

## EMPLACING MEMORY THROUGH THE CITY: THE NEW BERLIN

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*In the center of Berlin is a wooden fence. It was erected to protect the 4.2 acre construction lot destined to become the Central Memorial to Murdered European Jews. Plastered on the most-trafficked corner of this fence is an ever-changing montage of posters, political graffiti, and enlarged newspaper articles about the memorial yet to be built. While this fence is a temporary structure in the landscape, it marks contested social identities.*

*Large posters put up by the citizens' group responsible for the memorial announce "Here is the place!" On one, a familiar historical photo depicts a bedraggled elderly man wearing a thick coat stitched with a Star of David. A lonely figure, he reminds contemporary onlookers of the unjust death he and others suffered. His image haunts the city and our imaginations. It is a familiar face, one that some tourist walking by might recognize from black and white photographs previously viewed at museum exhibitions or in historical films. As a document, this photo provides evidence that he existed, and necessarily, given the history of Jews in the Third Reich, that he was persecuted. Still, he remains nameless. It is not clear who captured the image (Nazi soldiers? Local residents?), why he was photographed (Documentation? Propaganda?), or where he was when the photograph was taken (A processing center? A train station? A street in this neighborhood?).*

*Printed on a small band at the top of another poster, a different citizens' initiative invokes the authority of Theodor Adorno: "The past can only be dealt with when the causes of the past are removed." Viewing the memorial as yet another attempt to "draw a final line" (Schlußstrich) under the past, this citizens' group advocates discussion and debate about the continued presence of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Germany. For them, the past is always constituted by the present; the violent histories of National Socialism and the Holocaust should be left open to interpretation indefinitely. They see the memorial as symptomatic of contemporary Germans' desire to put an end to discussions about their social responsibility for the past.*

*Someone else has posted a handwritten sign that declares: "The discussion IS a memorial!" Another asserts: "The memorial is already there" only to be*

*emended to read: "The memorial is already here." These proclamations point to the very real presence of the memorial in Berlin and in Germany's national imaginary despite its lack of a sculptural form in 1999.*

*The fence protects an empty lot.<sup>1</sup>*

The "New Berlin" represents the shimmering promise of Germany's future. During the decade following reunification, city marketers deployed images of construction cranes to showcase the city's transition from an icon of Cold War division to a spectacle of (Western) cosmopolitanism. As one city marketer for the public-private group Partners for Berlin, an organization that runs summer tours through Berlin's building sites, remarked: "Berlin is a large architectural exhibition. Each and every year things change. . . . In Berlin, unlike other cities such as Munich, I have to go to these places again and again because things change so fast."<sup>2</sup>

And they have changed indeed. The sheer scale of construction and renovation that has occurred after 1990 in the center of the city is highly unusual in Europe. Germany's national capital displays its new multi-billion-Euro projects at sites of former Cold War division, including: centrally located corporate developments at Potsdamer Platz and Checkpoint Charlie; transportation networks connecting East and West Berlin; and a federal government district stretching across the River Spree. Urban renewal projects in the former East include a museum island (recently classified as one of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites) and gentrified turn-of-the-century residential courtyards (now filled with fashionable loft dwellings, cafés, boutiques, galleries, and design and architecture studios). Despite the merger of "sister" cultural institutions following reunification, Berlin now rivals London as a central European cultural center, boasting world-class museums, galleries, opera houses, and alternative art scenes.<sup>3</sup>

Even as the contemporary city has been given a radiant material form through buildings and districts designed by world-famous architects, Berlin remains distinctive for its haunted geographies.<sup>4</sup> The material landscapes of the city shimmer with the hopes and desires of Berlins imagined in the past and historic Berlins imagined today. Specters of past and future become unexpectedly felt, even made visible, when marketers imagine yet another "new" Berlin, historic preservationists and local initiatives label artifacts and landscapes as culturally significant, citizens' groups discover formerly abandoned spaces, or tourists move through packaged pilgrimage routes. Places of memory, including memorials, museums, street names, and public commemorative art, continue to be (re)established and debated—sites that communicate the desires and fears of returning to traumatic national pasts.

