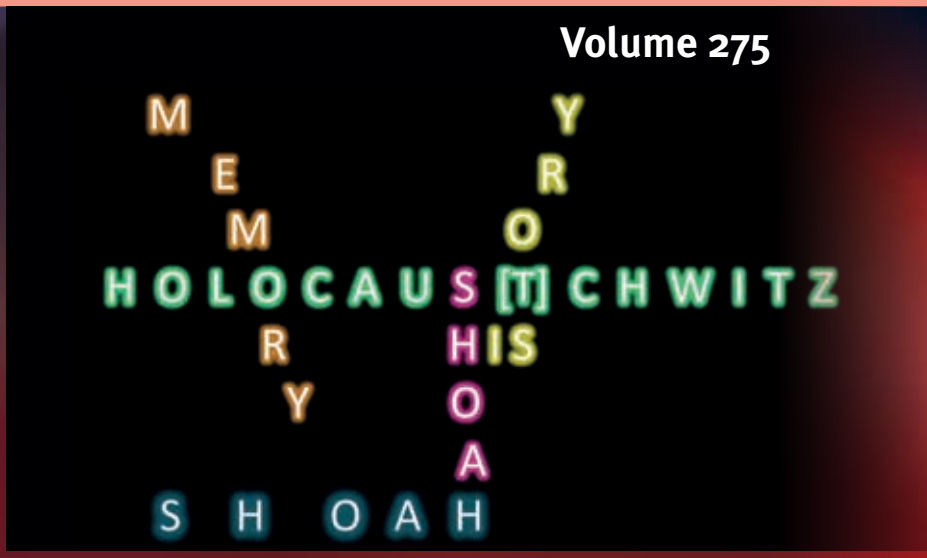
MARIUS HENDERSON
JULIA LANGE (Eds.)

Entangled Memories

Remembering the Holocaust in a Global Age

American Studies ★ A Monograph Series

Volume 275



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This volume recollects the international and transdisciplinary conference "Entangled Memories: Remembering the Holocaust in a Global Age," which was held at the University of Hamburg, Germany, October 9-11, 2014. It predominantly gathers a selection of papers that were presented by both junior scholars and renowned experts from various disciplinary backgrounds from the United States, Canada, Israel, Great Britain, Sweden, Austria, and Germany during three days of scholarly exchange. Many heartfelt thank-yous for their thought-provoking contributions go to all panelists as well as to the keynote and special event speakers of the conference, i.e. Jonas Engelmann, Andrew S. Gross, Ruth Leys, Tobaron Waxman, and James E. Young. All submitted essays were revised and updated for inclusion in this collection. We would like to extend our warmest thanks to all contributors for their continuing cooperation and their patience during the editing process.

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Marius Henderson and Julia Lange
(Hamburg, 2017)

JULIA LANGE AND MARIUS HENDERSON

Introduction

The field of Holocaust Studies has taken a transnational turn in recent years. Whereas scholarly attention used to focus on specific national memory cultures, it has now, almost eighty years after the onset of the Second World War, increasingly shifted towards comparative, interdisciplinary, and border-crossing perspectives. Paradoxically, within literary and cultural studies, which have traditionally been at the forefront of addressing intercultural phenomena, national parameters continue to dominate the research agenda. The persistent separation of national perspectives on the Holocaust and its artistic representation not only opposes current theoretical trends, but also contradicts the political and socio-cultural realities of the Nazi crimes. In a global age, Holocaust commemoration has undergone a process of "cosmopolitanization," which manifests itself on multiple levels, such as, for example, in the emergence of a supranational Holocaust memory and in the trans-nationally inflected canon of "Holocaust art."

The shift from a national to a transnational perspective on the period of National Socialism was to a large degree instigated by Daniel Levy's and Nathan Sznaider's *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age*.[1] In their influential study, Levy and Sznaider diagnose the evolution of a "cosmopolitan memory" of the Holocaust which has turned into a global reference point and a benchmark for humanistic and universalistic identifications.[2] Following in the footsteps of Habermas and his obser-

[1] Daniel Levy and Nathan Sznaider, transl. Assenka Osiloff, *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age* (Temple UP, 2006); originally published in German as Daniel Levy and Nathan Sznaider, *Erinnerung im Globalen Zeitalter: Der Holocaust* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001).

