controversial since it has been argued that names of some of the known torturers are listed as well. At the same time it represents a significant move for France towards addressing its difficult colonial heritage.

¹²³ The first column screens names of 22.959 soldiers that scroll upwards in alphabetical order, separated by year of death. The central column displays a text which explains to whom the memorial is dedicated and the third column's screen recommences when a name is depicted by a visitor in order to show it on the screen.

¹²⁴ Robert Aldrich, *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France: Monuments, Museums and Colonial Memories*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 152

only on the level of visual perception. For instance, LeWitt's *Black Form* is a sculptural monument but once the dimension of space is added, if it becomes penetrable, for example, the monument turns into a memorial. An illustrative example is the Monumento a Sandro Pertini (1988) in Milan, by Italian architect Aldo Rossi (1931-1997), which demonstrates this transformation. The memorial is designed as an open cube with one façade referring to the traditional notion of a memorial fountain, while its other side opens with a staircase toward the square, turning the city into its stage and vice versa (Fig. 2.7).

Once inside the memorial, a visitor is exposed to its designed mnemonic power, participating as audience and a performer at the same time. Furthermore, a memorial addresses the facilitation of mourning instead of only representing loss. A useful definition of public memorials is the one used in the field of transitional justice by which public memorials are 'designed to evoke a specific reaction or set of reactions, including public acknowledgment of the event or people represented; personal reflection or mourning; pride, anger, or sadness about something that has happened; or learning or curiosity about periods in the past.'¹²⁵ Although this



Figure 2.7

definition is concerned only with the representation of past events, a contemporary memorial is usually involved with present events or, rather, existence of the past in the present, and in some cases memorials deal with ongoing¹²⁶ but also future events.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Sebastian Brett, Louis Bickford, Liz Ševčenko, Marcela Rios, *Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action*, Report International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, 2007

¹²⁶ Contemporary memorial museums often include a section that is dedicated to events that are ongoing and possibly related to the theme memorialized by the museum.

¹²⁷ One example of this is a memorial planned for the location in Carlsbad, New Mexico, which is used as a transuranic waste site by New Mexico's Waste Isolation Pilot Plant. In the year 2030 the storage facility will reach its maximum capacity which is the reason to think of a structure that would warn future generations of lethal toxicity of the site. See: Julia Bryan-Wilson, 'Building a Marker of Nuclear Warning' in: Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (Eds.), *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, The Chicago University Press, 2003, pp. 183-205

3. Making loss tangible: the psychology of architecture for death

3.1 The process of mourning

‘Will nicht narben’
Gertrud Riethmüller¹

The phrase ‘welcome home’ is a way civilians used to greet Vietnam veterans and it was also exchanged between the veterans themselves when they would meet during commemorative ceremonies at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C. Numerous memorials erected across the country were symbolic, neutral and ‘healing’, embodiments of homecoming, welcoming them back to their home from which they felt estranged.² The concept of homecoming is a way of dealing with trauma and therefore a relevant commemorative theme related both to grief and mourning. In a different vein, but with similar intention, considering the vast number of killed and missing soldiers as a result of brutal and mechanized warfare, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was born after WWI out of a strong need to comprehend, mourn and provide some kind of closure for the bereaved. Nation states or empires ritualized the burials of their Unknowns, honouring them on behalf of the nation and thus emphasizing the significance of their sacrifice. The fact that the tomb was containing a body of an anonymous soldier provided a possibility for the bereaved to believe that the Unknown might be their loved one. In this way families who were deprived of the certainty that a burial of a body would normally provide, found condolence in the possibility created by the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and its purpose to remember everyone by ‘remembering no one in particular.’³

The concept of ‘working through’ grief can be traced back to Freud who provided a framework for understanding psychological aspects of mourning. Freud’s work dealt with different types of processes since mourning is related to both personal loss (such as the loss of a family member) and as a more abstract form of mourning which can occur with a loss of some higher ideal (such as a loss of a country, for example). In his watershed essay *Mourning and Melancholia* (1917), Freud argued that mourning was necessary for the grief-stricken in order to avoid melancholia, since melancholics lack the point of focus and are not able to put their loss into perspective.⁴ According to Freud,

¹ Gertrud Riethmüller’s quote on the memorial in Neue Bremm ‘Hotel of Memory’: will nicht narben’ (‘does not want to heal’)

² Patric Hagopian, ‘The Commemorative Landscape of the Vietnam War’, in: Wolschke-Bulmahn op. cit., pp. 311-376, p. 314

³ John R. Gillis, ‘Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship’, in: John R. Gillis (Ed.), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 3-27, p. 11

⁴ Sigmund Freud, ‘Mourning and Melancholia’, in: James Strachey (Ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, translated by James Strachey, vol. 14 (1914-1916), London: The Hogarth Press, 1957, pp. 243-258; Freud explained the relation to the object in melancholia as ‘no simple one’, He believed that this relation is further ‘complicated by the conflict due to ambivalence. The ambivalence is either constitutional, i.e. is an element of every love-relation formed by this particular ego, or else it proceeds precisely from those

two psychological liaisons recognized as libido, or strength of the attachment, and object-love, or the attachment itself, are elements of mourning in the process of a 'psychical working out.' This process was explained as an internal affair of constant invocation of painful memories until the strength of the attachment, or libido, and the attachment itself, or object-love, become neutralized. More recent scholarly work which focused on explaining reasons and forms of bereavement and grief, recognized the 1990ies renewed interest in the commemoration of WWI as an unfinished process of mourning.⁵ Modern approach to trauma and victims of trauma displays a great deal of interest and research devoted to the concept of *healing* from traumatic events. Laura Tanner⁶ underlined the importance of a 'materiality of the body' in a mourning process. Tanner argued that Freud's model of mourning denies the aspect of materiality which the bereaved needs. Without the material component, according to Tanner, the bereaved 'witness that loss again and again as our minds construct the absent presence of bodies we can no longer hold through images we are unable to touch.'⁷ There are numerous examples shading light on how individually and collectively, mourning is performed and structured around material objects or spaces in order to support the concept of working through the legacy of traumatic experiences. Peter Homans⁸ schematizes the process of mourning in the following relation:

Attachment – loss – grieving – mourning – reattachment.⁹

This scheme is incorporated in a context of a specific culture, thereby adjusted to the particular needs and customs. Hence, grief and mourning are related but different notions in a sense that mourning is perceived as a symbolic action triggered by grief. The process of mourning is a complex and delicate matter

experiences that involved the threat of losing the object. For this reason the exciting causes of melancholia have a much wider range than those of mourning, which is for the most part occasioned only by a real loss of the object, by its death.'

⁵ Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau argued that the renewed interest in WWI commemorative processes is partly due to the vast number of missing soldiers in WWI. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014

⁶ Laura Tanner, Professor of English at Boston College, writes on American literature of the last century, including modern and contemporary fiction. Her publications include *Lost Bodies: Inhabiting the Borders of Life and Death* (Cornell UP, 2006) and *Intimate Violence: Reading Rape and Torture in Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Indiana UP, 1994), as well as numerous articles in journals including *American Literature*, *American Literary History*, *PMLA* and *Genre*.

⁷ Laura E. Tanner, *Lost bodies: Inhabiting the borders of life and death*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006, p.131

⁸ Professor Emeritus at the University of Chicago Peter Homans (1930-2009) was the author of three books: *Theology After Freud*, *Jung in Context* and most notably, *The Ability to Mourn: Disillusionment and the Social Origins of Psychoanalysis*. Homans also studied the symbolic and psychological aspects of contemporary cultures, and he spoke and wrote extensively on the ways that breakdowns in social certainties and regularities in society call forth a need for 'meaning making' in order to restore cohesion. His last book is an edited collection, *Symbolic Loss: the Ambiguity of Mourning and Memory at Century's End*.

⁹ Peter Homans, *Symbolic Loss: The Ambiguity of Mourning and Memory at Century's End*, University of Virginia Press, 2000, p.3

usually explained through successive stages that constitute its evolvment and for purpose of this study it remains too complex to be briefly summarized. Grief, on the other hand is an emotion, capacity to express a specific feeling, while mourning is a process which enhances different abilities in human beings. Period of mourning is aimed to 'cure' a human being from grief caused by a particular loss. Research has indicated that healthy oscillations are needed between 'dwelling on the death, the grief, and the emotions on the one hand, and dealing with the practical consequences on the other.'¹⁰

In the antique world, commemoration and burial were one of the most important rituals, if performed successfully; they would ensure the well-being of the community and bring peace to the deceased person in his or hers afterlife. It was strongly believed that ill-fortune can come upon a community if the ritual is not performed well enough. This belief invigorated funeral rites as a specific obligation and constituent part of collective memory of the ancient Mediterranean world.¹¹ Since ancient times, death and its commemoration were inextricable from the community life and normally bound up in a religious context. The performance of the commemorative ritual was also intended to tame the feeling of loss and render it as a natural transition to the other world. In this way, the public ritual of taming death created a sense of control, allowing its participants to overcome loss. Each individual was part of the community while death was simply a transitional phase towards eternal life. Through specific stages of these rituals, the community involved itself in the process of mourning, taking the ballast of death from the relatives of the deceased. The ritual was a temporary and symbolic container for losses for the bereaved.

Some sociologists have argued that the conception of mourning based on taming the unknown changed with the modernization and secularization of the West. Main indication is the significant decline of mourning practices today, if compared to mourning rituals from the 18th century or further in the past. Scholars dealing with this issue distinguish a change which occurred in the mourning practices of the Western cultures, following the age of 'tame death' until the present moment.¹² Among other aspects, the burden of mourning moved from the community toward the individual. A practice of cremating contributed to further separation of ritual and mourning as they often 'fail to meet the needs of both secular and religious mourners, and are sometimes seen as factories with conveyor belts, offering little in the way of spiritual

¹⁰ Pat Jalland, *Death in War and Peace, A history of Loss & Grief in England, 1914-1970*, Oxford University Press: New York, 2010, p. 255

¹¹ See: Nauma Denis Fustel De Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, Batoche Books; Kitchener, 2001, pp. 14-17

¹² On death as topic of estrangement in the modern society see: Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Towards Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present*, translated by Patricia M. Ranum, The John Hopkins University Press, 1974, Zygmunt Bauman, *Mortality, Immortality ND Other Life Strategies*, Stanford University Press, 1992; Michel Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 2011;

meaning.¹³ The shift from collective to individual mourning developed in the course of a few centuries. As early as beginning of the 19th century Benjamin Constant¹⁴ wrote about urban estrangement as a corollary of severed community bonds, as he believed:

*'individuals, lost in an isolation from nature, strangers to the place of their birth, without contact with their past, living only in a rapid present, and thrown down like atoms on an immense and levelled plain, are detached from a fatherland that they see nowhere.'*¹⁵

As a consequence, the focus was placed on understanding the psychoanalytic aspects of individual mourning. In this respect Philippe Ariès¹⁶ has argued that the *invisible death*, what he defined as a biological transition from the world of living toward posthumous non-existence, is deprived of significance in the contemporary society in which the accent has been placed on the survivor's acceptance of death.¹⁷ As an antithesis to the accepted death which understands the suppressed emotions of the survivors, Ariès stressed its antithesis as the 'embarrassingly graceless dying, which embarrasses the survivor because it causes too strong an emotion to burst forth.'¹⁸ In this view, in the contemporary arid landscape of alienation a public display of strong emotions is perceived as odd or even inappropriate.¹⁹

Historians, however, have argued that the relation between modernity and religious decline is oversimplified. Even though the traditional ritual has lost its place, the essentially human need to mourn still finds the way to channel itself through different modes of grieving. Particularly agnostics and atheists seem

¹³ Jalland, op. cit., p. 260; Jalland also stressed that recent developments include more personal design of cremation ceremonies and also creating more space for public emotion to be present.

¹⁴ Henri-Benjamin Constant de Rebecque (1767–1830), was a Swiss-French politician and writer on politics and religion. He was the author of a partly biographical psychological novel, *Adolphe*. He was a fervent liberal of the early nineteenth century who influenced the Trienio Liberal movement in Spain, the Liberal Revolution of 1820 in Portugal, the Greek War of Independence, the November Uprising in Poland, the Belgian Revolution, and Liberalism in Brazil and Mexico

¹⁵ Benjamin Constant, *De l'esprit de conquête et de l'usurpation dans les rapports avec la civilisation européenne* (1814), in: Benjamin Constant *Oeuvres*, annotated with an introduction by Alfred Roulin, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pleiade, 1957, p. 984 – quoted in: Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, 1992, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, p. 4

¹⁶ Philippe Ariès (1914-1984) was a French medievalist and historian. Ariès has written many books on the common daily life. His most prominent works regarded the change in western attitudes towards death such as *Attitudes devant la vie et devant la mort du XVII^e au XIX^e*, *quelques aspects de leurs variations* (1949) and *L'Homme devant la mort* (1977).

¹⁷ Philippe Ariès points to the invisible death as contemporary concept of coping with death by perceiving the medical personnel as masters of death who try to provide for their patients an 'acceptable style of living while dying.' Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Towards Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present*, translated by Patricia M. Ranum, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, p. 89

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Ariès argued that: 'too evident sorrow does not inspire pity but repugnance, it is the sign of mental instability or of bad manners: it is morbid.' Ariès, op. cit., p. 90

to place emphasis on memory as a 'prime consolation in the absence of religious faith and the loss of personal immortality in an afterlife.'²⁰

It is in the very core of human nature to mourn even though grief and the desire to 'die with our dead'²¹ constitute one of the potentially most self-destructive psychic crises. As already mentioned, the impact and influence of WWI constructed frameworks for the contemporary commemoration practices.²² A vast number of war memorials built after WWI can be understood as part of the mourning process, as psychological points of focus enabling bereaved to mourn both individually and collectively. Around nine million people who fought in the war, out of which four million were missing, urged for a kind of spirituality that religion and existing rituals were not able to provide. For example, the names of the dead, normally inscribed on tombstones within cemeteries, entered the public space in the memorialization of WWI as a consequence of the obliterated bodies with no identities.²³ In all participating countries, understanding loss and trauma was in need for framework of mediation and spontaneously was channelled through different forms, such as the mentioned substitute tomb. At the same time, the unprecedented scale of bloodshed was inevitably entangled with political interests that also employed tradition as a meaningful source of understanding and continuity that had the potential 'to help people to restore and regain control over their lives.'²⁴ Jay Winter argued how England was engaged with a mourning process that can be addressed as successful because of its ability to employ mourning rituals and traditional monuments.²⁵ Initially most of these monuments were conceived as monuments for victory but due to the needs of the post war societies, they became monuments to suffering and particularly in the small villages and communities where 'the names on the memorial have faces for those who read them.'²⁶ Winter illustrated his argument about the societal and cultural change in regard to remembering and understanding war after WWI by comparing Paul

²⁰ Jalland, op. cit., p. 259; Jalland quotes Clare Short who argued: "I do believe we're all immortal in the sense that every single human being who's ever lived on this planet has left reverberations behind in other people's mind." Ibid.

²¹ Robert Pogue Harrison, *The dominion of the Dead*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003, p. 55; Harrison explains the notion 'to die with our dead' as the need to revoke the irrevocable, as an insane desire to be reunited with the person.

²² See: Luc Capdevila, Danièle Voldman (Eds.), *War Dead: Western Societies and the Casualties of War*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006

²³ Layla Renshaw, 'The Archeology and Material Culture of Modern Military Death', in: Sarah Tarlow and Liv Nilsson Stutz (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 763-780, p. 765

²⁴ Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory. War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*, Cambridge University Press: New York, 2007, p. 286. Goebel discusses mobilization of medievalism arguing that 'the dialectic of lamenting the human catastrophe and insisting on historical continuity was at the core of medievalist diction in war remembrance in Britain and Germany alike.' Op. cit., p. 288

²⁵ Jay Winter, op. cit., p. 79

²⁶ Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983, p.108

Klee's *Angelus Novus* and Anselm Kiefer's sculpture *Sprache der Vögel* (1989) (Fig. 3.1; 2).



Figure 3.1



Figure 3.2

Unlike Klee's *Angelus Novus*, whose enigmatic eyes are fixedly staring at the past,²⁷ Kiefer's angel has no face. Instead he has only the body made out of burned books. The effacement of the angel of history can be explained as an illustration of the inability of artists after WWII to attach faces to their depictions of the recent atrocity.²⁸

The process of mourning, or passage from melancholia to mourning, is well demonstrated in another art work by a German artist Käthe Kollwitz (1867 –1945) entitled *The Grieving Parents*. After losing her younger son in WWI, Kollwitz and her husband processed their traumatic loss through a ritual that begun with leaving their son's room intact for a certain period of time. At one point the artist started to create the memorial. Kollwitz's initial idea, readable from her sketches, was to make a stone circle consisting of two parents holding their dead son but eventually the son's figure disappeared from the composition. Initially installed in 1932 at a war cemetery Roggevelde and later moved to the German war cemetery Vladslo where they

²⁷ Famous Walter Benjamin's description of Klee's painting reads: 'an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face turned towards the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while a pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.' Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in: Hannah Arendt (Ed.), *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn, Schocken Books: New York, 1968, pp. 253-264, chapter IX, pp. 253-264, p: 257/258

²⁸ Jay Winter, Lecture at Cambridge, 2012, Humanitas Visiting Professorship in War Studies, hosted by the University of Cambridge's Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), (<http://www.strategicdialogue.org/events/items/humanitas-warstudies-winter>, accessed 29.01.2015)

stand today,²⁹ two mournful figures serve as a memorial for the whole generation that was lost in the war (Fig. 3.3).



Figure 3.3

The memorial is installed at the back of the cemetery and in that way faces the burial plates of the cemetery. The eyes of the father are fixedly focused on a ninth stone bearing the name of their son, among other names. The two parents bring to mind the famous painting *The Angelus* (1859) by Jean-Francoise Millet, depicting a somber couple looking to the ground in a posture that at the first look seems to be a moment of prayer, but the purpose of the couple's grief was hidden below the ground³⁰ (Fig. 3.4).

While passing numerous burial plates in Vladslo, with each bearing several names, one is constantly aware of the mourning figures in the back. Their silent but powerful presence seems to embrace the space of the cemetery. Jay Winter used Kollwitz's memorial to argue that the grieving parents express the meaning of the war for their own generation and at the same time they symbolically represent parents of every young man buried in the cemetery.³¹

²⁹ Administered by the German War Graves Commission (Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge), Vladslo German war cemetery, is app. three kilometers north east of Vladslo, near Diksmuide in Belgium. Established during WWI, the cemetery holds 3,233 wartime burials. In 1956, burials from many smaller surrounding cemeteries were concentrated in Vladslo, and it now contains the remains of 25,644 soldiers. Each stone bears the name of twenty soldiers, with just their name, rank, and date of death specified.

³⁰ Catalan surrealist painter Salvador Dali (1904-1989) pursued to understand the meaning of the painting since he believed that there was a hidden layer in Millet's canvas. Dali's intuition that the two standing figures reflect deeper meaning than a common afternoon prayer proved to be right as the x-ray of the painting showed traces of previously drawn child's casket that laid on the ground between the couple's feet.

³¹ Jay Winter wrote about this memorial: 'To consider this extraordinary monument is to contemplate the border between metaphor and lived experience (...) incorporation of her (Kollwitz) son's generation into her own family was an essential element of her effort to express

In spite of its omnipresence, especially after the WWII, death and issues surrounding it were classified as a taboo, something that is obviously present but was never really talked about. This paradox was widely explored within the 'expressive professions' in the 1960s,³² for example in Tony Smith's minimalist work *Die* (1962) which consisted of a dark steel cube whose dimensions derived from a symbolic relation between death and traditional measurement for burial in America-six feet³³ (Fig. 3.5). Smith's work as an act of bringing the



Figure 3.4



Figure 3.5

invisible, or rather hidden, back to the visible world can be seen as a precursor of the earlier mentioned *Black Form* but also many other works.³⁴ In the MMJE in Berlin we find the revealing of the invisible death compacted in a symbolic cubic form overtaking the public space.

The loneliness of the individual death transformed into hopelessness of the massive extermination of individuals. As a counter act to the loneliness of the individual mourning, many spontaneous gestures of mourning in the public sphere take place. This was the case already since the dedication of a 'Cenotaph' by Sir Edwin Lutyens in 1919 in London. The Cenotaph was initially constructed as a temporary structure and a centrepiece of the anniversary of the Armistice Day when two-minute silence was introduced.³⁵ Due to the

the 'meaning' of the war for her generation.' In: Jay Winter, 'Remembrance and Redemption-A Social Interpretation of War Monuments', *Harvard Design Magazine*, Constructions of Memory, Fall 1999, Number 9, pp. 71-77, p. 4. Winter's position was criticized as dangerous in a sense that by assuming a common response to bereavement, it risks 'collapsing the social specificity of Kollwitz's response to grief into psychic universalism.' Ashplant et. al., op. cit., p. 11

³² Jalland discusses the revival of 'expressive grieving' in England in 1960s in: Jalland, op. cit., pp. 252-255

³³ The issue of scale was of particular importance for the artist as a larger scale would have endowed *Die* with the stature of a 'monument' whereas a smaller scale would have reduced it to an 'object'. See *Die (model 1962, fabricated 1968)*, National Gallery of Art, Washington (<http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.127623.html>, Accessed 04.05.2015)

³⁴ For instance Mexican artist Teresa Margolles presented a minimalist cube, weighing one ton, constructed from structural steel scrap from razed neighborhoods on the black market as a 'maximally compressed symbol of suffering and decay in Mexico.' In *Kunsthalle Fridericianum* (<http://archiv2.fridericianum-kassel.de/margolles.html?&L=1>, accessed 29.01.2015), Teresa Margolles, 'Frontera', *Catalogue*, Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, Köln, 2011 (on view from 27 May to 21 August 2011 at the Museion).

³⁵ Geoff Dyer offered a poetic account of the Remembrance Day on November 11th in 1919 during which the Cenotaph was its center-piece, as he described it: 'It is a representation in

public outburst of grief of around two million people, the Cenotaph was later remade in Portland stone and until this day serves as a key place for remembering the victims of WWI (Fig. 3.6).



Figure 3.6

A similar occurrence followed the death of the Princess of Wales in 1997, provoking significant public expression of grief that manifested in numerous objects left at the gates of Kensington palace and few other places, leaving authorities with the issue of removing the massive amount of collected flowers and objects. One particular offering are photographs of the victims, giving the whole ritual a sense of individuality and thereby escaping the inevitable fact of becoming pure statistics. These temporary memorials or grassroots memorials³⁶ are one of the most common impromptu expressions of grief on the sites of trauma and tragedy. Importance of spontaneous memorials in contemporary culture is their essentially material existence which signifies the process of mourning and intimates the relationship with the deceased in the public space. By placing objects, notes or any kind of signification on a designated place, people instinctively identify that place as a place for mourning and establishing connection with the dead. American folklorist Jack Santino³⁷ was possibly the first to use the term 'spontaneous shrines' when describing the process of public mourning for the victims of political assassinations in Northern Ireland. The way places of these events transformed through material objects produced by public mourning and their participation in understanding trauma and death for the bereaved, Santino addressed as *performative commemoratives* because they 'display death in the heart of social life.'³⁸ They come to represent what cemeteries used to represent before the 19th century

three dimensions of that silence that surrounded it for two minutes on Armistice Day. The public wanted a permanent version of the Cenotaph to record – to hold – the silence that was gathered within it and which, thereafter, would emanate from it. During the silence it had seemed, according to 'The Times', as if 'the very pulse of Time stood still'. In recording that silence, the Cenotaph would also be an emblem of timelessness. A temporary version of the Cenotaph was an impossible contradiction: it had to be permanent.' In: Geoff Dyer, *The Missing of The Somme*, Phoenix Press: London, 1994 (paperback edition 2001), p. 24.

³⁶ 'Grassroots memorials' is a name dubbed by Margry and Sanchez-Carretero (2011) in order to highlight both their political dimension and their non-institutionalized character'. From Christina Sanchez-Carretero and Carmen Ortiz, 'Grassroots Memorials as Sites of Heritage Creation', in Helmut Anheier, Yudhishtir Raj Isar (Eds.), *The Culture and Globalization Series 4*, Heritage, Memory & Identity, Sage Publications Ltd, 2011, pp. 106-113

³⁷ Jack (John Francis) Santino, Ph.D. is an academic folklorist. He holds a professorship in Popular Culture at Bowling Green State University and is Director of the Bowling Green Center for Culture Studies. Some of his books are *Spontaneous Shrines and Public Memorializations of Death* (2005) and *Signs of War and Peace: Social Conflict and the Use of Public Symbols in Northern Ireland* (2001)

³⁸ Jack Santino, 'Not An Unimportant Failure: Rituals of Death and Politics in Northern Ireland', in: Michael McCaughan (Ed.), *Displayed in Mortal Light*, Northern Ireland: Antrim Arts Council, 1992, n.p.;

while they were still part of the inner city and everyday public life. When cemeteries and mourning became more private and intimate, spontaneous memorials emerged as cultural phenomena, reviving the ritual of public mourning.³⁹

These public outbursts respond to a model of action-orientated mourning proposed by clinical psychologist Theresa A. Rando.⁴⁰ This model is based on several defined steps that the bereaved has to undertake in order to cope with and adjust to the absence created by a specific physical or psychosocial loss.⁴¹ Echoing Tanner's accent on the importance of the materiality of the body in mourning, Rando argued that healthy mourning is defined by a constant re-experiencing and reviving. What Rando underlines is that simple recollection of memories or strictly intellectual approach is not sufficient. The essential part in complicated mourning is the 'emotional catharsis' which must take place together with 'a review and reintegration of relevant past and present thoughts and beliefs, culminating in a revision of the assumptive world.'⁴² In

³⁹ In his informal research, Key Turner argues that the spontaneous memorials first occurred in the United States in 1980 in Manhattan when John Lennon was murdered outside the Dakota apartments where he lived with Yoko Ono; in his words: '...shocked New York fans of the musician began gathering at the site bearing pictures, flowers, candles, and singing farewells. Immediately and spontaneously the apartment entry became a point of contact between the dead hero and his living public, who materialized and discharged their grief in gifts of ephemera. That night, so many distraught fans congregated, Yoko asked them to move across the street to Central Park. She called for a public vigil in the park on December 14th, attended by thousands. The ephemeral accoutrements of mourning came with them and makeshift shrines appeared in force throughout the area. These early shrines were likely helped into being by available John Lennon/ Beatles merchandise (album covers, John dolls and so on) that fans had on hand and by the proliferation of a photo-copied picture of Lennon wearing a New York City t-shirt. The photo gained icon status in the emergent memorials. In 1981 the park area they gathered in was officially named Strawberry Fields. It became the scene of an ongoing Lennon memorial site, active to this day, especially on his birthday and the anniversary of his death.' In: 'September 11 Memorials: Tracing the Traces of Their History.', published by Brooklyn Arts Council, 2008. (<http://www.brooklynartscouncil.org/documents/1040>, accessed 23.06.2012)

⁴⁰ Dr. Rando is a clinical psychologist in Warwick, Rhode Island. She is the Clinical Director of The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Loss. Rando is a prolific author and her works include *Treatment of Complicated Mourning* (Research Press, 1993) and *Loss and Anticipatory Grief* (Lexington Books, 1986).

⁴¹ Action-orientated model of dealing with grief Rando structures through following steps: 1. Recognize the loss. Recognizing the loss involves acknowledging the reality of the death and understanding what caused it. 2. React to the separation. This process involves experiencing the pain; and feeling, identifying, accepting, and giving some form of expression to all the psychological reactions to the loss. It also involves identifying and mourning the secondary losses that are brought about by the death. 3. Recollect and re-experience the deceased and the relationship. Healthy mourning involves reviewing and remembering realistically, with reviving and re-experiencing being the associated feelings. 4. Relinquish the old attachments to the deceased and the old assumptive world. 5. Readjust to move adaptively into the new world without forgetting the old. This process, involves revising the assumptive world, developing a new relationship with the deceased, adopting new ways of being in the world, and forming a new identity. 6. Reinvest. The emotional energy once invested in the relationship with the deceased eventually must be reinvested into other people, objects, pursuits, and so forth in order that emotional gratification can be received by the mourner.

⁴² Therese A. Rando, *Treatment of Complicated Mourning*, Research Press, 1993: (<http://www.deathreference.com/Me->

this respect and concerning the immediacy of their occurring, from psychological point of view, spontaneous memorials can be recognized as material objects with a communicative value that help the transition from grief to mourning. Thus objects as a transitional medium that engage the bereaved from sudden, extremely painful feeling toward healing and acceptance.⁴³ In addition, Harriet F. Senie⁴⁴ stressed that the flourishing of spontaneous memorials and grieving in public is related to the apparent need of having a private loss publicly acknowledged.⁴⁵ They are relevant factor of social agency or even social change since they inherently contain protest and indicate other feelings besides grief. Contrary to official monuments and memorials as fixed entities, spontaneous memorials are, according to Senie, a form of democracy in action. As such, they raise a range of critical questions for those commissioning and building permanent official markers. It is not uncommon that spontaneous personal gestures collide with official commemorative edifices, usually expressed through a violation of a monument or a memorial or removal of the spontaneous shrines.⁴⁶

Here contemporary design concepts dealing with loss and grief should aim to develop appropriate rituals which would encourage creation of a personal space for mourning that would allow the above mentioned aspects to take place. Once the immediacy of spontaneous expression of grief decreases in its power, the mourning continues, expressed in more or less the same way but less frequently and in many ways it transforms into a ritual similar to visiting a graveyard.⁴⁷ In this aspect a memorial becomes a transitional object and a holding space that is expected to create a safe environment for individuals who need to make sense of loss and deal with conflicting emotions.⁴⁸ At the 11M

Nu/Mourning.html#bhttp://www.omnibuswellness.org/uploads/articles_35_629468256.pdf, accessed 29.01.2015)

⁴³ D. W. Winnicott, 'Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena' (1951), in: D. W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality*, Routledge; New Edition, 1982

⁴⁴ Harriet F. Senie is director of museum studies and Professor of art history at City College and the CUNY Graduate Center. Her chief research areas are public art, memorials, memory and material culture, and the American landscape tradition. She is author of The '*Tilted Arc*' *Controversy: Dangerous Precedent?; Contemporary Public Sculpture*; and co-editor of *Critical Issues in Public Art*. She is the co-founder and co-director of the CAA-affiliate organization Public Art Dialogue and co-editor of its journal, also called *Public Art Dialogue*, published twice a year by Routledge.

⁴⁵ Harriet F. Senie, 'Mourning in Protest: Spontaneous Memorials and the Sacralization of Public Space', in: *Harvard Design Magazine*, Constructions of Memory, Fall 1999, Number 9, pp. 23-27

⁴⁶ For example, this was the case with a wooden cross originally situated on the western part of Berlin Wall commemorating the death of Peter Fechter. After the fall of the wall it became an obstacle for the city development and was thus removed for 'later integration into a memorial for all victims.' In Polly Feversham, Leo Schmidt, *Die Berliner Mauer heute: Denkmalwert und Umgang/ The Berlin Wall Today: Cultural Significance and Conservation Issues*, Verlag für Bauwesen HUSS-MEDIEN GmbH, Berlin 1999, p. 146

⁴⁷ Anna Peterson, 'The Production of a Memorial Place: Materialising Expressions of Grief', in: *Deathscapes: Places of Death, Dying, Mourning and Remembrance*, Avril Maddrell, James D. Sidaway (Eds.), Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010, pp. 141-161

⁴⁸ A person dealing with trauma can experience emotions of anger and abandonment which need to be acknowledged and overcome by development of new relationships with objects and people. Environments can help in a transition from anger to acceptance. In Nicholas Watkins,

memorial in Madrid, one of the case studies that will be discussed later, material offerings that initially were expression of a spontaneous mourning, continued to be added to the memorial even after this possibility was excluded from the design. At the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C., on the other hand, a common scene at the memorial is that of people tracing names with a piece of paper or they even caress the surface of the reflective granite walls and thereby touch the names, leaving flowers and other objects. This is also true for many WWI memorials where one can often see a poppy attached to a particular name. The matter of appropriation comes again to the fore since people perceive the memorial as their own while the names of the dead become both of private and of national concern.⁴⁹ The sensory features of the memorial, for example, provide for the Vietnam Veterans the necessary environment for facilitating the process of mourning through presentation, confrontation and recognition of losses.⁵⁰

3.2. Death and architecture

'Death is the shrine of nothingness and at the same time the shelter of being.'
Martin Heidegger⁵¹

It is due to the primitive fear of the dead and of the gods from the ancient times that memorial art and architecture, its development in general, became inevitable point of interest for architectural historians since 'architecture in western Europe begins with a tomb.'⁵² A place where deceased continued to live, the tomb, was the last house of the soul and usually more permanent than the house of the living. A poet Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949) attested to this, as he argued:

*'the figure of death, in the imagination of men, depends before all upon the form of burial; and the funeral rites govern not only the fate of those who depart, but also the happiness of those who stay, for they raise in the very background of life the great image upon which their eyes linger in consolation or despair.'*⁵³

'Mirror, Mirror on the Wall: Ambiguous Place Attachment and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial', in: *Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Conference of the Environmental Design Research Association*. Oklahoma City, OK: EDRA 38-2007: Building Sustainable Communities, 2007, pp. 46-50

⁴⁹ Griswold, op. cit., p. 709

⁵⁰ Watkins et al., op. cit, p. 364

⁵¹ Françoise Dastur in her book *Death: Essays on Finitude*, (translated by John Llewelyn, The Athlone Press, 1996, p.5) argues that Heidegger saw a man as a mortal who looks in the direction of the divine, since the gods realize themselves in the opposition to mortals, in reference to Heraclitus saying: 'Immortals are mortal, mortals are immortal: [each] lives the death of the other and dies their life.'

⁵² Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the Afterlife*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1991, p. 1

⁵³ Maurice Maeterlinck, *Death*, translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, New York, DODD, Mead & Company, January 1912

In fact we learn about the archaic architecture and life via funeral structures, cities of the dead and temples for funeral rites that were normally built in stone in order to endure for eternity.⁵⁴ The interment took many forms in the course of human existence,⁵⁵ but entombment was of the most influence on the architecture and the space of the living, demonstrating the urge to ‘bury the dead not only to separate them from ourselves, but to humanize the ground on which we build.’⁵⁶ Hence the funerary ritual and space were of essential significance. In order to provide a prospect for the departed in the afterlife, houses for the dead in ancient civilizations were tangible realms in which art and architectural space opted for ‘deep structure’ where funeral ceremonies would be performed to secure that the soul of the deceased was not tormented, but instead content for eternity. Thus, commemorative ceremonies were primarily performed to ensure that the soul of the deceased is not suffering and has passed to the other world in peace.⁵⁷ The Egyptian tomb reflected life of the deceased with all its aspects so that he could continue to live comfortably in the afterlife while replicas of the figural body enabled his Kā to travel from one world to another through the gate which divided the two worlds, accessible only for the mysterious Kā and not to the living. Representations of the deceased were always prospective, ensuring the well-being of the deceased in his new life while providing his tomb much needed security from possible theft which was considered a disaster for Ancient Egypt.⁵⁸ For this reason many stunning designs, such as complex labyrinths, which inspired designers of cemeteries in the 18th and 19th century, were intended to secure the tomb from potential robberies. This is possibly one of the reasons why the prehistoric tomb, tumulus, often had no outer appearance except for one entrance to the mound. Because of this practicality, it was perceived as a ‘capsule of the primitive culture for the dead man to take

⁵⁴ William McDonald argued that ‘circularity in architecture derives in no small part from the tomb.’ William MacDonald, *The Pantheon, Design. Meaning and Progeny*, London: Allen Lane 1976, p. 44

⁵⁵ William Crooke has made the following classification of funerary rites: 1. cannibalism, 2. dolmens and other stone monuments, 3. exposure to wild animals and birds of prey, 4. burial under piles of stone, 5. in a cave, 6. in a house, 7. immersion in water, 8. in a tree, 9. on a platform, 10. In an urn, 11. In a contracted position, 12. In a niche, 13. conceal burial, eliminating any external mark; quoted in Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983, p.5

⁵⁶ Keith Eggener, *Cemeteries*, W.W. Norton & Company, 2010, p. 10

⁵⁷ Nauma Denis Fustel De Coulanges, *The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome*, Batoche Books: Kitchener, 2001, p. 11

The ancient sarcophagus reproduces, in stone, the transitory shape of a house or palace; although it is also possible that the relationship between house and tomb-the model and its image-is the other way around, and that the houses of the living might have been built in accordance with the model established for tombs-or for the ordinary tomb of the founder-perhaps in order to have dwellings for eternity or homes worthy of kings, of immortal beings. (Gili, p 25)

⁵⁸ James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the buildings, monuments and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1980, p. 6

with him to the after-life.⁵⁹ Architectural historian James S. Curl⁶⁰ argued that the funerary structures of early civilizations had similar solutions for designs of these permanent resting places that were intended for celebration of death. Rather than pointing to direct links between different parts of Europe, it appears that ancient cultures



Figure 3.7

produced similar answers to questions of housing, commemoration and the protection of the dead in regard to 'a formal arrangement of elements about a central space; a degree of protection; the covering of a structure with a mound of earth; and the degree of sophistication.'⁶¹ Referring to the architecture of the symmetrically arranged tomb at Maeshowe, a Neolithic masterpiece⁶² on Orkney, Curl concluded that there is no 'hint of the trivial, no mawkish sentimentality'⁶³ in great funerary architecture, but instead that it is a 'completeness, a balance, a stillness, and an ineffable perfection'⁶⁴ that characterizes such designs (Fig. 3.7).

Certainly, many were inspired by these remarkable structures and the mysterious aura that surrounds them, pressing for answers about their purpose and ways of construction that the contemporary archeological research tries to decipher. Recent archeological discoveries indicate the importance of the two solstice axes along which the structure of the Stonehenge was aligned, but for John Claudius Loudon⁶⁵ (1783-1843)

⁵⁹ Colvin, op. cit., p. 15

⁶⁰ Professor Emeritus James Stevens Curl has held Chairs in Architectural History at two Universities. He is currently Visiting Professor at the Faculty of Art, Design, and the Built Environment, University of Ulster. He read for his Doctorate at University College London, and in 1991-2 and 2002 was Visiting Fellow at Peterhouse, University of Cambridge. Some of his many books include *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (2000), *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the buildings, monuments and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition* (1980), *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (1972).

⁶¹ Curl, 1980, op. cit., p. 12

⁶² As described on the UNESCO World Heritage site (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/514>, accessed 10.11.2012); Together with the Ring of Brodgar, Skara Brae, the Standing Stones of Stenness and other unexcavated sites, the Heart of Neolithic Orkney is from 1999 listed as a UNESCO world heritage site in recognition of its cultural heritage and significance. For three weeks, before and after winter solstice, sunlight streams into the dark passageway of Maeshowe leading to the main chamber.

⁶³ Curl, 1980, Op. cit., p. 15

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ John Claudius Loudon was a Scottish botanist, garden designer and cemetery designer, author and editor of the garden magazine 'The Gardeners Magazine and register of funeral & domestic improvement', Longman, London 1826-1843/45). Next to his prolific writings and designs on agriculture and city planning, Loudon had a significant influence on the designs of cemeteries and himself designed three cemeteries (Bath Abbey Cemetery, Histon Road Cemetery, Cambridge, and Southampton Old Cemetery where the design was rejected). Loudon argued for public improvements to be undertaken in a democratic way and in reasonable

Stonehenge was ‘a primeval temple of philosophy, of religion, of devotion, or of instruction’⁶⁶ and for Henry Moore who first saw Stonehenge in 1921, in a full moonlight, it was the aura of mystery, intense experience of ‘deep structure’ that provided him with the inspiration recognizable through his whole oeuvre.⁶⁷ While unmistakably modern works such as a public sculpture *Eulogy to the Horizon* (1989) in Gijón by the ‘architect of emptiness’⁶⁸ Eduardo Chillida, can be reminiscent of the ancient realm of mystery that makes one palpitate in the face of inexorable power of nature and inevitable fact of life – death (Fig. 3.8).



Figure 3.8

In the similar vein, American architect John Russel Pope, like numerous others, drew his inspiration directly from the antiquity in order to create ‘forms that inspired the viewer to contemplate death.’⁶⁹

Paul Binski⁷⁰ has argued that the tombs of the medieval age were pivotal since they were both about bodies and about the

afterlife, but most importantly they were incentives for memory and action. By the late 13th century the notion of Purgatory gained prominence causing dialectical relationship with memorials as representatives of the dead ‘to offer to the living remission from their time in Purgatory, in exchange for the prayers for the dead.’⁷¹ Memorials were perceived as stabile and permanent entities and at the same time accessible as part of this transactional system between the dead and the living. The belief in afterlife started diminishing since the 18th century and the Enlightenment, but the eagerness to memorialize the dead,

manner aiming to create a cemetery as a space where the classes could mingle easily and where one could learn about society values. Loudon's style of ‘Gardenesque,’ became the dominant influence on Victorian taste in gardens. The epitome of his approach is the concept of the arboretum—a place where trees and shrubs are cultivated for the purpose of observation and study—exemplified by his most important work, the Derby Arboretum (1839–41).

⁶⁶ Priscilla Boniface (Ed.), *Search of English Gardens: The Travels of John Claudius Loudon and his Wife Jane*, Lennard Publishing 1987, p. 154

⁶⁷ ‘As it was a clear evening I got to Stonehenge and saw it by moonlight...I was alone and terribly impressed. Moonlight, as you know, enlarges everything, and the mysterious depths and distance made it seem enormous. I went again next morning, it was still very impressive, but that first moonlight visit remained for ideas my idea of Stonehenge.’ Henry Moore quoted in A.G. Wilkinson, *Henry Moore Remembered: The Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto*, exh. Cat., 1987, p. 49

⁶⁸ Markus Müller, ‘Eduardo Chillida. The Architect of Emptiness’, *Eduardo Chillida*, The University of Chicago Press, 2011

⁶⁹ Steven McLeod Bedford, *John Russell Pope Architect of Empire*, Rizzoli New York, First Edition (July 15, 1998), p. 206

⁷⁰ Paul Binski is Professor of the History of Medieval Art, specialized in the art and architecture of Western Europe in the Gothic period in England especially. Some of his works include **Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290-1350* (2014), *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. (1996) and *Age of Chivalry, Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*. Ed. with J.J.G. Alexander (1987).

⁷¹ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London: British Museum Press, 1996, p. 71

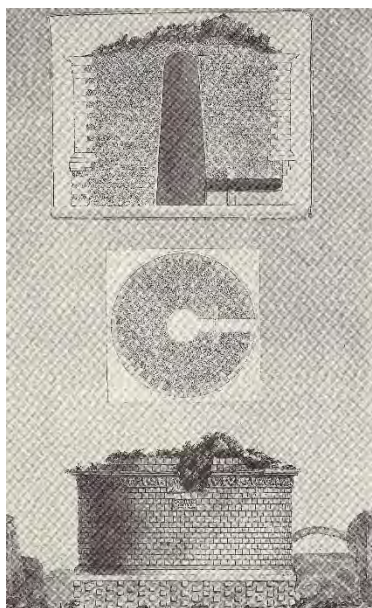


Figure 3.9

as we have seen, persisted or grew even stronger as the contemplation about death moved away from the traditional ritual into the individual space. In most religions, the grave represents ‘an antechamber between this world and the next, a place of passage.’⁷² In the 18th century the meaning of death was changing, well-illustrated by the New England headstones and their gradual transformation from a face of a ‘winged death’ into a ‘winged angel’s head’.⁷³ Particularly with the excavation of ancient Egypt and Roman sites, representations of death were modelled accordingly. Architects were preoccupied with the return to the origins and therefore looked back to ancient monuments and memorials which directly influenced their designs for funerary architecture, significantly proliferating at the times. Since architecture was believed to be able to express emotions such as gaiety, majesty and sadness,⁷⁴ a mausoleum gained prominent focus in the 18th century as an ideal subject for ‘the untrammled exercise of the imaginations since the dead do not need light and air.’⁷⁵ Some designers even argued to enliven public spaces by placing the tombs of the great man, as moral exemplars, in the streets.⁷⁶ Particularly persistent in his fascination with ancient tombs, death and melancholy was British architect Sir John Soane who observed those as source for his own architectural experiments and work, well demonstrated in the architect’s house in Lincoln’s Inn Fields (1812-1813) in London which is considered to be an early forerunner of an architectural museum and

⁷² Ragon, op. cit., p.19

⁷³ As Ariès explained that in America the winged cherub had ‘a flavor and intensity all its own; people had not forgotten that it represented the immortal soul. This explains why in eighteen century New England, where the meaning of death was changing, and the Puritans were belatedly ceasing to cultivate the fear of death, the winged death’s-head was transformed into a winged angel’s head by an almost cinematic process in which the face gradually became fuller and gentler.’ In Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, translated by Helen Weaver, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1981, p. 340

⁷⁴ David Watkin, ‘Monuments and Mausolea in the Age of Enlightenment’, in: Giles Waterfield (Ed.), *Soane and Death: The Tombs and Monuments of Sir John Soane*, Dulwich Picture Gallery, exhibition catalogue, 1996, pp. 9-25.

⁷⁵ Op. cit., p. 10

⁷⁶ Joseph Girard proposed such ideas in his design for the competition for the regulations in the funerary ceremonies in the year IX (1800), J, Girard, Des Tombeaux, in: Ragon, op. cit., p. 239

the ‘most telling memorial embodying in miniature much of his (Soane’s) architectural philosophy’⁷⁷ (Fig. 3.9).

The embodiment of the ideas of the Enlightenment is demonstrated in the work of Etienne-Louis Boullée who moved behind the figurative character of the monument toward symbolic design which imitated principles of nature in order to become morally binding. With the Cenotaph to Sir Isaac Newton (1784), Boullée strived to create an architectural monument that would convey memory of Newton as the very essence of the Enlightenment (Fig. 3.10). A way to achieve this was elaborated in Edmund Burke’s 1757 essay⁷⁸ about the sublime which is in architecture preconditioned by great dimensions and infinity as an inherent attribute achieved by the *artificial infinite*.⁷⁹ As Burke has argued, *artificial infinite* is constituted of two parts: succession and uniformity of parts. Succession is requisite that the parts in question may be continued in such a way that they influence the imagination with an idea of their progress beyond their actual limits, as the way columns are arranged in ancient temples. Uniformity of the participating parts is necessary in order to continue the progression of the succession and in that way create an effect of infinity which is again, source of a feeling of the sublime.⁸⁰ Boullée’s appropriation of the *artificial infinite* is displayed in the monument for Newton through the immense spherical surface and one fixed central point in the whole design - Newton’s sarcophagus. A spectator who would stand at the ‘center of gravity’, represented by the tomb, would see an uninterrupted vast surface of the circular dome with neither beginning nor end and would feel obliged to remain in the center next to the tomb as the sole material object until the moment of epiphany is achieved and spectator becomes one with Nature and the Tomb, together representing the sublimity of the genius.⁸¹ Etlin pointed out that The Cenotaph to Newton as a memorial represented both a temple to Nature and a tool for experiencing the sublime⁸² (Fig. 3.11). Determined to achieve the sublime in architecture Boullée, together with Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Jean-Jacques Lequeu, pioneered a radical symbiosis of classical compositional language and the idea of the sublime. The most popular forms were pyramids, obelisks and spheres. Amongst numerous

⁷⁷ Adolf K. Placzek (Ed.), *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, Collier Macmillan Publishers London, 1982, p. 99

⁷⁸ Edmund Burke’s essay ‘A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideal of the Sublime and Beautiful’ was first published anonymously on 21st April 1757 by R. and J. Dodsley, London who issued a new addition every third year for thirty years, amounting to about 7000 copies during Burke’s lifetime. In: Paul Langford, T. O. McLoughlin and James T. Boulton (Eds.), *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke: Volume I: The Early Writings*, Oxford University Press: New York, 1997, p. 185

⁷⁹ Richard A. Etlin, ‘Architecture and the Sublime’, in: Timothy M. Costelloe (Ed.), *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 230-274

⁸⁰ Edmund Burke, ‘A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful’, in: Langford et. all., op. cit., pp. 185-321

⁸¹ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, The University of Chicago Press, 1994, p.122

⁸² Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, The MIT Press, 1984, p. 136

designs for various public buildings, funerary monuments and cenotaphs occupied a significant place since these represented temples of death intended for perpetuation of memory, true representatives of Poetry of architecture.⁸³



Figure 3.10



Figure 3.11

Destitute from mundane activities, spaces of death are spaces of absence, a constituent part of so called 'deep structure' which Richard Etlin⁸⁴ explained as primal space of 'particularly intense experiences in which sentience, the feeling of vital life, takes on a particularly intense coloring of life.'⁸⁵ Understanding this inspiration with the primordial and ancient expressions in the realm of death and afterlife, Etlin made an effort to categorize architectural responses to symbolic space for commemoration of absence of the dead person within eight types: *Temple-Like Enclosures*, *The Descent into the Earth*, *The Gaping Tomb*, *The Impenetrable Mass*, *Staircase to Heaven*, *Matter into Spirit*, *The Hovering Roof* and *The Architecture of Shadows*.⁸⁶ For Etlin, these spaces are paradoxical places of absence for they are 'neither of this world nor of the next.'⁸⁷ The last category Etlin entitled *Architecture of Shadows*, is the embodiment of 'space of absence.' This particular type originates from Boullée's eagerness to represent uncanny feeling inspired by shadows and silhouettes of nature that he sought to recreate in a precise manner into architecture. If applied in architecture, Boullée believed, shadows

⁸³ Etienne-Louis Boullée, 'Architecture, Essay on Art' in: Helen Rosenau (Ed.), *Boullée & Visionary Architecture*, trans. Sheila de Vallée, Academy Editions: London/Harmony Books: New York, 1974, pp. 81-116, p. 105

⁸⁴ Architectural historian Richard A. Etlin is Professor emeritus at the University of Maryland. His works include *In Defense of Humanism: Value in the Arts and Letters* (1996), *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy* (1996) and *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier: The Romantic Legacy* (1997).

⁸⁵ Etlin, 1994, op. cit., p. xx; Etlin makes a distinction between three different types of symbolic spaces as codes of order humans use to organize their world: The primal, experiential space of 'deep structure'; the hierarchically organized space according to social codes; and the multiple, simultaneous layering of meaning given to a particular space.

⁸⁶ Op. cit., p. 172

⁸⁷ Op. cit., p. 173; Etlin argued that space of absence derives from the spiritual outlook of the Enlightenment when empty spaces were designed and dedicated to specific abstract concepts so that by entering those spaces, man could commune with higher ideals.

created by volumes placed against the light, reproduce these volumes.⁸⁸ In order to translate the melancholia dominating natural end of life into funerary architecture, Boullée developed principles of architecture of shadows, buried architecture and naked architecture, three principles that together constituted so called ‘new genre in architecture.’⁸⁹

Never realized, these projects served as inspirational guidelines for future designers as for instance Henry Latrobe whose starkly abstract rows of cenotaphs, realized in 1816 in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D. C., provoked Congressman George F. Hoar of Massachusetts to proclaim that ‘the thought of being buried beneath one of those atrocities brought new terror to death’⁹⁰ (Fig. 3.12).



Figure 3.12

Fascination with the realm of death continued to occupy a prominent place among architects who explored the dialectic relationship between permanency of architecture and death. Before WWI Adolf Loos, in an attempt to make a clear distinction between utilitarian and non-utilitarian forms, declared that ‘only a very small part of architecture belongs to art: the Tomb and the Monument.’⁹¹ This often quoted statement only testifies to the idea that designing for issues concerning dying and death remains a source of inspiration for architects. The Greek word ‘*sema*’ or sign indicates not only a grave monument of a deceased person, but also a sign of the deceased that stays after him and continues to live in the world of the living, referring to his

⁸⁸ Boullée, op. cit., p. 106

⁸⁹ Richard A. Etlin, ‘In the Face of Death: Calming the Mind, Mining the Soul’, in: Claudia Denk and John Ziesemer (Eds.), *Der bürgerliche Tod - Urban Burial Culture from the Enlightenment to the early 20th century*, International Council on Monuments and Sites- ICOMOS, Journals of the German National Committee XLIV (Internationale Fachtagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Bayerischen Nationalmuseum, München 11.-13. November 2005), p. 40

⁹⁰ Keith Eggener, *Cemeteries*, W.W. Norton & Company, 2010, p. 129

⁹¹ Adolf Loos quoted in: Colin St. John Wilson, *Architectural Reflections: Studies in Philosophy and Practice of Architecture*, Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd.: Oxford, 1992, p. 57. Loos’ statement was recorded as following: ‘The work of art is brought into the world without there being any need for it. The house on the other hand satisfies a need...Only a very small part of architecture belongs to art: the Tomb and the Monument. The rest, everything that serves an end, should be excluded from the realm of art.’ Ibid

memory and, possibly, his remains. The word used for the burial space itself, as a space that belongs only to the dead was *'kapetos'* which refers to 'trench'.⁹² Conversely, a grave monument or *sema* were the only part of the grave design that also belonged to the living. The analogy between space of a grave and that of a trench inspired many, and still appears as a recurrent theme in memorial designs as was the case with Frank Lloyd Wright who in search for a noble effect envisioned 'the compromise between the grave and the mausoleum.'⁹³ Wright demonstrated this search in his design for 'Blue Sky Mausoleum' (1928). Similarly, Adolf Loos argued that architecture, next to being functional, must be recognizable as well in order to be a genuine expression, like a tomb always is.⁹⁴ To be sure, the representation of death was significantly influenced by the carnage of the two world wars, as demonstrated in the painting *War Triptych* (1932) by Otto Dix (1891-1969) (*Fig. 3.13*).



Figure 3.13

Unlike the medieval triptych religious altarpieces⁹⁵ that display the highest ideals of Christianity and the ultimate sacrificial act of Christ for the salvation of the mankind, Dix's triptych illustrates the outmost destruction of man and the futility of war. Buried in the ground, the soldier rests below all the carnage

⁹² This word is used in Iliad 24.797 in: Christiane Sourvinou Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 122

⁹³ Frank Lloyd Wright quoted in Richard Etlin, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Etlin recognized Blue Sky Mausoleum as a *Staircase to heaven* type of symbolic space and suggested that this composition is a cross between two types of symbolic spaces: 'staircase-within-the-mass-of-the-monument' typified by Giuseppe Terragni's Saffatti memorial and 'staircase-to-the-monument' type exemplified in Terragni's WWI memorial in Erba Incino.

⁹⁴ Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos: theory and works*, Idea Books Edizioni, 1982, p. 93

⁹⁵ See: Daniel P. DeGreve, 'Retro Tablum: The Origins and Role of the Altarpiece in the Liturgy', in: *Sacred Architecture: Journal of the Institute for Sacred Architecture*, Issue 17, 2010, pp. 12-18

and absurdity of warfare without any promise of salvation. Direct connection with the ground proved to be a popular theme in memorial design as well. For example, this is clearly displayed in the visualization of soldiers marching into the ground in the Ulrich Böhme and Wulf Schneider competition entry for the 1982 Hamburg counter-memorial to the Richard Kuhöl's 76th Infantry Regiment Memorial (1936) (Fig. 3.14). In their proposed design, which was rejected as too literal solution, marching soldiers gradually disappeared in the ground as an antithesis to Kuhöl's symbolization of Nazi power. Michalski argued that such designs represented a particular tendency in which 'metonymy replaced metaphor and allegory as the chief artistic instrument of progressive war memorials.'⁹⁶

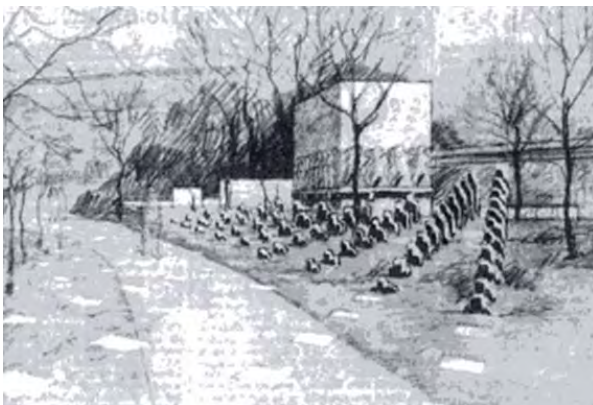


Figure 3.14

Descent into the earth is commonly associated with the realm of the dead or 'unseen' of the Hades. A passage from the world of the living to the world of the dead is often represented as a symbolic facade, a labyrinth, a staircase or a ladder and similar concepts among which are the 'space of fire' and the 'space of water' as privileged spaces of 'crossing' in particular cultures.⁹⁷ The symbolism of the facade of the 'other' world can be compared to the one of the theater backdrop as 'both hell and theater are worlds peopled by shadows, phantoms and illusions-akin to those of the houses of living, yet which gives onto chambers that are dark and bare.'⁹⁸ For the soldiers symbolically marching into the ground, earth becomes a 'facade' of the arid space of death, destitute of any further meaning. By ignoring the absence and the strong human need to contemplate its ineluctable existence, the form turns into absence itself, hence its own subject. From this perspective, architectural representation resonates with the argument that modern art introduced nothingness as its subject and 'forgot about the wound and concentrated on the knife.'⁹⁹ Accordingly, there are strong critiques about contemporary

⁹⁶ Michalski, 1998, op. cit., p. 82

⁹⁷ See: Ragon 'The Spaces of Crossing', op. cit., pp. 65-71

⁹⁸ Pedro Azara, 'The House and the Dead: On Modern Tombs', in: Mónica Gili (Ed.), *The Last House*, Editorial Gustavo Gili, SA, Barcelona, 1999, pp. 24-39, p.26

⁹⁹ Paul Virilio, *Art and Fear*, (transl. Julie Rose), London: Continuum, 2003, p. 16

funeral architecture reflecting the language of far distant examples without considering the contemporary context, as one critique pointed out: ‘the modern tomb art reflects the absence of the being and not the presence of the non-being.’¹⁰⁰ For Loos, however, a tomb and a monument were abstract symbols that represented ‘irreducible architectural form’,¹⁰¹ exemplified in his own cubic tombstone (1931) (Fig. 3.15). In the similar logic, a space of a mausoleum, released from functional obligations, is a space of memory, a podium for intimate artistic expression. Loos explored this potential in his design for a mausoleum for Max Dvorák (1921), imagined in black Swedish granite giving an impression of a well-grounded, heavy cube topped with three levels that formed a stepped pyramid while the interior was supposed to be decorated by Oskar Kokoschka’s frescoes (Fig. 3.16). The outside appearance and the simplicity of its form reflected the notion of death as a heavy and introvert subject, confined within the walls of its primitive construct. It would have been only in the interior of the mausoleum that the space becomes holding environment for the intimate feelings as Kokoschka’s art was invited to ‘depict the emotion aroused by the commemoration inside the tomb’¹⁰² and thereby the private experience of the artist as portrayed in his art would become ‘a design for an unconscious archetype in which personal memory is blended with the collective one.’¹⁰³

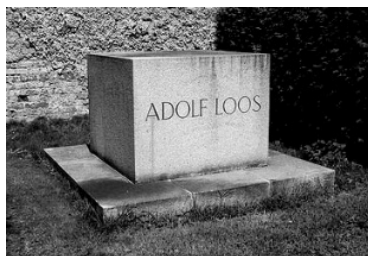


Figure 3.15

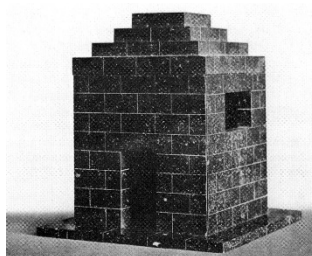


Figure 3.16

This brings us to the question of etymology of the word architecture which suggests a contradictory but inevitable relation between stone and life.¹⁰⁴ At first glance these two terms designate opposite notions since the task of architecture and therefore the task of an architect is opposed to death which is associated with the coldness of stone, darkness and the invisible. The task of an architect, in a traditional sense, has always been to have the light of the lighted torch, the Homeric metaphor for life, shine as long as possible and to

¹⁰⁰ Azara, op. cit., p. 35

¹⁰¹ Panayotic Tournikiotis, *Adolf Loos*, Princeton Architectural Press, 2002, p. 21. See also: Burkhardt Rukschcio, Roland Schachel (Eds.), *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*, Residenz Verlag: Salzburg und Wien, 1982.

¹⁰² Gravagnuolo, op. cit., p. 170

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ ‘Architecture’ is a word constructed from two Greek nouns: *arche* and *tecrites* that imply that architectural creation was developed and continued to exist in the world due to the architect who ‘gave birth to them, and because he provided them with the material conditions so that life might evolve and endure.’ In: Azara, op. cit., p. 27

create spaces ‘that try to prevent man, overtaken by night and oblivion, from fading away and disappearing forever.’¹⁰⁵ By using permanent materials such as stone, the architect gave enduring life to houses for the dead in the variety of their forms, from pyramids to necropolises - cities of the dead. However, what Loos had pointed out through difference between art and architecture, is that the latter has to provide comfortable and utilitarian space for people while art, on the other hand, is meant to discomfort us without having a clear purpose or utility.¹⁰⁶ This tension between utility and function recalls the words of French architect César Daly¹⁰⁷ (1811-1894) who in 1871 argued that ‘in the view of the useful but over exclusive preoccupations of modern rationalism, (that) the engineer, as a builder and scientist, may compete with the architect, as builder and poet, where a factory or any other purely utilitarian building is concerned, but never for a tomb.’¹⁰⁸ Thus, funerary art and architecture as the realm reserved for architecture as art, spaces of absence, transition and elevation of the spirits but also of memory. Notwithstanding, funeral art and architecture are highly utilitarian and particularly so in terms of their purpose in cemeteries and crematoria but also as free standing memorials. With some of the first cemeteries as places providing room for contemplation of death,¹⁰⁹ architecture was perceived as an additional effort for making the idea of visiting cemeteries appealing.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Op. cit., p. 28

¹⁰⁶ Loos argued that ‘A building should please everyone, unlike a work of art, which does not have to please anyone. A work of art is a private matter for the artist, a building is not. A work of art is brought into the world without there being a need for it, a building meets a need. A work of art has no responsibility to anyone, a building to everyone. The aim of a work of art is to make us feel uncomfortable, a building is there for our comfort. A work of art is revolutionary, a building conservative. A work of art is concerned with the future and directs us along new paths, a building is concerned with the present. We love anything that adds to our comfort, we hate anything that tries to pester us into abandoning our secure and established position. We love buildings and hate art. So the building has nothing to do with art and architecture is not one of the arts? That is so.’ Adolf Loos, ‘Architecture’, 1910, in: Adolf Loos, *On Architecture*, selected and introduced by Adolf and Daniel Opel, translated by Michael Mitchell, Ariadne Press, 2002, pp. 73-85, pp. 82/83

¹⁰⁷ César Daly was France’s leading architectural journalist and editor. He directed the ‘Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics’ (1840-1888/1890), which was France’s first illustrated architectural magazine and the weekly ‘La semaine des constructeurs’ (1876-1897). His multivolume pattern book of domestic architecture ‘L’architecture privée au XIX^{me} siècle’ (1877) was extremely influential aboard. As a social reformer Daly was an admirer of François Marie Charles Fourier (1772-1837).

¹⁰⁸ César Daly, *Architecture funéraire contemporaine*, Paris 1871 quoted in Ragon, Op. cit., p. 237

¹⁰⁹ Hilltops were popular for placing cemeteries since they offered sort of protection and were closer to heavens, while in Chinese fengshui philosophy cemeteries on the hillsides overlooking water ‘provided spirits with pleasing views of nature and the village life.’ In: Eggenger, op. cit., p. 12

¹¹⁰ Relocation of church cemeteries from city center of Paris to the periphery in the early 19th century was initiated due to the necessity of public sanitation and it had its role model in the separation of the dead and the living that was respected in the ancient world. This opened questions of the design future cemeteries should have. Ariès wrote about three types of designs that were proposed between 1770s and 1780s: a visionary centralized type with a clear hierarchy (topography of a cemetery as representation of the society as a whole), a cemetery as a place that attracts visitors with galleries for illustrious citizens but also common graveyards for

3.3 Cemeteries – landscapes of memory

'His soul swooned slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead.'
James Joyce¹¹¹

'When I look through the window of my memories, I see nothing but tombstones.'
Solomon J. Salat¹¹²

Cemeteries are symbolic representations of a culture they originate from. In their sanctity, cemeteries have a significant power in marking a specific place and can therefore play a role in territorial claims, constructions of identity, patriotic vestiges and so forth. With its mausoleums for the rich, simple tombs, diverse monuments but also religious and racial ghettos,¹¹³ a cemetery mirrors social structure of a city ever since the novel idea of an individual tomb as a private property for perpetuity became popular and the space of the cemetery became secularized and secluded from the space of the living.¹¹⁴ These spaces are also memorials, especially if they are on actual places where death occurred or if they are cemeteries that reached their capacity in accommodating the dead. This is the case with probably the single known example of cemeterial 'Enlightenment building', the Cimitero di Santa Maria del Popolo (1762), known as '366 fosse' or 'of the 366 graves' for the burial of the poor in Naples¹¹⁵ (Fig. 3.17).

the poor with lavish greenery and finally, the third proposal, accentuated cemetery as a museum of tombs of great men. In: Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, translated from the French by Helen Weaver, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. (1st American Edition), 1981, pp. 500-504.

¹¹¹ James Joyce, *Dubliners*, The O'Brien Press, (1914) 2012, p. 265

¹¹² Solomon J. Salat, Poland (Excerpt from the individual testimony in Normandy American Cemetery Visitor Center, 2012)

¹¹³ American cemeteries had the separation of blacks and whites and in the most of the Southern states by the end of the nineteenth century a legislation was passed according to which color line was enforced at the grave; in Kenneth T. Jackson & Camilo José Vergara, *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery*, Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 1989, p. 6

¹¹⁴ *Coemeterium* is a word with Greek origin, but started being used in Christian Latin very late since the notion of a distinct space for burials did not exist until first cemeteries appeared in towns in the second and the third century A.D.; Philippe Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, translated by Janet Lloyd, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1985

¹¹⁵ The '366 fosse' marks the beginning of the infrastructural development of the Poggioreale cemeterial complex and was built by architect Ferdinando Fuga, under the regency of Ferdinand IV. Fuga also designed the *Albergo dei Poveri*, for whose tenants this square court cemeterial building was intended for. The entrance with a skull and crossbones in the tympanum has a plaque in Latin stating: 'The just and liberal king Ferdinand IV, of the kingdom of the two Sicilies built this common cemetery divided into individual cells for his beloved populace, in order to avoid the congestion of cadavers and their odors from harming his people, and to provide proper burial.' The cemetery functioned from 1762 till 1890.

See: Mauro Felicori, Annalisa Zannoti (Eds.), *Cemeteries of Europe: A Historical Heritage to Appreciate and Restore*, SCENE Project-Compositori Industrie Grafiche Bologna, 2004, pp. 109-114;



Figure 3.17

The composition is a square court whose sides, each running for 80 meters, enclose 19 rows of 19 pits, 366 in total for each day in a year. The dead of each day were thrown into the appropriate pit which would afterwards be sealed for one year, time needed for a body to decompose. The pit number 366 was used once each four years, which proved handy in cases of natural disasters or other calamities. The moment of throwing bodies into the pits was apparently very popular for social gatherings as the sound of the body landing into the deep space, over previous human remains, was a cause for placing bets and it was only in 1875 that the mechanism for slow lowering of the bodies was introduced, parts of which are still present on the site as a monument to human empathy.¹¹⁶ Originally conceived as the idea of Camposanto Nuovo for Naples, this cemetery is today a memorial with nature taking its part within cemetery's enclosing walls. The atmosphere of decay due to its long forgotten space is very different in a possible architectural precedent - Il Campo Santo di Pisa,¹¹⁷ which remains a 'holy ground' due to its connection with the surrounding mountain landscape and space of the city.

Operating cemeteries, on the other hand, are utilitarian memorials or memorials in the making, the most certain witnesses of nature and change it embodies. As the 19th century progressed, cemeteries which were mostly gloomy collections of *memento mori*, moved away from the crowded city centers and churchyards to reasonable distances from the cities where they were established as spaces with pleasing landscapes, so called Elysiums, both for the dead and for the living.¹¹⁸ As a result of a cemetery reform in Paris a

¹¹⁶ It is said that in 1875, an English baroness who during her stay in Naples has lost her daughter due to the outbreak of cholera, ordered a mechanism to lower the body slowly down into the pit. The International Archeological Society (IAS), Naples, Publications: Jorge Silva, 'Historical Burial Places of Naples', Saturday 18. September 2010, (<http://www.iasnaples.org/cms/publications/articles/49-historic-burial-places-of-naples.html> accessed 20.05.2013)

¹¹⁷ 'Campo Santo' can be literally translated as 'holy field', because it is said to have been built around a shipload of sacred soil from Golgotha, brought back to Pisa from the Fourth Crusade by Ubaldo de' Lanfranchi, archbishop of Pisa in the 12th century. A legend claims that this 'holy' earth consumed interred bodies within a few days. The building was the fourth and last one to be raised in the Cathedral Square. It dates from a century after the bringing of the soil from Golgotha, and was erected over the earlier burial ground. The construction of this huge, oblong Gothic cloister was begun in 1278 by the architect Giovanni di Simone. He died in 1284 when Pisa suffered a defeat in the naval battle of Meloria against the Genoans. The cemetery was only completed in 1464.

¹¹⁸ For reasons of public health and overcrowding, burial grounds began to be located outside of population centers. Some of the earliest examples, inspired by the Père Lachaise, are Glasgow Necropolis (1833), Kensal Green Cemetery (1833) and Highgate Cemetery (1838). These

first municipal cemetery that reflected changes in social attitude toward death was established - Père Lachaise.¹¹⁹ With the success of Père Lachaise,¹²⁰ many cemeteries followed suit. Sentiments attached to the relationship of the living and their dead at the beginning of the 19th century were colored by an affective attachment in which every individual had the right to pay proper tribute to their loved ones.¹²¹ The cemeteries were often considered to be a powerful deductive tools for rethinking social structures and ideals of equality, with tombs as historical records. For Loudon and his contemporaries the cemetery was the functional place of equality and democratic order which was readable in a geometric layout of the spatial plan, very well organized and appealing in its highly moral ideas about gaining knowledge by respecting the dead.¹²² Loudon's cemetery plans, for instance Southampton Cemetery, considered both the dead and the living, praised by his contemporaries for its beautiful nature effects and for improving the taste of the countryman in this respect.¹²³ Influenced by the English garden landscapes, cemeteries were

cemeteries spawned the 'Rural' Cemetery Movement, beginning in 1831 with Mount Auburn, Boston; Laurel Hill, Philadelphia (1836); Greenwood, N.Y. (1838); Lowell, Mass. (1841); Evergreen, Portland, Maine (1855); Forest Hill, Madison, Wisc. (1858); and countless others as the country and movement expanded.

¹¹⁹ Père Lachaise, initially called Cimetière de l'Est ("Cemetery of the East"), was inaugurated in 1804 and designed by Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart (1739-1813). In the beginning the cemetery was used for reburials from older cemeteries. It became popular after city officials used reburial of the remains of well known individuals. During the turbulent times of the Paris Commune, in May 1871 the cemetery was the place of a massacre in which 147 Communards were killed. A memorial to these victims is 'Mur des Fédérés' ('Communards' Wall') standing on the spot where the executions took place.

¹²⁰ Cemeteries that precede Père Lachaise were built in some of the colonial areas such as Park Street in Calcutta in 1767, but also the Islamic cemeteries which made great impact on Europeans.; in Thomas W. Laquer, 'Spaces of the Dead', *Ideas from the national humanities center*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2001, p. 1-16; Père Lachaise and its grand influence on cemeteries in the western culture, originally built in 1804 as a cemetery based on the principle of individual burial for perpetuity, has to do with several reasons among which is the humanization of death. Next to the decree of 23 Prairial, Year XII issue in Paris in 1804 which insisted on the principle of single burial, Ken Worpole recognizes five elements which influenced concept of Père Lachaise: break with the neo-classical tradition of landscape representation, second-growing influence of romantic ideas together with the urge to break free of the bound of religious conformity, third-influence of grand designs from India in the wake of imperial conquest, fourth-architectural gravitation towards the 'hut' culture of the Etruscians, finally-French revolution transformed both institutional and public life. Worpole argued that Père Lachaise is a 'triumph of symbolic integration: a synthesis of many different elements that were already in existence in some form elsewhere, but to date had not been brought together.' Ken Worpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West*, Reaktion Books, 2003, pp. 86-87

¹²¹ In an intention to create a secular model for funeral rituals, several principles were issued in 1801 by the French Institute, among which is the following statement: 'Every individual must be able to render to the spirits of his relatives appropriate tributes of his sorrow and regret. The sensitive person who survives a loving mother, a beloved wife, or a close friend must be able to find consolation for his grief in the respect that is paid to their remains.' In Ariès, Op. cit., p. 506

¹²² Peter Johnson, *The Changing Face of the Modern Cemetery: Loudon's Design for Life and Death*, Berfrois, June 8, 2012 (<http://www.berfrois.com/2012/06/foucault-and-the-cemetery/>), accessed 29.01.2015)

¹²³ The Southampton Cemetery Committee in the report from 1846 praised Loudon's choice of trees for the cemetery's arboretum. See: Melanie Louise Simo, *Loudon and the Landscape: From*

envisioned as romantic natural settings where people could find comfort and solace in commemorating their dead, as one contemporary explained:

*‘the delight with which we recollect the traces of their lives, blends itself insensibly with the emotions which the scenery excites; and the admiration which these recollections afford, seems to give a kind of sanctity to the place where they dwelt, and converts everything into beauty which appears to have been connected with them.’*¹²⁴

As cemeteries started to gesture gardens, they inherited commemorative potential assigned to these intermediate zones or liminal enclaves, as explored by poets and painters of the time.¹²⁵ The liminal aspect of the commemorative landscape denotes a place where we leave our quotidian activities and focus on more contemplative matters. In the logic of Enlightenment’s mnemonists, such settings contain mnemonic power, inscribed in their layout, vegetation, monuments and seasonal changes, as sort of codes that are intended to tell a certain narrative to visitors. Landscape as a mnemonic concept offers many possibilities for commemorative rites and some argue that the success of fine commemorations is dependent on the variety of the mnemonic codes employed in a given setting.¹²⁶ Cemeteries as landscapes contain recuperative potential which is further explored through the design, already elaborated by Quatremère de Quincy¹²⁷ (1755- 1849) in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (1788) who wrote on cemeteries as transitional designs that are rich in content as there are monuments, cypresses and yews, communal graves and tombs for people of merit, all serving a purpose to convey the ‘sacred melancholy’ of the place.¹²⁸

Country Seat to Metropolis 1783-1843, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1988, p. 288.

¹²⁴ Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, Edinburgh Printed for Bell & Bradfute, and Archd. Constable and Co.; 1811, pp. 24-5 quoted in: James Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the buildings, monuments and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1980, p. 260

¹²⁵ John Dixon Hunt, ‘Come into the Garden, Maud: Garden Art as a Privileged Mode of Commemoration and Identity’, in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, op. cit., pp. 9-24

¹²⁶ Op. cit., p. 22; Hunt argued that inscriptions in memorial landscapes are one of the most permanent features in landscape architectural commemoration, a sort of ‘prosopopeia’ – a term denoting the device whereby a poet calls upon an absent figure to speak. Nicolas Poussin painting ‘Et in Arcadia Ego’ serves as a famous example of this concept.

¹²⁷ Antoine Quatremère de Quincy was a leader of the French Académie under Napoleon; theorist and historian of 18th century French art; artistic biographer. He wrote several essays on architectural theories, winning a competition sponsored by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1785. Based on his belief that style and function were inseparable in architecture, Quatremère orchestrated the renovation of the Parisian church of St. Genevieve into the Panthéon, France’s national mausoleum. Quatremère’s theories epitomized the Académie’s stance of the Greco-Roman style as the only appropriate building type for architects. This would be challenged in succeeding generations by architectural historians such as Jean-Baptiste Lassus and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc.

¹²⁸ Quatremère elaborated on the idea of cemetery as ‘place where one sleeps’ by combining campo santo of Pisa and garden cemetery, eliminating monuments to vanity and somber images that belonged to the church and thereby creating a soothing environment for rest and eternity.