Berlin, in other words, is a city that cannot be contained by time, by marketing representations of “the new.” It is a place with “heterogeneous references, ancient scars,” a city that “create[s] bumps on the smooth utopias” of its imagined futures.<sup>5</sup> As the capital of five different historical Germanies, Berlin represents the “unstable optic identity” of the nation, to borrow Rudy Koshar’s words, for it is the city where, more than any other city, German nationalism and modernity have been staged and restaged, represented and contested.<sup>6</sup>

Not surprisingly, numerous scholarly works exist about the politics of memory in the postwar city, including debates about “mastering” the National Socialist, and more recently, GDR pasts (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*), and about the relationships between social memory and history, the latter contributing to a larger interdisciplinary discussion.<sup>7</sup> In much of this literature, the city—and place more generally—is treated as a stage upon which the drama of history unfolds, as a bounded material site, or as an outcome of linear chronologies.<sup>8</sup> But places are never merely backdrops for action, nor are they texts from which the past can be easily read.<sup>9</sup> Always in the process of becoming, places are fluid mosaics and moments of memory and metaphor, scene and experience, dream and matter that create and mediate social spaces and temporalities. Through place-making, people mark social spaces as haunted—thresholds through which they can return to a past, make contact with loss and desire, contain unwanted presences, even confront lingering injustices.

While the literature about social memory is replete with spatial metaphors, most scholars neither acknowledge the politically contestable and contradictory nature of space, place, and scale, nor examine the ways that social memory may be spatially constituted.<sup>10</sup> Nuala Johnson has argued, for example, that the temporal framework of “traditional vs. modern” implicit in Pierre Nora’s work subsumes the geographies of remembrance under the histories of memory in ways that treat space as epiphenomenal to historical process.<sup>11</sup> Steve Legg has demonstrated how Nora’s nostalgia for the ideal of a time when memory was “real” and state power coherent prevents him from critically engaging with heterogeneous claimants to the idea of the French nation.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, scholars writing about memory who assume a linear movement between past, present, and future may inadvertently ignore how particular places constitute and structure temporal and social relations in distinctive ways. When historical process is narrated according to a modernist ideal of (progressive) change, and place is mapped as a stable material (and hence knowable Cartesian) location of continuity and decline (or any other temporal category classified as epochal), temporality is implicitly undertheorized.<sup>13</sup>

Understanding place conceptually as creating and illuminating complex relations and interconnections between other places, people, matter,

spaces, and times, in other words, has far-reaching implications for scholars of memory and historians more generally. Examining how memory is emplaced through the space-times of the city draws our scholarly attention not only to the complex histories of memory, but also to the ways in which individuals and groups think about time as a kind of spatial knowledge about their world(s). People experience the temporal as a social-spatial relationship. Discontinuous histories (and their distinct spaces and times) fold and intersect through place. If place might be thought of as offering possible entrances and exits to numerous passages through which (and where) whispers from pasts, echoes from anticipated futures, and haunted presences momentarily hover, temporality becomes rich with possibility.

The discovery of this area was at the end of the 1970s. I can remember well . . . back then the [Martin] Gropius building was under reconstruction—it was not in use. I remember going home and telling my parents that the historical exhibition I was working on about Prussia would be displayed in the Gropius building; it was not called that then but the ‘ehemaliges Kunstgewerbemuseum’ (former Museum of Industrial Arts and Crafts). Well, that was once at Prinz-Albrecht-Straße, now called Niederkirchnerstraße. My mother, who had survived the Third Reich hiding in Berlin, said that this is one of the worst addresses in Berlin because that was where the Gestapo was. I became interested, and a couple of other people also tried to discover what was there because of the reconstruction of the building. This is how a group of people got together—I do not claim to have discovered this area—others did that at the same time or maybe a bit earlier . . . Several people came together and formed a citizens’ initiative that argued that when you reconstruct the Martin Gropius Bau, you cannot ignore the history of the adjacent places. You can see their work in connection with the larger movement of the *Geschichtswerkstätten* (history workshops) at the time. Their slogan was ‘act, dig where you stand.’  
– Andreas Nachama, historian, Berliner Festspiele GmbH; current managing director of the International Documentation Center Topography of Terror in Berlin, 1993 interview.