[2] Cf. Levy and Sznaider, *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age*, 9.

vations in the context of the German *Historikerstreit*, in which he referred to "Auschwitz" as a signature for an entire age, Levy and Sznaider posit that "Auschwitz" today functions as a universal cypher for other human rights violations such as the genocides in Cambodia and Rwanda, for example. As a consequence, various scholars have dedicated themselves to a transnationally inflected research agenda with regard to the Second World War and its media representation.[3] A study which has received a broader reception and exemplifies the shift from a national to a transnational outlook is Timothy Snyder's *Bloodlands. Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (2010).[4] Snyder redefines the Holocaust as a product of the combination of a National Socialist and Stalinist extermination policy and mass murder in East Central Europe, the so-called "bloodlands," which result from interferences and parallelisms between the dictatorial systems. Snyder's work is thus situated in the tradition of a widening of perspective concerning the Holocaust, which challenges the postulate of the singularity and incomparability of the National Socialist genocide and embeds it in a global discourse of violence that includes other international law crimes such as the Gulag. The taboo of building analogies with the Holocaust, still valid in the 1980s during the *Historikerstreit*, is thus steadily eroding. This tendency is also exemplified by Snyder's latest book, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (2015), in which he posits parallels between the situation in Nazi Germany in the 1930s and current political affairs such as the dangers emanating from a "new Russian colonialism" and China's future impact on climate change and a concomitant ecological resource crisis. According to Aleida Assmann, the Holocaust has turned into a "Global Icon"[5] and a universal metaphor for traumas, pain, and destruction.

[3] Cf., for example, Dan Diner, *Gegenläufige Gedächtnisse: Über Geltung und Wirkung des Holocaust* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007); Ursula von Keitz and Thomas Weber, eds., *Mediale Transformationen des Holocausts* (Berlin: Avinus, 2013).

[4] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010); ibid., *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (London: Random House, 2015).

[5] Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, eds., *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 114.

The objective of this volume is to explore the transnational entangled memories of the Holocaust in North America, Western and Eastern Europe, and Israel. Two thematic aspects are of particular relevance to the collection as a whole:

i) The specifics of national commemorative cultures and their historical variability. How has the Holocaust been remembered and represented in distinct national memorial cultures and when, and why have established conventions of representation been challenged?

ii) The interplay between national, local, and global perspectives in the medial construction of the historical event. How have interdependencies between and cultural appropriations of specific national memories contributed toward the emergence of transnational patterns of Holocaust commemoration?

As a whole, the volume aims to open up a range of additional and new perspectives by re-conceptualizing the practices, conditions, and transformations of Holocaust remembrance within the framework of a more comparative and dynamic European, global cultural, intellectual, literary, and political history. The disciplinary approaches of the contributions range from literary, film, and theatre studies to the visual arts, architecture, and music studies as well as pedagogy and cultural studies in the widest sense. Topics covered include literary, cinematic, and artistic representations of the Holocaust, the emergence of a European / global Holocaust memory politics, (trans-)generational and gender-specific appropriations of the Holocaust, competing memories of the Holocaust on a sub- and supranational level, the Holocaust's medial transformations, the dynamics of representational taboos regarding the Holocaust / WWII, the musealization of the Holocaust, the interrelation between Holocaust and trauma studies, as well as Holocaust education. It is hoped that this volume's interdisciplinary take on the "afterlife" of the Holocaust in the transnational memory realm will contribute to a further integration of different national perspectives on and theoretical approaches to the Holocaust.

A central concern of the volume is to highlight how national imperatives shape practices of Holocaust commemoration and correspond or conflict with supra- or subnational memory discourses. Different memory imperatives in countries in Eastern and Western Europe, Israel, and North America have shaped the memory of the Holocaust ever since the historical events took place and continue to do so up to the present. In

