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Materiality in perspective: monuments, object relations, and post-war Berlin

ROBIN SCHULDENFREI 

Abstract After the rise of monumental fascist architecture in Europe and the subsequent devastation of the Second World War, architects struggled to come to grips—via writing and design—with what should follow. In the view of architects, artists and cultural critics, monumentality in architecture and urbanism was no longer tenable—tainted as it was by the fascists’ use of classicism, monumental scale, and their proposals for extreme perspectival views in large-scale urban planning. Monuments and monumentality were reappraised, to be replaced by objects that were described as ‘things that remind’, a concept introduced by architectural critic Siegfried Giedion in his ground-breaking essay ‘The Need for a New Monumentality’ (1944). This essay examines how monumentality was scaled down and revised in post-war period literature and structures—replaced by the idea of small monuments that ‘remind’, which offered opportunities for inner perspective. By considering Berlin’s situated urban materiality and artefacts, including the Berlin Wall, in the light of such manifestos on monuments as Giedion’s, this article argues that post-war Berlin building was often at odds with, even against, perspective.

Keywords Berlin, urban views, perspective, materiality, post-war Berlin, monuments, monumentality

‘Monumentality is a dangerous affair,’ declared the critic of modern architecture Sigfried Giedion in 1944.¹ After the rise of monumental fascist architecture in Europe and the subsequent devastation of the Second World War, architects struggled to come to grips—via writing and design—with what should follow. At the end of the Second World War and into the post-war modern period, monumentality in architecture and urbanism was, in the view of architects, artists, and cultural critics, no longer tenable—tainted as it was by the Nazis’ and fascists’ use of monumental scale, classicism, and their proposals for the large-scale replanning of the city that made use of extreme perspectival views (figure 1). In response, the pressing question posed was: what would be an appropriate built substitution for monuments and grand urban perspectives?

In attempting to address this concern, modernists such as the urban planner and architect José Luis Sert, the artist Fernand Léger and the critic Sigfried Giedion worked together to frame the issues and visualize a path into the future in their co-authored text ‘Nine Points on Monumentality’ (1943).² Therein they lamented the recent past’s ‘decline and misuse of monumentality’, by which they meant the oppressive politics and historicist building of the recent past. They called for a closer integration of monumentality into social and community life through a ‘new means of expression’.³ Monumental form and rhetoric alike needed to be vanquished, with modernism envisioned as the only solution moving forward, especially the use of new materials and forms. Giedion’s subsequent essay, ‘The Need for a New Monumentality’ (1944), calls for a new type of building in which monuments in the built environment make a statement in more subtle ways than through overwhelming size and indiscriminate, historical references, which he castigated as an ‘extreme banality’ of ‘pseudo-monumentality’.⁴

Rather than historically inflected monumental architecture, Giedion proposed that monuments should be reconceived in alignment with the Latin meaning of the term, ‘things that remind’.⁵

In this key essay, Giedion, in looking to the immediate future from the vantage point of 1944, does not reject monumentality wholesale, but rather he issues a cautionary statement to tread carefully. He writes, ‘In view of what had happened in the last century and because of the way modern architecture had come into being, it is *the most dangerous and the most difficult step*. This is *the reconquest of the monumental expression*’.⁶ He counsels a move away from technocratic and functional ends in architecture that had been the thrust of international modern architects in the period leading up to the Second World War, but does not move entirely from the idea of monumentality itself. Rather, he reshapes how monumentality might be defined. Giedion states, ‘The people want buildings representing their social, ceremonial and community life. They want their buildings to be more than a functional fulfillment. They seek the expression of their aspirations for monumentality, for joy and excitement.’⁷ He makes the call for publicly sponsored civic centres and other architecture designed to bring people together. In 1948, a symposium entitled ‘In Search of a New Monumentality’ gathered key modern architectural proponents, such as Giedion, the architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock, the Bauhaus founder and architect Walter Gropius, and others. In that London meeting, the results of which were subsequently published in an important issue of *The Architectural Review*, the Swedish art historian Gregor Paulsson declared monumentality, aligned as it had been with totalitarianism, to be inconsistent with democratic society, and suggested that ‘anti-monumental’ building and ‘intimacy’ instead should take its place.⁸



Figure 1. Adolf Hitler and Albert Speer, Model of 'Germania', 1930s: view looking north toward the *Volkshalle*, Berlin (proposed). Courtesy: Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Bild 146III-373. Wikimedia Commons.