Walter Benjamin, who paid particular attention to the detritus and corpses of early twentieth-century modernity, provides scholars of memory with a wide-ranging collection of literary, historical, and urban explorations about the dreams and violence left in the wake of historical progress. In his notes “On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress” in the *Arcades Project*, Benjamin offers his radical understanding of historical materialism through the concept of the constellation—a figural (*bildlich*) truth that emerges at a particular moment and context of danger,

when and where the knowledge of the what-has-been (*Gewesen*) becomes suddenly recognizable (*erkennbar*). This moment of recognizing a familiar, yet new, image takes place, emerges, through the time-space (*Zeitraum*) of the now.<sup>14</sup> As Benjamin explains in an oft-cited passage,

It's not that what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather [the dialectical] image is that wherein 'what has been' comes together in a flash with 'the now' (*Jetztzeit*) to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is a purely temporal, continuous one, the relation of what has been to the now is dialectical: it is not progression, but image, suddenly emergent.<sup>15</sup>

At Auschwitz-Birkenau I saw an elderly lady who was a survivor from the United States. She herself was not in Auschwitz, but lost most of her family there. I saw her standing in front of the crematorium and approaching the oven. You could literally see how something formed in her throat, how she couldn't breathe any more. She gasped for air and then started crying. After she had cried she came closer to the ovens, touched them, looked through this hole, put her head in. She was no longer touching this oven as an instrument for murder, but as a shroud—an object that touched the dead in their last minutes of living.

– Hanno Loewy, Director of the Fritz Bauer Holocaust Institute in Frankfurt, 1993 interview

Overlapping discontinuous histories—histories that are often emotionally charged—intersect through place. Yet individuals often construct and understand places as having a unique set of qualities that derive from a single internalized history. The seemingly stable material authority of a landscape is often treated as an objective fact that can be uncovered, located, and made visible to the objective observer. Space is represented as the horizontal plane and container of time's geological deposits. Knowledge of the past is fixed spatially; material truths are believed to be unpacked through stable temporal-spatial layers.

Yet as Simon Schama has written, some enduring myths about the landscape are like ghostly outlines beneath the contemporary, accessed by “digging down through layers of memories and representations toward the primary bedrock.”<sup>16</sup> As people search for this underlying essence, a seemingly unchanging reality, as they dig toward a mythical bedrock or truth, they encounter instead transgenerational phantoms.<sup>17</sup> How does one dig when time and space intersect, fold upon each other, and are mutually co-created? What does it mean to dig for ghostly presences?

Rather than think about historical truths as discovered facts, as found objects to display in the glass cases of our belated scholarship, Benjamin argues that we must pay attention to the practice of the dig, of how we assay our spades.<sup>18</sup> As we dig into new sites and even deeper through old ones, we may come to acknowledge how individuals (including ourselves as scholars) and groups map known and unknown places, search for traces, return to familiar haunts. For Benjamin, through the dig, through contact with the sensuous, emotional, and material everyday geographies of objects, paths, sounds, dreams, and movements situated in old and new contexts, we may awaken suddenly to an already known consciousness of the what-has-been and the what-is-to-come in the now. At this moment and place of awakening, this now of recognizability, the temporal momentum of the dialectical image moves neither forward nor backwards, but idles, shimmering with possibility.<sup>19</sup>

I remember when I decided to become an educator in this field [of the history of National Socialism] the fear I had when I began to look through archival materials. I kept searching through the documents, and especially the photos. It is an awful feeling not knowing whom you might find. I remember studying each photo, looking for the image of my father or uncle.

– German seminar leader and tour guide for the German Resistance Memorial Center in Berlin, 1992 interview

The many controversies in Germany over the meanings of particular places, such as the twelve-year-long controversy over the Holocaust Memorial, demonstrate that the past is never settled, sedimented, neatly arranged in horizontal layers. In the new Berlin, debates have raged precisely over what pasts should be remembered—where, and through what forms—as well as what ghosts should be evoked. Following reunification, people continued to make memorials, create historical exhibitions, dig up ruins, and go on tours to explore their social relations to a violent national past and forge possible futures. They made places as open wounds to feel uncomfortable.<sup>20</sup>