East Central Europe, for instance, the memory of the Holocaust is often times eclipsed by the competing memory of the communist past. In contrast, Holocaust remembrance in the United States primarily fulfills the function of stabilizing the self-image of a victor nation in a world marked by a loss of ideological orientation after the end of the East-West confrontation. The comparative analysis of nationally specific debates on memory highlights the necessity of relativizing the thesis about an existing globalized Holocaust memory culture as postulated by Levy and Sznaider. Even today and especially with neo-nationalist tendencies once again gaining momentum, such a globalized Holocaust memory culture is more a postulate than an actual reality and, if conceived as a normative projection of a future postnational memory culture, in all probability only to be achieved, as Dan Diner points out, at the cost of a disconcerting de-historicization of Auschwitz.[6]

The volume further addresses the phenomenon of an emergent transnational and European Holocaust memory politics since the late 1990s. In particular, it focuses on the forms and problems of institutionalizing the memory of the National Socialist genocide through transnational agents such as the United Nations, the European Union, the OSCE, or the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF). In addition to the supranational analysis of the NS crimes, the volume also sheds light on competing memories between hegemonic and marginalized narratives of ethnic or otherwise discriminated minorities.

Another aspect explored in the volume is the cultural appropriation of Holocaust memories on a collective level. First and foremost, these refer to phenomena of national "appropriation" such as the so-called "Americanization of the Holocaust"[7] which entails a retroactive impact of US-American interpretative patterns on the European reception of the historical event.[8] Although the enormous influence of US-American pop-cultural productions such as the TV mini-series *Holocaust* (1978) and Steven Spielberg's feature film *Schindler's List* (1993) is indisputable, non-Western appropriation processes such as the "Polonization" of the

[6] Cf. Diner, 116.

[7] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).

[8] Cf. Hilene Flanzbaum, ed., *The Americanization of the Holocaust* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1999).

Holocaust equally merit attention. The appropriation of a victim perspective in (German) memory cultures on a collective level and the practices of cultural appropriation on an individual level as in the case of transgenerational transmissions of traumatic experiences, for which Marianne Hirsch coined the term "postmemory,"[9] are also critically addressed by a number of articles in the volume. Hirsch emphasizes that "postmemory is not a movement, method, or idea" but a "*structure* of inter- and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience."[10] Contemporary scholarly perspectives are eager to reflect Holocaust commemoration on a structural level, i.e. in terms of *history*, and by taking into consideration embodied, experiential accounts of the Holocaust, i.e. aspects of *memory*. Conceptually, current scholarly approaches to the Holocaust in many cases, as evidenced by contributions to this volume, no longer assume a strict dichotomy between history and memory but treat these concepts as being intimately entangled.

In the context of artistic practices addressing the Holocaust the question of how to transmit knowledge about the Holocaust not only on a purely cognitive level but also by reaching audiences on an affective level has become increasingly pertinent. A prominent way for artists to garner strong affective reactions to their work is the employment of transgressive aesthetic strategies. Thus, the dynamics of cultural representations of the Holocaust and the various aesthetic approaches to staging the transgression of norms and taboos is a further major focus of many essays in this collection. From a historical perspective, the end of the Cold War marked a caesura in the way that the Holocaust was discussed and represented. Since then, in the US, Israel, and Europe, new scandalous art works in all sorts of media have emerged which challenged established norms of representation. Instead of continuing to adhere to the taboo of fictionalization, artists have broken new ground in their engagement with the topic of the Holocaust.[11] The demand for an authentic representation has been superseded by a reflection on the ontological status of a

[9] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, Columbia UP, 2012).

[10] Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29.1 (2008): 106.

[11] Cf. Andrew S. Gross and Susanne Rohr, *Comedy – Avant-Garde – Scandal: Remembering the Holocaust after the End of History* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010).

"semiotized and mediated Holocaust."[12] Furthermore, contemporary artistic practices which deal with the Holocaust are not only facing the potential fading of recollections of the Holocaust, as the generation of Holocaust survivors passes away and the distance between the occurrence of the historical events and their memorization and memorialization increases, but also an ostensible "Holocaust fatigue."

This volume consists of contributions and supplementary additions to the international conference "Entangled Memories: Remembering the Holocaust in a Global Age," which was held at the University of Hamburg in October 2014. Given the geographical context in which the conference took place, i.e. the country of the perpetrators, and in the light of the global rise of nationalism, anti-Semitism, and tendencies towards the de-Judaization of the Holocaust this publication takes as its starting point the indisputable necessity of keeping the remembrance of the Holocaust alive.