Nature and landscape were invested with ideas about eternity and death as a part of the natural cycle of life. This was particularly true in the American context where nature in cemeteries eventually became more important than memorials and monuments, unlike in Père Lachaise where the abundance of funeral art that accumulated over the years became the dominant mode of representation. American 'garden' or 'rural' cemeteries¹²⁹ such as Mount Auburn Cemetery in Massachusetts (1831), were inspirational cultural hubs, thriving public spaces where people interacted and learned about historical knowledge accumulated within cemetery borders as a 'place of repose' or a 'village of the quick and the silent, where the Nature throws an air of cheerfulness over the labors of Death.'¹³⁰ Instead of the somber atmosphere that characterized burial grounds as part of the churchyards in the cities, cemeteries developed into elegiac landscapes elaborated in a great body of literature containing rules and regulations, suggestions and various examples of monuments intended to enhance the design of beautiful landscapes in which the significance of the first impression was supposed to be 'so pleasing that visitors will wish to be buried therein.'¹³¹

Cemeteries became places for the living, specific 'spaces of crossing'¹³² that marked rites of passage or the crossing from the realm of everyday life into the space dedicated to taming and embracing death. At the same time and in accordance with Heidegger's thought, quoted earlier, the space of cemetery embraced its twofold meaning as both shrine of nothingness and shelter for the living in the face of death. This is still true today when cemeteries remain sacrosanct spaces and are therefore also increasingly popular theme in contemporary architectural design. Cemeteries are often characterized as heterotopias¹³³ and are pregnant with ideas of utopia. Advocate of such

Richard Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, The MIT Press, 1984, pp. 216-222

¹²⁹ In the United States by the early 1850s the lawn-park or landscape-park, such as Spring Grove Cemetery in Ohio, introduced more spacious and organized cemetery than existing rural cemeteries. The setting was pastoral while burial became ever efficient business with professionals taking care of the design and maintenance of the gravesites; Eggener, *Op. cit.*, p. 106

¹³⁰ Kenneth T. Jackson & Camilo José Vergara, *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery*, Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 1989, p. 21

¹³¹ Howard Evarts Weed, *Modern Park Cemeteries*, Chicago: R. J. Haight, 1912, p. 72; In this book many advices about specific plants appropriate for the cemeteries are listed, among which is this one: 'Avoid the Weeping Mulberry for a cemetery contains enough things to suggest sorrow without enhancing this feature in the landscape.' In: *op. cit.*, p.77

¹³² Ragon, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-71

¹³³ The original meaning of the word comes from a medical science-heterotopy meaning misplacement or a displacement of position, but in Foucault's theory it is both spatial and a linguistic concept depicting places that function in non-hegemonic conditions. Foucault articulates several types of heterotopias or spaces that exhibit dual meanings: A 'crisis heterotopia' is a separate space where certain activities take place out of sight; 'Heterotopias of deviation' are institutions where individuals who behave out of society's norms are placed, such as asylums or prisons; Heterotopia as a single real place that juxtaposes several spaces, for instance a garden as a microcosm of different environments containing plants from all around the world; 'Heterotopias of time' are museums since they enclose various objects from different times and styles while existing outside of time since they are designed and preserved to be

secluded realms, Michel Foucault, believed that ‘a cemetery is a highly heterotopic place since, for the individual, a cemetery begins with this strange heterochrony, the loss of life, and with this quasi-eternity in which its permanent lot is dissolution and disappearance.’¹³⁴



Figure 3.18

Indeed, cemeteries with their serene settings, between profane and sacred in their own accumulated time layered with materialized absence, attempt to tame death and at the same time try to provide a sense of perpetuity. Similarly, contemporary cemeteries such as Forest Lawn Cemetery, advertise the idea of a noble burial in the Frank Lloyd Wright’s Blue Sky Mausoleum, only realized in 2004, with a prominent head stone bearing the inscription ‘...a burial facing the open sky...the whole could not fail of noble effect...’¹³⁵ (Fig. 3.18). Some memorial cemeteries as Forest Lawn Memorial Park in California tend to become too explicit in their focus on creating an illusion of eternity which leads to excessive design and are therefore often compared to Disneyland. Nonetheless, landscapes in general and cemetery landscapes in particular, have the potential of becoming large mnemonic devices in production of a narrative.¹³⁶ Landscape narratives are, similarly to literary narratives, constructed through ‘tropes’, such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony.¹³⁷

physically insusceptible of time; ‘Heterotopias of ritual or purification’ define places that are isolated but penetrable hence not completely public since one needs a permission to enter them; Heterotopias that have a function in relation to other spaces-heterotopia of illusion that aim to expose real space and heterotopias of compensation that aims at creating the real space – a space that is other. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An archeology of the human sciences*, London: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2011, (transl. Travistock/Routledge; original title: *Les Mots et les choses*; Editions Gallimard, 1966)

¹³⁴ Michel Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias’, in: *Diacritics* 16, no. 1, translation by Jay Miskowicz, Spring 1986, pp. 22-27, p.6. (Original title: ‘Des Espaces Autres’, *Architecture-Mouvement-Continué*, 5, 1984, pp. 46-49)

¹³⁵ The Blue Sky Mausoleum, Forest Lawn, (<http://www.blueskymausoleum.com/the-story/>, accessed 29.01.2015)

¹³⁶ Matthew Potteiger, Jamie Purinton, *Landscape Narratives: Design Practices for Telling Stories*, John Wiley & Sons, 1998

¹³⁷ Op. cit., p. 34

In regard to this particular issue, Marc Treib¹³⁸ suggested that there are four levels, differing in the applied method and directness of communication, for conveying a meaning in a landscape design.¹³⁹ A first level implies modification of a natural order of landscape to suggest human presence and therefore the meaning is invested in the newly established relationship between the original elements, for example in megalithic sites around the French village of Carnac, in Brittany. If such natural elements, as stone boulders, are remodeled by human effort, for example by added inscriptions, they constitute a second level of commemorative landscape. At this point, the meaning of the original setting, now reconfigured in a non-natural order, is invigorated.¹⁴⁰ A third level of commemorative landscapes introduces architectural structures into a given landscape composition. The insertion should not rely on any explicit references or information, but should instead engage the visitor in a deeply individual experience through perceptual program. Treib offers Woodland Cemetery in Enskede-Stockholm as a prime example of this approach as the landscape that ‘modulates comportment’ and in which ‘the retrieval of memory derives equally from the actions of the individual and his or her associations.’¹⁴¹ The equilibrium between nature and architecture achieved in Woodland cemetery is abandoned in the fourth type of approach in which verbal and symbolic language prevail in a landscape design. Here the meaning of the design is put straightforwardly in a didactic framework to the point of ‘describing the visitor’s desired response’,¹⁴² an approach exemplified by the Forest Lawn. Conversely, Woodland cemetery, a collaborative design project between Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) and Sigurd Lewerentz (1885-1975), is possibly the first cemetery landscape that introduced new perspective in powerfully exploring mnemonic codes situated within architecturally defined episodes (Entrance, Hill of Remembrance, Resurrection, Woodland and Main Chapel)¹⁴³ (Fig. 3.19).

¹³⁸ Marc Treib is Professor of Architecture Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley, a frequent contributor to architecture, landscape, and design journals, and a practicing designer. He has held Fulbright, Guggenheim, and Japan Foundation fellowships, as well as an advanced design fellowship at the American Academy in Rome. He is the author of *Space Calculated in Seconds* and the editor of numerous volumes including *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review* and *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster*.

¹³⁹ Marc Treib, ‘The Landscape of Loved Ones’, in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, pp. 81-105, p. 95

¹⁴⁰ For the second level of commemorative landscapes Treib analyses memorial landscape of Kongenshus Mindepark by landscape architect C.-Th. Sørensen and architect Hans Georg Solvgård, Jutland, Denmark, built 1945-53. The site is defined with the boulders bearing the inscriptions of 1200 names of the people who worked on this site in poor life conditions, which was in the 18th century an uncultivated moor. The arrangement of these boulders refer to various connections with the past such as the oval space which recalls the funerary traditions called ‘ship settings’, found in Jutland but also in the Viking period when such constructions were considered for a symbol of eternity.

¹⁴¹ Treib, op. cit., p. 101

¹⁴² Op. cit., p. 102

¹⁴³ Woodland Cemetery – Skogskyrkogården was constructed in stages from 1920 to 1940 when the new crematorium was inaugurated, but Asplund and Lewerentz won the competition already in 1914-15. In 1994, Woodland Cemetery was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List on the following grounds: ‘Skogskyrkogården is an outstandingly successful example of a culturally



Figure 3.19

Rather against the prevailing spirit of the time, the designers chose for a more subtle approach as they ‘started with the experience of the visitors – the concept of mourning and the feelings surrounding it.’¹⁴⁴ Furthermore they sought to ‘imbue the site with a sacred quality by using landscape as the essential point of departure for their architectural solution.’¹⁴⁵ There are numerous non-explicit references that are pervading the place such as: sudden clearings of a dense forest landscape; gradual transitions between different spaces of ritual as for instance the lowering heights of the steps leading up to the meditation grove so that the visitors would feel at ease as they reach the place of meditation; the slight kink in the middle of the sitting benches in and around the three chapels of the Crematorium which are intended to open the intimate space of the mourners and bring them closer towards each other. All of these are designed to create the feeling of an uncanny familiarity with death Treib makes a comparison between the Woodland Cemetery and battlefield memorial landscapes where the approach toward omnipresence of death is directly cited in the memory boards and relevant maps and thereby ‘completely reversing the violent past into present musing.’¹⁴⁶ Of course, this generalization circumvents valuable examples of many European WWI war cemeteries in which the information is offered in visitor’s centers while the space of the cemetery remains constructed by the long rows of unified white tombstones, in the manner of the *artificial infinite*, underlining the enormous waste of life but also enhancing the unity and equality of the ‘glorious dead’.¹⁴⁷

designed landscape which blends landform and natural vegetation with architectural features to create a landscape that is ideally suited to its purpose as a cemetery. The creation of Asplund and Lewerentz at Skogskyrkogården established a new form of cemetery that has exerted a profound influence on cemetery design throughout the world.’ In: Mauro Felicori, Annalisa Zannotti (Eds.), *Cemeteries of Europe: A Historical Heritage to Appreciate and Restore*, SCENE Project-Compositori Industrie Grafiche Bologna, 2004, p. 141

¹⁴⁴ The City of Stockholm- Varldsarvet Skogskyrkogården, ‘Designed experience’ (<http://www.skogskyrkogarden.se/en/architecture/created-experience.php>, accessed 15.05.2013)

¹⁴⁵ Caroline Constant, *The Woodland Cemetery: Towards a Spiritual Landscape*, Erik Gunnar Asplund and Sigurd Lewerentz, 1915-1961, Byggförlaget, 1994, p. 1

¹⁴⁶ Treib, op. cit., p. 101

¹⁴⁷ In the early stages of design planning for the British WWI cemeteries across Belgium and France, a Working group consisting of several architects in addition to Lutyens and initiated by the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) in 1917, it was agreed that the cemeteries should have an overall theme, but that there should not be a prescriptive formula. There were four types roughly identified: cemeteries that required a monumental effect, garden or forest

Only by approaching each individual tomb at these cemeteries, the identity of a single death is revealed, except for the unknown whose lost identities immortalized with the inscriptions on the tombstones, powerful mnemonic codes to reference the reality of the moment of death that was so harrowing as to strip men of their identity. Similarly, The Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme (1928-1932) by Edwin Lutyens, which also served as



Figure 3.20



Figure 3.21

inspiration for Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial, prominently frames the space of the cemetery at its foot while speaking about the futility and emptiness of war¹⁴⁸ (Fig. 3.20). The memorial is a signifier of the place in a pastoral landscape of northern France. Classical arches, forced to intertwine and thereby create a three dimensional space with walls that bear the names of the missing in the Somme battles, were adjusted in height according to the number of names that were supposed to be added.¹⁴⁹ It is an impressive structure opening toward the adjacent cemetery where tombs of the *inconnu* are purposely placed in the first rows of the cemetery so that the visitors would pass them before finding a tombstone they search for. While the general information about the battle of the Somme and WWI is

offered in a newly built visitor center, the cemetery itself cites death in the thousands of names of the missing. The interior of the memorial is a place of search for relatives of the ones whose names are inscribed on its walls, in spite of not always being able to reach the inscription due to its high placement (Fig. 3.21). Thiepval identifies and, in a way, dominates the place, speaks about both mass and individual death through a form intended to be seen from afar as a

cemeteries with a special base, town cemeteries and finally, village cemeteries. It was also decided that there each grave marker should be marked, but that there should be no private crosses or memorials of any kind. See: Tim Skelton, Gerald Gliddon, *Lutyens and the Great War*, Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2008, p. 26

¹⁴⁸ Roderick Gradidge, *Edwin Lutyens: Architect Laureate*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1981, pp. 80-81; Thiepval arch is designed as a memorial to the 73.367 missing British and South African men who died in the Battles of the Somme in WWI, between 1915 and 1918, with no known grave. It is near the village of Thiepval, Picardie in France. The memorial is considered as the pinnacle of Lutyens carrier. A visitors' center opened in 2004. The Thiepval Memorial also serves as an Anglo-French battle memorial to commemorate the joint nature of the 1916 offensive. In further recognition of this, a cemetery containing 300 British Commonwealth and 300 French graves lies at the foot of the memorial. Many of the soldiers buried here are unknown. The British Commonwealth graves have rectangular headstones made of white stone, while the French graves have grey stone crosses. On the British headstones is the inscription 'A Soldier of the Great War/ Known unto God'. The French crosses bear the single word *Inconnu* ('unknown').

¹⁴⁹ Finally it became an impressive structure with interpenetrating arches in different heights whose pillars bear the names of the Missing. See: Skelton et. All., op. cit., p. 139

warning sign of things to come – the explicit information about the scale of tragic death materialized in a perceptual code of this memorial landscape. Conversely, the buildings at Woodland cemetery are designed as a suppressed architecture that merges with domesticated nature. A Woodland chapel (1920), for example, was designed as a synthesis of a temple and a primitive hut¹⁵⁰ while referencing Scandinavian country churches, a shelter from the intimidating nature surrounding it¹⁵¹ (Fig. 3.22). A sudden clearing where the chapel is placed, made by cutting into the forest's untamed nature, brings to mind Boullée's description of the shadowy forest and a strong feeling of melancholy. For Asplund and Lewerentz, however, it was a concern with the psychological implications architectural design can inflict on the mourners. Their concern is well demonstrated in Asplund's explanation given to defend his choice of place Carl Milles's sculpture *Angel of Death* (1921) above the entrance portico of the Woodland Chapel, as he put it:

*'That marvelous angelic figure that comes swooping down from heaven to meet the dead, that countenance of mild melancholy, those large protecting wings, ready to close themselves around the dead and miserable, which, as a metaphor of the savior, bid welcome - can that form be indecent?'*¹⁵²

Recalling hillsides and chapels of the northern Italian *sacri monti*, the forest in Woodland cemetery was perceived as both 'backdrop and connective framework for a set of architectural elements experienced as a rite of purification.'¹⁵³

With quite another motive, the commemorative architecture of the German *Totenburgen*¹⁵⁴ planned to commemorate the battlefields of the Great War and emphasize the idea of a 'heroic landscape' by deploying a motive of a sacred grove. Unlike war cemeteries of the 'glorious dead' of WWI, in the German context the 'sacrificial death' (Opfertod) was commemorated with structures that aimed to enforce the 'myth of the war experience'¹⁵⁵ in



Figure 3.22

¹⁵⁰ The topic of a primitive hut was introduced by Marc Antoine Laugier's 'Essai sur l'architecture', Paris 1753

¹⁵¹ Peter Blundell Jones, *Gunnar Asplund*, Phaidon Press Limited, 2006, p. 64

¹⁵² Asplund's letter to Cemetery Authority, 10 March 1921, as an answer to the strong opposition against placing the sculpture since it was perceived as a pagan symbol. In: Constant, op. cit., p. 59

¹⁵³ Op. cit., p. 106

¹⁵⁴ *Totenburgen* were erected by the German War Graves Society under the guidance of architect Robert Tischler. They were usually erected on the hillsides, containing memorial rooms or chapels, continuing the traditions of Weimar Republic in which the 'untouched nature' of the landscape had predominance over the architecture.

¹⁵⁵ G. L. Moose, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Oxford University Press New York, 1990



Figure 3.23

the collective memory. Nevertheless, dark rooms for meditation, prayer and silent remembrance were integral components of these structures.¹⁵⁶ One of such buildings of German 'Fortresses of the Dead' was the memorial in Bitola on what used to be the Yugoslav-Greek border. The project was never realized and is largely known from the drawings by Wilhelm Kreis (1873-1955).¹⁵⁷ Bitola's fortress was recognizable in its vast open circular space defined by thick granite walls and possible to enter through a small bronze portal which would firstly lead to a rectangular 'hall of honor'. A following sequence would open toward the circular space through a three-arched portal.¹⁵⁸ Its appearance as a medieval fortress typified the struggle of the 'German Volk' against 'a world full of enemies'¹⁵⁹ (Fig. 3.23). Thus, the psychological implications of funerary design were equally employed in conveying highly political messages.

To go back to psychological aspects of the mourning process, exemplified in Woodland Cemetery which in its understanding of the ritual experience still serves as an inspiration, it is noticeable that this is where the interest of many designers lies as well.¹⁶⁰ Slovenian architect Edvard Ravnikar focused on the psychological aspects in his design for Hostages' Cemetery (1953), Draga near Begunje (Fig. 3.24). The cemetery is designed as a composition of individual tombstones, several larger common stones and tall memorial stone designated as a gathering point. Ravnikar chose to build the stones from local materials and give them unified appearance, as he explained: 'The burial grounds are designed in such a way that the multitude of uniform stones creates a powerful representation of the high number of victims of the German forces, while at the same time they enable the creation of individual memories

¹⁵⁶ Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius and Susan Nurmi-Schomers, 'Memorials for the Dachau Concentration Camp', in: *Oxford Art Journal*, Volume 21, No. 2, 1998, pp. 23-44, p. 32

¹⁵⁷ In 1941 Kreis was appointed by Adolf Hitler as a 'general government building officer for the design of German War Cemeteries.' However none of his projects was ever built but the ongoing publications of Kreis's drawings made them a powerful tool in promoting the Nazi regime. In: Gunnar Brands, 'From WWI Cemeteries to the Nazi 'Fortresses of the Dead'', in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, op. cit., pp. 215-256, p. 243

¹⁵⁸ Designed by Robert Tischler, this project was planned in 1929-30 and it was to contain 3000 burials of WWI soldiers. Inauguration of the memorial was in 1936. Brands, op. cit., p. 232

¹⁵⁹ Goebel, op.cit., p. 102

¹⁶⁰ The City of Stockholm organized an architectural competition by invitation for a new crematorium building at the Woodland cemetery in 2009. The winner of the competition is the proposal A Stone in the Forest by Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor in co-operation with Müller Illien Landschaftsarchitekten. The competition was organized due to 'the increasing demand for higher standards of technical performance.' Gunnar Asplund's building could not be modernized without causing unacceptable changes to the original design. The winning proposal is integrated into the surrounding forest which remains significant factor in the whole rite. Source: Swedish Association of Architects (<http://www.arkitekt.se/s52063>, accessed 04.07.2013)

according to the wishes of the relatives of the deceased.¹⁶¹ The other part of the memorial cemetery is set up in the city of Begunje, in the park area of the former Gestapo prison. While the typological and stylistic execution remained the same, Ravnikar decided for a more geometric composition, possibly to accentuate the difficult history of the place¹⁶² (Fig. 3.25). In another project, a secular war cemetery and official state memorial The Memorial Complex at Kapor (1953), on the Island of Rab in Croatia, situated next to a site of a former WWII Italian concentration camp, the architect used similar elements to create a memory landscape. Choosing for a concept that relates to Le Corbusier's notion of the *promenade architecturale*, Ravnikar materialized an architectural grid of tombstones and memorial spaces. At the time it was created, in the 1950s, the memorial appeared as a geometrically controlled space with a clear hierarchy and view toward the sea and the surroundings¹⁶³ (Fig. 3.26). The atmosphere is significantly changed since then as nature surrounded the memorial and heightened the feeling of seclusion of the space. The memorial is rich in symbolical architectural language and tropes that narrate the history of the place which served as an informal burial ground for the victims of the former concentration camp. These elements include parallel stone burials and metallic disks with names, arguably alluding to rows of tents from the camp and identification tags prisoners had to wear¹⁶⁴ (Fig. 3.27). Within the memorial there is also a 'museum' or a shelter, installed on a lower level than the rest of the memorial. It appears as a hovering parabolic structure containing relicts from the camp and a large mosaic depicting two chained prisoners¹⁶⁵ (Fig. 3.28). Other elements can be recognized as translation of Antique funerary typology such as funerary urn in the entrance containing samples of soil collected from the native places of the prisoners. Furthermore, the architect employed 'basic elements' of architecture, columns, platforms and walls, in order to convey the idea of sacredness of the place.¹⁶⁶ In effect

¹⁶¹ Edvard Ravnikar, 'Hostage's Cemetery, Draga near Begunje', Project description, extract in: Aleš Vodopivec, Rok Znidaršič (Eds.), *Edvard Ravnikar, Architect and Teacher*, Springer-Verlag/Vienna, 2010, p. 97

¹⁶² In the town of Begunje in the north of Slovenia, on the border to Austria, the Gestapo set up headquarters and a prison in the Katzenstein Mansion in 1941. Between 1941 and 1945 a total of over 12,300 people were imprisoned in Begunje and SS units shot about 1,200 Slovene prisoners, including women and children, suspected of participating in a resistance movement or cooperating with the partisans. Today there is a Museum of Hostages (Muzej Talcev) set up in one part of the mansion, including some of the former prison cells and with three sculptural works installed in the adjacent gardens in order to commemorate executed and deported victims. In the mansion's park and in the cemetery complex in the nearby Draga Valley, there are 667 organized burial places of hostages and Partisans, both designed by Ravnikar. (http://www.muzeji-radovljica.si/3m_talci/3talci_uvod-en.html, accessed 28.11.2014)

¹⁶³ William J. R. Curtis, 'Abstraction and Representation: The Memorial Complex at Kapor on the Island Rab (1952-3) by Edvard Ravnikar', in: Vodopivec, op. cit., pp. 33-50

¹⁶⁴ Op. cit., p. 34

¹⁶⁵ The author of the mosaic is Slovenian painter Marij Pregelj (1913-1967), who was imprisoned in the camp.

¹⁶⁶ Curtis described the influence of Ravnikar's teacher Jože Plečnik (1872-1957) who was a proponent of the origins of architecture being transformed into a new symbolical language. Curtis suggests that Ravnikar, with the materialization of the memorial's pavement, referred to

the interplay of the various elements within the precise architectural grid and its materialisation turns the memorial cemetery into a highly transitional space.



Figure 3.24



Figure 3.25

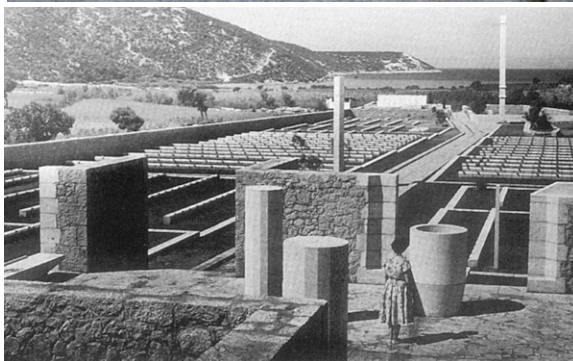


Figure 3.26



Figure 3.27

an ancient 'sacred way' or even the River Styx which is in Antiquity related to death. Curtis, op. cit., p. 38



Figure 3.28

3.3.1 Spaces of transition

'A tomb is a monument placed at the limit of two worlds.'
Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre¹⁶⁷

The space of a cemetery is for few reasons, whether practical or for the purpose of beautification, usually distinguished from the surroundings with a physical border. The entrance is clearly defined in order to emphasize the space of different purpose and the beginning of a new spatial experience. When passing through these borders, one transgresses into the realm of a cemetery and its well defined rituals. In many ways the composition of a cemetery space mirrors a ritual of burial which is itself a transitional process, like many other rituals are. At the beginning of the 20th century, ethnologist Arnold van Gennep¹⁶⁸ (1873–1957) in his study entitled *The Rites of Passage*¹⁶⁹ analyzed rites of passage as markations of a specific period in a life of an individual or a group. According to van Gennep, there are three stages distinguished as the integral parts of a rite of passage: separation, transition and incorporation.¹⁷⁰ Van Gennep illustrated the theory about rites of passage with a territorial journeys as they always constitute a departure, travelling and

¹⁶⁷ Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre quoted in: Erika Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2009, p. 103; Quotation continues: 'It presents us first with an end to life's meaningless anxieties and the image of eternal rest; and it gives rise to the confused sense of happy immortality, whose likelihood depends on the virtue of the one whose memory we contemplate.' Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Arnold van Gennep was a noted French ethnographer and folklorist, highly regarded for his work in the field of European folklore. His work includes *Religions, moeurs, et légendes: Essais d'ethnographie et de linguistique* (1908–1914) and *Manuel de folklore français contemporain* (1937-1958).

¹⁶⁹ See: Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1909), trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffé, Routledge, 2004, (First published in 1960 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd)

¹⁷⁰ Even though Van Gennep was principally focused on small-scale societies, he explained rites of passage as a universal in that they mark a transition of any kind in a life of an individual, but their importance depends on the context and therefore varies from society to society or individual to individual. After the first phase, a separation of an individual or group from their familiar context, the second phase or transition takes place and is characterized by a state of ambiguity in regard to the individual's identity. Finally, the third phase constitutes incorporation of the detached individual or group into familiar context where a stable social position within a given society is guaranteed.

arriving. In this way, the rites of passage are liminal¹⁷¹ and have their prototype in crossing over a physical border from one environment to another, for instance when passing through a portal or moving across a square. According to van Gennep, the transitory experience which is defined by a certain period of time spent in a so called 'neutral zone' within an act of crossing, creates possibilities for a deeper understanding of a ritual.¹⁷²

In much the same way, the notion of transition is often embodied in a spatial organization of a cemetery where clear distinction is made between different stages of a burial ceremony. Usually, there are three most distinct successive architectural stages, whether in cemeteries or in crematoria, that provide a framework for a burial rite and mourning: entrance, connecting pathways and spaces for grieving in private, as exemplified in the Memorial Complex at Kampor. These principles and architectural elements can be found in some of the well-known examples such as Carlo Scarpa's (1906-1978) Brion-Vega Mausoleum in the Cemetery (1972) of San Vito d'Altirole or Iguialada Cemetery (1996) near Barcelona, designed by Enric Miralles and Carme Pinós (Fig. 3.29, 30).



Figure 3.29



Figure 3.30

In both designs there is a concern with the ritual procession and a notion of time needed for passing through several well defined stages of space, but also an aspiration toward future in which the architecture becomes even more poetic with passing of time and nature taking its part in the design.¹⁷³ In the Iguialada cemetery, nature represents transformations of a life cycle

¹⁷¹ The concept of liminality refers to the actual crossing of thresholds (in Latin *limen* stands for threshold) which van Gennep used to describe the rites of separation as pre-liminal rites, liminal and post-liminal rites. Robert Herz argued that liminality refers both to the mourner and the diseased, meaning that each subject has to pass the transitional phase in a sort of parallel journey. See: Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*, translated by Rodney and Claudia Needham, University Press Aberdeen: Cohen & West, 1960 (originally published in French language in *L'Année Sociologique*, 1907, and *Revue Philosophique*, 1909, Presses Universitaires de France, Editeurs, Paris). The notion of liminality was further elaborated by was further elaborated by a British anthropologist Victor Turner.

¹⁷² Neutral zones refer to physical spaces that are in a way ambiguous or in-between clearly defined territories, for example deserts, forests or other type of no-man's land that can also be found in a city. Van Gennep observed rites of initiation in tribal societies as a liminal phase that was performed by actual seclusion. The complete transition van Gennep explained as a 'rite of the threshold'. See: van Gennep, op. cit.

¹⁷³ See: Carlo Scarpa, 'Can Architecture Be Poetry', in: Peter Nover (Ed.), *The Other City Carlo Scarpa: The Architect's Working Method as Shown by the Brion Cemetery in San Vito D'Avitole*, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1989, pp. 17-18

through which 'life itself makes the cemetery die.'¹⁷⁴ A cemetery becomes the intentional memorial to death – a natural part of life.¹⁷⁵ Influences of the traditional religious perception of death and the afterlife resonate in contemporary, secular cemetery spaces as well (recognizable in typologies of symbolic spaces of absence described by Etlin).

Designed for different purposes, segments of cemetery designs are rich in symbolic language, but unlike grand designs of French revolutionary architects, these spaces are tailored for an intimation of a rite of passage. Interiors of funerary chapels, receiving foyers, ceremonial spaces in crematoria, intimate family spaces for seclusion etc., are receiving particular attention from the designers who are often determined to respect the nature of the rite and the psychological mood of its participants. The basic layout is usually emphasized with details, for example incorporation of water as a design element (and a symbolical reference to life) can create a sense of transition. The notion of crossing water surfaces, symbolical reference to crossing the river Lethe,¹⁷⁶ was an often explored design metaphor that signified crossing into the underworld. Sigurd Lewerentz was well aware of this as he demonstrated in a sketch he produced for the crematorium project in Helsingborg (1914) which depicts a 'river of death' disappearing under the building only to reappear on the other side as a 'river of life'. In such setting the crematoria building becomes a bridge 'emphasizing the act of crossing over as a symbolic rite of passage.'¹⁷⁷ The space of water can stimulate contemplation if employed imaginatively, as is the case in the visitor center in the Normandy American Cemetery (2007) where informative exhibition ends with a reflective pool of water with a hidden edge in order to appear infinite (Fig. 3.31). As it opens towards the horizon of the English Channel, the effect of this architectural construct creates a significant stance, a valuable transitional space and a numinous introduction for the actual space of the cemetery.



Figure 3.31

¹⁷⁴ Anatxu Zabalbeascoa, *Architecture in Detail: Igualada Cemetery-Enric Miralles and Carme Pinos*, Phaidon Press Limited, 1996, p. 19

¹⁷⁵ Zabalbeascoa, op. cit., p. 18; Commemorative plaques, lamps, mausoleum doors and steel mesh holding the gabion wall are made of materials that are rusting with time and thereby serving as a constant reminder of the passage of time and continuity of a life cycle.

¹⁷⁶ In Greek mythology, *Lethe* was one of the five rivers of Hades. Also known as the Ameles potamos (river of unmindfulness), the Lethe flowed around the cave of Hypnos and through the Underworld, where all those who drank from it experienced complete forgetfulness. Lethe was also the name of the Greek spirit of forgetfulness and oblivion, with whom the river was often identified.

¹⁷⁷ Peter Blundell Jones, *Gunnar Asplund*, Phaidon Press Limited, London 2006, p. 35

Another often employed element in funerary art and architecture is the immaterial transition from daylight to darkness, a principle used in the ancient burial mounds, in passage tombs or pyramids. The etymology is in the simple opposition of light to darkness in which the former defines the latter. The idea of an ‘absolute darkness’¹⁷⁸ alone constitutes an infinite repository of the unknown, as starkly displayed in Paul-Albert Bartholomé’s *Monument aux morts* (1899) at Père Lachaise¹⁷⁹ (Fig. 3.32). In this context, darkness becomes an open gate whose force pulls life inside. This is a recurrent theme in mausoleums where doors lead inside dark interiors, often adorned with a small and colourful stained glass window, a nostalgic glimpse toward the earthly life or perhaps a promise of the afterlife. As it corroborates darkness and shadows of the unknown, penetrating light is a symbol of heaven and hope. In the Middle ages the light tunnel with a mysterious figure awaiting souls of the dead borne by angels, as painted in the *Ascent to Heaven* (1490) by Hieronymus Bosch, was the first stage of the Beatific Vision in admitting souls to face God upon death or after Purgatory¹⁸⁰ (Fig. 3.33).



Figure 3.32



Figure 3.33

¹⁷⁸ Etienne Louis Boullée in his designs referred to the Burkean concept of ‘absolute light’ by introducing its opposite – the ‘absolute darkness as the most powerful instrument to induce that state of fundamental terror claimed by Burke as the instigator of the sublime.’ Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992, p. 169

¹⁷⁹ Similar design is Antonio Canova’s mausoleum for the painter Titian. Upon his death in 1822, Canova’s heart was interred in a marble pyramid he designed as a mausoleum for Titian in the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, now a monument to the sculptor.

¹⁸⁰ Paul Binski argued that this painting adumbrates what in modern societies has been addressed as ‘near death experience, a product not of metaphysical, but medical, miracles.’ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, British Museum Press, 1996, p. 164

3.3.1.1. Entrance

*“If it is open one can see into large cellars, which are at the same time (zugleich)
sleeping places and storehouses. Farther on, steps lead down to the sea, to
fisherman’s taverns installed in natural grottoes.
Dim light and thin music come from them in the evening.”*
Walter Benjamin¹⁸¹

As we can read from this quote, an entrance can be defined as a spatial condition that involves movement and creates potential for the unfolding of subsequent spaces. A gate of a cemetery is perceived as an element of transition, a threshold that is highly complex as it is at once ‘the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds-and at the same time paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where the passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible.’¹⁸² Next to its obvious function, to distinguish the space of a cemetery, the entering sequence is a preparation for the awaited experience. The fascination with the entering gates to cemeteries as symbolic passageways, transition to the realm of death, we can find at the beginning of the 19th century in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich¹⁸³ (1774-1840) who was at the time also involved with the design of new cemeteries in Dresden. Friedrich’s painted dramatic deathscapes reflected on the changing attitude toward death in the times when the ‘great fear of death’ was replacing what Ariès called *tamed death*. Friedrich’s response to this change of feeling had a nostalgic character that was shaped by ‘looking back to the past, to a medieval tradition of taming death through spirituality and ritual.’¹⁸⁴ Naturally, a ruin became a metaphor, a gate toward the past.

Similarly, Le Corbusier recognized the significance of the thresholds in his concept of architectural promenade, arguing that the placement of a door in an architectural space influence the overall feeling and the perception of the space, hence the entrance or the door becomes an element of transformation and revelation.¹⁸⁵ Entrance is the first encounter with the space for the

¹⁸¹ W. Benjamin quoted in: Andrew Benjamin, ‘Porosity at the edge: working through Walter Benjamin’s “Naples”’, in: Gevork Hartoonian (Ed.), *Walter Benjamin and Architecture*, Routledge: London and New York, 2010, pp. 39-50, p. 41

¹⁸² Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 1957 in Kenneth T. Jackson & Camilo José Vergara, *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery*, Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 1989, p. 72

¹⁸³ Caspar David Friedrich was a German Romantic landscape painter. Friedrich's paintings employed the *Rückenfigur* in a landscapes in order to emphasize the sublime potential of nature, Friedrich designed a main gate for the Trinitätsfriedhof cemetery and several, highly traditional, grave markers and monuments in other cemeteries.

¹⁸⁴ In Karl Whittington, ‘Caspar David Friedrich’s medieval burials’, *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2012, (<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring12/whittington-on-caspar-david-friedrichs-medieval-burials> accessed 20.07.2015)

¹⁸⁵ Flora Samuel, *Le Corbusier and the Architectural Promenade*, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2010; Le Corbusier argued: ‘Depending on the way you enter a room that is to say depending on the place

mourners and it is the first stage in the ritual processions. The entrance to the Igalada cemetery, for example, is positioned on a higher level than the rest of the site and thereby allows an overview over the cemetery valley. Before descending into the valley, a former quarry, a visitor passes the entering sequence composed out of different layers of soil and plantings that accentuate the natural change of context and reinforce the feeling of transition. It is also possible to enter the cemetery through other entrance which is incorporated in the building itself and therefore creates a complete opposite effect as it encloses the visitor into an arid architectural space with openings toward the sky (Fig. 3.34). Here we find a clear demonstration of how significant design choices are in creating the entering sequence, a prototype for van Gennep's rite of separation.

Next to the main and first threshold there are many smaller ones as well, since the ritual consists of several sequences. Such is a gate announcing the realm of Woodland chapel inside the cemetery area with the inscription *Hodie Mihi Gras Tibi* – 'today me tomorrow you'. Its rudimentary form protruding from the wall, separating the cemetery path and the forestry realm of the Woodland chapel, speaks of the importance of a physical threshold as an introduction to different stages of the experience. The gate is designed as a portico and executed in highly elementary form, bearing no other inscriptions, but pointing to the chapel waiting in the distance on the portico's axis (Fig. 3.35). The portico announces a transition toward more intimate scale of the rite, enhanced further by its low ceiling, probably forcing taller visitors to bend. Furthermore, the portico prolongs the sequence of time needed for entering by accentuating the progression with its thick walls. The entrance becomes a passage of transformation.

Interestingly, the main entrance of Woodland Cemetery is of significantly large scale and thereby creates the impression of an open space, unlike the narrow portico of the chapel. The only visual signalization when one is entering the cemetery is an austere large cross installed further in the ascending landscape. The Woodland cross is a visually unspecified point of the entrance, connecting the sky and the earth and can be seen as a symbolic denotation of a 'twentieth-century individual, for whom religion may no longer provide solace.'¹⁸⁶

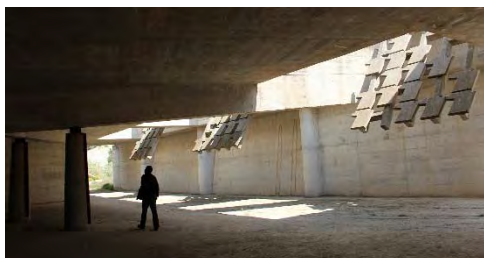


Figure 3.34



Figure 3.35

of the door in the wall of the room, the feeling will be different. That is architecture.' In: op.cit., p. 86

¹⁸⁶ Constant, op. cit., p. 101

3.3.1.2. Path

*'At the far end of death
the hues shall be better'
Mak Dizdar¹⁸⁷*

Friedrich's painting *Abbey under Oak Trees* (1810) is perhaps the most known depiction of a funeral procession progressing under a ruin of a former church resting among the barren trees and scattered graves, in front of which is an open grave (Fig. 3.36). Normally, a ceremony of burial includes a funeral procession that can have many symbolic meanings embedded into its transitional character, dependent on religious and cultural circumstances. In contemporary cemeteries and crematoria there are defined routes designated for these processions, often for practical reason of not having several procession at the same time, in that way making sure that each remains a solemn ritual. Preferably, architectural solutions next to being utilitarian, also offer a sensitive solution concerning the quality of the space that is fitting for the purpose.



Figure 3.36

Concerned with the new style of cemeteries in the 18th century, Jacques-François Blondel¹⁸⁸ (1705-1774) focused on the perception, the mood and the atmosphere in cemeteries and therefore was set to convey an intimation of a 'terrible but inescapable realm which we must inhabit when we die.'¹⁸⁹ Blondel proposed to make a ground level of a cemetery lower than the level surrounding it and in that way engage the effects of kinesthesia. The profound effect of this design gesture was often explored in later designs, again exemplified Ravnikar's Memorial Complex at Kampo or in Igalada but also in Alvar Aalto's unexecuted design for the Lyngby cemetery (1952) where topography of the terrain, network of rituals and water streams starting at the

¹⁸⁷ Mak Dizdar, 'Recognition', in: *Spirit of Bosnia/Duh Bosne*, translated by Keith Doubt and Wayles Browne, Volume 07, No. 3, July 2012 (<http://www.spiritofbosnia.org/volume-7-no-3-2012-july/recognition/>), accessed 20.07.2015)

¹⁸⁸ Jacques-François Blondel, French architect best known for his teaching and writing, which contributed greatly to architectural theory and the taste of his time. At the invitation of Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Blondel wrote the architecture section for the *Encyclopédie* (1751–72), the work that set forth the rationalist philosophy of the Enlightenment. As his own significant contribution to 18th-century learning, Blondel compiled his lectures and plans in the 'Monumental Cours d'architecture' (1771–77); 'Architecture Course'; the 12-volume work was completed (and its 6 volumes of plates combined into 3 volumes) by the French architect, writer, and engraver Pierre Patte.

¹⁸⁹ Richard Etlin, 'In the Face of Death: Calming the Mind, Mining the Soul' in Claudia Denk and John Ziesemer (Eds.), *Der bürgerliche Tod - Urban Burial Culture from the Enlightenment to the early 20th century*, International Council on Monuments and Sites- ICOMOS, Journals of the German National Committee XLIV (Internationale Fachtagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Bayerischen Nationalmuseum, München 11.-13. November 2005), p. 40

highest point and intertwining as they descent downwards, dramatized the atmosphere of the *'città dei morti'*.¹⁹⁰ The idea that the processional path opens up in front of the visitor is also present in Igualada which was designed under a symbolic description as a 'path of life'¹⁹¹ and in accordance with the ritual of burial. The path is defined by the walls with mementos of the dead and their names inscribed on the niches. A dialectic relationship is established between the progressing procession and the cemetery. Natural setting and the effects it has on the architecture are ancillary to its livelihood and supported by the impression of continuity of which life and death are constituent parts of.

Reversed kinesthetic approach is the employment of the ascent which symbolically constitutes the opposite – a decent into the realm of death, for instance in the Woodland cemetery a Meditation Grove or so called 'meditation hill' is situated on an elevated point providing an overview of the surroundings. In the Partisan Cemetery in Mostar, designed by the 'doomed architect' Bogdan Bogdanović¹⁹² (1922-2010) a winding ascending path leads toward a water basin on the highest terrace. The architect defined this point as a cosmological circle, a symbol of life, overlooking the amphitheater of death beneath and offering a retrospective view on the walking path¹⁹³ (Fig. 3.37).



Figure 3.37

¹⁹⁰ Ángel Luis Fernández Muñoz, 'Alvar Aalto: Concurso para el Cementerio de Lyngby, "Città dei Morti"' (Alvar Aalto: Competition for the Lyngby Cemetery, 'Città dei Morti') in Ángel Luis Fernández Muñoz, *Propuesta para el concurso del cementerio de Lyngby. Dinamarca (Competition for the Lyngby cemetery. Denmark) 1951-1952*, Volume 1: *Arquitecturas Ausentes del Siglo XX*, Editorial Rueda, 2004, pp. 21-25

¹⁹¹ Zabalbeascoa, *op. cit.*, p. 15

¹⁹² Yugoslavian architect Bogdan Bogdanović created over 20 monuments, spread over the entire territory of former Yugoslavia, with the exception of Slovenia. His monuments expressed a particular surrealist approach to topics like war, revolution, death and extermination.

Bogdanović denies that his monuments convey any kind of political message – something which was and still is held against him by many. But it is precisely this approach that makes his work a unique part of the history of Eastern European architecture after 1945. See Bogdan Bogdanović, *Bogdan Bogdanović: Memoria und Utopie in Tito-Jugoslawien*, Architekturzentrum Wien, Wieser Klagenfurt / Celovec, 2009; Some of Bogdanović's memorials were included in the Willem Jan Neutelings, Jan Kampenars, *Spomenik*, Roma Publishers, 2010

¹⁹³ The path begins with an architectural element, so called 'water organ' welcoming visitors and announcing the climbing movement toward the water basin. In a similar way, water and the sound of the stream follow a climbing cemetery route in a contemporary extension of the Hörnli cemetery in Basel (2003), The ending of the route is marked with water circles leveled with the ground, also placed on the highest point of the cemetery.

This progression from the 'earthly' toward some higher point is often a central metaphor in contemplations about death and it usually employs symbolism of the stairs. For the artist Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010) stairs were a symbol of dualistic possibility: one is that of a path that leads toward a better place, what Etlin called 'stairways to heaven', and the second which suggests a nihilistic purpose manifested in a repetitive motion of climbing the stairs which lead to nothing, as demonstrated in her installations *No Escape* and *No Exit* (1989) (Fig. 3.38). In this work, Bourgeois identified herself with Albert Camus for whom stairs were a metaphor for the essential nature of human existence that invited engagement as 'action is always a necessary gesture, no matter how futile.'¹⁹⁴ Bourgeois' stairs are evocative of a one century older etching 'Herodes' (1885) by Max Klinger, displaying Herodes' death fall from his throne¹⁹⁵ (Fig. 3.39).

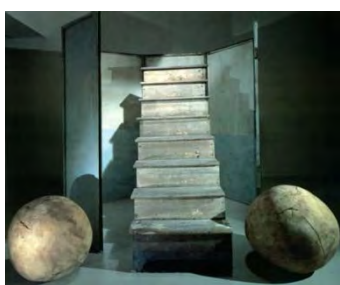


Figure 3.38



Figure 3.39

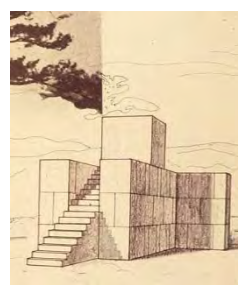


Figure 3.40

Motive of the stairs comes back in Giuseppe Terragni's (1904-1943) monument to Roberto Sarfatti, realized in 1935, in which the throne becomes a memorial stone overlooking the stairs enveloped by the asymmetrical composition of a massive postament (Fig. 3.40). For Terragni, the metaphor of stairs was assigned to the holy ritual of paying respect to the human sacrifice, so called 'una scala santa', a favored theme in memorial designs in Italian context after WWI, well demonstrated in his WWI memorial in Erba Incino, Italy.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, WWI Sacramentum at Redipuglia (1938) is a rising path of stairs evoking the scale of the loss and it is also a tomb containing thousands of bodies of fallen Italian soldiers¹⁹⁷ (Fig. 3.41). Each terrace progresses upward

¹⁹⁴ Terrie Sultan, 'Redefining the Terms of Engagement: the Art of Louise Bourgeois' in Charlotta Kotik, Terrie Sultan and Christian Leigh (Eds.), *Louise Bourgeois: The Locus of Memory, Works 1982-1993*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York -A Times Mirror Company, 1994, p. 49

¹⁹⁵ Max Klinger: 'Alle Register des Lebens', Graphische Zyklen und Zeichnungen, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln/Suermond-Ludwig-Museum Aachen, Ausstellung katalog, Nicolai, Berlin 2007; The etching possibly influenced design proposals of architects from fin de siècle, for example Karl Maria Kerndle's design for a funeral chapel in 1903.

¹⁹⁶ Terragni's monument to Sarfatti in Col d'Echele Richard Etlin recognized as a typology of 'impenetrable mass' symbolizing the spirit of the deceased it commemorates concentrated in a massive stone blocks of the monument whereas the WWI memorial in Erba Incino (Como) represents 'staircase to heaven.' See Richard Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, The University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 182-189

¹⁹⁷ Fogliano Redipuglia is located in Friuli-Venezia Giulia in the province of Gorizia, Italy, designed by Giovanni Greppi and Giannino Castiglioni. On the opposite side, there is the hill of St. Elias which used to be the actual graveyard for the victims, over a 100.000 soldiers of the Italian Third

with the inscription ‘*Presente*’ above the list of names of the dead martyrs, evoking the old fascist funeral rite in which martyrs in mourning surround the body of a dead comrade while the eldest in the group pronounces names of the others who confirm their presence by saying ‘presente’. A particular attention to detail in these sacrificial stairs possibly influenced design language of Carlo Scarpa.¹⁹⁸



Figure 3.41

For Louise Bourgeois, however, the stairs lead to no particular physical object, but instead to the space open for one of the two possibilities: hope or futility. If translated in the funerary context, it can be argued that Bourgeois’ art ‘negates traditional sculpted funerary moment and its customary message “May he or she rest in peace.”’¹⁹⁹ Hence the ascent as symbolization of futility of hope. The uncanny twist is materialized in Aldo Rossi’s Modena ossuary (1971), a cubic building with an arid interior to which the architect referred as an ‘unfinished house’²⁰⁰ (Fig. 3.42). The metal staircases that are connecting galleries of the ossuary only augment the somber prison-like mood of the interior in which one has a feeling as if the dead are abandoned and destined

Army who fought and died against the Austrians and Germans in the Great War, before they were transferred to what is now a military memorial known for its great size - the grand staircase made of stone that forms the shrine of Redipuglia. Work on the memorial began in 1935 and it lasted for three years; the monument was inaugurated in September 1938. Close to the memorial park on the St. Elias hill is the museum *Il Museo della Grande Guerra* (The Museum of the Great War) where relics, weapons and objects from the battles are exposed.

¹⁹⁸ Franziska Bollerey, ‘Modesty versus Monumentality: The quieter way of speaking about Holocaust in Europe’, in: *Ezelsoren*-Bulletin of the Institute of History of Art, Architecture and Urbanism, IHAAU, vol. 1, 2008, no.2, p. 25-43

¹⁹⁹ Alex Potts, ‘Louise Bourgeois: Sculptural Confrontations’, in: *Oxford Art Journal* 22.2, 1999, pp. 37-53, p. 53

²⁰⁰ Aldo Rossi, ‘Cemetery of San Cataldo, Modena, 1971’ in: K. Michael Hays (Ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1969*, The MIT Press, 2000, pp. 68-72, p. 69

to observe, in perpetuity, the unreachable sky visible through a roof opening. Originally designed as one end of a long axis in San Cataldo cemetery (while the other end would have been a large conical form depicted for a common grave) the ossuary embodies Rossi's ideas of a cemetery as a reflection of a city and a solitary notion of death, a journey *contra natura*,²⁰¹ defined by emptiness and hopelessness (Fig. 3.43). The unrealized common grave was imagined as a truncated space with a circular opening toward the sky, once again distant and isolated.²⁰² In opposition to the approach of accepting and taming death adopted in Woodland cemetery, the architectural typology was, thus, chosen to fit the configuration of the cemetery as an 'empty house in the space in the memory of the living.'²⁰³

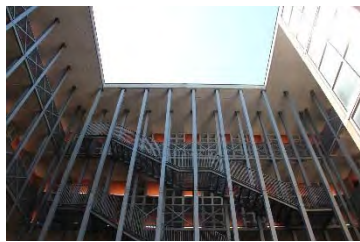


Figure 3.42



Figure 3.43

In either case, a path is one of the underlying elements for construction of symbolic and experiential space, regardless its form. Staircases constitute a path of initiation whether constructed as a grand processional route, demonstrated in Italian Sacrariums, or more fluid pathways in a spacious natural setting, best displayed in Woodland. A path is a highly dynamic transitional feature in architectural design that suggests movement through space and time. It is therefore not surprising that it appears as a common part of memorial architecture, often in the form of a passageway, for example in Steilneset memorial which will be discussed later. In most of the memorials established on the sites of former Nazi camps, a notion of passage and motion is embodied in the systems of industrialized killings, namely railroad deportations that were taking place all over Europe. Remains of rail tracks and rail wagons serve as artifacts themselves and in number of examples, as starting points for new memorials.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ See Tina di Carlo, 'Aldo Rossi: Cemetery of San Cataldo, Modena, Italy', *Envisioning Architecture: Drawings from the Museum of Modern Art*, David Frankel (Ed.), The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2002, p. 160

²⁰² See: Rafael Moneo, 'Aldo Rossi: The Idea of Architecture and the Modena Cemetery', in: *Oppositions Reader*, translated by Angela Giral, Princeton Architectural Press, 1998, pp. 105-134

²⁰³ Moneo, op. cit., p. 119. Moneo quoted Rossi from: Aldo Rossi, 'L'azzurro del cielo', *Controspazio*, 10, October 1972, pp. 4-9, p. 5

²⁰⁴ Recent examples include 'Track 21' in Milano, already mentioned earlier, but also another Italian example is the Memorial to the Jewish Transportation in Borgo San Dalmazzo (2006) designed by Studio Kuadra. An earlier memorial to commemorate deportations on the railtracks is 'Track 17' (1998) in Berlin-Grunewald by Hirsch, Lorch and Wandel architects.

3.3.1.3. Room

'The room is the beginning of architecture. It is the place of the mind. You in the room with its dimensions, its structure, its light respond to its character, its spiritual aura, recognizing that whatever the human proposes and makes becomes a life.'

Louis I. Kahn²⁰⁵

In the line with the Loosian argument about the spiritual realm of architecture signifying death, a basic architectural typology of a room translates into a space that encapsulates feelings that come with loss. Within the confinement of four walls these rooms are temporary shelters for the grief stricken, much like the shelter buildings on WWI cemeteries.²⁰⁶ They are reminiscent of the notion of a mausoleum, a permanent last house for the departed and a temporary realm of seclusion for the mourners. A space for private intimation of death, set apart from the space of a ritual and where families can have a moment in private contemplation, is recognized in its importance in contemporary crematoriums and are therefore paid a significant attention. Naturally, on a busy day, when funerals are planned in a tight schedule, it becomes a challenging task to provide enough spaces that are secluded but lofty at the same time and if possible, with a window opening toward the calming landscape as has been done in a crematorium 'Uitzicht' in Kortrijk, Belgium (Fig. 3.44). Upon descending into the space of ritual and entering the space of the crematorium, one corner window of the entrance hall directs our view toward the valley. As stages of the burial ritual progress, the space turns introspectively toward itself by omitting any visual connection with the outside. At the end of the ritual, the same view is reintroduced at the exit, a design gesture that augments the symbolism of the relationship between the view and the ceremony. However, the connection with the outer world is possible but only from spaces not related to the ceremony, namely an auditorium and so called 'family rooms' with the openings in the ceilings providing day light. This enhances an idea of being under the ground (Fig. 3.45). In small and intimate spaces of these 'family rooms' the feeling of enclosure is dominant and was described as claustrophobic by users, deeming the space 'unwanted' and therefore not used. With other rooms, in which the view on the valley is permitted, this is not the case. The usage of these spaces suggests that the bereaved are more inclined to have their intimate moment in a space that communicates with the soothing effects of nature, hence a room with a

²⁰⁵ In a 1971 speech, 'The Room, the Street, and Human Agreement,' in the exhibition catalogue *Dramatis Personae: Cast of Characters from the Architectural Drawings of Louis I. Kahn*, Louis I. Kahn: The Making of a Room, Arthur Ross Gallery, University of Pennsylvania, February 7 through March 29, 2009 Copyright 2009 The Trustees, University of Pennsylvania (http://www2.latech.edu/~wtwillou/A310_410_IDES_Images_sum04/Kahn_1971_AIA_Gold%20Medal.pdf, accessed 29.01.15)

²⁰⁶ The shelter buildings on the war cemeteries were designed to offer a place for mourning for the bereaved. They were initially planned for all cemeteries, but after calculating costs for the first three built, shelter houses were restricted only for larger cemeteries. Tim Skelton, Gerald Gliddon, *Lutyens and the Great War*, Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2008, p. 119

view as suggested by the name of the crematorium, instead of the one that is ‘capsuled’.

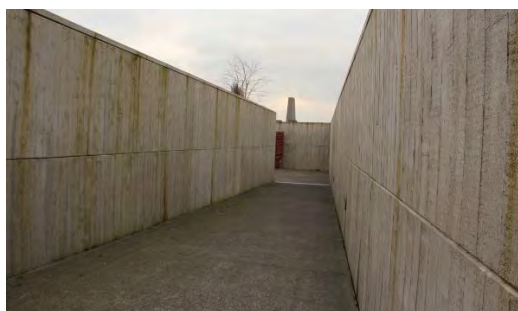


Figure 3.44

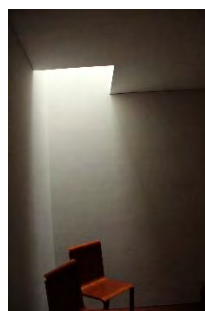


Figure 3.45

Whether it is a question of the small scale of the space or rather the feeling of being isolated without any reference to the outside world, or even the combination of the two, is difficult to say. Interestingly, many memorial spaces and memorial museums contain similar rooms in order to communicate difficult messages, such as the room called ‘Holocaust Tower’ in Daniel Libeskind’s Jewish Museum in Berlin. Of course, Libeskind’s room is significantly ‘dramatized’ in order to evoke feelings related to the macabre character of the topic (Fig. 3.46).

Art work entitled *In search of the Other*, installed at De Nieuwe Ooster cemetery in Amsterdam as a part of an exhibition organized in 2012, explored the power of this basic architectural typology in contemplation of death and the afterlife.²⁰⁷ The installation appeared in the cemetery’s landscape as a small white pyramid approachable by a staircase descending into the earth (Fig. 3.47). Once the entrance door closed upon entering, the narrow interior of the room functioned as a *camera obscura*, projecting the movements of trees surrounding the installation. The underground room was transformed into a capsule, set completely apart from the known time and space, an intimate realm for contemplation among lively shadows and muffled noise of the outside world - a demonstration of melancholy translated into stone, as Boulée had imagined. A fact that the work was located on the cemetery probably encouraged the idea of an enclosure within an artificial grave. At the same time, one would be constantly aware that the intimate seclusion could

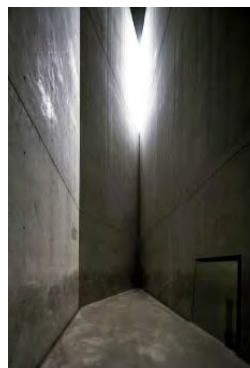


Figure 3.46

²⁰⁷ The Afterlife was the title of the exhibition organized by the Nederland’s Uitvaart Museum Tot Zover and the cemetery De Nieuwe Ooster, from 3 November 2011 until 9 September 2012. (<http://www.totzover.nl/index.php?page=Afterlife1>, accessed 29.01.15)

be disrupted at any moment since a sudden intrusion of a new visitor lingered in the background as a constant possibility.²⁰⁸ The space remained personal realm for contemplation until another visitor would open the door in order to enter, an act that would change the space into a brightly lit white room. The effect of enclosure in an intimate space was a precondition for participation in the memorial.



Figure 3.47

In front of a cemetery in Portbou on the cliff of the Costa Brava in Spain, a memorial dedicated to Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) is a telling example of an architectural merging of a cemetery space and a memorial realm through all the above mentioned elements. The memorial entitled 'Passages, Homage to Walter Benjamin'²⁰⁹ was inaugurated in 1994 and designed by the established Israeli sculptor Dani Karavan (born 1930)²¹⁰ (Fig. 3.48). Aiming to spatialize the merging of Benjamin's life and death, Karavan conjured Benjamin's theoretical work²¹¹ and the space of the cemetery where he is buried. The memorial is positioned in front of the cemetery, and it punctuates the landscape by fragmentation and usage of industrial materials, namely Corten steel in order to achieve a strong contrast with the natural surroundings, which Karavan often employed in his works.²¹² A main space of the memorial consists of a long staircase which descends toward the sea (Fig.

²⁰⁸ For memorials in public space, however, other people's presence is a reality due to their popularity or attractive location where they are installed. As a solution, many of these spaces are controlled by a gatekeeper, for instance the 11M memorial in Madrid.

²⁰⁹ On the official site of the memorial the following explanation is offered: 'The title chosen by Karavan, *Passages*, refers not only to Benjamin's fateful passage from France to Portbou, but also to his unfinished last work, the *Passagen-Werk* or *Arcades Project*, which he began in 1927, a vast collection of writings on the life of 19th-century Paris and its arcades and reflections on the contemporary urban experience. In creating his memorial, Karavan adopted an approach akin to Benjamin's own, connecting the traces of past pain, memory and exile with the possibility of a new and better future. In fact, the memorial incorporates a number of the thinker's concepts most characteristic themselves: the philosophy of history, the necessity of experience, the idea of limit, the landscape as aura and the necessity of memory.' See: Walter Benjamin in Portbou (<http://walterbenjaminportbou.cat/en/content/lobra>, accessed 07.05.2015)

²¹⁰ The memorial is a result of a project that started in 1992, the 100th anniversary of Benjamin's birth, with the original title: *Passagen - Gedenkort für Walter Benjamin und die Exilierten der Jahre 1933-1945*. See: Fritz Jacobi, Mordechai Omer and Jule Reuter (Eds.), *Dani Karavan Retrospective*, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag Tübingen, Berlin, 2008, p. 296

²¹¹ Several of Benjamin's concepts can be recognized in the memorial's fragmented architecture, namely: the philosophy of history, the necessity of experience, the idea of limit, the landscape as aura and the necessity of memory. Ibid

²¹² Karavan designed several memorials all over the world, such as Memory Garden (1999) in Duisburg, Germany or Negev Memorial (1968) in Beersheva, Israel. Karavan's work is usually embedded into a landscape through fragmentation and symbolic evocation. Design gestures in Karavan's memorials often encourage the movements of passing-through. His latest work in Berlin, the Memorial to the Murdered Sinti and Roma (2012) is a reflecting pool of water, situated in a natural setting in the Tiergarten which can be entered through an entrance passage, one more demonstration of Karavan's subtle approach to materialization of memory.

3.49). Reaching the water is, however, not possible because of a transparent barrier with the most explicit reference to Benjamin - his words inscribed on the glass:

*"Schwerer ist es, das Gedächtnis der Namenlosen zu ehren als das der Berühmten. Dem Gedächtnis der Namenlosen ist die historische Konstruktion geweiht."*²¹³



Figure 3.48

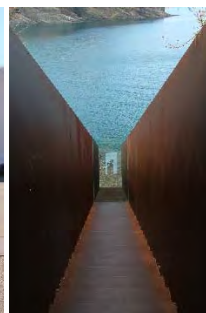


Figure 3.49

This space merges two typologies of transition elements, a path constituted within a ritual, in this case a visit to the memorial, and a room for contemplation. At the same time it is an introduction or an extended entrance to the adjacent cemetery. Its other features, such as a small stair situated higher in the landscape, can be seen as 'stepping stones for pulling together the ideas necessary to consider the whole.'²¹⁴ Furthermore, by being submitted to the landscape and focused on the view, the memory that the memorial tries to capture is naturally susceptible to weather conditions as the atmosphere and thereby the meaning of the memorial, differ significantly if one is confronted with a view and sounds of the raging sea or instead with a lulling melody of the calm water movements. In this sense the memorial operates as a living structure with its elements anchored in space as signposts of memory. In its formal and metaphorical meaning the memorial is highly evocative of Karavan's earlier installation for 'Documents 6' in Kassel, where he used elements of staircase to create a room for contemplation and remembrance.²¹⁵ (Fig. 3.50; 51)



Figure 3.50



Figure 3.51

²¹³ Under the inscription there are translations offered in four languages and the English one reads: 'It is more difficult to honour the memory of the nameless than that of the renowned. Historical construction is devoted to the memory of the nameless.'

²¹⁴ Hornstein, op. cit., p. 17

²¹⁵ See: Jacobi et. al., op. cit., p. 172

4. Building memory now

4.1 In a globalizing world

'This is the time for drawing angels'

John Hejduk¹

For various reasons it takes a considerable amount of time to realize an architectural memorial project, to name just a few: contested views on common history, absence of satisfying representational vocabulary or shortcomings related to a financial background of a project. In spite of these, memorial architecture is a burgeoning design field. Since our contemporary society recognizes a whole spectrum of traumatic events supported by the explanatory vocabulary for 'modernism's multiple wounds (total war, genocide, and terrorism) and abundant anxieties (shell shock, survivor guilt, posttraumatic stress disorder)',² contemporary memorial projects can be seen as manifestation of this diverge and contested field of social and medical science. Many WWI memorials are still being built today and the fact that 2014 marked the centenary of the beginning of the war certainly contributed to their proliferation.³ The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier dedicated in 2004 in New Zealand, even though many participating nation-states buried their Unknown much earlier, also indicates a strong influence of WWI commemorative practices. Many established memorials and monuments standing on the sites of WWI battlefields are being enlarged to satisfy contemporary requirements. Similar stands for WWII memorials and in particular Holocaust memorials, emerging across Europe and the United States.⁴

Among other reasons,⁵ this proliferation can be observed in the light of the global social network, the available knowledge and information conditioned by the modern, superficial and quickening way of life. The architectural network of contemporary memory projects and representations is affected by this process that creates a sort of physical mnemonic system or global theatre of memory.⁶

¹ John Hejduk quoted in K. Michael Hays, *Sanctuaries: The Last Works of John Hejduk*, Whitney Museum of American Art, 2003, p.1

² Doss, op. cit., p. 131

³ For example, International Memorial Notre Dame de Lorette in Nord-Pas-de-Calais region inaugurated in November 2014, later elaborated as a case studies, is one of the most recent examples.

⁴ See: Ashplant et. al., op. cit.

⁵ Ashplant et. al., discern the following key reasons for the contemporary proliferation in war memory: the intense emergence into public visibility of the Shoah; demands by social groups suffering injustice for public recognition; enhanced profile of anniversary commemorations, for example to mark the beginning and ending of wars; a new pattern of warfare, stimulated by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the 'Eastern-block' in Europe (1989-91), fought between peoples in the name of their differences. Op. cit., pp. 3-5

⁶ Malcom Waters argued that globalization is defined by relationship between social organization and territoriality, distinguished by three central functions of exchange: Material exchanges localize, political exchanges internationalize and symbolic exchanges tend to become global. In:

Consequently, the architectural forms replicate and end up commemorating different events in different parts of the world. Some argue that the power of memorials rests precisely in their generalizability, the ability to provoke similar feelings in people from different backgrounds.⁷ Next to the numerous possibilities to learn about similar projects from various social and cultural contexts, memorial institutions too create networks and platforms through which they exchange information and knowledge.

Similar architectural expressions can be found in projects created in different parts of the world, for instance designs in South Africa dedicated to a particular cultural narrative echo those of Europe that are built for very different purposes.⁸ Popular debates on contemporary ways of commemorating are developing in a context that is defined by worldwide information. Memorializing, for instance, Apartheid in South Africa, Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina or victims of the state terror in Argentina are widely present issues and are a part of the global memory culture, directed by memory politics from both local and national levels. Andreas Huyssen⁹ has argued that 'memory projects may construct or revise national narratives, but these narratives are now invariably located in a space somewhere between the global and the local.'¹⁰ Monuments and memorials seem to fulfil the notion of a contemporary 'memory boom' as 'major modes of aesthetic, historical and spatial expression.'¹¹ According to Huysen, the way western societies remember at the end of the 20th century can be defined as a 'hybrid memorial-media culture within which museums, monuments and memorials are again finding their *raison d'être*, helping the society in a fight against amnesia and an "enlighten false consciousness."¹² Such hybrid memory projects are exploring the ways in which commodity culture remembers, as was the case with Prada's one-time event called '24 h Museum' (2012) in Paris, designed by artist Francesco Vezzoli (born

Mark W. Rectanus, 'Globalization: Incorporating the Museum', *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Sharon Macdonald (Ed.), Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011, p. 804

⁷ Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Brill-Leiden, 2010, pp. 803-837, p. 116

⁸ For example see the analyse of the Freedom Park in Pretoria, South Africa, in: op. cit., pp. 209-241.

⁹ Andreas Huyssen is the Villard Professor of German and comparative literature at Columbia University and an editor of *New German Critique*. He was born in Germany in 1942. Huyssen received his doctorate from the University of Zurich in 1969. His publications include books on German Romantic poetics and the drama of the *Sturm und Drang* as well as *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (1986), *Twilight Memories: Making Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (1995), *Present Past: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (2003) and *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing World* (2008)

¹⁰ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Past: Urban Palimpsest and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford University Press, 2003, p. 96

¹¹ Andreas Huyssen, 'Monumental Seduction' in: Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Eds.), *Act of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College/University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 191-208, p. 191

¹² Huyssen refers to German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk. Op. cit., p. 10

1971) and AMO, Rem Koolhaas' (born 1944) think tank.¹³ Labelled as a 'non-existent' museum the project was inspired by three different types of museum space: historic, contemporary and forgotten. Instead of traditional museum exhibit that is normally composed in one aesthetically unified space, this collage of spaces was instrumental for the events that were unfolding within the twenty-four hours of the project's duration that aimed to test the boundaries in the visual arts, cinema and theatre. The event was situated in 1937 Palais d'Iéna designed by Auguste Perret where art, fashion and architecture were intended to meet in a hybrid construct within the historical space that was now transformed into an experimental stage. With this temporary installation, artist and architects attempted to reflect on the conception of a museum as a 'social laboratory' that could evolve towards the commercialization of a museum as a public memory project.¹⁴ After the event was finished, the artefacts of the exhibit, colourful interpretation of classical sculptures referencing contemporary divas, were imagined to exist as 'ruins of the lost moment, mementos of a unique, unrepeatable museum project.'¹⁵ Even though rather extreme in its conception, by tackling notions of memory and a social ritual in the contemporary moment, the project also explored the role of architecture in their preservation, as Vezzoli explained: '*When the clock completes its 24-hour turn, everything will disappear. Like a gigantic Cinderella.*'¹⁶

On the other hand, memory projects seem to regain their status due to their permanence which, as Huyssen argued, attracts public 'dissatisfied with simulation and channel-flicking.'¹⁷ From this point of view, a memorial and compensatory organs of remembrance among which are museums, memorials, humanities and historical preservations, reappear as alternative to the ruling electronic media of contemporary commodity and temporality generated by the quickening progress of media dissemination. Interestingly, a project entitled MEMO¹⁸ that has the ambition of becoming a truly 'global

¹³ Rem Koolhaas founded OMA in 1975 together with Elia and Zoe Zenghelis and Madelon Vriesendorp. In 1978 Koolhaas published *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*. He heads the work of both OMA and AMO, the research branch or so called 'think tank' of OMA, operating in areas beyond the realm of architecture such as media, politics, renewable energy and fashion.

¹⁴ '24 h Museum' brochure for the event of 24.01.2012 – 25.01.2012, Prada, Studio Vezzoli, OMA^AMO, Prada Spa Milan, 2012, p. 8; For example, a third spatial concept within this collage, the forgotten space, inspired by the inaccessible museum archives, was used during the 24h event as a small scale disco under a title 'Salon des Refusés' and contained imaginary relics of Vezzoli's art.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 18

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 20

¹⁷ Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, Routledge New York and London, 1995, p. 255; Huyssen refers to 'channel flicking' as contemporary strategy of narcissistic derealization.

¹⁸ MEMO (Mass Extinction Monitoring Observatory) is a collaborative project of scientists and artist dedicated to building 'a global beacon for biodiversity', conceived in 2006 by an

monument with authentic local roots¹⁹ is seeking its anchorage in space through a building made out of stone, as ‘we have always built’²⁰ (Fig. 4.1; 2).



Figure 4.1



Figure 4.2

The aspect of tourism or so called ‘dark tourism’ naturally relates to the issue of globalisation as many memorial sites compete in their offer of authenticity while striving to transform locations into destinations.²¹ The very fixity of architecture, and fixity on trauma in particular, is confronted with projects that incorporate temporality as a way of representation. Unlike the temporary installation of the ‘24-hour museum’, the Mémorial de la Bataille d’Arras (2008) in the Wellington Quarry recreates the past into a permanent exhibit. The memorial is a part of the ‘Paths of Remembrance’ mapped by the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region in Northern France where several memorials and museums have been recently dedicated to commemorate and develop the heritage of the Great War.²² By using hi-tech interactive scenographic design incorporated into the authentic interior of the quarry, the memorial aims to reconstruct the experience of 24,000 soldiers who lived in the quarry between 1916 and 1918. The experience is framed by the

educational charity based in the UK in partnership with the E. O. Wilson Biodiversity Foundation in the US. The goal of the project is to realize a monumental building, designed by architect David Adjaye, that would contain information about biodiversity on Earth but also serve as a memorial to all the species that were extinct as well as a warning about the future extinctions. Images of plants and animals are being carved in various places around the world with a plan to assemble and integrate them into the walls of the future memorial. The building will be placed on the Isle of Portland, on the south coast of Britain. ‘MEMO: Mass Extinction Monitoring Observatory’, Brochure, 2014 (<http://www.memoproject.org/docs/MEMO-Brochure-2014.pdf>, accessed 16.06.2015)

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 9. The design is described as a journey that a visitor has to take: ‘The floor is reached by a ‘cut’ into the ground. Inside is a continuous spiral walkway lined with the sculptures wrapped around a great central chamber – the venue for performance and events – ascending to, and ultimately right through an ‘oculus’ of sky above.’ Op. cit., p. 10

²⁰ Op. cit., p. 2

²¹ Rob van Laarse, ‘Beyond Auschwitz? Europe’s Terrrorscapes in the Age of Postmemory’, in: Marc Silberman and Florence Vatan (Eds.), *Memory and Postwar Memorials: Confronting the Violence of the Past*, Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2013, pp. 71-92, p. 75

²² One more recent example is in France, ‘Musée de la Grande Guerre’ in Pays de Meaux by Christophe Lab

skillful implementation of acoustic and visual effects that accentuate the feeling of tragedy which permeated the war. Focus is placed on soldiers and their daily life in the quarry through presentation of details such as drawings made by the soldiers, letters to family and witty jokes. Apparently, creating Mémorial de la Bataille d'Arras was justified by the growing interest of tourists since 1996 who were coming from all over the world to see and experience the 'rare surviving example of WWI soldiers' living quarter', an intriguing underground project and home for so many in the difficult circumstances of WWI.²³



(Fig. 4.3)

Figure 4.3

Many contemporary memorials correspond with the statement that 'society of spectacle turns sites of great battles into shows.'²⁴ Similarly to Mémorial de la Bataille d'Arras, memorials such as La Mémorial in Caen or Terror Hazza in Budapest, to name just a few,²⁵ are becoming theatres with abundant visual effects, aiming to involve and provoke empathy in visitors. The technologically advanced tools for remembering create new forms of public cultural memory, touching upon a notion of 'prosthetic memory' that allows anyone to experience the past through mediated experience.²⁶ The effect of such sophisticated scenography depends on many factors. Dramatics of recreated environment will most likely have some effect on the visitor, but more importantly, what is the purpose of creating the stage in the first place? By recreating the experience of the soldiers, which we perceive as authentic, and in that way making the border between past and present events relatively ambiguous, there is a great possibility to fall into pitfalls of creating misrepresentation. While they might offer a promise of the existence of their memorialized realities,²⁷ such projects can easily produce more possibility for elusion and manipulation by using advanced means of representation in an excessive way.

²³ La Carrière Wellington, Mémorial de la Bataille d'Arras, Carriere Wllington/@Studio K, 2008, ISBN: 978-2-9520615, p. 2

²⁴ Ragon, op. cit., p.110

²⁵ An insightful elaboration of several contemporary memorial museums and current trends in musealisation of traumatic events is given in Williams, op. cit.

²⁶ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004

²⁷ By focusing on processes and mechanisms of representation, Timothy Michel argued that critique of spectacles is focused on misrepresentation instead of the ways spectacles make visible modern ways of learning about the past. See: Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1991

The quest for the exclusivity, however, is not unfamiliar to acts of commemoration of important anniversaries. For example the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the siege of Sarajevo was marked in 2012 with an installation called *Sarajevo Red Line* which consisted of 11, 541 red plastic chairs, each chair symbolizing one victim. The chairs were faced toward a stage where the commemoration ceremony was performed²⁸ (Fig. 4.4). With its red colour referencing a line of blood, reinforced by hundreds of small chairs that symbolised children victims of the siege, the installation produced a memorable visual effect.²⁹ In the same vein, the centenary of WWI in Great Britain was commemorated with an art installation *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red*, featuring 888,246 ceramic poppies, at the Tower of London (Fig. 4.5). The symbolism of both projects, highly spectacular installations, is clear and instantly recognizable. Apart from the aesthetic valorisation of these projects and their artistic ideas which are hardly noble, and can be judged for beautification of death (since using singular objects to demonstrate the scale of destruction is rather common feature in commemorative projects) there are numerous questions these installations raise in regard to their context and the effect they have on the remembrance of the events.



Figure 4.4



Figure 4.5

London's project approached this issue by insisting on a concept of participation based on the artist's idea that 'people should get involved in physically making things so that they mean something more',³⁰ whereas in Sarajevo's case this aspect is missing and the red chairs were only meant to be observed as an absent audience. Next to this, there is an underlining question of the project's relationship to the authentic traces of memory - Sarajevo roses, which are fading away. The issue becomes even more complicated if the idea to create a memorial park in which the chairs will be placed comes to its realization. Hence if the temporary theatres of memory turn into permanent architectural scenography. In many ways, such an act would echo Walter

²⁸ A designer of the installation Haris Pašović argued that 'As an artistic event, 'Sarajevo Red Line' belongs to the monumental artistic happenings in the domain of visual, dramatic and music art. This artistic happening is without precedence in the history of art. A concert dedicated to an audience of 11,541 killed persons has never been performed.' In East-West Theater Company (<http://eastwest.ba/sarajevo-red-line-6-april-2012/>, accessed 26.11.2014)

²⁹ A chair is often employed element in memorial architecture, for example in the Oklahoma memorial museum, which communicates absence of a person and at the same time the impossibility of grasping other person's experience.

³⁰ Paul Cummins quoted in 'People', *Leisure Management*, Issue 4 2014, p. 8

Benjamin's argument that 'an appreciation of the transience of things, and the concern to redeem them for eternity is one of the strongest impulses in allegory.'³¹

In the American context, the embodiment of modern memory mania is exemplified in the city of Washington where significant number of memorials and monuments have been inaugurated since 1995.³² According to Doss, memory mania embodies contemporary public feelings and is, as she explained, 'contextualized by a highly successful public art industry, burgeoning interest in "memory studies" and "living" or experiencing history and shifting understanding of American national identity.'³³ Responses to the satiation with memory is often taking a satirical tone, particularly in contemporary art as was the case with Oldenburg or for example a fifteen-minute opera called 'Memorial city'³⁴ portraying a town obsessed with building memorials to everything, even for a person who chocked on a pretzel. The purpose of all that memorial-building seems to be forgetting by chiselling the loss into the stone while architects and experts 'lavish



Figure 4.6

solace on the town's angst-ridden population.'³⁵ It comes as no surprise then that Mexican artist Israel Lopes Balan imagined a gigantic cube as a 'Monument to Fear' (2014) in Mexico City which would operate as an enormous *camera obscura*, large enough to reproduce the surroundings of the Plaza de la Constitución'³⁶ (Fig. 4.6).

³¹ Walter Benjamin quoted in: Richard Wolin, *Walter Benjamin, an Aesthetic of Redemption*, University of California Press, 1994, p. 71

³² Since 1995 following memorials have been built in Washington: the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial (2011), the Pentagon Memorial (2008), Air Force Memorial (2006), National World War II Memorial (2004), George Mason Memorial (2002), Tomas G. Masaryk Memorial (2002), National Japanese American Memorial (2000), Mahatma Gandhi Memorial (1999), African American Civil War Memorial (1998), Women in Military Service for America Memorial (1997), Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial (1997), Korean War Veterans Memorial (1995) and Lockerbie Memorial Cairn (1995).

³³ Erica Doss, op. cit., p. 19

³⁴ A one-act music-theatre performance with text and drawings by artist Ben Katchor and music by composer Mark Mulcahy.

³⁵ 'Second Thoughts on The Memory Industry', symposium May 7, 2011, organized by The New York Institute for the Humanities and The Humanities Initiative at NYU, Press release (<http://www.nyu.edu/about/news-publications/news/2011/04/15/second-thoughts-on-the-memory-industrymay-7-.html>, accessed 29.01.2015)

³⁶ The plaza is called the Zócalo (Spanish for 'plinth') because in the late 19th century, plans were made to build a column as a monument to the independence of Mexico, but only the base was built. The plinth was destroyed long ago, but the name has lived on. Today the Zócalo is

As a consequence, an often asked question is whether our contemporary culture, equipped with sophisticated and convenient data banks, encourages oblivion instead of active remembrance, as some sort of destructively efficient *pharmakon*³⁷ and in a long run fosters oblivion and amnesia instead.³⁸ If monuments and memorials are built to, among other things, be admonishments, the enigma remains about the purpose of the admonishment. Has the replication, and globalization, of the 'never again' already become 'over again' too many times?

Discussing Karavan's Passages in Portbou, Shelley Hornstein stressed that if the memorial aims to reach wider audiences which are not acquainted with the particular theme of the memorial, it can achieve that only as an art object or a symbol 'with no relationship to that which it signifies, but needing to be learned in order to become a convention, as does language.'³⁹ Hornstein believed that by scattering parts of the memorial over the location in order to emphasize its specificity, the designer managed to communicate memory that is both 'local to Portbou and international.'⁴⁰ In a certain way, this logic resonates the principle of remembering by mnemonists who created imaginary memoryscape in order to provide the much needed interpretation of the world - *clavis universalis* or a master key, for understanding how the universe works.⁴¹

In their place between 'the global and the local', memorial projects are dependent on the social and cultural context they originate from since they represent the material demonstration of a variety of practices and particular remembrance cultures which originated them in the first place. In assessing a memorial, several key aspects need to be addressed in order to define the context and means of representation employed in the memorial. The initial defining aspect is contained within a question about who is the commissioner of a memorial since this fact determines some of the defining features of the memorial, such as a purpose and a content of the memorial. Distinguishing on what the memorial needs to achieve, hence what is its purpose, creates a

bordered by the cathedral to the north, the national palace to the east, the federal district buildings to the south, and the old portal de mercaderes to the west. It is the center of government where the nation and the capital reside.

³⁷ In Plato's *Phaedrus*, the Egyptian god of writing Theuth or Thoth, offers King Thamus writing as a 'remedy' (*pharmakon*) that can help memory. Thamus refuses the gift on the grounds that it will only create forgetfulness because he perceived it not a remedy for memory itself, but merely a way of reminding.