The highly charged city of Berlin, with its past represented by the freedoms of the Weimar Republic, followed by its role as the seat of Nazi power, its post-war divisions and, finally, its post-Wall reunification, provides an apt site for a new reading of the architectural monument and urban perspective. At the close of the Second World War, a transition swiftly occurred whereby 'monuments' and 'monumentality' were reappraised, to be replaced by objects that were described in terms such as 'things that remind' and 'intimacy'. These underlying principles guided the architects, cultural critics, and artists who would write about—and design for—the post-war world. This more subtle framing of the task of monuments, in words and images, was a way forward in quietly achieving monumentality through other means. In the post-war period, linear, traditional perspective and major monuments in the built environment were to be superseded by smaller objects and opportunities for inner perspective.

Throughout architectural history, monuments have traditionally relied upon perspective to amplify their standing in the urban context. To be examined here is the question of how monumentality was scaled down and revised in the post-war

period, resulting in small monuments that 'remind' and new ideas about how perspective might function on a more individual and nuanced—and less monumental and monolithic manner—in relationship to these new monuments, and in this changed urban environment. Viewing the city and its monuments via new expectations and perspectives of the urban and the architectural, inflected by the events and building of the recent past, provides opportunities for new understandings of perspective and monumentality. Using Berlin as its focus, this article will consider ideas of small monuments, notions of urban materiality, and artefacts of place as subscribing to or rejecting traditional perspective and the monumental.

Linear, architectural perspective (and the anti-perspectival) will be simultaneously examined against individual, interior perspective, to see what one might inform us about the conditions of the other. To that end, this essay asks how points of perspective in a city facilitate an understanding of it, and what happens in perspective's absence or when it thwarts or misleads us, when we *cannot get at* perspective. By considering Berlin's situated urban materiality and artefacts, including the Berlin Wall, in the light of such manifestos about monuments as Giedion's, this article will argue that post-war Berlin's monuments were often at odds with, even against, received notions of perspective. This essay expands the notion of perspective to include subjectified positions, thereby challenging and upending models of linear perspective in the built environment.

Rendering perspectives

Standard conceptions of ancient, Renaissance, and Enlightenment architectural perspective have continued relevance as a useful means of comprehending a building or organizing a city. In architecture and urban design, perspective can be understood as a visible composition formed by aligning buildings and streets, such that they extend to a distant viewpoint or object. Perspective is also a technique of drawing that represents volumes and spatial relationships on a flat surface. Beyond the realm of art and architecture, perspective can be understood as a mental view or prospect. This article examines what occurs when these definitions of perspective are brought together in the consideration of urban space and monuments.

Drawn perspective is a convenient way of representing three-dimensional space in a two-dimensional format. The Florentine architect Filippo Brunelleschi is generally credited with inventing the scientific theory of linear perspective around 1413, while its codification into descriptive text is first attributed to Leon Battista Alberti in his book *De pictura (On Painting)* from 1435 (published 1450). Renaissance theorists, architects, and artists devoted much concentration into formulating the means and rules by which to render consistently the three-dimensional world into two dimensions on paper and in painting, especially

useful for depicting architecture and city streets. As art historian James Elkins points out, in *The Poetics of Perspective*, ‘Renaissance authors refer to “perspectives” rather than “perspective,” and there could be various incommensurate perspectives within a single picture.’⁹ Moreover, notes Elkins, ‘Renaissance authors and artists thought there were many compatible perspectives, so that their writing and painting evince a “pluralist” approach in strict contrast to the monolithic mathematical perspective we imagine today.’¹⁰ This essay will similarly utilize multiple, and simultaneous, perspectives; not as multiple viewpoints in a single painting, but to argue for an expanded understanding of perspective as a more subjective experience.