The edited collection opens with the chapter "Material Culture as Memorial Art," which addresses the changes and continuities in trans-nationally inflected practices of memorialization.

In his paper entitled "The Memorial's Vernacular Arc between Berlin's *Denkmal* and New York City's 9/11 Memorial," JAMES E. YOUNG constructs a narrative arc from Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veteran's Memorial* via the emergence of counter-monuments and negative-form designs commemorating the Holocaust in Germany in the 1980's and 90's to the *Berlin Denkmal* (for Europe's murdered Jews) and the *National 9/11 Memorial and Museum* in New York City. Drawing on his extensive insights as a member of the Berlin Denkmal *Findungskommission* and the 9/11 Memorial design-jury, Young explores the evolution of a transnational vocabulary of memorial architecture informed by an entire generation's knowledge about the Holocaust. The emerging "Holocaust memorial vernaculars," Young argues, continue to inflect current architectural practices preoccupied with themes of loss, absence, and regeneration – i.e. practices addressing the commemoration of atrocities worldwide.

[12] Cf. Sophia Komor and Susanne Rohr, eds., *The Holocaust, Art, and Taboo: Transatlantic Exchanges on the Ethics and Aesthetics of Representation* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), 10.

Whereas Young focuses on large architectural structures, LAURA KATZMAN and GABRIELLA PAULIX (with contributions by SONJA LONGOLIUS) turn to smaller, but no less meaningful forms of memorial art. Based on two interviews conducted with Gunter Demnig in 2005 and 2015, Katzman and Paulix, in their "The Fine Art of Memorialization: A Conversation with Gunter Demnig," investigate the transformations in the artist's approach to his *Stolpersteine* project and the degree to which it has been transnationalized and also digitized by spreading to other (virtual) domains. Discussing the complex "memorial work" of Demnig's project, which operates on multiple levels, Katzman and Paulix argue that it commemorates the victims of the National Socialist crimes, warns against the future repetition of crimes against humanity, and, due to its open-ended structure, concomitantly attests to the impossibility that one memorial may exhaustively memorialize past genocides and prevent future ones. Therefore, the *Stolpersteine* can be regarded as a "counter-memorial," although it differs from more established state-sponsored "counter-memorials" not only due to its incomplete and decentralized structure but also insofar as its existence is predominantly reliant on the initiative of private volunteers and sponsors. Since the commission of new *Stolpersteine*, which now exist in more than twenty countries, generates discussions concerning practices of commemoration or even public controversies, the project also acts as an indicator of current tendencies in a particular country's or city's memory culture.

Tracing the cultural afterlife of a no longer existing material structure, ANDREW S. GROSS, in his paper "W. D. Snodgrass' *The Fuehrer Bunker*: Confession, Memory, and the Personification of History," takes the recently opened exhibit replica of Hitler's bunker at the Berlin Story Museum as a point of departure for his analysis of W. D. Snodgrass' literary reconstruction of the bunker in a sequence of largely forgotten poems called *The Fuehrer Bunker*. Snodgrass' poetics of memory, Gross argues, exemplifies a widespread notion about Holocaust art's underlying memory-work being grounded in an intricate nexus between the horrors of the past and those emanating from the self or language. By constructing a historical "facsimile" replete with simulated experience – the main speakers of the poems being Hitler and other key Nazi figures – *The Fuehrer Bunker* detaches itself from the specifics of history and experience and instead invests in the exploration of abstracted lyrical themes and the implicit or even repressed politics of American poetry. Gross

explicates how Snodgrass' *The Fuehrer Bunker*, with its (post-)confessional psychologizing approach of personalized (historical) voice work, is thus more revelatory of the political history of American lyricism than of the actual history of National Socialism.

Part II, "Con/textualizing Topographies of Memory," focuses on the emplotment of historical events in literary and media discourses from different cultural settings (US, Great Britain, Ireland, and France) that convey the complexity and (unwritten) gaps of entangled, frequently conflicting and competing, memories of the Holocaust and the Second World War.