³⁸ Erika Doss: *Memory Mania*, 2010; Adrian Forty & Susanne Kuchler: *The Art of Forgetting: Materializing Culture*, 1999; Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, Routledge New York and London, 1995; the same questions are asked in regard to the proliferation of museums which started after 1970s. See Sharon Macdonald (Ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011

³⁹ Hornstein, op. cit., p. 17

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Paolo Rossi, *Clavis Universalis: Arti Mnemoniche e logica combinatorial da Lullo a Leibniz*, Ricciardi, 1960

framework in which next stages of the memorial's development will take place. A scale of the future development is also defined depending on whether the commissioner is a government with greater political ambitions or a local society that wants to create a lasting memory in their interest. To be sure, all these issues are in a relation to the spatial context: is the process of creating the memorial related to the existing building or site or is the memorial planned for a new location and whether a choice of the location still needs to be made. Normally, an architectural competition is organized, but it is not uncommon that the commissioner decides to entrust one designer or a team with the task of creating the memorial. There is no precise formula that can indicate which approach delivers more valuable results. Nevertheless, an open and transparent process of creating the memorial is obviously preferred in today's society. Undeniably, there are many advocates for the importance of dialogue in the process, arguing that the very process of discussing the ideas and forms resonates more deeply than the built structure itself. Perhaps the most illustrative example is the process of making the MMJE.⁴² Political scientists involved with human rights argue that in the cases of historically relevant sites designated for large memorial projects it is necessary to take an interdisciplinary approach involving human right activists, urban planners and architects, educators, historic preservationists, artists and exhibit designers and finally tourism managers.⁴³ Once these issues are defined and the plan requirements are clear, decisions on how to make a memorial can take place. Here again, and depending on the scale of the project, many steps need to be made and issues agreed upon. One such question could be whether there will be an architectural competition organized or a private commission will take place. Finally, a role of an architect in the materialization of a memorial, from a design proposal to a realized architectural edifice, is in large part shaped by the design process that includes communication between the commissioner and the designer, in other words freedom that was provided to the designer. Here the issue of the authenticity and the sense of place come to the fore. Building a memorial on a place where the event happened is of course of seeming relevance, but how and if it is going to be explored in the design is a topic on its own.

⁴² The years long debate about the form and meaning of the MMJE was published in a document that contains more than thousand pages including numerous proposals that participated in two competitions that were organized. See: Ute Heimord, Günter Schlusche und Horst Seferens (Eds.), *Der Denkmalstreit-das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" – Eine Dokumentation*, Philo Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, Berlin, 1999

⁴³ Brett et.al., op. cit., p. 2

4.2 Sense of place and time

We have no place to find. Nothing can be settled.
Idriz Merdžanić⁴⁴

Architecture is always related to a place while experiencing architecture is bound up with time. In other words, the space is a referential component whereas time relates to the experiential aspect of the design. A Finnish architect and theorist Juhani Pallasmaa⁴⁵ (born 1936) stressed that contemporary architectural settings are, as he put it:

*'Usually experienced as having their origin in singular moments of time. They evoke an experience of flattened or rejected temporality. Yet, the existential task of architecture is to relate us to time as much as to space... The mental roles of these two fundamental existential dimensions are curiously reversed. In terms of space, we yearn for specificity, whereas in our temporal experience we desire a sense of continuity. Consequently, architecture has to create a specificity of space and place and at the same time, evoke the experience of temporal continuum.'*⁴⁶

This is particularly true in memorial architecture where a place is the defining context or even the construction material itself. In authentic places architectural intervention is needed for its restoration as a *lieux de mémoire* and the 'sense of historical continuity' that permeates it.⁴⁷ Furthermore, all material objects are in a strong relation with their context, as Ludwig Wittgenstein⁴⁸ (1889–1951), Warburg's contemporary, argued at the fin-de-siècle Vienna when the topic of context was dominant, as he explained:

'Just as we can in no way conceive of spatial objects outside space or temporal objects outside time, we cannot conceive of any object outside the possibilities of its connection to others. Although I can

⁴⁴ Idriz Merdžanić, survivor of Omarska concentration camp, quoted in: Vulliamy, op. cit., p. xlii

⁴⁵ Juhani Pallasmaa is a designer who is particularly interested in experiencing architecture and the phenomenological aspects. His publications are rather popular in architectural circles and include: *The Architecture of Image: Existential Space in Cinema* (2001) and *The Eyes of the Skin—Architecture and the Senses* (1996).

⁴⁶ Juhani Pallasmaa, 'The Space of Time', *Oz-Journal of the College of Architecture, Planning & Design*, Kansas State University, Volume 20, 1998, pp. 54-57, p. 54

⁴⁷ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', in: *Representations* 26, 1989, pp. 7-24, p. 9

⁴⁸ Ludwig Josef Johann Wittgenstein was an Austrian-British philosopher who worked primarily in logic, the philosophy of mathematics, the philosophy of mind, and the philosophy of language. His early work was influenced by that of Arthur Schopenhauer and, especially, by his teacher Bertrand Russell and by Gottlob Frege. His work culminated in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, the only philosophy book that Wittgenstein published during his lifetime. It claimed to solve all the major problems of philosophy and was held in especially high esteem by the anti-metaphysical logical positivists. The *Tractatus* is based on the idea that philosophical problems arise from misunderstandings of the logic of language.

*conceive of the object in the context of the state of things, I cannot conceive of it outside the possibility to this context.*⁴⁹

Not much differently, Edward Casey underlined that our memory is bound to a place through our experiences of it therefore a place becomes a 'container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability.'⁵⁰ People invest places with meaning, both social and cultural and many argued for the importance of place in process of remembering.⁵¹ Throughout cultural context and daily living people transform places and create specific biographies of places. In this way social identities are formed and constantly reinforced through cultural practice within culturally defined spaces. As a composing tissue of cultural memory, places can be sacralized, for instance with spontaneous memorials. What Casey called 'place memory'⁵² can be described as embodied quality of place that can inform practice and is productive of particular expressions of place.⁵³ Created biographies of places are more tangible if they are rooted in a material point of reference, possible to visit and experience.⁵⁴ We can experience history of a certain place and its meaning through space as a relational concept.⁵⁵ Space designed as a strong holding environment can elicit the sense of place.⁵⁶

At the end of the 20th century, interdisciplinary interest was developed around the urban condition of cities leading towards new formulations surrounding space and production of space. One of the key figures forming the debate about 'spatial theory', Henry Lefebvre outlined distinction between representations of space and spaces of representation. The first is involving a system of abstract and dominant codes whereas the space of representation is a resistant

⁴⁹ Ludwig Wittgenstein, 'Tractatus logico-philosophicus', 2.0121, quoted in: Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos*, Idea Books Architectural Series, G. Spinelli & C. S. p. A., Firenze, 1982, p. 78

⁵⁰ Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987, p. 182

⁵¹ Edward Casey, *The Fate of Place*, Berkeley University of California Press, 1997

⁵² Casey defined 'place memory' as 'the stabilizing persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability. An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with place, finding in it features that favor and parallel its own activities. We might even say that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported.' Casey, 1987, op. cit., pp. 186/187.

⁵³ Angela Martin, 'The practice of identity and an Irish sense of place', in: *Gender, Place and Culture*, Volume 4, Issue 1, March 1997, pp. 89-113

⁵⁴ See: Charles Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, London: Berg, 1993, p. 33; Alan Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure*, Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1986

⁵⁵ Christian Norberg Schultz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, Rizzoli, 1991; Phenomenological perspective claimed that 'space' is nothing but the relationship between objects while 'place' is space which has meaning derived from personal and collective memories and identity. See Haim Yacobi (Ed.), *Constructing the Sense of Place: Architecture and Zionist Discourse*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Ellsworth, *Places of Learning: Media, Architecture, Pedagogy*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2005

space, offering possibilities for imagination and invention. Lefebvre stressed that an unrepresentative space or 'passive representational space' can be transformed into a dynamic site of ideology.⁵⁷ In reverse, place becomes part of the identity through experience and peoples' reaction to the place. This interaction is a dynamic process through which both subjects evolve as Lefebvre stressed 'space and the political organization of the space express social relationships but also react back upon them.'⁵⁸ A choice of the site for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, for example, was of great importance for the nation states involved in WWI, both on collective and individual level. The relevance of these sites exceeded to almost a mythic status, resembling symbolic re-birth of the state embodied in the Unknown Soldier as a national hero.⁵⁹ Once the space is officially dedicated, it becomes incentive for social memory. These physical spaces communicate a certain meaning which changes in the course of time due to the inevitable contestation that comes from cultural and political influences. Becoming some kind of a mnemonic construct, empowered with emotion of the narrative connected to them, they reinforce identification of people with the national context.

Hence a place is never inert, rather it is in constant state of flux and it is a constituent part in forming the identity. Consequently, our attachment to a place is also never inert but changes depending on our perception of a place modeled by our emotions, beliefs and behavior change and so forth. This relationship that is so highly susceptible to change is addressed as the 'ambiguous place attachment.'⁶⁰

The importance of Lefebvre's representational space is recognized and practiced by contemporary urban planners who often design public 'event places', rich in symbolism and historical narrative.⁶¹ Among other, memorial projects such as the MMJE in Berlin or 'Memento Park'⁶² in Budapest, belong to the nascent contemporary

⁵⁷ Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell Publishing, 1991, p. 39

⁵⁸ Op. cit., p.8

⁵⁹ The sites of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier occupied prominent places: in France under the Arc de Triomphe in Paris; England-Westminster Abbey in London; In Italy-Monument to Victor Emmanuel in Rome; Belgium-next to the Colonnade of the Congress in Brussels. See Carole Blair, V. William Balthrop, Neil Michel, 'The Arguments of the Tombs of the Unknown: Rationality and National Legitimation', in *Argumentation* (2011) 25: 449-469 (Published online: 12 May 2011)

⁶⁰ Watkins, 2007, p. 50

⁶¹ See Franco Mancuso, Krzysztof Kowalski (Eds.), *Squares of Europe, Squares for Europe*, Jagiellonian University Press (Cracow), 2007

⁶² 'Memento Park' (1993) is an open air museum that contains statues of known and less known Communist leaders, removed from public squares after the end of dictatorship in Hungary in 1989. The park is divided into two sections: Statue Park and Witness Square. Hungarian architect Ákos Eleőd who designed the museum explained that the park 'is not about the statues or the sculptors, but a critique of the ideology that used these statues as symbols of authority.' Ákos Eleőd, 'The Designer's Commendation: Quotations from studies, articles and conversations

trend to restore places with destructive histories as representational spaces. They restore historical narrative through architectural design on a large scale aimed to be integrated into the everyday life of a local community. Such memorial projects are aimed to support the historical memory of the local community, create popular public space, attract tourists and, perhaps, set the historical records straight. The great risk that lingers over these projects and the historical memory they carry is that they often tend to become popular playgrounds. One of the reasons for this is a tension born out of a confusion between the need to be historically and morally responsible and ambitious eagerness to be a successful public space. In this way a design has to respond to a wide range of public interest while the initial purpose of the place remains hidden. For example, when observing the public life and usage of the space of the MMJE, it is often the case that public is ignorant of a purpose of the memorial. As public space, it is rather appealing for playing hide and seek, taking fashion photos, jumping over the large concrete cubes or having lunch while sunbathing on their surfaces.⁶³ The ambiguity of the memorial has to do with many factors, including an unclear purpose in its very conception but also a choice of the location as a ‘no man’s land’ between East and West Berlin.⁶⁴ In the vein with Musil’s observation about WWI monuments in the 1930s’ Europe, this project tends to become invisible in regard to its purpose while its physical presence remains as solid as a large rock.⁶⁵ Similar arguments were raised in relation to the controversial National Monument of the 1956



Figure 4.7

Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in Budapest (2006) both in regard to its abstract appearance and to its ignoring of a historical heritage of the location⁶⁶ (Fig. 4.7).

Wittgenstein’s attention to context echoes thoughts Loos expressed about a tomb as a special, even

1992-2003’, *Memento Park* (<http://www.mementopark.hu/pages/conception/>, accessed 11.06.2015)

⁶³ See: Quentin Stevens, ‘Waarom het Holocaustmonument in Berlijn zo’n geliefd speelterrein is’ in: *Oase: Into the Open*, 2008, No. 77, pp. 71-79

⁶⁴ Carrier, op. cit., p. 102

⁶⁵ For its ability to attract playful behavior of the ignorant audience, the memorial has been nicknamed a ‘monkey-rock’. See: Franziska Bollerey, ‘Modesty versus Monumentality: The quieter way of speaking about Holocaust in Europe’, in: *Ezelsoren-Bulletin of the Institute of History of Art, Architecture and Urbanism, IHAAU*, vol. 1, no.2, 2008, pp. 25-43

⁶⁶ The location of the memorial is the Felvonulási Square where statue of Stalin was toppled in the Uprising on 23 October 1956, leaving only part of the monument standing-Stalin’s boots, replica of which is today to be found in the Budapest Statue Park of Communist Sculpture. Next to this, there used to stand a statue of Lenin and a giant cross. In Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, Taylor and Francis, 2013, Prologue xiv

religious, precinct. A tomb makes one immanently aware of the presence of a real body or artifact and therefore erases the ‘distance’ of representation which is normally created by an act of representation. Thus, a tomb as a sign of the immediacy of death. A site of tragedy is a sign itself⁶⁷ as it was the case in the aftermath of the 9/11 in the New York City when the clearing of the site where two buildings collapsed was accompanied by widespread claims for its sanctity as it was often referred to as a place ‘permanently marked by tragedy.’⁶⁸

Conversely, the power of representation of a commemorative monument that is not ‘marked’ depends upon the rhetorical force of the representation strategy since the meaning of the monuments should be metaphorically summoned.⁶⁹ In other words the symbolic content to memorial projects occupying non-authentic sites should be added through the design.⁷⁰ Same can be argued for places that are authentic. Design is of no less significance in bringing them into present by marking them or narrating the history of the place. In Catalan collective memory Fossar de la Pedrera (1986),⁷¹ adjacent to the Montjuïc cemetery in Barcelona, is a place of emotional strength emphasized by the architecture telling the narrative in the memory of the victims of the 1940s executions. Architecture carries carefully planned stages of



Figure 4.8

⁶⁷ In recent scholarship a term ‘terrscapes’ is used to depict those places ‘where terror, political or state-perpetrated violence has happened or was prepared – seeking to understand both what happened as well as how the space-times of terror are collectively remembered or forgotten.’ *Terrscapes*, the official website (<http://www.terrscapes.org/about-us.html>, accessed 14.06.2015)

⁶⁸ Michael Sorkin, *Starting from Zero-Reconstructing Downtown New York*, Routledge London, 2003

⁶⁹ Richard M. Sommer, ‘Time Incorporated: The Romantic Life of the Modern Monument’, in: *Harvard Design Magazine*, *Constructions of Memory*, Fall 1999, Number 9, pp. 38-44

⁷⁰ Michael A. Stern discussed American battlefields that have attained the status of sacred spaces in contemporary American society since they provide a strong setting for the visualization of historic events whereas ‘cemeteries, particularly those not located in a battlefield setting, have no such inherent symbolic content; they are abstractions that must in some way add symbolic content through design.’ Michael A. Stern, ‘The National Cemetery System: Politics, Place, and Contemporary Cemetery’, in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, op. cit., p. 108

⁷¹ El Fossar de la Pedrera (*the Grave of the Quarry*) lies in a hidden corner of Montjuïc cemetery. It was used as a common grave for 4,000 people executed by the Franco regime. Only few people were shot at this site. One of the few to be shot at the Montjuïc castle was Lluís Companys, the last president of the Generalitat de Catalunya during the Civil War, was killed in 1940. His remains were moved here in 1985, and the space was dignified as a memorial garden. It was designed by Beth Gali.

experience, preparing a visitor for each new encounter with the site's narrated history (Fig. 4.8).

Former places of terror and suffering are in many ways particular, for instance battlefields of WWI quite literally 'remember' as their morphology was remodeled due to heavy artillery, masterfully depicted in etchings by German artist Otto Dix.⁷² The landscape of WWI is recognized as the most important 'last witness'⁷³ that was shaped by ravages of the war, containing war's traces and invaluable archeological remains. Nevertheless, in the selective process of memorialization, it is not uncommon to ignore, twist or even alter historical information for the purpose of adding additional meaning to a place of memory. Danger of any representation and especially the representation of war is the creation of a myth.⁷⁴ One particular example is the so called 'Trench of Bayonets' at Verdun, where group of soldiers died during a bombardment on 12 June 1916 (Fig. 4.9). After number of bayonet tips were found protruding from the ground, a decision was made to preserve the place as a memorial. The bayonet tips remained positioned upright by the German soldiers who wanted to indicate to the French where the bodies of the dead soldiers were and in that way insure a proper burial. French, on the other hand, interpreted the protruding bayonets as a heroic act of fifteen brave men who remained on their positions until the awful death. The symbolic significance was instantly recognized, and shortly after the war ended American philanthropist George F. Rand decided to sponsor the creation of the memorial in order to protect the site that was already becoming a victim of its own popularity as souvenir hunters were removing the bayonets.⁷⁵ Opting for a design that would last '500 years', the architect André Ventre created a large concrete design to mark the place and to protect it against "the attacks of time or the cyclical pillage of the tourists."⁷⁶ Even though this particular story can be labelled as misleading, its symbolic recognition as representation of human condition in the war was significant for coming to terms with the iconic loss of human lives and a site of collective mourning.

⁷² Otto Dix's monumental portfolio *Der Krieg* (The war) from 1924 depicted traumas of the war; among them is the etching of a crater field near Dontrien lit up by flares (Trichterfeld bei Dontrien, von Leuchtkugeln erhellt).

⁷³ Brochure: The Great War Centenary (2014-2018) in Flandres, Issued by the Government of Flandres, November 2011, Catalogue number d/2011/3241/265 (<http://www.vlaanderen.be/2014-18>)

⁷⁴ Representation of WWI was in a way endangered due to the possibility of making fictional films which, in fact, were never realistic representations of the actual battlefields. Therefore the representation of war, with the intention to be remembered, became a matter of a myth during the war. See: Jay Winter, 'Sites of Memory. Sites of Mourning (Guest Lecture), *Yale courses*, Fall 2008 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpH5I6EA1t0>, accessed 20.01.2015)

⁷⁵ See: Winter, 1995, op. cit., pp. 99-102

⁷⁶ Ventre quoted in: Op. cit., p. 101. The commissioner tragically died shortly after the initiation of the project which then came to serve as a memorial to Rand as well.

Stressing the importance of such places, Jay Winter argued that ‘the activity of remembrance, and the creation of places of collective experience, is irrepressible, expressing fundamental truths about the need of ordinary people, of many faces and of none, to face the emptiness, the nothingness of loss in war, together.’⁷⁷

Once harrowing, the lunar landscape of WWI battlefields are today covered up with grass which gives it a soft and uncanny character (Fig. 4.10). Through memorialization and creation of cemeteries on these sites, discussed in later chapters, a great effort was invested to transform these sites of trauma into pristine panoramas with soothing characters.⁷⁸ Inevitably, a century long period of nature’s influence also helped to reverse the images of horror into serene landscapes with cemeteries as salient guardians of memory. The assertion towards tranquil and meditative natural surroundings supports a process of forgetting by masking the horrors of the past.

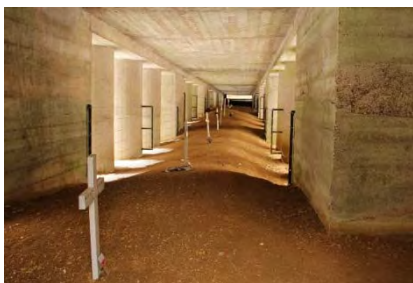


Figure 4.9



Figure 4.10

Conversely, in a context of the ‘perilous landscapes’⁷⁹ of numerous former Nazi camps, change of landscape and blurring of the former usage is perceived as a threat to memory work. Since these sites usually occupy bigger areas and many sites were cleared off in the 1950s and 1960s, nature easily takes over and remodels the original setting.⁸⁰ Therefore landscape design and choices made about the

⁷⁷ Jay Winter, 1999, op. cit., p. 77

⁷⁸ Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism and the First World War*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009

⁷⁹ Sybil Milton, ‘Perilous Landscapes: Concentration Camp Memorials between Commemoration and Amnesia’, in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, op. cit., pp. 257-268. Milton has argued that ‘Holocaust memorial sites in contemporary Europe are at best marginal reflections of tragic past. As chronological distance from the Holocaust increases, the problems of site destruction and political distortion have increased.’ Milton, op. cit., p. 266

⁸⁰ In this period the memory of the horrors from the camps was too vivid and many sites of concentration camps saw the demolition of barracks and other structures in order to facilitate new memorial forms. In regard to demolition of these structures Harold Marcuse quoted Volkhard Knigge, director of the Buchenwald Memorial site since 1990s: ‘The minimization of remains is a prerequisite for creating new meanings.’; Marcuse, Op. cit., p. 79; For instance in Dachau, the lane of poplar trees planted by the inmates just behind the main crematorium in 1940 are today perceived as a serene landscape while the surrounding drainage channel is completely decontextualized. Milton, op. cit., p. 258

ways and forms of commemorating are of utmost importance in conveying the meaning of a particular site since this meaning can easily be veiled by the natural changes as the site itself rarely transmits its own past.⁸¹ There are numerous examples illustrating the ongoing struggle between forgetting and remembering in such places where nature, in a large part, determines pace of representation.

This issue is often underlined by yet another problem that is ethically binding: representation of perpetrators. For example, a serene landscape of the former transit camp in Westerbork in the Netherlands reveals little of its dark history to everyday passersby since the barracks in the camp area were destroyed after its last residents, the Moluccas, left in 1971. The site of the former transit camp is dotted with several monuments and memorials dispersed in a discrete fashion, such as the 102.000 stones situated on the former roll call ground, a poignant reference to the people who were transported from Westerbork further to their final destination, the extermination camps (*Fig. 4.11*).



Figure 4.11



Figure 4.12

Next to these, there is a Memorial Museum, operating since 1983, and one dilapidated house which belonged to the former commander of the camp.⁸² Since recently, the existing remembrance network of symbolic memorials on the site is considered to be insufficient and the house became the focus of the Museum's staff as the only authentic architectural edifice from the infamous period of the place which is at the moment mostly used as a popular recreation site. Even though the question of resorting and exhibiting the building as a part of the itinerary without endangering the historical narrative and its sense of

⁸¹ Art historian Detlef Hoffmann argued that the concentration camp Dachau did not appear overnight, and that a part of the commemoration process should be to preserve its evolution. In his opinion, a history of a site is also constructed by the periods of neglect before the contemporary safekeeping of the site as a site of memory commenced. See: Young, 1993, op. cit., p. 71

⁸² In 2007 conference 'Lieux de Memoire' organized by the Westerbork Memorial Museum confronted participants with a question of necessity of reconstruction of the objects existing in the original setting of the camp in order to keep the memory of the site alive for the future generations. Special attention was devoted to the ethical issue of conserving the only existing artifact on the site, the house of the former commandant of Westerbork transit camp Albert Konrad Gemmeker, which is also a listed monument.

place remains open and challenging, the ‘officer’s house’ is since 2014 displayed as an exposit, protected by a large glass construction (Fig. 4.12). The strategy of preservation in Westerbork echoes explanation of designers of the Milan’s Shoah Memorial (2013), who also struggled with ways of bringing the ‘invisible’ back to the fore, as they argued: ‘you can’t put the Shoah in a museum under glass. It’s impossible.’⁸³ Exactly this being done in Westerbork only contributes to the fact that each place of memory constitutes a unique situation and that certain design solutions can work in one place but not in another.

The erasure of the camp’s barracks and other infrastructure was in many former camps pursued and conducted at the end of WWII by the ones who operated them. The memorialization in such situations is usually focused on markations of the former layout of the once existing structures. In Jasenovac Memorial Site in Croatia,⁸⁴ former disposition, designed by Bogdanović, is accentuated in a more abstract wavy landscape which is quite similar to WWI battlefields, but also resembles primordial burial mounds. Among the dunes, each representing a specific building of the former camp, stands a central monument, so called ‘stone flower’, as the most dominant feature in the landscape (Fig. 4.13).



Figure 4.13

⁸³ Guido Mompugno, Mompugno & De Curtis Architetti Associati, argued as following: ‘We had to try to bring to the surface some sign of something that was absolutely invisible in Milan. They didn’t want a traditional museum. Here ‘the content and the container coincide.’; quoted in: Jill Goldsmith, ‘Memory in the Making’, in: *The New York Times*, September 8, 2011 (http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/11/arts/design/slowly-building-a-memorial-of-the-shoah-in-milan.html?_r=1&ref=design, accessed 14.05.2015)

⁸⁴ According to the data gathered, 39,570 men, 23,474 women and 20,101 children under the age of 14 were killed in Jasenovac Concentration Camp, operating from 1941 to 1945. Jasenovac Memorial Site, with the Memorial Museum, was founded in 1968 at the suggestion of the Federation of War Veterans’ Organizations (SUBNOR) of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Jasenovac Memorial Site and the Memorial Museum were founded ‘in order to preserve in perpetuity the remembrance of the victims of the Fascist terror and the soldiers of the People’s War of Liberation who fell in the Second World War in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška Camps, and in order to preserve the achievements of Anti-Fascism.’ Act on Amendments to the Act on Jasenovac Memorial Site, OG 21/01, (<http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=5020>, accessed 29.01.2015)

The monument acts very much like Lutyens' Thiepval, but there is one significant difference here: the concrete flower in Jasenovac bears no single name or explanatory inscription except for one verse from a known Croatian poet⁸⁵ (Fig. 4.14). The information related to the



Figure 4.14

numbers of deaths in Jasenovac and its sub-camps are provided in the museum building at the entrance of the memorial site.

The creation of a museum or information point appears as a common solution for 'perilous landscapes'. These buildings also serve as a transition towards the actual memorial grounds, for example in Dachau, Bergen-Belsen or Westerbork. In Bergen-Belsen, a new documentation center, introduces historical facts to a visitor and integrates the landscape into the exhibition space only at the end of the route by opening a large panoramic window towards the historical site.⁸⁶ The particular situation in Bergen-Belsen of not having any traces of its macabre past in the present landscape, calls for supporting framework of a considerate and perhaps more provocative design as some argued that the 'mild' solutions with few commemorative monuments dotting the site subordinated to nature represents 'visual expression of Germany's ambivalence in dealing with its past.'⁸⁷

Whether it is the question of ambivalence or not, the over sensitivity of these sites puts any possible intervention under scrutiny. In Mittelbau-Dora⁸⁸ memorial site, due to its specific state in which the largest part of the vast underground working tunnel is preserved, commemoration work is open to certain 'experimentation' in the area of the former concentration camp. Unlike the situation in Westerbork where the only remaining architecture is the house of the former

⁸⁵ Verses are from the famous poem 'The Pit', describing metaphysical state of a victim's life and death, by a prominent Croatian poet Ivan Goran Kovačić (1913-1943)

⁸⁶ The Documentation Center in Bergen-Belsen, designed by KSP Jürgen Engel Architekten GmbH, opened in 2007. The building is app. 200 meters longitudinal structure, bisected by a Stony Path leading from the Memorial forecourt to the cemetery and the site of the former camp. Bergen Belsen official site (<http://bergen-belsen.stiftung-ng.de/en/memorial/documentation-centre.html>, accessed 29.01.2015)

⁸⁷ Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 'The Landscape Design of the Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp Memorial', in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, op. cit., pp. 269-300, p. 300

⁸⁸ Mittelbau-Dora is a prototypical example of forced labour by concentration camp inmates, and thus of a new camp type within the National Socialist concentration camp system – a type not represented by other concentration camp memorials. Between 1943 and 1945, some 60,000 persons from nearly all countries of Europe, above all the Soviet Union, Poland and France, were deported to the Harz Mountains as concentration camp inmates to perform forced labour for the German armament industry.

camp's commander, in Mittelbau-Dora there is no interest in the part of the site that belonged to the SS. Instead, the focus is placed on the area of the camp that belonged to the inmates together with the fully preserved crematorium building, surrounded by the ashes of the numerous victims. All additions, such as new roads or 'citations' of the once existing structures, are clearly distinguished by color and material while the decisions about maintaining or adjusting the appearance of the site to the fast growing flora, is left to the memorial committee.⁸⁹ Some of the 'experiments' pursued as a part of commemoration work use natural changes of the site in order to create context for active work of remembrance.⁹⁰

As the examples demonstrated, when the physical traces disappear, the sense of place usually needs to be reconstructed or rather enhanced by architectural elements composed around archeological remains or designed to help visitors trace the historical narrative. These sites can be perceived as special kind of cemeteries in which the accent is placed on the disturbing feeling of anticipation that permeates the space. For the survivors of these places, as in the earlier mentioned Omarska mine, they carry a sense of terror or a distinct presence to which they return to revisit difficult feelings.⁹¹ For the future generations this appears to be true as well since such places represent a palpable material connection to their ancestors.⁹² In terms of transitional justice, these sites are central for providing opportunity for democratic engagement throughout public involvement. By designating them as 'sites of conscience' they are approached as 'a primary terrain on which diverse constituencies address the enormous and challenging complexities of a traumatic past.'⁹³

In such cases, a design is expected to convey a somber past and every gesture can either enhance the historical narrative or lead to misinterpretation or misleading information.

⁸⁹ Professionals of the memorial site working on the commemoration of the remains are able to make decisions concerning maintenance and design without attaining permission from the government, such as cutting certain number of trees. The performed 'experiments' are discussed with other professionals who decide whether these commemorative efforts are legible and if the memorial can pursue them in the future. Interview with Torsten Heß, Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter Sammlung, Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora, (July 27, 2011)

⁹⁰ For instance, an international student workshop was organized in order to recreate the position of a former barrack by retracing its layout with heavy stone blocks. Inside the layout, once the interior of the barrack, birch trees were planted and their trunks colored with white paint up to the point what used to be height of the former barrack. Certain parts of the camp's premises were chosen to be partially reconstructed, as is the case with many other memorial sites across Europe.

⁹¹ Paul Adams, Steven Hoelscher and Karen Till (Eds.), *Textures of Place: Rethinking Humanist Geographies*, Minneapolis; University of Minnesota, 2001

⁹² Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1996.

⁹³ Brett et. al., op. cit., p. 1

4.3 Architectural representation and its limits

'While it is true that commercial art is always in danger of ending up as a prostitute, it is equally true that noncommercial art is always in danger of ending up as an old maid.'
Erwin Panofsky⁹⁴

In a global culture of memory, a contemporary construction developed through the worldwide network of print and image media which drastically changed traditional ways of remembering, architectural forms can be easily replicated. The international success of a project inevitably influences aesthetic perception and public expectations for another.

In regard to this, many argued that the unofficial language of Holocaust memorial art is abstract art⁹⁵ because it is, as one critique pointed out, 'a type of art which does not allow us to interpret it with reference to what is depicted.'⁹⁶ In the context of complicated mourning then, it is perhaps more understandable why abstraction and minimalism are dominant in memorial representations. Abstract art seems to appropriate the Lyotard's notion of 'presenting the unrepresentable' who recognized the need for representation of the Holocaust stressing that the subject or the content is less accessible, but not missing. The memorialization of a traumatic event through abstract forms and ambivalent meanings appears to be recognized as an effective way to deal with the topic. Similarly, Lutyens' design solutions for commemoration of WWI were aimed to address all-encompassing character of the war and therefore relied on universally recognizable forms.

Architectural historian Alberto Pérez-Gómez⁹⁷ (born 1949) stressed that a historical and societal role of an architect is to design, as he explained:

'A theater of memory for culture, capable of embodying truths that, however culturally diverse and specific, makes it possible for humanity to affirm life and contemplate possibilities of a better future.'⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Erwin Panofsky in Emily J. Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists*, University of Chicago Press, 2013, p. 12

⁹⁵ See: Godfrey, op. cit.

⁹⁶ Briony Fer, *On Abstract Art*, London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997 p.5

⁹⁷ Alberto Pérez-Gómez is an architectural theorist and a promoter of phenomenological approach in architecture. In 1984, he won the Alice Davis Hitchcock Award for his book *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*. Together with Stephen Parcell, he is editor of the book series *CHORA: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture*.

⁹⁸ Alberto Pérez-Gómez, 'The Architecture of Richard Henriquez: A Praxis of Personal Memory', in: Howard Shubert (Ed.), *Richard Henriquez, Memory Theatre*, Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1993, p. 9

Pérez-Gómez argued that by designing an actual theater for memory, the architect invokes the possibility to experience order as opposed to anarchy or tyranny. This is precisely what Adolf Hitler's personal architect and Minister for Armaments from 1942, Albert Speer (1905-1981), achieved for the Nazi Party Rally Grounds⁹⁹ in Nuremberg. Here the 'Cathedral of Light' was installed in 1938- Speer's first major project which consisted of 130 anti-aircraft searchlights, at intervals of twelve meters aimed skyward (Fig. 4.15). When contemplating the seductiveness of the immaterial architecture of light in his project Speer summarized these aspirations, as he explained:

'The actual effect far surpassed anything I had imagined. The hundred and thirty sharply defined beams, placed around the field at intervals of forty feet, were visible to a height of twenty to twenty-five thousand feet, after which they merged into a gentle glow. The feeling was of a vast room, with the beams serving as mighty pillars of infinitely high outer walls. Now and then a cloud moved through this wreath of lights, bringing an element of surrealistic surprise to the mirage. I imagine that this "cathedral of light" was the first luminescent architecture of this type, and for me it remains not only my most beautiful architectural concept, but after its fashion, the only one which has survived the passage of time'¹⁰⁰

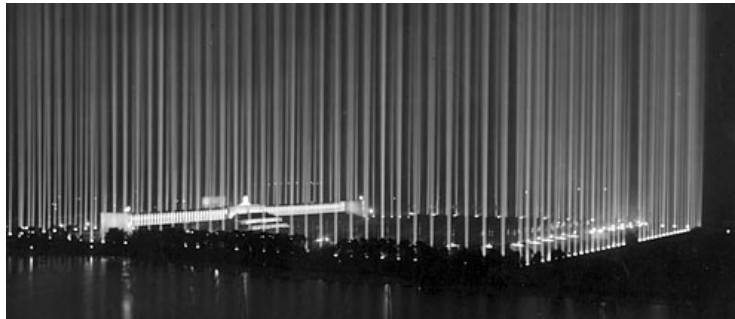


Figure 4.15

Speer's statement displays a concern that is inherent in architecture's aspiration, as a medium for elevating the spirit, toward the timeless and the sublime. In this ongoing search for the effective and the beautiful, moral and ethical aspects of a design run the risk of neglect as they are often ignored in the face of opportunity. It is not

⁹⁹ The Nuremberg city government invested 70 million Euros on the restoration of the site which have been left to disintegrate since the end of WWII. Since 2000 there is a *Dokumentationszentrum Reichsparteitagsgelände* at the site, containing a permanent exhibition 'Faszination und Gewalt' situated in the northern wing of the Congress Hall. Adrian Bridge, 'Let Nuremberg rallying grounds be preserved', *The Telegraph*, 03. September 2013, (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/germany/10283876/Let-Nuremberg-rallying-grounds-be-preserved.html>, accessed 10.10.2015)

¹⁰⁰ Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs by Albert Speer*, Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1970, p. 59

uncommon that architects turn a blind eye to reality in their stride to realize their creative visions if given the chance, Speer perhaps being the best example of this. From a theatre of 'order', the 'Cathedral of Light' transformed into a symbol of tyranny, violent death, trauma and destruction.

The duality created by the fusion of the 'terrible' and the 'beautiful' echoes, as already mentioned, some of the principles Boullée employed in attempting to achieve the feeling of sublime and melancholy of the natural world and in that way creates a framework for experience which gives a potential for learning. As seen in earlier examples of funerary architecture and representations of death, architects commonly aspire to the sublime and the spiritual, but inevitably meet the limitations of the physical. Architect Bernard Tschumi¹⁰¹ (born 1944) questioned the modes of representation used by architects arguing that in spite of their generativity and preciseness these representations are logical reductions of architectural thought 'caught in a sort of prison-house of architectural language.'¹⁰² While envisioning a realm where these would meet, architect John Hejduk¹⁰³ (1929-2000), quoted at the beginning of this section, created a work entitled *Enclosures*, series dealing with terrestrial and celestial in architecture. One particular element - a wall, received special attention because Hejduk believed that when 'an angel penetrates a wall and becomes trapped in it, life and death implode at the moment of collision, and space and time fold into infinity.'¹⁰⁴ One of Hejduk's installations from so called Sanctuaries, was built in Prague - *The House of the Suicide* and the *House of the Mother of the Suicide*, inspired by the self-immolation of Prague University student Jan Palach in 1969 (Fig. 4.16). The work consists out of two cubes positioned on a few meters distance and both topped with spikes. The observer is able to enter only one cube, the House of the Mother, where a small platform allows a gaze towards the other cube

¹⁰¹ Bernard Tschumi is a proponent of architectural practice that challenges traditional methods of designing and evaluation of architecture and he is also commonly connected with deconstructivism. Tschumi designed numerous buildings among which are the Parc de La Vilette in Paris, the New Acropolis Museum in Athens, Le Fresnoy Center for Contemporary Arts in Tourcoing, France as well as the Limoges Concert Hall in Limoges, also in France. Tschumi's publications include *The Manhattan Transcripts, Architecture and Disjunctions: Collected Essays 1975-1990* (1994), *Event Cities* (four volumes, 1994) and *Architecture Concepts: Red is Not a Color* (2012).

¹⁰² Tschumi quoted in Tina di Carlo, 'Bernard Tschumi. The Manhattan Transcripts Project, Episode 1: The Park, New York City, New York', in: David Frankel (Ed.), *Envisioning Architecture: Drawings from the Museum of Modern Art*, The Museum of Modern Art: New York, 2002, p. 204

¹⁰³ John Hejduk was recognized for his unconventional approach to architectural design in which he explored theory and often very personal accounts. For his dedication to aspects of society that involved difficult themes about humanity, memory and destruction, Hejduk was associated with Lebbeus Woods and Reimund Abraham. His work is focused on social and psychological aspects of space as well as emotional content. Hejduk's realized projects include renovation of the Cooper Union Building (1970-1974) and Tegel Housing in Berlin (1988).

¹⁰⁴ Toshiko Mori, 'Illuminated Presence', in: , K. Michael Hays (Ed.), *Sanctuaries: The Last Works of John Hejduk*, Whitney Museum of American Art, 2003, np



Figure 4.16

which is not possible to enter. In this way Hejduk contemplated the notion of witnessing trauma as an impossibility to reach the subject physically, but if given the space and framework, one is able to observe it. The gaze of the observer becomes the gaze of the mother, fixed on the act of the suicide, distant and unreachable and therefore evocative of trauma.¹⁰⁵

In projects dealing with difficult memories the conflicting point of the search for the 'beautiful' delivers controversies because it is often the case that these buildings are expected to correspond with their abysmal topics. We are once again witnessing the Adorno's assertion about the impossibility of writing poetry after Auschwitz, as an audience temporarily placed in a theater of memory with a pessimistic thought that the very architecture could provide pleasurable feelings and thereby betray its purpose. When discussing this particular obligation of works of art dealing with Holocaust, Adorno argued in favor of Samuel Beckett's play *Endgame* as the work of art that manages to meet the impossible by not addressing the Holocaust directly. Beckett's play is situated in a postapocalyptic context in which 'the violence is mimicked by the timidity to mention it.'¹⁰⁶ Perhaps a good illustration of Adorno's fears is demonstrated in the verbatim utilization of forms that allude to the harrowing symbolism connected to the infrastructure of Nazi camps, for example crematoria chimneys.¹⁰⁷ In fact, seems that this has become a common practice in commemorative designs for the Holocaust, especially in the United States where chimneys and wires are constituent symbolic elements for some of its postmodernist '*architecture parlante*'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ John Hejduk: The House of the Suicide and The House of the Mother of the Suicide, CCA collection (<http://www.cca.qc.ca/en/collection/1320-john-hejduk-the-house-of-the-suicide-and-the-house-of-the>, accessed 30.01.2015)

¹⁰⁶ Theodor Adorno, 'Trying to Understand *Endgame*', in: Brian O'Connor (Ed.), *The Adorno Reader*, Blackwell Publishers: Oxford, 2000, pp. 319-352, p. 324

¹⁰⁷ The memorialization of these numbers began as early as 1946 with a chimney of Flossenbürg being one of the earliest examples. Chimney memorial, 27 meters tall, stands in the Neuengamme former concentration camp site near Hamburg and was placed on the initiative of the survivors who even proposed a colossal chimney-like tower consuming the space into an experiential event. The first memorial erected in the Neuengamme (1953) was, however, a neutral cylinder 7.5 meters high with a simple inscription 'To the Victims 1938-1945', modeled by the examples in Belsen and Hamburg-Ohlsdorf. Survivor wanted different memorial which would represent human suffering. Therefore in 1965 a much taller, rectangular instead of cylindrical, memorial replaced the old one and a sculpture depicting a fallen 'deportee' by Françoise Salmon was added at its foot. See Harold Marcuse, 'Holocaust Memorials: The Emergence of the Genre', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 115, No. 1, February 2010, p. 70

¹⁰⁸ This is one of the approaches towards commemorating the Holocaust and some of the examples are Holocaust Museum and Education Center Skokie (2009), Holocaust Memorial Center in Michigan (2004), Holocaust Museum Houston (1996), etc.; Gavriel D. Rosenfeld,

Therefore it comes as no surprise that many designers choose for a more taciturn position and create memorials that do not communicate or in other words try to depict ‘absence’ of meaning or context as a consequence of the memorialized topic. Some authors have criticized this approach as a contemporary trend that leans to the notion of ‘reflecting amnesia’ or demonstration of an inability to address loss.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, a parallel development in memorial architecture is designated by a curative sensibility focused on a concept of ‘working through’ trauma.¹¹⁰ Doss recognized this as a dominant approach in memorials dealing with memorialization of traumatic events, as she put it:

‘Many terrorism memorials employ a redefined minimalism that manipulates normal understandings of space and time in order to evoke trauma’s dissociative effects of fear and anxiety. Towering monoliths, angled walls, recessed forms, reflective surfaces, and gridded units strewn throughout enormously scaled sites lend these memorials their purposely disconcerting impressions. Pits, voids, and an aesthetic of ‘absence’ further their destabilizing sensibility; tensions between their overwhelming spatiality and their simultaneous emphasis on intimate experience heighten their anxious affective conditions.’¹¹¹

This is exemplified in Eisenman’s Holocaust Memorial and Libeskind’s Jewish Museum in Berlin, but also in an earlier example, Stanley Saitowitz’s¹¹² (born 1949) New England Holocaust Memorial (1996) in Boston. The memorial consists of six tall glass towers on which six million numbers are etched, corresponding with numbers of the Holocaust victims, under which are pits, each designated with a name of one of the principal extermination camps, with smoke rising from charred embers at the bottom of these spaces (*Fig. 4.17; 18*). The obvious symbolism of the memorial’s main features have been recognized as memorable mnemonic devices to aid us in recalling the six million Jewish dead.¹¹³ Set on a black granite pathway, they enclose

‘Holocaust Museums: A New Form of Jewish Architecture’, *Building after Auschwitz: Jewish Architecture and the Memory of the Holocaust*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2011, pp. 258-296

¹⁰⁹ Doss, op. cit., p.145; Doss argued that loss connotes destruction and disappearance, whereas absence suggests vacancy and lack, or ‘nonpresence’ and the anxious possibility of reappearance.

¹¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 137

¹¹¹ Op. cit., p. 146

¹¹² Stanley Saitowitz (born in Johannesburg, South Africa) is a Professor of Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley. Together with Stanley Saitowitz/Natoma Architects Inc., has completed numerous buildings and projects for various purposes. Amongst several awards he received for his work, the New England Holocaust Memorial was awarded the Henry Bacon Medal in 1998. Some of the better known projects include Tampa Museum of Art (2007) in Florida and Congregation Beth Shalom Synagogue (2001) in San Francisco.

¹¹³ Daniel Abramson, ‘Make History, Not memory-History’s Critique on Memory’, in: *Harvard Design Magazine*, Constructions of Memory, Fall 1999, Number 9, pp. 78-83

visitors reading etched testimonials of the survivors. The pillars are connected by a granite walkway with the incised text that reads 'Remember'. The memorial balances between notions of violence and hope: violence is represented by the stumps of trees that used to stand on the location but were cut before the memorial was built whereas hope is suggested by the light effect that the columns create at night.



Figure 4.16



Figure 4.17

By employing the symbolic language in order to achieve poetic effects, such as the shadows of numbers that are likely to be 'tattooed' on the visitors passing through the memorial who would then be 'trapped momentarily in a theater of horror',¹¹⁴ the architect hoped that the design will encourage visitors to 'take away with them the ungraspable nature of the Holocaust.'¹¹⁵ The aim is very ambitious, or better yet, impossible since understanding something ungraspable seems like a futile effort to begin with. The memorial as a harbinger of hope, according to the architect, emanates its power on a bigger scale as well, the scale of the city. Observed from a certain distance, six tall towers act as 'emblems of faith, a covenant of trust that memorializes a collective evil.'¹¹⁶ Other proposals from a competition¹¹⁷ that delivered New England Holocaust Memorial that were not selected, also dealt with themes of absence and interaction, as one designer explained "visitor presence and victim absence."¹¹⁸

Two other memorials (and not dealing with the Holocaust) also demonstrate the tendency towards materialization of absence: Lawrence Halprin's Frank

¹¹⁴ Stanley Saitowitz, *Stanley Saitowitz : Buildings and Projects*, The Monacelli Press, 2005, p. 295

¹¹⁵ Stanley Saitowitz, *The New England Holocaust Design* (<http://www.nehm.org/design/> accessed 18.09.2012)

¹¹⁶ Saitowitz, 2005, op.cit., p. 295

¹¹⁷ The New England Holocaust Memorial Committee organized an international competition in 1990. A jury was composed from several relevant disciplines and included Frank Gehry and the landscape architect Michael van Valkenburgh. The number of participating teams was 520 out of which seven were chosen in a final round. Young, 1993, op. cit., pp. 321-328

¹¹⁸ New York architect Hali Jane Weiss quoted in Young, 1993, op. cit., p. 330. Weiss proposed a design entitled 'echo chamber' consisting of a metal walkable surface that would echo visitor's footsteps, using a space below, in order to accentuate the hollowness of the ground. The proposals, dismissed as difficult to "sell", was positioned on a premise that 'some subjects simply elude the systems of knowledge and logic practiced by writers and architects.' Ibid.

Delano Roosevelt Memorial (1997) and Louis Kahn's design entitled 'Four Freedoms' (1972),¹¹⁹ both dedicated to the same person. The latter was posthumously completed in 2012 on the tip of an island in New York's East River. It was addressed for its naively optimistic attitude as confident and uplifting, introducing a sense of uncanny amidst the city's business, in contrast to the newly built 9/11 memorial.¹²⁰ The memorial comprises an 'outdoor' room on the tip of the island, approached by means of sloped banks divided by a green triangle park and framed with a row of linden trees. In this way a dramatic perspective opens towards Roosevelt's bust installed at the entrance to the memorial's archetypal room (Fig. 4.19). As the public park gradually narrows down to Roosevelt's suspended bust framed by the boulders of the entrances to the room, the public realm transits to a space with a more private atmosphere. With its highly polished white monolithic blocks divided with a narrow slit between, the memorial stands in contrast to rough boulders of the base (Fig. 4.20).



Figure 4.19



Figure 4.20

On the rare of the plinth excerpts from Roosevelt's speech are carved in. The 'room' opens up towards New York's East River. Notwithstanding slight adjustments made to the original plan, the realized project clearly demonstrates the architect's conviction of these two spatial forms as basis for the memorial, as he argued:

*'The garden is somehow a personal nature, a personal kind of control of nature. And the room was the beginning of architecture. I had this sense, you see, and the room wasn't just architecture, but was an extension of self.'*¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Four Freedoms refer to Roosevelt's famous speech on 6th January 1941 dedicated to: Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom to Worship, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear.

¹²⁰ Michael Kimmelman, 'Decades Later, a Vision Survives', *The New York Times*, September 12, 2012 (http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/13/arts/design/louis-kahns-franklin-d-roosevelt-four-freedoms-park-to-open.html?_r=0, accessed 20.05.2014)

¹²¹ Louis Kahn, '1973: Brooklyn, New York', in: *Perspecta: The Yale Architectural Journal*, vol. 19 1982 (<http://archweb.cooper.edu/exhibitions/kahn/>, accessed 30.01.2015)

The memorial was described as having a sense of infinity and ‘ancient feeling about it, as if a Pharaonic temple had been shifted to an island opposite Manhattan.’¹²²

For Lawrence Halprin, however, the memorial, consisting of four rooms (symbolizing four presidential terms of Roosevelt’s presidency) had to be a processional architectural narrative, situated in a landscape and reinforced by art works, waterfalls and inscriptions. His vision of the memorial as a theatrical stage included designing, among other elements, ‘rubble’ that was meant to evoke feelings reminiscent of the war years in Europe. A visitor would then need to pass through the memorial in a precise manner in order to experience the narrative¹²³ (Fig. 4.21).

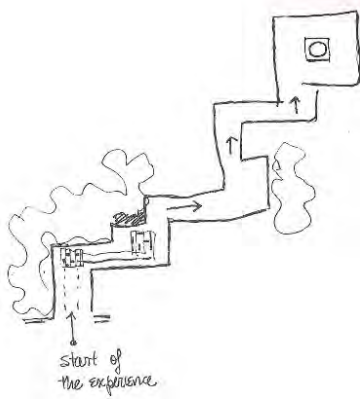


Figure 4.21

Since architecture of memorials is at the same time symbolic and narrative, experimenting in representations of memory hints an act of violence, much like Friedrich Nietzsche’s elaborations about an act of art being fundamentally violent.¹²⁴ In the vein with the Loosian recognition of memorial architecture being art, architecture is susceptible to this notion of a violent intervention in space if the architectural language is more telling about the designer than about the context.¹²⁵ In the realm of

¹²² William J. R. Curtis, ‘Louis Kahn, The Space of Ideas’, in: *The Architectural Review*, Issue number 1389, November 2012, Vo. CCXXXII, pp. 78-87, p. 84

¹²³ Halprin, op. cit.; the architect was inspired by historical precedents such as the Acropolis, the sanctuary of Delphi and Woodland Crematorium, among others. These spaces, he believed, shared certain archetypal configurations that he found valuable for his design, as he explained: ‘1) the participant experienced each memorial over time and space by moving through sequence of interrelated spaces that culminated in a “final spatial event”; 2) each space built upon a common theme increasing in drama and intensity as one moved through the memorial; 3) each memorial contained coherent and lucid symbols; 4) each space possessed a quality that caused the participant to linger, to absorb the “magic” of the place and to wish to return again; and finally, 5) the places “were metaphors for the journey of life with its challenges, defeats and victories, significant spaces or events separated by contemplative passages or interludes occurring in space over time.”’ Halprin quoted in: Reuben M. Rainey, ‘The Garden as Narrative: Lawrence Halprin’s Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial’, in: Wolschke-Bulmahn, op. cit., pp. 377-416, p. 396

¹²⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, ‘Book Three. Principles of a New Evaluation: IV. The Will to Power as Art’ in: Walter Kaufmann (Ed.), *Friedrich Nietzsche: The Will to Power*, Translated by Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1968, pp. 419-457

¹²⁵ For example, Libeskind’s memorial buildings are subject of a strong criticism since their recognizability is overshadowing the purpose. Together with museum architecture this aspect was widely discussed at points where architectural design endangers the power of museum’s content since it is more indicative of the designer’s presence

memorial architecture it is particularly important to establish the balance with the context by making a choice of, for example, a subtle anchorage in space or a strong presence. The choice of the design is immediately a straightforward intervention in a sense that it inevitably influences the landscape of memory.

With all this in mind, memorial architecture takes up the role of a precisely designed scenography, set on the stage of a designated historical fact for the visitor to experience through different levels of participation. The role of the designer is a difficult one because his guidelines for designing are not utilitarian in their origin but rather elusive. Taking architectural space as a precondition for fostering memory, the designer takes the responsibility for representation of memory and is at the same time affirming to understand the elusiveness of it.

As for the question of actual realization of a concept proposal, it is often the case that many valuable proposals remain unrealized, overruled by the ultimatums of popularity. For example, the New England memorial was a result of a transparent architectural competition that was particular because it included the public opinion in the process of making a decision.¹²⁶ However, whether this inclusion had any influence on the final outcome remains unknown. Instead, the final choice was determined by what seems to be a common strategy in similar competitions which is that 'the better known the winner the easier it would be to garner public and political support for the monument's construction.'¹²⁷

then the exhibits. At the same time, recent developments show that architecture can be treated as the exhibit itself.

¹²⁶ The Boston Memorial Committee made the community accountable by inviting their opinion about the proposals delivered for the competition in 1990. The range of responses were prolific and the community was even participating in voting among seven finalists. See: Young, 1993, op. cit., pp. 321-328

¹²⁷ Op. cit., p. 328

4.3.1 Deductive tools

'Tenacity and acumen are privileged spectators of this inhuman show in which absurdity, hope, and death carry on their dialogue. The mind can then analyse the figures of that elementary yet subtle dance before illustrating them and reliving them itself.'

Albert Camus¹²⁸

Commemorative monuments are commonly understood as deductive, constructed to inform us. The information monuments are intended to share are often inscribed on the monument and augmented by the choice of representation. As places of learning, they are often perceived as fixed entities in space and therefore the quality of knowledge they provide is addressed as factual and thereby static. Nevertheless, the purpose of a monument was not intended as static, as Françoise Choay has argued:

*'It is not simply a question of informing, of calling to mind a neutral bit of information, but rather of stirring up, through the emotions, a living memory.'*¹²⁹

Artists like Krzysztof Wodiczko (born 1943) and Shimon Attie (born 1957) focused their work on reanimating historical monuments or bringing forgotten places of memory back into present by temporal recreations of related events and political messages. Wodiczko with his Memorial Projections, starting in the 1980s, aimed to provoke the established knowledge provided by a monument whereas Attie, also using projections, rediscovered hidden pasts of places and buildings transforming them into sites of memory.¹³⁰ Advocating for interrogative design while exploring issues of xenophobia, social violence, militarism and other contemporary topics, Wodiczko argued that 'the meaning of our monuments depends on our active role in turning them into sites of memory and critical evaluation of history as well as places of public discourse and action' and in addition he adds that 'this agenda is not only social or political or activist, it is also an aesthetic mission.'¹³¹ This point is strongly embedded in Maya Lin's work entitled 'What is Missing' (2009), designed as a sound and media sculpture installation for the California Academy of Sciences. With the memorial which is a giant listening cone, Lin asked whether a monument or memorial can exist in several places simultaneously and not at all as permanent but, instead, as a temporal construct.

¹²⁸ Albert Camus, 'An Absurd Reasoning: Absurdity and Suicide', in: Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus: and other essays*, Vintage Books, 1955, pp. 3-10, p. 10

¹²⁹ Choay, op. cit., p. 6

¹³⁰ See: Young, 2005, op. cit.

¹³¹ Krzysztof Wodiczko, *Critical Vehicles: Writings, Projects, Interviews*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999, p. 62

Accompanied with an interactive web page, the project draws attention to endangered species but it also provides a framework for action by bringing the awareness about the interconnectivity of our ecosystem and facts influencing it, normally one would not know about, as Lin put it 'If I can get you to look at something afresh, maybe you will pay closer attention.'¹³²

In much the same way, Polish artist Lukasz Surowiec (born 1985) who participated in the 7th Berlin Biennale with a project *Berlin-Birkenau* (2012), explored the issue of interaction in art projects that deal with burdensome memory. Surowiec transported several hundred young birch seedlings that were growing in the area around the former Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp to locations in Berlin.¹³³ In an effort to create a sort of a 'living archive'¹³⁴ by returning to Germany a part of its past and thereby addressing issues of trauma, reconciliation and memory, the artist used trees as a medium to involve individuals and social bodies such as park commissions. Surowiec's attempt to create a monument that not only 'needs to be protected from destruction, but is something that you need to actively care for',¹³⁵ speaks about the need to work with memory through addressing the responsibility attached to it. Belonging to a third generation after WWII, this project also raises a question about the ways memory is transmitted on the familial and national level to future generations. Replanting trees, which grew in the soil rich with ashes of the Auschwitz victims to Berlin can be understood as a test for resilience of this specific memory, but at the same time it is an intimate engagement with memory of each individual who got involved with the project.

¹³² Maya Lin in 'Maya Lin: A Memorial to a Vanishing Natural World', Interview by Diane Toomey, Yale Environment 360, 25.06.2012 (http://e360.yale.edu/feature/maya_lin_a_memorial_to_a_vanishing_natural_world/2545/, accessed 30.01.2015)

¹³³ 'Berlin-Birkenau, Lukasz Surowiec', The 7th Berlin Biennale Archive: (<http://artmuseum.pl/en/archiwum/archiwum-7-berlin-biennale/2034?read=all>, accessed 08.05.2015).

¹³⁴ An explanation about the project is given as follows: 'These trees, taken from soil that contains the traces of countless deaths, become a 'living archive' that shifts something growing and breathing to Berlin. The birches have been planted from autumn 2011 through spring 2012 in public parks and spaces such as Wuhlheide Park in Treptow-Köpenick or the newly established park in Spandau, on the grounds of schools, and also in places that have a historic connection to the Holocaust and deportation, like the memorial site Gleis 17 in Grunewald. In each location, a plaque with the following inscription can be found: 'In November 2011, the Polish artist Lukasz Surowiec brought 320 birches from the area around the former concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau to Berlin, to work against forgetting. The trees are spread over the whole city. They were planted with support from the 7th Berlin Biennale for Contemporary Art.' Ibid

¹³⁵ Interview with Lukasz Surowiec by Daniel Miller, March 27, 2012: (<http://www.berlinbiennale.de>, accessed 6.06.2012); The Berlin Biennale is organized by KW Institute for Contemporary Art and funded by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation).

Other explorations of different ways of learning share this starting point of view, stressing that the knowledge is ‘dead’ if defined, taught and used as a given or made object because it is no longer true to its character as a ‘thing in the making, continuously evolving through our understanding of the world and our own bodies’ experience of and participation of that world.’¹³⁶ Hence, the pedagogical force is strengthened through experience of the space and in the way our body inhabits that space through ‘affective somatic responses’¹³⁷ it creates. This aspect of learning through experience is intuitively recognized by designers of contemporary commemorative projects. In many recent memorials we can find in-between spaces, transitional spaces, nonrepresentational events based on movement and rhythm and so forth. All of these aim to involve users into their pedagogical intent. Particularly interesting is a design concept of a transitional space which is comparable to the anthropological notion of *liminality* that refers to a transitional period through which a mourner has to pass, before he is able to return to the society. Similarly to spaces in cemeteries, transitional spaces are recognized as powerful deductive spaces that create certain potential for learning through experience. It is a space that exists around a defined content and its purpose is to encourage the feeling of relation between two realities, personal and factual. Thus creating an interrelational environment which offers opportunity for one to act and be acted upon, represents a powerful didactic model. In such an environment, body is encouraged to experience the space through sensation of movement and duration, providing a better understanding of the ‘pedagogical intent’ of the space. In the Red Location Museum of the People’s Struggle (2005) in South Africa, the idea of a transitional space is quite literary translated into architecture in a form of hallways of ‘twilight memory.’ These hallways are running between space units that are designed as memory boxes, each containing documents and life stories of people fighting Apartheid, arranged in a non-hierarchical fashion (Fig. 4.22).

Whether one enters these ‘boxes’ and in which order, remains a personal choice because they do not present a linear historical narrative and in that way these memory boxes are



Figure 4.22

¹³⁶ Ellsworth, op. cit., p. 1

¹³⁷ Op. cit., p. 4

described as ‘a laboratory in which the museumgoer must actively participate in weaving together the various stories of Red Location.’¹³⁸ The transitional hallways are creating their context in a physical sense as a ‘buffer’ space in which the perceived information need to ‘settle’ and find their place.



Figure 4.23

Alfredo Jarr's installation *Real Pictures* (2005) also engaged the theoretical concept of learning by willingly becoming a witness is (Fig. 4.23). It consisted of a darkened room with several black linen boxes labelled to explain that they contain artist's pictures of Rwandan genocide. In eight different configurations

of these boxes, the top of each box was silk-screened with a text in white letters that described the images ‘buried’ within. The installation was proclaimed a ‘tomb for the media’¹³⁹ and interpreted as a critique of images of violence regularly employed in media reports, causing an unbridgeable distance from the real experience and thereby lessening the impact of real events. To emphasize this, Jarr's installation invited visitors to open the boxes and in that way deliberately choose to become witnesses.¹⁴⁰

The aspect of education through experience and participation is already for long time recognized and explored as one of the most relevant tasks of museums.¹⁴¹ However, not all experiences are educative, or more precisely, routine experiences that are not stimulating for the mind and in that way are not supporting the growth of further experience are not useful in deductive process. It is not sufficient for the experience to be only simulating and lively if there is no planned educational base.¹⁴² Several key factors for creating a successful museum experience have been suggested, as follows: curiosity - the visitor is surprised and intrigued; confidence, the visitor has a sense of competence; challenge - the visitor perceives that there is something to work towards; control - the visitor has a sense of self-determination and control; play - the visitor experiences sensory enjoyment and playfulness; communication - the visitor engages in meaningful social interaction.¹⁴³ In memorials and memorial museums

¹³⁸ Andreas Lepik, ‘Red Location Museum of Struggle’, in: Andreas Lepik (Ed.), *Small Scale, Big Scale. New Architectures of Social Engagement*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2010, pp. 53-62, p. 54

¹³⁹ Jane Blocker, *Seeing Witness: Visuality and the Ethics of Testimony*, University of Minnesota Press, 2009, p. 55

¹⁴⁰ Blocker argued that visitors were invited to witness witnessing themselves.

¹⁴¹ George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, Taylor and Francis, 2002

¹⁴² Op. cit., p. 2

¹⁴³ Perry, D. L., ‘Designing Exhibits that Motivate’ quoted in op. cit., p.152

the accent is given to creation of places for dialogue about what is memorialized and how does it relate to the experiences of young people of today.¹⁴⁴ In most cases the exhibitions are structured in a chronological order within a well-defined deductive content. For example, in Kazerne Dossin in Mechelen, later discussed in detail, the exhibits gradually develop over several floors and are aimed at school children. In order to put the particular story in a wider context, there is often a reference to other similar affairs and crimes against humanity in the world. Interactive screens and other technical supplements are there to establish an engaged relationship with the theme through discovering more about one particular victim or event. Authentic photographs are often employed as powerful didactic tools that can only contribute to the overall design.¹⁴⁵ As a result, it has become a common strategy to juxtapose large prints of documentary images and present situation to display the history of a place.¹⁴⁶ It is by now a common practice to add photographs and visual or audio testimonies to existing monuments and memorials in order to reinforce their meaning.¹⁴⁷ In the Neue Bremm memorial on the French-German border in Saarbrücken¹⁴⁸ one photograph is a central feature of the design. The photograph, realized as a large lenticular print, depicts a happy family photo. It is positioned above a wall on which a longitudinal neon blue sign, reading 'Hostel' in different languages, is attached (Fig. 4.24).



Figure 4.24

¹⁴⁴ Brett et.al., p. 15

¹⁴⁵ Often present feature in memorials and memorial museums are walls of photographs depicting victims, perhaps most powerful in Toul Sleng memorial in Phnom-Penh where they also constitute an archive of the former infamous Khmer Rouge regime.

¹⁴⁶ This is particularly true for WWII memorial sites on former camps, for example in Auschwitz Memorial Museum, Esterwegen memorial site, Westerbork or Memorial de l'internement et de la Royallieu, Compiègne

¹⁴⁷ In Westerbork photographs of victims were added to the existing 102.000 stones memorial while the whole site is dotted with sound boxes from which one can hear contents of personal letters of the prisoners. Also in Auschwitz, testimonies of the survivors are added in the authentic places. The director of the museum explained: 'It is the interplay of their accounts and the post-camp ruins that may fully allow subsequent generations to visualize the reality of what the German Nazis did to such great numbers of innocent people: the European Jews, Poles, the Roma people, Soviet prisoners of war and many others,' Piotr M.A. Cywiński quoted in: 'Testimonies of Auschwitz survivors available in the authentic space of the Memorial', Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, 29.05.2015 (<http://auschwitz.org/en/museum/news/testimonies-of-auschwitz-survivors-available-in-the-authentic-space-of-the-memorial,1156.html>, accessed 12.06.2015)

¹⁴⁸ In 1943, the Saarbrücken Gestapo set up an extended police prison at Goldene Bremm on the French border. The prison was subordinated to the local Gestapo, hence without any higher authority to supervise the camp which led to severe brutality exercised on the prisoners.

As one passes, the photo appears and disappears, as an uncanny apparition, signalling that there is more to be discovered. Indeed, the historical information and remnants of the former camp are to be found behind the wall and the photograph. The memorial is a demonstration of a Janus-faced character of memory as it signals its presence behind the everyday curtain of invisibility. Once behind this wall, the visitor immerses into a different world, conjured up by the artefacts, historical information and poignant commemorative monuments. Photographs of few victims from the former camp are also displayed on the façade of the adjacent Mercure hotel, making the memorial even more intriguing.¹⁴⁹

Next to their documentary value, photographs can become powerful design tools when manipulated in order to augment the architectural space. This method was used in Alfredo Jarr's *Geometría de la conciencia* (2010), another art work dealing with memory dedicated to the victims of



Figure 4.25

Pinochet's regime and installed in a room adjacent to the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago, Chile (Fig. 4.25). Jarr blurred some 500 hundred faces from the photographs to a point where the faces become silhouettes organized in a geometric grid which appears endless due to a reflection produced by adjacent mirror walls. As the grid suddenly lit up, the darkened room transforms into an infinite screen which is at the same time multiplying the image of the observer. The *Geometría* constitutes an effective holding environment for experiencing, but its meaning can only be addressed in the context of the museum's exhibit.¹⁵⁰

Another fortification of the deductive aspect in memorial design are cognitive features such as sound or touch. In WWI Tyne Cot cemetery,

¹⁴⁹ The design for the memorial was developed by architects Nils Ballhausen and Roland Poppensieker who won a competition in 2000 with a proposal entitled 'Hotel of Memory'. In their design they reacted on aspects of commercialism represented by the present function of the location as a hotel that was built on the site after the war. The photograph in this memorial 'counter-hotel' is imagined to function as a sign of a reality that was happening outside the reality contained within the borders of the former camp. See: Mark Landsman, 'Property and the Banality of Memory', in: Cabinet: Property, Issue 10, Spring, 2003, pp. 94-97

¹⁵⁰ Estefane argued that *Geometría intersects with the museum's space named 'Absence and Memory'* which recalls *velatones*, a common practice of placing candles at the places of mourning. Here, the photographs of victims are exhibited behind a glass wall and some of the frames are left empty, inviting visitors to donate photographs that are still missing. Estefane urges the question of representation of violence in an individualizing attitude, deprived of the political context that animated that violence, as he put it: 'it is made more difficult when an institution of this type processes a haunting past through the accumulation of individual tragedies rather than collective causes.' In: Estefane, op. cit., p. 167

close to leper, before entering the newly built visitors' center, one has to walk over an elongated descending slope while names and age of the soldiers who are buried in the cemetery are pronounced from hidden speakers. In a way, the visitor is forced to hear several names while approaching the entrance of the newly built information center. This is a powerful element supported by the experience of the descent and the peaceful surroundings, a strong introduction to the cemetery one is about to enter. Similar installations can be found as Salaspils memorial (1967) in Latvia where the sounds of metronome can be heard from a black cube - 'reminding heart' (Fig. 4.26). Also in Khatyn memorial (1969) in Belarus a periodic sound of bells breaks a silence of the place. In the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery (1989), Alabama, described as a 'vehicle for education',¹⁵¹ Maya Lin employed both sound and the sense of touch since the memorial consist of a round table with water surface covering the names of freedom fighters.



Figure 4.26

¹⁵¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, Civil Rights Memorial (<http://www.splcenter.org/civil-rights-memorial>, accessed 30.01.2015)

5. A brief history of memorial architecture from 19th century onwards

5.1 Before the First World War

*'The place is a sheltered, reposeful woodland nook,
remote from noise and stir and confusion-and all this is fitting,
for lions do die in such places,
and not on granite pedestals in public squares
fenced with fancy iron railings.'*
Mark Twain¹

Monuments and memorials to illustrious men came into fashion with several influential studies such as Pierre Patte's² (1723–1814) work *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV* from 1765. Architectural and sculptural projects that were dignifying posterity were seen as carriers of power and progress.³ In some instances monuments were given the same importance as libraries in educating and enlightening people.⁴

These were normally influenced by the forms and compositions derived from ancient Egypt, Greek and Roman antiquity, Byzantium and the Middle Ages. Certainly, the primordial structures in their mystical aura, such as the already mentioned Stonehenge or the passage-grave of Maeshowe and the Roman Pantheon (126 AD), were and remain powerful inspiration to this day (Fig. 5.1).

¹ Mark Twain, 'Chapter XXVI', in: Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad*, (first published in 1880 by the American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut), Dover Publications: Mineola, New York, 2012, pp. 223-235, p. 224; Twain contemplated on a monument to dead soldiers, the Lion of Lucerne (1821), which was chiseled into a rock. The memorial commemorates several hundreds of Swiss Guard soldiers who were killed while defending the Tuileries Palace in Paris on August 10, 1792. The initiative to create a memorial was taken by an officer of the Guards, Karl Pfyffer, and it was designed by Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. Ariès in his work *L'Homme devant la mort* argued that this was the first monument to the dead soldiers. The second is the monument that the Restoration had constructed at Quiberon to the memory of émigrés who tried to land in Brittany in 1795 and were shot and buried on the spot. In M. Ragon, *op. cit.*, p.111

² Pierre Patte was an influential French architect, editor, and critic. His most known publication was *Monuments érigés en France à la Gloire de Louis XV* (Monuments Erected in France to the Glory of Louis XV—1765). Patte's work was highly influential on French rationalist architecture on the Neo-Classical period. Some of his publications include the continuation of J. -F. Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* (1771–7), but also *Discours sur l'Architecture* (1754), *Études d'Architecture* (1755), *Mémoires* on street-planning (1766), on the building of the west front of St-Sulpice (1767), and *Essai sur l'Architecture Théâtrale* (1782).

³ Michalski suggests that the public political monument commenced in 1572 when the Sicilian town of Messina erected a statue in honour of the victor of Lepanto, Don Juan of Austria. Michalski, *op. cit.*, p. 8

⁴ William Godwin declared this in his work *Essay on Sepulchers* in 1809 in which he shared similar ideas as Diderot who argued for that respect for posterity can become catalyst for future cultural revival. Godwin argued that monuments were as necessary as libraries because men should become a virtuous and honorable through study of the past. In Helen Rosenau, *Social Purpose in Architecture: Paris and London Compared, 1760-1800*, Studio Vista, 1970



Figure 5.1

Accordingly, the Egyptian pyramids were a common inspiration for numerous funeral monuments and memorials across Europe and the United States, a trend that had its roots in the Renaissance. The timelessness of the pharaonic magnificent constructions was translated in a reviving tradition of obelisk memorials and pyramidal tombs, adopted by the French revolutionary architects who explored the forms of neoclassical architecture as ideal language for commemoration and evocation of the Sublime and therefore the architecture of death, as discussed

earlier. Sublime emotions were achieved by the awesome sizes of designs but also by the associations conjured up in these revival forms, namely agelessness and durability.⁵ In eighteenth century England it was a must for intellectuals and nobleman to study the 'Ancients'. The so called 'The Grand Tour' was the medium to gather knowledge. A series of clubs such as Virtuosi, Dilettanti, Athenians and so forth, promoted the interest in Antiquity. Architects who joined in published their findings, as for example British architects James Stuart (1713-1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720-1804) who published *The Antiquities of Athens* in which particular buildings were analyzed in detail while situated in a perspective view of the surroundings.⁶

In addition to the omnipresent fascination with the primordial, ancient and the antiquity that were strongly shaping ideas in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, a political background lurked behind these particular trends. For instance in Great Britain the form of a pyramid, inspired by the Gaius Cestius pyramid in Rome, proved to be increasingly popular in decades following the campaign of Egypt against Napoleon Bonaparte. Obelisks were widely present too and in several cases relocated from their original location in Egypt to European and American cities.⁷ Differently than in the original Egyptian context where they were normally used to flank the processional way towards a temple, in European translation obelisks were used as eye-catchers and public monuments. This practice

⁵ Richard G. Carrott, *The Egyptian Revival. Its Sources, Monuments and Meaning, 1808-1885*, University of California Press, 1978, p. 132

⁶ Stewart, James and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 3 volumes, London, 1762

⁷ For instance, a popular name 'Cleopatra's Needle' refers to three Ancient Obelisks relocated from Egypt to Paris, London and New York. Obelisks in London and New York are a pair whereas the Parisian obelisk originated from a different site in Luxor.

originated from Renaissance town-planning in Rome.⁸ Interesting combination of forms of the past styles can be found across European grounds, for instance the Pyramid of Austerlitz (1805), in the province of Utrecht, where a large stepped earth-made pyramid was topped by a wooden obelisk⁹ (Fig. 5.2). Similarly, the Obelisk at Stillorgan (1727) by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (1699-1733) in Dublin was built on a grotto-like base, inspired by the Bernini's design for Piazza Navona fountain 'Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi' (1651) in Rome¹⁰ (Fig. 5.3).

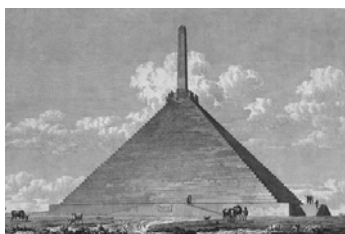


Figure 5.2



Figure 5.3



Figure 5.4

Both relevant events and illustrious personalities were usually remembered with victory columns or elaborate statues on prominent locations in cities, including bridges which were often adorned with elaborate nonfunctional portals.

Pierre Patte elaborated on how a modern city should be semantically structured by its monuments which were the 'carriers of clear ideas but composed of spaces that responded to shifting values of the functions that rulership should provide for the cultural and economic life of the city.'¹¹ In the course of the French Revolution, Patte's point was proved as relevant since royal statues were perceived as symbols of royal rituals and their power at the time, and therefore demolished. The repetitive form of the royal monument was in fact its source of power, hence to search for a new form of expression would have meant to 'overlook the symbolic essence and dynastic force-the use

⁸ James Steven Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West*, Taylor and Francis, 2013, p. 185

⁹ The monument was built on the orders by General Auguste de Marmont in 1804 and was therefore first called Marmont pyramid. In 1806 the monument was renamed by Napoleon.

¹⁰ Sir Joshua Allen commissioned Sir Edward Lovett Pearce in 1727 to build a monument for his wife Lady Allen. This was to give work to local people during a famine which was affecting the country that year and it was to serve as a mausoleum for Lady Allen. However Lady Allen was not interred there. The obelisk is built on a base of large granite rocks. It contains a large vaulted chamber at ground level and on the outside it has four double stairways leading to a platform. From this platform four doorways of Egyptian design form the entrance into a room at the base of the pillar. Gardens which used to surround the obelisk have long since disappeared.

'Stillorgan Obelisk', Klimacud-Stillorgan Local History Society, 2ha Magazine, April 20. 2013, (<http://2hamagazine.tumblr.com/post/48452250476/stillorgan-obelisk-thanks-to-the>, Accessed 31.01.2015)

¹¹ Bergdoll, *op. cit.*, p. 91;

value-which made these statues important royal portraits and key public works of art in early modern France.¹²

In a same way, the repetitive form of public monuments inspired by the historical styles thrived on the inherent symbolism contained within. Architectural calls for memorial designs often delivered abundant solutions that were radically different from each other, but still remained within the popular iconography.

Commemoration of Admiral Horatio Nelson in London, who died at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, yielded numerous design proposals, but probably the largest one featured a gigantic pyramid with twenty two tiers each symbolizing a year of the war against Napoleon I¹³ (Fig. 5.4).

Nelson was eventually commemorated with the so called Nelson Column (1840-43), located on the Trafalgar Square in London, composed of a Corinthian column with a sculpture of the Admiral installed on it, in total reaching 51, 6 meters in height. The only taller monument in London is a Monument to the Great Fire of London (1671-1677), designed by Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723)- a Doric column topped with a sculpture of a fire urn below which is a viewing platform for visitors. The Monument rises to 61 meter what symbolically represents a distance from the site to the location where the infamous fire which destroyed a large portion of the city's tissue started in 1666.¹⁴ The platform, together with a very demanding route to it in a form of a staircase spiraling within the column, are architectural features that are making the Monument one of the earlier examples of interactive memorial design in western Europe. The precedent to this design was Trajan's column in Rome (AD 113) which chronologically commemorates victorious military campaigns against the Dacians.¹⁵ Many later monuments adopted this concept of performing a double function of a column as elongated podium for the crowning sculpture and as a viewing platform. Among the better

¹² Andrew McClellan, 'The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's Louis XV', Oxford Art Journal 23.2, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 1-28, p.7

¹³ The pyramid (originally intended to commemorate the war) was proposed by Colonel Sir Frederic William Trench in 1815 and designed by Phillip and Matthew Cotes Wyatt. Tires were to be adorned with friezes commemorating events of the war while the total height was taller than St. Paul's Cathedral. See: Timothy Baker, *Medieval London*, Praeger, 1970, p. 68

¹⁴ The Monument was a symbolic part of the overall reconstruction plan of London after the fire for which Wren provided an ambitious proposal based on grand boulevards and impressive buildings and churches. His proposal was dismissed and more realistic approach was taken in meeting the needs of citizens who needed faster solutions. As a consequence, the medieval street plan remained. The Monument, as realized with the sculpture made by Robert Hooke, was one of many proposals made by Wren among which the most prominent version was depicting a tall column topped with a sculpture of Charles II. This version together with several others, including a proposal with a large phoenix bird, was dismissed as too costly. See: Baker, op.cit., p. 26

¹⁵ The column has to be entered by a small doorway at the base and a spiral staircase, lit by 48 window slits, which leads to the viewing platform. The base is adorned with reliefs representing conquered weaponry of the opponent army and topped with a victory crown from which the victory column starts.

known examples are the Vendôme Column in Paris (1810) and the Siegessäule Column in Berlin (1873).