The theoretical tracts and drawn urban perspectives—real and imagined—that flourished as part of the cultural outpouring of the Renaissance eventually became a standard element of the architect’s toolkit. Not only used for workaday perspectival renderings to help clients visualize a building in the planning stages, perspective was also employed for visualizing large-scale urban planning by city authorities. In post-war Berlin, perspective renderings of the urban environment were used in this very practical, less idealized manner, for example, in East German drawings of the Berlin Wall installation. In one drawing, a complex system of trip wires, raked sand, anti-tank barriers, and set of three walls is carefully rendered into an orderly recession of one-point perspective of deterrence and deadly intent (figure 2). This two-dimensional representation is crucial because it underscores the ways in which all perspective is in some sense an artificial creation, a cultural artefact; perspective is a mediated representation, a translation of vision and experience.

Perspective in the built environment should be understood as a cultural construct, although it purports otherwise, even when it

masquerades as a straightforward way of seeing—and representing—architecture. Greek temples, which appear to be the epitome of perfected perspective when approached on axis, were carefully calibrated and rows of columns only appear straight and perfectly aligned through the corrective application of *entasis* (a slight convexity of the columns). This truth proved particularly challenging to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Grand Tour architects who made measured drawings of the buildings of antiquity and got less straightforward, rational numbers than they had believed and hoped would be the case. The seemingly perfect perspective of ancient buildings was a construct.

One of modern art history’s earliest scholars and theorists, Erwin Panofsky, argued, in his *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (1927), that ‘perspectivism’ since the Renaissance ‘suggests that a problem is always framed from a particular point of view’.¹¹ The key contribution that Panofsky offers, as Margaret Iversen has observed, is that:

perspective is a model that relates vision to *objects*, constitutes them, in this highly reflexive way, post-Renaissance art has the freedom to choose between types of representation that either stick closely to the objective character of things or to the subjective, visual conception of them.¹²

In *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Alberto Perez-Gomez and Louise Pelletier go further and argue that architects have produced images of buildings, from the Middle Ages onwards, mediated by an invisible perspectival hinge that understands physically constructed space as inflected or mediated by representations of buildings.¹³ In other words, the physical world, as well as our perceptions of that world, as captured in drawing, painting, or photography, is mediated

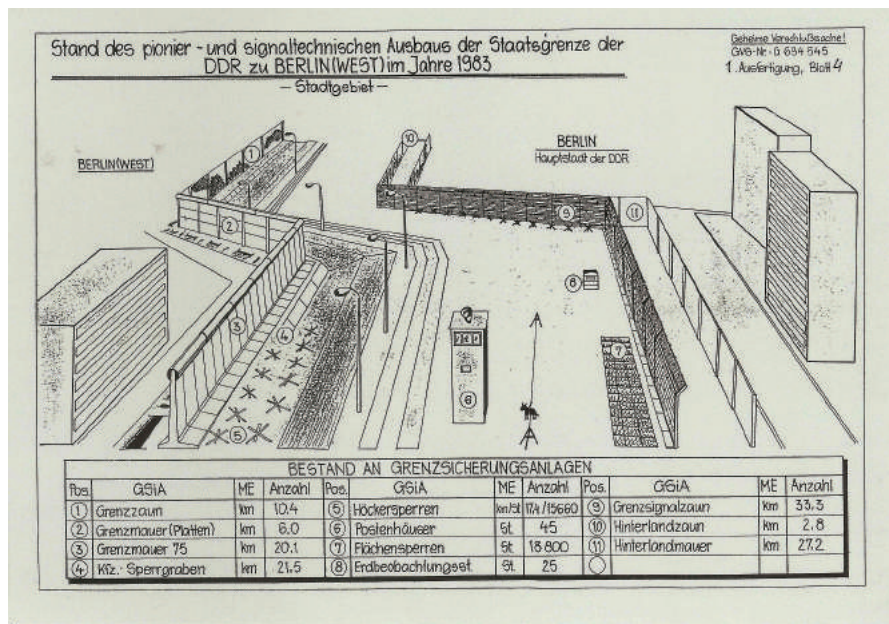


Figure 2. Berlin Wall installation, by the East German authorities, 1983. Berlin, Berliner Mauer-Archiv.