In her contribution, "A Young White Woman: Women, Whiteness & Urban Remembrance," SARAH L. RASMUSSON examines the discursive construction of the trial of Vera Stretz who was acquitted of murder after having shot German-born Fritz Gebhardt, allegedly Hitler's U.S. Ambassador, in New York City in 1936. Adopting a critical women's whiteness approach and using formative texts of previous murder cases by James Baldwin, Hannah Arendt, and Michel Foucault as a foil, Rasmusson investigates the American cultural figure of the young white woman and her contingent construction as exemplified by the shifting narrativization of Vera Stretz's murder case and its subsequent (pop-cultural) "afterlife." Based on newspaper reports and other archival sources, Rasmusson's study thus sheds light on how young white women in New York City have been and, with variations, continue to be culturally remembered in and through ideas about the Second World War and Germany's Nazi regime.

Shifting the scene across the Atlantic and to the twenty-first century, SUE VICE scrutinizes recent tendencies in the memorial and literary work performed by contemporary Anglophone narrative fiction with respect to the representation of the Holocaust and the Second World War. In her paper on "Entangled and Missing Memories in Contemporary British and Irish Fiction," Vice discusses contemporary British and Irish novels set during the Nazi era. Based on the observation that the remembrance of the Holocaust and the Second World War in Britain and Ireland, being non-perpetrator countries, is marked by an amalgamation of various discourses, like narratives of moral and military triumph along with the knowledge of the atrocious mass murder, Vice elucidates how the novels partially become invested in the fictional reimagination of their historical setting. She discusses how the novels use the setting of the Holocaust and

Nazism to negotiate conflicting impulses and approaches towards the memory of the past. Vice further points out how the analyzed texts oscillate between universalization and individualization, or between the awareness towards concrete historical crimes and relativizing, de-historicizing fabulation.

Crossing waters yet again, in this case the English Channel, MELANIE HAUSER, in her article on "Competing Memories of the Holocaust in Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* and Philipp Grimbert's *Un secret*," explores the diverging narrative strategies employed in two texts belonging to different national contexts – one French, the other English – to elucidate the discursive staging of competing memories of the Holocaust. The comparison of the two novels foregrounds the diversity of existing literary approaches that problematize the relation between cultural and individual memory. Hauser's article delineates how established national narratives of collective cultural memory are being reflected and also contested by the individual memories of the fictional characters in the novels. Hauser explicates how individual and collective memory thus become entangled, often in conflicted ways, in the novelistic space. Moreover, she argues that the two novels self-reflexively illustrate the constructedness of memory via their commitment to an imaginative (re-)construction of the past alongside an awareness of historical facticity.

Part III, "Radical Transgressions: Re-configuring Representational Taboos," inquires into the radical(ized) potentials and the media-specific limitations of cultural (re-)negotiations of the Holocaust with a special focus on the interstices between memory and music.

In his contribution on "The Reception of Holocaust Commemoration Music," BENJAMIN MEYER reflects on the (dis-)advantages inherent to music as a mnemonic medium. Taking a number of musical compositions written for Holocaust and/or WWII remembrance days such as Heinz Werner Henze's *Symphony No. 9* and Chaya Czernowin's opera *Pnima ... ins Innere* as case studies, Meyer argues that music is the least suitable form of arts to conjure remembrance, but at the same time derives its commemorative power precisely from its lack of an inherent memory that allows the audience to commemorate historical atrocities in their own way.

Whereas Meyer focuses on classical music, JONAS ENGELMAN, turns his attention to pop-cultural practices of remembrance. In his article, "Luftmenschen, Golems, and Jewish Punks: On the Pop-Cultural Reflec-

tion of Jewish Identity in the Post-Shoah," Engelmann examines the complex nexus of pop culture and Jewish identity after the Shoah. Engelmann's article examines the tropological figures of the Luftmensch and the Golem, which emerged out of Jewish history, and traces the ways in which these figures have circulated transnationally and transcontinentally in the context of Jewish pop- and subcultural practices after the Shoah, for instance in superhero comics and punk rock. Engelmann argues that these figures embody notions of transformation, transition, unresting inquiry, and re-interpretation, i.e. notions which stand for practices that can be regarded as reactions and reflective responses to the Shoah.