Glorifying monuments erected to serve the purpose of displaying the national unity and royal power through its military triumph were common. One of the most known examples is the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile in Paris (1806-36), a true symbol of imperialism. Inspired by the triumphal arches of ancient Rome, Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile revived the ideas of processional ways in Rome¹⁶ while serving its purpose of a commemorative monument augmented by traditionally sculptured reliefs and many engraved names of generals and their battles.¹⁷ The form of a triumphal arch was spread across Europe as a common commemorative form, such as Siegestor (1843-52) in Munich or Marble Arch (1827-33) in London. Embellishing cities with large gates was established practice in a development of the urban fabric.¹⁸ It was not uncommon that these monuments become witnesses of many defining moments in the history of cities they adorn, as a title 'Schicksalstor' or 'gate of fate' assigned to Brandenburg Tor (1788-91) at the Pariser Platz in Berlin, testifies.¹⁹

One of the former excise wall entrances to the city, directly influenced Friedrich Gilly (1772-1800) who in 1796 presented an unusually elaborated design for the commemoration of Frederic II of Prussia. Gilly's design was part of a competition that demonstrated a variety of visions concerning architecture of commemoration at the time. Proposals varied from a plain pyramidal design bearing the Latin inscription 'Friderico' to more poetic ones such as assembly of newly discovered stars into a constellation with a name *Gloire de Frederic*.²⁰

¹⁶ Curl, 2013, op. cit., p. 341; Before the 19th century triumphal arches were not always permanent monuments. Instead they were erected temporarily for a specific occasion. The oil canvas *Charles II's cavalcade through the City of London, 22 April 1661* by Flemish artist Dirck Stoop reveals even four huge temporary triumphal arches welcoming the king on the traditional procession between the Tower of London and Westminster. See Mirelle Galinou and John Hayes, *London in Paint: Oil Paintings in the Collection at the Museum of London*, Museum of London, 1996, p. 26-29;

¹⁷ The Arc, designed by Jean Chalgrin, was commissioned in 1806 after the victory at Austerlitz by Emperor Napoleon. A burial ceremony of the Unknown Soldier under the Arch took place in 1921.

¹⁸ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'Architecture, nouvelle edition* (Paris: Duchesne, 1755): 211ff; Laugier elaborated the importance of city gates as important elements in beautification of cities in chapter 5 of the *Essay* in article 1 entitled 'Des entrees des Villes'.

¹⁹ The Brandenburg Gate was commissioned after the Thirty Years War by Frederick William I of Prussia (1688-1740). The gate was intended as representation of peace, symbolized by the quadriga of goddess Eirene, and was designed by Carl Gotthard Langhans (1732-1808). It was originally called 'Friedenstor' and considered to be the city's first structure in the neo-classical style, inspired by the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis. Built in a Doric order, the gate features two rows of six columns, flanked by two smaller temple-like buildings and it is crowned with a quadriga whose design was changed in 1814. See: Pohlsander Hans A., *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany*, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2011, pp. 175-182

²⁰ The competition organized by the Akademie der Bildenden Künste was announced in 1796, but artists and architect sent their proposals already immediately after the King's death in 1791.

Aiming to embody the significance of the late king who had been known as 'The Great' and inspired by a competition for commemoration of Luis XIV in Paris, Gilly envisaged a large memorial complex which was to stand on a Leipziger Platz and was to be entered through the Postdam Gate (*Fig. 5.5*).



Figure 5.5

Informed by Patte's work, in which a detailed collection of plans emphasizing the importance of the monument in urban planning of the city were offered, Gilly perceived this project as continuation of city planning. The design consisted of a Greek Doric temple, containing the king's remains, elevated on a podium with established pathways leading to it. The approaching route to the temple was further emphasized with several obelisks positioned in front and in the back. The whole complex was imagined as an enclosed entity in the center of Leipziger Platz. With its climbing stairs and interaction of inside and outside spaces, the memorial was conceived as a ritual promenade offering various perspectives culminating with a view over the city, as was the case with the afore mentioned columns.²¹ Acting as a physical entity on its own within a busy city life, the complex with its elevated temple creating a powerful visual connection with the surroundings was recognized as a 'guise of a Philosopher's Grave' or an 'urban version of Rousseau's Island.'²² Strongly relating to the idea of a temple as a symbol of rediscovered individualism, a free standing structure that was accessible and open for exploration, Gilly's design emphasized the idealistic philosophical perception of space in which the architecture had to have transitional qualities in order to relate to the Absolute. Some of Gilly's designs, such as Temple of Solitude dating from around 1800, illustrate this philosophical idea, as he believed:

Pyramid design was a proposal by the historiographer Jean Henri Samuel Formey whereas the constellation was an idea by the royal astronomer Johann Elert Bode, who discovered the six stars featuring the constellation. Several proposals were in a form of a temple but there were also traditional equestrian statues. See: Fritz Neumeyer, 'Introduction', in: Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, transl. by David Britt, Getty Publications, 1994, pp. 1-101, p. 38

²¹ Gilly's Friedrichdenkmal followed rules of eighteenth century concept of 'art of promenading' discussed in Karl Gottlob Schelle's *Spaziergänge, oder, Die Kunst, Spazieren zu gehen* (Promenades, or, The art of taking a walk) published in 1802. Neumeyer, op. cit., p. 42

²² Op. cit., pp. 43-44

*'Only the incorporation of the infinite in the finite, of the ideal in the real could endow architecture with the threshold quality that would introduce the Absolute, through the aesthetic experience, into the earthly world.'*²³ (Fig. 5.6)

Echoing the interior of Pantheon, with the 'Friedrichsdenkmal' the most direct link to establish a dialogue with the 'Absolute' was through an opening in the ceiling above the niche of the temple where a statue of the King was supposed to stand. In this way a presence of the cosmic realm of Nature was introduced by a natural light protruding from the opening in the ceiling which was for Gilly 'the most beautiful of all forms of lighting.'²⁴

Another example of Gilly's search for architectural space that could facilitate this connection was the exploration of commemorative power of a temple as depicted in his sketches from around 1799, recognized as one of the most radical examples of reductionist style in late 18th century Europe that was 'purged of any trace of history, pure as the primeval hut.'²⁵ (Fig. 5.7) The temple, designed as a slender trabeated structure reduced to a minimalistic composition consisting of monolithic columns and beams, echoed ancient constructs such as Stonehenge. The austere construction containing empty spaces around the central opening towards the sky was also a quest for the primitive aspect.²⁶ Even though none of these designs was realized, the profound influence of Gilly's designs can be traced in many later designs of other architects, for example Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841).



Figure 5.6

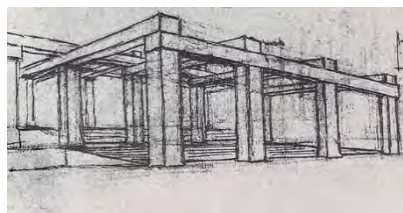


Figure 5.7

In addition to the purely patriotic tradition of remembering kings, generals and politicians with grandiose edifices, monuments to cultural patrons were also erected. A fine example are several Victorian monuments in Great Britain honoring patronage activities of Prince Albert (1819-1861), erected soon after his death. Monuments

²³ Op. cit., p. 45

²⁴ Gilly, op. cit., p. 133; In his notes on Friedrichsdenkmal, Gilly wrote: 'I know of no more beautiful effect than that of being enclosed on all sides-cut off, as it were, from the tumult of the world-and seeing the sky over one's head, free, entirely free. At evening.' Op. cit., p. 135

²⁵ Op. cit., p. 35

²⁶ Etlin, 1994, op. cit., p. 173

featured a sculptural depiction of the Prince which was placed on a pedestal inside a 'shrine' designed in a Gothic Revival style. 'Albert memorial' in Kensington Gardens in London (1872) by George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) accentuates the tabernacle or shrine on which the sculpture is mounted by introducing a Frieze of Parnassus at its base, depicting historical groups of eminent artist, writers, architects and so forth (Fig. 5.8). The influence of the Roman and Greek architecture was more obvious in other, unexecuted, proposals for the same monument which were purely neoclassical designs but were also depicting the sculpture within an architectural construct. Such composition together with the combination of Gothic and classical style elements was in a similar manner implemented by Schinkel, perhaps most clearly visible in a competition entry for a Luther monument (1805) composed as a single-vaulted space with semi-circular arch enclosing a sculpture of Martin Luther and approached by an open staircase²⁷ (Fig. 5.9). Even though his proposal was never realized²⁸ Schinkel did take part in the built monument by creating a neo-Gothic baldachin which was a result of a compromise since the original design was found too costly but at the same time some kind of protection against the elements was needed for the sculptural monument of Luther, decided to be installed at the Marktplatz in Wittenberg.²⁹ Unlike Prince Albert's memorial protective shell, primarily designed to shield the sculpture from the unfriendly climate, Luther's baldachin was also intended to denote his social status since it was believed that sculptures standing in an open public space was a privilege reserved only for monarchs.³⁰

What started in the Renaissance as a cult of personality when tombs of famous poets, writers, philosophers and others achieved an important status in the society, continued through the eighteen century with monumental works such as the Panthéon in Paris (1755-1790), an early example of a neoclassical style containing the remains

²⁷ Schinkel's later projects share similar esthetics, for example a proposal for a Memorial for Gustav Adolf von Schweden in Lützen, developed between 1832 and 1837. See: Helmut Börsch-Supan and Lucius Grisebach, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Architektur, Malerei, Kunstgewerbe*, Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten und Nationalgalerie Berlin Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1981, p. 200

²⁸ The winning design of the competition, which attracted several renowned architects of the time, was a monumental statue by Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850).

²⁹ Due to the French occupation of Prussia, all plans for the monument were abolished until 1815 when King Frederic William III invited Schinkel to make a design together with Schadow. Schinkel's proposal met wide recognition but remained unrealized since it appeared too intricate and thereby too costly to be realized. In: Martin Steffens, *K. F. Schinkel 1781-1841: An Architect in the Service of Beauty*, TASCHEN GmbH, 2003, p. 17

³⁰ Pohlsander, op. cit., p. 108; Friedrich Wilhelm III also decreed that the socle should not contain any reliefs but only inscriptions chosen by himself. After his death, several memorials and monuments of gigantic size were erected in his memory, with ceremonies referring to the principle of 'Gottesgnadentum' (divine-right monarchy) in which the late King believed.

of some of the country's distinguished figures.³¹ At the same time, there were instances of search for new expressions and architectural forms that would embody the unity of the Republic and the public will of French post-revolutionary society. Architects strived for forms which would speak with clarity about the revolutionary morality. Such was a design by Charles Percier (1764-1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) proposed for the competition of the Year II (1793-94) for a Monument to the Defenders of the Fatherland in which one of the jurors proclaimed: 'Great monuments must make great impressions; the walls must speak.'³² A façade of the building was completely engraved with inscriptions and in that way opted to literary transgress the notion of architecture into a written text (Fig. 5.10).



Figure 5.8



Figure 5.9



Figure 5.10

After the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), public monuments regained their importance along with the spread of nationalism. In the decades preceding WWI a specific *Denkmalkultur* developed in Europe. In Germany the strong penchant for monuments was addressed as starting with a 'Denkmalsflut' (flood of monuments) of the nineteenth century or in the Republican France 'statuomania' starting around 1871 when numerous public statues were dedicated to elevated historical figures. The unveiling of a Monument to Victor Hugo (1902) raised many doubts over the aesthetic relevance of the traditional

³¹ The *Panthéon* was originally built as a church by Jacques-Gabriel Soufflot on the location where the tomb of the St. Genevieve was placed. The architect is buried in the building's crypt, among other notable personalities such as Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Rousseau and others.

³² Richard Wittman, 'Architecture, Space, and Abstraction in the Eighteenth Century French Public Sphere', in: *Representations*, Vol. 102, No. 1, Spring 2008, pp. 1-25, p. 17; Wittman quotes Léon Dufourny who argued further: '...multiplied sentences must render our edifices Books of morality....Each part must announce itself and speak to the eyes [parler aux yeux]; each part must also have the particular character appropriate to it, like the stables, the infirmary, the manège, and yet the ensemble must still say to us: *Here is a barracks.*' Ibid

type of the allegorical monument.³³ By 1914, erecting new monuments to persons of public merit became obsolete, reduced to 'the level of misplaced scenic gesture'³⁴ as depicted in Giorgio de Chirico's painting *The Enigma of the Day* from the same year (Fig. 5.11).



Figure 5.11

Michalski recognizes a certain zest for experiments in the commemorative public sculptural monuments of the immediate pre-war years, signifying a new psychological approach which invited a beholder to become more engaged with a monument by bringing the sculptural composition

to the eye-level. As an example Michalski gives Rodin's *Burgers of Calais* (1889) where the artist was aiming for 'dramatization from all sides.'³⁵ (Fig. 5.12)

An earlier monument on the German ground, monument to the Reformation in Worms (1868), represents a significant move towards the effective spatial engagement of a visitor.³⁶ The monument depicts several key historical figures whose sculptures are positioned on an elevated 12, 5 by 12, 5 meters square, approachable by an open staircase (Fig. 5.13). The central and the highest sculpture, portraying Luther, stands prominently while other sculptures varying in height occupy the border of the square.³⁷ Quite literary, the monument encloses the beholder into its defined space for the historical narrative it ambitiously aims to tell.

³³ This project, designed by Louis-Ernest Barrias, represented in mature form the type of allegorical monument devoted to a great man of letters. The monument was composed as the ascending structure in which Hugo stands in the highest point, a 'heavenly' sphere, the allegorical monument was attacked as irrelevant to new aspirations of modernism. In: Michalski, op. cit., p. 39

³⁴ Michalski, op. cit., p. 7

³⁵ Michalski, op. cit., p. 41; *Les Bourgeois de Calais* was completed in 1889. It serves as a monument to an occurrence in 1347 during the Hundred Years' War, when Calais, an important French port on the English Channel, was under siege by the English for over a year.

³⁶ Locating the monument in Worms was significant since in 1521 Luther made a stand in front of the Reichstag. The commission for the monument was given to Ernst Rietschel in 1858. After Rietschel's death in 1861 the work was completed by his assistants.

³⁷ The central figure of Luther is at the socle surrounded by sculptures of Peter Waldes, John Wyclif, Jan Hus and Girolamo Savonarola. At the four corners of the perimeter of the square are sculptures of Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, Landgrave Phillip of Hesse, Johannes Reuchlin and Philipp Melancthon. Three allegorical figures at the rear are representing 'Protest of Speyer' (1529), the Ausburg Confession (1530) and the Peace of Augsburg (1555). In: Pohlsander, op. cit., p. 120



Figure 5.12



Figure 5.13

Nevertheless, the German 'Kaiserreich' was focused on the creation of so called 'Nationaldenkmäler'. Unlike French burgeoning field of commemorative statues for significant personages, especially in Paris where an 'urban monument' was a characteristic feature of the city planning, in German context the eclectic nature of the monuments remained the same, only they were located in natural settings or patriotic landscapes, exemplified in the monuments of the Bismarck cult and their primitivistic and neo-pagan German elements.³⁸

Two earlier examples of truly national memorials, both designed by Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) - a prominent representative of the Greek revival style, are the Walhalla (1830-1842), originally imagined as a 'Pantheon of the Germans' and 'Befreiungshalle' (1847-1863). Both buildings were also placed in serene landscapes so that visiting them would become a sort of pilgrimage.³⁹ Walhalla was a German

³⁸ Op. cit., p. 75

³⁹ Both projects were initiated by King Ludwig I of Bavaria. For the Walhalla, the king eventually followed a suggestion by historian Johannes von Müller (1752-1809) and named the project 'Walhalla', a mythological equivalent to a heavenly place where heroes fallen in a battle abide.

counterpart of the temple for the eminent dead, located on the Bräubergerg, a hill overlooking the Danube River in Bavaria (Fig. 5.14). In spite of several advocates who supported an idea about genuine German style and criticized von Klünzler's adaptation of Parthenon architecture, Walhalla met positive reactions since it was believed that Germanic and Greek peoples shared origin and are therefore akin.⁴⁰ Differently than the Parisian Panthéon, Walhalla is based on a more open concept of recognizing illustrious personalities of 'German tongue' and the actual commemoration is achieved in a nonhierarchical manner.⁴¹ The building contains numerous busts, all made in equal size and attached to the walls of the main hall which is divided by pilasters and large statues of Victories in three sequences. One exhibited sculpture represents Ludwig I, depicted in a Roman toga and centrally positioned in front of the *opisthodomos*, flanked by Ionic columns⁴² (Fig. 5.15).



Figure 5.14

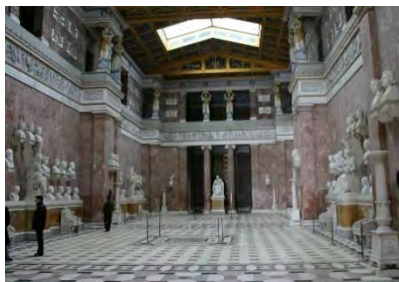


Figure 5.15

Double rows of memorial plaques, placed above the busts, chronologically commemorate other historical figures while the

Müller also advised the king about personalities deemed worthy of admission to the shrine. After firstly collecting around 60 busts portraying the noteworthy figures, from kings to famous artists and all executed in Carrara marble, the choice of architect, style and location was made. On the date of dedicating Walhalla had 96 busts, a number which grew to more than 120 in the present time. Pohlsander, op. cit., p. 130

⁴⁰ It was believed that the Greek and German peoples had a common home in central Asia. Hence using Greek architectural language was observed with favor whereas 'genuine Germanic style' proved difficult to establish. Op. cit., p. 134

⁴¹ Created as an 'open monument' based on a principal of equality so that every person commemorated is given the same importance together with the criterion of honoring personalities of 'German tongue' therefore not regarding the territorial borders, makes Walhalla to be perceived as an early idea of European Union. Walhalla, Ruhmes-und Ehrenhalle an der Donau (<http://www.walhalla-regensburg.de/english/walhalla.shtml>, accessed 31.01.2015)

⁴² The sculpture of Ludwig I was created by Ferdinand von Miller the Younger (1842-1929). This layout probably inspired the Hall of Fame for Great Americans on the Campus of Bronx Community College in New York City (1902), although this version was built as an open semicircular colonnade. The question of 'Kostümstreit' or 'dressing' of the sculptures in contemporary or antique dresses was rather present at the time.

inscriptions and decorative arrangements in the marble floor tell the history of the building.⁴³



Figure 5.16

The Befreiungshalle was designed in the neoclassical style as elevated circular structure covered by a large dome featuring oculus at its center and a large staircase leading to a tall entrance portal with a door for which, interestingly, bronze from the captured French cannons was used for construction.⁴⁴ The building was dedicated to the 'German warriors of the liberation',⁴⁵ the symbolical language, such as the number of enlarged Victory statues dominating the interior or the 18 monumental statues on the buttresses of the façade, remains similar to the Walhalla (Fig. 5.16).

Monuments dedicated to dead soldiers were erected earlier. In Munich's Karolinenplatz, King Ludwig I commemorated around 30.000 killed Bavarians during Napoleon's infamous 1812 Russian campaign with a large obelisk (1833), also designed by Leo von Klenze. The obelisk occupies the central point of the square and its distinctive dark colored surface is only adored by the inscriptions on its lower part, informing about the obelisk's purpose, date of dedication and the commissioner.⁴⁶

After the end of the Franco-Prussian war commemorative efforts turned towards human costs and death of soldiers since remembering victories with triumphal arches became problematic. This led to the establishment of many large ossuaries and battlefield monuments, which were already a known form of commemoration.⁴⁷

⁴³ There are three inscriptions with important dates for the construction of the building and each is surrounded by 18 rows of stylized crosses alluding to the date 18 October 1813, the date of the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. In Pohlsander, op. cit., p. 132

⁴⁴ Usage of bronze from captured French columns was already applied in 1822 in the Statue of Achilles in London Hyde Park and in 1870 for the victory column Siegestsäule in Berlin which contains cannons captured in three successive wars. Material from a captured cannon was also used for statues in Feldherrenhalle (1844) in Munich. In: Pohlsander, op. cit., p. 143

⁴⁵ The inscription above the doorway is: 'Den deutschen Befreiungskämpfern Ludwig I Koenig von Bayern'.

⁴⁶ The metal for the monument was obtained from guns of the Turkish battle-ships sunk in the Battle of Navarino (Greece) on October 1827, during the Greek War of Independence, on the west coast of the Peloponnese peninsula, in the Ionian Sea. Adrian von Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze: Leben, Werk, Vision*, C. H. Beck Verlag, München 1999, p. 70.

⁴⁷ See John Carman, Patricia Carman, *Bloody Meadows: Investigating Landscapes of Battle*, Sutton Publishing Limited, 2006.

The inspiration for this gigantism was particularly actual in the years around 1900 when German excavations in Babylon and Assur started accompanied with the designs of reconstructions in Ancient Mesopotamia. An unrealized design for a war monument by Emanuel Josef Margold from 1908 reveals details of Neo-Assyrian palaces⁴⁸ (Fig. 5.17).

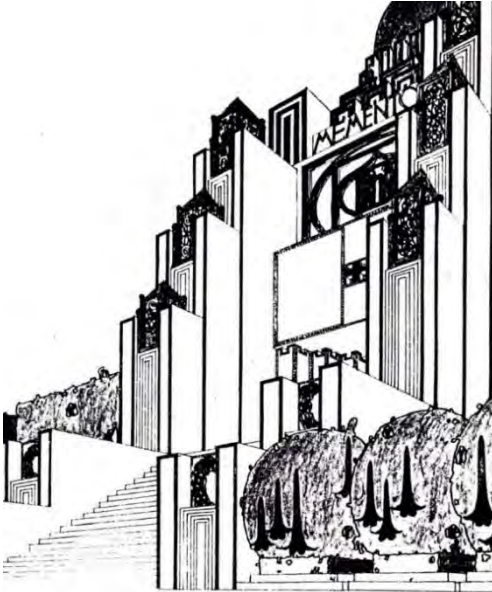


Figure 5.17



Figure 5.18

In 1899 Auguste Rodin used antique examples to design a Monument to Labor as a symbol of endless progress⁴⁹ (Fig. 5.18). Rodin's design confirmed the artist's preoccupation with experiencing the work in its totality by approaching a viewer on a more suitable scale. Even though the monument was envisioned as a tall spiraling structure symbolically referring to the endless progress, announcing Vladimir Tatlin's Monument to the Third International (1920), the monument was described as a noble adaptation of the iconic 'column' monuments such as Column of Trajan in Rome or the Place Vendôme Column. By creating a spiral that was to evolve around a column, Rodin would make it possible for viewers to reach every part of the column, unlike the mentioned

⁴⁸ Margold was a member of Wiener Werkstätten, a movement based on modernization of applied arts and he mainly designed objects of arts and crafts. His proposal for a war memorial references the reconstruction of the Palace of Sargon in Nineveh by Félix Thomas. See Brigitte Pedde, 'Reception of Mesopotamian Architecture in Germany and Austria in the 20th Century', in: *ICAANE*, Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Vol. 1, No. 6, Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., Wiesbaden, 2010, pp. 121-132.

⁴⁹ French Revolution was a deciding point when a public monument stopped being observed only as an art and architectural value but gained political meaning.

examples which are normally observed only from their base.⁵⁰ The work would have been a real synthesis of architecture and sculpture, including elements of funeral architecture such as the crypt under the tower where somber and the perilous character of the mining work was to be depicted and where Rodin imagined to be buried himself once he is no more.⁵¹ After the crypt, however, one would begin the ascent of the spiral where other trades would be represented until finally reaching the platform from which one could see 'the human work of the city'⁵² while in the center of the platform there would rise 'two women entwined, Strength and Thought, dominating the modern city, [about to] take wing towards infinity, towards the future, towards the better or towards nothingness.'⁵³

With a similar goal German *Nationaldenkmäler*, culminating in the famous 'Völkerschlachtendenkmal' (Monument to the Battle of Nations, 1913) in Leipzig,⁵⁴ were intended 'in recalling the past, to speak persuasively to the present of what the future might hold.'⁵⁵ The architect Bruno Schmitz (1858-1916) aimed towards developing a true German style while using two levels, first one for the crypt and the second for the 'Ruhmeshalle' or Hall of Fame (Fig. 5.19). Whether this intention was realized through the monument's ceremonial outlook with a rough-hewn granite pyramidal structure topping the whole complex, the interior speaks of different themes as it evokes the atmosphere of 'untenanted mausoleum, a site for mourning irreparable loss.'⁵⁶ Colossal sculptures in the interior, executed by

⁵⁰ Critique Gabriel Mourey compared Rodin's design with the above mentioned historical examples arguing that: 'if one builds a spiral path around the column from whose view the subjects could be easily contemplated, and if one encloses the whole in an arcaded tower through which the light would largely penetrate...it seems that all difficulties would be overcome.' In: Albert E. Elsen, with Rosalyn Frankel Jamison, *Rodin's Art: The Rodin Collection, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University*, New York: Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University with Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 145

⁵¹ Op. cit., p. 147

⁵² Op. cit., p. 146

⁵³ Ibid; in a description accompanying the project model in the exhibition in 1900, Rodin wrote on its base: 'Project for a *Monument to Labour*. In a crypt miners, the deep-sea divers. Around the door, *Day and Night*. And around the columns, the trades: masons, carpenters, forgers, joiners, potters, etc., in the costumes of the period. At the top: the *Benedictions* come from heaven. An effort has been made to recall a hive, a lighthouse.' Ibid

⁵⁴ Monument to the Battle of Nations in Leipzig or Völkerschlachtendenkmal is a triumphal peace of architecture commissioned in 1890 by a German 'patriotic union'. The monument is located in the outskirts of the Saxon metropolis on a site where Napoleon had been defeated, hindered years before the monument was commissioned, and it was the last of Bruno Schmitz's tower-like structures. The memorials was dedicated on the centenary of the Prussian-Russian-Austrian coalition victory over Napoleon.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Clegg, *Design and Architecture in Central Europe: 1890-1920*, Yale University Press-Pelican History of Art Series, New Haven and London, 2006, p. 149

⁵⁶ Ibid



Figure 5.19

Franz Metzner (1870-1919), represent allegories of *German National Virtues* and the *Mask of Destiny*, as well as *Mourners* expressing gestures of grief. Metzner, who collaborated with Schmitz in earlier projects, subordinated these groups of sculptures to the architectural composition in which massive granite columns of the base are carved with a *Mask of Destiny*.

Metzner's work provoked critics labeling its gigantism as 'barbaric modernity.'⁵⁷ Due to its symbolism and largely scaled design of the processional streets and the great water basin in front of the memorial, the site became favored for right wing political parties rallies, as many other national monuments and memorials on German ground.⁵⁸

Exploration of grandiose structures in service of commemorating famous political figures was not uncommon for architects of the Modern Movement in their early years, such as Mies van der Rohe and Gropius who participated in a 1909 design competition for a national monument to Otto von Bismarck.⁵⁹ Since Bismarck was a symbol of the country's unity the competition was imbued with nationalistic aspirations, as confirmed by the competition brief which declared that the monument 'must stand in those oft-embattled, much threatened yet faithfully defended borderlands of Germany.'⁶⁰ Furthermore, the monument was supposed to react on its surroundings as the bank of the river Rhine, but also incorporate a festival field. Consequently many entries offered monumental designs as was the case with the winning proposal entitled 'Faust' by Wilhelm Kreis, famous for his monumental designs, who proposed a gigantic polygonal structure covered by a dome. The circular interior of the building would contain

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Schmitz's earlier project for the *Kyffhäuserdenkmal* or 'Barbarossa Memorial' (1890-1896) situated on the southern side of the Harz foothills, considered to be the third largest memorial in Germany, was also appropriated by the Nazis who continued the tradition of mythologizing past but with fatal consequences. The project was an outcome of a competition launched in 1890 for a monument that would commemorate Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1122-1190) as well as King of Prussia and the first German Emperor Wilhelm I (1797-1888). Another similar project by Schmitz was the 'Porta Westfalica' (1892-1896) close to Minden in the region of Westfalen, also dedicated to Wilhelm I.

⁵⁹ The monument, planned to be dedicated on the 100th anniversary of Bismarck's birth, was to be built on a hill at Bingerbrück, on the left bank of the Rhine. The competition was very popular as the number of 379 entries suggests.

⁶⁰ Franz Schultze, Edward Windhorst, *Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography, New and Revised Edition*, The University of Chicago Press, 2012, p. 32

a colossal sculpture of Bismarck. The design was praised by the jury as a 'kind of modern Pantheon'⁶¹ (Fig. 5.20). In his description of the proposal, Kreis provided several references that influenced the final form among which the most prominent was the mausoleum of Theodoric in Ravenna.⁶² Mies's design in cooperation with Sergius Rugenberg, labeled 'Deutschlands Dank', featured a large sculpture of Bismarck as well. However, the design was evocative of a classical temple and consisted out of two monumental stone colonnades, perpendicular to the river, enclosing a festival field. The whole composition was elevated on a massive podium while the side towards the river ended with a cylindrical wall where a statue was planned to be installed⁶³ (Fig. 5.21; 22).



Figure 5.20



Figure 5.21



Figure 5.22

Another commemorative project falling out of the modern discourse of its time and also characterized by the enormity of the scale was a project by Adolf Loos for a memorial dedicated to the Emperor Franz-Josef I and celebrated Austrians planned in 1917 on the grounds of the Horticultural Association in Vienna in the vicinity of the Hofgarten the imperial palace. In this proposal Loos merged utilitarian and purely commemorative functions which he further accentuated by their distinctive appearances: the lower part of the complex was imagined as beaux-arts comprised of a central museum and galleries dedicated to the memory of illustrious personalities whereas two symmetrical towers, devoid of any ornaments and of the same height as Vienna's highest bell tower, frame the whole composition (Fig. 5.23).

⁶¹ Karen Lang, 'The Heritage of the Bismarck National Monument in the Weave of Historicity', in: Robert Shannan Peckham (Ed.), *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe*, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, London 2003, pp. 124-139, p. 131; Initially a proposal by Germann Bestelmeyer and Hermann Hahn entitled 'Siefried Dolmen' was chosen. The design was consisting of an open circular temple-like enclosure with four linden trees and a 10 meter high statue of Siegfried reflecting in a large basin of water. However, it was not deemed powerful enough which led the jury to choose the design by Kreis.

⁶² Kreis compared Theodoric to Bismarck as heroes, arguing that '...his building, arising in the culture of the antique and produced from the nature of the strong *Germanen*, can serve us as a model for the expression of every art with which we honor Bismarck.' In: op. cit., p. 133

⁶³ Mies entered this competition with his brother Ewald. The jury awarded the proposal with 'special mention' describing it as 'both very simple and impressive'. Op. cit., p. 34



Figure 5.23

The two are connected with a grand plaza planned for various ceremonies and festivities, surrounded by a *stoa* which made the reference to the *propylea* of Athens rather obvious. The purpose was to design a place dedicated to memory of all those who had part in the country's history, but this would have only made sense if the place would be used by people.⁶⁴ Characterized by the tension inherent in its architecture of a struggle between the radical use of historical quotations together with functionalist principles of the Modern Movement, Loos' memorial was depicted as a 'the swan song at the sunset of an age.'⁶⁵

In the United States, which were around 1900 becoming a world power, there was a great demand for monumental and memorial architecture between 1912 and 1937 in order to commemorate important anniversaries, for instance the centennial of the War of 1812.⁶⁶ Academic classicism, largely used for many public buildings erected in this period as it called forth for impression of trustworthiness and solidity,⁶⁷ proved to be an adequate expression for this purpose. What colored this period of active commemorative work was the profound need to display national unity and power of the country, leading to designs such as the Project for a Centennial Tower (1874) by the civil engineering team Clark Reeves and Company. Even though never realized, as several earlier proposals, the project anticipated the construction of the famous Eiffel tower (1889) and if built it would have been a 'spectacular commemorative monument' and a 'proof of the technological supremacy.'⁶⁸ The motive of a tower as a memorial structure is well represented in Erastus Salisbury Field's

⁶⁴ Tournikiotis, op. cit., p. 149

⁶⁵ Gravagnuolo, op. cit., p. 167; The author alludes to a tragedy *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* by Karl Kraus, performed at the very garden of the Horticultural Association where Loos' memorial was supposed to be located.

⁶⁶ Steven McLeod Bedford, *John Russell Pope Architect of Empire*, Rizzoli New York, First Edition, 1998, p. 204

⁶⁷ Lars Olof Larsson, 'Classicism in the Architecture of the XXth Century', in: Leon Krier (Ed.), *Albert Speer: Architecture 1932 – 1942*, Brussels: Archives d'architecture modern, 1985, pp. 233-245, p. 234

⁶⁸ Robert Jay, 'Taller than Eiffel's Tower: The London and Chicago Tower Projects, 1889-1894', in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vo. XLVI, No. 2, June 1987, pp. 145-156, p. 146

large painting *The Historical Monument of the American Republic* (1867-88) which chronicles the most significant moments in the American narrative by arranging the events of 250 years of history, from settlement to the centennial, in ten towers (Fig. 5.24).



Figure 5.24

Contrary to the then popular representations of historical narrative as a providential affair,⁶⁹ Field introduced nonlinear narrative abundant in scenes of tragedies such as Jamestown Massacre of 1622 or the assassination of Lincoln, even the statue of Liberty overthrown. The apocalyptic images, well-fitting the carnage of the recent Civil War (1861-1865), are countering representations of achievements and a promise of a paradise. The chronological narrative is broken, symbolizing trial and probation in anticipation of some cosmic reparation of the Calvinist thought, and in this way the painting 'subsumes postwar despair into a greater ritual of divine vindication.'⁷⁰ The memorial towers were a manifestation of Field's religious beliefs and aspiration towards the heavenly, but also of his strong faith in progress and technology.

Preference for vertical forms was also demonstrated in many public monuments erected in a form of obelisks, a prevailing tradition inspired by the established funerary commemorative practices.⁷¹ Known examples of these structures are among others Washington

⁶⁹ The historical narratives of the time, such as George Bancroft ten volumes History of the United States with the ninth volume being published in the 1866 when Field began his work on the painting or Emanuel Leutze's painting *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (1861-62), were mainly providential. Paul Staiti, 'Ideology and Rhetoric in Erastus Salisbury Field's "The Historical Monument of the American Republic"', in: *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 1992, pp. 29-43, p. 32

⁷⁰ Op. cit., p. 35

⁷¹ After the Civil War there was a large scale demand for memorials but the nation had no indigenous tradition to look upon others than those provided by funerary monuments. See: David M. Kahn, 'The Grant Monument', in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Volume XLI, No. 3, October 1982, pp. 212-231

Monument (1848-84) and earlier examples of the Bunker Hill Monument (1843) in Boston and the Lincoln's Tomb in Springfield (1874) where the obelisk was also used as a vantage point to allow a panoramic view for visitors.⁷² At the same time, the ubiquity of shafts was continuously questioned, exemplified in the case of Washington's monument whose difficult birth saw numerous proposals varying from intricate Gothic towers to pyramidal solutions.⁷³ Doubts about the necessity for such monuments were also present during a process of creating a monument for famous General Ulysses Grant in New York (1891-1897), eventually designed by John Duncan (1855-1929) who followed renowned French sources in creating a prototype of a Roman mausoleum.

The exploration of varieties of commemoration was equally appealing for artists and architects in early 20th century Central Europe, with several key commemorative projects being realized. In Prague the so called 'era of monument fever' characterized the waning years of Habsburg Monarchy while the artistic influences ranged from classic monumental form to art nouveau.⁷⁴ The later became popular after an influential exhibition of Rodin's work in 1902,⁷⁵ which represented a significant departure from Czech traditional sculpture. The work affected a granite and bronze Monument to Franišek Palacký (1912), by Czech sculptor Stanislav Sucharda (1866-1916) who, inspired by Rodin, sought to capture human emotions of 'love and suffering, hope and despair, abnegation and contempt.'⁷⁶ Together with another secessionist monument to Jan Hus (1915) by Ladislav Šaloun (1870-1946), installed in the Old Square in Prague, the monument was designed to emphasize the relationship between the history and the spectator. The assassination of the follower to the throne of the

⁷² Gwendolyn Leick, *Tombs of the Great Leaders: A Contemporary Guide*, Reaktion Books, 2013, p. 28

⁷³ The obelisk of the Washington monument by Robert Mills is the only element that remained out of the 1840s initial design which was comprised out of a circular Greek temple with a colonnade as a base for the obelisk inside of which would have been the statues of thirty founding Fathers. The sculpture depicting Washington standing in a Roman emperor chariot would have been prominently installed at the entrance, on top of the colonnade. The obelisk was also supposed to be flat on top, but due to the comments about irregular length of the obelisk was finally crowned with an aluminum pyramid. More about the discussions and the construction of the monument in: Louis Torres, *'To the immortal name and memory of George Washington': The United States Army Corps of Engineers and the Construction of the Washington Monument*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984

⁷⁴ Cynthia Paces, *Prague Panoramas: National Memory and Sacred Space in Twentieth Century*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009

⁷⁵ In May 1902, the Manès Union of Artists, Prague, hosted an exhibition of Rodin's works in the pavilion built in 1901 by one of its members, Jan Kotera (1871- 1923). A pupil of the Viennese architect, Otto Wagner (1841-1918), Kotera had also mounted the exhibition, following Rodin's written instructions. See: 'Vladimir Zupansky (1869-1928): Poster of the Rodin Exhibition in Prague', Musée Rodin (<http://www.musee-rodin.fr/en/collections/archives/poster-rodin-exhibition-prague>, accessed 29.05.2015)

⁷⁶ Op. cit., p.65

Austrian Hungarian Empire, Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria (1863-1914) and his wife in Sarajevo,⁷⁷ marked the beginning of a terrible caesura that ended the 19th century, paving a path for numerous graveyards, memorials and monuments in the memory of fallen soldiers. Artists, such as Ludwig Meidner (1884-1966) who particularly focused on apocalyptic images, were portraying the looming threat of things to come (*Fig. 5.25*).



Figure 5.25



Figure 5.26

The mournful and often melancholic atmosphere that will prevail after the war, was already reflected in commemorative efforts such as the Lion of Lucerne. The redundancy of large figural commemorative projects was stressed in the words of Twain, quoted at the beginning of the chapter, who recognized the importance of the place and the appropriateness of the monument's form asserting that 'The Lion of Lucerne would be impressive anywhere, but nowhere so impressive as where he is.'⁷⁸ (*Fig. 5.26*)

⁷⁷ On the third anniversary of the assassination committed by Gavrilo Princip, a member of an organization called 'Mlada Bosna' (Young Bosnia), a monument 'Sühnedenkmal' and a memorial plaque to Franz Ferdinand and Sophie was dedicated. Following the initial idea to build a memorial church, which was never realized, Hungarian sculptor Eugene Bory designed the eight meter high monument comprised of a pair of Doric columns standing on a sarcophagus-like base adorned with medallions depicting the Archduke and his wife, and topped with family coats of arms resting on a base that looked much like a coffin. The monument, installed across the street from the assassination site, and the memorial plaque were removed in less than a year time after its dedication due to the political climate change. See Emily Gunzburger Makaš, 'Sarajevo', in: Emily Gunzburger Makaš and Tanja Damljanović Conley (Eds.), *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, Routledge, 2010, pp. 241-257

⁷⁸ Twain, *ibid.*

5.2 Interbellum period

'The dome, the first real dome made, was conceived with a window to the sky. Not because of ethereal reasons, but because it's the least distracting, the one that is most transcending. And there is a demand from saying nothing specific, no direction; that's what form says to you, feeling and philosophy.'
*Louis Kahn*⁷⁹

The before mentioned Trench of Bayonets with its protruding bayonet heads instantly communicates the tragedy of the individual death in trenches of WWI. It also communicates the importance and the sense of place which was to become one of the defining points in the conceptualization of memorials to WWI.

The term 'Totenlandschaft',⁸⁰ as associated with paintings by Casper David Friedrich at the beginning of the 19th century, was also the term Robert Musil used one century later to describe the scenery of the Italian front after WWI.⁸¹ A new type of commemorative monument for the dead soldier - the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* overshadowed commemorative efforts to honor military leaders, as was for example the case in France.⁸² The memorial to the unknown dead of WWI was in the beginning conceived as the monument to glorify the victory, but soon enough these monuments became monuments representing suffering of millions of man who never came back, hence a memorial to the dead of the 1914 war became 'the memorial to the dead of all wars.'⁸³ The individual identity was replaced by the symbolic representations of the unanimous and therefore of 'every mother's son.' Poignant art works such as Kathe Kollwitz's *Grieving Parents* or a painting *Youth Mourning* (1916) by British artist George Clausen (1852-1944) which depicts the omnipresent grief embodied in a nude female figure hunched in front of a cross amidst somber and featureless landscape (Fig. 5.27). Such private scenes of grief are often referred to as 'the invisible foundations of mourning upon which public commemorative activity, be it local or national, or imperial, was overlaid.'⁸⁴ Along this line Kollwitz was convinced that war cemeteries ought to be somber instead of pleasant.⁸⁵ The overall horror of the

⁷⁹ Louis Kahn quoted in: Alessandra Latour (Ed.), *Louis I. Kahn: Writings, Lectures, Interviews*, Rizzoli: New York, 1991, p. 151.

⁸⁰ In 1813 German poet Karl Theodor Körner referred to Friedrichs' painting *Abbey Under Oak Trees* using the term *Totenlandschaft* or 'a landscape of the dead'

⁸¹ Geoff Dyer, *The Missing of the Somme*, A Phoenix Press London, 2001, p. 117

⁸² Michalski, op. cit., p. 78

⁸³ Ragon, op. cit., p. 108

⁸⁴ Catherine Moriarty, 'Remnants of Patriotism': The Commemorative Representation of the Greatcoat after the First World War', in: *Oxford Art Journal* 27.3, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 293

⁸⁵ Käthe Kollwitz, 'June 23, 1932. In Belgium.' in: Hans Kollwitz (Ed.), *The Diary and Letters of Käthe Kollwitz*, transl. Richard and Clara Winston, Northwestern University Press: Evanston,

war was documented by many artists who experienced life in trenches for example Otto Dix, Fernand Léger, Egon Schiele, Otto Nussbaum and Paul Nash. In each case, profound experiences caused artists to search for a different way of representation.⁸⁶ In the midst of the war an unexpected arrival of Dadaism⁸⁷ confirmed the quest for ways in which artists 'were searching for an elemental art, to cure people of the madness of the age, and a new order to restore the balance between heaven and hell.'⁸⁸



Figure 5.27

Public commemoration of the dead of WWI was approached in an urgent manner, and not without political agenda, since the losses of countless bereaved needed to be addressed and commemoration served as demonstration of recognition of those losses. Within this task, public commemorations had a long term goal as well: 'to locate the war as an event of great significance within an historical continuum and to create an

exemplar of collective service and duty for future generations.'⁸⁹

As a consequence, thousands of monuments and small memorials were built on the territories most effected by the war.⁹⁰ Intriguing development in most of these commemorative efforts was the disappearance of a figural expression in memorials and monuments. This can be seen as a direct consequence of trauma stemming from the war demonstrated in the impossibility to represent it, as discussed in earlier chapters. The atmosphere of desperation that prevailed after the war is well reflected in Benjamin's remark about soldiers

1955, p. 122. Kollwitz wrote: 'The British and Belgian cemeteries seem brighter, in a certain sense more cheerful and cosy, more familiar than the German cemeteries. I prefer the German ones. The war was not a pleasant affair; it isn't seemly to prettify with flowers the mass deaths of all these young men. A war cemetery ought to be sombre...' Ibid

⁸⁶ Uwe M. Schneede, 'The Avant-Garde and the War; The Visual Arts between 1914-1918', in: *1914/18 Retrospektiven, Paradoxien, Perspektiven 2014/18*, Goethe-Institut. November 2013 (<http://www.goethe.de/ges/prj/nzv/par/en12354686.htm>, Accessed 29.05.2015)

⁸⁷ Dadaism (Dada) began as an international anti-war and anti-bourgeois art-movement in 1916 in Zurich, Switzerland. The movement included variety of artistic forms including public gatherings and demonstrations. In 1920 the First International Fair was organized in Berlin, featuring works by some of the main members of the movement, for example George Grosz, John Heartfield and Raoul Hausmann.

⁸⁸ German-French sculptor and painter Hans Arp (1886-1966) quoted in: Schneede, *ibid*.

⁸⁹ Moriarty, *op. cit.*, p. 293

⁹⁰ In the period between 1920 and 1925 nearly every commune in France erected memorial for victims of the Great War, in total 36,000 memorials were erected. In Ragon, p. 107; similarly, there were thousands of 'Opfer der Faschismus' (i.e. Victims of Fascism) monuments erected after WWII by the Soviets in the former GDR.

‘returning home from the front turned silent, not richer but poorer in communicable experience.’⁹¹

The loss of human figure is exemplified in many cases, for example in the so called ‘Greatcoat’ monuments whose form varied from the monumental with the over-proportioned bodies of the soldiers proudly wearing well known WWI coats to rather intimate and tragic ones in which the coat became a sort of a barrier between the living and the dead.⁹² Eventually, the body itself disappeared from the monuments and the symbolism of the coat transformed into an ‘empty coat’ thereby further accentuating the absence of the body.⁹³ Also in many official commemorations there was a strong penchant for nonfiguration in memorials, famously displayed in the already mentioned Lutyens’ *Cenotaph* in London.

Around the same time, Romanian sculptor Constantin Brâncuși (1876-1957) grappled with the issue of memorialization of the war. The artist demonstrated the complexity of post-war commemoration with a project honoring the soldiers who defended the Romanian city of Târgu-Jiu against the German invasion in 1916.⁹⁴ The tripartite ensemble comprises the Endless Column, a 30-meter-high column of zinc and brass-clad, cast-iron modules threaded onto a steel spine, and two travertine monuments, the Gate of the Kiss and the Table of Silence installed on the site of the battle (*Fig. 5.28; 29; 30*). Brâncuși positioned three parts of the memorial so that they would form sort of a processional path connecting the city and the site in a straight axis.



Figure 5.28



Figure 5.29



Figure 5.30

⁹¹ Walter Benjamin ‘Experience and Poverty’, Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 2: 1927-1934, translated by Rodney Livingstone and Others, Michael Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Eds.), Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 731-736, p. 731

⁹² For instance Charles Sargeant Jagger’s bronze ‘Royal Artillery Memorial’ from 1925 on Hyde Park Corner in London. Particular for this monument is that the body of the soldier is not on a commonly high pedestal but instead very close to the observer and at the same time the body is unidentifiable since the coat, as a barrier between the life and death, covers it. See Moriarty, op. cit.

⁹³ The symbolism of an empty coat was employed in the funerary monuments in the nineteenth century, together with the motive of riderless horse or *cheval d’honneur*. Some monuments represented a pile of things, among them a coat, left after a dead soldier. Ibid

⁹⁴ The project was commissioned by the Women’s League of Gorj for a commemoration of the decisive battle for Romanian independence that was fought in the town, defending a bridge across the River Jiu.

Kollwitz's *Grieving Parents* and the Târgu-Jiu memorials represent the transition from a monumental sculptural representation to a mournful lament and that of a figure of a heroic soldier to an abstract tombstone. Numerous battlefield memorials, usually accompanied with a field of uniform gravestones, powerfully translated the mechanized destruction of men into a palpable reality. A telling detail of the reliefs in the walls of the Munich War memorial (1924-25) in Hofgarten, commemorating the 13,000 Bavarian soldiers who died in WWI, gives this transition a figural expression. The architectural composition of the memorial was labeled as eclectic with a strong invocation of medieval dialectics (*Fig. 5.31*).



Figure 5.31

The memorial consists of a sunken plaza where names of the dead were inscribed on the limestone walls. In the center of the plaza is a rectilinear crypt-like space containing a sculpture of a dead soldier enclosed by twelve massive pillars with the mentioned reliefs.⁹⁵ The intimate atmosphere of the interior, provided by the massive boulder-like walls, was compared to the vaults of medieval churches.⁹⁶ The descent into another plane symbolizes the soldiers marching into the ground and their own graves. The explicit depictions of obedient soldiers was a demonstration of the ideology about the myth of the eternal Reich.⁹⁷ This typical obedience demonstrated in soldiers

⁹⁵ The memorial, also known as Kriegerdenkmal, was designed by Thomas Wechs and Ulrich Finsterwalder. The walls were adorned with reliefs by Karl Knappe together with the names of the dead. However, these were destroyed during WWII. The memorial reopened in 1948 but the plaques with the names were never restored. The sculpture by Bernhard Bleeker, the *Sleeping Soldier*, and the crypt survived the destruction while suffering minor damage. A question of reconstruction and replacement of the Sleeping Soldier spurred controversies since the memorial was used by the Nazis during WWII. See: Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 114-116

⁹⁶ Goebel, op. cit., p. 262

⁹⁷ Ibid. The central sculpture was linked to the ideas of reinstating the first Reich by referring to Frederick I Barbarossa who, according to the myth, was sleeping in Mount Kyffhäuser in

marching towards their own death is embodied in many impressive memorials erected in 'Tra-le-due-guerre', or 'between the two World Wars' in Italy. Some of the most impressive examples were mentioned in the chapter dedicated to cemeteries, for instance the Sacramentum at Redipuglia where the ubiquitous inscriptions 'Presente' starkly represent the scale of this obedient sacrifice. The avoidance of figural representation in commemorative monuments and memorials after WWI was also a consequence of the post-war debate about figural art versus avant-garde expressions.

Such discussions determined the construction of Walter Gropius' design for 'Märzgefallenen-Denkmal' (1922) which was considered to be an expressionistic design and was chosen instead of a traditional proposal for a monument to the dead of the reactionary Kapp Putsch in Weimar⁹⁸ (Fig. 5.32).



Figure 5.32



Figure 5.33

The motto for the Märzgefallenen monument can be interpreted as a symbolic light from the bottom of the grave.⁹⁹ In its ambivalent meaning produced by the lack of explicit explanation and any deductive content, the memorial with its vertical accent and semi-open ground plan acts as a transitional space between the cemetery and the memory. In this way the memorial can be addressed as an abstract form, also appropriated by Mies van der Rohe in his Liebknecht-Luxemburg Memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde (1926)

Thuringia until the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. At the unveiling of the memorial in 1924 a speech offered by a member of veterans' association, Bayerischer Kriegerbund, affirmed the nationalistic purpose of the memorial: 'Beneath the image of the resting warrior in his sleep of death slumbers the heroic spirit and self-sacrifice of our Bavarian troops, waiting for the holy seeds in our own soil to ripen some day soon into a blessed day of resurrection. God grant it.'

Ibid

⁹⁸ In March 1920, nine Weimar workers were shot to death by soldiers. Already in July the local workers trade union made a call for artists to submit proposals for a monument that would commemorate the victims and would be placed in a graveyard where they were buried. The two finalists were Josef Hese and Walter Gropius. See Klaus-Jürgen Winkler, Herman van Bergeijk, *Das Märzgefallenen-Denkmal*, Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, 2004

⁹⁹ Gropius explained the motto in the competition entry as 'Blitzstrahl aus dem Grabesboden' (Bolt of lightning from the bottom of the grave). Op. cit., p. 91

which was, together with the Märzgefallenen monument, destroyed in the years preceding WWII¹⁰⁰ (Fig. 5.33).

Similarly, Lutyens aspired to abstraction of forms having to address the new aspect of massive death and the unanimous dead. In his work for the Imperial War Graves Commission responsible for cemeteries for the fallen British soldiers of WWI, Lutyens designed 'The Stone of Remembrance' as a 'non-normative, universal architectural expression of an imperishable mass, which perpetuates commemoration in all eternity.'¹⁰¹ The rectangular horizontal form of the white stone as one of the permanent features in bigger cemeteries has reference to an altar, a symbol present in different religions (Fig. 5.34). At the same time, Lutyens was well aware that its nonfigurative universal symbolism was not sufficient for the scale of commemoration and therefore 'The Stone' was imagined in a combination with varying



Figure 5.34

conditions, depending on the locations and other specificities of cemeteries.¹⁰² These memorials in their form and inclusivity replaced the originally triumphal character of monumental designs into triumph of death, as was the case with the earlier mentioned Thiepval memorial. Unlike Arc de

Triomphe or other memorials for the Great War inspired by the classical pre-Christian architecture,¹⁰³ Thiepval's arches are reduced to the human scale, creating an interplay of hallways around the central edifice, the 'War Stone', on the main east-west axis. In this composition the stone is adding to the overall atmosphere reflecting a Hall of Honor.¹⁰⁴ Placed on the location whose landscape is still reminiscent of the harrowing images of the battlefields of WWI, where the infamous Battle of Somme took place, Thiepval's monumentality accentuates the sense of place and its importance, already from far distance, but at the same time its interior provides spaces for personal encounters with the individual deaths. Simplicity and austerity was

¹⁰⁰ The memorial commemorated Spartacist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It was commissioned by the president of the German Communist Party, Eduard Fuchs. It was destroyed in 1935.

¹⁰¹ Jeroen Geurst, *Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 010 Publishers, Rotterdam, 2010, p. 22

¹⁰² *Ibid*

¹⁰³ For instance, war memorial in Asiago on the Leiten Hill by Venetian architect Orfeo Rossato is one of the largest Italian WWI memorials, 47 meters high and bearing around 33.000 names of the dead soldiers, was completed in 1938. Similarly, Dardanelles Monument (1958) to the Turkish victory against England in 1916 and the Turkish soldiers who fell in the Battle of Gallipoli for which Feridun Kip, Ismail Utklar and Dogan Erginbas were awarded a first prize at a competition in 1944, is 41 meters high triumphal arch striped from any ornamentation.

¹⁰⁴ See: Geurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-415

one of the key aesthetic features for many battlefield memorials and cemeteries, demonstrated in their uniformity but also in the inscription Lutyens assigned to the 'Stone of Remembrance' reading 'their name liveth for evermore'.

The uniformity of the treatment was essential due to two reasons: equality and 'intention of ignoring national differences among soldiers who fought for an imperial identity.'¹⁰⁵ In a seemingly different approach, German war cemeteries were attuned to Kollowitz's idea of somber and melancholic. Robert Tischler, the chief architect of the German War Graves Commission¹⁰⁶ designed these cemeteries to blend in with the landscape and used predominantly rugged masonry and dark sandstone. Following rather strict guidelines for the design, all German war cemeteries were demonstrations of 'German spirit and Art' expressed through natural materials and trees.¹⁰⁷ By employing landscape architecture and uniformity of the design, the Volksbund believed that after a "hundred or two hundred years", the cemeteries would be part of "eternal nature" while the former enemy's cemeteries would have fallen into despair.¹⁰⁸ The Volksbund praised their own modesty and peaceful approach in communing with the dead and criticized megalomaniac cemetery designs that were taking shape in France, particularly American cemeteries. Indeed, the official commemorations of the victorious Allied forces relied on monumental structures, dominantly referencing classical architecture since it was perceived as the most appropriate language to communicate order as opposed to the chaos of WWI.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps one of the most inspiring

¹⁰⁵ Ahenk Yilmaz, 'Memorialization on War-Broken Ground: Gallipoli War Cemeteries and Memorials Designed by Sir John James Burnet, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Volume 73, No. 3, September 2014, pp. 328-346, p. 335

¹⁰⁶ Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (German War Graves Commission), founded in 1919, was formed out of necessity since the Weimar Republic was neither politically nor economically in a position to take care of the graves of the soldiers killed in action during WWI. Eventually, the organization was in charge of all the activities related to the memorialization the fallen German soldiers during WWI. The organization currently takes care of 832 war cemeteries and graves in 45 countries. Since 1953, The Volksbund started to organize international youth exchanges and work camps throughout Europe under the motto 'Reconciliation above the graves - Work for Peace'. See: 'A Brief Introduction', Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (<http://www.volksbund.de/en/volksbund.html>, accessed 06.06.2015)

¹⁰⁷ Landscape architecture was of great importance in materializing the 'truly German' spirit. For this purpose mostly dolmen structures were used as well as large trees such as oaks and beeches. These elements would reinforce the reference to the mythic symbolism of the Teutonic forests and their endurance through the ages. Hence, the cemeteries as the everlasting signs of true German spirit. Brands, op. cit., pp. 226-232

¹⁰⁸ Op. cit., p. 231. While in Allied cemeteries tombstones were engraved with the individual names, inscriptions containing epigrams or religious affiliation, the German war cemeteries had only name and the regiment so to emphasize 'the unity of the nation.' Ibid

¹⁰⁹ See: Franco Borsi, *The Monumental Era: European Architecture and Design 1929-1939*, Lund Humphries, 1987



Figure 5.35

references with its round enclosure culminating with a central oculus was the *Pantheon* in Rome on which Louis Khan elaborated in his later years.¹¹⁰ The motif of the oculus already appeared in Reginald Blomfield's (1856-1942) design for *Menin Gate* in Ypres inaugurated in 1927, also addressed as 'a sepulcher of crime'¹¹¹ (Fig. 5.35).

The memorial is commemorating thousands of dead soldiers in an unusually deep neo-classical structure that echoes the triumphal arch.¹¹² What these monuments and memorials shared is the meaning of war as something 'both noble and uplifting and tragic and unendurably sad.'¹¹³

Eleven monuments and memorials erected in Europe by the American Battle Monuments Commission certainly explored this notion. These memorials were conceived with the intention to be 'both sufficiently attractive to induce Americans not to repatriate their own kin and sufficiently impressive to hold their own against the larger and more numerous cemeteries of other nations.'¹¹⁴ American architects like Paul Philippe Cret (1876-1945), who also served as a consulting architect for the commission, and John Russell Pope (1874-1937) designed a large number of commemorative projects which were influenced by antiquity, and in some instances ancient Egypt¹¹⁵ as a genuine inspiration for contemplation of death. Pope's funerary designs in which the architect displayed his ability to manipulate the emotional effect of elemental forms,¹¹⁶ established a particular

¹¹⁰ Fascination with the Pantheon can be found in the years preceding WWI, for instance in Heman Sörgel's design for 'Predigerkirche auf Kreisgrundriss mit Pantheon-Kuppel' from 1912; Earlier example is Henri Labrouste competition entry from 1841 for the tomb of Napoleon Bonaparte in which the tomb would have been placed under the central oculus of a sepulchral chapel, hence occupying the center of the space. Richard Etlin argued that this design would have been effective as it would 'require you to join it only through the eye and the mind.' In: Etlin, 1994, op. cit., p.183

¹¹¹ Siegfried Sassoon, 'On Passing the New Menin Gate', in: Tim Kendall (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British and Irish War Poetry*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2007, p. 551

¹¹² The unusual depth of the triumphal arches was also present in Boullée's and Gilly's designs. See: Helen Rosenau (Ed.), *Boullée & Visionary Architecture*, trans. Sheila de Vallée, Academy Editions: London/Harmony Books: New York, 1974, p. 23

¹¹³ Jay Winter, 1995, op. cit., p. 85

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth G. Grossman, 'Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of the American Battle Monuments Commission', in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Volume XLIII, No. 2, May 1984, pp. 119-144, p. 120

¹¹⁵ For instance Pope's 1916 unrealized design for McLean mausoleum in a form of the Egyptian obelisk with deep niches containing funerary urns.

¹¹⁶ Pope's design for a tomb for Peter Fenelon Colier, 1910 at Wickatunk, New Jersey was described as 'an admirable exercise in the use of architectural form to create a hauntingly

scheme which he applied to his later project for the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial (1925-33) and the last design for the Jefferson memorial (1935-37) based on the Pantheon-scheme. The later was a subject to the severe criticism for its costly and outdated design, provoking Frank Lloyd Wright to depict the design as an 'arrogant insult to the memory of Thomas Jefferson.'¹¹⁷ Wright was not alone in ferocious criticism directed towards the memorial that perceived it as the 'last monument of an architectural tradition which had come to an end.'¹¹⁸ The so called 'Stripped Classicism' was an established style for architecture of commemoration that by employing the basic elements of classical architecture augmented austerity and solemnity, but often it appeared monotonous in its repetitive composition, what will later be related with the monumental architecture of National Socialism.¹¹⁹

In the Soviet counterpart, the strong influence of antique and ancient examples can be seen in the impressive Alexey Shchusev's (1873-1949) Lenin Mausoleum on the Red Square in Moscow opened in 1930, containing the embalmed body of the father of the Russian Revolution.¹²⁰

The influence of antiquity combined with a strong preference for dramatization as a manner to address the harrowing scale of death was demonstrated in Heinrich Tessenow's (1876-1950) interior redesign of the 1816's building by Schinkel - Neue Wache in Berlin which in the course of the following decades proved to be a rather controversial and politicized project.¹²¹ The design was the winning

contemplative locus.' Steven McLeod Bedford, *John Russell Pope Architect of Empire*, Rizzoli New York, First Edition (July 15, 1998), pp. 122-123

¹¹⁷ Bedford, op. cit., p. 222

¹¹⁸ Larsson, op. cit., p. 244

¹¹⁹ Dietmar Schirmer, 'State, Volk, and Monumental Architecture in Nazi-Era Berlin', in: Andreas W. Daum, Christof Mauch (Ed.), *Berlin - Washington, 1800-2000: Capital Cities, Cultural Representation, and National Identities*, German Historical Institute, 2005, pp. 127-154; Schirmer argued that lesser examples of Stripped Clacissim conveyed 'the falsehood of a façade architecture that hides its construction behind a simulation of a classical tectonic relations of pillar and beam.' Op. cit., p. 128

¹²⁰ Alexey Shchusev used the Classical language with pyramid placed in the apex, discarded side entrances and viewing platforms, thus his design strongly echoes the *Tomb of the Mausolus* at Halicarnassus but also ancient Egyptian examples. Nevertheless, through the usage of reflective dark red granite and striped from ornaments, overall impression is rather strong demonstrating Schutsev's ability to merge Constructivist principles and his pre-Revolutionary historicist style. Jean-Louis Cohen and Christina Lodder (Eds.), *Building the Revolution: Soviet Art and Architecture 1915-1935*, Royal Academy of Arts: London, 2011, p. 238

¹²¹ *Neue Wache* located on the *Unter den Linden* was initially designed as a guard house for the guards of the Crown Prince of Prussia. After 1933, Nazis added a cross in the interior and the building became a focal point for official ceremonies of the Third Reich. In 1969 the building was officially rededicated to 'Victims of Fascism and Militarism' and received the function of a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier with remains of one Wehrmacht soldier and one of a German-fascist combatant interred together and topped with a glass cube with an eternal fire. Military statues of Prussian generals that used to stand in front were all removed. In the 1993, after the fall of

entry of the 1930 competition which asked for a redesign of the interior of the Neue Wache into a national war memorial which was supposed to offer some resolution for the tragedy of WWI.¹²² Tessenow left the space completely blank and sealed off from the outside world with a single block of dark Swedish granite, referring to sarcophagus, under the wide circular skylight¹²³ (Fig. 5.36).



Figure 5.36

Unlike WWI memorials, in Tessenow's design there were no names or any other inscriptions originally intended, but the additional elements to the sarcophagus were candelabra, a bronze tablet inscribed with dates of WWI and few wreaths with the *corona civica*, crowning the simple cube and thereby creating a sense of ambivalent meaning of the war memorial.¹²⁴ Other architects participating in this competition, among which were Peter Behrens, Erich Blunck, Hans Grube, Hans Poelzig, showed in their proposals similar interest in the central daylight penetrating the space echoing the 'temple like enclosures'¹²⁵ as demonstrated in earlier examples in funerary

GDR, Chancellor Helmut Kohl designated the memorial as a memorial to the 'victims of war and rule of oppression' - 'Opfer von Krieg und Gewaltherrschaft'.

¹²² After the fall of German monarchy (1918), in 1930 a Social Democratic government of Prussia organized a competition for the redesign of the interior of the Neue Wache as a central war memorial in Berlin called the 'Memorial Site for those killed in the Great War'.

¹²³ Tessenow closed the side windows with brick laid in the same pattern as in Schinkel's original design. At the same time Tessenow originally intended that the interior should be accessible only visually and opened on certain special occasions. Wallis Miller, 'Schinkel and the Politics of German Memory: The Life of the Neue Wache in Berlin', in: Scott Denham, Irene Kacandes, and Jonathan Petropoulos (Eds.), *A Users Guide to German Cultural Studies*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, pp. 227-256, p. 240

¹²⁴ The *corona civica*, a gilded wreath of oak leaves, is a symbol used by the Roman senate with which a civilian or soldiers were bestowed if they saved someone's life in a battle but it could be also interpreted as a Prussian military symbol. Michalski, op. cit., p. 88

¹²⁵ Etlin argued that the 'temple like enclosures' as a design approach in a symbolic memorial architecture display the quest for a primitive aspect, architecture devoid of ornamentation and

architecture. Interestingly, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who also participated in this competition with a similarly austere design of a black monolith with the inscription 'Den Toten' slightly sunken in front of the rear door, was often discussed and compared to Tessenow's project. Mies entitled his submission 'Raum' suggesting that contemplation about death and ideas of eternal can be experienced through space, which in this case was a room, finished in transparent marble veneer and a travertine floor, controlled by added free standing wall intended to lead the visitor towards the rare door outside to an existing grove of trees (Fig. 5.37).



Figure 5.37

The original building became a sort of a shell for the new design.¹²⁶ In the collage representing the interior of the memorial, human figures augment the emptiness and the scale of the space.¹²⁷ In comparison to the realized design which adds tragedy of mass death of WWI to the original building and thereby to the 19th century Prussian

military strength, Mies proposed design that was contrasting to the Schinkel's original and thereby confronting while making clear 'the tragic genesis of the new German republic.'¹²⁸ The reiterations of the Tessenow's design turned the project into a part of a public landscape, leaving the meaning of death open to the interpretation of the mourner.¹²⁹ With this thought, it only seems logical that Kollwitz's expression of mourning, later installed under the oculus in Neue Wache, found its place in the memorial as a gesture that, ironically, produced a counter meaning and refusal of a shared commemoration after WWII¹³⁰ (Fig. 5.38).

with stark proportions, best demonstrated in Friedrich Gilly's mausoleum and Paul Philippe Cret's *Bushy Run Battlefield Memorial* (project) from 1927. Etlin, 1994, op.cit., pp. 173-175

¹²⁶ 'Neue Wache War Memorial Project, Berlin-Mitte, Germany', MoMA-Architecture and Design Department, A&D Mies van der Rohe Archive, No. MR23.21 (http://www.moma.org/collection/object.php?object_id=87567, accessed 31.01.2015)

¹²⁷ While making the impressions of the interior, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe collaborated with Sergius Riegenberg.

¹²⁸ Miller, op. cit., p. 243

¹²⁹ Tessenow reiterated tension between the public and the state by intending to separate public from the interior and by adding an iron cross as a symbol of heroism. This however changed as public appropriated the project as part of their own identity and memory of war, hence the physical barrier disappeared and the floor of the interior changed into pavement of the streets of Berlin. Op. cit., p. 245

¹³⁰ After dedicating the building as the 'Opfer von Krieg und Gewaltherrschaft' of WWII, chancellor Kohl placed the enlarged sculpture *Mutter mit totem Sohn* (Mother with Dead Son) by Käthe Kollwitz in the center of the space. This was largely criticized since Kollwitz's sculpture was



Figure 5.38

Recognized in its power to convey the meaning, a public monument was seen as a medium for establishment of political goals of the Third Reich. A clear idea existed for the architecture of a monument, worth quoting here at length:

“it must be rigorous, of sphere, clear, indeed classical form. It must be simple. It must have the quality of ‘touching the heavens.’ It must transcend everyday utilitarian considerations. It must be generous in

recognized as a Catholic pietà and therefore inappropriate for commemoration of Jewish victims. See Andreas W. Daum, Christof Mauch (Ed.), *Berlin - Washington, 1800-2000: Capital Cities, Cultural Representation, and National Identities*, German Historical Institute, 2005

its construction, built for the ages according to the best principles of the trade. In practical terms, it must have no purpose but instead be the vehicle of an idea. It must have an element of the unapproachable in it that fills people with admiration and awe. It must be impersonal because it is not the work of an individual but the symbol of a community bound together by a common ideal.”¹³¹

Architecture of the National Socialist movement was aimed to represent an intimidating display of power and monuments were significant in answering Hitler’s demand for immensity and political program which dictated their sheer size. Speer’s *Cathedral of Light* in Nuremberg was an exercise in a spatial design for which Hitler believed, according to the architect, that it had ‘reached an apex in the art of influencing people.’¹³² Similar zeal was invested in numerous projects of the commemorative architecture, for example the infamous *Ehrentempel*¹³³ or ‘martyrs temple’ in Munich which were key features during many Nazi festivities, for example on the Königsplatz in Munich. The purpose of such temples as memorial spaces, built in a neo-Greek style, was to provide tangible contact with the remains of the martyrs in order to strengthen Nazi’s political agenda. The ideals of virtue and modesty expressed through landscape architecture in Volksbund cemeteries, were remodeled into a new type of burial places *Totenburgen*, fortresses of the dead. Even the commemorative practice of the ‘Unknown Soldier’, based on the notion of equality of sacrifice, was transformed by the regime of Adolf Hitler into a weapon for establishing military leadership, as exemplified in the appropriation of the Tannenberg Memorial (1927) in East Prussia.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Friedrich Tamms, ‘The Law of Monumentality,’ (1944) quoted in: Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, Pantheon Books: New York, 1979, p. 236

¹³² Albert Speer in Leon Krier (Ed.), *Albert Speer, Architecture 1932-1942*, Bruxelles: AAM, 1985, p. 214; Leon Krier quotes official press agency in relation to the Cathedral of Light: ‘Nuremberg, the 11th of September, 1937 at 8pm. From giant projectors, beams of light shoot into the misty night sky like meteors. High up on the cloud cover the shining pillars unite into a glowing square. The myriad of flags crowning the surrounding stands wave gently in the gleaming light and increase the overwhelming impression created by the picture.’ op. cit. p. 175

¹³³ The *Ehrentempel* were two structures erected in 1935 for the Nazi victims of 1923 in Munich, by Paul Ludwig Troost. Both temples were designed as roofless atria with a heavy cornice containing black sarcophagi of the sixteen members of the party who had been killed in the failed Beer hall putsch. In 1946 the main architectural features of the temples were destroyed by the US-Army as part of denazification. In 2007 a small plaque explaining the original purpose of the temples, from which only the bases remained overgrown with plants, was added. In 2008, a project for a new Munich Documentation Center for the History of the National Socialism in Hitler’s ‘capital of the movement’ started, founded by the city of Munich, the Free State of Bavaria and the federal government. The design is made by the Georg Scheel Wetzel Architekten and will be placed on the location of the former ‘Brown House’ near the Royal palace.

¹³⁴ The Tannenberg Memorial was designed by the architects Johannes and Walter Krüger as an octagonal structure with towers and with the remains of twenty unknown German soldiers buried in the center. However, in 1935 Hitler proclaimed the memorial to be a Reich memorial. He also ordered a redesign of the memorial while removing the tombs of the unknown soldiers

Perhaps the most intriguing project, although never realized, designed with a similar purpose to reinforce the power of the nationalistic political ideal was Giuseppe Terragni's *Danteum*, a project that was supposed to be a symbol that would transcend the fundamentals of fascism and teachings of Christian philosophy.¹³⁵ The geometrical disposition of the building derived from the overlapping of the rectangular forms, reflected on the symbolism of the location planned for the project¹³⁶ (Fig. 5.39).

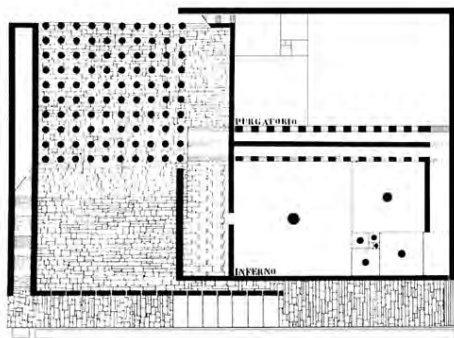


Figure 5.39

In Terragni's mathematical approach to design in which geometric plans overlap in precise manner in order to augment the symbolism of Dante's poetry, the characteristic feature is, interestingly, the psychological impact of the symbolically laden architectural elements on a visitor, progressing from closed to open spaces, to which Terragni devoted great attention. On the very entrance a vast free standing wall is creating an inner ascending passageway as a transition towards the inner court comprising a 'forest' of marble columns which further

to make place for the reuse of the memorial as a mausoleum for Marshal Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934), a Prussian-German field marshal and the second President of Germany, and his wife. Hitler's orders for the redesign of the memorial were mostly concerning the landscape in order to achieve an ideal of untouched nature. However the result displayed the artificiality of the work of 'constructing' nature in which: 'Natural' meant supporting nature in her insufficient attempt to produce a stagelike setting for architecture.' Brands, op. cit., p. 240

¹³⁵ Rino Valdameri proposed to Italian government in 1938 to create a Danteum, both building and an institution which would serve as a celebration to one of the greatest Italian poets. Giuseppe Terragni and Pietro Lingeri were appointed to make a model for the project after an audience by the Duce in November same year. Danteum was not supposed to be only a government building nor only a war monument and therefore it 'possessed a dimension for the Italians that superseded political symbolism and patriotism.' In: Thomas L. Schumacher, *The Danteum; Architecture, Poetics, and Politics under Italian Fascism*, Triangle Architectural Publishing, London, 1993, p. 39

¹³⁶ The building was planned to be built in Rome between the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, a symbol of ancient Rome and the medieval Torre dei Conti, a symbol of the Middle Ages. Terragni derived the composition for the building from a golden section rectangle, a reference to the Ancients and overlapping of squares in order to achieve a 'value of 'absolute' geometric beauty.' Op. cit., p. 46

leads towards the three temple-like main spaces, according to the *Divine Comedy*: *Inferno*, *Purgatory* and *Paradise*.

The architects' preoccupation with the symbolism of translating literary work into architecture but without falling for the traps of the rhetoric resulted in abstract spaces whose only connection with the outside world, in order to provide space for contemplation, would be the daylight coming from the openings in the ceilings. Particularly for the room devoted to *Inferno*, Terragni aimed for an 'atmosphere that influences the visitor and appears physically to weight upon his mortal person, so that he is moved to experience the 'trip' as Dante did.'¹³⁷ (Fig. 5.40) Passing through transitional spaces between the main rooms, a visitor would proceed towards the *Purgatory* in which the feeling of 'sensation of comfort'¹³⁸ would pervade as one looks up towards the sky through wider geometric openings above (Fig. 5.41). The room of the *Paradise* would await with glass columns supporting the ceiling made as a transparent frame, a space contrasting the rest of the building in its dematerialization which Terragni created through the 'destruction of materiality and architectural forms rather than through the absence of such forms.'¹³⁹ (Fig. 5.42)



Figure 5.40



Figure 5.41



Figure 5.42

However, what Terragni described as 'the gem of the architectural whole'¹⁴⁰ is the room entitled *Empire* constituting a long corridor with tall wall segments leading towards the dead end with a wall bearing a symbol of the *Italia Imperiale*- an eagle (Fig. 5.43). The most distinctive feature of the *Danteum*, the narrative composition of spaces, Terragni

¹³⁷ Op. cit., p. 49; Schumacher quotes Giuseppe Terragni's '*Relazione sul Danteum*', unpublished manuscript, 1938

¹³⁸ Op. cit., p. 53

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit., p. 56

applied for the first time in the exhibition of the 'Tenth Anniversary of the Fascist Revolution'¹⁴¹ in Rome, in which he participated with a design for 'Sala O'. He pursued an idea of achieving dematerialization and weightlessness of space. To realize this, Terragni focused on the interplay of light and shadows by using diaphanous screens for large projections and beams of light together with reflective materials/ The result was described as 'fantasia terremotata' or seismic fantasy.¹⁴²

This room was part of the overall ritual structure of the exhibition placed in a narrative of an experimental genre promoting 'fascist style' in various creative fields. A prominent artist at the time, Mario Sironi (1885-1961),¹⁴³ had a

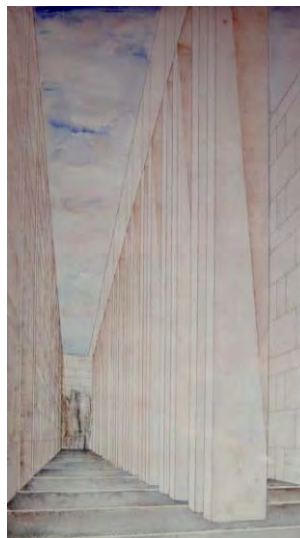


Figure 5.43

significant role in designing the exhibition and his monumental space of *Galleria dei Fasci*, placed after Terragni's, was intended as a transition to the 'final rite of communion'¹⁴⁴ or *The Shrine of the Martyrs* by Adalberto Libera (1903-1963) and Antonio Valente (1894-1975). This memorial space was laden with symbolism and theatrical effects such as a central gigantic cross with the inscription *Per la Patria Immortale* (Fig. 5.44). The cross, enclosed by a circular space composed of six horizontal bands lit from behind, was rising from the 'pool of blood'. On the walls the word *Presente* was inscribed in six layers that were three rows high so to refer to the martyrs who are like their homeland, immortal. Unlike Terragni's space which emphasized fragmentation through optical qualities, Sironi placed focus on tactile experience and massive architectural elements in order to achieve

¹⁴¹ 'The Exhibition of the Tenth Anniversary of the Fascist Revolution' was initiated by the president of the Fascist Institute of Culture of Milan-Dino Alfieri, organized in 1931 in Palazzo delle Esposizioni on Via Nazionale to celebrate the March on Rome. Adalberto Libera was asked to design the entrance facade in collaboration with De Renzi, and the martyr's shrine with architect and scenographer Valente. This commission emphasized the regime's collaboration with Rationalist architects. The exhibition was supposed to be permanently installed in Palazzo del Littorio. In Francescko Garofalo and Luca Veresane, *Adalberto Libera*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 2002, p. 33

¹⁴² Libero Andreotti, 'Architecture of Violence: Mario Sironi and the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', in: Bechir Kenzari (Ed.), *Architecture and Violence*, ACTAR Publishers, Barcelona/New York, 2011, p. 34

¹⁴³ Sironi was one of the key figures in the organization of the exhibition and probably was influenced by Ed Lissitzky's work for the side facade and the interior installation for the 'Pressa' exhibition in USSR Pavilion in Cologne in 1928. Op. cit., p. 30

¹⁴⁴ Fascism strived for 'the production of ritual values' by using technology (Libera's motto was 'the machine as a work of art') and exploiting the religious traditions in order to establish fascism as a 'religion of the State'. Ibid



Figure 5.44

gradual progression of spaces.¹⁴⁵ The theatricality of the exhibition was intended to evoke a cinematic experience and place a visitor as an actor on the stage. Therefore all the spaces were precisely constructed as transitional spaces, culminating in the repetitive pillars in the *Galleria* aimed to produce a feeling of ‘hypnotic suspension.’¹⁴⁶ Finally in the last stance or the memorial room of the Shrine, next to the usage of modern materials and technologies at the time, namely combination of metal and electric lightening, another feature would surprise a visitor—the sound of martyr songs echoing in the space. In other parts of Europe more progressive ideas were taking place, for instance a contested modernist project of a World City and *Mundaneum*¹⁴⁷ can be seen as predecessor of the contemporary dissemination of media and information through Internet and the World Wide Web. Based on a notion of international sharing of knowledge,¹⁴⁸ *Mundaneum* was imagined as a multilayered

¹⁴⁵ The guidebook of the exhibition called it ‘plastic development’ moving gradually from ‘flat wall decorations to increasingly bold relief, to architecture, the slow and dramatic pace of narrative underscoring the transition from a predominantly optical to a tactile register.’ Op. cit., p. 35

¹⁴⁶ Op. cit., p. 45; Andreotti argues that Sironi’s design evokes romantic *angst* of the space which references ancient precedents such as the temple of Abu Simbel and that the *Galleria* acted as ‘a *prolongato* in music to draw out the dominant key in the next-to-the-last note in order to heighten the force of the closing finale.’