by perspective. In *Oblique Drawing*, Massimo Scolari argues that diverse cultures produce visual and conceptual representations (and have difficulties reading others' perspectival images), belying their differing ideological and philosophical orientations.¹⁴ Hardly universal, images project forms of thought as much as they do concrete visual objects. While in Renaissance painting perspective was 'a strategy for making pictures', Elkins argues it has become 'a sign signifying a mental state, a culture, or an expressive language'.¹⁵ Perspective, thus, can be understood as much as a changeable form of thought as a visual tool.

Aligning perspective and monumentality in architecture and urbanism: Parisian subjectivity

In architecture and urban planning across time, perspectives were not only reflections of that period's design preferences, visual taste, and engineering prowess, but manifestations of power structures, political goals, and—crucially—human subjective positions. Among other changes to their built environment, the Greeks, Romans, and, especially, Renaissance artists constructed perspectives by aligning buildings and streets in a way that allowed them to create specific urban vistas and views to important monuments. This radically altered the experience of the city for its subjects.

In the nineteenth century, Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann envisioned the city of Paris in terms of a network and as a structure, not as individual parts. Following a plan of improvements and reconstruction that he oversaw between 1853 and 1869, which brought light and air to the centre of the city, Haussmann opened up lines of perspective by developing long boulevards, some of which also radiated outwards, and introduced a system of squares (*places*) in front of train stations and important buildings, such as churches and theatres (figure 3). This new urban perspective necessitated the removal of much of the narrow and haphazard medieval infill of buildings in Paris's centre. The city's redesign purposefully constructed vistas that converged into monumental public buildings. Here, perspective in the urban environment was an aligning of city views with the monumental.

The newly erected Paris Opera building, a prime example of this technique, was not just an enclosure for an opera stage, but the building itself takes on importance as a monumental public object within the new urban space of Paris. The opera is situated at the point of convergence of several avenues and the building visually overpowers the nearby streets (similar to the Colosseum in Rome). As architecture, it can be understood as being as much an urban monument as an operatic stage, its stature in the city further enhanced through Haussmann's use of monumental perspective.

Additionally, newly built housing lined the Parisian boulevards, giving them a uniformity that bolstered the perspectives created by these streets. This entire configuration—street upon



Figure 3 Camille Pissarro, *Avenue de l'Opéra*, 1898. Oil on canvas. 73 × 92 cm. Reims, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Wikimedia Commons.

street terminating in single-point perspective, rather than warrens of irregular medieval buildings—contributed to a new urban monumentality. Architectural perspective was key to these developments. Its implementation in the Parisian context was not entirely new, however, but rather built upon its past urban planning. According to urban historian Donald J. Olsen, the preference for 'long avenues radiating at equal intervals from concentric open spaces' dominated theoretical writings from the sixteenth century and was implemented from the seventeenth century onwards; as Olsen notes, 'Descartes's preference for straight streets and the geometrically regular was shared in principle by nearly everyone in the seventeenth century and by the vast majority in the nineteenth.'¹⁶ From an aesthetic point of view, straight lines, symmetrical layouts, the termination of vistas by monumental objects, and architectural uniformity seemed, given France's long commitment to classicism, self-evidently desirable.

What was strikingly new from the nineteenth century onwards, however, was the way in which *urban and architectural perspective* intersected with the lived experience of the city, thereby celebrating *individual perspective*. Other forms of cultural production especially bear this out. The effects of the new Parisian vistas are amply recorded in novels, diaries, and chronicles by writers from Charles Baudelaire to Walter Benjamin. The new urban perspectival views also abound in period images; many of the best exemplars are to be found in the many Impressionist paintings that captured and celebrated the individual experience of these new prospects of and within the city. Édouard Manet, for example, painted figures on boulevard balconies or sitting just inside their apartments; they are seen enjoying not simply the events unfolding out in the city, but specifically the new urban perspectives that Haussmannization offered (e.g. see Manet's *Rue Mosnier with Pavés* or *The Rue Mosnier with Flags*, both from 1878). Similarly, Gustave Caillebotte's *The*