In a similar vein, JAN BOROWICZ's article, "Boredom and Violence: Returning to the Perverse Scene of Memory," interrogates constructions of mother-child relationships and their underlying sadomasochistic dynamics in contemporary Polish Holocaust literature. Adopting a psychoanalytic approach and taking two novels (Magdalena Tulli's *Wloskie szpilki* and *Szum*) and two plays (Bożena Keff's *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* and Zyta Rudzka's *Krótka wymiana ognia*) by second generation Polish Holocaust survivors as case studies, Borowicz argues that "perverse" representations in the texts function as conversions of postmemorial experience that exemplify a mechanism of denial rather than repression. These texts, Borowicz suggests, open up new territories of representation that stage the Holocaust as an "exciting" scene of memory by addressing the previously marginalized cruelty and sadomasochism entailed in the transmission of traumatic memories.

Part IV, "Visualizing Postmemorial Practices," is situated at the interface of Holocaust remembrance and the visual arts.

In her essay, "(Re)collecting the Postmemory Archive: Christian Boltanski's Post-War Installations," JENNA ANN ALTOMONTE examines how postmemory affects the visual oeuvre of Christian Boltanski and how trauma informs his methodology. Boltanski's position, as a second generation survivor of World War II working within postmemory, results in the creation of archival-themed works, Altomonte argues, in which the archive acts as an indexical link to his own past. Focusing on Boltanski's photographic series *Monuments and Archives*, she investi-gates how the mnemonic link between past and present as well as the relationship between postmemory and trauma is staged in Boltanski's mixed-media installations which, as Altomonte points out, are respectful of the memory

of the survivor and "organize a new space of re-membrance" grounded in the experience of the second generation.

TANJA SCHULT's "From Stigma to Medal of Honor and Agent of Remembrance: Auschwitz Tattoos and Generational Change" traces the changing significance of Holocaust survivor tattoos. Taking the award-winning documentary *Numbered* (2012) by Dana Doron and Uriel Sinai as an example, Schult critically investigates the appropriation of Auschwitz tattoos by the second and third generation of survivors, that is (grand)children of Holocaust survivors who in some cases have engraved their (grand)fathers' camp identification numbers on themselves. Schult interrogates the function of this embodied practice, its impact on the discourse of generational trauma-transfer as well as its repercussions for the historical narrative of the Holocaust at large.

Adopting an ecocritical approach, ALEKSANDRA UBERTOWSKA, in her article "Nature as an Archive of (Post)Memory: Ecocriticism and Polish Holocaust Art," explores the role of landscapes and the notion of "nature" in contemporary Polish Holocaust art. Juxtaposing two "land art" Holocaust commemoration sites by Franciszek Duszenko and Adam Haupt in Treblinka (1964) and Joanna Rajkowska's installation "Dotleniacz" ("Oxygenator") (2007) on the precincts of the former Warsaw ghetto, Ubertowska traces the evolution of posthumanist approaches in Polish Holocaust art that avoid anthropocentric forms of representation and promote environmental anti-narratives that challenge dominant (anthropocentric), one-sided nationalist historical discourses about the war by recalling the – also politically – repressed traumatic histories of the two places. Applying analytical tools taken from ecocriticsm and environmentalism, Ubertwoska thus investigates the memorial mechanisms of ecoarchitecture and its function as an archive of (post)memory.

Part V, "Political Pedagogies of Memorialization," investigates the implications of recent shifts in national, regional, and transnational commemorative landscapes. The chapter widens the geographical framework of the volume – so far centered on the Western hemisphere – by addressing the changing effects of transnationally inflected memory discourses on post-communist and post-colonial countries in Eastern Europe and on the African continent.

In his article on "Agents of Transnationalization in the Field of Holocaust Education: An Introduction," OLIVER PLESSOW provides an

overview of the plurality of organized players steering processes of transnationalization in the field of Holocaust education. Plessow conceptualizes transnational Holocaust education as a sociological "field," i.e., as a "system of relative positions," in which different agents interact and which is constantly subject to rearrangements and renegotiations. Plessow's article presents and discusses the formative agents, individual as well as collective ones, in the field of transnational Holocaust education. The article explicates the predominant communicative strategies of said agents and traces the key thematic concerns which have shaped the field of transnational Holocaust education. Plessow concludes that the recent rise in endeavors to promote transnationalized educational approaches focusing on the Holocaust has contributed to a diversification of pedagogical practices that nonetheless often pursue a shared set of preeminent (controversial) goals.