¹⁴⁷ World City and the Mundaneum, initially called Palais Mondial, was a lifelong project of Belgian documentalist and utopian internationalist Paul Otlet (1868-1944). It was imagined as a new institution of internationalism that would eventually form the nucleus of a World City, itself symbolical of a new world order. See: W. Boyd Rayward, ‘Knowledge Organization and a New World Polity: the Rise and the Fall and the Rise of the Ideas of Paul Otlet’, in: *Transnational associations/Associations transnationales: la revue de l’Union des associations internationales*, numéro special I-2/2003 (*L’oeuvre de Paul Otlet*), pp. 4-15

¹⁴⁸ Aspirations towards international exchange of ideas was not new. Inspired by the ‘First Peace Conference’ in the Hague (1899), pacifists P. H. Eijkman and P. Horrix established in 1905 ‘The Foundation for Internationalism’ with an intention to make the Hague the world Capital. Architect Karel P. C. de Bazel (1869-1923) made a plan for the new ‘World City’, published in 1906 in the journal ‘Der Städtebau’, which consisted of a large octagonal layout comprised of

information institution that would supplement libraries and much more as it would have brought together ‘the museum for seeing, the cinema for viewing, the library, encyclopedias and archives for reading, the catalogue for consulting, the lecture, radio and the disc for listening, as well as the conference for debating (Ad Mundum, vivendum et legendum, et audiendum et discutiendum).’¹⁴⁹ Translation of these ideas into architectural space was pursued by Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret (1896-1967).¹⁵⁰ The project was to be built on a plane dominating Geneva and was imagined to ‘have as its object the demonstration of the actual state of the world, of its mechanisms, complexity, ...the general problems that impose themselves upon the attention of a people and its citizens’ and at the same time the museum which was a part of the overall project was intended to ‘visualize ideas, feelings, [and] intentions that lie behind.’¹⁵¹ The focal and dominating point of the architectural design was the seven story ziggurat-shaped World Museum, a triple nave that would unroll along a spiral, which Le Corbusier explained as a ‘film in slow motion’¹⁵² (Fig. 5.45).

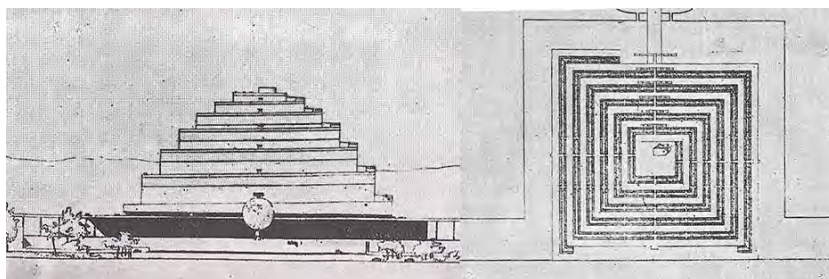


Figure 5.45

avenues with an elevated central square where a ‘Peace Palace’ was planned. The complex was supposed to be built on a location north from The Hague and it was imagined as a place where ‘the brains of the world’ would live and work. Thus next to the diplomatic aspect of the design, several Academies were planned as well, such as Academy for Anthropology and Academy of Applied Arts. See: Wessel Reinink, ‘Ontwerp Wereldhoofdstad 1905’, in: Wessel Reinink, *K.P.C. Basel – Architect*, Uitgeverij 010: Rotterdam, Second edition, 1993, pp. 109-127

¹⁴⁹ Rayward, op. cit., p. 6

¹⁵⁰ The design of a ‘World City’ (Cité mondiale) was probably inspired by the Bazel’s project. One later project with a similar concept was the ‘Académie Européenne Méditerranéenne’ (AEM), a project imagined by Dutch architect Hendrik Wijdeveld (1885-1987) and further developed together with Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953). The *Académie* was supposed to encourage exchange of ideas between artists and architects, as was described in an extensive promotional campaign Wijdeveld and Mendelsohn organized in 1933.

¹⁵¹ Nader Vossoughian, ‘The Language of the World Museum; Otto Neurath, Paul Otlet, Le Corbusier’, in: *Transnational associations/Associations transnationales: la revue de l’Union des associations internationales, numéro special 1-2/2003 (L’oeuvre de Paul Otlet)*, pp. 82-93, p. 85

¹⁵² Op. cit., p. 86; The plans for the World City were outlined in a joint publication by Otlet and Le Corbusier entitled *Mundaneum* (1928).

The structure was narrating the history of mankind, chronologically descending from the prehistoric times to present with a 'Sacrarium' placed in the interior of the inner pyramid. The project was also imagined as a network in which the Mundaneum would fulfill a role of the prototype for similar projects in countries around the world and different levels within, fostering peace and security among cultures. The project was vehemently criticized by Czech critic Karel Teige (1900–1951)¹⁵³ for its historicism and academism, vaguely implementing historical stereotypes and producing an effect of a false archeological site, all of which is a consequence of an unclear program for the whole project.¹⁵⁴ Teige, a proponent of purposefulness in architecture as the only reliable criterion for architectural quality, argued: 'Monumental and votive architecture, dedicated to whatever memorial or revolution and liberation; all present day triumphal arches, festive halls, tombs, places and castles result in monstrosities.'¹⁵⁵ Hence instead of monuments, architecture was expected to create instruments by using the 'scientific solution of exact tasks of rational construction.'¹⁵⁶ In spite of a loud critique of *Mundaneum*¹⁵⁷ which can be seen as a part of the larger discussion that developed around issues of architecture as functional discipline and architecture as art, the project influenced several other projects dedicated to preservation of memory.¹⁵⁸ The timeless ancient forms continued to be appealing in their monumentality to designers who used them without reserves, regardless nationalities and ideologies. For example, in 1941 Kreis had proposed an enormous stepped pyramid for a *Totenburg* planned to be built on the banks of the river

¹⁵³ Karel Teige was a major figure in Czech avant-garde movement *Devětsil* and a proponent of modernism in the 1920s. Teige was a graphic artist, photographer, and typographer. He also worked as an editor and graphic designer for *Devětsil*'s monthly magazine *ReD* (*Revue Devětsilu*).

¹⁵⁴ Karel Teige's essay 'Mundaneum' was originally published in the architectural journal *Stavba* in September 1929. As a response to the critique, Le Corbusier published an article 'In Defense of Architecture' (*Defense de l'architecture*) published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 10 in 1933. The polemic was republished in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Essays 1973-1984* with an introduction by George Baird. See: George Baird, 'Architecture and Politics: A Polemical Dispute, A Critical Introduction to Karel Teige's Mundaneum, 1929 and Le Corbusier's in Defense of Architecture, 1933' in: Michael Hays (Ed.), *Oppositions Reader: Selected Essays 1973-1984*, Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 1998, pp. 585-588

¹⁵⁵ Karel Teige, 'Mundaneum' (1929), in: op. cit., pp. 589-597, p. 595

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ The project was firstly criticized at CIAM's first meeting in 1928 by the proponents of functionalist architecture.

¹⁵⁸ For example, Andrei Burov's concept design for a museum and a memorial to the defense of Stalingrad from 1944 is highly reminiscent of Le Corbusier's project. See: Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform. Designing and Building for the Second World War*, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2011, pp. 413/414

Dnieper¹⁵⁹ and at the same time Soviet architects used similar compositions to commemorate their fallen soldiers.¹⁶⁰

While the design and art production still grappled with the insurmountable trauma of the recent war, the ominous atmosphere preceding the eruption of nationalism and the new war lingered. When in 1933 Hitler was appointed as the chancellor of Germany, the art of Käthe Kollwitz and numerous others was deemed 'degenerate'.¹⁶¹ In 1934 Swiss artist Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966) presented a large-scale, highly stylized female figure supported by a cage-like throne with hands positioned as if holding an object (Fig. 5.46).



Figure 5.46

However, the object that the figure appears to be offering is missing. This is clearly suggested by the title of this Surrealist work: *Hands Holding the Void*. Descriptions of the work assert that the artist 'evokes a lost object, forever sought and never recovered.'¹⁶² In an uncanny way, the subject of the work presaged the object of commemoration in the years after WWII.

¹⁵⁹ The pyramid was supposed to have a large interior space and a viewpoint on the top so to allow visitors to observe the conquered territories.

¹⁶⁰ The largest Soviet commemorative project in Germany is Yakov Belopolsky's Monument to the Victory over Nazism (1946) in Treptow, Berlin. The design consists of a large tumulus with a gigantic sculpture by Yevgeny Vuchetich, installed on the top, depicting a Red Army soldier carrying a child. An unofficial information claims that the material for the monument was taken from Hitler's Chancellery. Cohen, op. cit. p. 390. An earlier project with strikingly similar design was a concept design for a Pantheon of the Heroes of the Great Patriotic War by Zinaida Chernyshova and Grigory Zakharov, proposed for a competition in 1942. Japanese architects too were attracted to pyramidal and temple-like structures, as demonstrated by Kenzo Tange's Project for a memorial for the Daitôa ('Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'), a competition proposal from 1942. Op. cit. pp. 413-415

¹⁶¹ In November 1937 and exhibition entitled 'Entartete Kunst' (Degenerate Art) was organized in Munich by the Nazi Party. Over 650 works, including books, were featuring in the exhibition where they were exposed with accompanying criticism and derisive text, in order to clarify what type of art was considered unacceptable. Most of the works had been confiscated from German public museums, including the works of artists like Marc Chagall, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee.

¹⁶² 'Hands Holding the Void (Invisible Object)', Gallery label text, MoMA Collection, (http://www.moma.org/collection/object.php?object_id=81849, accessed 30.01.2015)

5.3 After the Second World War

'The notion of a modern monument is virtually contradiction on terms; if it is a monument it is not modern, and if it is modern it cannot be a monument.'
Lewis Mumford¹

A courtroom for the trial of the Nazi leaders in Nuremberg illustrated the architectural and functional simplicity that was considered proper for facing the mechanism of the defeated regime. The redesigned space² integrated data and photographs of the Nazi camps and was therefore transformed into 'a kind of retrospective situation room, in which the victors took apart for the vanquished the mechanisms of their lost empire.'³ Together with the start of a new rhetoric that promoted peace and reconciliation, a notion of *Manhmal*, as a concept of commemoration that had to address the new totality of warfare which largely affected civilian victims, came to prominence in the immediate post-war reality that was defined by ruins. Since there were no precedents for remembering civilian victims,⁴ in the affected countries discussions started about commemorative forms that would be appropriate for this purpose. These were constructed around war ruins and the question of their preservation as tokens of warning against the war's evils.⁵ While responses to the tragedy of the war were significant in the art, literature and philosophy, architects refrained from reflecting the devastation in general and Holocaust in particular.⁶ Priority was given to reconstruction of many demolished cities with scarce instances of leaving ruins untouched as was the case in Oradur-sur-Glane in France.⁷ In the immediate postwar years which

¹ Lewis Mumford quoted in: Marianne Doezema, 'The Public Monument in Tradition and Transition', in: Marianne Doezema, June Hargrove (Eds.), *The Public Monument and Its Audience*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1977, pp. 9-21, p. 19

² American architect Dan Kiley was commissioned by the Presentation Division of the Office of Strategic Services that had a task to set up the trial which lasted from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946. Kiley's task was to rebuild the courthouse at Nuremberg. Cohen, op. cit., p. 386

³ Ibid

⁴ Monuments that glorified military tradition were impossible to serve such a role. In fact in May 1946 a directive by the Allied control council ordered demolition of all monuments that glorified war. Goebel, op. cit., p. 293

⁵ Goebel, op. cit., p. 295. In 1944 an issue of *The Architectural Review* under a slogan 'Save our Ruins' published the following argument: "It is proposed that a few of the bombed churches in Britain be selected to remain with us as ruins, essential in the state in which bombing has left them, that they be laid out and planted appropriately, and that they be regarded as permanent places of open-air worship, meditation and recreation, as national war memorials of this war and focal points of picturesque delight in the planned surroundings of the post-war world." Cohen, op.cit., p. 385

⁶ Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 47

⁷ Other well-known examples of commemorative efforts that involved question of preservation of ruins are the Kaiser Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in Berlin and the Coventry Cathedral in Coventry.

were colored by the polarity between figural expressions of the East and abstract art advocates of the West,⁸ with the nascent Cold War, significant experimental ways of commemoration started to emerge across Europe in a shadow of the trauma caused by the excruciating scales of devastation of cities and people.⁹ A rare example of the early postwar effort to commemorate destruction was a project starting in 1948 for a modernist apartment complex, quarter-memorial of South Muranów, on the site of the former Warsaw Ghetto (1940-1943). Polish architect Bohdan Lachert (1900-1987) used rubble¹⁰ of the ghetto's former buildings, demolished by the Nazis during the uprising in 1943, for the foundations of a functionalist residential district.¹¹ Lachert was one among several urban planners and architects participating in the project on the grounds of the former Warsaw Ghetto, initiated by the Communist strive to display their triumph over the repressing capitalism. The architect intended to leave the front of the building unstuccoed with dark red bricks as a symbolic reference to the blood of the victims of the ghetto (*Fig. 5.47*).



Figure 5.47

⁸ Robert Burstow, 'The Limits of Modernist Art as a "Weapon of the Cold War": Reassessing the Unknown Patron of the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner,' in: *The Oxford Art Journal* 20.1, pp. 68-80

⁹ In Europe 19 million civilians died in the war, not including over 6 million Jews and others killed in concentration camps. In the Soviet Union 70,000 villages and 1,700 towns were destroyed, 75% of Berlin was in rubble. Between the Soviet Union and Germany 45 Million people were homeless. In Poland there were some 200,000 orphans. In Vienna 87,000 women were raped by Soviet soldiers in the three weeks after the red army's arrival in Vienna; more than that in Berlin. In: Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, The Penguin Press: New York, 2005, pp. 16-23.

¹⁰ Use of rubble was not uncommon in the post-war years, particularly in Warsaw. The method of reusing the existing material was examined at the time by other architects, for example Bohdan Lewandowski (the building of Towarzystwo Reasekuracji [Association of Reinsurance, 1947–1949) and Kazimierz Marczewski (Dom Słowa Polskiego [The House of Polish Word], 1949–1950). See Katarzyna Uchowicz, 'Reading Muranów. Memory of a place / memory of an architect. Commentary on the postwar work of Bohdan Lachert', in: *RIHA Journal* 0108, Special Issue 'Contemporary art and memory' (31 December 2014), (<http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2014/2014-oct-dec/special-issue-contemporary-art-and-memory-part-1/uchowicz-muranow-en>, accessed 13.01.2015)

¹¹ Lachert's four story residential complex was one of the last examples of Polish functionalism which after thirty years of development was replaced by Stalinist monumental and eclectic socialist realism. See: Wojciech Lésnikowski, *East European Modernism: Architecture in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland Between the Wars 1919 - 1939*, Thames & Hudson Ltd, First edition, 1996, p. 293

In this way Lachert planned to commemorate the destruction and at the same time to symbolize progress by the new structure as it rose from the ashes. In a wider context, the complex related to Nathan Rappaport's Monument of the Ghetto Heroes¹² placed in short distance from the location, the structure was intended to dramatize the meaning of the monument and for that reason has been recognized as 'the boldest attempt in postwar Warsaw to bring Polish and Jewish suffering together into a single progressive, socialist memory.'¹³ The original design was found too monotonous and barrack-like by the Communist party officials and was therefore beautified with historicizing facade elements so that it would be more appealing for the future inhabitants.

Lachert's design forebode the coming penchant for spaces of memory that balance between the harrowing past and a promising future.

The architectural scene was focused on the topic of monumentality, underlined by the Sigfried Giedion (1888-1968), Fernand Léger and José Sert's 1943 manifesto 'Nine points of Monumentality'. The manifesto stressed the importance of communicative aspects of architecture arguing that the need for symbols and monumental expressions is most natural to men and therefore a new monumental unlike the 'pseudo-monumentality' of the 19th century expressions were recognized as needed. After the war, however, monumental architecture was perceived as opposite to a democratic values promoted in the West, as displayed in 1948 *The Architectural Review* symposium 'In Search of New Monumentality' when instead of monumental scale, intimacy was advocated as a quality to which to aspire.¹⁴ A memorial was perceived as a transitional form between architecture and sculpture, further established through the 1950s in the international discussions about integration of arts and architecture.¹⁵ This turn to human scale reflected on the commemorative architecture as well with some of the earliest examples in the Italian scene. Geared by conflicting memories about the war, with the already mentioned Fosse Ardeatine in Rome and BBPR's 1946 Monument to the Victims of the Nazi Concentration

¹² On the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, 19 April 1948, near the ruins of Muranów the *Monument of the Ghetto Heroes* was unveiled. It was a result of collaboration between the sculptor Natan Rapaport and architect Leon Mark Suzin.

¹³ Michael Meng, *Shattered Spaces. Encountering Jewish Ruins in Postwar Germany and Poland*, Harvard University Press, 2011, p. 79

¹⁴ Swedish art historian Gregor Paulsson (1889-1977) advocated against monumentality which was connected to dictatorship and therefore lost its sociological basis in a democratic society. See: Gregor Paulsson in 'In Search of a New Monumentality, Symposium by Gregor Paulsson, Henry Russell Hitchcock, William Holford, Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Lucio Costa, Alfred Roth', in: *The Architectural Review*, September, 1948, pp. 117- 130, pp. 122-123.

¹⁵ Amsellem, op. cit., p. 204

Camps in Milan¹⁶ which represented a great contrast to the traditional and classicizing commemorative forms of the *Cimitero Monumentale* where it was installed, these memorials inspired international reviews from known architectural journals. For example, the Milan memorial, due to its minimalistic features, was at one point labeled as “non-utilitarian machine”¹⁷ while the elevation of its main body from the ground was recognized as “hovering in a metaphysical gesture almost to break with any contamination of a tragically indescribable reality.”¹⁸ (Fig. 5.48)



Figure 5.48

Around the same time the arguments for the living memorials in the debate against traditional ways of commemorations in the American context had prevailed in favor of the ‘Memorials That Live’.¹⁹

¹⁶ One member of the architectural office BBPR, Gianluigi Banfi (1910-1945), was a victim of Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp. Other three members - Lodovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso (1909-2004) who was imprisoned in Mauthausen as well, Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969) and Enrico Peressutti (1908-1076), designed the memorial while dealing with personal grief. However, the meaning of the memorial was recognized by the public whereby the project came to represent a collaborative effort to commemorate a common loss. There are seven slabs with 847 names of victims, citizens of Milan, integrated into the memorial. The main body of the structure consists out of a translucent white cube with a traditional ash-urn placed in the middle containing earth from Mauthausen. Due to severe deterioration of the material, the memorial was reconstructed three times. For detailed description and history of the memorial see: Amsellem, op. cit., pp. 162-178

¹⁷ ‘In Memoriam 1945’, *The Architects’ Journal*, July 25, 1946, p. 56, quoted in op. cit., p. 168

¹⁸ Bruno Zevi, in *Ducci*, ed. 1977, p. 8 quoted in op. cit., p. 169

¹⁹ This was the title of a widely used pamphlet on living memorials published by the American Commission for Living War Memorials (ACLWM) in 1944. The pamphlet served both as

Advocates for memorial spaces with only one function, to preserve memory as opposed to civic projects which strived to incorporate this memory into community life, represented a minority. Designs that were considered to be purely symbolic were often dismissed on the basis of their 'uselessness'. American historian Lewis Mumford (1895-1990) was among those who argued that preservation of memory represents a higher purpose and is only possible to achieve through devoted projects of art, not through useful everyday structures.²⁰ Along with Mumford's assertion about the modern monument, quoted above, Eero Saarinen (1911-1961) sought to create a 'landmark of our time'²¹ as adjusted and remodeled version of triumphal arches of classical antiquity. The architect demonstrated the outcome of his search in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (designed in 1948 and realized between 1959 and 1965), almost 200 meter tall steel arch with an observatory at its very top.²²

Much more modest contribution was Marcel Breuer's (1902-1981) proposal for a War Memorial in Cambridge which remained unrealized due to the opposition of war veterans who opted for a memorial structure that would enhance rehabilitation of people and not only symbolical aspects evoking war sacrifices.²³ Breuer's proposal depicted a square bordered by low benches while the inner space contained glass walls standing in contrast to the flagstone pavement. With names of service man and women baked into the translucent walls on the eye level the space would have gained a changing quality and subtle divisions. A later attempt to realize the design as a part of an exhibition about war memorials failed as well²⁴ (Fig. 5.49).

propaganda and as instruction for communities engaged with building living memorials. See: Andrew M. Shanken, 'Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States during World War II', in: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 1, 2002, pp. 130-147, p. 133

²⁰ Lewis Mumford, 'Monuments and Memorials,' in: *Good Housekeeping* 120, No. 17, January 1945, pp. 106-108

²¹ Doezeema, op. cit., p. 19

²² The memorial is also known as Gateway Arch and was planned to memorialize the story of nation's westward expansion but also as a project to boost the local economy of St. Louis. See: 'History of the Gateway Arch', the official website (<http://www.gatewayarch.com/about/history.aspx>, accessed 01.07.2015)

²³ The memorial was initiated in 1944 by local veterans' organizations and the Cambridge War Memorial Committee and was supposed to be installed on a site at the southern end of the Cambridge Common. Concrete benches concealed lights that illuminated the contrasting materials of the flagstone pavement and glass slabs. The City Council postponed construction due to discomfort with the modernist design.

²⁴ Philip Johnson, then the head of the Architecture Department of the Museum of Modern Art, approached Breuer with an idea of creating a replica in the museum garden for an exhibition dealing with war memorials, but that exhibition remained unrealized

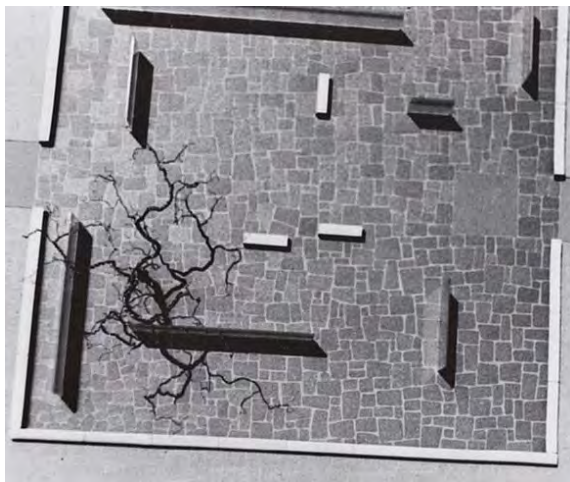


Figure 5.49



Figure 5.50

A wider international interest in what language should be used in memorial art and architecture was stirred by the international competition for a Monument to The Unknown Political Prisoner organized by the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London in 1953.²⁵ Number of proposals, 3.500 participations, proved this to be a significant question and many of them indicated crossing boundaries between sculptural monuments and architecture, as demonstrated in the symbolically laden winning design by British sculptor Reg Butler (1913-1981). The proposal integrated traditional sculptural figures and abstract forms in three distinctive parts: ‘the rock’ as a natural element that would serve as a platform for viewing, three female sculptures entitled ‘the watchers’ and finally a steel construction of ‘the tower’ as a symbolic reference to mechanisms of imprisonment²⁶ (Fig. 5.50). The artist was particularly concerned with the position of the spectator in terms of interaction with the structure. This aspect was imagined to be invigorated by creating a corridor which would lead to a space under the platform. Butler’s proposal was never realized due to the political climate in which the competition was

²⁵ The chosen theme of the competition was intended ‘to pay tribute to those individuals who, in many countries and in diverse political situations, had dared to offer their liberty and their lives for the cause of human freedom’. The competition was open to artists of every nationality and it was hoped that ‘the sculpture eventually winning the Grand Prize would be installed on some site of international importance, such as a prominent situation in one of the great capitals of the world.’ See: ‘Reg Butler: The working model for ‘The Unknown Political Prisoner’ 1955-6’, in: *The Tate Gallery 1978-80: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions*, London 1981 (<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/butler-working-model-for-the-unknown-political-prisoner-t02332/text-catalogue-entry>, accessed 31.05.2015)

²⁶ Butler avoided direct representation of the prisoner but instead implied the prisoner’s sacrifice through the gaze of the sculptural group. The treatment of space and steel structure in this work can be recognized in other works of the time, namely iron sculptures by Picasso and surrealist sculptures by Giacometti, for example ‘The Palace at 4 a.m.’ See: *Ibid.*

labeled, by Soviet Union and East European satellites, as suspicious and in furtherance of the Cold War, but it is still considered to be a ground breaking design in both its form and reception.²⁷ The competition entry by Swiss architect and artist Max Bill (1908-1994) gained significant attention as well. The proposal reintroduced two aspects in memorial design: relation to the surroundings and engagement of a visitor through bodily experience. Even though the competition brief did not offer a specific location for the future design,²⁸ Bill's design, comprised of three cubes forming a triangle and shaped an inner room with a steel column in the middle, was conceived on the basis of the relation with a public space (Fig. 5.51).

Many layers in this proposal such as the introduction of a reflective material on the inner column, materialization of the cubes as processional stairways or sitting benches extending the memorial's space towards the surroundings and human scale of the memorial, composed an interactive design in which a spectator would have been a

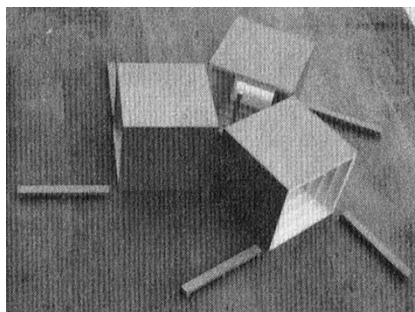


Figure 5.51

participant and a contributor to the overall meaning of the design.²⁹

The idea of encouraging active participation in the space of memory was also embedded in a project for the national memorial to the people deported from France during WWII, proposed in the same year and inaugurated in 1962.³⁰ The Memorial to the Deportation at the Ile de Cité in Paris, in the close vicinity to the Notre Dame Cathedral, was designed around experience of a visitor with a great attention given to the location and architectural elements that compose its

²⁷ The location for the memorial was proposed on the border of West and East Berlin, which deepened the problem. Next to this the winning design, evocative of a receiving antennae, also delivered wide critique. See: Michalski, op. cit., pp. 160-162

²⁸ Not specifying the location for the competition, The Institute of Contemporary Art in London underlined its penchant for abstract proposals. In the postwar debate about figurative versus abstract design, the abstract was perceived as an antidote to Communist and East European solutions. The ICA under art critic Sir Herbert Read conceived this competition as a 'multi-functional ideological weapon, furthering the ethos but also the forms of the West.' In: Michalski, op. cit., p. 156

²⁹ Amsellem, op. cit., p. 190

³⁰ The commissioning organization *Le Réseau du souvenir*, created in 1952, was a small association of survivors and relatives of deportees. More than 200,000 people were deported from Vichy France to the Nazi concentration camps. The memorial contains a Tomb of the Unknown Deportee from Struthof - the only extermination camp on French ground. The memorial, as many other in the postwar France, was intended to revive the nation by reinforcing the notion of Resistance and thereby marginalizing the period of Vichy regime.

‘architectural spirit.’³¹ Unlike common demands for triumphal monuments for commemoration of WWII in France at the time, the commissioner opted for a memorial with a ‘quiet’ and meditative, almost clandestine character, what constituted a defining aspect for the architect Georges-Henri Pingusson³² (1894-1978) who developed his design around two main themes: transition and separation. A lively public park surrounding the memorial became an intermediary space of ‘preparatory reflection’³³ or a first phase of the visit to the memorial, so called ‘phase of silence’. Following sequence was addressed as the ‘phase of estrangement’ and constituted a descent from the park to the sunken plaza of the memorial which is separated from the outside world with monolithic concrete walls except for one perforation in the apex which offers a view on the river Seine through a portcullis depicting symbolic iron spikes, signifiers to inevitability of escape (Fig. 5.52; 53).



Figure 5.52



Figure 5.53

³¹ Shelley Hornstein, ‘Invisible Topographies. Looking for the Mémorial de la déportation in Paris’, in: Shelley Hornstein, Florence Jacobowitz (Eds.), *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, Indiana University Press, 2003, p. 311; The head of the *Réseau art committee* was the prominent French writer and at the time a chief curator of the *Musée national d’art moderne*, Jean Cassou who argued for the memorial’s connection to the site and meditative qualities of its architecture. After choosing among three proposals for the memorial, Cassou argued that the memorial ‘should not be built like ordinary statues or monuments, but instead should consider the site, whose lines present a harmony that is characteristic: it should not break away from the horizontality of the river and the point of the island...it should invite the passerby to ...feel as though he should be welcomed into this space at once intimate and collective.’ Ibid.

³² Georges-Henri Pingusson was a member of the Union des Artistes Modernes (UAM) from 1929 until its dissolution in 1958 and professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. He worked on the reconstruction of war-damaged areas in the Moselle, Lorraine, and Saar regions, where he planned various industrial towns. He designed the *Hôtel Latitude 43*, St-Tropez (1931–32), the ‘*Pavillon des Artistes Modernes*’, Paris Exposition (1937—destroyed), and (with Corbusier), the satellite town of Briey-en-Forêt (1953–59).

³³ Amsellem, op. cit., p. 90; in his earlier designs for religious buildings, which he perceived as sanctuaries of meditation and contemplation, Pingusson employed references to religious rituals and liturgical spaces.



Figure 5.54

The stairs connecting the park and the memorial are designed with a dramatic accent, together with other spaces in the memorial, in order to communicate the 'hardship of oppression.'³⁴ Across the opening is the narrow entrance to the crypt, intended as a last stage of the experience or the 'phase of presence' where the visitor faces memory³⁵ (Fig. 5.54). The crypt is hexagonal space with a long corridor lit by 200.000 small glass beds on side walls and two niches on the sides each containing an empty prison cell as symbols of prisoner's passage through the cells of the camp³⁶ (Fig. 5.55). Walls of the interior contain engraved names of different concentration camps but

also poetic texts by writers who had been involved in the resistance.³⁷ In order to communicate the story of the deportations to coming generations, Pingusson believed that the architectural space would not suffice and therefore he argued for the importance of textual component of the memorial, what resulted with a permanent exhibition installed on the level above the crypt. This addition of the museum to the original plan provoked strong reactions as it was believed that any sort of literal narrative would destitute the space of its meditative qualities even though Pingusson designed the addition in keeping with the idea of an orchestrated experience in an one-way circulation trajectory ranging from shocking to meditative components while referencing funerary corridors of the pyramids.³⁸

³⁴ Op. cit., p. 100;

³⁵ Op. cit., p. 93

³⁶ 'War Memorial Paris', *The Architectural Review*, vol. 133, No. 793, March 1963, p. 186; Above the corridor is the inscription 'Deux cent mille français sombrés exterminés dan les camps Nazis' while the lights refer to a Jewish tradition of placing a light on a memorial boards in synagogues in memory of deceased persons.

³⁷ Texts by Antoine Saint-Exupéry, Louis Aragon, Robert Desnos, Paul Éluard, Jean Augustin Maydiou, Jean-Paul Sartre and Vercors.

³⁸ Amsellem, op. cit., p. 264; Pingusson argued for the dramatization of the museum's space. For instance he planned to install a winter panorama of Auschwitz and reinforce the image by applying unusual treatment of the concrete in the circulation path and at the exit an image of a dead deportee was planned in order to shock the visitor. The museum part was never opened to the public because of the lack of a security exit.



Figure 5.55

The overall aura of the space is augmented by the material used in the memorial, a special concrete composed from aggregates of stone taken from different mountain ranges of the country, symbolically reinforcing the national character of the memorial.³⁹ In this way the visual details, for instance the small circles confronted with one big circle at the entrance passage, are underlined by the invisible symbolical meaning (*Fig. 5.56*).

³⁹ Pingusson aimed for 'violence of contrast' in his memorial and to achieve that, normal concrete was not sufficient but he used so called 'artificial stone' made out of aggregates of stone mixed with a white concrete. Amsellem, *op. cit.*, p. 97

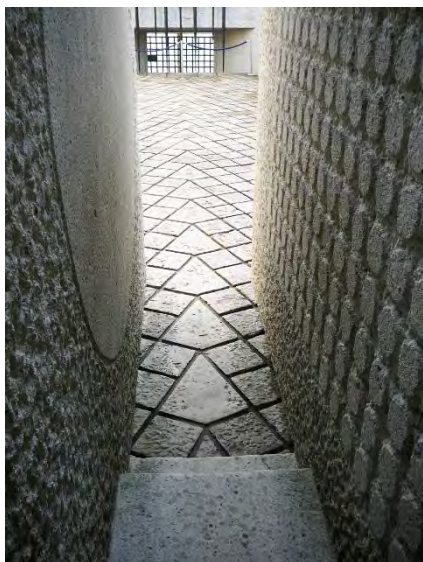


Figure 5.56

The memorial was criticized as unworthy of its purpose of the national monument since it lacked performative qualities as a traditional monuments and was therefore addressed as a 'hidden crypt' that would not invite people passing by to visit.⁴⁰ As an answer to these critiques, memorial's anti-monumental appearance or rather the invisibility of an external marker was put forward as its strength which would corroborate a spiritual aura of the memorial as a space for meditation and memory. Furthermore, the motif of a burial crypt had particular

resonance in Paris at the time, demonstrated in the 1953 Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr, composed of a cylinder on the street level and an underground crypt, which probably had significant influence on the Pingusson's design.⁴¹

Even though the actual scale of total destruction of the war which left Europe in ruins became clear in decades after the war ended, commemoration of the Nazi crimes in the former concentration camps started before 1945.⁴²

These memorials were mostly realized as memorial plaques, figurative sculptures or as in the case of Buchenwald-a spontaneous impromptu memorialization on the site of the camp by a wooden obelisk in 1945. By the 1960s Holocaust memorials were established as a new genre of commemorative art, and they usually constituted a layered experiential spaces specific in that they addressed transnational audiences, represented multiple meanings for what they used new

⁴⁰ Amsellem, op. cit., p. 38; The memorial was criticized by the communist press, but memorial's clandestine appearance was in great part conditioned by the City Council which gave permission to build on this prominent location if nothing remains visible above the memorial's parapet. Op. cit., p. 69

⁴¹ The Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr was elaborated by Jean Cassou at Réseau's art committee (the committee of the commissioning organization La Réseau du souvenir-association of survivors and relative of the deportees organized in 1952) meeting in 1953. Parisian underground ossuaries were the base for the resistance leader Henri Rol-Tanguy in 1944. Op. cit., p. 73

⁴² Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, 'Memorials for the Dachau Concentration Camp', in: *Oxford Art Journal*, 21.2, 1998, pp. 21-44

repertoire of symbols, forms and materials.⁴³ Beginning with the memorial at Dachau in 1950, representing a new stage in memorial creations in which survivors and states collaborated through international competitions inviting proposals that would convey new meanings,⁴⁴ new memorial forms started emerging. Even though proposal for 'liberation memorial' by Karl Knappe (1884-1970) in Dachau was dismissed on the basis of the designer's past connections with the Nazi regime and extensive use of persecutor's symbolism in the design, the project was dedicated to motives of freedom and to quiet places for contemplation and mourning.⁴⁵

In other cases, survivors protested against highly intellectual designs which were perceived as too abstract and often lacking a space for private mourning.

This happened in 1957 when an international competition was organized for memorialization of Auschwitz,⁴⁶ with Henry Moore (1898-1986) as a chairman of the Auschwitz Memorial Committee.⁴⁷ Unlike the ICA call for a monument for the Unknown Political Prisoner, the Auschwitz competition had a specified location; the memorial was to be placed at the end of the railways on the site of the former extermination camp, considered to be a monument itself and therefore was supposed to be intact.⁴⁸ After reviewing few hundreds of participations,⁴⁹ jury was unanimous about the proposal by Polish

⁴³ Harold Marcuse, 'Holocaust Memorials; The Emergence of a Genre', in: *American Historical Review*, Vol. 115, No. 1, February 2010, pp. 53-89, p. 54

⁴⁴ Op.cit., p. 55

⁴⁵ Knappe was known as the creator of Munich's war memorial and for this project he used a monument to German Freikorps, in Upper Silesia as a reference. The proposal referenced same motives as a monumental Totenburg in its form of a massive tower from which a panoramic view opens over the surrounding landscape. In: Hoffmann-Curtius, op. cit.

⁴⁶ The competition was organized by an international organization of Auschwitz survivors, based in Vienna, in cooperation with the International Union of Architects. The competition brief asked for a monument that would eternalize the suffering of the victims of racial politics. On the International Auschwitz Memorial, see Jerzy Zachwatowicz, 'The International Memorial at Auschwitz,' *Poland*, January 1965, pp. 11-13; Monica Bohm-Duchen, (Ed.), *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art*, exhibition catalogue, (London: Royal Festival Hall, 1995).

⁴⁷ The international jury was composed of representatives of the Comité, including Odette Elina, a female French artist, the architects Giuseppe Perugini of Milan and Jacob Bakema of Rotterdam, August Zamoyski, a Polish sculptor living in France, and Pierre Courthion, a French critic.

⁴⁸ Unlike many other sites of concentration camps, buildings in Auschwitz were preserved due to their sheer scale and complexity. Already in 1945, camp premises in Oświęcim, a Polish name for Auschwitz, were placed under Poland's provisional government's Ministry of Culture and Art supervision for creation of a museum which was opened in 1947, the year when all the structures were pronounced for a national monument by the Polish Parliament.

⁴⁹ The jury first met in Auschwitz to choose from over 400 designs submitted by more than 600 sculptors and architects from 36 countries. Both figurative and abstract options were proposed. The seven short-listed designs, after further refinement, were presented at the second stage of the competition in November 1958 in Paris at the UNESCO headquarters.

team led by architect Oskar Hansen,⁵⁰ designed on the principles of 'Open Form'⁵¹ which consisted of a 70 meter wide and one kilometer long black tarmac road imagined to run diagonally across the former camp but omitting the infamous Birkenau gate (*Fig. 5.57*). This omission underlined the principles of Hansen's open structure approach which proposed leaving the whole site of the camp intact, with its gate never to be in use again and the crossing road as the only intervention in order to allow visitors to experience the site and confront the oblivion of it at the same time. The architect argued that the diagonal road would display the mechanism of the camp, but it also had a more tangible side for inspiring participation with the site, as he argued:

*'The road is the site for spontaneous gestures. If one should wish to leave a note with a name, or a figure of an Angel, one could do it by the road. . . . The process outside the road was meant to be a biological clock. Already then trees were growing there, we saw running roe-deer and hares. We wanted to preserve the evidence on the road . . . in the way in which lava preserved Pompeii. . . . Monument-the Road is the exploration of continuity. It departs from life, transgresses death, and returns again to another life. Life and death are defined through each other.'*⁵²

In spite of its popular reception and its accent on the individual participation in space, Hansen's team proposal was at the end not pursued due to several reasons⁵³ out of which the most pronounced was a disagreement of the Auschwitz survivors who found the proposal too abstract and 'not keeping with the literalness of their experiences.'⁵⁴ The impressive concept of a long pathway, a passage

⁵⁰ The team members were Zofia Hansen, Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz, Edmund Kupiecki, Julian Pałka and Lechosław Rosiński.

⁵¹ The concept of 'Open Form', as described by Hansen at a meeting of the International Congress of Modern Architects (CIAM) in Otterlo in 1959, was a philosophical idea of shaping social space that would be open for a free intervention of the audience and of time. Hansen always stressed the human element above the technological in architecture. The concept is clearly opposed to the 'closed form' which relates to a traditional sculptural monument.

⁵² Katarzyna Murwaska-Muthesius, 'Oskar Hansen and the Auschwitz "Counter Memorial," 1958-59', in: *Art Margins (online)*, 20 May 2002, (http://artmargins.com/index.php/featured-articles/311-oskar-hansen-and-the-auschwitz-qcountermemorialq-1958-59#ftn_artnotes1_9, accessed 23.04.2014)

⁵³ The project's was considered too costly but also the planned pathway would require demolition of many barracks on its way which was against the competition's rules. A compromise was offered to combine Hansen's proposal with an sculptural Italian proposal but Hansen withdrew the entry with an argument of the impossibility to combine his open structure and the figurative monument of the other team. In political framework, the dismissal of Hansen's proposal can be observed through a West-East polarization in which Henry Moore takes a central role as representative of the western pole with his soft modernist *Reclining Figure* for the UNESCO headquarters in Paris completed about the same time as the competition for Auschwitz.

⁵⁴ On 2nd December 1942 some five hundred thousand Jews in New York City participated in a ten-minute silence in order to mourn for the murdered but also to call attention to the ongoing killings in Europe. In: Young, 1993, op. cit., p. 136

that would initiate confrontation with memory and oblivion, was lacking in a focal point for commemorations which the survivors found necessary, what was demonstrated in 1967 when finally a figurative monument entitled International Monument to the Victims of Fascism was erected on the site.⁵⁵

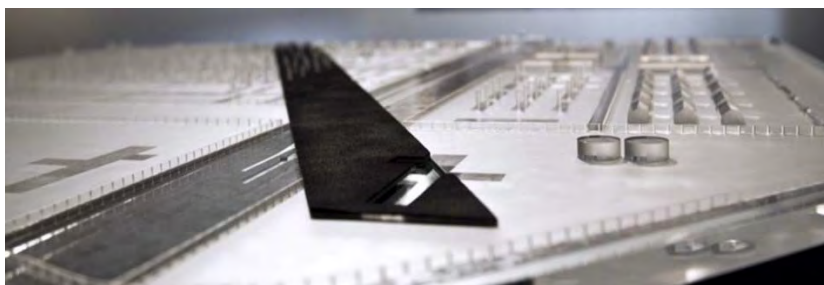


Figure 5.57

In the United States the first public commemoration of the Holocaust took place in 1942, but it was not until 1960s that a more organized approach was taken.⁵⁶ Following a failure to realize a widely accepted proposal for the memorial in New York by Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953) and Ivan Mestrovic (1883-1962) in 1951, but also some other more figural proposals that came in the following years, a so called Committee for the Commemoration of Six Million Jews was organized with its own Art Committee including renowned professionals in the fields of art history and architecture (Fig.5.58).

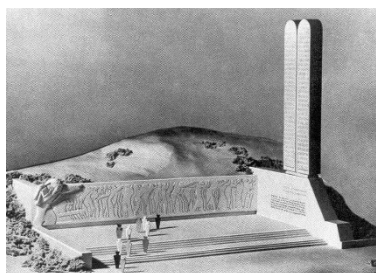


Figure 5.58

The organization appointed Louis I. Kahn to design the first Holocaust memorial to be erected in New York, the Memorial for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs, planned to occupy a spot in the Battery Park in New York. The planned location for the memorial, already cluttered with various monuments commemorating different events and people, was

depicted in one of the Claes Oldenburg's (born 1929) provocative drawings from 1965 displaying a giant vacuum cleaner clearing the site.⁵⁷ Khan took a different approach as he aimed to integrate his

⁵⁵ Henry Moore who was skeptical when he expressed the difficulty the jury had in regard to the aesthetic quality of representation of an event as harrowing as Auschwitz, arguing that perhaps "a very great sculptor-a new Michelangelo or a new Rodin-might have achieved this." Murwaska-Muthesius, op. cit.

⁵⁶ Young, 1993, op. cit., pp. 287-294

⁵⁷ In 1965 Oldenburg presented drawings and projects for imaginary outdoor monuments such as the *Proposed colossal monument for the Battery, N.Y.C.: Vacuum cleaner* and a small collage

design into the existing context by using glass⁵⁸ as a main material for a nine translucent glass cubes placed in a regular grid (Fig. 5.59). In this way the memorial would extend into the surroundings, allowing neighboring structures to visually pervade the space of the memorial. Khan's proposal, even though never realized, is a significant departure from traditional monument and a valuable example in a search for a different language of memorialization in a postwar interest for a new monumentality. The proposal displays Kahn's consideration of the guidelines put forward by the commissioner which were rather contradictory. The committee stressed that the design should be of highest artistic integrity, evoke the emotional, psychological and historical impact of the tragedy for future generations and while dealing with the horrendous facts of the period it was supposed to express hope for a better future for all humanity 'where man will not merely survive but prevail.'⁵⁹ The elements in Kahn's design addressed these demands by introducing translucency as a mean for dematerializing the memorial's structure, creating a stage without determined pathway for the visitor to explore and reflect in an atmosphere of light offering hope and inspiration. This was further reinforced by placing the memorial so that it would face three figures relevant to the American immigrant experience: the Statue of Liberty, Castel Clinton and Ellis Island. However, Kahn's first proposal was criticized for its lack of direct symbolism but also for its 'calmness' since it was argued that the survivors would want to see 'some expression of their own lives, their own experiences, their seeming humiliation.'⁶⁰ The architect adjusted his proposal significantly as the initial design became modified to six blocks orbiting around a central pier, a symbolic chapel, raised on a black granite plinth⁶¹ (Fig. 5.60). However, the light as a composing element in the design remained, as Khan put it: 'The Monument will get its mood from the endless

Lipsticks in Piccadilly Circus, London (1966). The artist also made poetic drawings in which he placed a familiar object in a landscape, making it appear colossal in relation to its setting as in *Proposed Chapel in the Form of a Swedish Extension Plug* (1967). Oldenburg first colossal monument to be realized was *Lipstick Ascending, on Caterpillar Tracks* which was installed at Yale University in 1969. After this project, Oldenburg focused on the production of large-scale commissioned monuments conceived for permanent installation on public sites, for example *Giant Three-way Plug, Scale A, 1/3* (1970), sited next to the Allen Memorial Art Museum in Oberlin. The installation displayed a fragmentary form at an angle so as to suggest that it was half-buried under the ground.

⁵⁸ Khan made use of glass in an earlier design for a memorial meant to commemorate Lenin in Leningrad. The memorial was designed as an enormous structure using thousands of red glass bricks in order to communicate a symbolic message. The drawings of this proposal were destroyed by Khan during the Cold War.

⁵⁹ Godfrey, op. cit., p. 121

⁶⁰ Op. cit., p. 125

⁶¹ Khan explained in a press release that the initial design was conceived '*as an environment of light created by nine piers arranged in a square without ritualistic direction, but in the prevailing desire to give the Monument a sense of the ritualistic, the center pier is given the character of a chapel...The one, then, the chapel, speaks and the other six are silent.*' Ibid

changes of light and of night, the seasons of the year, the endless play of the weather, and even the sudden light of a flash of lightening. The drama of movement on the river will transmit its life to the Monument.⁶² This positive approach that accentuated healing and hope instead of dwelling on the outcomes of the destruction was typical for Khan who often argued for the power of light as a life-giving element whereas the unrepresentable realm of the tragedy was treated with silence. In spite of the positive comments about its architectural value, the memorial was never realized⁶³ due to a strong critique that depicted the memorial as too abstract and therefore too ambiguous and non-accusing.⁶⁴

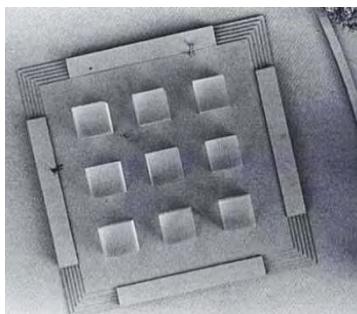


Figure 5.59

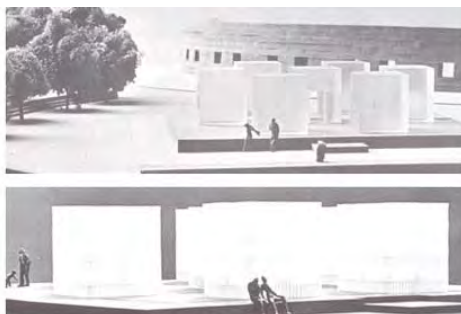


Figure 5.60

The need for ‘spaces for healing’ in memorial architecture was typical for the American context in the 1960s which was a period of turmoil.⁶⁵ Following the results of the competition for Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial announced in 1961, doubt was raised whether the affluent society can ‘provide the background of emotional inspiration that can produce a monument?’⁶⁶ The participants were allowed much freedom

⁶² Op. cit., p. 129

⁶³ Khans’s other designs for memorials, all of them unrealized except the Roosevelt Memorial built posthumously in 2013, reflect elements of a classical composition. Prominent longitudinal axis in Kahn’s the Roosevelt Memorial references his, already mentioned, experimental vestiges with the 1932 competition proposal for the Lenin Memorial in Leningrad Michael J. Lewis, ‘Louis I. Kahn and His Lenin Memorial’, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Volume 69, No. 1, March 2010, pp. 7-12

⁶⁴ Taking light as a motive, Khan aspired towards a ‘non-accusing memorial’ and an atmosphere of spirituality, probably inspired by Kabbalistic references. Khan died in 1974 what additionally influenced termination of the project which was already in progress due to the lack of financial support as a consequence of a shift in focus of the participating institutions. The proposal was criticized for not addressing many world’s tragedies instead of focusing exclusively on the Holocaust.

⁶⁵ Rosenfeld, p. 125. In the late 1960s there were ongoing battles over civil rights and the Vietnam War and at the same time the knowledge about WWII and the Holocaust started to spread in the western culture with the Eichmann trial in 1961.

⁶⁶ Thomas H. Creighton, *The Architecture of Monuments. The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Competition*, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, New York, 1962, p. 13

as the main directive of the competition was to memorialize ‘the essential Roosevelt’ in keeping with harmony of the Potomac Park where the memorial was supposed to be installed. Italian architecture critic and theorist Bruno Zevi (1918-2000) recognized three basic principles in dealing with the task: the academic (building a temple); the modern (landscaping a park); and the symbolist (combination of the two).⁶⁷ The winning design by Pederson & Tilney group, of which Zevi thought that they did not fall into any of these patterns and was therefore original, was comprised of monumental stele creating an open space for interaction (Fig. 5.61). In an attempt to classify the approaches among few hundreds of various entries, the winner fell into a category named ‘shafts.’⁶⁸ Designed in contrast to adjacent Lincoln

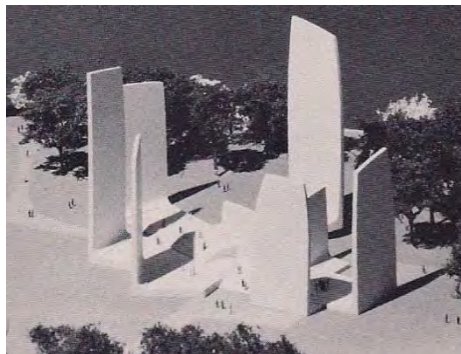


Figure 5.61

and Jefferson memorials which were perceived by the designers as contradictory to their purpose, the design was focused on heightening the experience by carefully attending to the approaching sequences by accentuating features of the landscape. The open space created by the memorial would have been defined by its sheer scale but also by changing aspects of light and the environment. The personal feel was to be corroborated by Roosevelt’s statements engraved on the tall pylons. Nevertheless, the proposal was labeled as ‘Instant Stonehenge’ but also ‘the first breath of fresh air’ among many existing Washington’s memorials. At the end, it was dismissed by the Federal Commission of Fine Arts for reasons of not being harmonious with the surroundings and ‘lacking in repose, an essential element in memorial art.’⁶⁹ In spite of the failure to realize the memorial, variety of submissions offered a rich palette of possible approaches for creating a lasting memory of Roosevelt and humanistic values he was representing. It was a call for a memorial to a specific person and at the same time it represented a monument to democracy. Thus most of the proposals aspired towards strong emotional symbolism which would provoke a meaningful experience. Several proposals anticipated later milestone developments such as the elaborate landscape concept by the architectural team Wehrer-Borkin imagined as descending dark granite polished walls cut into the earth in a V-shape

⁶⁷ Op. cit., p. 44

⁶⁸ The numerous entries were classified in five architectural types that were most common: shafts, landscape concepts, pavilions, building structures and sculptures. Ibid

⁶⁹ Op. cit., p. 6

and positioned in relation to the existing memorials on the Washington Mall, features recognizable in the later Vietnam Veteran's Memorial (Fig. 5.62). Similarly, George Nelson's competition entry was composed of large glass cubes on a square, elements composing Kahn's proposal for the New York memorial (Fig. 5.63). In spite of the failure of the competition to deliver a satisfying design, the goal to create the memorial to the former president persisted.⁷⁰ It was not until the inauguration of Halprin's memorial in 1997 that the memorial was realized. Kahn did participate in the competition in 1961 with a concept design of a large circular fountain situated on a longitudinal plaza, but it was his second design for a memorial to Roosevelt, already discussed, which was pursued and finally realized four decades after the architect's death.



Figure 5.62

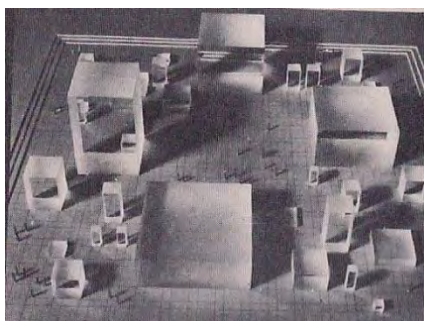


Figure 5.63

Motives and intentions that were in focus in most of the entries were interaction, meditation and sublimity and in some cases mythical aura was depicted, referencing ancient structures. Similar aspirations were present in memorials commemorating gross human tragedies in the already mentioned work of the Yugoslavian architects Edvard Ravnikar or Bogdan Bogdanović who explored archaic spaces devoid of historical or religious associations in order to create an idiom that would communicate deeper meanings in their memorial architecture. The horrors of the past war were sought to be transformed into spaces which would encourage healing and hope by relating to their, usually natural, surroundings - thereby heightening the experience of visitors. In many Yugoslavian memorial complexes the space was usually composed of a central monumental structure. Often there was an adjacent museum dedicated to a specific battle as was the case with two memorials in Bosnia and Herzegovina - Tjentište memorial site

⁷⁰ In 1966 Marcel Breuer, appointed to design the memorial, delivered a concept that combined sound and a space partially enclosed by tall wall segments, as a realm for meditating about principles enforced by Roosevelt. This proposal was dismissed as well, for its crudeness and strong pop-art influences. See: Isabelle Hyman, 'Marcel Breuer and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial', in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54, no. 4, 1995, pp. 446-458

(1971) and memorial complex Kozara (1972) where names of almost ten thousand partisans who lost their lives in battles during WWII are memorialized⁷¹ (Fig. 5.64; 65). Soviet counterparts, for instance the 9th Fort Memorial and Museum (1984) in Kaunas, shared this typology.⁷² Yugoslavia offered many examples of post war memorial architecture that were perceived as invaluable segments of urbanistic planning and modernization of the post war socialist society. In order to commemorate many events related to the national struggle for liberation, leading architects adopted 'the monuments in the West European sense'⁷³ as a role model. This was the case in urbanistic plan for Sarajevo from 1955, where several distinct typologies of monuments and memorials were succinctly distinguished. These included tower and obelisk like structures for the prominent traffic junctures, memorials as intimate mausoleums inspired by traditional architecture in the old part of the city, larger memorial spaces in the mountain terrains that echoed the Italian inter-bellum memorial architecture, but also memorial museums such as the Museum of Young Bosnia on the location where the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria took place in 1914. Special attention was given to memorials in the pedestrian public space where, unlike other typologies, accent was placed on intimacy and seclusion.⁷⁴



Figure 5.64



Figure 5.65

⁷¹ Names of 9.921 partisans are inscribed on bronze panels which are part of a memorial wall.

⁷² In some cases a memorial constituted large sculptural work housing a museum within; hence the museum becomes a sculpture celebrating the positive spirit of the resistance as in the monument to the French resistance at the Glières Plateau by Émile Gilioli (1973) or futuristic appearance of the 'Makedonium' in Kruševo by Jordan Grabulovski (1974) dedicated to the Ilinden uprising against Ottoman Empire in 1903.

⁷³ Juraj Neidhart, 'Spomenici (Monuments)', in: Dušan Grabrijan, Juraj Neidhart, *Arhitektura Bosne i put u Savremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and the way to Modernity)*, translated by M. P. Moll and B. Vrčon, Državna Založba Slovenije (Ciril Vidmar) under favour of the Government of the PR of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the PR of Slovenia, pp. 430-441, p. 431

⁷⁴ For instance this is visible in an unrealized plan for Monument to Marx and Engels in the center of Sarajevo, where the memorial space was imagined as secluded green oasis with a water pool and central installation memorializing national struggle, building of Socialism and of course Marx and Engels, op. cit., p. 429;

The Yugoslavian context resonated with the southern neighbor Italy, where a period of more ambitious commemorative projects for WWII was starting. One project that expressively combined traditional sculpture and architecture was the Monument to the Women of the Resistance (1964-1968) on the shoreline of Venice. Carlo Scarpa, commissioned to design a platform for a sculpture created by Augusto Murer (1922-1985), instead of a traditional pedestal that was initially planned⁷⁵ proposed a structure that would interact with the environment and thereby ensure an active visual relation with viewers. The design consisted of a shelf under the water and a dock, defined by concrete columns capped with rectangular parallelepipeds of Istria stone, emerging from the water at varying heights. In the center of the dock a movable platform on which the sculpture would have been installed was planned. The platform was imagined to react on the water movements and in that way create a variety of changing views⁷⁶ (Fig. 5.66). In the realized monument, the floating platform was abandoned and several other elements were added that considerably changed the original design⁷⁷ (Fig. 5.67).

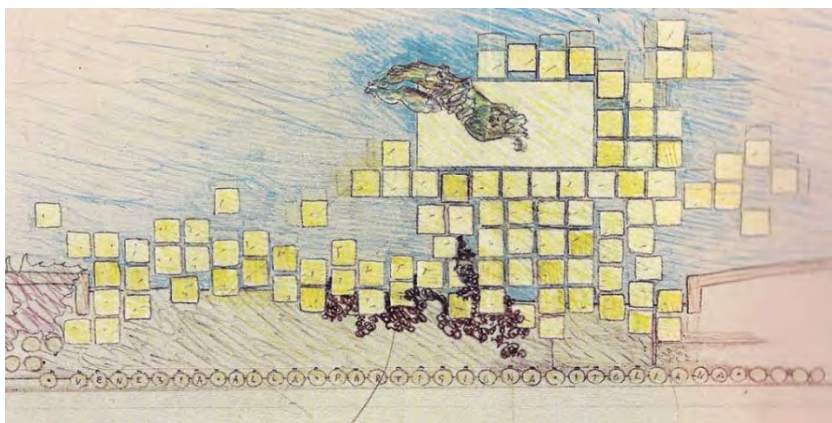


Figure 5.66

⁷⁵ Following a demolition of a monument to the *partigiane* of the Veneto, the Venice city council organized a competition in 1964 for a new monument that was planned to be installed on a pedestal at the junction of Via Garibaldi and Riva dei sette martiri. Scarpa was commissioned to design the base for Murer's sculpture, the winner of the competition. Scarpa argued for a more quiet location that would allow for an 'appropriate visual relation between the viewer and the monument.' Francesco Dal Co, Giuseppe Mazzariol (Eds.), *Carlo Scarpa: the Complete Works*, transl. Richard Sadler, Electra Editrice-Rizzoli: New York, 1985, p. 132

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ The city council and the authorities of the lagoon where the monument is located required insertion of warning lights and a fence. Also, Scarpa planned a baluster of cylinders as a border between the monument and the public space.



Figure 5.67

Other significant developments include Aldo Rossi's unrealized proposal for a Monument to the Resistance in Cuneo from a competition⁷⁸ organized in 1962, Risiera di San Sabba (1975) in Trieste as well as the Resistance Park in Ancona (1965). Rossi's design constituted a cube with stairways, an often used element in his later designs, leading to an elevated platform from which it would have been possible to see the exact place where the commemorated event took place (Fig. 5.68). Hence, the unrealized memorial was imagined as a public space, but at the same time a space of seclusion which was emphasized by a detail of a stairway narrowing as they ascend towards

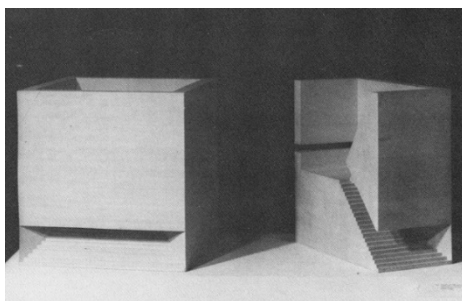


Figure 5.68

the platform which would further isolate the visitor from the outside world since the walls of the cube permitted only a directed view. Consequently the memorial would become an intimate space for reflection while the place of memory was accentuated visually.

In Risiera di San Sabba memorial museum the architect Romano Boico (1910-1985), protesting the initial limitations of the architectural competition,⁷⁹ decided to preserve the ruined structure where it was

⁷⁸ Winning design for the 'Concorso nazionale per il Monumento alla Resistenza a Cuneo' was Umberto Mastroianni's (1910-1998) that featured diverse abstract elements suggesting powerful forces the revolution has unleashed. See: Luciano Galmozzi, *Monumenti alla liberta. Antifascismo, resistenza e pace nei monumenti italiani dal 1945 al 1985*, La Pietra, Milan, 1986

⁷⁹ The city of Trieste organized an architectural competition in 1966 which invited proposals for commemoration of the Rice Mill-Risiera di San Sabba. The competition was planned for a small portion of the site, which was the reason of Boico's protest as demonstrated in the title of his entry under a motto 'Assurdo'. The competition was closed in 1968 without a winner, but Boico's proposal together with proposals by Costantino Dardi (1936-1991) and Gianugo Polesello (1930-2007) were chosen for further development. Dardi's proposal dealt with creation of an

possible arguing that ruins as symbols of destruction can become sufficient monument themselves.⁸⁰ The architect even removed certain layers in order to gain a more complete overview of the remaining structure. Boico's approach resonated Adorno's assertion about 'quoting' destruction instead of portraying it literary in works of art, as was the case with Beckett's plays. Understanding the location as sacred, the architect aimed to do precisely the same, to 'quote' traces of destruction, for example by designing floor markings in places where infrastructure of the oven was standing before it was destroyed by the fleeing Nazis (*Fig. 5.69*). At the same time, a disquieting entrance was added together with symbolic markings of spots where ovens and chimneys of the former camp used to stand (*Fig. 5.70*).



Figure 5.69

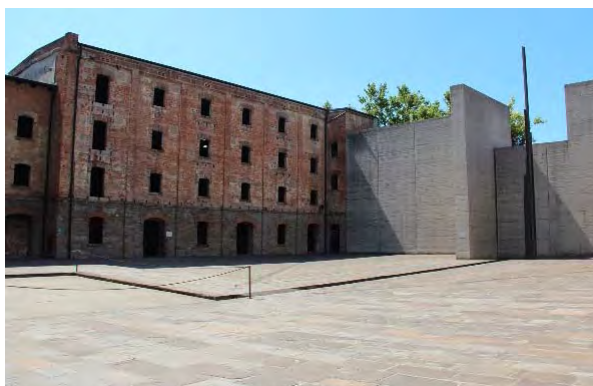


Figure 5.70

The entrance introduces an atmosphere of impending danger, a common motif in former places of terror, perhaps most vividly achieved in Wiktor Tolkin's (1922-2013) monument at Majdanek (1969)⁸¹ and its highly similar but unrealized predecessor - Monument to the Victims of the Holocaust (1963) by Hans Hollein (1934-2014)⁸² (*Fig. 5.71; 72*).

'emotional journey' through contemporary architectural forms that were supposed to dramatize the terror of the past whereas Polesello made a strong argument for architectural contrasts between the old and the new, outside and inside. See: Mucci, op. cit.

⁸⁰ Op. cit., p. 39

⁸¹ A competition for a memorial at Majdanek was held from 1967-1968. Wiktor Tolkin's design was selected out of 130 submissions to be inaugurated on 1 September 1969, the thirtieth anniversary of the German invasion of Poland. Tolkin's design includes three parts: the 'Road of Homage and Remembrance' that leads to the memorial, a mausoleum that now holds victims' ashes originally collected by the local civilians, and a large abstract stone monument. In addition to this monument. The site also includes a historical exhibit on Majdanek that occupies nine of the historical buildings

⁸² The proposal for the monument is part of Hollein's Transformation series created between 1963 and 1968. All of the designers were depicted in a barren agricultural landscapes as parodies



Figure 5.71



Figure 5.72

The tendency to isolate a visitor in a memorial's realm and offer a defined view was present in several other Italian memorials from this period, such as the Memorial to the revolution in Udine (1969) by Gino Valle and Federico Marconi. The Udine memorial was defined by the location on a prominent square in the city which according to the architect did not permit a monument that would be visible only externally, but it needed to be a memorial with both internal and external aspects.⁸³ The memorial is closed off by four concrete walls forming a rectangular suspended in space by three columns (*Fig. 5.73*). Inside the memorial there is an abstract winged sculpture by Dino Basaldella (1909-1977), visible from outside the memorial as well. In front of the rectangle there is a lowered semicircular fountain which together with the unsuspended front wall opens a view towards the surrounding streets. The memorial was loaded with symbolic meanings and its modernist purity was welcomed as 'expressivity without rhetoric.'⁸⁴ The appearance of a large concrete cube has its predecessor in Fosse Ardeatine mausoleum (1949), one of the earliest examples of an extensive use of concrete, seen as material of the modernists, in commemorative architecture (*Fig. 5.74*). The enormous concrete block appears to be hovering above the tombstones, an aesthetic that was quite popular in the early post-war period but also in the following two decades. The design was an adjusted version of two winning proposals from a previously organized competition which called for a sarcophagi above the ground, on a place where the Ardeatine massacre took place.⁸⁵ Use of, then, contemporary materials together with its context-related sensitivity, delivered positive critiques that praised the memorial for its attention to psychological aspects of experiencing space, its antimemorial appearance and communication with the original site⁸⁶ (*Fig. 5.75*).

of Le Corbusier's concept of architecture as an object in the landscape. Hollein explored this composition in yet another concept entitled Monument for Urban Communication (1961-1963)

⁸³ Philip Cooke, *The Legacy of the Italian Revolution*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 108

⁸⁴ Op. cit., 107

⁸⁵ Amsellem, op. cit., p. 148

⁸⁶ Ibid

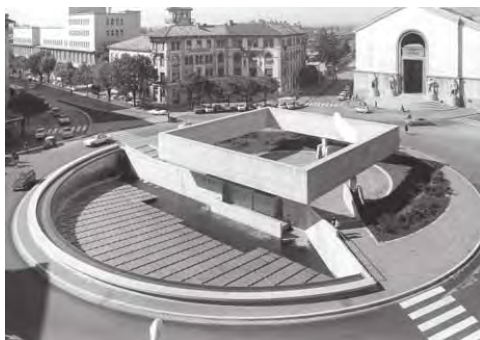


Figure 5.73



Figure 5.76



Figure 5.74



Figure 5.75

Another demonstration of using the ‘concrete cube’ typology as a pavilion for the space of memory was Philip Johnson’s (1906-2005) memorial for John F. Kennedy in Dallas (1970), Texas, a ‘tribute to the joy and excitement’ as it reads on the plaque in front of the memorial (Fig. 5.76). Unlike the impenetrable mass of the Fosse Ardeatine’s cubus, Johnson’s cube is a pavilion or rather a concrete curtain with the purpose of making an intimate space of seclusion.

Revival of the arguments from the fierce debate about living memorials together with more recent issues that were shaping the Memorial to the Deportation in Paris, namely the transmitting of memory to the future generation through evocative architectural

forms and metonymic devices, gave rise in the late 1970s to a new architectural genre in the West - the Holocaust museum. The first Holocaust Museum, however, was built in Israel, the renowned Yed Vashem. The memorial complex was dedicated in 1957 and a central building - 'The Hall of Remembrance', was opened in 1961, designed by Arie El Hanani (1898-1985), (*Fig. 5.77*). The Hall is known as the center of gravity of the museum complex⁸⁷ as it lends its timeless character from a combination of ancient commemorative symbolic and modern architecture. The building's base is composed of gigantic volcanic rocks while the upper part is a plane concrete block which appears as a continuation of the rocky base. In the same design gesture as in Fosse Ardeatine, it is only in the interior that one can see a division between the two segments accentuated by a narrow crack that permits daylight to enter into the room (*Fig. 5.78*).



Figure 5.77



Figure 5.78

⁸⁷ Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 261

Inside, an elevated platform creates a walking path that connects the entrance and the exit. A visitor is guided to look down towards the floor where names of the Nazi concentration death camps are engraved upon the ashes brought from these places. A narrow opening in the ceiling permits smoke from the eternal fire to go outside. These elements are recognizable from some previously mentioned examples that are similarly referring to funeral architectural elements, for example Munich WWI memorial. At the same time this duality derived from past and present can be considered as typical in the architecture of commemoration in Israel as a country unique for the number of memorials and their architectural realizations. This duality is embedded in a specific 'order' whose essence is constituted by diametrically opposed spatial forms aimed to produce contrasting experiences in visitors.⁸⁸

This principal of juxtaposition of past and future forms, darkness and light, horizontal and vertical and so forth prevails in Israeli's memorial architecture from the first examples to contemporary times. Few designs, for instance Dani Karavan's Negev Brigade Memorial (1968), where verticality contrasts the overall horizontal composition of the memorial, and David Anatol Brutzkus' Dakar Memorial (1971), placed on a military cemetery, are telling examples of this principal of diametrical opposition of spaces. Both memorials are composed on the principals of *architecture parlante* and are highly symbolic as they tend to dramatize the story they are telling by using design strategies which accentuate their narrative such as the stark contrast between outside and inside, descend into the earth or long corridors as transition spaces from one sequence to the other (Fig. 5.79).

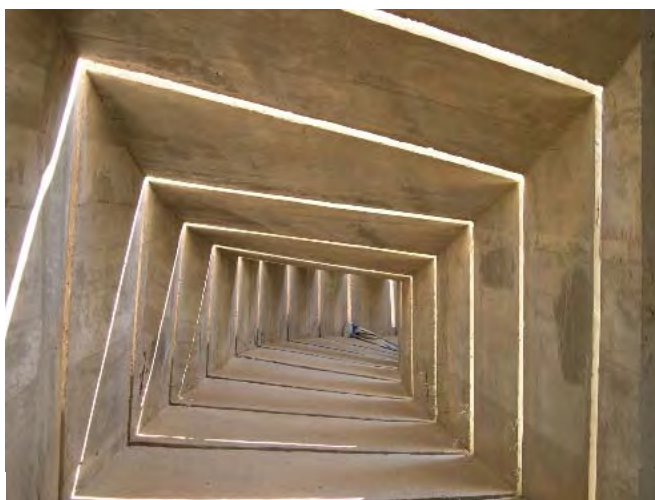


Figure 5.79

⁸⁸ Tula Amir, 'Life Saver; Typology of Commemoration in Israel-Architecture and Society', in: *The Israeli Pavilion*, Curator Tula Amir, The 10th International Exhibition of Architecture, Venice Biennial, September-November 2006, pp. 12-17

Opposite to the situation in Israel where the thematic of a memorial was not determinative for its typology, the occurrence of the new genre of Holocaust memorial museums in Europe was strongly related to the context and whether these museums were built with a primal goal for preservation of significant historical sites or they were designed in other locations in order to promote this particular memory through exhibitions and research work. In the United States this trend constitutes an architectural phenomenon demonstrated by many museums that were built in the following years.⁸⁹ Most of these museums aimed towards emotionally evocative architecture and therefore adopted a language in post modernistic fashion allusive of concentration camps iconography such as barbed wire, crematorium chimneys, guard towers and so forth, materialized through an extensive use of brick and striped metal as materials associated with industrialized destruction of lives during WWII. In some instances such references were employed to the point that comparisons with Disney Animation Studios have been made.⁹⁰ One of the museums that had awakened wide public interest because it raised new questions about representation of trauma and curatorial strategies is the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington D.C. (1988-93) by James Ingo Freed (1930-2005), probably the most prominent example of the new genre constituting a typological hybrid of memorial and museum. The process of creating the museum entailed numerous difficulties, at length described elsewhere,⁹¹ and it problematized many questions among which are the ones of ethical responsibility and beauty in architecture. The curatorial concept of the museum together with its interior design, developed in structured experiential theatrical stages,⁹² served as a role model for many future museums. The museum's evocative language balances between abstract and direct symbolism with a basic layout consisting out of two wings connected by steel bridges⁹³ (Fig. 5.80). A rich palette of sensory materialization supports the architectural narrative in its continually changing material, such as metal staircases producing noise when used, glass walkways creating a feeling of stepping into a void or

⁸⁹ Today there are sixteen major Holocaust Museum in the US. They are still being built, for instance the Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust by Belzberg Architects, opened in 2010.

⁹⁰ Rosenfeld compared strikingly similar features in Holocaust Memorial Center of Michigan by Neumann/Smith and Associates and Disney Animation Studios, Burbank, California from 1994. However, Holocaust memorial museums which were built in later years are less explicit, such are the ones in Florida, Los Angeles, Miami and others. Rosenfeld, op. cit., pp. 287-294

⁹¹ See: Edward T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory. The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*, Penguin Group, 1997

⁹² The interior design derived from an idea to recreate a journey of people who left their normal life and ended up in ghettos. Linenthal argued that the mood of the exhibit spaces offered not only aesthetic but moral direction. Visitors were to take this journey with a heart and soul 'heavy and dark' like the space itself. Op. cit., p. 170

⁹³ Central space of the museum is 'The Hall of Witness' while a space for silent contemplation is the so called 'Hall of Remembrance'.

varieties of unsettling textures and smells in the part where piles of clothes, hair and shoes are exhibited.⁹⁴ The museum was received as a great masterpiece of architecture, successful in producing dark *architecture parlante*.⁹⁵

The commissioned art for the museum, a topic in its own right,⁹⁶ includes renowned contemporary artists and adds another layer of the building's story. One of the initial reasons for including non-figurative art works was to create a counter-balance to the narrative of the museum.⁹⁷



Figure 5.80

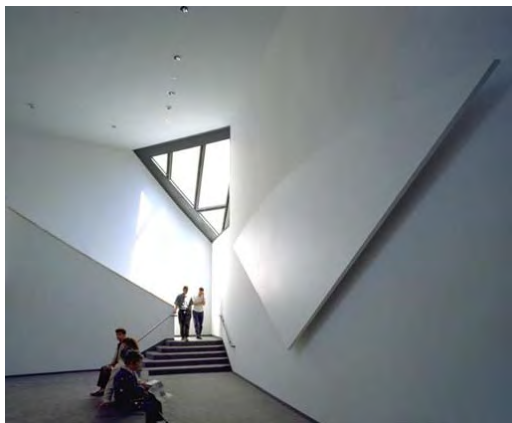


Figure 5.81

Fearing that the museum risked becoming an isolated world, a hermetic container for display of horror with glimpses to the outside, the architect acknowledged these abstract art works as a more direct connection to the contemporary world giving the museum 'a kind of legitimacy'⁹⁸ (Fig. 5.81).

⁹⁴ Adrian Dannatt, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, James Ingo Freed*, Phaidon Press Ltd, London, 1995, p. 21

⁹⁵ Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 268

⁹⁶ Godfrey, op. cit., pp. 199-237

⁹⁷ Op. cit., p. 206

⁹⁸ Op. cit., p. 236; Godfrey has argued that the abstract works 'interrupt the narrative and punctuate it, refusing to represent the Holocaust through graphic images and steady narratives.' Ibid.

5.4 After 1980: filling and creating voids

*'Architecture's role is not to create strong foreground figures or feelings,
but to establish frames of perception and horizons of understanding.'*
Juhani Pallasmaa¹

The decennia long discussion about abstract art versus figurative art began to wane in the early 1980s, coinciding with a creation of the canonical Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial which was often used as an example of the viability of the abstract forms as tools for supporting remembrance.² The memorial echoes strategies employed by the artists of a so called environmental art movement of the 1960s and 1970s who strived to reinforce the sense of place of a given context. It also reflects a notion of a sculpture in the 'expanded field', a tendency of artists towards creating art as a 'negative form', demonstrated in the landscape art of Robert Smithson or Robert Morris.³ According to Rosalind Krauss, what started as an exploration of a negative space at the beginning of 19th century with Rodin's sculptures and later with Brâncuși in the 1930's, was soon exhausted to a point where sculpture, ergo monument, was interpreted as a pure negative form in which 'modernist sculpture appeared as a kind of black hole in the space of consciousness, something whose positive content was increasingly difficult to define, something that was possible to locate only in terms of what it was not.'⁴

In this sense the VVM, discussed earlier, was possible to classify in aspects of deviations from what patronage and cultural production of an official memorial usually entailed. The memorial, initiated by a Vietnam's veteran, was inscribed from its outset by ordinary people capable of 'reinterpreting the dominant ideological discourse for their own purposes.'⁵ It was also the first experimental memorial to be built following many, previously mentioned, unrealized efforts only to become the most visited memorial on the Mall a few years after its dedication in 1982.⁶ Many earlier architectural projects were prescribed as possible inspiration to its form such as Thiepval,⁷ but there were connections made in the field of arts as well, for instance

¹ Juhani Pallasmaa, *Encounters 1: Architectural Essays*, edited by Peter MacKeith, Rakkenustieto, 2012, p. 31

² See: Joan Marter, 'Postwar Sculpture Re/Viewed' and 'The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art: The Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition', in: *Sculpture in Postwar Europe and America, 1945-59*, Spec. issue of *Art Journal* 53:4 (Winter 1994), pp. 20-22, pp. 28-36.

³ Rosalind Krauss, 'Structure in the Expanded Field', in: *October*, Vol. 8. Spring 1979, pp. 30-44.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 34

⁵ Albert Boime, *The Unveiling of the National Icons. A Plea for Patriotic Iconoclasm in a Nationalist Era*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 1998, p. 309

⁶ Griswold, op. cit.

⁷ Hélène Lipstadt, 'Learning from Lutyens. Thiepval in the Age of the Anti-Monument', in: *Harvard Design Magazine*, Fall 1999, pp. 65-70

work of Richard Serra's sculpture *Shift* (1972) or Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party* (1979).⁸ The highly minimalistic features of the VVM however, continue to escape any stylistic categorization as they seem to derive from various aspects in relation to the memorial's spatial and political context. Its connection to the Lincoln's memorial and Washington's monument are inseparable from the memorial's space as one is constantly aware of their position. By a common consent, the memorial has been perceived as powerful and persuasive, provoking personal reflection while creating a possibility for intimate contemplation in an open public space. Besides the obvious depart from the typical historical and sculptural memorials on the Mall, the memorial's ambiguity was recognized as the defining element.⁹ This aspect created the environment for a participatory approach.