There is always a tension, a caesura and excess, when marking absence and loss, longing and desire through place. People establish institutions that are socially classified as temples of continuous historical time, such as museums or memorials, in ways that encrypt yet other memories, spaces, and times.<sup>21</sup> Or they may attempt to stop time by marking everyday landscapes as historic, to locate and acknowledge their complex emotional and social relations to the past. At sites associated with acts of violence and social injustice, places may be constituted as subjects or eye-witnesses to dark pasts. As part of Daniel Libeskind's proposal for the future of the so-called 'ground zero' site in Manhattan, for example, the slurry

wall was preserved as an authentic artifact, a material trace representing the trauma of the recent past and interpreted as symbolizing the strength of the American people, the body politic. The creation of the wall as artifact, as relic, narrates particular historical times and social spaces of the nation.

Through each place, multiple and discontinuous histories intersect, each of which have distinctive spaces and times. People make places of memory to work emotionally, socially, culturally, and politically for their needs and in the process, search for meaning about themselves, their worlds and times. The promise of a resurrected past through symbols, desires, and material objects—through place-making—gives some people hope. For some, it is a promise of redemption.

But as people search, as they make places, as they ritually return, they often encounter, even evoke, ghosts.<sup>22</sup> Some places are haunted because, while made as traces from the past, they are also “figures strained toward the future across a fabled present, figures we inscribe because they can outlast us, beyond the present of their inscription.”<sup>23</sup> As Steve Pile explains, “ghosts . . . haunt the places where cities are out of joint; out of joint in terms of both time and space.”<sup>24</sup> Sometimes, as we traverse the spaces of the city, we may encounter ghosts that may awaken us from the slumber of our taken-for-granted worlds. We may take notice, even only momentarily, of the pasts and possible futures illuminated in the emergent presence of the now.

*June, 2002*

*Another construction fence in the middle of Berlin. This one protects the on-again, off-again construction of the international documentation center called the Topography of Terror. It is located where the former Gestapo, Reich Security Service, and Reich SS headquarters were located, and in the 1980s became known as the Gestapo Terrain. After nearly a decade of citizen activism, protest actions, and city-sponsored public art competitions and discussions, the Topography of Terror was created in 1987 as a new type of place, as a site of perpetrators. It is now recognized as a city and national institution, belonging to an emerging central memory district in the new Berlin that will include the Jewish Museum designed by Daniel Libeskind; the soon-to-be unveiled Central Holocaust Memorial to Murdered European Jews designed by Peter Eisenmann; and the future international documentation center for the Topography of Terror designed by Peter Zumthor.*

*The Topography of Terror, like other places of memory, is a hybrid space. It is part museum, memorial, educational institution, archaeological terrain, activist site, and more recently has become a pilgrimage destination for hungry tourists, perversely curious about Germany's spectacles and Nazi secrets. Each of these social functions has different histories, and each of these histories has distinct spaces and times. Through this place they intersect.*

*In the 1970s and 1980s, for example, some planners and city officials wanted to restore historic buildings in the area as part of a larger urban renewal project in West Berlin and Germany. They proposed preserving the Martin Gropius Bau, located next to the terrain, for a cultural center and later for a historical museum that would evoke the rich historical legacy of the first German nation. History workshop movements and architectural historians also involved in urban renewal projects at the time, such as the Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, conducted historical research and found that this area was the former administrative center of the Nazi police and SS state. Human rights activists and survivors' groups soon demanded that a memorial be established to commemorate those who were persecuted and murdered by the Nazi regime. Citizens' initiatives formed to make visible the postwar history of official denial.*

*People came together to dig, literally and symbolically, for their pasts and contemporary identities. After much debate, this place became known as the open wound of the city and nation. It became so successful that a decision was made to build a permanent center at the site. Twenty years later, a temporary historical exhibit presents the history of the rise of National Socialism through the multiple histories of the terrain, displayed in simple black-and-white placards located in an excavation just south of one of the only remaining parts of the Berlin Wall.*

*Today I notice tourists using the new audio tour, and wander to the temporary information container to find out more information. I see the visitor book and begin leafing through its pages, noticing the signatures and comments of visitors from different countries. As an American, I take special interest in reading the entries written by other visitors from the U.S. about September 11, 2001:*

**5/11/02: What goes around comes around. Watch out Arab World—the Americans are awake.**

**6/14/02: To any Americans passing through this exhibit: Think about the early days of the Reich, as they took away the rights of *all* German people. Then think about what is going on at home in the name of counterterrorism. Insert the word "Arab" for "Jew," or any group or nationality. Please understand that this was written by a New Yorker, but one who believes that people who want power will use *any* situation, *any* excuse to grab it. We are so fortunate to have our freedom. Do *NOT* give it up.**

## Notes

Edited vignettes in this essay come from Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming 2005), with permission.