LJILJANA RADONIĆ looks at the consequences of the institutional initiatives investigated by Plessow for the post-communist realm. In her essay, "'Europeanization of the Holocaust' and Victim Hierarchies in Post-Communist Memorial Museums," Radonić interrogates the impact of the so-called "Europeanization of the Holocaust" on the representational politics of post-communist museums dealing with World War II. The newly generated informal standards of musealization, Radonić argues, have led to a problematic homogenization of victim narratives that neglect national specificities, de-emphasize the role and responsibility of collaborative regimes during the war, and result in historically distorting equations of Nazi and communist crimes in the service of current political interests.

Switching geographical arenas, but still pursuing the question of the effects of processes of universalization and globalization, the following article by KAYA DE WOLFF, "The Politics of *Cosmopolitan Memory* from a Postcolonial Perspective: A Case Study on the Interplay of Holocaust Memory and the Herero's Ongoing Struggle for Recognition and Restorative Justice," examines the controversial negotiation of the German colonial past in public media discourses in the time span from 2001 to 2016. Using a discourse analytic approach, de Wolff probes the debates on the Herero-Nama genocide and excavates the extent to which these were informed by discursive patterns appropriated from Holocaust remembrance rhetoric.

Part VI, "Performing the Past," addresses the pitfalls of performing the Holocaust on stage and on screen and suggests alternative sights – as well as sites – of memory and mourning.

In her article, "Entangled Memories and the Combatting of 'Holocaust Fatigue'? Contrasting the Approaches of Anglo-American 'Holocaust Cabaret,'" SAMANTHA MITSCHKE investigates two theatrical productions, Roy Kift's *Camp Comedy* (1999) and Eugene Lion's *Sammy Follies* (2003), to chart the development of, and differences between, British and American "Holocaust cabaret" (Mitschke). Based on the assumption that representational conventions in Anglo-American Holocaust plays have contributed to a rise in "Holocaust fatigue," Mitschke argues that comedic forms and, in particular, the genre of "Holocaust cabaret" with its use of "balagan" and the inversion of Holocaust signs, are most suited to challenging the "Holocaust etiquette" and pushing viewers towards a reconsideration of the Holocaust by outraging, offending, and thus provoking the audience to remember.

In a contribution entitled "Gender Diasporist: *I do not sing the anthems of countries*," based on the transcript of a performative artist talk given at the "Entangled Memories" conference in Hamburg, TOBARON WAXMAN explores the relation of Jewish traditions and history to questions of gender, (ethnicized) conflict, contested national borders, and diasporic experience. Dealing with the complex and urgent question of what exactly representations of an embodied Jewishness may mean in the present moment, Waxman emphatically emphasizes that their art, while beng highly aware of and referencing the Holocaust, is not "Holocaust art," but art that addresses issues of historical and contemporary Jewishness, among other things, with the intention of countering reductive and stereotypical representations of Jewishness, including those that limit Jewishness to the experience of the Holocaust.

In contrast to the highly explicit and drastic forms of representing and referring to the Holocaust that Samantha Mitschke discusses, the film on which JANA SEEHUSEN's analysis focuses touches upon the Holocaust in a very subtle and seemingly indirect way. In her article concluding the volume, "How to Perform Entangled Memories: On Seeing in Not-Seeing," Seehusen closely investigates the experimental short film *Rainbow's Gravity* (Bernien/Schroedinger 2014). Seehusen reads the filmic practice of *Rainbow's Gravity* as an instance of "performing documentary," in which current documentary footage of German chemi-

cal plants, which were instrumental during the Holocaust and the Second World War and for the production of early color film, is interspersed with snippets from early German feature films in color created during the Nazi era. According to Seehusen, film itself, as a medium and material artifact, is treated as an interdisciplinary nodal point as well as an instrument of analysis in *Rainbow's Gravity,* which performatively renders it possible to approach the ideological entanglement of the history of German color film with the Holocaust critically.