The focus on participation continued to be central in commemorative projects in the European context as well. One example that focused on constructive and in a way 'healing' participation is the proposal for commemoration of the destruction caused by war in the city of Lüdenhausen in Germany.¹⁰ The project was entitled 'Pro Memoria Garden' and designed by the Argentinian architect Emilio Ambasz (born 1943) as a labyrinthine hedge with individually assigned gardening plots that needed to be nourished and in that way symbolically keep the memory alive. Each plot would have been assigned to a newborn of the city with his or her name inscribed on a marble slab. Each individual would attend to it from the age of five until death when the plot would be given to a new owner with a new slab added to the previous one. The architect hoped that from divided plots the labyrinth would grow into a common community garden and that this concept would teach people about the respect for life.¹¹

Another project that employed exploration of labyrinthine spaces was Alberto Burri's (1915-1995) memorial project for Gibellina (1985-

⁸ Boime, op. cit., p. 309

⁹ Sonja K. Foss, 'Ambiguity as Persuasion: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial', in: *Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 326-340; Foss makes a distinction of five aspects that make the VVM a powerful space: it violates the conventional form of war memorials, it assumes a welcoming stance, it provides little information to the visitor, it focuses attention to those who did not survive the war and it generates multiple references for its visual components.

¹⁰ The competition for the memorial was organized in 1978 by the townspeople of Lüdenhausen, a small city south of Hannover that was completely rebuilt after WWII.

¹¹ The artist offered the following explanation of the project: This project- intended to impart the lesson of peaceful cohabitation-draws on the Lower Saxon tradition of providing pensioners with a plot of land to cultivate vegetables and flowers. Each garden in the composite consists of irregularly-sized, unique, one-fifth-acre plot defined by hedge walls and separated by narrow paths. Assigned at birth, each plot contains a marble slab inscribed with the newborn's name. Children are taught the rudiments of gardening to prepare for a lifetime of responsible cultivation. Emilio Ambasz, 'Pro-Memoria Garden', (<http://emilioambaszandassociates.com/portfolio/Pro-Memoria-Garden>, Accessed 28.11.2014)

1989), an Italian village which was destroyed by earthquake in 1968. Unlike Ambasz's concept that was inspired by nurturing natural environment as a way of keeping the memory alive, Burri devoted himself to an extensive use of concrete with a goal to recreate a map of the destroyed village by filling the layout on places where buildings used to stand (Fig. 5.82). The concrete blocks are approximately a bit higher than one meter and are not obstructing the overview, thus the field of concrete is visible in its entirety throughout the walk. Burri created a concrete cemetery difficult to destroy by the forces of nature.



Figure 5.82

After 1985, however, the public was confronted with memorial projects that aimed to destabilize the very notion of memory. This so called counter-memory generation, with predominantly German artists, delivered numerous projects that aimed to encourage participatory acts by the visitor. Next to the already mentioned projects of Jochen Gerz, there are several works by the artist Horst Hoheisel that dealt with notions of counter-memory, such as the inversed *Aschkroft fountain* (1988) in Kassel and a more radical proposal to blow up the Brandenburger Tor as a way to memorialize destruction with destruction.¹² Often, these projects had heightened sensory quality and can be considered for some of the most poetic memorials such as Hoheisel's 'Warm memorial' (1995) in Buchenwald which consists a concrete ground plate warmed up to human's body

¹² Horst Hoheisel, together with architect Andreas Knitz, used destruction of objects and buildings in several works, such as the 2014 *Starting Blocks of Memory (Startblöcke der Erinnerung)* in Poznan's imperial castle which during WWII was converted into Hitler's private residence. A holy chapel contained within the castle was destroyed by the Nazis in order to make space for Hitler's study room. The artists used this space to install parts of a swimming pool that was also located in Poznan on a place where a synagogue used to stand, demolished by the Nazis as well. By deconstructing the swimming pool, a Nazi construct, the traces of the past are symbolically returned to those who created it. Another, earlier, project is also conceived on the idea of destruction as a way to address difficult memory. In an art performance called *Crushed History* (1997-2003) in Weimar, Hoheisel and Knitz tore down the former Gestapo prison and administration barrack. The rubble was later used to recreate layouts of the destroyed buildings, a walkable sculpture, installed above the subterranean Central State Archive of Thuringia. See: Horst Hoheisel / Andreas Knitz, *Kunst der Erinnerung, Erinnerung der Kunst. Zermahlene Geschichte. Kunst als Umweg*, brochure, 2015

temperature and placed on a spot where the temporary obelisk erected by the inmates used to stand.¹³ In their pursuit for modes to engage traumatic remembrance several projects from this period were conceived as simple markings of places that had significance for people who perished in the war, for instance Gunter Demnig's brass blocks called *Stolpersteine* or *Stumbling Stones* (1992) installed in the pavements in front of the houses where the deported used to live.¹⁴



Figure 5.83

In the American context similar tendencies can be recognized, in regard to different memorialization topics, which can be qualified as counter-memorials, for instance *The Other Vietnam Memorial* (1991) by American artist Chris Burden (1946-2015) which drew attention to three million Vietnamese killed during the American presence in the Indochina conflict (Fig. 5.83). The names of mostly unknown dead, in great part generated by computer software,¹⁵ were etched on copper plates and mounted into steel frames that could evolve around a central pole.

Some later examples adopted notions of disappearance and reflection too literary, for instance the Deportation Memorial 'Mirrorwall' (1995) in Berlin-Steglitz, a large mirror free-standing wall with images, names and excerpts of texts imprinted on its surface (Fig. 5.84). The memorial is an inviting feature in the public space due to the mirroring surface, causing its shape to change constantly depending on the position of the viewer. At the same time, this makes it rather difficult to read memorial's inscriptions as one has to constantly battle with many reflections (including his or hers own image colliding with the text). It is not hard to speculate that the designers have purposefully used this effect to provoke viewers to invest more effort in deciphering the memorial's message, however it would probably be easier if the viewers were provided more private surrounding so that the reflection

¹³ Hoheisel developed the memorial with architect Andreas Knitz. Names of fifty-one national groups victimized in Buchenwald are inscribed on the plate. See Young, 2000, op. cit., p. 105

¹⁴ The stones are installed in app 610 places all over Europe. They can easily be ordered via a web-site and names of the people are added to the text of the stones which begins with 'Here lived...'. Demnig cites the Talmud saying that 'a person is only forgotten when his or her name is forgotten.' Text from the project's official website(www.stolpersteine.eu/en/home/, Accessed 02.06.2014)

¹⁵ Since the exact records of the dead were not available, Burden used a basic catalogue of Vietnamese names which he mixed and matched through a computer software in order to obtain three million names. See: Boime, op.cit., pp. 329-333

they have to grapple with is only their own, excluding the busy surroundings.¹⁶

This too is the case with the poetically evocative Micha Ullman's (born 1934) Memorial for the book burning (1994) on Bebelplatz in Berlin, commemorating the infamous burning of books by the Nazis in 1933. The memorial consists of a subterranean white room with empty bookshelves visible only through a transparent glass plate on the square. Here one has to bend and circulate around the plate to find a suitable angle in order to look into the memorial's space¹⁷ (Fig. 5.85).



Figure 5.84



Figure 5.85

Besides using the effect of reflection and asking for the active participation of the beholder, Ullman's memorial employs popular notion of a void or voided space, explored by other designers of memorial spaces as well, for example in Rachel Whiteread's (born 1963) and Christian Boltanski's (born 1944) work. While Boltanski used existing architectural void in a urban tissue as starting point for creating a memorial,¹⁸ Whiteread produced casts of voided spaces in

¹⁶ In another project in Germany, the Andernach Mirror Container (1996) in the city of Andernach where mirrors are used to memorialize victims of the euthanasia. In Andernach was a transit institute run by the National Socialists as part of the 'Action T4' for euthanizing mentally disabled patients. The investigation of the memorial space is slightly easier. Instead of exposing it against the surroundings, the mirror with names of the victims and dots for the ones who remained unidentified stand enclosed in a steel structure referencing the 'T4' transport vehicles.

¹⁷ In 2013 Hoheisel and Knitz dealt with a similar topic in a project entitled 'Book-Mark' (Lese-Zeichen) commemorating book burning event that happened on May 10th 1933 in front of Bonn town hall. A bronze slab with the titles and names of the authors whose books were burned was sunken into the cobbled square. Underneath the slab is a space that contains copies of these books. The slabs is planned to be opened on every anniversary of the book burning event when the copies of the books will be given to passers-by. Hohaisel, op. cit.

¹⁸ For example Boltanski's project *The Missing House* explores architectural void as a signifier for memory work. The project was mounted for the exhibition 'Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit' (October 1990, Berlin). Here Boltanski sought to trace the people who lived in a building at Grosse Hamburgerstrasse from 1930 until 1945, destroyed by Allied bombing in 1945. Boltanski acquired photographs, letters and other documents belonging to the former inhabitants and placed their photocopies together with maps of the neighborhood in archival boxes.

order to emphasize the absence of the subject of memorialization, for example in the Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial in Vienna unveiled in 2000.¹⁹ Similarly to Ullman's 'hidden' library, Whiteread employed symbolism of books to convey the meaning of the memorial (also known as 'Nameless Library') by conceiving it as an inverted cast of a square room with bookshelves and a door (Fig. 5.86). The memorial's large scale with its walls composed of inverted concrete books raised concerns about possible vandalism. The artist was less concerned and even welcomed such acts as they would, in her opinion, reinforce the memorial's goal to 'invert people's perception of the world and to reveal the unexpected.'²⁰



Figure 5.86

Nameplates were also hung on a side-façade of the adjacent neighboring building in order to identify the now missing inhabitants, both Jews and non-Jews.

¹⁹ The memorial is a result of an invited competition organized in 1996 on the initiative of Simon Wiesenthal, a concentration camp survivor and a Nazi-hunter, who took a role of a spokesman for the public offence caused by the *Mahnmal gegen Krieg und Faschismus on Albertinaplatz* (1988) by Alfred Hrdlicka (1928-2009). The competition can be seen as a result of the protest against this particular memorial which portrays Jewish victims in an undignified situation. The competition was organized in order to create a dignified memorial to 65.000 Jewish victims of Nazi rule in Austria. The competition brief, among other things, asked for the inclusion of the listing of all concentration and extermination camps in which Austrian Jews were murdered. The memorial incorporates remains of a synagogue which was destroyed in 1421 pogrom. Next to Whiteread, other invitees included Peter Eisenman, Russian artist Ilya Kabakov and Israeli architect Zvi Hecker. Whiteread's project was delayed due to a contested discussion about the memorial's role in the memory-work about the Holocaust in Austria. See: James E. Young, 'Memory, Counter-memory, and the End of the Monument', in: Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz (Eds.), *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, Indiana University Press, 2003, pp. 59-78

²⁰ Rachel Whiteread quoted in: Kate Connolly, 'Closed books and stilled lives', in: *The Guardian*, 26 October 2000 (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/oct/26/kateconnolly>, Accessed 02.06.2015) Whiteread argued that 'If someone sprays a swastika on it we can try to scrub it off, but a few daubed swastikas would really make people think about what's happening in their society.' Ibid.

Treating 'voids' as architectural spaces is often employed in the design methods of de-constructivists such as Peter Eisenman and Daniel Libeskind. The two architects, among several others, were included in the 1988 exhibition entitled 'Deconstructivist Architecture' in New York. In the same year Libeskind won a competition for the Jewish Museum in Berlin (2001). The realized building communicates with the outside world through glimpses allowed by the windows that follow the logic of the museum, zigzagging across the zinc facade. The outer appearance of the museum is further dramatized by black diagonal lines and in an aggressive and contrasting fashion, by now established as Libeskind's recognizable features,²¹ the structure wraps itself around the existing building²² (Fig. 5.87; 88). Still, there is no physical connection between the two and in order to access the new museum, it is only possible through the entrance of the historical building. In its layout the zigzag²³ line, defining the museum's appearance, intersects with a straight line running through the middle and in that way creates so called 'voids' or negative spaces. These spaces are, according to Libeskind, are places of 'being and nonbeing'²⁴ in which one can 'attempt to have access to it through names and addresses, through a

²¹ Libeskind's project for the Felix Nussbaum Museum in Osnabrück (1998) is designed on the basis of a similar architectural pattern employing claustrophobic features. The same language he used for his entry to Germany's national Holocaust memorial from 1998, entitled 'StoneBreath' and also for more affirmative design for Contemporary Jewish Museum of San Francisco (2008) as well as for Danish Jewish Museum in Copenhagen (2004). The architect is also known for his earlier radical proposal for the 1993 competition for a redesign of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp when he proposed to build residential and commercial buildings on the site while destroying all Nazi buildings and flooding the site with water. In order to see the ruins, visitors would have to walk over dikes.

²² The existing building was designed by Philip Gerlach in 1735 as Collegienhaus and after surviving the heavy destruction of WWII, it was in the 1960s rededicated as the Berlin Museum. Originally the competition in 1988 invited proposals for an extension of the Berlin Museum with a Jewish Museum Department, but later became the Jewish Museum of Berlin.

²³ The origins of this layout are manifold. Libeskind derived the zigzag form by tracing imaginary lines on the map of Berlin which would connect streets where prominent Jewish people used to live. The title 'between the lines' implies that the meaning is to be derived from the intermediate space these lines create. There were also stipulations in urban planning that influenced the design. Libeskind was rejecting logical organization and pursued fragmentation as the only true expression. Furthermore, the form, however, can be explained in Jewish belief explained in Kaballah as God's creative process in which God broke his wholeness, hence as the negative act of zimzum-God's contraction to himself to create the universe. This aspect of Jewish mysticism was the inspiration for Barnett Newman, for instance in his installation *Zim Zum* (1985), a zigzagged corten steel pavilion in Düsseldorf.

²⁴ Daniel Libeskind, 'Trauma', in: Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz (Eds.), *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, Indiana University Press, 2003, pp. 45-58, p.

kind of haunting quality of spaces through which the passage of absence took place.²⁵



Figure 5.87

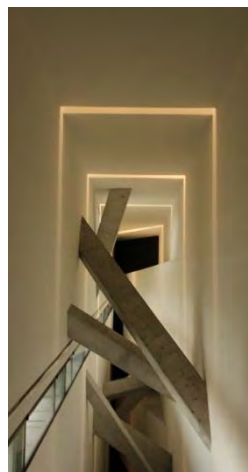


Figure 5.88



Figure 5.89

In the museum art corroborates architectural space as well, as for example the art work *Shalechet (Fallen Leaves)* by Menashe Kadishman (1932-2015) installed in one of the void spaces in the museum (Fig. 5.89). Since the main leitmotif of the museum is a void, inspired by the emptiness of the Weissensee cemetery in Berlin,²⁶ translated into spaces in which there is nothing to be seen,²⁷ installing

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Libeskind referred to marble tombstones without engravings, erected by wealthy Jewish families for future generations. The architect was struck 'by the fact that no members of these families could ever come back to see the emptiness of those slabs of marble.' Ibid.

²⁷ Daniel Libeskind, *Jewish Museum, Berlin*, G + B Arts International 1999

any art into these voids seemed contradictory.²⁸ Nevertheless, Kadishman's work consisting of thousands of schematic human faces of different sizes produces an engaging effect turning the 'void' into an interactive architectural device. Other voids, seven in total with two of them inaccessible, function within the elongated zigzag layout of the museum, culminating in the so called Holocaust Tower, an extremely tall space with a narrow slit allowing daylight at its highest point and sounds of the outside to penetrate. This space can be perceived as culmination of the museum's first level defined by two crossing axes, which is at the same time positioned underground with one external part named the Garden of Exile, made out of forty-one inclined concrete columns arranged in a strict grid on a sloped ground (Fig. 5.90).

The composition is referred to as an 'upside down' garden since the columns contain earth and an underground irrigation system which supports the willow oak planted inside to emerge at the top of the columns.²⁹ Whether the garden produces this effect is difficult to say, but it does offer a moment of decompression from the heavily structured underground experience, except in the winter period when it is usually closed for public due to the slippery ground (Fig. 5.91).



Figure 5.90

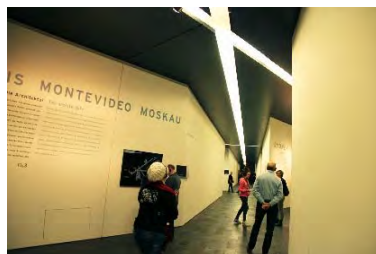


Figure 5.91

A similar deconstructivist logic based on significantly changing the existing setting with radical gestures is also applied in Moshe Safdie's (born 1938) museum in Yed Vashem (2005). Conceived as an addition the museum was shaped as a triangular shaft approximately 180 meter long, perforating the landscape and eventually protruding as a viewpoint console. Safdie referenced the catastrophe of the event as a physical rupture, feeling that the story that is too terrible cannot be told in 'normal galleries'. The architect aspired towards 'the feel of an archeological remnant' whose walkway directing visitors would appear as if 'an earthquake ripped it apart'³⁰ (Fig. 5.92).

²⁸ The construction of the museum was finished in 1998, but it took nine months to finalize the exhibition and curatorial strategies following a debate over whether to leave museum empty as de facto memorial or fill it with the exhibition and artifacts.

²⁹ Schneider, op. cit., p. 40.

³⁰ Moshe Safdie, 'The Architecture of Memory', *Yad Vashem, Moshe Safdie – the Architecture of Memory*, Lars Muller Publishers, 2006, p. 97

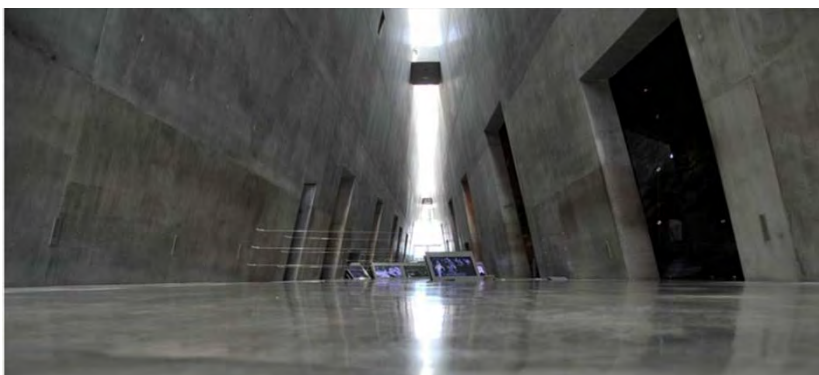


Figure 5.92

Dedicated in the same year as Safdie's project, the MMJE in Berlin demonstrates similar motives of inversion and destabilization of the ground, a recurrent theme in this period. The process of creating the memorial located near the Brandenburg Gate is worth to be mentioned in more detail. The project was approved to be built by the German Bundestag in 1999, five years after the first competition whose winning design depicting enormous gravestone was dismissed as a consequence of its controversial symbolism and its sheer scale.³¹ The second competition was organized in 1997 as a result of many fraught colloquia that tackled even the very *raison d'être* of the future memorial as the main national memorial, next to numerous sites of memory across Germany, in fear of producing a 'great burial slab for the twentieth century, a hermetically sealed vault for the ghosts of Germany's past.'³² Notwithstanding many doubts and pitfalls as part of the process of making such a memorial in the first place, the invited competition delivered several proposals worth considering among which two projects, Gesine Weinmiller's *Eighteen Scattered Sandstone Walls* and the collaborative project of Richard Serra and Peter Eisenman's *Waving Field of Pillars*, were selected as finalists. Weinmiller's proposal depicted the whole location sloped and eighteen wall segments, a symbolic recall of life in Hebrew gematria,

³¹ The winning design by Berlin architect Christine Jakob-Marks consisted of a massive sloped surface, occupying the whole site, with 18 boulders from Masada in Israel and names of murdered Jews were to be inscribed on the memorial. Connection to Masada was problematic as it was a historical site of mass suicide of Jews during the revolt against Romans. The proposal was, among other things, criticized for being 'too German'. James Young who was part of the committee argued that the competition brief was too ambiguous to begin with. Participants from the first competition were invited to the following one, including few added names including Peter Eisenman, Daniel Libeskind, Jochen Gerz, Rebecca Horn and Dani Karavan. Young, 2000, *op. cit.*, p. 190

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 194

scattered on the sloping plaza which was to be framed with border walls on three sides (*Fig. 5.93*).

The wall segments that were to be composed of sandstone blocks, again symbolically referring to Jewish tradition and the Western Wall in Jerusalem, would at one vantage point visually form a Star of David. The proposal reflected defining aspects of Maya Lin's VVM design in the aspect of a space conceived as a 'wound', a place of exaltation of memory accentuated by architectural features reinforcing the sensory experience of a gradual descent into the space. The memory of the murdered Jews of Europe would therefore reconstitute through 'memorial-activity'³³ of visitors in the memorial space. The other finalist shared the idea of participatory approach of visitors as it comprised thousand pillars, on the first glance recalling a vast cemetery (*Fig. 5.94*).

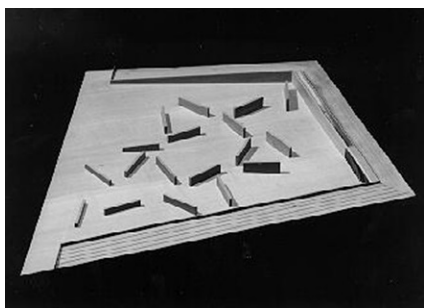


Figure 5.93



Figure 5.94

Eventually this proposal was selected for several reasons: it was believed that its multiple forms would encourage individual involvement with the memorial without giving final solutions; this would establish memorialization not as a fixed fact but as an ongoing process; the memorial's form and scale resisted reproduction through snapshots of cameras and thereby further encouraging the aspect of participation; the memorial imposed a sense of 'Unheimlichkeit' or sense of danger in demanding from a visitors to find their own way in the field of pillars standing on a tilted ground and in that way destabilizing the visitor's position in space.³⁴ Since the committee board wanted more space for commemorative events and at the same time was in fear of memorial's space turning into an uncontrollable labyrinthine space, the original design had to be adjusted. For Serra who believed that any modification would endanger the underlining concept this was reason enough to step out of the project, leaving it in the hands of Eisenman who further revised the design in order to meet the demands of the client.

³³ Op. cit., p. 205

³⁴ Op. cit., p. 206

After the revision of the design which included a significant reduction of the number of pillars and adjustment of their height and spacing (the lowest pillars became higher) and an addition of row of trees as a buffer between the city and the memorial, the proposal was welcomed as much more suitable since it would allow large commemorative events and tourist bus visits to take place. As for the possible acts of vandalism it was believed that there were simple anti-graffiti solutions while desecration through climbing over on the memorial's pillars with their text-less surfaces were considered not that relevant since the pillars were 'neither intended nor consecrated as tombstones.'³⁵ The pillars are the outcome of a design process

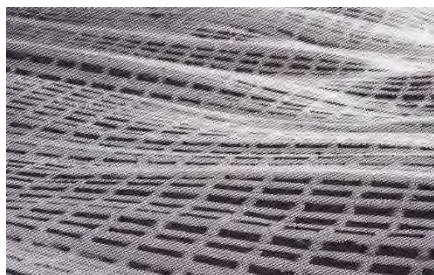


Figure 5.95

which included overlapping of two sheets containing invented topographies consisting of rectangular grids, placed above each other and undulating differently and in that way determined the tilt of the pillars (Fig. 5.95).

The noncongruent relationship of two planes cannot be traced in practice, but only felt through its destabilizing effect. Even though Eisenman in his design process used abstract elements in rational approach to produce unpredictable results reflected in the arrangement of the pillars, the architect resisted describing the memorial as abstract but referred to the design as 'indexical'.³⁶ Eisenman, who in 1995 participated in a competition for the Holocaust memorial in Vienna, remained faithful to his idea that instead of producing meaning, a memorial should question the conditions of horror by creating a 'powerful and evocative spatial experience that will precipitate discussion about the past...[so as] to ensure that...[it] will never [be] repeat[ed]'.³⁷ Well aware of the Adornian doubt about the impossibility of representation after the Holocaust, Eisenman used the tilted ground on which the pillars were installed as an element of displacement for two reasons: as opposed to traditional notion of architecture as site-specific and ground based and in connection to the Nazi ideology of 'Blut and Boden' or the sanctity of the German ground. Hence decomposing the very base of architectural form would

³⁵ Op. cit., p. 211

³⁶ Notion of 'index' was discussed by Rosalind Krauss as a sign that is caused by its referent, without necessarily resembling it—a shadow of a body, for instance. In Godfrey, op. cit., p. 244

³⁷ Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 174; Eisenman's proposal for the Vienna competition consisted of a plaza surrounded by wrinkle-like tall walls, a form derived from a series of overlapping maps from Vienna's ghetto's from 1421 and 1678 with the map of the German Reich after the Nazi 'Anschluss' of 1938. His other proposal for the Jewish Museum of San Francisco (1996) was also developed around the notion of powerful and disturbing spatial experience in which he was trying to evoke Auschwitz—a feeling of loneliness and being lost.' Op. cit., p. 176

counteract its inherent ability of giving meaning.³⁸ By applying this aspect in combination with concrete as material for the pillars, the architect hoped to evoke the feelings of loneliness and disorientation, as described by the survivors in the research Eisenman conducted preceding the project (*Fig. 5.96*).

A final addition to the revised proposal (on the insistence of the minister of culture at the time) was an underground museum space called 'Orte der Information' which was supposed to contribute the pedagogical aspect to the overall concept. The 'Ort' needed to be integrated with the architectural language of the memorial above, finally dedicated in 2005. This was done by adjusting the disposition of the museum, consisting of four different rooms memorializing Holocaust in different ways, so that the exhibition contained within would follow the layout of the field of pillars above³⁹ (*Fig. 5.97*). In this way the pillars can be explained as empty memorial plaques on unidentified graves.



Figure 5.96

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ The four rooms of the museum are as follows: the first room has floor light panels showing last letters and testimonies of victims, organized in the same grid as the pillars above; the second room there is a display of prewar photographs of families accompanied with their fate; the third room introduces an acoustic component as names and some information of the victims are pronounced from the speakers while their names are projected onto the walls; finally the fourth room offers information about the former concentration camps and other sites. All the rooms and their exhibits are in connection with the memorial through their organization which follows the grid and sizes of the pillar's above.

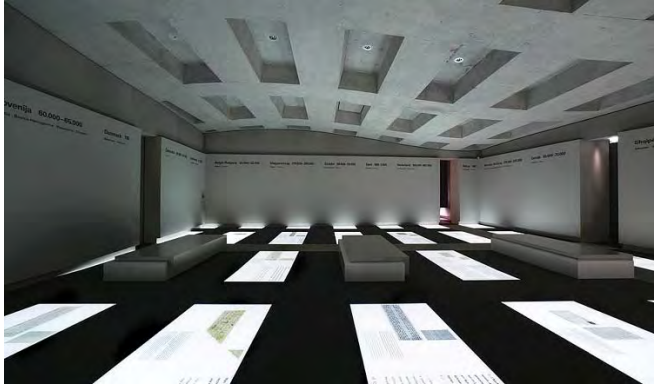


Figure 5.97

Hence in an upside-down world the pillars of the memorial, echoing Tony Smith's work *Die*, are in fact the confirmation of this inversion. In reality, this observation remains in a domain of a personal intellectual investigation. More obvious question about whether the aforementioned fears of creating a claustrophobic hide and seek place that will aid forgetting in place of remembering were justified, introduces a theme in its own right.⁴⁰ This has to be specially considered with the new commercial developments around the site, but also in relation to two later memorials in the adjacent Tiergarten Park, the Monument to Homosexual Holocaust Victims (2008) and the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma victims of National Socialism (2012), (Fig. 5.98; 99).



Figure 5.98



Figure 5.99

While the first invites for a curious peak into its inner content through a small opening and relates with its form and material to the Eisenman's memorial, the latter memorial is conceived as a pavilion set apart for memory. The memorial is designed by Dani Karavan and occupies a portion of the park defined by a 'milk' glass fence inscribed with a historical timeline of the relevant events. The fence acts as a

⁴⁰ See Franziska Bollerey, 'Modesty versus Monumentality: The quieter way of speaking about Holocaust in Europe', in: *Ezelsoren-Bulletin* of the Institute of History of Art, Architecture and Urbanism, IHAAU, vol. 1, 2008, no.2, 25-43

fixed curtain with one entrance, in the form of a short passage leading into the space of memory defined by a central circular basin on the level of the ground.⁴¹ The poetic detail of the memorial is the small triangular platform in the middle of the basin on which a fresh flower is placed every day and as the platform rises, the water overflows the edge. Unlike the adjacent field of pillars, this memorial is precise in its address since the deductive element of the fence fulfils its introductory purpose. The memorial hints the reemerging need for ‘healing’ spaces, a step towards memorialization as more organic and embedded in nature. Recent Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust (2010) by Belzberg Architects, confirms this trend. The museum was designed in terms of organic principles and embedded into the city’s landscape, diverging from the popular narrative approach.⁴² The museum is placed under the ground so that it becomes an organic part of the park (Fig. 5.100). In this particular case though, the undermining of the outer appearance can be related to the museum’s curatorial orientation towards wider thematic inclusion.

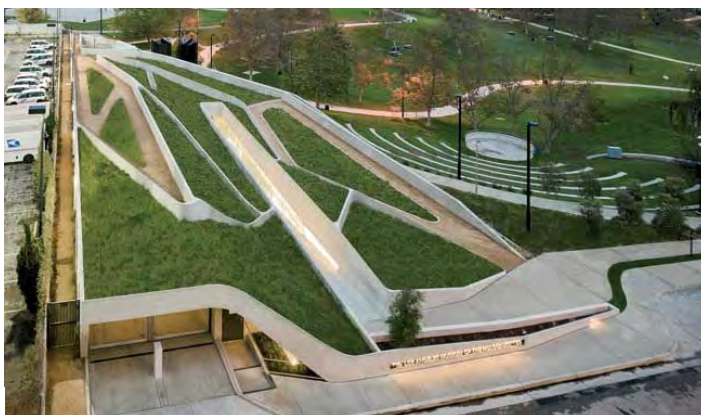


Figure 5.100

Next to exhibiting and documenting Holocaust, the museum talks about other genocides and human rights violations in the world, yet another trend which provoked criticism in regard to the departure

⁴¹ Karavan’s first models of the memorial show only the circular basin without any fence around. Jacobi et. al, op. cit., pp. 240-241

⁴² For instance the Holocaust Memorial Center of Michigan (2004) by Neumann/Smith and Associates or the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center (2009) by Stanley Tigerman. The latter displays an overtly religious underlining, again deploying the notion of *zimzum* together with a distinct use of dark gray and white color. The grey is used to represent the moment of *shevirat ha-kelim*, when the light produced as a consequence of the *zimzum* act destroyed the vessels containing it and gave rise to the evil in the world whereas the white part represents the task of *tikkun olam* as reference to repairing the damage what would here be the education and remembrance. See: Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 279

from particular stories towards more general and consequently more schematic representations.⁴³

The tension that can rise from the commemoration of trauma, burdened with the task to effectively transmit the memory and the need to console the survivors of the event, is well demonstrated in the commemoration of the terrorist attacks of September 11th in New York. The aftermath of the attacks was colored by an ongoing contested debate about appropriate ways to commemorate the event. Almost from the start, two poles became distinct: rebuilding the site or leaving it empty. Unsurprisingly, many architects advocated for building new structures on the ashes of the old while other voices urged for an immaterial - made of light 'phantom building'.⁴⁴



Figure 5.101

A version of this idea became reality only half a year after the attack in 2001. In an annual commemoration of the victims, an installation called 'Tribute in Light', consisting out of two vertical columns of light, is installed at the base of the demolished Twin Towers, piercing the sky on each anniversary of the attacks⁴⁵ (Fig. 5.101).

In the run to create a temporary memorial and to 'reconstruct the void as opposed to reconstructing the buildings',⁴⁶ not much attention was given to the striking similarity of the 'phantom towers' with Speer's Cathedral of Light about which, ironically, The New York Times in the

⁴³ For instance Edward Rothstein criticizes the general approach which deemphasizes the story of the Holocaust instead of getting more particular stories and information that would make the transmitting of memory for the future generations more tangible. See: Edward Rothstein, 'Museum Review: Bearing Witness Beyond Witnesses', in: *The New York Times*, March 24, 2011 (www.query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D03E0DD1231F937A15750C0A9679D8863&ref=edwardrothstein&pagewanted=2, accessed 01.06.2014)

⁴⁴ This was Robert Rosenblum, Professor of art history at New York University, quoted in: Deborah Solomon, 'Art/Architecture; From the Rubble, Ideas for Rebirth', in: *The New York Times*, September 30, 2001 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/30/arts/art-architecture-from-the-rubble-ideas-for-rebirth.html>, accessed 03.06.2014) Among other artists and architects, Louis Bourgeois proposed a tall column topped with a star that seemed to be made out of wax and names of the victims to be chiseled by hand in vertical rows.

⁴⁵ The installation, a project of the Municipal Art Society, started in 2002 as temporary installation and was initially called 'Towers of Light' but the relatives of the victims found the name to be inappropriate since it emphasized the destruction of the buildings more than the victims. The designers were John Bennett and Gustavo Bonevardi of Pronoun Space Studio in Manhattan and artists Julian LaVerdiere and Paul Myoda who had had studios on the 91st floor in one of the Twin Towers.

⁴⁶ David Dunlap, 'From 88 Searchlights, an Ethereal Tribute', in: *The New York Times*, March 4, 2002 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/04/nyregion/from-88-searchlights-an-ethereal-tribute.html?src=pm&pagewanted=1>, accessed 05.06.2014)

1936 wrote as “indescribably beautiful.”⁴⁷ Even though proposals to commemorate victims with light installations that resembled Speer’s project existed in the immediate post-WWII Europe,⁴⁸ such installation would probably provoke severe critique if ever employed as a commemoration project in Germany.⁴⁹

A permanent memorial, on the other hand, was realized after a long process of debating over the meaning and form the memorial was supposed to take.⁵⁰ Once the master-plan for the site was adopted, developed by Studio Daniel Libeskind,⁵¹ an international competition was launched in 2003.⁵² Two sets of concrete guidelines for participants that were initially provided by the commissioner were to a certain level modified by the competition jury with a goal to secure more space for creative solutions by expanding the “competition boundaries”.⁵³ Out of eight finalists, a concept design entitled ‘Reflecting Absence’, designed by architect Michael Arad and landscape architect Peter Walker, was chosen. The winning entry was praised for succinctly capturing the motifs of loss into a memorial “by allowing absence to speak for itself.”⁵⁴ Furthermore, the design was chosen for its simplicity and minimalist aesthetics, as it was explained:

⁴⁷ Peter Chametzky, ‘Global Art, National Values, Monumental Compromises: “German” 9/11 Commemoration in America, “American” Holocaust Commemoration in Germany’, in: *The Massachusetts Review* (50th Anniversary Issue), vol. 50/1-2 (May 2009), pp. 155-180, p. 157

⁴⁸ In 1946 André Bloch, known as Bruyère, proposed a setting for a memorial rally in Compiègne that would have consisted out of twenty kilometer long path along the river Oise, defined by anti-aircraft searchlights. Cohen, op. cit., p. 417

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ The World Trade Center Site Memorial Competition was initiated by the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC). By March 2003 a ‘Memorial Mission Statement’ was formulated by the Advisory Council, originally appointed by the Families Advisory Council. Among other points, the statement urged for the recognition of “the endurance of those who survived, the courage of those who risked their lives to save others, and the compassion of all who supported us in our darkest hours.” James E. Young, ‘The Stages of Memory at Ground Zero’, in: Oren Baruch Stier and J. Shawn Landres (Eds.), *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, Indiana University Press, 2006, pp. 214-235, p. 219

⁵¹ Libeskind’s master plan, entitled ‘Memory Foundations’, was a winner of a competition from 2003 organized by the LMDC. Libeskind’s proposal won against other finalist Think Team, led by architect Rafael Viñoly, which envisioned replications of Twin Towers so that they would commemorate destroyed buildings. Libeskind, on the other hand, offered a plan that was more balanced and which implemented various strategies including rebuilding, reconstructing and commemoration. In the specifications for the urban plan, provided by Libeskind’s studio, a portion of the World Trade Center site was planned for the design of a World Trade Center Site Memorial (later renamed the National September 11 Memorial).

⁵² The competition was considered to be the largest competition in architectural history as it garnered 5,201 entries from 63 nations and 49 US states out of 13,800 registrants. For a purpose of comparing, the competition for Vietnam Veterans Memorial attracted 2,573 registrants and 1,421 final entries.

⁵³ Young, op. cit., 2006, p. 221. The jury feared that potential designers would perceive Libeskind’s plan as an overall memorial in which they would have to insert their own design, hence to create a ‘memorial within a memorial’. The expansion of the competition guidelines by the jury was positively received by the LMDC. Op. cit., p. 222

⁵⁴ Op. cit., p. 232. This quotation is taken from the jury statement issued on 13 January 2004.

‘the voids themselves really seemed to be in keeping with a postwar vocabulary that attempted to articulate absence, which is a very difficult thing to do.’⁵⁵ The designers aimed to evoke ‘a persistent absence, one that isn’t erased by the passage of time.’⁵⁶ In practice, the realization of the memorial met numerous changes and difficulties. It was only after considerable adjustments made to the original design, such as moving the key feature of the memorial – boards with names of the victims- above the ground instead placing them below the area of the destroyed towers, that the memorial was finally constructed⁵⁷ (Fig. 5.102). Arguing that the memorial needs to commemorate the event while remaining an active public space, the designers stressed the idea of using the memorial as a place for ‘work and play.’⁵⁸ The memorial eventually became a fountain inserted in the remaining footprints while the surrounding public space serves as an extension to the memorial in a form of a carefully organized public park (Fig. 5.103). Nearly 3000 names are inscribed into thick bronze parapets of the fountains. The names are arranged in groups, depending on the location where the victims were at the day of the attack. Next to this, the names are positioned according to the ‘meaningful adjacency requests’ whereby relatives and colleagues could ask for particular individual names to be inscribed next to each other, depending with whom they were at the time of the attack. At night, the names appear

⁵⁵ Sam Lubell, ‘Inside the Jury: An Interview with James Young’, in: *Architectural Record* 192, no.2 (February 2004), p. 24. The reception of the memorial has been balancing between, on one hand, the critique of the memorial’s unoriginal appearance and its large scale, and the perception of the memorial as much needed space that will bring hope and normality to the haunted Ground Zero, on the other. See: Rowan Moore, ‘Ground Zero 9/11 memorial flows with mournful splendor’, *The Guardian*, August 15, 2001 (<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/aug/15/ground-zero-memorial-september-9-11>, accessed 05.06.2014); Richard Lacayo, ‘Remains of the Day. At the 9/11 museum, history is preserved in memories and debris’, *Time*, May 26, 2014, pp. 38-41

⁵⁶ Blair Kamin, ‘A First Look at the National September 11 Memorial: A tough work of abstract minimalism, softened by waterfalls and oak trees, seeks to meld remembrance and regeneration’, in: *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 2011, (www.featuresblogs.chicagotribune.com/theskyline/2011/08/a-first-look-at-the-soon-to-open-national-september-11-memorial-a-tough-work-of-abstract-minimalism-.html, accessed 03.06.2014)

⁵⁷ Ted Loos, ‘Architect and 9/11 Memorial Both Evolved Over the Years’, *The New York Times*, September 1, 2011, (http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/arts/design/how-the-911-memorial-changed-its-architect-michael-arad.html?_r=0, accessed 15.09.2015)

⁵⁸ Michael Arad in: Harel Shapira, ‘Reflecting Absence: An Interview with Michael Arad’, *Public Books*, August 30, 2013 (<http://www.publicbooks.org/interviews/reflecting-absence-an-interview-with-michael-arad>, accessed 19.06.2015) Arad argued that public spaces are resilient and that there is no certainty that public memorial can be used only for ‘good purposes’, as he explained: ‘We have to be optimists and hope that people will use public space in a way that is affirmative and not destructive, but you would be naïve to think that it can’t be co-opted and used in a way that will injure other people. It would show more than a little hubris on the part of any designer to say, I’ve designed a space that can only be used for good. But to deny public space altogether would be repressive.’ Ibid. In regard to the issue of a memorial space being also a public space, however, a question could be raised about how public a memorial space actually is or rather what kind of public space it can become?

illuminated since they are perforations which, according to the designer, are made out of ‘the absence of the material’⁵⁹ (Fig. 5.104).



Figure 5.102



Figure 5.103

The process of arranging the names delivered most controversies, but according to the designers, this aspect was also most rewarding in a sense that in this way the memorial, as Arad has argued, ‘brings individual human stories into an arrangement.’⁶⁰ The sunken basins of the memorial are visible in the other part of the memorial site, the underground museum which was opened in 2014. The basins are coated in aluminium and in that way accentuate the ‘ghostly presence of the Twin Towers.’⁶¹ With a focus on deductive aspects of remembering, the museum contains numerous artefacts including the tower footprints, the slurry wall and foundations of the once existing towers, but also the unidentified remains of many victims, one of the facts that proved to be highly controversial.⁶²

⁵⁹ Michael Arad in: ‘Names of the 9/11 Memorial’, *9/11 Memorial*, June 3, 2013 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mxFfaFepyA8>, accessed 16.09.2015)

⁶⁰ The arrangement of the names was initially planned in alphabetical order, with an insignia next to some names, for example a symbol of fire department would accompany a member of a fire brigade. The public protested arguing that it creates a sense of hierarchy among the victims and it would disconnect names of family members as well. At this point Arad proposed ‘meaningful adjacency’ approach which was refused by the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation as an impossible task. Next proposal by Arad was to arrange names randomly, which was deemed unacceptable by the families. The process continued with working on a compromise, but instead of delivering an overarching solution, only more divisions in listing the names were created. Finally in 2006 a decision was made to list the names in nine broad groups to reflect where the person was on the day of the attack. Hence the idea of adjacency request was still applied, with hundreds of request from families that offered their private reasons. As an example Arad recounted a story of a request of a young woman ‘who lost her father on Flight 11, and her best friend from college was working at the North Tower. Flight 11 crashed into the North Tower, and so those two names were side by side. For that family, this is a very meaningful gesture. But what it does for the general visitor who finds out about this is it takes that incomprehensible number of close to 3,000 dead and breaks it down into one individual story that they can relate to on a very personal basis. Story by story, we can all build an appreciation for what happened that day.’ Arad in Shapira, op. cit.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² The remains were removed to a repository in a subterranean space below the museum which is a permanent medical facility where work of identification is planned to be carried out, eventually returning the remains to the victim’s families once they are identified. However, this concept provoked outrage among several families. See Stephen Farrel, ‘In ‘Ceremonial Transfer,’ Remains of 9/11 Victims are Moved to Memorial’, *The New York Times*, May 10 2014



Figure 5.104



Figure 5.105

Contrary to the ambivalence of the entrance pavilion, a deconstructivist transparent structure that should serve as a ‘bridge between two worlds’,⁶³ the museum exhibit was designed with great focus on psychological aspects of mourning through acknowledging the loss, thus taking a role of a witness⁶⁴ (Fig. 5.105). The architecture of the museum connects the artefacts while trying to clearly distinguish the original from the added.⁶⁵

Due to the transparent approach and highly public character of the process, the creation of The National 9/11 Memorial and Museum was a demonstration of contemporary debates surrounding work of

(<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/11/nyregion/remains-of-9-11-victims-are-transferred-to-trade-center-site.html>, accessed, 15.01.2015)

⁶³ This is a description offered by the designer of the pavilion, the Norwegian office Snøhetta (<http://snohetta.com/project/19-national-september-11-memorial-museum-pavilion>, accessed 15.01.2015); The full description is: ‘With its low, horizontal form and its uplifting geometry the Pavilion acts as a bridge between two worlds – between the Memorial and the museum, the above and below ground, the light and dark, between collective and individual experiences. Inclined, reflective and transparent surfaces encourage people to walk up close, touch and gaze into the building.’ Ibid

⁶⁴ In an interview with Dr. JoAnn Difede, director of the Program for Anxiety and Traumatic Stress Studies at New York-Presbyterian Hospital/Weill Cornell Medical Center, the importance of the museum was compared to the importance of having the acknowledgment for someone’s loss. The museum is, as Dr. Difede put it: meant to be a healing environment and a healing experience and we each have the option to view certain artifacts or not view them.’ See Jessica Firger, Hannah Fraser-Chanpong, ‘Visit to 9/11 museum may be cathartic for some; traumatic for others’, CBS News, May 15 2014 (<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/visit-to-911-museum-may-be-cathartic-for-some-too-traumatic-for-others/>, accessed, 15.01.2015)

⁶⁵ On the website of the designer, a New York based architect Davis Brody Bond, it is stated that the architect ‘relied on four principles to guide the design: memory, authenticity, scale and emotion, hoping to provide the most sensitive, respectful and informative experience for visitors. The design team responded to a challenging set of physical conditions and preservation mandates, while considering the sanctity of the site and how authenticity of the place could impact viewers’ emotions. They inherited a fixed set of existing geometries at the site and were faced with the challenge of translating them into a series of coherent spaces that are punctuated by surface, texture, and volume. The sheer scale of the Museum’s culminating space conveys the enormity of the site and reinforces awareness of the absence of what once was there.’ Davis Brody Bond, Architects and Planners, ‘National 9/11 Memorial Museum Receives AIA Honor Award’ (<http://www.davisbrody.com/2015/01/09/national-911-memorial-museum-receives-aia-honor-award/>, accessed, 15.01.2015)

memorialization in which the question of architecture in the service of memory faces multilayered issues. One of the most prominent questions during this process was concerning the role of architecture as an embodiment of the form of memory-work the society chooses for. For example, the final deliberations of the competition jury dismissed proposals that were focused on consoling memorialization and emphasized the beauty and sacredness of the space, but instead sought for a design that would represent an equilibrium between, on the one hand, encouraging redemption and demonstrating the destruction on the other.⁶⁶

A memorial that provoked less emotional debate, but equally contentious, in regard to the preservation of the sense of place with rich history, is the memorialization of the infamous Berlin wall.

Since the discussion concerning best ways to memorialize the Berlin wall began already in 1990, the problematic question tackling whether to reconstruct parts of the wall or not have been prominent.⁶⁷ This proved to be highly problematic against the argument that personal memory would be in danger of obscurity by a ready-made image of the reconstructed parts. Proponents against the reconstruction believed that 'authentic dread cannot be caught in such an installation because the terror was not bound to the objects but to the system' and more importantly that 'the dread belongs to those who experienced it-it is neither conservable nor can it be stimulated.'⁶⁸ The architectural office Kohlhoff & Kohlhoff decided to retain sixty meters of the former 'no man's land' between the two walls as a physical reminder which is inaccessible to visitors since it is closed off on both ends with new stainless steel walls.⁶⁹ The sequence is only visible in

⁶⁶ Next to the 'Reflecting Absence', second round included two other finalists: 'Garden of Lights' by Pierre David with Sean Corriel and Jessica Kmetović, and 'Passages of Light: The Memorial Cloud' by Giesela Baurmann, Sawad Brooks and Jonas Coersmeier. The first proposed planting over the tower footprints in meadows of wildflowers whereas the second was designed as a highly engaging architectural scenography. The jury dismissed the 'Garden of Lights' on the basis of its predominantly redemptive character whereas the latter was not chosen precisely because of its architectural qualities that seemed to overshadow the importance, or rather, its ability to commemorate. See: Young, op. cit., 2006, pp. 226-229

⁶⁷ The German Historic Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum), working on the site at the time, wanted to use it as a combination of an open-air exhibition, a museum and a memorial. One part of the preserved strip was to become a 1:1 reconstruction, the Museum proposing to complete it with authentic pieces from its own collection, to show what the Wall was really like. In Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, 'The Berlin Wall: an archeological site in progress', in: John Schofield, William Gray Johnson and Colleen M. Beck (Eds.), *Matériel Culture: The archaeology of twentieth century conflict*, Routledge 2002, p. 240

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ The inscription on the northern wall says: 'In Erinnerung an die Teilung der Stadt vom 13. August 1961 bis zum 9. November 1989 und zum Gedenken an die Opfer kommunistischer Gewaltherrschaft'

its entirety from the viewing platform of the adjacent documentation center (Fig. 5.106).



Figure 5.106

The rest of the memorial ground can be seen as a museum in the open with a continuous strip of memory in the public space containing the Chapel of Reconciliation,⁷⁰ remnants of the former wall structure together with deductive contents, markings and images of previous times, but also the remains of torn-down houses as well as a memorial to the victims (Fig. 5.107).



Figure 5.107

Both 9/11 memorial and Berlin Wall memorial are dealing with ruins of the past and are naturally conditioned by them. In the situations where there are no physical remains, the architectural memorialization has, possibly, more space for grand gestures, as was the case with Berlin's other memorial and the museum.

Interestingly, the same approach was taken in the winning proposal by the Swedish artist Jonas Dahlberg for Norway's July 22 memorial site competition (2014) commemorating the attacks in Oslo and Utøya,⁷¹ a small island outside of the capital. The artist's presented design depicts a physical incision, a symbolical wound, into the Sørbråten peninsula which faces Utøya (Fig. 5.108). The literal cut into the landscape, with the names of the victims to be engraved on the flat vertical stone surface, was

⁷⁰ Rubble of the former chapel, that used to stand on the same spot but was demolished by the GDR, was used for the construction of the chapel.

⁷¹ On July 22, 2011, the right-wing extremist Anders Bering Breivik had killed 77 people during terroristic attacks in both Oslo government square and Utøya. Breivik argued that he was fighting against multiculturalism, its supporters (Labor Party youth camp) and a "Muslim invasion".

welcomed as radical and brave, as it was explained that ‘the void that is created evokes the sense of sudden loss combined with the long-term missing and remembrance of those who perished.’⁷² It only seems that the ‘healing’ component, such as in the VVM in Washington manifested in the possibility to touch the names intertwined with one’s own reflection, is taken away as a gap will be dividing the wall with names and the viewing gallery⁷³ (Fig. 5.109).



Figure 5.108



Figure 5.109

The realization of the memorial, however, has been postponed due to the opposition of public, namely by the locals of Utøya who perceive the proposed design as intrusive.⁷⁴ In the meantime, a more subtle and nature-friendly approach that strongly involves aspects of ‘healing’ has come to fore: the newly installed memorial at Utøya by architectural team 3RW entitled ‘Lysningen – The Clearing’ (Fig. 5.110). Even though the name suggest similar notions of a void and absence as signifiers of traumatic memory, employed in Dahlberg’s concept, the memorial was designed to change as a structure subordinate to nature and passing of time.⁷⁵ The aspect of mutability thorough natural processes is reinforced by a

⁷² July 22 Memorial, Jury’s evaluation of Jonas Dahlberg’s proposal (www.minnsteder.no/en/the-swedish-artist-jonas-dahlberg-will-make-the-memorial-sites-after-22-july/, accessed 30.05.2014)

⁷³ This aspect will be reintroduced in the other memorial in Oslo where the excavated cut will be moved. The Oslo memorial should consist out of an amphitheatre with a long curved stone wall, with the names of the victims this time at eye level.

⁷⁴ ‘Norway government puts Utøya memorial on hold’, *The Local*, April 28, 2014, (<http://www.thelocal.no/20140428/norway-government-delays>, accessed 30.01.2015)

⁷⁵ The designers explained: ‘When a landscape and it’s people are faced with such a brutal and inhumane event as the one that took place on the 22nd of July 2011, the relationship between them is broken. All of a sudden, the gruesome actions of one man overshadow all other normal connections between these people and their surroundings. Where in other circumstances, one can read the spatial dimensions of a cultural landscape through the practice of normal behavior, the opposite is the case at Utøya. The beautiful characteristics of this space become a landscape of terror. Within this catastrophic paradigm-shift, it is important to focus on the fact that Utøya still is a piece of unique Norwegian nature – this space, in and of itself, does not have any

careful selection of vegetation, but more importantly by a deliberate choice of location for the memorial as a place without 'site-specific history.'⁷⁶



Figure 5.110

The tendency toward involving the viewers not only physically but also in the aspect of participation in creating a memorial seems to become more prominent in contemporary designs. An earlier project – a Monument to Kornati Firefighters (2010) on the Island of Kornat in Croatia, was almost entirely realized by volunteers. Entitled 'Field of Crosses', twelve dry-wall crosses of megalithic dimensions accompanied with a circular 'chapel' that constitute the memorial, were put in place by nearly 3000 participants.⁷⁷ The broad participation in the construction of the memorial was recognized as crucial in terms of collective and individual witnessing, learning and overcoming the trauma created by the unfortunate event in a general feeling described as 'cathartic atonement.'⁷⁸

Similarly, a project called *The Square of the European Promise* by Jochen Gerz that takes participation as a key element.⁷⁹ Surprised by the 1931 'Heroes

memories of the tragedy. The essence of nature is that it can, through transformation, slowly erase all traces of the tragic events that happened here. With the changing of the seasons, as the waves wash away the shore, new growth can begin.' '3RW Wins the competition to design memorial on Utøya', (<http://3rw.no/3rw-wins-the-competition-to-propose-memorial-on-utoya/>, accessed 10.09.2015)

⁷⁶ The architects argued that the location is 'very different from much of the rest of Utøya. No lives were lost at the site of the memorial on that day, and none of the dramatic events took place here. We might talk about the memorial as a kind of void to be filled with the individual's needs to process grief, remember the lives that were lost and detach themselves from the drama that took place elsewhere on the island.' Ibid

⁷⁷ The memorial was designed by Nikola Bašić in order to commemorate the tragic event from 2007. It consists out of twelve (25 meters long and 14,45 meters wide with 1,20 meters average height) crosses assembled in a dry stone super-imposed structure made out of stones used from the site and according to the local tradition. The crosses are, each, dedicated to a member of the fire brigade and are placed on the exact location where their remains were found. The entrance to the memorial is marked by a circular dry stone construction with 15, 45 meter diameter.

⁷⁸ Nikola Bašić, 'A Monument to Kornati Firefighters', *Pogledaj.to*, 27.11.2010 (<http://pogledaj.to/drugestvari/nikola-basic-a-monument-to-kornati-firefighters/>, accessed 4.10.2015)

⁷⁹ In 2006 the city of Bochum invited Gerz to develop a concept for the square in front of the Christ church. The project Gerz developed was consisting of basalt name-plaques, each to contain 600 names, installed in the church and on the square. The names were to be provided by willing participants, regardless their identity. In a competition for the urban development that was organized by the regional government of North-Rhine Westphalia, Gerz's concept was awarded and financial support was provided. In 2009 a foundation stone was laid and 14.726 names from various countries will be inscribed on 21 giant basalt slabs. The project participated in the Ruhr 2010 European Capital of Culture. According to Gerz the message the projects wants to convey is that 'Europe can only exist if people want it to', and furthermore that 'to want Europe means to build upon the cultural patience, solidarity and imagination of those people,

Memorial Hall' in the Christ Church in Bochum where a memorial mosaic accusingly depicts names of the enemy states as opposed to the names of WWI local victims, the artist, loyal to his recognizable approach, invited citizens to let their names be engraved on memorial plaques that will be added to this odd memorial (Fig. 5.111). As a part of participation in the project, next to offering their name, each individual had to make a 'promise' to Europe. Nevertheless this promise remains invisible, much like in Gerz's earlier *The Square of The Invisible Monument* (also known as *2146 Stones-Memorial against Racism*, 1993) in Saarbrücken.



Figure 5.111

By adding names to the existing memorial plaques, the artist indirectly refers also to the memory of WWII after which names of the dead were often added to the existing memorials of WWI. The fact that the new list consists of the living individuals remodels this practice into a new meaning. Along this line, one could only wonder if the Bochum's accusatory memorial plaque anticipated the destruction of Europe in WWII, what kind of prophetic message rests in this publicly made public memorial.

who have not forgotten misery and sorrow, whether they have suffered or caused suffering.' Jochen Gerz in '49th City Talks: Square of the European Promise. A speech by Jochen Gerz in Bochum Museum of Art, January 17, 2007' (<http://europeanpromise.eu/chronology/49th-city-talks/>, Accessed 09.06.2015)

6. Five contemporary memorials as case studies

6.1 Materializing trauma: the 11-M Memorial in Madrid

6.1.1 Context

*'Hace falta mucha fantasía para soportar la realidad'*¹

The Madrid train bombings, commonly referred to as '11-M', were coordinated attacks on the Cercanías commuter rail system in Madrid on the morning of 11 March 2004. Explosions at four stations² killed 191 people, one third of whom were immigrants. Approximately 1,857 people were wounded. Adding to the already traumatic character of the event, there was controversy about its perpetrators.³ 11-M came to be considered the archetype of an 'independent local cell at work and the perpetrators depicted as self-recruited, leaderless terrorists.'⁴ In the days following the attacks, numerous 'grassroots memorials' appeared at the places where the bombs had exploded (*Fig. 6.1*). This outburst of public grief was also enhanced by the fact that the attacks happened just three days before a general election in Spain.⁵

¹ The inscription on the inner membrane of the Atocha 11-M memorial. (It takes a lot of imagination to endure the reality)

² Atocha Station – Three bombs exploded. El Pozo del Tío Raimundo Station – Two bombs exploded in different carriages just as the train was starting to leave the station. Santa Eugenia Station – One bomb exploded. Calle Téllez, approximately 800 meters from Atocha Station – Four bombs exploded in different carriages of the train.

³ The suspicions of the press and of the majority of Spaniards turned immediately to ETA, the Basque nationalist group, against which the outgoing prime minister had preached a policy of force. But with the arrest of a group of Moroccan suspects on the eve of elections, the suspicions of the public were redirected towards 'al Qaeda'.

Spain's two main newspapers took starkly opposing viewpoints when addressing the terrorist attacks of March 11: El País (center-left newspaper) argued there were no legitimate doubts about the Islamist theory, while for El Mundo (center-right nationalist newspaper) the Islamist theory is nothing more than a police set-up. Mathieu Miquel, 'March 11, 2004. The Madrid 3/11 Bombings: Was it really an Attack by 'Islamic Terrorists'?' *Global Research*, November 28, 2009, (<http://www.globalresearch.ca/march-11-2004-the-madrid-3-11-bombings-was-it-really-an-attack-by-islamic-terrorists/16424>, Accessed 30.01.2015)

⁴ Fernando Reinares, 'The Madrid Bombings and Global Jihadism', in: International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (originally published in *Survival*, vol. 52, No. 2, April-May 2010, pp. 83-104), April 17, 2010. (<http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/tabid/66/Articlsid/816/currentpage/7/Default.aspx>, accessed 30.01.2015)

⁵ The national government, ruled by the People's Party (Partido Popular), in the early moments following the attacks claimed the ETA as responsible. When evidence pointed to the possibility that an Islamic extremist group was behind the massacre, the ETA theory lost weight. If Islamic extremists were responsible, the attack could have been perceived by the electorate to be a consequence of the Spanish government's support of the invasion of Iraq. The opposition-Spanish Socialist



Figure 6.1

So many of the messages, next to the photographs of the victims and other objects expressing private grief, were directed at events in the political arena. Massive protests and public mourning were explained as a reaction to corruption, with the aim of pre-empting any possible manipulation by the political powers that be.⁶

The research project entitled *The Archive of Mourning*⁷ started after the first outburst of public mourning, with two goals: firstly, to archive and analyse the displays of mourning and thereby create a heritage collection of the materials deposited at the places of grieving; and secondly, to analyse the very process of mourning. All the artefacts at bombing sites were removed after three months, because Spanish Railways (RENFE) wanted to return to normal working and because its workers were complaining that the spontaneous memorials were too confrontational to be faced on daily basis.⁸ As the collection of candles,

Workers Party (PSOE) led by Jose Luis Zapatero received more votes than expected as a result of the government's handling of the 11 March 2004 Madrid train bombings.

⁶ The demonstrations took place on 12th and 13th of March and 11 million people participated. There are few factors that have to be considered in relation to these protests. Firstly are the demonstrations that happened previously against the war in Iraq and government propaganda in favor of the war and secondly it is the issue of mourning of victims of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) which was used as a tool of legitimization during Franco's dictatorship by which the ones who died for the state were memorialized while the dead 'enemies' were subjects of forgetting. See Cristina Sánchez-Carretero and Carmen Ortiz, 'Grassroots Memorials as Sites of Heritage Creation', *The Culture and Globalization Series 4, Heritage, Memory & Identity* (Eds.) Helmut Anheier, Yudhishtir Raj Isar, Sage Publications Ltd., 2011, pp. 106-114

⁷ See: Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, Antonio Cea, Paloma Díaz-Mas, Pilar Martínez and Carmen Ortiz, 'On Blurred Borders and Interdisciplinary Research Teams: The Case of the 'Archive of Mourning'', *Forum: Qualitative Research Sozialforschung*, Volume 12, No. 3, Art 12, September 2011 (<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1737/3237> accessed 18.07.2013)

⁸ Op. cit., p. 109; the employees of the RENFE published a letter, in the newspaper of the workers union, ending with these words: 'we ask for the candles in the entrance to the station to be removed, and that a permanent monument be built

dried flowers, messages and other objects started to become an obstacle, in June 2004 'cybershrines' known as Espacios de Palabras were installed at the entrances of Atocha⁹ and El Pozo stations, so that people could leave messages of condolence in an electronic form until a permanent memorial was built. These 'video walls' attracted a wide audience of people interested in leaving messages of condolence, and were therefore recognized as powerful instruments of living memory, whose meaning was shared and instantly understood. Following the installation of these temporary shrines, many argued that the new permanent memorials might never achieve the same effect in engaging the public.¹⁰ Referring to Picasso's *Guernica* and its powerful representation of the horrors of war, exhibited at the Queen Sofia Art Centre in Madrid, one British historian remarked that the 'video walls' at Atocha station were not Picasso - they appeared after the 'real Guernica' happened in Madrid on 11 March. They were instead perceived as appropriate modes of representation in all their banality and lack of artistic grandeur. For, as one journalist argued, 'this war will be won or lost not in some grand showdown but in a trillion tiny everyday encounters...'¹¹ Joining these electronic efforts to encourage human interaction, on the first anniversary of the tragedy another

nearby. We ask for respect for the memory of the dead, and for the grief of the survivors. Basically we ask that we be allowed to overcome this tragedy.' Ibid.

⁹ Madrid Atocha (Spanish: Estación de Madrid Atocha, also named Madrid Puerta de Atocha) is the largest railway station in Madrid. It is the primary station serving commuter trains (Cercanías). The name Atocha has become attached to the station because of the nearby basilica dedicated to Our Lady of Atocha. The present building, designed by Alberto de Palacio Elissagne in collaboration with Gustave Eiffel, was inaugurated in 1892 after fire damaged the old station called *Estación de Mediodía*. In 1985 a project of remodeling of the station began following the design of Rafael Moneo.

¹⁰ After more than 65.000 people left their messages of condolence in the 'video walls', Juan Miguel Hernández Leon, then director of Madrid's Higher Technical School of Architecture, argued that the displays of flowers, candles, photographs, and notes at the three train stations where the bombings occurred - displays that have now been replaced by the video walls - may remain an unrivaled tribute to those lost on March 11. Lisa Abend and Geoff Pingree, 'Spain's path to 3/11 memorial', *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 14, 2004 ([http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0714/p07s01-woeu.html/\(page\)/2](http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0714/p07s01-woeu.html/(page)/2)), accessed 30.01.2015)

¹¹ Timothy Garton Ash, 'Our new Guernica', *The Guardian*, Thursday 10 March 2005, (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/mar/10/spain.comment> accessed: 18.07.2013); Ash described the 'video walls' as: '*The memorial to the victims in Atocha station is no Picasso. At first glance, it could be two self-service ticket machines. On closer examination, these turn out to house metal keyboards on which you can type a message of commemoration or solidarity, linked to a scanned image of your hand. Between the two memory machines hang large white cylinders on which people can write whatever they like. "Never again", featured several times. "Aznar, Bush and Blair are the assassins." And a voice of touchingly ungrammatical Polish optimism: "Don't stay in hopeless. Polska."*'; Ibid

memorial was inaugurated in the Parque del Retiro. Comprising 192¹² olive and cypress trees planted on an elevated mound symbolically surrounded by a channel of water, this was originally known as the Forest of the Departed (Bosque de los Ausentes). Later, however, out of respect for the survivors and the families of the victims, who argued that those killed in the attack will remain forever present in their hearts, it was renamed the Forest of Remembrance (Bosque del Recuerdo). This is how it is known today. The space provides natural meditative surroundings, with each tree a unique component recalling the individuality of each victim – a concept which possibly inspired the memorial to victims of yet another tragic terrorist attack, in London, just few months after the inauguration of Forest of Remembrance.¹³ Considering the importance of the events of 11 March, their scale and the great public interest displayed in the spontaneous memorials, the idea of creating an official permanent memorial at Atocha station started to take shape. Originally, the national and city governments each planned to dedicate separate memorials, but eventually it was decided to focus on a single competition.¹⁴ Two leading political parties were involved in the erection of the Atocha memorial, since the Ministry of Public Works and Transport was controlled by the socialists (PSOE) and Madrid City Council by the People's Party (PP). Consequently, the families of the victims were split into two factions, which ultimately restricted their participation in the design process. One of the new memorial's key purposes was to incorporate messages left at the spontaneous ones at the bombing sites. Even with the decision to create one memorial to commemorate the 191 victims of 11-M, some still questioned its purpose, arguing that it should also commemorate victims of previous terrorist attacks in Spain.¹⁵

¹² The number of trees in the park commemorates the 191 civilian victims of the 2004 Madrid train bombings and the Special Forces agent who died in the attacks on 11 March 2004.

¹³ Attacks in London occurred on July 7, 2005 taking 52 lives. The memorial was inaugurated in 2009 in Hyde Park in London and comprises of 52 columns standing at close distance, each individually cast in order to give them identity.

¹⁴ Explaining the decision, Minister of Development Magdalena Alvarez said: 'Initially we thought that we [the ministry] would put our monument inside the station, and the city government would erect theirs outside. But we realized that that it didn't make sense, since our goals are the same, and the message is the same.' Abend, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ There is no national memorial in Spain for more than 850 victims claimed by ETA's terroristic attacks in Spain over the 3 decades before 11-M.

6.1.2 Architecture

Following an open competition in November 2004,¹⁶ the task of creating the 11-M memorial was entrusted to a team of five young architects working under the name FAM Arquitectura y Urbanismo SLP.¹⁷ As a motto for the memorial, they chose '*Light dedicates the moment of the day for each person*'. The initial architectural idea was to create a sacred space for the bereaved and in memory on the victims. The memorial was imagined as a sort of oasis in the middle of the busy traffic roundabout around Atocha station. Because of this, noise was the first practical problem the design had to address. Despite the competition brief requesting designs for the roundabout space only, the winning team felt it inadequate to confine their design solely to this portion of the location, and so decided to take a risk by suggesting that the main memorial space be situated beneath the boundary defined in the competition. In this way the idea of creating a serene and intimate space, despite the noisy surroundings, became more achievable. The main guideline in this underground area was to achieve quality of space similar to an 'underwater experience'¹⁸ (Fig. 6.2).



Figure 6.2

At the beginning of the design process, the team created multiple models carved out of blocks of ice in order to emphasize light as a focus of their overall design. Despite this fragile and poetic idea of light as an immaterial component in the creation of space, however, the actual memorial had to be built from materials resistant to the

¹⁶ The competition was organized by the city council and the Ministry of Public Works - Ministerio de Fomento. Almost 300 proposals were presented for the competition.

¹⁷ FAM- *Fascinante Aroma a Manzana*; the name means *Fascinating Smell of Apple*, established in 2002. *Members of the team were:* Esaú Acosta, Mauro Gil-Fournier, Raquel Buj, Miguel Jeanicke and Pedro Colón de Carvajal.

¹⁸ Interview with Buj+Colón arquitectos (Pedro Colón de Carvajal and Raquel Buj), April 2011, Madrid

aggressive surroundings. Yet at the same time they had to be translucent, to allow sunlight to penetrate the introverted space from ever-changing angles and so accentuate different victims' names inscribed on the walls of the memorial.¹⁹ One of the initial ideas was to create an organic, blob-like structure which would bear the statements of public mourning.²⁰ After consulting engineering experts, however, during the design process the organic form was replanned so as to be retained within a cylindrical architectural form, making it fully visible only from the interior space of the memorial. The fact that survivors were excluded from the design process was perceived as a mitigating factor by the designers in a sense that they could continue to pursue their work without needing to meet compromises in their design concept.

The memorial was inaugurated on 11 March 2007 and, as imagined by the winning team, had two levels: the quiet underground space and a prominent marker at street level (*Fig. 6.3; 4*). The underground part is accessible from Atocha station, where it is divided from the station hall by an uneven glass façade, creating a hazy membrane between the two environments: the busy realm of the station and the silent, meditative room of the memorial. The entrance to the memorial is a large glass door leading firstly to a small darkened vestibule with the victims' names printed in alphabetical order on an illuminated frosted glass panel. A second glass door leads into the main space, which can accommodate a maximum of 200 people at any one time (*Fig. 6.5*). This memorial space is empty, except for a long bench positioned at the entrance. Echoing the idea of an 'underwater experience', the interior walls are designed as reflective dark blue surfaces, while the edges of the space are not easy to define. This was achieved by juxtaposing the walls of the central space and the glass façade towards the station hall in an angular position. The main source of daylight light is a round central opening in the ceiling, which reveals messages of condolence in ETFE foil,²¹ translated into multiple languages²² (*Fig. 6.6*).

¹⁹ In later stages, names of the victims were replaced by the messages of condolence left on the site as part of the public spontaneous mourning.

²⁰ The messages of public had to go through 'a political filter', so no texts about Al Qaida or ETA were allowed to be inscribed in the memorial.

²¹ Ethylene tetrafluoroethylene, ETFE, a fluorine based plastic, was designed to have high corrosion resistance and strength over a wide temperature range. ETFE is a polymer and its source-based name is poly (ethene-co-tetrafluoroethene). ETFE has a very high melting temperature, excellent chemical, electrical and high energy radiation resistance properties.

²² There are around 20.000 messages inscribed on the foil and all of them were selected, among numerous messages left at the station during the spontaneous mourning, by the designing team.

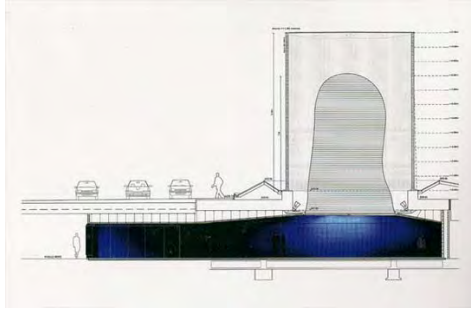


Figure 6.3



Figure 6.4

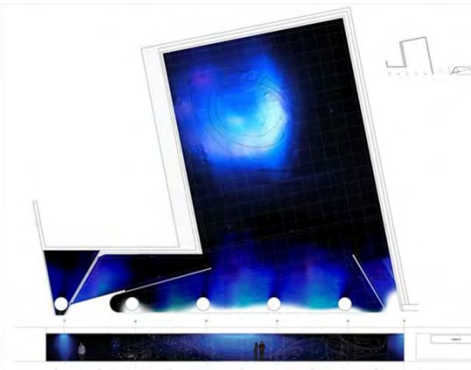


Figure 6.5



Figure 6.6

The transparent, organic form of the membrane allows for the outside part, the cylindrical tower,²³ to be fully visible as the text swirls upward towards the glass beams holding up the roof of the structure.²⁴ Also visible are large lights installed at the edge of the opening and directed upwards towards the roof of the cylinder. At night, the lights accentuate the cylinder and the effect on the outer appearance, with the light filtered through the glass bricks, is a reminiscent of candlelight as the cylinder displays a soft light with a changing quality (Fig. 6.7). Protruding from the roundabout, the 140-tonne, 11-metre high oval glass cylinder, symbolically representing the date of the event, the eleventh of March, is made from approximately 15,000 curved glass bricks. These were glued in place using a translucent adhesive, causing small deviations which are still visible on the outside skin of the cylinder.²⁵

During the day, and depending on the angle of the sun, the organic form of the cylinder's inner membrane is slightly visible as rays of sunlight break through the glass brick façade (Fig. 6.8). By the time of its inauguration, the memorial had attracted great interest due to the fact that the controlled environmental conditions needed within the construction site meant that it had to be completely concealed from the eyes of the public. That enclosure lent an air of mystery and suspense to the project; as one of the designers noted, 'It became the mysterious place everyone wanted to see – like a magician's hat.'²⁶



Figure 6.7

²³ Initially, FAM intended to etch the text on the glass blocks which proved prohibitively expensive. A 3D model in Rhino software was used to develop the freeform shape of the ETFE lining, which floats within the space and is held in place by a 60mm steel tube which follows the base of the wall. See: Hattie Hartman, 'Madrid Memorial', in: *Architects Journal*, 10 January, 2008, pp. 40-42

²⁴ The roof of the glass structure consists out of 5 glass beams with a length of 8, 50 m that are supporting 12 glass top plates. In order to achieve cylindrical form, the blocks made of borosilicate glass had to be manufactured in round shapes, convex on the one side, concave on the other.

²⁵ This sort of structure was never done before and architects tested it on models on which it worked well. Everything was done for the first time and the 15.000 glass bricks used in the construction of the cylinder were glued together directly on the building site.

²⁶ Hartman, op. cit., p. 42



Figure 6.8

6.1.3 Effect

The 11-M memorial was unarguably a project of architectural experimentation in search of a beautiful effect. Its contemporary materialization, namely the structure of the cylinder, testifies to this. At the same time, objects and messages that continue to appear at the site allude to the memorial's fixed character. The protruding cylinder is prominently situated in front of the station and in the middle of the roundabout, but the ambiguity of its purpose is perhaps its most powerful feature. The abstract cylindrical shape might serve as a sign to indicate its hidden content, but it could easily be interpreted as a somewhat odd part of the station's technical space. Upon noticing the collections of dried and fresh flowers, candles and other objects placed at the cylinder's base, however, that last conclusion would suddenly seem odd.

Those objects are an indication of the apparent need to express personal respect for the memory of the victims and to memorialize the whole tragic event at the exact place it occurred – even if that means risking one's own life by crossing the heavy traffic surrounding the cylinder. The initial outburst of public grief is memorialized in the apex of the memorial, the membrane, but it is not possible to add new messages of condolence. The space inside the memorial is not intended as a place to leave objects of any kind, instead being maintained as a 'clean' and sacred place.

The memorial's technical performance is largely dependent on good maintenance, one of the most significant aspects in securing its future life. The effects of a poor maintenance strategy are immediately

visible. The inner ATF²⁷ system supporting the membrane should actually improve technically over time, as long as sufficient pressure is maintained constantly within the space by controlling air intake and extraction. However, this tangible requirement has been difficult to meet in reality since the entrance and exit doors supposed to assure pressure stability have not been controlled properly and the equipment installed to maintain that pressure has been operating only during the memorial's opening hours. The combination of these factors has resulted in active deterioration of the inner membrane, which continues to this day even though the main entrance to the memorial is controlled by a doorkeeper who allows only a certain number of visitors to enter the narrow access vestibule before the door into the main space is opened (*Fig. 6.9*). With this in mind, the risk the architects took in relying on such a highly sophisticated system for the overall design to work properly seems a questionable choice. In fact, the memorial's restoration might become an issue only few years after its dedication.



Figure 6.9

New adjustments, such as making the original entrance door the only way of accessing the memorial, do have their advantages in the sense that visitors, not being able to enter the space immediately, understand its importance more clearly. A doorkeeper regulating their flow introduces a notion of sanctity, of the memorial as a protected

²⁷ The ATF™ System is based upon the technology of Alternating Tangential Flow, created by the action of a diaphragm moving upwards and then downwards within a pump head, connected to a filter housing and attached to a standard bioreactor. The interest in the system is due to the surprising results that this simple technology offers.

realm in a midst of a busy station hall. Upon entering the vestibule and while waiting for the first entrance door to be closed so that the second one can open, visitors are immediately presented with the names of the victims (*Fig. 6.10*). Even though the relatives of the victims did not participate in the creation of the memorial, it was their wish that the names not be inscribed inside the cylinder but instead listed in the entrance foyer.²⁸ Visitors are thus forced to ponder them for few seconds, and possibly realize the scale of the tragic event. Both physically and semantically, the entrance is a transitional space towards the space of absence waiting ahead. Once in that main space, the blurred reality of Atocha station, still visible through the glass façade on the right, seems even more distant (*Fig. 6.11*).



Figure 6.10

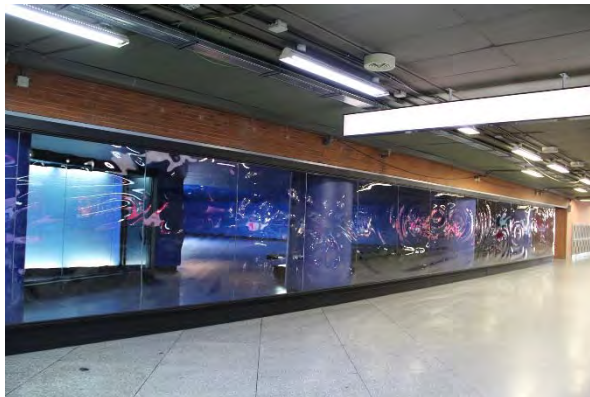


Figure 6.11

At the entrance it is possible to obtain more information about 11-M from small leaflets which are placed discreetly on the adjacent bench. These are the only historical information provided anywhere in the memorial. Stripped of any educational or informative material, the

²⁸ Hartman, op. cit., p. 42

memorial itself is a space of experience. The position and intensity of the daylight provided by the central opening, and the darkened corners of the 'blue' space, do create the intended feeling of an 'underwater experience' (Fig. 6.12). Visitors are invited to move around the space at will, but the central opening is the focal point and so acts as a magnet. Their attention is immediately drawn to the source of light, making them gaze skywards, where they read sentences about peace, hope and sorrow. The effect is similar to that inside the Neue Wache, where Tessenow's oculus becomes the focal point of a design in which the light defines the space. But rather than an enlarged sculpture of Käthe Kollwitz's *Mother with her Dead Son* – which was added later – standing in the beam of light, at the Atocha memorial people are invited to enter the domain of light themselves. They become part of an almost religious experience, as depicted in Hieronymus Bosch's paintings. Since all its details augment the notion of a sacred space, the material performance of the memorial ought to be impeccable.