Floor Scrapers (1875) presents a radical interior perspective, akin to the exterior experience, in which the working subjects are aligned along—and thus almost seem to become one with—the floorboards’ perspectival lines. Caillebotte’s street scenes likewise celebrate the urban redevelopment with heightened focus on the new perspectives, in which long avenues radiate outwards and apartment buildings converge into one-point perspectival lines in such paintings as *Boulevard Haussmann in the Snow* (c.1879–81) and *Paris Street, Rainy Day* (1877) (figure 4). The emphasis on nineteenth-century viewing, as Jonathan Crary has shown, changed relations between inhabitants, objects, and the city.¹⁷ In Impressionist paintings, Paris’s urban vistas form neat lines of perspective, displaying a seemingly rational organization of the city, and yet there is a subjectivity in the manner in which the individual is depicted interacting with, or just calmly observing, this new urban environment. Representations in other forms, such as prints and photographs from the period, likewise highlighted the new experience that these cities presented to their dwellers. Other cities that experienced unprecedented growth in the nineteenth century, such as Vienna and Berlin, similarly underwent new urban planning that privileged views that terminated into converging lines of perspective, as well as monuments and key public and cultural buildings in a manner similar to Haussmann’s Paris. Especially in the nineteenth century, the use of perspective brought urban space and architecture into coordination, an effect that was felt—and recorded—at the level of individual experience.

Berlin perspectives, Berlin monuments

There are simultaneous, multiple types of representation that perspective can offer—perspectives that help constitute the objective character of things or a subjective conception of them. Less universalizing than perspective, a monument is often specific to a city, pertaining to that city’s history and

carefully situated in its public space. In Berlin, the city that is the primary focus of this article this was certainly the case. A monument usually serves both a memory function and as a visual focal point—the placement of monuments can be understood as an urban strategy and simultaneously as imbued with cultural meaning. Monuments often engender both a cerebral perspective that the body that commissioned it wishes to express—power, religion, death, military victories—while also offering an actual point of perspective within the city. A monument might be thought of as a Heideggerian ‘thing’, which gathers in the surrounding city as, in Heidegger’s formulation, a bridge, in crossing the stream, gathers in the two opposing riverbanks.¹⁸ In the pre-Second World War period, monuments were often physically large and constructed of materials meant to stand the test of time and to impress viewers. Immense monuments, such as Berlin’s Victory Column (to commemorate a Prussian victory), were not routinely embedded in the city’s urban fabric, but rather designed to stand out from their surroundings in scale and form (figure 5). Designers of these types of monuments eschewed simple, local materials, instead regularly opting for those recognized—and read by the citizenry—as long-lasting and costly: marble, granite, and bronze. Large monuments, prior to the Second World War, thus offered more straightforward, crowd-awing perspectives than contemplative, inner perspectives.

Berlin offered up perspectives—linked to monuments, buildings, and coordinated street vistas—that were as fixed and as seemingly timeless as those of any other major European city, although they predominantly dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a typically developing late nineteenth-century city, Berlin presented monuments to its tourists and locals alike. As novelist and chronicler Alfred Döblin noted in 1928, at the high point of the bustling Weimar Republic:



Figure 4. Gustave Caillebotte, *Paris Street, Rainy Day*, 1877. 212.2 × 276.2 cm. Oil on canvas. Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago. Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 5. Victory Column, view from the Charlottenburger Chaussee (now Straße des 17. Juni), Berlin, c.1910. Photograph. Private collection.



Figure 6a. Border strip on Bernauer Str. between Gartenstrasse and Ackerstrasse, Berlin, 1989. Photo: Matthias Kupfernagel.