<sup>1</sup> Unattributed italicized passages in this article are the author's edited ethnographic field-notes.

<sup>2</sup> Personal interview with author (Berlin, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Manuela Hoelterhoff, "The Art of Renewal," *Condé Nast Traveler* (May 2002): 170–179, 253–254 ([www.cntraveler.com](http://www.cntraveler.com)); Boris Grésillon, "Berlin, Cultural Metropolis: Changes in



the Cultural Geography of Berlin Since Reunification," *Ecumene* 6 (1999): 284–294; Alan Riding, "Seeking a New Identity, Berlin Shakes Up Its Art Legacy," *New York Times* online (*NYTimes.com*) (March 12, 2002). Grésillon counted 9 symphonic orchestras, 3 opera houses, 880 choirs, 350 galleries, more than 100 museums, and 140 theaters in 1999.

<sup>4</sup> On hauntings, see Monica Degan and Keith Hetherington, guest eds., Special Issue, "Spatial Hauntings," *Space and Culture* 11/12 (2001); Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994); Tim Edensor, "Haunting in the Ruins: Matter and Immateriality," *Space and Culture* 11/12 (2001): 42–51; Sonja Kuflinec, "[Walking Through A] Ghost Town: Cultural Hauntology in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina or Mostar: A Performance Review," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 18 no. 2 (1998): 81–95; Steve Pile, "Spectral Cities: Where the Repressed Returns and Other Short Stories," in *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 219–239; Karen Till, "Hauntings, Memory, Place," in *The New Berlin*, forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> Michel de Certeau and Luce Giard, "Ghosts in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life: Volume 2: Living and Cooking*, ed. Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, Pierre Mayol, trans. Timothy Tomasik (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998, rev. ed.), 133.

<sup>6</sup> Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> For a selection on *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in the history of German social memory see Aleida Assmann and Ute Frevert, *Geschichtsvergessenheit - Geschichtsversessenheit: Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999); Ralph Giordano, *Die zweite Schuld oder von der Last Deutscher zu sein* (Munich: Knaur, 1990); and Manfred Kittel, *Die Legende von der zweiten Schuld: Vergangenheitsbewältigung in der Ära Adenauer* (Berlin, 1993). See the special issue of *German Politics and Society* 27 (1992) guest-edited by William Donahue, Rachel Freudenburg, and Daniel Reynolds about the so-called second *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* after 1990. On the politics of normalization as part of the history of social memory in Germany, see Timothy Garten Ash, *In Europe's Name* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); Peter Baldwin, ed., *Reworking the Past: Hitler, The Holocaust, and the Historians' Debate* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990); Peter Bender, *Das Ende des ideologischen Zeitalters: Die Europäisierung Europas* (Berlin: Severin and Siedler, 1981); Stefan Berger, *The Search for Normality: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800* (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997); Mary Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation: A History of Germany 1918–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Jürgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate*, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Heinrich August Winkler, "Rebuilding of a Nation," *Daedalus* 123 (1994): 107–127. On Berlin, see John Borneman, *After the Wall: East Meets West in the New Berlin* (New York: Basic Books, 1991); Hermine G. De Soto, "(Re)inventing Berlin: Dialectics of Power, Symbols and Pasts, 1990–1995," *City and Society* 1 (1996): 29–49; Jane Kramer, *The Politics of Memory: Looking for Germany in the New Germany* (New York: Random House, 1996); Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and Alexandra Richie, *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998). For an overview of the history and memory discussions since the 1980s, see P. Carrier, "Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*," in *Memory and Methodology*, ed. Sarah Radstone (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000) and Kerwin Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse (Historiography, History, Jews, Holocaust, 'After-Auschwitz')," *Representations* (2000): 127–150.