Figure 6.12

In reality, however, they are not and this represents a possible obstacle. Due to its rapid deterioration, whole segments of cylinder's inner foil are damaged to the point that certain sections of text are no longer legible – which represents a great distraction in the overall experience (Fig. 6.13). On the other hand, even without its content of words and with its obvious disappearance, the cylinder of light would still create a sacred atmosphere. But its meaning would be drastically changed. Without the words of human compassion,²⁹ the memorial

²⁹ In a memorial called 'Spiral of Gratitude' (2015), dedicated to the fallen and injured San Francisco Police Officers, installed in Public Safety Building in San Francisco, artists Shimon Attie and Vale Bruck used strikingly similar features to the 11M memorial, namely the cylinder with inscribed words of hope and mourning spiraling toward an oculus. Differently than in 11M, however, the text is firmly imprinted onto cylinder's interior, which is suspended and made of glass, and is in

would be an empty underground space of absence, a space of death from which it is possible to see the light; but what would it mean were the words of hope and condolence to disappear from it? Certainly, the space is much more comforting than, say, Libeskind's Holocaust Tower at the Jewish Museum in Berlin, but stripped of its essential component it would refer mainly to trauma and the impossibility of addressing the tragedy of the destruction of human life. In this context, one cannot escape thinking of the drawings on the Roman tomb of Cecilia Metella, which Sir John Soane used to illustrate the monument 'of the mutability of all human expectations.'³⁰ Echoing the natural psychological process of mourning and wound-healing, the memorial succumbs to time, even though unintentionally.

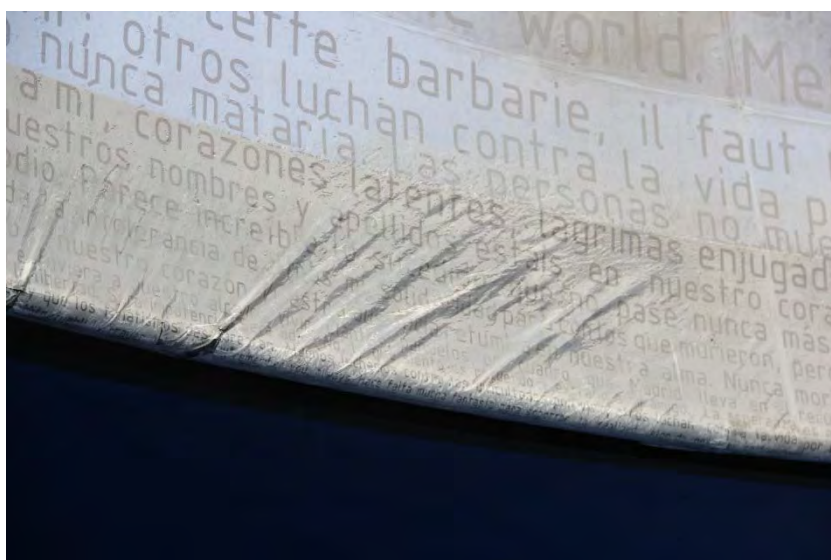


Figure 6.13

that way fixed. See: Shimon Attie, 'Spiral of Gratitude'(2011), artist portfolio (<http://shimonattie.net/portfolio/spiral-of-gratitude/>, accessed 02.07.2015)

³⁰ Soane quoted in Giles Waterfield (Ed.), *Soane and Death: The Tombs and Monuments of Sir John Soane*, Dulwich Picture Gallery, exhibition catalogue, 1996, p. 78.

6.2 Against the banalization of memory: the Steilneset Memorial in Vardø

6.2.1. Context

*'Things that have broken down or have been ripped apart
can be joined and mended'
Louise Bourgeois³¹*

The 17th century scholarly discipline of 'Demonology', which focused on the recognition of humans who made pacts with the Devil, paved the way for numerous witch hunts across Europe.³² In East Finnmark, northern Norway, at a series of trials inspired by the eagerness to impose Lutheranism as the state religion of the combined kingdom of Norway and Denmark under King Christian IV,³³ 135 people were accused of witchcraft and 77 women and 14 men were eventually sentenced to death. Most were burnt at the stake after first being subjected to 'ordeal by water' and then various forms of torture at Vardøhus Castle in Vardø, during which many admitted their collaboration with the Devil.³⁴ Bearing in mind that the main means of communication among the general population at the time was word of mouth, information about the court proceedings and forced

³¹ Quoted in Anne Karin Jortveit, 'A Place Never to be Forgotten', in: Line Ulekleiv (Ed.), *Steilneset Memorial: To the Victims of the Finnmark Witchcraft Trials*. Louise Bourgeois, Peter Zumthor, Forlaget Press, 2001, pp. 55-61, p. 55

³² Already in 1487 the work entitled *Malleus maleficarium*, by two German Dominican inquisitors, Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger, was published as a handbook for witch hunters. In 1580 another manual used for witchcraft trials was published in France-*De la démonomanie des sorciers* by Jean Bodin. Around the same time other voices appeared, such as Johann Weyer in Germany or Reginald Scot in England, who argued for more rational explanations of so called witchcraft.

³³ King Christian IV issued in 1617 a decree defining a notion of a witch. The witchcraft trials in Finnmark, often referred to as panic trails as one trial was leading to the next, were going on between 1600-1692 or at the end of the period of prosecution of witches all over Europe and compared to the population of Finnmark which was only 3000 or 0.8% of population of Norway, 16% of witchcraft trials in Norway took place in Finnmark. Most of the information is known from the court records from the trials, entered into protocols that are now archived in the Regional State Archives of Tromsø. Liv Helene Willumsen, *Steilneset: Memorial to the Victims of the Finnmark Witchcraft Trials*, Transl. Katjana Edwardsen, Fålt & Hässler, Oslo, 2011. See also: Liv Helene Willumsen, *The Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, Northern Norway, (Bergen, 2010)

³⁴ Suspected people, mostly Norwegian women (out of 77 women, six were from the group of indigenous Sami people while out of 24 accused men 16 were Samis), were imprisoned in the 'witches' hole' in Vardøhus Castle where most severe tortures were performed. Two thirds of all the sentences to the stake were passed at the Castle. Sentences proceeded after the so called 'water ordeal' during which the suspected of a witchcraft were tied and thrown into the water, considered to be a sacred element to repel the evil, and if the person would float on the surface of the water, he or she would be proven guilty whereas sinking was an indication of innocence. Willumsen, 2011, op. cit.

confessions spread quickly and usually led to so-called ‘panics’, resulting in more trials.³⁵ The exact site of the burnings is not known, not least because it is possible that they took place at various locations in the Vardø area during the hundred years of the witchcraft trials.³⁶ However, they are assumed to have been conducted at the site where the Steilneset Memorial now stands, with a view of the local church, its cemetery and Vardøhus Festning, a 13th century fortress³⁷ (Fig. 6.14; 15).



Figure 6.14



Figure 6.15

³⁵ The main three panics in Finnmark took place in 1620-1621, 1652-1653, and 1662-1663. Ibid

³⁶ The exact site of the prosecution cannot be located without archaeological excavation and even then there will exist many uncertainties in relation to this question. Maps from the 16th Century name the Place Steilneset at the Galgeberg, as a place of executions. Information from the correspondence with Reidun L. Andreassen, special adviser-Finnmark fylkeskommune. See also: Nasjonale turistveger, Steilneset Memorial (<http://www.nasjonaleturistveger.no/en/varanger/steilneset>, accessed 20.09.2013)

³⁷ The present structure of the fortress dates from 1734. The fort is an octagonal fortification built from 1734 to 1738.

The 91 victims of the witchcraft trials represent a significant number of people in this extreme north-eastern part of Norway. The town of Vardø, with about 2500 inhabitants, is a gateway to the Northeast Passage and the Barents Sea, and the administrative centre of the region. The local council's initiative to build a memorial to the victims, first mooted in 2000, had several underlying reasons. First, as a reminder of how 'the injustice of an implacable judiciary affects a community'³⁸ – a topic still highly relevant in our contemporary society. Moreover, the distant reality of the 17th century's omnipresent fear of the evil force converting people into sorcerers, able to cast death spells and curses on others, has encouraged a somewhat banal perception of the subject associated with popular cinema and literature dealing with the mystical powers of evil and good, as exemplified by such works as *Lord of the Rings*.³⁹ This development was recognized as endangering historical knowledge of the infamous witchcraft trial period in Northern Norway, and its victims, and was therefore moulded into an argument for creating the memorial as a tool to shed more light on facts that are hard to comprehend today due to the intervening passage of some 400 years. There is also very scant knowledge of the victims, except from the archived transcripts of the trials, which are the only reliable information serving as a reminder of the tragic outcomes they delivered. These events are also now perceived as unjust due to the fact that most of the victims were women from poor families, usually employed as domestic servants in richer households.⁴⁰

The Norwegian Public Roads Administration (Statens Vegvesen), joined the local initiative to build a memorial in 2006, as part of its development programme National Tourist Routes in Norway, commissioned by Norwegian government.⁴¹ Eventually, this

³⁸ Willumsen, op. cit., np.

³⁹ *The Lord of the Rings* is a film series consisting of three epic fantasy adventure films directed by a New Zealand film director Sir Peter Robert Jackson (1961). The movies are based on the novel *The Lord of the Rings* by a British writer John Ronald Reuel Tolkien (1892-1973). The films are subtitled *The Fellowship of the Ring* (2001), *The Two Towers* (2002) and *The Return of the King* (2003). They were distributed by New Line Cinema.

⁴⁰ Data about the age of the victims is not complete, but the documents indicate that one out of five accused women were or had been maidservants. It is also registered that six young girls were at one point submitted to a witchcraft trial, but were all acquitted. Ibid

⁴¹ The local initiative was taken by Reidun L. Andreassen, a leader of the Millennium committee for the historical project which was opened in 2005, in cooperation with the local museum. The project which consisted of a Pomormuseum and a Cultural path showing the high lights in Vardø's history was not realized. On this path the memorial of witchcraft was one point. Before the Norwegian Public Roads Administration got in contact with the local initiative in 2006, there were several ideas about the memorial before it was decided to go for the Zumthor/Bourgeois project. - Information from the correspondence with Reidun L. Andreassen, special adviser-Finnmark fylkeskommune. See also: Jan Andresen, 'Foreword', in: Line

collaboration led to the organization of a new memorial committee consisting of representatives from Vardø town council, Finnmark county council, Varanger Museum and the Public Roads Administration. The Memorial committee invited the artist Louise Bourgeois and the architect Peter Zumthor, who had previously collaborated on several projects, to design the memorial space. Both were recognized as leading figures in their respective fields and their collaboration on this project was considered complementary: 'Zumthor contributes an almost romantic understanding of poetic form and the sensuality of materials, whereas Bourgeois has a more brutal focus on human vulnerability.'⁴²

The memorial was finally dedicated on 23 June 2011, by Queen Sonja of Norway.

6.2.2. Architecture

The overall concept, consisting of two separate buildings, is the result of a collaborative effort between the artist and the architect. Referred to as 'a line and a dot',⁴³ the two distinctive parts are defined by their purpose: the commemoration and evocation of the trauma resulting from the act of burning people for witchcraft.

Without making a clear distinction between a monument and a memorial as two different concepts for the preservation of memory, Zumthor reflected on traditional sculptural monuments as boring. As he put it:

*'I tried to do everything possible here not to have a general on the horse, but an emotional space that brings you as close as possible to the historical dimension.'*⁴⁴

At the same time, the architect explained that his approach to architectural design is similar to that of a sculptor, in that materials and space are the compositional tissue.⁴⁵

Ulekleiv (Ed.), *Steilneset Memorial: To the Victims of Finnmark Witchcraft Trials*, Louise Bourgeois, Peter Zumthor, Forlaget Press, Oslo, 2011, p. 15. National Tourist Routes program involves eighteen locations along the roads between Jæren to Varanger on which a specific architectural objects emphasizes the location and the landscape.

⁴² Svein Rønning, 'The Damned, the Possessed and the Beloved', in: Ulekleiv, 2011, op. cit., p. 21

⁴³ Christopher Turner, 'Arctic Fire', in: *ICON* No. 102, December 2011, pp. 64-72, p. 70. Upon Zumthor presented his design proposal to Bourgeois, she responded with the installation of an eternal flame to be housed in the adjacent pavilion. The final result, Zumthor explains, is about a line which is his and a dot which is hers.

⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 71

⁴⁵ Robin Pogrebin, 'Pritzker Prize Goes to Zumthor', in: *The New York Times*, Published online April 12, 2009

Furthermore, in an attempt to avoid any possible symbolism and premature meaning that might endanger and thereby overtake the design, Zumthor discussed the idea of a 'pure construction' as previously embodied in his proposed design for the former Gestapo Headquarters in Berlin⁴⁶ (Fig. 6.16). That construction was imagined as a working unity of only two structural elements: a beam and a screw assembled together to form a sort of so called 'stafwerk' which would create a void inside.⁴⁷



Figure 6.16

Almost twenty years later after this proposal, which was never fully realized, he returned to the same idea for the Steilneset Memorial. One section, the Memorial Hall, is a longitudinal building consisting of sixty A-frames constructed from just two elements: beams and screws. The architect explained that he was inspired by the horizontality⁴⁸ of the Arctic shoreline of the Barents Sea. This 125-metre long structure supports a hand-sewn white textile fibreglass sailcloth perforated by 91 small window frames at varying heights. The interior of the Memorial Hall thus develops as a long, narrow hallway with a walkway

(<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/13/arts/design/13pritzker.html?adxnli=1&ref=pritzkerprize&adxnli=1378812236-K4ENLPEAFFI0NvJVe8938w>, accessed 02.11.2015)

⁴⁶ In 1993 Zumthor won the competition for a museum and documentation center, to document the horrors of Nazism, planned to be built on the site of Gestapo headquarters in Berlin. Zumthor's submission called for an extended three-story building with a framework consisting of concrete rods. The project, called the 'Topography of Terror', was partly built and then abandoned when the government decided not to go ahead for financial reasons. The unfinished building was demolished in 2004.

⁴⁷ Peter Zumthor, Royal Gold Medal 2013 Lecture: Constructing Presence in Architecture, February 2013 (<http://vimeo.com/60017470#>, accessed 05.06.2015)

⁴⁸ Turner, op. cit., p. 67

reminiscent of some of Zumthor's earlier work, including a shelter for the Roman ruins at Chur.⁴⁹ In fact, references to shelters with elongated walkways are a recurring theme in the architect's oeuvre.⁵⁰ In contrast to the running scaffold made out of wooden frames of the *Memorial Hall*, clearly referencing the traditional timber fish-drying structures standing along the shores of northern Norway, for the design of the adjacent pavilion Zumthor found his inspiration in welding goggles⁵¹ (Fig. 6.17).



Figure 6.17

As a result of this reference, the contrast is indeed striking since it is materialized as a dark glass pavilion housing Louise Bourgeois' installation, entitled *The Damned, the Possessed, and the Beloved* - a name clearly reflecting the artist's perception of the task and those in whose memory it was undertaken (Fig. 6.18; 19). Enveloped by the dark glass box, this work has recognizable features of Bourgeois' dedicated interest in the tension between an isolated individual and the oppressive collective.⁵² The artist was inspired by Zumthor's ideas for the design of the memorial to the point where she claimed that, 'He

⁴⁹ Shelter for Roman Ruins in Chur, Switzerland by Peter Zumthor was realized in 1986. A concept was to design a protective casing for the archaeological finds. The project was conceived as a kind of abstract reconstruction of the Roman volumes: a lightweight framework of walls made of timber lamellas which admit light and air into the space. Long wooden walkway from which one can observe the ruins is a dominant element in the interior.

⁵⁰ In Zumthor's other projects longitudinal forms appear, normally supported by a fragile-looking poles. This is the case with for example unrealized design for a summer restaurant at Insel Ufnau on the Lake Zurich (2003-2011) or in another ongoing project in Norway, the Almannajuvet Zinc Mine Museum (since 2003). Zumthor employs this aesthetic in order to communicate a sense of shelter and *Schermen*, as the architect explained: 'This Alemannic dialect word commonly used in Switzerland means 'refuge' or 'cover''; Peter Zumthor in: Thomas Durisch (Ed.), *Peter Zumthor: 2002-2007, Buildings and Projects Volume 4*, Scheidegger & Spiess AG: Zurich, 2014, p. 46

⁵¹ Turner, op. cit., p. 70; Zumthor was invited in 2006 by the Norwegian Tourist Route to build a pavilion for Bourgeois' work.

⁵² Bourgeois explained: 'My work grows from the duel between the isolated individual and the shared awareness of the group.' In: Frances Morris (Ed.), *Louise Bourgeois*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Modern, London 2007, p. 262

made me see the piece in the distance, against the sea. He made me see the piece in terms of changing quality of light and weather.'⁵³



Figure 6.18

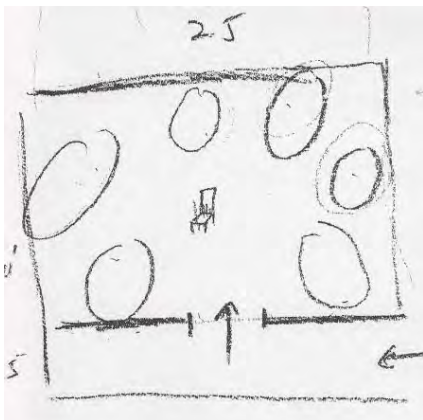


Figure 6.19



Figure 6.20

⁵³ Jortveit, op. cit., p. 55

The most associative and instantly recognizable symbolism in the artwork is the use of fire as the weapon of destruction, a theme also explored by the feminist artist Mary Beth Edelson (born 1933) - for instance, in her work *Proposals for: Memorials to 9,000,000 Women Burned as Witches in the Christian Era* (1977), which consisted of an entrance gate and a burning ladder encircled by a book table.⁵⁴ The other elements of the installation, mirrors and a chair, are familiar from Bourgeois' previous work, such as *Cell (Eyes and Mirrors)* in the *Cell* series of spaces with different atmospheres devoted to various types of pain, from psychological to intellectual⁵⁵ (Fig. 6.20).

Bourgeois' *Cells* are spatial enclosures; not usually accessible physically, instead they invite the visitor to perceive them only visually. This is not the case in some of her earlier works, where the viewer becomes actively engaged with the installation, usually by traversing into the artist's world through narrow passages or doorways in order to gain access to a hidden core. This is best demonstrated in her earliest *Cells*, or in the 1949 installation *Personages*, which she argued was a sort of memorial to the family she had to leave in France when she emigrated to America. In that work she applied bricolage to vertically placed wooden planks arranged in groups across the space, each symbolizing a different individual.⁵⁶ This installation represented Bourgeois' surrogate family – or, more precisely, the spirits of its members – and gave expression 'to the traumatizing experiences of her own life in a heroic attempt to exorcise them.'⁵⁷ Zumthor and Bourgeois' approach to their work is that the created form should express emotions. For both, the primary source of these

⁵⁴ Mary Beth Edelson is an American artist and pioneer in the Feminist art movement, deemed one of the notable 'first generation feminist artists.' She was also active in the civil rights movement. One of her other works '*The Goddess Tribe with Fire Ring*' (1975) also employed fire, composed in a ring, together with sounds of whispers and chants.

⁵⁵ The *Cell* series were created in the 1990s. *Cell (Eyes and Mirrors)* is one of a series of installations which Bourgeois began making in 1989. The *Cells* are typically constructed from a mixture of such salvaged architectural materials as old doors, windows and wire mesh combined with found objects and sculptural fragments. This *Cell* has the structure of a cube. The ceiling and two of the walls are made of woven iron mesh joined by iron bars which are hinged in places. The other two walls consist of iron rods welded in a grid holding large square panes of glass so that they resemble oversized windows. Several spaces in the grid are empty of glass. A large round mirror is attached to a hinged circular panel cut out of the center of the ceiling. The panel rotates to reflect different aspects of the interior.

⁵⁶ Rainer Crone and Petrus Graf Schesberg (Eds.), *Louise Bourgeois: The Secret of Cells*, Prestel Publishing, 2008, p. 62

⁵⁷ Charlotta Kotik, 'The Locus of Memory: an Introduction to the Work of Louise Bourgeois', in: Charlotta Kotik, Terrie Sultan, Christian Leigh Harry N. Abrams (Eds.), *Louise Bourgeois: The Locus of Memory, Works 1982-1993*, Incorporated, New York - A Times Mirror Company, 1994, pp. 12-28, p. 18

emotions is found in their childhood memories.⁵⁸ Materiality, the tool whereby they give emotions a tangible reality, is naturally afforded a central position in the work. Unlike Zumthor, however, with his perception that materials have an independent existence of their own, which is brought to light by sensible craft,⁵⁹ Bourgeois argued that her art has nothing to do with craft since the artist's subjects are emotions and ideas⁶⁰. Or, as she put it, 'I am not interested in materials as such; I'm interested in finding an order out of chaos.'⁶¹

After three years of engineering and many trials with one-to-one models in Zumthor's studio, the design to be realized in the harsh Arctic conditions was considered ready for the challenge.⁶² The elevated body of the longitudinal structure, consisting of the white fabric fixed with steel wires positioned in regular patterns, can be entered from either end - from the land side through steel doors accessible via wooden gangplanks (*Fig. 6.21; 22*). This positioning of the entry sequences on only one side of the longitudinal body of the memorial, a solution similar to that used in the Chur project mentioned earlier, suggests a sort of borderline between the land and the sea as it becomes a physical barrier towards the shore. Other perforations of the façade are small windows recessed in metal frames running at six different heights between the two entrance doors. The bearing structure consists of sixty slender wooden frames made of untreated pine, scaled down so that they only just meet the dimensions needed to resist strong storm winds. Hung in this way, the white cocoon reminds us of the body of an enormous fish or some other unidentifiable organic form, evocative of Peter Cook's⁶³ (born

⁵⁸ Zumthor elaborated on this topic in his books *Thinking Architecture* and *Atmospheres*, whereas Bourgeois explained the relationship between her creative work and her childhood on many occasions.

⁵⁹ Zumthor is a proponent of materialization as a wider concept that among other elements includes darkness and natural light. Peter Zumthor, *Atmospheres*, Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel, 1988; Peter Zumthor, *Thinking Architecture*, Lars Müller Publishers, 1998; Peter Zumthor, *Three Concepts*, Birkhäuser, 2006

⁶⁰ *Louise Bourgeois: The Spider, the Mistress, and the Tangerine* - A Journey into the Life and Imagination of an Icon of Modern Art, A film by Marion Cajori, Amei Wallach, Zeitgeist Films, 2008 June

⁶¹ Terrie Sultan, 'Redefining the Terms of Engagement: the Art of Louise Bourgeois', in: Kotik, op. cit., pp. 28-50, p. 29

⁶² Turner, op. cit., p. 67

⁶³ English architect Sir Peter Cook was founder of Archigram (Architecture + Telegram), an avant-garde group based in London and formed in 1960 which produced some of the most iconic architectural projects of the 20th century. For their futuristic designs Archigram drew inspiration from modular technology and early space capsules - as well as the natural environment. Cook is a prolific writer and was recognized as one of the best educators, notably at the Architectural Association and then the UCL Bartlett School of Architecture. He formed design partnerships with Colin Fournier with whom he designed the Kunsthau in Graz (2003).

1933) utopian structures or some of the futuristic monuments from the former Yugoslavia.



Figure 6.21



Figure 6.22

The Memorial Hall contained within this white cocoon reveals a darkened corridor lit by the small openings. These are positioned at irregular heights, thus faintly resembling Le Corbusier's nursery corridor in the Unité d'Habitation in Marseille. Suspended bulbs hang in front of the openings, each symbolizing a particular person whose name, origin and sentence in the witchcraft trial he or she was submitted to can be read in white letters printed on the black silk plaques next to each window, ninety-one in total (Fig. 6.23). The burning filaments of the hanging bulbs, although inspired by the window lights in local houses, also echo the meaning of eternal fire and evoke the

memory of the lost lives. At the same time, assigning each victim a symbolic light before a small framed opening is a common feature in many commemorative designs. This materialization of the number of victims, as discussed earlier, gives an impression of the scale of the tragedy (*Fig. 6.24*). Perhaps the closest association with this memorial's interior is the corridor in the Memorial to the Deportation in Paris, with its many lights recalling the people deported from Paris to Nazi concentration camps. The number of people commemorated at Steilneset is in no way comparable with the thousands remembered in small lights at the Paris memorial, of course, either in scale or in the source of light, but nonetheless both corridors are defined by these memory lights and their arrangement within dark interiors.



Figure 6.23



Figure 6.24

The contrast with the outer world is further emphasized by the way the walls resonate with the external weather conditions, since they are designed to move together with the light bulbs and the adjacent silk plaques. The power of that movement is dependent on the strength of the wind blowing outside. Curious visitors often push the flexible walls of the Memorial Hall in order to produce motion along

the passageway. The only element that seems static is the wooden walkway, less than one metre wide and detached from the black walls which are coated in Teflon.⁶⁴ Visitors coming from different directions have to pass each other by stepping aside, to the very edge of the walkway, which is emphasized by the protective low steel rail. All the elements of the interior are unconcealed; looking up, one can see bundles of electricity cables from which the bulbs hang. The ceiling itself is in a somewhat lighter coloured ribbed cloth, making it yet another independent element in the interior.

A few metres away, the reflective dark glass pavilion housing Bourgeois' installation stands in stark contrast to the longitudinal structure of the memorial - but also contrasts with the natural setting of the location. *The Damned, the Possessed, and the Beloved* consists of seven large oval mirrors surrounding the central piece, the 'burning' steel chair encircled by a protective concrete cone. Five perpetual flames emerge from the chair, a symbolic number that also occurs in previous works by the artist.⁶⁵ The burning chair seems to encourage visitors to throw objects or grass into the flames, leaving burnt remains.

The pavilion, consisting of seventeen free-standing glass panels, mirrors the surroundings and the adjacent Memorial Hall. The glass panels are slightly elevated from the ground and so allow daylight to penetrate inside. This detail establishes direct contact with the surroundings, except in winter when a thick layer of ice and snow becomes a curtain obstructing the view, turning the space into an igloo-like setting.

6.2.3. Effect

Depending on which end it is approached from, the memorial can be experienced in two different ways which relate to the meaning assigned to its two constituent parts. The art installation in the pavilion is certainly better comprehended if the information provided in the leaflets for visitors in the Memorial Hall is read beforehand. Even without any knowledge of what it stands for, however, the work's foreboding atmosphere is unmitigated by and serves as a powerful

⁶⁴ The membrane consists of a Teflon-coated, fiberglass weave, produced especially for this building. Production techniques and the fastening of sails in shipbuilding inspired its construction. (Architecture Norway, Witch Memorial-Steilneset Vardø, text is taken from an unpublished booklet produced by Zumthor's studio during the completion of the project. <http://www.architecturenorway.no/projects/culture/witch-memorial-2011/>)

⁶⁵ For Bourgeois number five stands as a symbol of a family, in relation to the five members of her own family. As a symbol it appears often in her works as for instance in *Fabric Works*, exp. *Untitled (Five Arms)* from 1996. See Germano Celant, *Louise Bourgeois: The Fabric Works*, Skira editore S. p. A., Milan, 2010

introduction to the confrontation with the precise judicial facts about the witchcraft trials one is about to encounter in the *Memorial Hall*. The choice of materials augments the dualistic nature of the memorial, with the scaffold-like Memorial Hall constructed from perishable materials and commemorating a particular historical period and its victims, whilst the permanency of the reflective black glass serves as a protective shell for the evocation of trauma and its presence in the contemporary world. The burning chair is just visible through the dark glass, adding an aura of mysterious content calling for attention. The dark pavilion is dominant in the daylight, whereas at night, at least during the summer, it seems to disappear almost completely, exposing its 'burning' inner content and attracting moths (*Fig. 6.25; 26*).

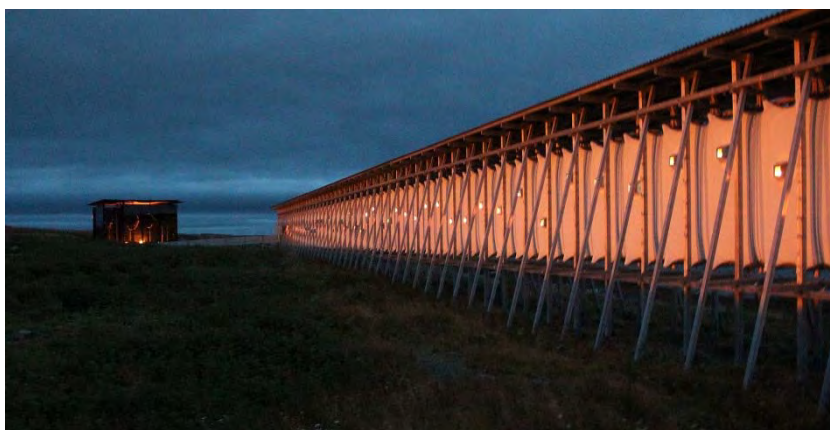


Figure 6.25



Figure 6.26

Both conditions are fatal for the low-flying birds whose bodies can be found lying around the pavilion's stark outline. For those who pay attention to it, this tragic detail administers admonishment before

entering the pavilion. Interestingly, the entrance is designed as a corridor from the outside towards the circularly arranged elements of the installation inside: a walk of a few seconds through an introductory space that provides gradual transition. Constructed from Bourgeois' initial sketches, *The Damned, the Possessed, and the Beloved* itself initiates a circular walk around the central piece; a walk symbolically suggestive of the circular journeys many powerful characters undertake in classical mythologies. The distortion of one's body in the reflections from the mirrors, combined with the sounds of the burning flames, creates an atmosphere of impending danger.

The presence of the mirrors with their inspecting gaze over the burning flames is crucial in creating a perception that one is walking through time, as they change reality with each step. As Bourgeois explained, 'Mirrors can be seen as a vanity, but that is not all their meaning. The act of looking into a mirror is really about having the courage it takes to look at yourself and really face yourself.'⁶⁶ Here, the observer is immediately engaged physically in a spatial interchange with a rather aggressive setting – and even more so if the installation is visited at night, when one loses visual contact with the surrounding landscape and is instead confronted by the reflective black walls of the pavilion, which further accentuate the presence of the central wild flames and the multiple reflections of oneself in every corner of the space. Consequently, an association with the 'demonic' forces which were a terrifying reality in the 17th century is easily established. The 'disappearance' of the pavilion walls and the many reflections of the visitor's body expose him or her to almost uncontrollable effects produced by the trembling light reflected at many different angles, and augment the feeling that 'one who sees is also seen'.⁶⁷ This effect, as it has been rightly observed, brings to mind Francis Bacon's misshapen bodies and evocations of torture.⁶⁸ The aggressiveness with which this piece works does indeed correspond with Bourgeois' concept that art heals because it reconstructs the destructive impulses of real life and so the creation of an artwork dealing with a traumatic memory is, first and foremost, an active process within which an artist, while showing compassion for the victim, becomes a murderer as well.⁶⁹

A few metres away from the pavilion, the Memorial Hall is harmonically embedded into the landscape, with almost nostalgic

⁶⁶ Charlotta Kotick, Terrie Sultan, Christian Leigh, *Louise Bourgeois: The Locus of Memory, Works 1982-1993*, The Brooklyn Museum, New York 1994, pp.26, 49, reproduced p.124

⁶⁷ Jortveit, op. cit., p. 56

⁶⁸ Gary Indiana, 'The Witches of Finnamark', in: *ArtForum*, September 2011, pp. 108/108, p. 108

⁶⁹ Marie-Laure Bernadac, Hans-Ulrich Obrist (Eds.), *Louise Bourgeois: Louise Bourgeois, The Destruction of the Father / Reconstruction of the Father: Writings and Interviews, 1923-1997*, The MIT Press, June 1998

reference to fish-drying structures and the lights in the windows of Nordic houses. Visited after the pavilion, it comes as a denouement to the harrowing chapter of the witchcraft trials period. Again, the transitional element from one reality into another takes the form of the wooden gangplanks at the approaches to the two entrances.

Both Memorial Hall and pavilion installation are specific scenography in their own right, each inviting the visitor to participate. It has been suggested that the interior of the Memorial Hall echoes a theatre in which the curtain is just about to come up or has just come down.⁷⁰ The scaffold-like structure is ancillary to this perception of a memorial as a theatre, since the scaffold can be reinterpreted as an element that comes before the building, an overture of a building or, rather, a building as a void - Zumthor's fascination, discussed earlier. Nevertheless, the interior is just the opposite of a void. The space is a meticulously designed time capsule, a demonstration of the architect's approach to architecture as an art of time and space,⁷¹ with very clear symbolism and two large white arrows indicating the exits at each end. The experience of time travel is enhanced after progressing through the rhythmically designed narrative of the memorial passageway. The visual connections with the outside world are openings positioned at higher levels, since the lower openings are too low to reach without physical effort. These windows delineate the scale of the landscape - or rather, they frame the landscape - and by assigning them particular identities they can be seen as metaphorical tombstones for the victims. Once outside the hovering memorial cocoon, the view of the old church and its cemetery confronts the visitor once again, but he or she is possibly in a different mood now, depending on the impact of the journey in time just experienced, which commemorates a play from four hundred years ago restaged in a contemporary décor.

Conversely, *The Damned, the Possessed, and the Beloved* is rather like an ongoing performance in which the perpetual flames evoke suffering. As Zumthor suggested, 'It's like you are in the fire.'⁷² The contrast between the two structures is overwhelming to the point that we could ask whether they complement each other or really exist as rather separate constructs. If perceived as a thematic performance with a narrative and its denouement, the memorial fulfils its purpose in marking the place that is believed to be the site of the burnings and thereby giving this historic phenomenon, internationally widespread at the time, a visible character. Moreover, the overall design is a highly sensory construct, using sounds, the movement of the burning flames and weather conditions to accentuate the topic it addresses and its

⁷⁰ Indiana, op. cit., pp. 107/108

⁷¹ Time walking- architecture as art of time and space (Atmospheres 2005)

⁷² Turner, op. cit., p. 70

contextual relationships. The sense of place, however, remains a questionable issue. Even though many sources state incorrectly that this exact spot was where the burnings occurred, the fact remains that the precise location is unknown. Perhaps a more logical choice of location would have been the infamous Vardøhus Castle, where the trials were conducted, its site now indicated by an information panel. At the same time, it is immediately apparent that this location, at quite a distance from the Steilneset Memorial and in the middle of Vardø's built-up area, is less attractive than the one chosen. That is beautifully situated on the jagged shoreline of the Barents Sea. What further contributes to the attractiveness of the design are the renowned profiles of the memorial's creators, the specificity of the topic and the natural location; they have certainly laid the groundwork for this remote place to become a place of pilgrimage. In this respect, the Steilneset Memorial serves the same purpose as Karavan's *Passages* in Portbou. There, the memorial becomes a symbol that provides scale to the natural surroundings in connection with the tragedy it commemorates and strives to give voices to all the nameless victims of whom Walter Benjamin speaks in the words inscribed on the glass wall of *Passages*.⁷³

Finally, there remains the question of what this architectural project implies for the local community. The memorial was an expensive undertaking given the modest population of the impoverished town of Vardø. However, future plans include further promotion of the memorial as a tourist attraction. In 2013 it won the North Norwegian Architectural Prize, and a so-called 'dissemination project' is planned to further develop its significance in collective awareness and responsibility with regard to similar events taking place in our contemporary world. As explained on the museum's website:

*'For far too many of our fellow human beings in other parts of the world today, human rights violations, false imprisonment and torture are a part of their daily lives. Thus Steilneset Memorial speaks to both the past and present. This will be a significant element as the museum develops its dissemination profile that focuses on the witchcraft trials and the art and architecture that reflect these events.'*⁷⁴

⁷³ Walter Benjamin's words inscribed in Karavan's memorial: 'It is more arduous to honor the memory of the nameless than that of the renowned. Historical construction is devoted to the memory of the nameless.'

⁷⁴ Vardø museum is in the process of developing a project that aims to come to grips with the deeply disturbing events that took place at Steilneset 400 hundred years ago. The project aims to create a space for dissemination which will take into account both the painful and the beautiful; history and art / architecture. The museum aims to convey knowledge through discussion and dialogue; to invite the visitor to reflect on the events that took place under the trials, and how they are relevant.

One future addition to the project will be a cultural route starting at the information point currently marked by three large panels providing general information about the memorial and the grandiose National Tourist Route project. These are fixed on an abandoned house just before the path leading past to the church towards the memorial (*Fig. 6.27*). Certainly, if the Steilneset Memorial is to achieve its goal of being a valuable, socially engaged pedagogical project and not merely a tourist attraction, more insightful information needs to be provided. It remains to be seen how these future plans will be incorporated into the present situation and whether they will improve the memorial's value for generations to come.

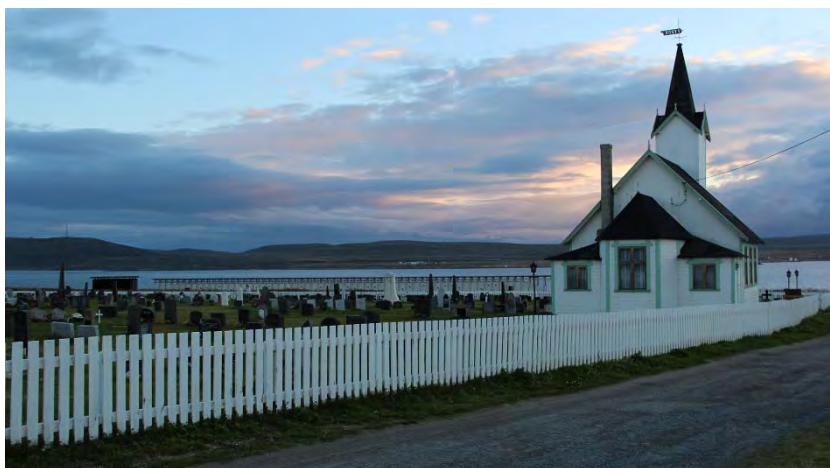


Figure 6.27

6.3 Continuing the work of memorialization: the Holocaust memorial museums in Drancy and Mechelen

6.3.1. Context

*'Today, our work is to transmit. That is the spirit of this memorial.
Transmission: there resides the future of remembering.'*
François Hollande¹

In the 1940s the General Dossin de Saint Georges Barracks² in Mechelen (Malines), Belgium, provided a convenient and strategic location for the occupying Nazi authorities to establish a transit camp for Jewish deportees.³ After the war, even though Belgium was one of the first countries to establish a national Holocaust memorial,⁴ the work of memory came slowly and belatedly. This was due to the long-ignored fact that those deported from the Dossin Barracks were selected strictly on racial grounds. Another reason was that the Jewish community showed little interest in the former camp premises once they were vacated by Belgian army in 1975. Even though the first memorial gathering was held in September 1956,⁵ it was only after the Lischka Trial in Cologne, Germany, in 1979⁶ that awareness of the fate

¹ French president François Hollande in his address at the memorial in Drancy on 21. September 2013, quoted in Scot Sayare, 'At Holocaust Center, Hollande Confronts Past', *The New York Times*, (<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/22/world/europe/at-drancy-holocaust-center-hollande-confronts-grim-chapter-for-france.html>, accessed 16.02.2014) A version of this article appeared in print on September 22, 2012, on page A8 of the New York edition with the headline: At Holocaust Center, Hollande Confronts Past.

² In 1756 Maria Theresa of Austria commissioned building of the 'Court of Habsburg' what was the initial name for the barracks. The building served as infantry barracks housing more than 2000 soldiers, only in 1936 to be named General Baron Dossin de Saint-Georges Barracks. From September 1944 until April 15, 1946, the camp was used as an internment center for inciviques (persons who collaborated with the Germans). Afterwards, it was used by the Belgian army until March 1975,

³ Important transport connections passing the barracks located halfway between Brussels and Antwerp, high percentage of Jewish population of Belgium which lived in this area and its proximity to the infamous 'reception camp' or *Auffanglager* Fort Breendok, made Dossin barrack a suitable location.

⁴ Martin Winstone, *The Holocaust Sites of Europe. An Historical Guide*, I. B. Tauric & Co Ltd, London-New York, 2010, p. 36

⁵ Lieven Saerens, 'Van Vergeten naar Gegeerd: Dossin en Joodse herinnering', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* XLII, 2012, 2, pp. 138-169, p. 142; Unlike in Antwerp or Brussels the Jewish community in Mechelen was rather small.

⁶ During this trial the name of Ernst Ehlers, the former head of the *Sicherheitspolizei-Sicherheitsdienst* or Sipo-SD in Brussels came up and his suicide committed six weeks before the beginning of his trial in Kiel in 1980 spurred the interest in the consequences of Jews during Nazi regime in Belgium. Laurence Schram, *The Transit Camp for Jews in Mechelen: 'The Antechamber of Death'*, *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*, 6. February, 2008(<http://www.massviolence.org/The-Transit-Camp-for-Jews-in-Mechelen-The-Antechamber-of>, accessed 16.02.2014), p. 8;

of Belgium's Jews began to grow, and with it interest in the Dossin Barracks⁷ - also known as the 'wachtkamer van de dood' or 'antechamber of death'.⁸ After protests against its proposed demolition in the 1980s, organized by the Jewish community in Mechelen, the barracks was transformed into a luxury apartment complex and the inner courtyard was remodelled into a garden, while a garage was built underneath it. This modification of the building's purpose was perceived as covering up the past.⁹ At about the same time - in 1986, to be precise - a monument consisting of six segments taken from the original railway line connecting Mechelen with Auschwitz, was installed at the entrance to the barracks as a symbol of six million murdered Jews of all ages. Later, a small plaque was added, commemorating Sinti and Roma victims of the deportations.¹⁰ In 1996, the Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance (JMDR) opened to the public in the north-eastern section of the barracks.¹¹ Due to great interest, as reflected in a rising number of visitors, and also a shift in the overall political atmosphere,¹² in 2001 the idea of turning the JMDR into a prestigious Flemish Holocaust Museum was put forward by Patric Dewael, the Prime Minister of Flanders at the time. This new museum was perceived as complementing Fort Breendonk, a memorial site not far from Mechelen.¹³ Accordingly, a committee was established in 2004 to consider the future museum's 'thematic delineation'. However, this was later disbanded. That was for various reasons, but mainly the committee's persistence in focusing on a theme based on human rights.¹⁴ This was opposed by

⁷ In 1979 a Jewish committee 'Hulde Comité van de Joden' was established and they criticized lack of interest in memory work in Belgium addressing it as a 'moreel verval.' Saerens, op. cit., p. 152

⁸ Ugo Janssens, *Historische Gids voor België. Een boeiende kennismaking met ons verleden*, Standaard Uitgeverij, 2002, pp. 148-149.

⁹ Kazerne Dossin was legally property of the city of Mechelen since 1977. The building was remodelled for the purpose of housing luxurious apartments in 1984, and in 1989 the first inhabitants arrived. Saerens, op. cit., p.156

¹⁰ The memorial plaque commemorating the deportation of Gypsies was added to the façade of the Dossin Barracks on June 3, 1995. Memorialization of this ethnic minority group was practically nonexistent due to a very few remaining Gypsy survivors of concentration camps who were not given a place in commemorative events until the 1990s.

¹¹ The *Union des Déportés Juifs de Belgique* (Union of the Jewish Deportees of Belgium) and the *Consistoire central israélite de Belgique* (the Jewish Central Consistory of Belgium) are the organizations which purchased part of the barracks and established the museum. The museum was primarily focused on school children and education who made 80% of the visitors.

¹² After the shock of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the issue of the Belgian role in the Holocaust was often brought up in public. In: Saerens, op. cit., pp.159-160

¹³ Well preserved fortress from 1906 which in WWII served as a prison camp and was proclaimed national monument in 1947. Today Breendonk is a symbol of suffering in Belgium and operates as museum with focus on education for younger generations.

¹⁴ The committee was directed by Professor Bruno de Wever and consisted of the members of the local academic community. The idea was to name the museum

the Jewish community, which feared that the ambitious plan to address such a general theme might lead to a simplification, and thereby a banalization, of the local story.¹⁵ After some heated debates and the establishment of a new committee, it was finally decided that the new museum would house a permanent exhibition about the 'Belgian case' positioned in the wider historical framework of the Holocaust in Europe and human rights violation in other parts of the world.¹⁶ In 2007 the government announced an international architectural competition, stressing that participating teams should be multidisciplinary since the particulars of the commission demanded that architecture, public space and musicological content work in synthesis.¹⁷ After selecting six finalists out of hundreds of entries, the winner was named as former Flemish government architect Bob Van Reeth¹⁸ and his team. The new museum, a dark grey, five-storey, monolithic building with openings only on the top floor of its façade and at the rear, was to be located opposite the Dossin Barracks, on the site of a former remand centre¹⁹ (Fig. 6.28; 29; 30).

Soon after winning design was announced, local people launched a protest campaign under the slogan 'Museum Yes, Mausoleum No'.²⁰ This opposed both the planned demolition of the remand centre and the sombre look of the design slated to take its place.

A compromise was reached only in the colour of the building, which, instead of the grey 'mausoleum' became a white monolith²¹ (Fig. 6.31).

'Transit Mechelen. Museum over Vervolging en Volkenmoord' and the theme of Holocaust would have been a part of the overall exhibition. Saerens, pp.163-164

¹⁵ The idea of creating such a museum was also opposed by Dewaele's successor, Yves Leterme who proposed expansion of the existing museum. In Laurence Schram, p. 9

¹⁶ Second committee for the permanent exhibition for the new museum was organized under the leadership of Professor Herman Van Goethem. The final name of the new institution was decided to be: *Kazerne Dossin Memorial, Museum and Documentation Centre on Holocaust and Human Rights*.

¹⁷ Brecht Blondeel, '*Kazerne Dossin, Memoriaal, Museum en Documentatiecentrum over Holocaust en Mensenrechten: Historiek, analyse en maquette*', Master thesis, University Gent, Academic year 2009-2010, p.16

¹⁸ Bob van Reeth, is considered to be one of the most important postwar Belgian architects and he was the first Flemish Government Architect from 1999 to 2005.

¹⁹ The former detention house was also known as IKA-Instituut voor Kunsten en Ambachten which was housed in the premises in the 1960's. During the WWII it was used as accommodation place for the Nazi's.

²⁰ 'Voor het behoud van het Arresthuis', *Vanonderuit Krant*, April 2009, Jaargang 8, No. 33, p. 2. Another protesting body was the organization of RIM- 'Restoration and Integration Mechelen' which argued for the preservation of the former house of detention as a significant part of Mechelen's prison system and a showcase of a more humane approach for detention of prisoners.

²¹ Geert Van der Speeten, 'Kazerne Dossin wordt witte monoliet', *De Standaard*, 14 October 2009 (<http://www.standaard.be/cnt/682gk4au>, accessed 08.03.2014)



Figure 6.28



Figure 6.29



Figure 6.30



Figure 6.31

In its defence, the government backed the chosen design as a symbolic 'grave' for all those who had disappeared without trace after the

deportations from the barracks to Auschwitz.²² The Dossin Barracks Museum finally opened in November 2012, just a few months after French president François Hollande had inaugurated the Memorial Museum in Drancy.²³

Similarly, the museum in Drancy was not built on the actual site, but adjacent to it. And, as in Mechelen, it is separated from the original location by a busy road junction. The Memorial Museum lies just opposite the Cité de la Muette,²⁴ the building block constituting the former transit camp known to survivors as the ‘Porte de l’enfer’ (Gateway to Hell) and ‘lieu d’angoisse’ (place of fear).

From an architectural point of view, La Muette is also interesting for its history as one of the first projects in 1930s France to include high-rise ‘American-style’ skyscrapers.²⁵ Five sixteen-storey towers were destroyed in 1976, and today can only be seen on old postcards with the caption ‘Skyscrapers of inner Parisian suburbia’. Only the housing

²² Chairman Eric Stroobants, ‘De Klok tikt voor Kazerne Dossin’, *Gazet van Antwerpen*, 08.06.2012 (<http://www.gva.be/regio-mechelen/mechelen/de-klok-tikt-voor-kazerne-dossin.aspx>, accessed 08.03.2014)

²³ President François Hollande was personally involved and linked the government to three events that were extremely important for the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah: the commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the Vél d’Hiv Roundup, the inauguration of the Shoah Memorial at Drancy and the inauguration of the Camp des Milles Memorial Site near Aix-en-Provence.

²⁴ Built as a collective living space in the 1930s but never finished, the large U-shaped form of La Muette was easily transformed into a place of surveillance and detention. The Cité de la Muette became an internment camp in 1941, and then in 1942 a re-groupment camp for the Jews of France in preparation for their deportation towards extermination camps. Between March, 1942, and August, 1944, approximately 63,000 Jews went through Drancy. On the 25th May 2001, this social housing complex was listed as an historical monument.

²⁵ Designed by modernist architects Marcel Lods and Eugène Beaudouin, the structure was built using an advanced industrialized building technology. The engineer Eugène Mopin developed the construction system and Jean Prouvé designed the system of metal forms used in the casting of the concrete elements. La Muette, together with another French example – Villeurbane near Lyons, were important examples of high-rise social housing schemes in Europe that aimed toward attractive higher-density alternatives. La Muette was considered to be an exemplary model town planning operation in Paris, and the first ‘grand ensemble’ in France. The concept is based on the principle of what was termed the ‘vertical garden city’, proposed by Beaudouin and Lods.

The preoccupation with functionalism in architecture was one of the main interests of ‘Congres Internationaux de l’Architecture Moderne’ (CIAM), founded in 1928. Open space regional planning, Green Belt regional planning and an emphasis on freestanding high-rise building had been added to the 20’s lexicon of Functionalism, *existenzminimum* and industrialized building. As an example of housing blocks to be built after the war, the complex was included in 1942 book by José Luis Sert and “CIAM” *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analyses, Their Solutions: Based on the Proposals Formulated by CIAM*. See: Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2000; Pieter Uyttenhove, ‘From “Grand Ensemble” to architectural heritage, from concentration camp to memorial’, in: *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, Issue no. 3-4, 2012, pp. 160-179.

block designed in a U-shape, framing the large inner courtyard, the actual site of WWII deportation camp, survived the demolition²⁶ (Fig. 6.32). Glimpses of this space and the atmosphere that prevailed there when the complex was in use as a transit camp were depicted by some of its internees, such as Jane Lévy (1894-1943²⁷ (Fig. 6.33). Recognized for its dual past as a valuable architectural edifice and as the biggest transit camp in France, as confirmed in the famous 1995 acknowledgment by then president Jacques Chirac of France's complicity in the persecution of the Jews and others during WWII, the site was finally listed as a national monument in 2001. However, memorialization of the former transit camp began in the 1970s when a symbolic sculpture by Shelomo Selinger, later joined by a rail wagon of a type used to transport prisoners, was placed on the site²⁸ (Fig. 6.34). Other traces of memory include 'graffiti' drawn by inmates before being deported to the death camps.²⁹ Unlike the memorial, which confronts contemporary residents³⁰ with the harrowing past of the Cité de la Muette on daily basis, due to its fragile state this graffiti is preserved in the Departmental Archives of Seine-Saint-Denis. Several institutions connected to the memory of La Muette as an internment camp already existed on the site, but a new centre for education and research was needed in order to hold the work of witnesses and associations and to reach out to a wider audience.³¹

²⁶ La Muette consisted of three typological building elements arranged in four distinct ways: towers, peignes and redan blocks. Peignes or combs are 3 to 4-story slab-buildings that used to connect the towers.

²⁷ Artist Jane Lévy was in 1942 imprisoned at the French prison, la Santé, and transferred to Drancy where she worked for a short time as an illustrator, creating drawings and posters of life in the camp, before she was deported to Auschwitz.

²⁸ A memorial was constructed in 1976. The memorial is highly symbolic as it consists of three blocks forming together the Hebrew letter Shin and gates of death. The wagon was added in 1988, same year when Drancy Historical Conservatory was founded, and served as exhibition space, but it is temporarily closed as it has been vandalized but is also considered misleading since the transport of the prisoners was starting from the adjacent bus station, not from the spot where the wagon is placed.

²⁹ These graffiti's in the basement were accidentally discovered by workers working on the replacement of the window frames in 2009; the oldest known graffiti date back from August 1941. The authors wrote their name and time of arrival at the camp. This practice continued with adding other information: the date of departure. These graffiti became a ritual for many deportees, the day before or the day of departure to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

³⁰ Cité de la Muette was inhabited already in 1948.

³¹ Several associations located there including the historic conservatory of Drancy and the Auschwitz Memory Fund Association (AFMA). In the publication 'Rapport d'activité 2012', *L'action de la Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, Les projets soutenus en 2012*, p. 10



Figure 6.32



Figure 6.33



Figure 6.34

The new memorial museum was initiated and financed by the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah (Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, FMS),³² which insisted on building a museum adjacent to the location so that the Cité de la Muette housing block itself could stay a place of life, not one of ‘embarrassment.’³³ The foundation entrusted the Shoah Memorial in Paris with the organization of an international competition in 2006, in which the first prize was awarded to Swiss-based architectural firm Diener & Diener.³⁴ Despite many doubts about its financial and practical viability, and a fear of possible acts of vandalism,³⁵ the memorial museum, inaugurated in September 2012, was built on land generously donated by the municipality of Drancy (Fig. 6.35).

³² The foundation is a key institution that deals with the memory of Holocaust with Simone Veil and Serge Klarsfeld as main figures. Klarsfeld’s work *Memorial de la Deportation* published in 1978, emphasized the role deportation camp Drancy played in Vichy France.

³³ Serge Klarsfeld declared for this place of memory: ‘*Il fallait que la cité de la Muette demeure un lieu de vie, et ne pas gêner les gens.*’ In Nicolas Weill, ‘Drancy, mémoires à vif’, *Le Monde*, Published online 13.09.2012 (http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2012/09/13/drancy-memoires-a-vif_1759966_3246.html, accessed, 23.02.2014)

³⁴ Diener & Diener was established by Marcus Diener (1918-1999) in 1948 and is today led by his son, Roger Diener (1950). The office has a distinguished approach which is based on analyses of the surrounding environment so that the architecture blends into the surroundings. Some of the better known projects include Novartis Forum 3 in Basel and the Swiss Embassy in Berlin.

³⁵ Ibid; Concerns were made about the purpose of a memorial which was imagined a decade ago, before the financial crisis shifted the priorities from preservation of memory toward other issues.



Figure 6.35

In a more linear process than the one in Mechelen, demands for the new museum in Drancy were put forward more clearly, set in the framework of preserving the memory of the local story and the connection with the site.

The main goal for both memorial museums remains the transmission of memory to younger generations, through education and research, as clearly defined in the case of Drancy that the purpose of the place is *'to raise awareness among young people as to the causes of this tragedy: the abandonment of human rights, Nazism and its ideology, the political organization it created, anti-Semitism, hatred, violence, murder.'*³⁶ At the same time, a new structure is dedicated to all those who did not return once they had been deported from these camps.

The museum in Drancy is perceived as a place of mediation between the public and the former site, with a focus on 'the central role of the Drancy camp in the exclusion of the Jews of France during the Second World War and in the implementation of the "Final Solution" by the Nazis in France, with the complicity of the Vichy government.'³⁷ These goals, together with the decision made about the location adjacent to La Muette and no possibility of building on the actual site, hence creating no intention to compete with its present purpose as a housing block, produced a clear programme of requirements for the competition.

³⁶ 'Rapport d'activité 2012', L'action de la *Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah*, Les projets soutenus en 2012, front page

³⁷ Memorial de la Shoah-Musee, Centre de documentation, The Shoah Memorial in Drancy (<http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/index.php/en/the-memorial-in-drancy>, accessed 16.02.2014)

Due to the increasing number of schoolchildren visiting the Dossin Barracks, a key target group for the new museum, the primary aim of the new building in Mechelen was to provide more spaces for education- or rather, multifunctional spaces.³⁸ Compared with Drancy and similar institutions, knowledge about the conditions at the Dossin Barracks is limited due to the fact that there were relatively few survivors.³⁹ Nevertheless, there are four valuable authentic photographs documenting the atmosphere in the former camp, while the register of the names of those deported is comprehensive and well preserved.⁴⁰

Moreover, the architectural solution had to address a few additional points and that made the purpose of the building slightly vague. What further complicated the situation, of course, was the fact that the survival of the former remand centre was in doubt.⁴¹ Other points concerned the remains of an old wall against which prisoners at Fort Breendonk were executed, the treatment of the inner courtyard of the barracks and the need to connect the site with the rest of the city, with a new square together with a neglected monastery garden becoming a prominent location. To guide entrants, the competition's organizing committee produced a thorough analysis of the location accompanied by examples of conceived or completed design solutions dealing with similar issues, and also a number of possible urban-scale configurations for the future museum.⁴² The requirements for the new museum and its relationship with the Dossin Barracks and the city were put as follows.

'For a project with this theme, it is important to realize that there is a tension between the scientific and the emotional aspects. However, both of these have to form an organic whole. For the designers this becomes a task of delicate balancing where architecture can strengthen the museum's story and let it come to the fore without becoming the story itself. The architecture must not be determinative, but it should not be neutral: it has to support the

³⁸ Interview with Marjan Verplancke, Head of Education, Kazerne Dossin Memorial, Museum and Documentation Centre on Holocaust and Human Rights, 28.02.2014

³⁹ Only 1.218 of those deported survived, which is about 5%. Published accounts of life in the Mechelen transit camp are rare. Most of the deportees only spent a few days in Mechelen on their way to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Judicial sources, such as written reports of witness interrogations and legal statements by the accused and their victims, tend to be the most complete sources of information on the history of the camp. See Schram, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Interview with Ward Adriaens, conservator Kazerne Dossin, 28. 02. 2014

⁴¹ In the competition demands it was pointed out that in case of the demolition of the former detention house, reasons for doing so must be clearly argued by the designers. Blondeel, op. cit., p. 36

⁴² 'Bekendmaking van de ontwerper voor de Dossinkazerne in Mechelen', Team Vlaams Bouwmeester (http://www.vlaamsbouwmeester.be/renderers/news/render_nieuws.aspx?8b11883c-eb3b-460f-a6c3-2075458e6e4a, accessed 01.04.2014)

importance of the Dossin Barracks and it has to encourage citizens of Mechelen to identify and interact with the site and its history.⁴³

Finally, the pedagogical focus of the memorial was not to be placed exclusively on the Holocaust and the history of the Dossin Barracks in particular, but also on the methods and mechanisms which lead to such scenarios of mass destruction of human lives. This demand became an aspect which the Mechelen museum claims makes it unique among Holocaust memorial museums - presenting a psychological portrait of the perpetrator, this being exhibited most directly in the closing sequence of the permanent exhibition: a long passage leading towards a large print of the Auschwitz gate, in which stand photographs of the perpetrators rather than images of the victims. Such strong scenography does indeed require a neutral architectural space, and it could be placed in other 'multifunctional' spaces offered by the new museum. In relation to the competition brief, however, which stressed the importance of architecture as a medium that would strengthen the museum's story, the question is whether such neutrality fulfils that request (Fig. 6.36).



Figure 6.36

⁴³ Rob Cuyvers quoted in Blondeel, op. cit., p. 34 'Voor een project met deze thematiek is het belangrijk te beseffen dat er een spanningsveld is tussen het meer wetenschappelijke aspect en het emotionele luik. Toch moeten beide een organisch geheel vormen. Aan de ontwerpers wordt als opdracht een delicate evenwichtsoefening meegegeven waarbij de architectuur het verhaal van het museum moet versterken en tot zijn recht laten komen, maar niet zelf het verhaal te zijn of te maken. De architectuur moet niet te bepalend zijn, maar ook niet neutraal: ze moet de waarden ondersteunen die Kazerne Dossin uitdraagt en bovendien de identificatie en interactie van de Mechelaars met de site en met haar verleden bevorderen.'

6.3.2. Architecture

*'What color was the Holocaust? Probably white.
The Angel of Death had white wings and a white cape.'*
Avraham Burg⁴⁴

Both architectural teams were multidisciplinary, in order to cover various aspects related to the complex set of demands in projects of this scale and importance. Of course, the lead architects produced the determinants of the overall designs. Bob van Reeth pointed out that he had undertaken a thorough study of Jewish history and cultural specificities, which offered a rich source of information for his creative process, eventually delivering a project laden in symbolic meanings related to Jewish tradition. Roger Diener, on the other hand, approached his task with a responsibility towards his own Jewish background, but in his design he chose to respect fully the demands set out in the competition brief.

Unlike the design process for Drancy, where the architect had a well-defined set of guidelines for the building, the designer of the Dossin Barracks had quite considerable room for manoeuvre, which resulted in him thinking specifically about the content of the building once the architectural space was realized. Its symbolic meanings are often hidden or discreet, such as the front windows being sealed with more than 25,000 bricks symbolizing deportees from the former camp, or the twelve cast-iron columns in the lobby standing for the twelve tribes of Israel (*Fig. 6.37*). The architect consciously avoided clear symbolism in order not to fall into the trap of becoming too literal and thereby 'anecdotal.'⁴⁵ One driving force behind the design for the Dossin Barracks was the desire to create an edifice confronting a past that had been ignored for six decades.⁴⁶ Consequently, it began with an idea of creating a provocative, unfriendly monument to that long period of neglect – or, in the architect's words, an 'embarrassment built in stone.'⁴⁷ At the same time, the designer opted for a building that would not produce too big a shock due to its aggression or have too 'loud' an appearance. This was also his reason for changing its colour to white, as opposed to the original darker colour that is connected in our culture with mourning and death.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Avraham Burg, *The Holocaust Is Over; We Must Rise From its Ashes*, (transl. Israel Amrani), Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2010, p. 47

⁴⁵ bOb van Reeth, 'Ik heb schaamte in stenen willen bouwen', in: *Campuskrant-Tijdschrift van de KU Leuven*, 24 October 2012, Nr. 2, p. 8

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Van Reeth argued that, referring to Avraham Burg, the white color in his design is well fitting into the existing context. As for the aggressive appearance in memorial architecture the designer gives Jewish Museum in Berlin as an example. In bOb van Reeth, 'Bouwen aan een eervolle plaats van herinnering', *de Nieuwe Maan*, pp. 14-15 May, 2012.



Figure 6.37



Figure 6.38

As already mentioned, Van Reeth drew his inspiration from the Jewish religion, namely from the notion of the synagogue as a place of learning and communion which has to be recognizable within the urban tissue and so is usually taller than its surroundings, making it 'visible for everyone'.⁴⁹ Another relevant factor defining the museum's composition was the decision not to interfere with the original site, but to build next to it, in that way respecting the modifications which had occurred to the barracks over the course of history – not least its present state as an apartment block. The same argument supported the demolition of the former remand centre. Otherwise destined to become a quasi-archaeological relic,⁵⁰ in the eyes of the architect the only way to do it justice was to integrate its remnants into a new building (*Fig. 6.38*). This choice had to do with practicalities as well, since finding an alternative for the people living in the 'barracks' was perceived as much more demanding a task than working on the location of the former remand centre and the front section of the barracks wings, which were government's property.⁵¹

(http://www.mechelen.be/_uploads/Diensten/Communicatiebeleid/downloads/NM_26_definitief.pdf, accessed 31.01.2015)

⁴⁹ bOb Van Reeth quoted in: Blondeel, *op. cit.*, p. 117

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 119; Van Reeth argued for the demolition of the former detention house because its preservation due to its previous use as a prison and the Nazi logistic place would make the building a 'nature morte', hence an unusable structure. Same argument was given for the idea of remodelling the inner courtyard of the barracks.

⁵¹ Renilde Bleys, 'Vlaamse overheid stelt ambitieuze timing voorop: Bob Van Reeth tekent voor kazerne Dossin', *Nieuwsblad.be*, 08.05.2008

Conversely, the building in Drancy is conceived as a transparent vertical structure opening towards the public and the site of the Cité de la Muette, so that the 'work of memory'⁵² is not hidden but visible to everyone. Consistent in their rational approach towards architectural spaces, Diener & Diener focused on the particularities of the programme imposed by the commissioning body and how they needed to be related to its object. The building is recognized as an example of 'sober and dignified architecture', respectful to the site and its urban environment.⁵³ The architect drew inspiration from the proximity to the original camp site, aiming to strengthen the relationship between La Muette and the new building by creating an open structure which would communicate with the surroundings without falling in danger of becoming a monument to the already existing monument.⁵⁴ In fact, the building's monumentality is perceived through its utility as an aid in the work of memory - or rather, as a form of remembering itself.⁵⁵ Understanding memory as an active process achieved by an ever-recurring effort, the building was conceived as a 'composite memory' with each floor offering a different way of remembering.⁵⁶ Naturally, designing a building that is 'transparent' for the public to discover and engage in the work of memory in, when at the same time it is supposed to operate as an administrative building, proved a challenging task.

The completed designs are certainly similar in two respects: both prominently occupy their locations with a few floors rising above the ground and both communicate at a visual level with the original sites. The Dossin Barracks Memorial Museum is four storeys high, but the only connection to the barracks itself is on the top floor, since the lower levels are orientated inwards to the permanent exhibition and windows have only been inserted at the rear. The uppermost level is reserved for temporary exhibitions and, in contrast to the lower levels, is flooded with daylight as a wide panoramic view over Mechelen opens up on three sides. The barracks is visible from this level, but

(<http://www.nieuwsblad.be/article/detail.aspx?articleid=EC1RPIH3>, accessed 15.03.2014)

⁵² Memorial de la Shoah-Musee, Centre de documentation, Le Mémorial de la Shoah à Drancy (<http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/index.php/fr/memorial-de-drancy/le-memorial-de-la-shoah-a-drancy>, accessed 08.03.2014.)

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Joffroy, Pascale, 'Le mémorial de la Shoah à Drancy, un bâtiment qui regarde', in: *D'Architectures*, December 2012, No. 214. pp. 86-91

As Roger Diener argued: 'Le Mémorial tire sa force de sa proximité immédiate avec l'emplacement historique du camp d'internement. Se refusant à ajouter un monument au monument, il s'attache à intensifier la relation entre les deux sites. Ce lien devient le sujet même.'; Ibid

⁵⁵ Roger Diener, 'Shoah Memorial Drancy', *Diener&Diener (monograph)*, Joseph Abram, Roger Diener, translated by Sarah Robertson, Phaidon Press Limited, London, 2011, pp. 262-264

⁵⁶ Op. cit., p. 264

only partially- the view is restricted to the rear section of the building and the entrance where the Documentation Centre and the memorial are located. The inner courtyard cannot be seen⁵⁷ (Fig. 6.39; 40).



Figure 6.39



Figure 6.40

⁵⁷ Van Reeth argued that it would not 'feel right' to display the modified inner court of the Kazerne or Hof van Habsburg since it has been completely changed from what it has been during WWII. Ibid

In fact, this level is designed as a 'decompression'⁵⁸ space after the first three floors, bringing a contrast in light as a symbol of hope and future prospects. A narrow terrace along three sides on this level allows the visitor to step outside and circulate in order to gain a better view of the city and the barracks. Van Reeth described the building metaphorically as a 'hortus conclusus'⁵⁹ - an enclosed garden defined by its outer border, consisting here of the old 'execution wall'⁶⁰ and its extension, which divide the museum from the busy Tinellaan, the road running alongside it, and offer a peaceful place for reflection.⁶¹ Respecting the former layout, the new border then becomes a gate to the museum's forecourt. The entrance to the museum is set to one side, not symmetrically in the middle of the façade nor precisely opposite the entrance to the barracks, and is accentuated by fragments of the former remand centre incorporated into the front wall (*Fig. 6.41*). The ground floor develops on the exact spot where the demolished building used to stand, providing another link to its former existence. The brickwork of the façade and the sealed indented windows of the middle three floors are executed in a specific pattern, using exactly the same number of bricks as there were deportees from the camp.

The square in front of the museum, reinforced by the position of the entrance, has been realized exactly as imagined in the original design: as a place for contemplation, furnished only with a long white bench and a few symbolic trees. The first impression of the interior is determined by the naturally lit foyer and the contrasting darkened space of the introductory exhibition, divided by twelve cast-iron columns. Perhaps the most dominant element in this space is the wall of photographs of victims, which extends downwards to the cafeteria space. The wall itself is an autonomous element standing in space, impossible to touch (*Fig. 6.42*). The function of the underground level has been modified from the original design – instead of a parking garage, it has become a café (originally, that was to be on the top floor). The layouts of the three levels above are determined by the precise museological scenography of the permanent exhibition, with the only daylight coming from corner slit windows overlooking the car park and the old cloister behind the building.

⁵⁸ Blondeel, op. cit., p. 124

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ It was allowed by the competition demands to make perforations in the wall as long as the character of the wall as a unity remains, In: Blondeel, op. cit., p. 31

⁶¹ The border is made up from the old wall belonging to the former detention house and its newly designed continuing part. The old wall served as an execution place during WWII. Future plans integrate the wall into a park which will be dedicated to the human rights while the present parking ground is planned to be situated in an underground garage space.



Figure 6.41



Figure 6.42

Entrance of the Dossin Barracks, where the JMDR was stationed in the past, also contains entrances to the Documentation Centre and the memorial. At the entrance to the memorial, a cloakroom and a plan of the exhibition spaces await the visitor. Once in the exhibition space, one is free to stroll through the memorial rooms, here called galleries, each of which has its own distinct content. In Gallery One, entitled

‘Vestiges of the past’ or ‘Traces’, personal belongings are exhibited together with an artwork by Philip Aguirre y Otegui (*Fig. 6.43; 44*). The next two galleries are entitled ‘Their names’ and ‘Their faces’ and commemorate the victims of the deportations, displaying a wealth of personal data and information about the deportation trains (*Fig. 6.45*). Originally, the windows were to be sealed and a mourning wall added, with perforations in which people could place offerings, referencing the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. This element was removed from the final design, however, since that reference proved highly sensitive.⁶²



Figure 6.43

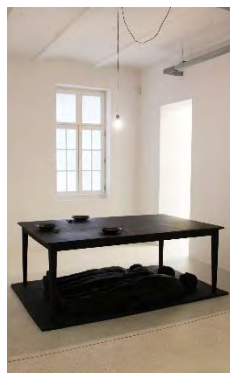


Figure 6.44



Figure 6.45

⁶² Blondeel, op. cit., p. 126

The museum in Drancy occupies the corner of a block of houses divided from La Muette by the busy Avenue Jean Jaurès. The building looks compact and has five levels, with a foyer at ground level, conference halls in the underground level, a documentation centre and archives on the first level, pedagogical spaces on the second and, finally, the permanent exhibition on the uppermost level.⁶³

The reinforced concrete façade, oriented towards the original site with large windows and with a 20cm extrusion at each level, appears staggered (*Fig. 6.46*).



Figure 6.46

Contrasting with those transparent windows, the indented entrance is in a reflective glass angled in such a way that the Cité de la Muette reflects on its surface. The entrance door is an integral part of the clad façade, distinguishable only by the text naming the museum; there is usually also a security guard standing in front of it. The interior of the museum gives the impression of a well-organized administrative building with a plenty of daylight in its rather neutral setting. An introduction to the Shoah is given in the underground space, where visitors also find the cloakroom and toilets. Unlike the permanent exhibition on the top floor, which is highly engaging scenographically, the rest of the building's interior is 'anonymous'⁶⁴ and has a rather calm atmosphere.

With its fully glazed front, the top floor effectively opens onto the site. An architectural model of the former deportation camp is placed next to the window overlooking La Muette (*Fig. 6.47*). From here it is possible to see the existing memorial and part of the U-shaped block.

⁶³ A permanent exhibition, designed by Patrick Rotman and Dephine Gleize, retraces the history and function of the camp as well as the daily lives of those interned there.

⁶⁴ Diener & Diener Architekten, Memorial de la Shoah-Drancy-Paris, Press-release, 2012



Figure 6.47

The model allows comparison between the site today and how it looked when it was a transit camp.

6.3.3. Effect

'...you begin to realize that the important determinant of any culture is after all the spirit of place.'
Lawrence Durrell⁶⁵

Even though the new museums in Drancy and Mechelen share the same strategic aim of dealing with the history of the former deportation camps by being situated adjacent to the historical location, and thus investing in the visual connection, they differ significantly both in how they fulfil their purpose and in the effect they produce in the new situation. Consequently, in acting as 'transmitters of memory', in practice they work differently. The Memorial Museum in Drancy is certainly a good institution for research since the greater part of the building is devoted to library and educational functions. In Mechelen, by contrast, the spaces designated for educational purposes are rather small and seem likely to be enlarged in order to satisfy actual need.

The difference in perceptions of how to continue the memorialization of these places is clearly manifested in their respective architecture. Roger Diener's sense of responsibility towards his own Jewish background, together with the clear demands formulated by the FMS, have delivered an operational office building, whereas Van Reeth's

⁶⁵ Durrell, op. cit., p. 156

pursuit of the ‘genius loci’ and insistence on highlighting the ‘embarrassment’ of the decades-long neglect of the local story have produced a dominant edifice, which arguably overshadows the historical site itself. The project in Mechelen is more ambitious regarding its connection to the city because the project also was supposed to deliver an attractive public space. Moreover, the museum aspires to an image that will be recognized internationally and this is quite readable in its overall theme.⁶⁶

At the level of public space and interaction with the surroundings, the white monolith with its asymmetrical entrance and blocked windows strikes an uncanny note which makes it an intriguing gesture in the public space, whereas the edifice in Drancy has rather the opposite effect. Even though it was imagined as transparent architecture, the building refuses to interact with the public space. This is due simply to the large reflective glass surface at street level which, together with the strict security check awaiting visitors at the entrance, creates an impression of a controlled, and hence uninviting, place. Despite the poetic inspiration behind this reflective glass - the new building mirroring the site whose story it is telling and thereby creating a potential for encounters between the visitor and site’s history –⁶⁷ in reality it works simply as a mirror for passers-by to glimpse at their reflections when walking past (*Fig. 6.48*).



Figure 6.48

⁶⁶ Before creating the permanent exhibition, committee visited Imperial War Museum in London as an example of a world-known museum on the general topic of war.

⁶⁷ Roger Diener explained: ‘Au niveau de la rue, les parois en verre réfléchissant du hall d’entrée, légèrement en retrait, renvoient au visiteur qui s’approche son reflet découpé sur celui de la Cité de la Muette. Le reflet du panorama déploie la force suggestive d’une projection qui illustre l’objectif même de l’édifice: permettre la rencontre entre le visiteur et l’histoire du lieu.’ In: Press release ‘La mémoire composée’, Memorial de la Soah Drancy-Paris, Diener & Diener

By contrast, the public space in front of the museum in Mechelen is augmented by the materialization of its pavement which, together with the building itself, creates a transitional public area prior to entering the museum. In this sense, there is some indication of a connection to the original barracks. Nevertheless, it can still be argued that any significant link is lacking due to the busy road passing between the two buildings and disturbing their physical relationship⁶⁸ (Fig. 6.49). The view which opens up on the fourth floor is not sufficient if one is not aware where the actual site is; another building in the immediate surroundings could easily be mistaken for it, perhaps the old cloister next door. In Drancy, this connection is firmly established on the top floor with the permanent exhibition dedicated solely to this specific location. The exhibition ends with a large model of the former transit camp as it once was, positioned right in front of a large window opening out onto the actual site. This gesture underlines the relationship between the museum and the site, making its purpose instantly clear: the site continues to exist and change as a living block while 'the memory remains in the museum.'⁶⁹



Figure 6.49

In the Dossin Barracks, on the other hand, the ambition to house an exhibition on human rights as a general topic concerning all society

⁶⁸ The initial plan was to redirect the traffic around the site so that the road passing between the Kazerne barracks and the new museum would not divide the site. Few of the competition entries chosen in the first round developed their concepts around the square which would have been created between the two buildings as a space of mediation.

⁶⁹ Interview with Annaïg Lefeuvre, Coordinatrice au service pédagogique, 25.07.2013., Drancy Memorial site

has overshadowed the local story, and because the viewpoint at the top of the building overlooks the city, the story becomes even more ambiguous. The one part of the design which is completely dedicated to the Dossin Barracks is the memorial situated in the barracks itself, but due to the lack of any physical connection with the museum that exists as a separate entity and could easily be missed by visitors to the museum.⁷⁰ Indeed, the memorial space, which has been criticized as cold and unemotional,⁷¹ is overshadowed by the new building and that is due in part to its unwillingness to interact with the original site.

Once in the memorial, one cannot escape the feeling of a well-executed and logically designed exhibition. This is augmented by the diagrams about the numbers of victims and the survivors. Each exhibition room has different content and offers new information, but the overall atmosphere remains sterile. The architecture of the memorial tells a story of the precision and vastness of the Nazi regime, and their consequences. The number of victims from the Dossin Barracks, their stories pronounced from the speakers, plus personal belongings forensically exhibited and their stories told, offer a well-documented track of the event. The only room with no textual highlight is the one containing a sculptural work by Philip Aguirre y Otegui, about the psychedelic atmosphere of the times and portraying a family hiding under a dining table. The memorial resists becoming personal in its presentation. Differing from the museum only in having a fixed layout rather than multifunctional spaces, the memorial remains a space of documentation. In spite of its intention to provide 'a substitute for the missing grave'⁷² for families of the victims, and in spite of the fact that it is situated at the actual site, the memorial offers no space for private contemplation within its well-organized spatial sequences. Moreover, it refuses to reinforce the sense of place - as demonstrated by the blurring of the windows facing the inner courtyard of the Dossin Barracks. The memorial operates as an addition to the museum and the Documentation Centre, but its location is of little significance to the overall concept.

The memorial space in Drancy is not to be compared with Mechelen as it stands on open ground within La Muette, surrounded by a green hedge which emphasizes its particular

⁷⁰ Signs to indicate the way to the memorial have been added in the museum's foyer in order to make it more clear for the visitors that there is an additional exhibit across the street.

⁷¹ Herman Van Goethem, 'Kazerne Dossin: Gelijkvloers wordt herwerkt na klachten van te kille inrichting', *Joods Actueel*, Maandag 16 December 2013 9:25 (<http://joodsactueel.be/2013/12/16/kazerne-dossin-gelijkvloers-wordt-herwerkt-na-klachten-van-te-kille-inrichting/>), accessed 10.03.2014)

⁷² Kazerne Dossin Memorial, Museum and Documentation Centre on Holocaust and Human Rights (https://www.kazernedossin.eu/EN/memorial/memorial/55_zaal-1), accessed 10.03.2014)

purpose. Drancy's memorial space is exposed to human and climatic influences, whereas the memorial at the Dossin Barracks is a well-controlled, introverted space, highly dependent on technology and restricted by its opening times.

The sensitive field of symbolic references, which are abundant in Mechelen's museum, possibly adds another layer to the design. But they are more likely to remain hidden, or the subject of a private intellectual quest to find them. Meanwhile, the fragments of the demolished building incorporated into the façade are reminiscent of Aldo Rossi's funerary designs, while the bricked-up windows take on the symbolic function of tombstones for those who never returned (*Fig. 6.50*). In this respect, the museum in Drancy is straightforward and immediately readable.

Finally, in a few respects the new situation in Mechelen contradicts Van Reeth's eagerness to support the 'genius loci'. Or rather, it represents the architect's own doubt about what 'a place wants to become'.⁷³ The decisions to demolish the former remand centre and to build a new layer of history, combined with the unwillingness to relate more explicitly to the Dossin Barracks and its courtyard, were perhaps taken too lightly. In this respect, the many years of discussion about the preservation of the former camp commandant's house in Westerbork, or even the removal of authentic structures in Risiera di San Saba, are telling examples of how any trace of the history of a specific site can help reinforce the sense of place.