Whenever the big buses laden with out-of-town visitors set off [...] you can be certain that the driver and the guide are operating in the grip of a false and poetic illusion. [...] They will [...] point out the Siegesäule [Victory Column], then the imperishable Siegesallee [Victory Allee]; there will be the Brandenburg Gate, then Unter den Linden, the royal palaces, the Zeughaus [housing a military museum], the museums, and whatnot. Visitors will contemplate the Rathaus [city hall] and the Stadthaus [administration building], travel across Potsdamer Platz and along Lützowufer to the Gedächtniskirche [Kaiser Wilhelm I Memorial Church], and continue as far out as Sanssouci [palace].¹⁹

Another period observer, Franz Hessel, being shown new architecture around Berlin, stated in 1929:

Walking around the complex, I understand (though I cannot say it in technical language) how, by such devices as repeating specific motifs, emphasizing specific lines, emphasizing sharp edges on rising surfaces, the artist has conferred an unforgettably coherent overall character [...].²⁰

From the vantage point of this narrator, through the implementation of architectural devices, perspective emerges; and via perspective, a cohesive urban entity.

And an alternative view from 1926:

Our big cities of today possess no monuments dominating the city picture, which might somehow be regarded as the symbols of the whole epoch. This was true in the cities of antiquity, since nearly every one [city] possessed a special monument in which it took pride. The characteristic aspect of the ancient city did not lie in private buildings, but in the community monuments which seemed made, not for the moment, but for eternity, because they were intended to reflect, not the wealth of the individual owner, but the greatness and wealth of the community.

These were Adolf Hitler's thoughts as laid out in *Mein Kampf*.²¹

In his megalomaniac urban projects for Berlin, designed by Albert Speer, Hitler set out to change Berlin's built environment radically (figure 1). Perhaps tellingly, the Victory Column was not fixed for eternity, as it might at first appear, but was among one of the first monuments appropriated into Hitler's plans. In 1938, it was displaced from the vicinity of the Reichstag to its present location as a focal point along a major *allée*, and given new entrance tunnels, designed by Speer, in celebration of Hitler's fiftieth birthday. The move was to assist in the formation of Hitler's east-west axis. Overall the Berlin plan was comprised of 'intersecting axes of the two monumental routes and the four magnificent radials', according to its architects.²² Speer and Hitler also planned a major north-south axis that was to have railroad stations at each end and two new monuments: an enormous victory arch and a domed Hall of the People (*Volkshalle*), in front of a 220,000 square metre parade ground for rallies of one million participants. It was, in short, a massive project of major monuments utilizing overwhelming perspective.

In the interim, perspective was already being used by the Nazis to great effect elsewhere. Famously on the parade grounds of Nuremberg, but also in Berlin. In Berlin, the street leading from the Reichstag and the Brandenburg Gate was refitted with new streetlamps to create a main ceremonial way (some of these Third Reich lamps are still in place and can be seen today). Overall, the monumental was inexorably linked to autocratically imposed constructions of perspective, both an enormously scaled, operative architectural perspective and one that offered the individual few opportunities for deviance from this terrifyingly coordinated point of view.

Perspective at the Berlin Wall

Similar to the Third Reich's use of overwhelming scale and an oppressive perspective, one that kept citizens in line more than any Nazi urban monument, a wholly other type of major monument was constructed in the post-war divided city of Berlin, beginning in August of 1961: the Berlin Wall. Urban, linear, architectural perspective was most systematically used—and affronted—at the Wall (figure 6a, b). The Wall itself directed viewing and provided optimal perspectives for the

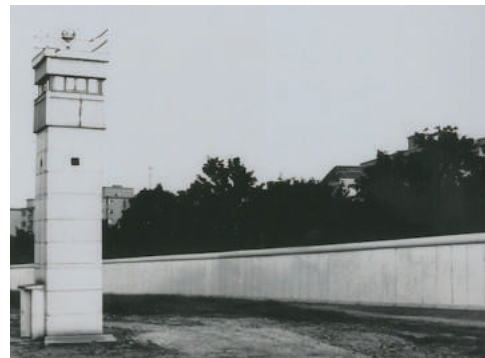


Figure 6b. Watchtower and border wall number 75 on Strelitzer Strasse, Berlin, 1986. Photo: Foto der Grenztruppen, Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv.