<sup>8</sup> For exceptions, see Andreas Huyssen, "The Voids of Berlin," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1997): 57–81; Jennifer Jordan, "Collective Memory and Locality in Global Cities," in *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture, and Urbanism in a Digital Age*, ed. Patrice Petro and Linda Krause (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2003), 31–48; Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); and Karen Till, "Place and

the Politics of Memory: A Geo-Ethnography of Museums and Memorials in Berlin" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> The literature on place is enormous. For a selection of approaches in social and cultural geography, see Paul Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen Till, eds., *The Textures of Place: Rethinking Humanist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2001); John Agnew, *Place and Politics* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988); Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *place/culture/representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); J. Nicholas Entrikin, *The Betweenness of Place*; Michael Keith and Steve Pile, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); and Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). In cultural anthropology, see Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997). For an overview of place in the history of Western philosophy, see Edward Casey, *The Fate of Place* (Berkeley: UC Press 1997).

<sup>10</sup> Derek Alderman, "Creating a New Geography of Memory in the South: (Re)Naming the Streets in Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Southeastern Geographer* 36 (1996): 51–69; Karen Till, "Places of Memory," in *A Companion for Political Geography*, ed. John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell, Gearoid O'Tuathail (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 289–301

<sup>11</sup> Nuala Johnson, "The Spectacle of Memory: Ireland's Remembrance of the Great War, 1919," *Journal of Historical Geography* 25 (1999): 36–56.

<sup>12</sup> Steve Legg, "Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation and Nostalgia in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, forthcoming 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Historians, of course, have discussed the assumptions underlying linear historical narratives that are implied to be objective histories. See Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Charles Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 807–831; and Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1987).

<sup>14</sup> Walter Benjamin, "Convolute N," *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (based on the German volume edited by Rolf Tiedemann) (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 456–488.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Convolute [N2a, 3], 462. In his earlier writings, Benjamin contrasted the time of the dialectical image with the time of Hegel's dialectic. For Benjamin, Hegel understands time as the "properly historical, if not psychological, time of thinking. The time differential in which the dialectical image is real is unknown to him [Hegel]. The temporal moment in the dialectical image can only be determined through confrontation with the now of recognizability." In *Arcades Project*, "First Sketches," <Q°, 21>, 867.

<sup>16</sup> Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), 16–17.

<sup>17</sup> Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, "Secrets and Posterity: The Theory of the Transgenerational Phantom," in *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*, ed. and trans. Nicholas T. Rand (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 165–176.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Benjamin, *Berliner Chronik: Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972).

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin, *Arcades Project*. For a discussion of place and modernity inspired by Benjamin's notion of idling, see Jani Scandura, *Down in the Dumps: Place, Modernity, and America's Depression* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, forthcoming). Scandura also draws upon Henri Bergson's notion of the *durée* in her discussion of place and modernity. See Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. Nancy Paul and W. Scott Palmer (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> On wounds, see Josef Beuys, *Josef Beuys: Zeige deine Wunde* (Munich: Schellmann und Klüser, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 1980); Cathy Caruth, "Introduction," in *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996), 1–9.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion about crypts within the subject and history that hide repressed traumas, see Abraham and Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel*; Jani Scandura and Michael Thurston, eds., *Modernism, Inc.: Body, Memory, Capital* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> On ghosts, see especially Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). See also Michael Bell, "The Ghosts of Place," *Theory and Society* 26 (1997): 813–836; Michel de Certeau and Luce Giard, "Ghosts in the City," 133–143; Alan Feldman, "Hardmen, Gunmen, Butchers, Doctors, Stiffs, Ghosts, and Black Men," *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1991), 46–84; Steve Pile, *Real Cities: Modernity, Space and the Phantasmagorias of City Life* (London: Sage, forthcoming 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Memoires for Paul de Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 59; compare Louis Marin, *Utopics: Spatial Play*, trans. Robert Vollrath (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1984).

<sup>24</sup> Steve Pile, "Ghosts and the City of Hope," in *The Emancipatory City?* ed. Loretta Lees (London: Sage, 2004), 7.