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I
Material Culture as Memorial Art

JAMES E. YOUNG

The Memorial's Vernacular Arc between Berlin's *Denkmal* and New York City's 9/11 Memorial[1]

In April 2003, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation called a press conference at the just-repaired Winter Garden of the World Financial Center in lower-Manhattan, located across the street from the gaping pit of Ground Zero. Here the LMDC announced an open international design competition for a World Trade Center Site Memorial, and I was one of 13 members of the design-jury introduced that day. Together with jurors Maya Lin (designer of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington, D.C.) and Paula Grant Berry (whose husband David died in the South Tower on 9/11), among others, we implored potential entrants to this blind competition to "break the conventional rules of the monument," to explore every possible memorial medium in their expressions of grief, mourning, and remembrance for what would become the National September 11th Memorial.[2]

Within two months, we received some 13,800 registrations from around the world, and by the August 2003 deadline, we had received 5,201 official submissions from 62 nations, and from 49 American states (only Alaska was missing from the list). In January 2004, after six months of exhausting, occasionally tortured debate and discussion, we announced our winning selection at Federal Hall on Wall Street, where George Washington took his oath as America's first president.

[1] The following text is adapted from the introductory chapter of James E. Young's *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016).

[2] Edward Wyatt, "Officials Invite 9/11 Memorial Designers to Break the Rules," *New York Times*, April 29, 2003: B-1.

The winning design, "Reflecting Absence," by Michael Arad and Peter Walker, proposed two deeply recessed voids in the footprints of the former World Trade Center towers, each 200 square feet, with thin veils of water cascading into reflecting pools some 35 feet below, each with a further deep void in its middle. The pools were to be surrounded by an abacus grid of trees (even rows replicating the city-grid when viewed west to east, seemingly natural, random groves when viewed north to south), which would deepen the volumes of the voids as they grew, even as they softened the hard, square edges of the pools. This memorial would indeed "reflect absence," even as it commemorated the lives lost with living, regenerating flora.

Until that day in January 2004, the 9/11 Memorial jurors were not allowed to speak to the press. Now for the first time since our appointment nine months earlier, we could take questions. The first question I took from a reporter caught me off-balance.

> Knowing that you have written much about Holocaust negative-form monuments in Germany and that you were also on the jury that chose Peter Eisenman's design for the Berlin *Denkmal* (for Europe's Murdered Jews), it seems that you've basically chosen just another Holocaust memorial. Is this true?

Surprised and somewhat offended, I replied that obviously this design had nothing to do with Holocaust memorials.
Here the same reporter pressed me further:

> But is it possible that Jewish architects are somehow predisposed toward articulating the memory of catastrophe in their work? Would this explain how Daniel Libeskind (original site-designer of the new World Trade Center complex), Santiago Calatrava (designer of the new Fulton Street Transit Center abutting 'Ground Zero' in lower-Manhattan), and now Michael Arad (designer of the memorial at 'Ground Zero') have become the architects of record in post-9/11 downtown Manhattan?

I had to concede that while I saw no direct references to Jewish catastrophe in these designs for the reconstruction of lower-Manhattan, it could also be true that the forms of post-war architecture have been inflected by an entire generation's knowledge of the Holocaust. Michael

Arad and Peter Walker's "Reflecting Absence" is not a Holocaust memorial, I said, but its formal preoccupation with loss, absence, and regeneration may well be informed by Holocaust memorial vernaculars. This was also a preoccupation they shared with poets and philosophers, artists and composers: how to articulate a void without filling it in? How to formalize irreparable loss without seeming to repair it?

As I continued to mull my answer, I began to imagine an arc of memorial forms over the last eighty years or so and how, in fact, post-World War I and World War II memorials had evolved along a very discernible path, all with visual and conceptual echoes of their predecessors. Here I recalled that counter-memorial artists and architects such as Horst Hoheisel, Jochen Gerz, Esther Shalev, and Daniel Libeskind (among many others) all told me that Maya Lin's design for the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial (1982) broke the mold that made their own counter-memorial work possible. And here I remembered that Maya Lin had also openly acknowledged her own debt to both Sir Edwin Lutyens's "Memorial to the Missing of the Somme" (1924) in Thiepval, France; and later to George-Henri Pingusson's "Memorial to the Martyrs of the Deportation" (1962) on the Île de la Cité in Paris.

A visitor in the recessed underground space of the Memorial to the Martyrs of the Deportation, Paris.