What both museums clearly manifest is that the living memory of these atrocities is ending and that our perception of the past is immanently influenced by the present. The sense of place that the original sites carry has the potential to establish a relationship between past and present, and it needs to be rediscovered or reinforced. However, it is also necessary to distinguish between the character of a place, as determined by its architectural language, and the sense of place as a layered process whose integration is achieved through interaction between people and the place. If these two aspects are not balanced, or if the first excludes the second, the new architecture creates its own separate entity, directly influencing the process of transmitting the memory of a particular narrative. One danger is that the image of a new museum can become more recognized than the story which initiated its creation. Unlike the Memorial to the Deportation in Paris, mentioned earlier, and its 'invisibility' within the urban tissue – which was perceived as its great quality in the 1960s –

⁷³ Inne Broos, *bOb van Reeth en de genius loci in Antwerpen*, Master thesis, Ghent University, 2000-2001 (<http://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000789390>, accessed 30.01.2015)

these museums are prominent edifices, particularly the one in Mechelen. There are several reasons for this, amongst them the demands of so-called 'dark tourism', but it also indicates a suppressed and 'unfinished' process of memorialization which, in the case of the Dossin Barracks, has escalated into a gigantic monument to the pre-existing memorial, whereas in Drancy the 1970s memorial space at the site and its connection to the Paris memorial have produced a piece of 'background' architecture. In the perspective of their relationship to the site, and regardless their large presences, one memorial has become a neutral observer of the place whilst the other has itself established a new order.



Figure 6.50

6.4 Breaking the silence: Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery, Nantes

6.4.1. Context

'But going beyond its abolition, today the whole memory of slavery, long repressed, must enter our history: a memory which must genuinely be shared. We must do this to honour the memory of all the victims of this shameful traffic, and thus give them back their dignity. We must do it to recognize in full the contribution, the substantial contribution, the slaves and their descendants made to our country.'

Jacques Chirac⁷⁴

Following the recognition, in 1990, of French responsibility in the Holocaust as a 'crime against humanity', as well as the recognition of the Armenian genocide in January 2001, on 10 May 2001 the French Parliament passed the so-called 'Taubira Act'. This made France the first major Western country to adopt legislation recognizing the slave trade as a 'crime against humanity'.⁷⁵ Despite this development, in 2005 a law was passed that required history teachers to focus on the 'positive aspects' of French colonial history. Reactions against that change were immediate.⁷⁶

A year later, on 10 May 2006, the then French president, Jacques Chirac, proclaimed the first day of commemoration in metropolitan France to remember slavery and its abolition. At the same time, a 'Committee for the Remembrance of Slavery' was appointed. This event was marked with several works of art devoted to the memory of

⁷⁴ Speech delivered by M. Jacques Chirac, President of the Republic, at the reception in honor of Slavery Remembrance Committee, Paris 30 January 2006, Published online: French Embassy in London, 17. February 2006 (<http://www.ambafrance-uk.org/Speech-by-M-Jacques-Chirac,6848.html>, accessed 12.08.2013)

⁷⁵ Jean Yves-Camus, 'The Commemoration of Slavery and the Emergence of a Black Political Consciousness', in: *The European Legacy*, Vol. 11, No. 6, 2006, pp. 647-655

Responding to the requests of the Jewish community, the French government first passed the Gayssot Law in July 1990, which made it an offence to deny the Holocaust. In the speech on July 1995, President Chirac formally recognized the French responsibility in both the enactment of anti-Jewish legislation by the Vichy regime in 1940, and in the deportation and subsequent gassing of 76,000 Jews. Next, the mass murder of 1915–17 in Armenia was recognized as genocide by the French Parliament- a law was passed on 29 January 2001.

⁷⁶ The law was intended to acknowledge contributions by the 'harkis', the 200,000 Algerians who fought for France during the war of independence in Algeria (1954-62). Numerous intellectuals signed a petition under the argument that "In retaining only the positive aspects of colonialism this law imposes an official lie on massacres that at times went as far as genocide on the slave trade, and on the racism that France has inherited." Jon Henley, 'French angry at law to teach glory of colonialism', *The Guardian*, 15.04.2005. (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/apr/15/highereducation.artsandhumanities>, accessed 17.06.2015)

slavery's heinous nature and its victims, such as a rendering of the famous poem by Aimé Césaire (1913-2008), *Cahier d'un retour au Pays natal*,⁷⁷ which never mentions the word slavery and so highlights the long silence about this topic over the centuries. Chirac also announced that a permanent memorial was to be established in the Jardin du Luxembourg in Paris, and the following year the sculpture *Le Cri, l'Écrit* ('The Scream, the Text' – note the phonetically similarity of the nouns) by Fabrice Hyber was installed there. More than three metres high, this symbolic structure consists of three chain rings, each representing a particular aspect of slavery. One side is painted in patterns of blood vessels, the other finished in bronze with words such as 'exterminé', 'déporté', 'mort', 'inhumain', 'valeurs', 'esclave', et cetera, engraved in its surface. The words indicate the obvious need to address the issue of slavery, and what better place could it occupy but the garden in front of the French Senate? Two centuries earlier, William Blake (1757-1827) had similarly perceived slavery not only as a determined system of trade but as a restricted mental state, with the term 'slavery' a metaphor and figure of speech connected with the cruel physical reality of the slave trade - what he called 'mind-forg'd manacles'.⁷⁸ For Blake, manacles and chains represented the narrow and repressed mind which is able to see the power of a creative spirit only upon breaking free from the grip of the chains.

Since the late 1980s, there has been an upsurge in interest in the colonial past and many museums in France have tackled the issue of representing it.⁷⁹ In the Château des Ducs de Bretagne, the Historical Museum of Nantes, one can learn about the city's role in the slave trade and the *Code Noir*, the compendium of laws enacted in 1685 by King Louis XIV in order to regulate that trade. Nantes and its region were the largest slave trading area in France, dispatching 1,740 expeditions in the period 1707-1793.⁸⁰ Not even the beginning of French Revolution in 1789, despite its grounding in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, influenced the slave trade in Nantes: 46 ships were sent to Africa and then, full of cargo and slaves, on to the West Indies after that date.

⁷⁷ Aimé Césaire was Martinican poet and playwright whose autobiographical poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (first published in Spanish 1942; original French version 1947; translated as *Memorandum on My Martinique*, 1947), is a widely acknowledged masterpiece documenting the twentieth-century colonial condition. In his work Césaire explored the paradox of black identity under French colonial rule.

⁷⁸ David Bindman, *Mind-forg'd Manacles: William Blake and Slavery*, The Hayward Gallery Publishing London, 2007

⁷⁹ The Musée du Nouveau Monde and the Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, for example, are dedicated to the first epoch of European expansion. See: Aldrich, op. cit.

⁸⁰ Nantes Historical Museum, exhibition information. Nantes accounted for 42% of all French expeditions in this period, far ahead of Bordeaux and La Rochelle.

Even though the United Kingdom had only abolished slavery in 1833, in France it was definitively abolished in 1848, under the Second Republic,⁸¹ on the initiative of Victor Schoelcher⁸² (1804– 1893). In general, abolition was not- as commonly represented- a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant affair, but was highly influenced by the emergence of autonomous black power in the Caribbean.⁸³ Contemporary interest in the commemoration of slavery in France began rather late, as the issue was perceived as a ‘last taboo in French history’.⁸⁴ Even though *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire* (Shackles of Memory)⁸⁵ was registered as an association in 1901, not until the 1980s did more open discussion, initiated by this and similar organizations, start around the theme of slavery.⁸⁶ And it was only in 1998 that the first official commemoration of the abolition of slavery – on its 150th anniversary – was supported by the French government. That was initiated by the black community in France and was held both in Paris and the overseas territories.⁸⁷

⁸¹ On 4 February 1794, the First Republic (Convention) voted for the abolition of slavery in all French colonies. The abolition decree stated that ‘the Convention declares the slavery of the Blacks abolished in all the colonies; consequently, all men, irrespective of color, living in the colonies are French citizens and will enjoy all the rights provided by the Constitution.’ However, in 1802 the First Consul Napoleon re-introduced slavery in French colonies for growing sugarcane.

⁸² Victor Schoelcher was a French abolitionist writer in the 19th century and the main spokesman for a group from Paris who worked for the abolition of slavery, and formed an abolition society in 1834. He worked especially hard for the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean islands, notably the French West Indies.

⁸³ Robin Blackburn, ‘Anti-slavery and the French Revolution’, in: *History Today*, November 1991, Vol. 41 Issue 11, pp. 19-25, p. 19

⁸⁴ Yves-Camus, op. cit., p. 650; The last preceding event was the law passed in 2002 which made 19 March the official commemoration of the war in Algeria. Additional reasons for supporting the commemoration day of slavery were the recognition of minorities and more awareness in the public opinion.

⁸⁵ *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire* is a non-profit association created in 1990s in Nantes, dedicated to research about triangular slave trade whose aim is to bring closer to the general public the history of the slave trade, slavery and their modern consequences, in order to promote new partnerships on a fair and respectful basis, between the societies of Africa, the Americas and Europe. Official website: <http://www.anneauxdelamemoire.org/>

⁸⁶ Small part of the overall exhibition about the city in the History museum, Château des Ducs de Bretagne in Nantes, entitled *L’histoire des Afro-Antillais en France au cœur de nos diversités / The history of African-Antilleans in France amongst its diversities (1685-2011)*, is devoted to slavery and designed as interior of a slave ship. One of the displays states the following information: ‘For a century, Nantes tried to forget its role in the slave trade. From the early 1980s, associations inspired by the work of historians have forced us to think about our history and to remember the slave trade and its effect on Nantes.’ Panel is accompanied by the poster of *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire* for the exhibition which was presented from December 1992 through May 1994 and attracted over 400 000 visitors.

⁸⁷ The date for the commemoration was 27th April-the date when the Second Republic abolished slavery. This choice of date was criticized as too one sided in a sense that only positive aspects of Republican historiography were emphasized. Yves-Camus, op. cit., p. 649

One common critique of commemorations of the slave trade in the West is that the slaves themselves are represented as passive subjects in the whole construct. This is perhaps best illustrated in the famous woodcut *Description of a Slave Ship*, commissioned by Thomas Clarkson⁸⁸ (1760-1846) in 1789 and depicting conditions on the Liverpool slave ship *Brookes* (Fig. 6.51).

This serves today as a starting point for many projects addressing slavery, some of which have been criticized as insensitive.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the visual power of the representation of the inhumane conditions in which people were transported on the so-called 'Middle Passage' from Africa to America has once more been rediscovered as an effective instrument for approaching the topic. The image has obtained iconic status and become a starting point for various artistic works, such as the multimedia piece *La Bouche du Roi*⁹⁰ by Benin artist

⁸⁸ In 1787, Clarkson and Granville Sharp were instrumental in forming the Committee for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade. Clarkson's task was to collect information for the committee to present to parliament and the public. He devoted his time and energy travelling around Britain, particularly to the ports of Liverpool and Bristol, gathering evidence about the slave trade from eyewitnesses. Clarkson's 'box' which contained various goods produced by the slaves became a key visual feature in his public meetings as he believed that visual representation can make the most impact on people. In 1789, he travelled to Paris where he attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the new French government to abolish the slave trade. After years of hard work by Clarkson, Sharp, Wilberforce and many others, the slave trade was abolished in the British Empire in 1807. The following year, Clarkson published his book 'History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade'.

⁸⁹ The layout of the 'Brookes' was printed on a full size and placed on the terrain of the Green Palace in Durham City and recreated by a group of 274 young people for the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery in Britain (1807). 'Palace Green transformed into a slave ship', Durham University, (<http://www.dur.ac.uk/durham.first/winter07/slavership/>, accessed 30.01.2015)

⁹⁰ *La Bouche du Roi* was realized between 1997 and 2005. The name is derived from the Portuguese 'A Boca do Rio' or 'mouth of the river' but it is literally translated as 'The Mouth of the King', *La Bouche du Roi* is a place in Benin from where enslaved people were transported across the Atlantic during the 17th and 18th centuries. The information provided by the British Museum for the exhibition 22 March-13 May 2007 explains that '*The exhibition includes Hazoumé's film featuring motorcyclists who run black market petrol between Benin and Nigeria. The petrol cans they carry – expanded by fire, worked to a breaking point, then discarded - act as a potent metaphor for spirits lost to the Atlantic Slave Trade, and as a powerful commentary on modern forms of economic oppression. However, La Bouche du Roi is not just a warning against enslavement, but against all kinds of human greed, exploitation and oppression, both past and present. If the petrol cans are a metaphor for enslavement and exploitation, the motorcyclists who carry them symbolize heroic resistance to this oppression, clawing back some of Africa's natural resources which make fortunes for a few while leaving the majority in desperate poverty.*' 'La Bouche du Roi: An artwork by Romuald Hazoumé', The British Museum (http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2007/la_bouche_du_roi.aspx, accessed 06.08.2013)

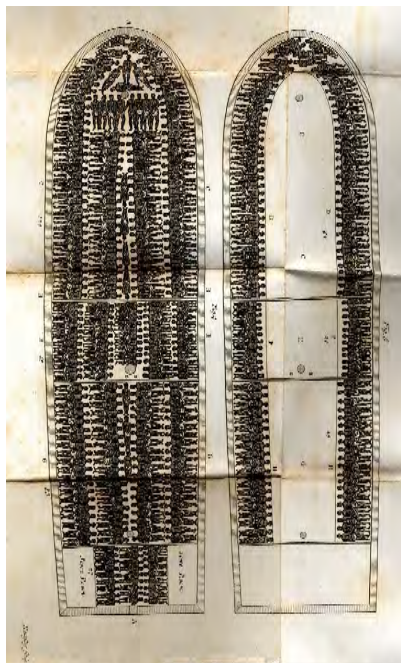


Figure 5.51



Figure 5.52

Romuald Hazoumé (born 1962), which addresses contemporary forms of slavery in relation to the systematic cruelty practised centuries ago.⁹¹ This installation comprises 304 ‘masks’ made out of petrol cans, referring to the enslaving economic system of the petroleum trade in West Africa. In an overlapping manner, the masks are arranged according to the layout of the *Brookes*, accompanied by olfactory, acoustic and visual effects as well as cultural artefacts which together accentuate the identities of people being transported as mere goods. As with Blake, the key aspect of personal identity is introduced as an activating agent when addressing the slave trade, which is commonly perceived as a well-organized process (Fig. 6.52).

As for Nantes, the city government first publicly showed an interest in the subject shortly after the commemorative ceremony of 1998. In 2002 an invitation-only competition to design a memorial was organized by the City of Nantes and its mayor, Jean-Marc Ayrault, who argued that this would demonstrate a strong political will. As he explained, ‘It is not another act of contrition, but a genuine call to us all to remember past struggles in order to project ourselves into the future, fighting against all modern forms of slavery and denial of

⁹¹ Anthony Downey, ‘Romuald Hazoumé La Bouche du Roi (review)’, in: *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* Number 25, Winter 2009, pp. 161-162 Project MUSE. Web. 26 Jan. 2013 (<https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nka/summary/v025/25.downey.html>, accessed 05.08.2013)

human rights in order to build a more united world.⁹² The Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery in Nantes was designed by Krzysztof Wodiczko and Julian Bonder⁹³ and inaugurated on 25 March 2012.⁹⁴ It is located on the Loire riverfront and imagined as a ‘working memorial’ planned to provide ‘space for remembering slavery and the slave trade as a crime against humanity, commemorating all forms of resistance to slavery, celebrating the historic act of abolition, and evoking present-day struggles against new forms of slavery.’⁹⁵ The precise location for the project was on the Quai de la Fosse, a riverside esplanade on the right bank of the Loire between the Anne-de-Bretagne Bridge and the Victor Schoelcher Footbridge (Fig. 6.53). Around 300 metres long, this was being used as an open-air car park. Its underground level consisted of a triangular structure of reinforced concrete resting on top of an 18th-century quay wall, the space within which was partially submerged under up to four metres of water every day due to the changing level of the Loire. The memorial was conceived as a part of a broader urban project, which included a kilometre-and-a-half long route, marked by a bright green line, running through the city all the way to the Château des Ducs de Bretagne and its exhibition about Nantes’ role in the slave trade, as well as a public tour including visits to the properties of Nantes’ slave holders and merchants.

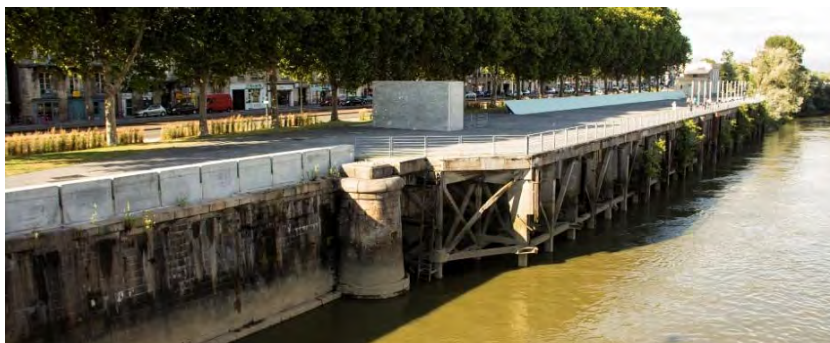


Figure 5.53

⁹² Jean-Marc Ayrault, ‘The Memorial: Political Will’, website of the Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery (<http://memorial.nantes.fr/en/le-memorial/une-volonte-politique/>, accessed 15.08.2013)

⁹³ The Wodiczko and Bonder partnership began in 2003 as a Cambridge-based studio. Krzysztof Wodiczko is an artist and professor of Art, Design, and the Public Domain at Harvard University in Cambridge. Julian Bonder is an architect and professor at Roger Williams University in Bristol, Rhode Island. The partners focus on art and design projects that engage public space and raise issues related to social memory, survival and struggle and emancipation related to urban and domestic violence, war, immigration, global displacement and genocides.

⁹⁴ The project was financed by Europe (ERDF), Nantes Métropole, the city of Nantes. The Région des Pays de la Loire and the Conseil Général de Loire Atlantique.

⁹⁵ Julian Bonder, ‘On memory, Trauma, Public Space, Monuments, and Memorials’, in: *Places*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2009, College of Environmental Design, UC Berkeley, pp. 62 - 69

6.4.2. Architecture

Considering memorials as places of exception, one of the designers, Julian Bonder,⁹⁶ recalled James Young's definition of the 'dialogic character of memorial space',⁹⁷ which is formed between the actual event and its remembrance. Bonder argued that, when working on memorial projects, it is crucial to 'inhabit the uninhabitable distance'⁹⁸ between ourselves and the events memorialized. In this case, that distance was a period of approximately 300 years. The understanding of these projects as questions should eventually lead the observer into thinking about the event, while 'offering the prospect that the chronological limbo, the no-man's land, the space between the tomb of memory and the womb of history, may be traversed and illuminated with generational piety, intellectual honesty and ethical respect.'⁹⁹ Asked how to address the memorialization of an incomprehensible trauma that occurred in a distant past, Bonder refers to his and Wodiczko's approach as 'ethical deferral' characterized by appropriation of the inevitable distance from the present and the act of remembering as an instrument for creation. This appropriation understands material mediums of representation as nonrepresentational, but still 'capable of shedding light on a limited set of truths in a space between the questions, the publics and the instruments of our practices.'¹⁰⁰ Bonder mentions Lin's Vietnam Veterans memorial and Pingusson's Memorial to the Martyrs of the Deportation, as well as works of his own, as references for such an approach in designing a memorial. These are recognized as spaces that engage visitors in a constructive dialogue with the traumatic memory being represented and thereby create a potential to become an incentive to awareness about the event and its implications. By emphasizing, in spatial and symbolic terms, a link to the Palais de Justice on the opposite bank of the Loire, the designers hoped to highlight Nantes' commitment to human rights – a commitment for which the memorial would become a platform, as a sort of catalyst for dedicated engagement in transformative processes for the purpose of contemporary human rights activism.

⁹⁶ Julian Bonder is an architect and teacher born in New York in 1961 and raised in Buenos Aires, Argentina where he lived since 1962. In 1995, he moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he currently lives and works. In his design projects and writings Julian Bonder has concentrated on exploring the relationships between memory, trauma, architecture, and public space. His work in this field includes writings, teaching, projects and built work. His work encompasses projects dealing with the Civil War, the Desaparecidos, the Holocaust, Civil Rights and Slavery as well as September 11.

⁹⁷ Young, 1993, op. cit., pp. 195-98

⁹⁸ Bonder, op. cit., p. 65

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Op. cit., p. 67

In addition, the design concept focused on tactile aspects of experiencing the space, while avoiding the deductive guidelines which are a common feature in historical museums. The designers strove to create an emotional space by exploring the underground part of the location and by attempting to evoke the invisible presence of its historical traces. Finally, since the project was intended as a 'working memorial', it was invested with a hope that it could also work as a pedagogical space on the topic of slavery, directly influencing present day issues. As Krzysztof Wodiczko asked, 'To what degree can this memorial create conditions under which things will be done, to the point where there will be no need to end up as a court case in the Palace of Justice? So the symbolic space can actually help the process of justice happen, on an ethical rather than a moralistic plane.'¹⁰¹ A significant detail in Bonder and Wodiczko's design approach is their determination to act as initiators, allowing other voices to appear in their project, rather than instead adopting a self-indulgent autobiographical perspective. As Bonder clarified, 'It's about how we think, perhaps from our experiences, how we can somehow extrapolate some of that to silence ourselves and to invite the voices of others.'¹⁰² At the same time, the design was invested with rather confident architectural mannerisms in predicting its future interaction with the public, as stated on the memorial's website:

*'Visitors to the Memorial will themselves go down "towards the sea" via a passageway which follows the 19th century quay. In some places they will find themselves hemmed in by 20th-century substructures, a feeling reminiscent of the extreme confinement experienced aboard the slave ships. These areas, some discovered and some newly created, will also communicate to visitors the emotional strength of the implicit and explicit imprisonment suffered by slaves as they were housed and transported.'*¹⁰³

The Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery is simultaneously a commemorative monument, a work of art and a public area, which forms a part of an urban development project stretching from Nantes station to the Loire. The memorial is accessible at two points from the esplanade, which itself features 2000 plaques referring to the number of French slave-ship expeditions ¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 6.54). Between the two

¹⁰¹ Krzysztof Wodiczko, 'A conversation with Julian Bonder & Krzysztof Wodiczko', Renée Loth, *Architecture Boston*, Fall - 2012: Memory, Volume 15, No.3, pp. 46-51, p. 48

¹⁰² Op. cit., p.49

¹⁰³ 'Discover the Memorial: Meditative Path' (<http://memorial.nantes.fr/en/le-memorial/decouvrir-le-memorial/le-parcours-meditatif/>, accessed 18.08.2013)

¹⁰⁴ Out of 2,000 glass plaques set along this esplanade. 1,710 of them recall the slave-trading expeditions which set sail from Nantes, giving ship names and departure dates and each states 'Navier Negrier' or a Slave ship. The other 290

entrance points runs a glass plate slanted at 45 degrees, which protrudes from the underground section (Fig. 6.55).



Figure 6.54



Figure 6.55

On the western side, towards the Anne-de-Bretagne Bridge, the entrance is emphasized by a prominent concrete box containing the lift and incorporating a Cor-Ten steel door mechanism bearing the title of the memorial. If entered at this end, the memorial space begins with an information room containing concise, informative panels with diagrams showing the triangular slave trade and its construct, graphically designed in red and black (Fig. 6.56; 57). The exhibition ends with a fact, inscribed on the red line running through the space, headed 'Today' and stating that it is estimated that contemporary slavery and forced labour involve at least 200-250 million people. From here, the red line continues, without any text, towards the far corner of the room.

plaques give the names of slave-trading posts, intermediary ports and trading ports in Africa, the West Indies, the Americas and the Indian Ocean.



Figure 6.56

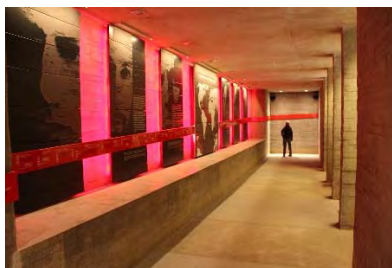


Figure 6.57

The visit continues through a short transitional passageway and into the longitudinal underground space between the walls of the nineteenth-century quay and memorial's profiled concrete structure (Fig. 6.58; 59). The underground level or subsurface of the public square, approximately five metres below ground level, involved complex engineering¹⁰⁵ in order to revert it into the public passageway which is now the core of the memorial concept and officially referred to as the 'Meditative Path'.¹⁰⁶ The slanted glass plates reach down from the square above into the underground space, bearing thoughts and words about freedom and human rights in various font sizes and different languages. The glass surface continues longitudinally, together with the Meditative Path, for 92 metres towards the eastern end - which is, in fact, the main entrance to the memorial. All the way towards the western entrance, the passageway continues as a trapezoidal section formed by the meeting of the angled portals of the structure, the wall of the eighteenth-century embankment and the glass panel of the upper square. Walking from west to east, the natural light emerging from the western entrance and its contrast with the dim artificial lighting along the walkway, together with the characteristic form of the passageway structure, symbolically resembles the hold of a slave ship.

¹⁰⁵ The existing structure of the underground embankment walls from previous centuries required construction of a dam which would protect the space from daily high tides of the Loire River.

¹⁰⁶ Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery Nantes, web site: (<http://memorial.nantes.fr/en/le-memorial/decouvrir-le-memorial/le-parcours-meditatif/>, accessed 18.08.2013)



Figure 6.58



Figure 6.59

There are three dominant materials added to the existing stone structure of the quay: concrete for the main structure, milky glass connecting the esplanade with the underground section and wood for the walkway and the memorial's furniture. The main entrance features a large staircase, appropriately named the 'Monumental Stair', descending from the esplanade, which makes it instantly obvious that there is hidden content underneath. The protruding glass on the esplanade is blank except at this entrance, where the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights is inscribed along with the word 'Freedom' in approximately fifty languages - most of them from countries affected by the slave trade (Fig. 6.60; 61). Upon descending, one can choose whether to turn left into the main memorial space and follow the text on the glass wall or right, where a rather confined space with a window framing the view towards the Palace of Justice can be found (Fig. 6.62).



Figure 6.60

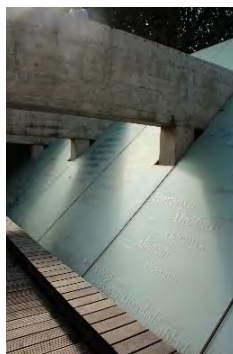


Figure 6.61

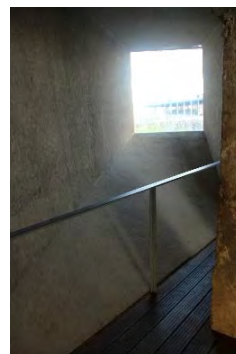


Figure 6.62

6.4.3. Effect

“They didn’t know where they were going, but they knew where they had come from. Today they still don’t know where they are going, and they have forgotten where they come from.”

Romuald Hazoumé¹⁰⁷

This memorial has to be observed as a constituent part of the public cultural route, and – along with the urban information boards set along this route – it is the most implicit and immediate reference to the infamous period of the city’s past. In this sense, the memorial displays Nantes’ clear intent to publicly address the past realities of the slave trade and its implications for the present by raising awareness of the invisible presence it had for such a long period of time. Walking the full urban route from the memorial to the exhibition at the Château des Ducs de Bretagne, along the line marked on the pavements, is a time-consuming effort since the two end points are some considerable distance from one another. It is possible to argue that this concept creates a specific pedagogical context through which one can learn about slave trade by being physically involved in the lengthy walk from one place to another, in order to process the information provided. This effect is most likely if one visits the deductive exhibition room in the Château des Ducs de Bretagne first, and then heads towards the memorial. In the opposite direction, the experience would probably be quite different since there is little or no information to be found at the memorial.

The intriguing design of the esplanade, with its numerous memorial glass plaques reflecting the sky and the ambiguous purpose of the long glass structure, introduces inviting elements into public space. The only explicit information is given by the metal information panels, laid into the pavement at each end, explaining the facts of the triangular slave trade and giving the number of slave ships to sail from Nantes (*Fig. 6.63*). Each rectangular glass implant becomes a memory plaque for a particular slave ship sent from Nantes or from the slave-trading posts of the time. The immense scale of this dark historical chapter is obvious, as the memory plaques cover the extensive surface of the esplanade and then continue over the Victor Schoelcher Bridge. They seem to be dispersed particles of the longitudinal slanted glass construction which, depending on the time of a day and the angle the daylight is reflected at, sometimes appears to continue endlessly. This relationship reinforces the meaning of the glass and at the same time augments the possible hidden content under the surface of the esplanade. At night this interrelationship is further emphasized by the lighting design, since the strongest source of light on the esplanade is the slanted glass, which reflects onto the memory plaques and slowly

¹⁰⁷ Hazoumé, *op. cit.*

fades away towards the edge of the esplanade and into the darkness of the river (Fig. 6.64). In this way the glass structure becomes the most dominant element on the esplanade and thus even more indicative of its hidden content. In this respect it is similar to the Atocha memorial, which at that time is inaccessible since its opening hours are limited to daytime. What is left is the poetic image of a brightly lit structure, insinuating a mothership as hundreds of its particles break away into the dark, with the Palace of Justice waiting on the other bank. In contrast to the spacious esplanade, the underground part of the memorial is a rather constricted space, faintly resembling the internal structure of a ship and its holds (Fig. 6.65).



Figure 6.63



Figure 6.64



Figure 6.65

Knowing the inhuman conditions portrayed in historical prints of slave ships, it is easy to form preconceived expectations of the memorial and to expect some kind of architectural dramatization intended to evoke the distant past. In fact, however, the underground space is faithful to its name – the ‘Meditative Path’. The atmosphere in the main space can indeed be described as meditative: a safe semi-public space that offers a moment of calm and rest. Here again, what can influence this experience is whether the visitor enters the memorial at the western end - where the information room provides an introduction – or the eastern, which provides a completely different insight and effect. The main, eastern entrance is where commemorative ceremonies are occasionally held on the ‘Monumental Stair’ descending directly into the heart of the memorial. With this in mind, entering from the west delivers a more structured narrative and an experience that develops in three stages: informative, experiential and contemplative. Bearing in mind that, as stated in the information room, millions of people are victims of the slave trade in contemporary society, from here the memorial’s ‘Meditative’ path instead becomes a path of admonishment. Conversely, entering from the east introduces a somewhat abstract context in which one has a choice between entering the main passageway immediately or first observing the Palace of Justice through the memorial window – an experience which might not be particularly meaningful since it seems disconnected from the overall concept of the memorial. If experienced when coming from the western entrance, however, this particular space becomes a final contemplative stop on the visit. The main passageway is pregnant with experiential elements, supported by its intertwining materiality: the atmospheric lighting, the wooden walkway and sitting benches, the sound of the water and so forth. The addition of soft music emanating from the speakers along the path brings a note of drama to the setting. Overall, the entire space works effectively at the level of sensory perception – and all the more so if one chooses to take a rest half-way along the walkway, where the space widens and offers the opportunity to view the River Loire.

Even three centuries distant from today’s situation in Nantes and its memorial, the memory of slave trade remains a traumatic one. The attempt to inhabit that distance in this design does not rely on evoking the traumatic experience of the victims of the trade, but rather on the overall transformative process during that long period of time. While the upper level of the memorial insinuates the incomprehensibility of the trauma which is engendered by its sheer scale, yet also distinguishes its particular constituent tragedies as embodied in the names of the slave ships, the underground path materializes the transformative process of human rights. These two levels are dependent upon one another since, perceived apart, they become either two abstract or too literal interpretations of the idea that the

architecture of commemoration should create space for dialogue and awareness.

Moreover, remembering that the intention behind this project was to create a 'working memorial' engaged with current human rights issues, it is hard not to notice that it lacks that engagement – with the issues surrounding contemporary forms of slavery and human trafficking. Whilst certainly a confirmation of French efforts to create memorials and museums that seek to come to terms with the nation's colonial history, then, it is also a sign of the ambiguity which surrounds this effort. Unlike Wodiczko's art installations, which confront the public with relevant social issues – as in one recent work, for example, where he projected immigrant's stories onto the façade of the City Hall in Mechelen¹⁰⁸ - this memorial remains a meditative place nestling conveniently in the public space.

¹⁰⁸ With the help of Werkgroep Integratie Vluchtelingen (Refugge Integration Group) Wodiczko conducted interviews with immigrants in Mechelen in 2012. The project was part of Newtopia exhibition. The artist designed an interface that made it possible to film only the speaker's eyes. The recordings were projected on the façade of the Mechelen's City Hall where 'with their voice heard and their eyes visible, the city's newcomers are able to share their lived experiences of displacement and everyday lives.' Gregos et. al., op. cit., p. 250

6.5 Toward comprehensive memorialization: the 'Ring of Memory' International Memorial at Notre-Dame-de-Lorette

6.5.1 Context

'C'est un site unique par la mélange des amis et des ennemis d'hier.'
Yves le Maner¹

The centenary of the outbreak of WWI in 2014 inspired numerous commemorative events across the globe. Countries remembered their sacrifices by commemorating fallen soldiers; as mentioned earlier, for example, the United Kingdom commemorated with the installation of ceramic poppies in London. Official visits to war memorials were organized, too, as well as exhibitions and commemorative events. Even in Sarajevo, where the memory of WWI often seems too distant and overshadowed by more recent conflicts, a grand performance was held to accentuate the city's role as the starting point of the war.² The ubiquity of memory of the Great War was certainly confirmed through these numerous national and international events dedicated to the commemoration and remembrance of what happened a hundred years ago. But while the interest was international, the commemorations themselves remained focused on national losses. This unwritten rule was broken only in France, where an international memorial to WWI was built for the first time. It is situated adjacent to the military cemetery of Ablain St.-Nazaire (1924), also known as Notre-Dame-de-Lorette.

The cemetery is located on a hill that constituted a major strategic point during the war, and around which more than half a million people died and nearly 300 villages were destroyed.³ It occupies 27

¹ French historian Yves le Maner quoted in Nicolas Chauty, 'L'anneau de la mémoire se dévoile, unique au monde', *La Voix du Nord*, Octobre 10, 2014, p. 5

² The commemoration of the centenary of WWI did not go uncontested since many Bosnian Serbs boycotted the official ceremony arguing that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand is used to put blame on them for the later conflict that resulted in disintegration of Yugoslavia. Instead of attending the Vienna Philharmonic concert performing a repertoire including Haydn, Schubert and Brahms, in the restored City Hall (destroyed during the siege of the city), Serbian officials focused on commemorating Gavrilo Princip, the assassinator of the Archduke and his wife, by erecting monuments to him and reincarnating the scene of the shootings. See: Kevin Rawlinson, 'Serbs boycott Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassination', *The Guardian*, 28.06.2014 (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/28/serbian-leaders-boycott-franz-ferdinand-commemorations-first-world-war>, Accessed 09.06.2015; 'Sarajevo marks 100 years since Archduke Franz Ferdinand shooting', *BBC News*, 28.06.2014 (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28062876>, accessed 09.06.2015)

³ The ridge of high ground rises to 165 meters and as a dominant feature in the landscape offers the commanding view from the hill at Notre Dame de Lorette looking to the north-east and the Lens-Liévin plain. The views from the summit were

hectares and contains 19,000 individual graves and 22,970 unidentified bodies, numbers which make it the largest French necropolis.⁴ Two main buildings determine its layout of the cemetery: a lantern tower⁵ (1925) designed by French architect Louis-Marie Cordonnier (1854-1940) and a basilica (1937) inspired by the earlier reputation of the location as a site of religious pilgrimage.⁶

For the centenary of the Great War, Nord-Pas-de-Calais Regional Council and the Lens-Liévin Metropolitan District decided to redevelop this long-neglected site of memory. The plan included improvement of the access road to the cemetery, starting at the bottom of the ridge in Souchez commune, and the creation of a museum and memorial to the soldiers killed in the region of Artois and French Flanders during the war, regardless their nationality. The redevelopment plans were part of a state-supported regional programme⁷ entitled Paths of Memory in Nord-Pas-de-Calais (*Chemins de mémoire en Nord-Pas-de-Calais*) and dedicated to commemoration of the Great War. This consists of four trails intended to reconstruct significant routes and connect key points from the conflict.⁸ The site,

crucial to occupy. The 'Battle of Lorette' took place between the German and the French Armies, starting in October 1914 and ending in October 1915. Soldiers of many nationalities participated in the fighting in the region of Nord-Pas-de-Calais which due to the severe devastation earned the name 'Hell in the North'. Among many destroyed villages and cities, Arras, like Reims and Verdun, was designated a martyr city.

⁴ During the 1920's bodies from other cemeteries across Northern France have been collected to be buried in the cemetery. Two wings of the cemetery are dedicated as graveyards for Muslim and Jewish soldiers. Burials also include six French graves from the Second World War, an unknown soldier of the French-Indochina conflict of 1945-1954 and an unknown soldier of the French-North African conflict of 1952-1962. There are burials of the remains of 64 Russians, 1 Belgian and 1 Romanian. See *Ablain St-Nazaire French Military Cemetery 'Notre Dame de Lorette', France, The Great War* (<http://www.greatwar.co.uk/french-flanders-artois/cemetery-ablain-st-nazaire-notre-dame-de-lorette.htm>, accessed 08.01.2014)

⁵ The lantern in 52 meters high with a viewing gallery on the top and radiating light that reaches a distance of about 70 kilometers. A base of the tower houses an ossuary-crypt with the remains of 6000 soldiers and a Chapel of Rest containing 32 coffins out of which three belong to the Unknown Soldier from WWII, a soldier from the African war and a Soldier from the Indochina war. The tower also contains soil and ashes from the concentration camps of WWII.

⁶ From the 18th century onward the 'Notre Dame de Lorette' or 'Our Lady of Lorette' refers to Virgin Mary of Lorette as was singled by a small private chapel that used to stand on the location in 1794. In the following century more chapels were built in the area since it was established as the area of pilgrimage. At the entrance of the cemetery there is a stele that marks where the first chapel used to stand.

⁷ The international Memorial at Notre-Dame-de-Lorette is supported by the *Ministry délégué aux Anciens Combattants* and is erected on land given to the Nord-Pas de Calais Region by the Ministry for Defense.

⁸ 'Chemins de mémoire en Nord-Pas-de-Calais' or 'Trails of Memory' consists of four routes: The Allies' logistics base on the Channel coast, The Front, Post-war reconstruction and The war of movement and the first German occupation. The Official website: (<http://www.remembrancetrails-northernfrance.com>, accessed 09.01.2015)

like the Menin Gate at Ypres and Wellington Quarry in Arras, is part of a web of memorials along one of these trails, which follows the course of the former front line. The memorials closest to Notre-Dame-de-Lorette are the Canadian National Memorial at Vimy and the German Cemetery at Maison-Blanche in Neuville-Saint-Vaast,⁹ as well as the British cemetery at Cabaret Rouge in Souchez. The latter can actually be seen from the hill of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette and from the memorial.

The memorial was envisioned as a unique project, situated adjacent to the existing cemetery that would commemorate 600,000 soldiers. The associated museum is dedicated to the history of the Great War, with an emphasis on the region of Nord-Pas-de-Calais, and is located at the foot of the hill. A small-scale architectural competition launched in 2011 resulted in two proposals being chosen: Pierre-Louis Faloci's¹⁰ design for the museum and Philippe Prost's design for the memorial. The museum, officially called Lens'14-18 – War and Peace History Centre (Lens'14-18 - Centre d'Histoire Guerre et Paix, 2015), is designed as series of large cubes made of dark concrete¹¹ (Fig. 6.66). As well as providing information about the war, it also contains a commemorative space for the dead named in the Ring of Memory. Although many doubts were raised during construction about whether such a structure is needed in the first place, particularly in an area abundant in graveyards and memorials dedicated to the Great War, the Ring of Memory drew attention from its very inception. Its inauguration in November 2014 was widely reported in the Western media, with most critics sharing the view that it represents a valuable asset in the memorialization of the war.¹²

⁹ Neuville-Saint-Vaast German cemetery is the largest German military cemetery in France for casualties of the First World War. There are 44,833 German casualties from the 1914-1918 war buried here. The German War Graves Agency, took over care for the cemetery from the French authorities in 1928.

¹⁰ Pierre-Louis Faloci designed a Natzweiler-Struthof a concentration camp museum-memorial, dedicated in 2005. The architecture of the museum-memorial aims to provide an atmosphere of silence and meditation. At the same time it has a rather heavy appearance due to the materials employed, namely black steel, brute concrete, dark granite and dark wood. See: Pierre-Louis Faloci, 'The architect's point of view', Struthof: Site of the former Natzweiler concentration camp (<http://www.struthof.fr/en/the-european-centre/the-creation-of-the-cerd/the-architects-point-of-view/>, accessed 07.06.2015)

¹¹ The museum's exhibition is organized in seven thematically distinct areas that aim to explain chronology of the war, supported by 5000 photographs and 60 hours of archival footage. See: 'Lens'14-18 Centre d'Histoire Guerre et Paix', Communauté d'Agglomération de Lens-Liévin (<http://agglomeration.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapJournal/?appid=c9189b7504bc4eeb836fd11c785d673e>, accessed 07.06.2015)

¹² See: Rowan Moore, 'Notre Dame de Lorette international memorial review-a different perspective', *The Guardian*, November 2, 2014 (<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/nov/02/notre-dame-de-lorette-international-memorial-review>, accessed 10.01.2015); Jonathan Glancey, 'The Ring of Remembrance, Notre Dame de Lorette', *The Telegraph*, November 10, 2014



Figure 6.66

6.5.2 Architecture

Philippe Prost (born 1959) and his design team strove to give expression to the notion of peace and memory for all those who died fighting for their countries and now reunited in what the designers called 'posthumous fraternity'.¹³ This idea is clearly visualized in the initial sketches, which depict human figures holding hands and forming a circle (Fig. 6.67). The choice of a pseudo-elliptical form seemed logical to the designers, since they considered it the most representative of unity and eternity. The circular form also refers to the idea of eternity being invincible by concepts of nationality, rank and religion¹⁴ (Fig. 6.68).

The circle has a dual character, derived from the strong separation of outside from inside and the public from the semi-public.

The 'public' side consists of a façade constructed from 122 segments of special industrial concrete in the dark grey which, according to the designers, is the colour of war. The façade has few openings, for the most part being completely closed. In complete contrast, the interior is a light space opening towards the sky. This enclosed 'semi-public' space is made from 500 reflective stainless metal sheets, faceted in such a way that they resemble the pages of a book (Fig. 6.69).

(<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/architecture/11220393/The-Ring-of-Remembrance-Notre-Dame-de-Lorette.html>, accessed 10.06.2015);

¹³ Philippe Prost, *Mémorial international de Notre-Dame-de-Lorette Construction d'un mémorial aux soldats tombés dans le Nord-Pas de Calais au cours de la Première guerre mondiale*, Dossier de Presse, Septembre 2014; A plaque at the entrance to the memorial reads: 'This memorial was erected in a peaceful Europe in memory of a terrible tragedy which devastated a generation of young men, who for the most part could read and write.'

¹⁴ Ibid

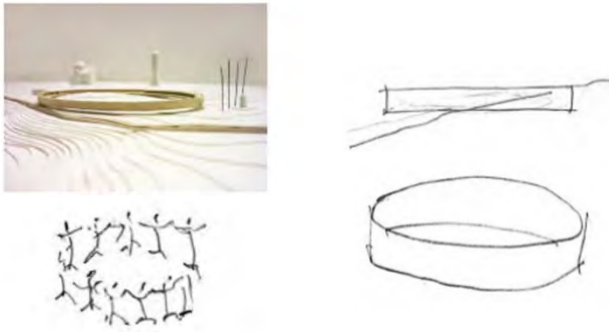


Figure 6.67



Figure 6.68



Figure 6.69

In a custom-designed typeface,¹⁵ 579,606 names are engraved lightly into these copper-toned panels. To make it easier for visitors to find a particular name, they are listed in alphabetical order with a large capital letter indicating the start of the list for that letter. Hailing from 40 countries, including former colonies, the names are presented without rank or nationality¹⁶ (*Fig. 6.70*). Space has been left blank after each letter to make it possible to add more names in the future.¹⁷ During the design process, the names were perceived as an augmentation of the idea of unity. Arranged in alphabetical order, they progress across the surface of the memorial to evoke the symbolic notion of an endless human chain of brotherhood. Another defining feature of the memorial is the horizontality of the composition, which was deliberately chosen to contrast with the taller buildings of the existing cemetery, notably the lantern. Since the memorial is spatially juxtaposed with the lantern, as visible on the ground plan, the decision to contrast the two seems sensible. Accordingly, a section of the memorial facing the lantern is anchored to the ground. In fact, two thirds of the memorial's perimeter is fixed to the ground and one third was designed as an overhang. This was to reaffirm the notion of duality which pervades the design. Perceiving the memorial as 'a weightless space between heaven and earth',¹⁸ the anchored part needs to create a sense of balance whilst the overhang has the task of reminding visitors of the fragility of peace (*Fig. 6.71*). The tension between the earthly and the divine, between peace and horror, is clearly visible in the memorial's materialization, which augments that duality.

The overhang accounts for 56 of the 328 metres of the complete perimeter, with several openings that offer a panoramic view over the Artois valley, where a number of heavy battles were fought during the Great War.

It is possible to enter the memorial at two points. The main access point is located opposite the entrance to the old cemetery, but it is also possible to enter underneath the overhang (*Fig. 6.72*).

¹⁵ Graphic designer Pierre di Sciuolo created skinny font that would be suitable for listing numerous names.

¹⁶ There are 241,214 British soldiers named on the monument, the highest number for any country, 173,876 Germans and 106,012 French soldiers. The list begins with Aa Tet, a soldier from French colonies in Indo-China. Certain names repeat in great numbers, for example there are 30 men named William Williams and 72 men called Karl Schmidt.

¹⁷ Already the excavation of the former battlefield proved to be a great undertaking since there were thousands of human remains found in the ground.

¹⁸ *Ibid* (author's translation); Original text: 'En s'élançant à l'assaut de l'horizon, le Mémorial crée un espace en apesanteur, entre ciel et terre.'



Figure 6.70



Figure 6.71



Figure 6.72

Both entrances symbolically recall trenches in the battlefields. The ‘official’ entrance slopes downwards in the form of a passageway with the word ‘peace’ inscribed in different languages on perforated metal plaques, which at the same time allow in light (Fig. 6.73). The ‘unofficial’ entrance under the overhang climbs towards the centre of the circle.

The interior of the memorial is lit by a custom-designed ‘great lamp’, ‘La Grande Veilleuse’,¹⁹ installed at the bottom of the panels. This creates a dynamic effect by being programmed to move along the lists of names and to project stronger light on a few panels in sequence (Fig. 6.74). Much attention has been paid to the plants for the memorial, too, which are expected to reach maturity in 2018²⁰ (Fig. 6.75).



Figure 6.73



Figure 6.74

¹⁹ Ibid; the lightning device contains twenty lightening programs that in a different way accentuate parts of the memorial; it was designed by artist Yann Toma. See Yann Toma ‘La Grande Veilleuse’, *Vie de Ouest-Lumière* (<http://www.ouestlumiere.fr/%C5%93uvres-works/monumental/la-grande-veilleuse/>, accessed 08.01.2015)

²⁰ Landscape designer David Besson-Girard designed a plan for the vegetation in the memorial including poppies, bleuets and forget-me-nots.



Figure 6.75

6.5.3 Effect

'War nods off to sleep, but keeps one eye always open.'
Jean Cayrol²¹

The approach road to the memorial ascends from the bottom of the hill, where the museum is situated, and is lined with several free-standing panels depicting the faces of soldiers and the surroundings as they were during the war (Fig. 6.76; 77). Juxtaposed against the present landscape, these panels offer a good impression of the devastation it suffered in the conflict. They also serve as a form of introduction to the buildings awaiting at the top of the hill. For the visitor approaching on foot, a footpath starting on the left-hand side of the road leads towards the overhang of the new memorial (Fig. 6.78). This route cannot be taken by motor vehicles, so their occupants' first impression is influenced by an existing monument standing in front of the official entrances to the cemetery and the memorial (Fig. 6.79). Continuing towards the cemetery, the uncanny dark structure which first appeared as a background to the monument now reveals its curving form. The dark façade of the circular memorial seems to protrude from the ground, and does indeed contrast with the older buildings and the cemetery across the road. The curving façade leads to the entrance of the memorial. Descending the sloping path, a glimpse of the interior invites. The widely used kinaesthetic device of descending into the ground, as previously discussed in relation to cemeteries, appears often in WWI memorials in order to communicate the notion of trench warfare. For example, it is also found at Tyne Cot cemetery. The Ring of Memory asserts this idea quite literally, by using terracotta in the entrance passageway to refer to the colour of earth. In this way, the transition of entering the ring is made explicit and affective.

²¹ Jean Cayrol in: Alain Resnais (Dir.), *Nuit et Brouillard*, produced by: Anatole Dauman, written by: Jean Cayrol, distributed by: Argos films, 1955



Figure 6.76



Figure 6.77



Figure 6.78



Figure 6.79

Due to several similarities, a comparison with the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial in Washington DC is relevant. Firstly, both very much rely on alphabetical lists of the fallen. In their claim to textuality, then, both are structures of memory and death. Secondly, they share similar choices of materials: dark and heavy ones to represent war and reflective ones to initiate self-reflection. Thirdly, there is their anchorage in the ground and visitor-embracing spatial conception. At the same time, however, the architectural space is the point where these two memorials differ significantly. And even their use of lists of the dead has genuinely different purposes. Where Lin's memorial nurtures emotion with the names of men who are still part of the living memory of that particular war, the Notre-Dame-de-Lorette memorial is dealing with memory which has no living witnesses. Perhaps it was this that allowed the possibility of memorializing enemies next to each other. Certainly, this is the one feature which makes this memorial distinct from any other.

The architecture augments this. In its horizontality and dark outer appearance, the memorial stands in complete visual contrast to the existing cemetery. If observed from there, it seems almost invisible due to that horizontality and dark appearance (*Fig. 6.80*). Nonetheless, the circular form remains a strong presence in the space, particularly if approached from the overhang. In its sheer scale, the memorial recalls French revolutionary architects and their quest for the architecture of the sublime. Here again, not unlike many other memorial spaces, a sense of thrill²² is created by the overhang. Hence the combination of danger (the overhang) and pleasure (the sublimity of the inner ring and landscape). The same principle can be found in



Figure 6.80

²² See: Grant Hilderbrand, *Origins of Architectural Pleasure*, University of California Press, 1999. Hilderbrand argued that humans seek to experience 'thrill' which 'involves two emotions, fear and pleasure that are normally exclusive.' *Op. cit.*, p. 68

the Steilneset Memorial, say, or at the entrance of Risiera de San Sabba.

In its purpose, the memorial complements the cemetery as part of the established route of memory, and visitors seem to pay equal attention to both old and new memorials. By serving as a sort of exploded catalogue of names of soldiers, who presumably died in that very spot, the memorial recalls Chris Burden's *The Other Vietnam Memorial*—although only in the sense that it catalogues the names of 'the others'. In Burden's memorial these 'others' are known and unknown civilians, whereas in Prost's design they are combatants. A relatively recent example of an attempt to commemorate both civilian and military victims of a conflict occurred in 2010, when France's National Memorial to the Algerian War (Mémorial National de la Guerre d'Algérie) was rededicated to include the names of civilian victims of the 1962 Rue d'Isly massacre in Algiers.²³ This attempt failed, however, only indicating how contentious French memory of the Algerian war really is.²⁴

The question of whether to incorporate the names of civilian victims from the many villages destroyed during the Great War thus remains open.

Notwithstanding this, the memorial is a poetic space which does indeed accentuate the ideas of brotherhood and humanity by the simple gesture of bringing together all the names. On a sunny day, the space is even more poignant as rays of sunshine reflect on the 'golden pages' (Fig. 6.81). The space evokes Frank Lloyd Wright's inscription on *Blue Sky Mausoleum*: 'A burial facing the open sky, the whole could not fail of noble effect...'

At the same time, the memorial demonstrates the scale of the tragedy. This is pressed home by several plates which bear just one surname. In this detail, the uniformity of the numbers defining the New England Holocaust memorial in Boston comes to mind.

After visiting the memorial and cemetery, one has to take the same road back. The photographic impressions of the devastated landscape are certain to resonate more strongly now that one realizes the scale of the losses. Once again, the distinctive features which constitute the

²³ Only a week after the official ceasefire in Algeria the Organisation armée secrète (OAS) opened fire on a peaceful demonstration that were taking place on March 26, 1962 in Alger, killing 67 civilians.

²⁴ On March 26, 2010, the Secretary of State for Defense and Veterans, Hubert Falco, re-inaugurated the memorial in order to include the names of civilians who were killed in the massacre on the rue d'Isly in Algeria in 1962, on the same day. The senate denounced the inclusion arguing that the names of the civilian victims cannot be assimilated to the names of those who died for France and furthermore that the victims are already commemorated elsewhere. Guy Fischer, "Proposition de loi: fixant la destination du Mémorial national de la guerre d'Algérie et des combats du Maroc et de la Tunisie et relative à la mémoire des victimes de l'OAS (Organisation armée secrète)," in N° 618, ed. Sénat, 2010, p. 4 (<http://www.senat.fr/leg/pp109-618.pdf>, accessed 17.06.2015)

spatial manifestations of a cemetery burial ritual, as discussed in Chapter 3, are clearly distinguishable. For example, the path of initiation or way of approach to the memorial becomes the path of realization on the way back. In the process of recalling and understanding this particular memory, the memorial serves as an experiential room with a transitional character.

For all these reasons, the Ring of Memory is a demonstration of a well-balanced memorial space which is a true monument to the maturity society has reached in its memorialization of the Great War. This is manifested in the way it overcomes national prejudices to commemorate all participants in the war, which previously had been done only abstractly. The architectural craftsmanship needed to carry the project to its conclusion provided supporting design solutions that were the outcome of an interdisciplinary collaboration.

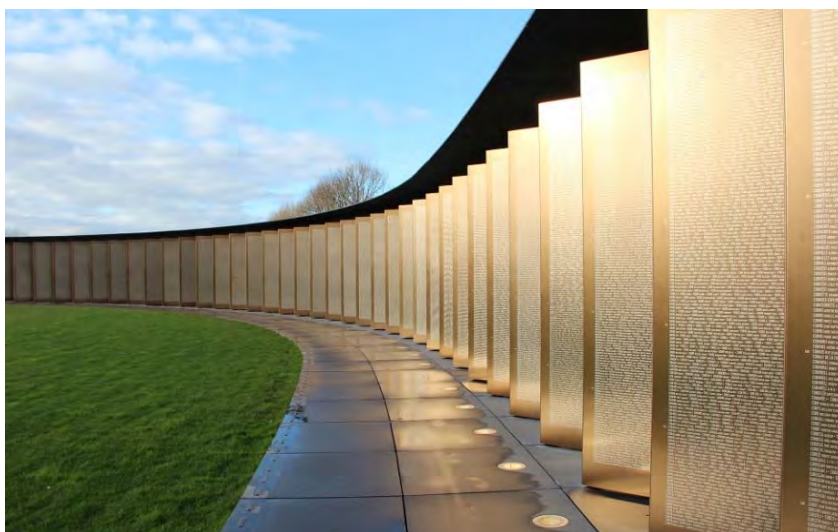


Figure 6.81

7. Conclusion

Erecting monuments and memorials has been a profound human activity since the early civilizations. Since the 18th century there have been periods when the intensity of construction was higher, and when both official and unofficial commemorative projects proliferated. For example, during the Third Republic in France or after WWI. These periods are often defined by significant cultural and social instabilities caused by nationalistic political agendas and wars, but also by a time distance that renders particular events more comprehensive and thereby involves a wider audience - as exemplified in the commemoration of WWII in the past few decades. Two decisive events that triggered numerous memorial projects in Western commemorative architecture are the two world wars, due to the unprecedented number of the missing and dead soldiers in WWI and the enormous number of civilian victims, a result of the Nazi policy of industrialized murder, in WWII. The commemoration of WWI was a watershed period, which set a course for the further development of memorial architecture, with numerous memorials and cemeteries built during and after the war. In the face of the enormous loss of human lives, mostly those of young soldiers, designers had to come up with solutions that would address the scale of death, coloured by millions of missing. Commemorative efforts found their expressions in the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and in numerous battlefield cemeteries, where rows of grave markers evoke the harrowingly sublime. British cemeteries, for instance, organized by the Imperial War Grave Commission, introduced features that strongly influenced future memorial design. These include the alphabetical listing of names of the missing, engraved on the walls of galleries that usually serve as introductory spaces to the actual burial grounds, and Sir Edwin Lutyens' Stone of Remembrance. A notion of descending into the ground was also a common characteristic, particularly in artistic depictions of death on the battlefields and most directly materialized in Finsterwalder's Munich war memorial, discussed in Chapter 5.

While commemoration of WWI focused on military cemeteries and on aesthetics that could address soldiers from different nationalities, as well as on monuments that referenced traditional language as a way of making sense of the war, WWII delivered profound changes and questions about the very meaning of monuments and memorials. Alongside commemorative forms that continued practice from WWI, such as listing names of the dead soldiers and dedicating a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, it was the search for appropriate forms to commemorate civilian victims that yielded innovative architectural answers.

The assumed contemporary obsession with built memorial projects has different contributing factors, but in large part is connected to an

upsurge in interest in memory studies in various disciplines, as well as the fact that survivors want their experiences and memories to be represented. Memorials, naturally, attract most attention since they are physical, and usually lasting, manifestations of memory work in public.

The language of contemporary memorial architecture is quite diverse, but at the same time these structures echo examples from ancient times. Often, architects use archetypes for their inherent meanings; for instance, Ravnikar and Scarpa both use an 'arcosolium' to memorialize different events, as elaborated in the third chapter. In architecture related to death, including monuments and memorials, the implementation of archetypes is often used to communicate ideas of the mystery of the unknown realms of death, but also notions of eternity and higher ideals that have existed since there has been human thought. Before Burke precisely defined the design means needed to achieve the effects of the sublime, inspiring French architects in the 18th century, these had been demonstrated in, for example, Stonehenge, the Egyptian pyramids and the Pantheon. Such edifices can be considered as powerful references that created the main framework for memorial architecture against which designers usually reflect intentionally. At the same time, the ideas that formed these recognizable examples are derived from the designers' tacit knowledge and from the understanding that memorial architecture is a medium for entering the spiritual realm of the immaterial world of memory or afterlife, as was the case in ancient Egypt.

The concept of 'architecture parlante', a narrative space in which spectator participation is a prerequisite to render meaning, has found its expression in the post-war period, but we also find it earlier in Terragni's unrealized project for a 'Danteum'. Again, all these elements can be traced back to the Pantheon and the ancient tumulus, but it is their purpose and adjustment to the context that delivers a different form and meaning.

After WWII, and especially after the trials of Nazi officials brought to light gruesome facts regarding the concentration camps, memorial architecture needed to address the psychological and physical relicts of the atrocity. As a result, architects added the following expressions to their vocabulary: negative forms, invisibility, alienation and terror; but also self-reflection, healing and contemplation. For example, the Memorial to the Deportation in Paris communicates these aspects clearly since it was conceived with the premise that it should invite visitors to feel welcomed into a space which is 'at once intimate and collective.'¹

At the same time, the definition of genocide and the acceptance of the convention of 'human rights' brought a need for deductive components and

¹ Jean Cassou quoted in Hornstein, *op. cit.*, p. 311. See Chapter five, page 174.

tools in memorialization. After the 1970s, memorial museums – and Holocaust memorial museums in particular - started proliferating in number, and many memorials incorporated a deductive content while visitor centres were added to the sites of former concentration camps. In later years, information centres were added to many WWI memorials and cemeteries as well; for example, Tyne Cot cemetery, the American cemetery in Normandy, Thiepval and, more recently, the Notre-Dame-de-Lorette cemetery, here with two additions: the memorial Ring of Memory and the memorial museum. In fact, this can now be considered common practice: adding architectural content to the existing memorials and memorial cemeteries for the purpose of providing more information in order to offer a deeper insight into, and multiple perspectives of, the events commemorated.

The claim to textuality in memorials belongs to their inherent meaning. Design proposals from 18th-century France - for instance, the Monument to the Defenders of the Fatherland (1794) by Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine – were excessive in merging textual content with architecture. In the contemporary discourse this aspect was reintroduced by Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC, possibly the best known memorial in the West. The success of this rests in its employment of historical references, such as the alphabetical lists of names from the WWI memorials and a notion of descending into the ground, in combination with an architectural space which reacts to its surroundings. The memorial incorporates the complexity of contemporary vocabulary, too, but manages to find a balance between opposite notions. Even though it is described as a 'wound', negative and confronting, it creates a strong holding environment in which visitors are allowed to reflect and mourn. The memorial's power is recognized by the general public and it is appropriated by its users, even though there was strong opposition at the time of its dedication. The careful balancing act between witnessing trauma and its memorialization, in a permanent form that is at once intrusive and organically embedded into the surroundings, is crucial to its architectural value.

The development of psychological, anthropological and social aspects to understanding trauma, the process of mourning and the construction of collective and personal identities are in large part traceable in the architecture of commemoration in general and in architectural memorials in particular. Contemporary memorials are experiential spaces that aim to facilitate several functions, the most prominent of which include: creating a material framework for mourners and survivors; affirming collective and individual identities; and offering information and deeper insight into the story they are telling in order to forestall inhumanity. Unlike the WWI memorial in Bochum, which was designed from a single perspective that explicitly focused on the losses caused by the enemy and in that way invited a desire for revenge, memorials today predominantly invite contemplation about peace, reconciliation and the revision

of current societal values – as demonstrated in Jochen Gerz' addition to the Bochum memorial, mentioned in Chapter 5. Like cemeteries, then, memorials are spaces of transition between two realms, one of the present and the other belonging to a particular moment from the past. If concerned with the process of mourning and coming to terms with loss, memorials correspond with the 'rites of passage' in funerary practices, namely separation, segregation and integration. Translated into architectural forms, as elaborated in Chapter 3 these stages manifest themselves in three relevant sequential elements: entrance, path and room. Successful implementation of this architectural sequence can create a strong holding environment for mourning, but also for informing and educating the general public. Furthermore, the sense of place can be enhanced, which is of great importance if the memorial is positioned at an authentic location. Here, it is necessary to distinguish between the character of a place, as determined by the architectural language, and the sense of place as a layered process whose integration is achieved by interaction between people and a place.

The process of creating a memorial varies according to the specificities of the context. However, there are certain common stages that can be singled out. They include initiation, the design process, realization and effect. The initiation phase is defined by a commissioning body that needs to articulate the purpose of the memorial and lay down a set of requirements. In large part, the purpose of a memorial is defined by the intended visitor group. Depending on whether it is dedicated solely to facilitating the mourning process, or also to the education of future generations, or has a touristic purpose as well, the scope of the memorial or museum can be established and pertinent questions can be answered. For example, whether to include deductive content, and to what extent. In order to address these matters in a comprehensive way, the assessing team can only benefit from a multidisciplinary approach: including experts from various relevant disciplines and also, if possible, families of the victims, survivors or other groups affected by the event. This is of great importance if the memorial is planned to contain names or remains of the victims. Involving these groups can be beneficial in two ways: the commissioning body can gain a better understanding of the context, whilst the participants become contributors to the design. Such collaboration enhances appropriation of the memorial space by users once it is built. Consequently, the process can prove to be a long and contested affair. In fact, this is so in most cases. The long time it takes to complete a memorial is recognized as important, even necessary, in cases where it marks a traumatic event in the recent past. It becomes a platform for survivors, on which they can address their loss and which at the same time is recognized by others. Numerous examples confirm this argument, the

most recent being the delay in the building of the memorial on Utoya in Norway.

Once built, memorials are exposed to contestation as subjects that invite public opinion. In some cases this is welcomed regardless of the form the public expression takes. Rachel Whiteread argued that graffiti on her Vienna Holocaust Memorial, for example, would demonstrate legible public opinion.² In most cases, however, any kind of antagonistic reaction is perceived as harmful. For this reason, the initiation phase and design process should be transparent and all-embracing. If the requirements are not presented clearly and in elaborate detail, particularly for more complex projects, it is likely that parties involved in the creation of the memorial will face obstacles that are difficult to overcome.

This was the case with the creation of the museum and memorial at the Dossin Barracks in Mechelen, where the curatorial programme and educational spaces needed to be adjusted 'a posteriori' and so influenced the final design to substantial degree. In the 11-M memorial in Atocha, on the other hand, the designers rightly recognized that the programme of requirements neglected the need for a space of quiet reflection. Instead of producing a single monument to mark the place, they therefore introduced the underground space as well and thus successfully changed the programme of requirements. Moreover, the underground space in Atocha communicates with the station, as the place of history, whereas the memorial at the Dossin Barracks, and to a certain extent the museum as well, refuses to engage in interaction. How to communicate with the site was not explained in the programme of requirements, but instead left entirely to the designers. This inevitably raises questions about architectural craftsmanship and the designer's sensitivity towards the context, since these qualities can overcome obstacles and still help creating meaningful structures. The ability of the architect to recognize relevant aspects and then translate them into a built form is demonstrated in the flexibility of the memorial to integrate possible future modifications which, if needed, can improve its quality and reinforce its purpose for the following generations.

For a memorial to be effective, and hence to fulfil its purpose, there needs to exist an understanding of both the physical and historical properties of the location together and the expectations and needs of its future users. Of course, this is not the case where the purpose of the memorial is to obliterate memory and the history of the place or to modify it by leaving out crucial information while building on highly sensitive ground, a common practice at many memorials in the Balkans, as discussed in the first chapter.

² See Chapter five, p. 200.

In situations where memorials are planned to continue an already existing work of memory, the issue of designing within a context remains equally relevant. In Mechelen, the architect decided not to relate to the barracks and also to demolish the building which used to stand on the site, only to reintegrate segments of it into the new design. Such decisions are of immense significance and should not be entrusted solely to the designer, since this creates a possibility that the design will be alienated from the context and thereby become generic. Reflecting on Musil's statement about public monuments of the 1930s being invisible to observers, there is a similar danger that this could be the future for many contemporary memorials which fail to deal with the particularities of their context. A memorial disconnected from the place risks social unsustainability and thereby endangers the preservation of the history of the place.

This is particularly significant when the emotional strength has subsided but the conscious responsibility remains relevant, because that is normally a moment when the purpose becomes even more complicated by the question of tourism. Except in Atocha and Drancy, where the architecture carries its purpose straightforwardly, all the other case studies integrate the tourism aspect to a certain point, while the Dossin Barracks is purposely designed to become part of the world's memory network. The Steilneset Memorial in Vardø is a significant component in a national development plan which is investing in the tourist image of the region, whereas the memorial in Nantes, as well as being a tourist attraction, participates in the political agenda of dealing with the heritage of the country's infamous colonial past. Both deal with highly sensitive and immensely relevant topics, particularly the issue of slavery - which, even today, can be regarded as a global problem. To deal with these problematics, the memorial in Nantes was conceived as a polygon for a dialogue in the public space. However, the concept becomes too ambiguous if the materialized space is characterized as an attractive public realm with the accent on meditative space defined by a textual content which, in the face of the actuality of the topic, remains rather ineffective and superficial. This aspect is even more relevant since this is the first contemporary memorial in France dedicated solely to the country's role in the business of slavery. If a memorial is designed to be an active tool within a political agenda, then – an active space for dialogue – the space for contemplation and the space for information need to be considered equally. Conversely, Vardø's memorial derives its relevance primarily from the fact that two world-known figures, Zumthor and Bourgeois, collaborated to create a space that is so unique and therefore powerful enough to attract visitors. The label of uniqueness is attached to Notre-Dame-de-Lorette's Ring of Memory as well, since it is the first memorial to include fallen soldiers of different nationalities in one place, which naturally makes it more attractive for

visitors. The fact that these memorials are labelled with uniqueness does not have to influence the strength of their architectural design, but it can affect their relevance in the work of memory if the quest to attract tourists overshadows the task of preserving memory.

In Atocha, the memorial was a response to the immediate post-traumatic period and can therefore be recognized as a kind of spontaneous act of mourning, since the designers felt personally affected by the attack. They aspired to a spiritual realm and the only information that it seemed they needed to be provided with were the names of the victims and the expressions of public grief.

Similarly, the Ring of Memory at Notre-Dame-de-Lorette is a memorial of names, a burial under the open sky, borne by the lasting symbolism of a circular form. Nevertheless, there is a significant difference here from some earlier examples of this form: a small fraction of the circle is not rooted in the ground but suspended in the air as a symbol of the fragility of peace. But this also symbolizes fragility of memory, countered by the persistence of the human need to build permanent forms by which to memorialize. Hypothetically, if the suspended fraction of the Ring of Memory were to break off, the once closed circle could extend its form into an infinite spiral: the persistent need to memorialize. This duality is inherent in memorials and is often clearly depicted in the architectural space; for instance, through contrasting materials or the division of underground and above-ground spaces. In some cases this relationship is augmented by physical deterioration, as is the case at Atocha. This memorial demonstrates the fragility of human memory, but the changing appearance caused by deterioration of its textual component, stripping the space to its mere architectural form, an empty tomb of memory, confirms humankind's ubiquitous craving for sacredness, sanctity and values that are lasting.

If this memorial is ever renovated, that could be translated as evolution of memory. Such inevitable progress calls to mind Klee's *Angelus Novus*, but also the far less well-known Sarajevo Angels, who contribute to the preservation of memory by witnessing- an act frozen in a specific moment in time. In this light, a memorial space is inevitably an emotional space and it is therefore essential that architecture provide spaces for spontaneous expressions of grief – a need underlined by our knowledge of the psychological aspects of mourning.

Finally, memorials are demanding projects with several purposes. Initially, they are built to prolong human memory and to educate future generations. But at the same time they are also a constituent part of the mourning process, tools for establishing normality and identity in places stricken by atrocity and political platforms for addressing relevant issues at national levels. Bearing all of this in mind, in all of its complexity, the effect a built memorial can have rests

Conclusion

primarily in its anchorage in the specificity of a place and its content, as recognized and crafted by the architect.

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Nederlandse Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift houdt zich bezig met architectuur als een ruimte van herinnering. Het onderzoekt hoe architectuur de handeling van het herdenken ondersteunt, wat de rol van de ontwerper daarin is, en wat de impact van zijn of haar ontwerp is zodra het herdenkingsbouwwerk¹ in de materiële wereld geïnstalleerd wordt. Ter illustratie van de behandelde problematiek bevat het proefschrift een vijftal *case studies* van contemporaine architectuurprojecten, gewijd aan de herdenking van diverse verschrikkingen.

Om een kritische beschouwing mogelijk te maken heb ik in mijn onderzoek een methode toegepast die herdenkingsarchitectuur in een bredere context plaatst. Het doel van deze methode is het vaststellen van een relevant kader voor contemporaine projecten. Om dit te realiseren benader ik mijn onderwerp niet alleen vanuit de discipline van de architectuur, maar maak ik ook gebruik van inzichten uit de psychologie, anthropologie en sociologie. De belangrijkste vragen waar dit proefschrift een antwoord op wil geven betreffen de redenen waarom een bepaald herdenkingsbouwwerk gerealiseerd wordt op een gegeven locatie, hoe deze redenen vertaald worden naar een architectonisch concept en een bepaalde materialisatie, en tenslotte hoe het eindresultaat ervaren wordt door bezoekers. Deze aspecten vormen het analytisch kader van de vijf bovengenoemde *case studies*. Door me te beperken tot contemporaine herdenkingsarchitectuur streef ik ernaar inzicht te verwerven in het op dit moment gangbare ontwerpproces voor herdenkingsbouwwerken, en op welke manier het de herinnering aan menselijk verlies vertaalt naar een architectonische ruimte.

Het proefschrift combineert de resultaten uit historisch onderzoek met de inzichten opgedaan tijdens uitgebreid veldwerk. Naast het persoonlijk bezoeken van de meeste monumenten, herdenkingsbouwwerken en herdenkingsmusea die op de voorgaande bladzijden besproken worden heb ik waar mogelijk de betrokken ontwerpers geïnterviewd, medewerkers van de bezochte locaties gesproken, en leden van de betrokken herdenkingscomités opgezocht. Op deze wijze heb ik geprobeerd de meest relevante problemen en discussiepunten uit de hedendaagse ontwerppraktijk in kaart te brengen, met name rondom de vraag hoe architectuur tijd en plaats effectief kan inzetten als medium om communicatie met bezoekers mogelijk te maken.

¹ Ik heb gekozen voor het woord 'herdenkingsbouwwerk' omdat er geen goede equivalent is voor het Engelse 'memorial' of het Duitse woord 'Denkmal'.

Het onderzoek is georganiseerd in zeven hoofdstukken, waarvan het eerste hoofdstuk de opbouw van mijn onderzoek toelicht. Daarnaast geeft het een overzicht van bestaande studies naar dit onderwerp.

Het tweede hoofdstuk, 'Architecture and the memory of violence', is een overzicht van de relevante standpunten op het gebied van herdenking en haar tegenpool, vergetelheid, als socio-culturele processen. Het hoofdstuk bestudeert de betwiste positie van architectuur als drager van collectieve identiteit, en onderzoekt waarom bepaalde gebouwen in tijden van conflict direct een doelwit van vernieling worden. In dit hoofdstuk heb ik mij geconcentreerd op twee aspecten die vaak over het hoofd gezien worden door ontwerpers: de dynamiek van menselijk trauma, en de toeëigening van de herdenkingsplaats. Daarnaast bespreekt het hoofdstuk mijn standpunt inzake de typologische en functionele verschillen tussen een monument en een herdenkings-bouwwerk. Ik beargumenteer hier dat het herdenkings-bouwwerk op zichzelf staat als een bijzonder soort architectonisch object.

Het derde hoofdstuk, 'Making loss tangible: the psychology of architecture for death', behandelt de psychologische aspecten van rouw, in het bijzonder rouw die gerelateerd is aan traumatische ervaringen, en hoe de rituelen die daarbij horen gefaciliteerd kunnen worden. Omdat de kennis over trauma en over een adequate toepassing van die kennis op slachtoffers nog in de kinderschoenen staat, heb ik de in mijn opinie meest relevante standpunten benadrukt uit wetenschappelijke studies over rouw en traumatische herinneringen. Daarnaast breng ik in kaart hoe de architecten van de 20^e en 21^e eeuw zijn omgegaan met het onderwerp van de dood in hun ontwerpen. De focus ligt hierbij op begraafplaatsen als de meest voor de hand liggende context om te bestuderen hoe het begrafenisritueel wordt vertaald naar architectuur. Om te begrijpen hoe de ruimte van de begraafplaats het ritueel ondersteunt maak ik gebruik van het etnologische begrip 'plekken van transitie', zoals beschreven door Arnold van Gennep. Aanhakend op Van Gennep's voorbeeld van overgangsrituelen via territoriale reizen identificeer ik drie ruimtelijke categorieën die van toepassing zijn op de materiële vormgeving van begraafplaatsen: ingang, pad en kamer. Ik beargumenteer hier dat deze ruimtelijke categorieën vaak gebruikt worden in ontwerpen voor herdenkingsobjecten.

'Building memory now' is het vierde hoofdstuk, gewijd aan een aantal belangrijke problemen inherent aan het ontwerp van herdenkings-bouwwerken. Dit zijn de context van een globaliserende wereld; de authenticiteit van de gekozen locatie; de vooringenomenheid van architecten met betrekking tot de notie van permanentie in architectuur; en ten laatste, de kwestie van het opnemen van

deductieve aspecten in een ontwerp. Via voorbeelden uit zowel architectuur als kunst probeer ik een beeld te schetsen van de context waarin contemporaine ontwerpers werken.

Hoofdstuk vijf is een beknopt overzicht van de belangrijkste architectonische ontwikkelingen in herdenkingsbouw. Het overzicht concentreert zich op architectonische projecten en concepten in West-Europa, aangevuld met een aantal voorbeelden in de Verenigde Staten en slechts enkele in Zuid- en Oost-Europa en landen uit de voormalige Sovjet-Unie. Het historisch overzicht volgt de ontwikkeling van herdenkingsarchitectuur voor en na de twee wereldoorlogen, en laat de substantiële groei van herdenkingsactiviteiten na de jaren 1980 zien.

De *case studies* worden besproken in hoofdstuk zes. Dit hoofdstuk bevat besprekingen van het 11M Memorial (2007) in het Madrid Atocha station, dat de slachtoffers herdenkt van de terroristische aanslag van 11 maart 2004; het Steilneset herdenkings-bouwwerk in Vardø (2011), opgedragen aan de slachtoffers van heksenjachten; een vergelijkende studie van twee musea in Drancy (2012) en Mechelen (2012) die beide de Holocaust gedenken; het herdenkings-bouwwerk van de afschaffing van de slavernij in Nantes (2012); en tenslotte het internationale herdenkings-bouwwerk van de Eerste Wereldoorlog in Notre-Dame-de-Lorette (2014).

In de conclusie vat ik mijn bevindingen beknopt samen, en geef aanbevelingen met betrekking tot het opstellen van een kader voor toekomstige ontwerpen van herdenkings-bouwwerken. Puttend uit de inzichten die naar voren komen uit mijn vergelijkend onderzoek naar de vijf *case studies*, benadruk ik wat de gebruikelijke knelpunten en problemen zijn in dergelijke ontwerp opdrachten, en sluit af met adviezen hoe deze mogelijk vermeden of opgelost kunnen worden.

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Curriculum Vitae

Sabina Tanovic was born in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, on April 10th, 1982. She obtained her 'Engineer of Architecture' diploma in 2006, at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. She graduated with a concept design entitled 'Tunnel', based on the famous Sarajevo Tunnel, which served as the only food and medical care supply route to the besieged city.

After completing the studies, Sabina started working for a large state company, Energoinvest, on projects dealing with architectural preservation, reconstruction and design of public and industry buildings. She spent two years working in business sector. The lure of more education brought her to the Netherlands.

Sabina gained her master's degree at Delft University of Technology (2008 - 2010), with a project entitled 'Ring of Memory: Memorial for the Siege of Sarajevo' (2010). This work was nominated by the Explore-lab studio for the Archiprix in 2010. Along the way, she participated in numerous workshops and design platforms. Several of her concept designs have been awarded in architectural competitions, such as 'Triangle Fire memorial design competition' in 2013.

Sabina is actively engaged with issues concerning commemoration of the war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992 – 1996), with a focus on the siege of Sarajevo and gross human rights violation in other areas within the country.