East German authorities who built it. New architectural perspectives emerged between the inner and outer wall, along the long vistas of raked sand and an inner patrol road (the *Postenweg*), while watchtowers placed at rhythmic vantage points gave guards clear sightlines. These new perspectives were only available to the guards on duty, but they would still have affected the urban experience of everyday East and West Berlin citizens alike, who knew all too well of the existence, and intention, of these vistas. At the same time, the Wall obstructed views, truncated through-streets, eliminated monuments, and created entirely new relationships between urban objects and urban subjects. With the building of the Wall, urban perspective was thwarted as streets were cut at right angles and blocked, or bisected along their length, former vistas obscured, and monuments concealed (although, notably, the Brandenburg Gate, which was in the East's territory, had a lower, albeit heavily guarded, wall erected around it so that it could be viewed from the West).

Other urban monuments posed special problems to the East German authorities, especially when, like the Brandenburg Gate, they were positioned close to what became the border with West Berlin. For example, the Reconciliation Church (*Versöhnungskirche*) abutted the Wall as it ran the length of Bernauer Street. Accordingly, not only was its congregation bisected, with the members of the western half, who lived just across the street no longer able to cross the road and attend their former church, but the church was physically in the guards' way, preventing an unobstructed view down the Wall installation (figure 7a, b). The authorities eventually ordered it to be dynamited. As the church's pastor, Manfred Fischer, noted, 'The demolition of the reconciliation church, or the moment when the tower fell, was the end of all hope of return. From that moment on, the Wall was perfect, and the shooting range open.'²³ The Berlin Wall, prioritizing unobstructed views, was designed to create the urban perspectives that would facilitate the killing of individuals who traversed it; simultaneously the Wall can be understood as a monument, highly visible and deadly in its intentions.

Berlin's Wall ensemble was consummately against the urban—in building it, transit networks were severed; buildings were vacated, boarded up, then torn down; even the dead were not immune as cemeteries on the border were emptied. Elsewhere, the East German authorities had already constructed new, socialist urban perspectives. The Karl Marx Allee (originally known as the *Stalinallee*), for example, used classic city planning to create a long, monumental vista, and its central axis was flanked with ground-level shops and cafés, with apartment houses above, in a manner reminiscent of Haussmann's organization of Parisian boulevards.

For those living in Berlin, the Wall truncated certain types of urban vistas, but others were opened up. An American art historian, resident in the divided city, remembers:

For me the most memorable and strangest experience was taking the S-Bahn [light rail] to Friedrichstraße from Bahnhof Zoo. On that stretch, on the overhead railway, one passed over the wall and got an overview of the whole setup—the wall, the death strip, and the watch towers. It seemed Kafkaesque to me, unimaginable—a large city split in two by a wall. I will always remember that I did this on the morning of November 9, 1989.

That evening the Wall would fall.²⁴

If Panofsky ventured the idea that perspective 'implies the possibility of human agency and free-will', at the Wall, it was cut off in every sense.²⁵ Individual perspective was thwarted for ordinary citizens in the East when windows were bricked up, one was not allowed to approach within six feet of the Wall without a substantiated reason and the appropriate paperwork, and even photographs of the Wall were prohibited. Indeed, images of the Wall taken from the east side are extremely rare. From the perspective of East Berlin residents, choice was eliminated at the instant that the view was removed. While Easterners were no longer allowed free travel, West Berliners felt equally hemmed in as they were entirely encircled by the Wall. Even though they enjoyed the freedom of travel and the ability to leave (although at times that proved also unstable as the East regime would regularly shut the highway or other points of entry and exit),



Figure 7. (a) The Reconciliation Church (*Versöhnungskirche*), Berlin, 1970; and (b) its demolition on 22 January 1985. Wikimedia Commons.

West Berliners' daily existence was marked by enclosure and truncated perspectives.

Furthermore, in referencing the Wall itself, what had been built could not be mentioned in ordinary daily speech. While West Germans could at least refer to the object that now entirely encircled them as 'the Wall' (*die Mauer*), East Germans were instructed to refer to it by its official name, the 'antifascist protective rampart' (*antifaschistischer Schutzwall*). Instead, Easterners' predominant choice was silence about the Wall. In a further example of the non-referentiality of the Wall, those who escaped or had been allowed to leave were simply referred to having gone 'over' (*drüber*). Here was an enormous object bisecting the city and in addition to a *physical* obstruction, a *linguistic* obstruction was placed on its potential referents. Compounding the denial of open, urban perspective, East Germans were linguistically denied the ability to put the Berlin Wall into perspective. Panofsky's idea of perspective as connected to human agency and free will bears out in Berlin—citizens, in word and image alike, had their perspective truncated while they were denied the right to discuss or write about the Wall, to photograph or otherwise depict it.

In contrast, in West Berlin, simple platforms (*Aussichtsturm*) were independently constructed immediately after the Wall was built (figure 8). These viewing platforms, generally only large enough for a few viewers at a time, allowed Westerners to climb up and peer over the Wall. East Germans resented the platforms, upon which West Germans would suddenly appear and wave; Easterners were forbidden to wave back. Some East Germans remember it as 'arrogant and hurtful', feeling as if in a zoo; although others viewed it positively, seeing in the waving a message of 'we are nevertheless still one city'.²⁶ A West Berliner who lived near the Wall recalled that she found the platforms helpful and would look over 'not out of curiosity but consternation' for those on the other side.²⁷

One of the aspects that makes Wim Wenders's iconic Berlin film *Wings of Desire* (1987) so potent are the moments of acknowledging



Figure 8. The Berlin Wall as seen from the west, with viewing platform, n.d. Photo: Henrik G. Pastor.

the Wall, and transgressing it. Only the angels are allowed the perspective of viewing—and encountering—both Berlins. They usually experience this perspective from above, from the vantage point of the Victory Column, but even more powerful are the scenes in which they go between the two Berlins. Particularly moving is a scene in the middle of the wasteland of Potsdamer Platz, where they encounter an old man who is searching in vain for the previous, pre-Second World War Potsdamer Platz, the city's former bustling centre. Potsdamer Platz was divided by the Wall; left unrestored and undeveloped, it was felt as an absence by both East and West Berliners.

Nearby, at the Brandenburg Gate, a viewing platform had been set up so that visiting dignitaries, such as US President John F. Kennedy, could view the Brandenburg Gate, which was just inside East German territory. Out of respect for this monument, the East German state also lowered the height of the Wall so that the Brandenburg Gate could be adequately viewed from the West. Westerners were able to contemplate and discuss the Wall, as well as physically peer over it and also cross into the East for day visits. Echoing Panofsky's claim that perspective implies the possibility of human agency and free will, West Berliners were physically and mentally allowed a potential perspective on the Wall as urban monument (rather than as deadly object), while East Berliners were denied perspectives.

Against perspective: the small monuments of Berlin

When the Wall fell in November 1989, the city was ready to be swiftly reconnected after the experience of a deeply divided Berlin and the perspectives that had been so radically truncated between the East and West. A new question of appropriate monumentality and commemoration was posed to the city, inflected by the events and structures of the previous decades. A return to the large-scale monumentality of the Third Reich was out of the question. As well as miles of the Wall itself being torn down by citizens, in the East the authorities removed a large statue of Lenin and other oversized monuments. In post-1989 Berlin, monuments that had relied on traditional ideas of monumentality and linear perspective needed to be supplanted by something else. If Panofsky's idea of perspective was linked to individual agency, then the fall of the Berlin Wall presented opportunities for open and multivalent—rather than totalitarian and monolithic—perspectives. And in parallel, in order to consider what might be desired in terms of post-Wall monumentality, a return to Giedion's formulation of a different type of monumentality—articulated just after the defeat of the Nazis, as 'things that remind'—presents a useful framework for understanding post-Wall Berlin in new, more personal perspectival terms.²⁸ Rejecting traditional monumentality and perspective, in post-Wall Berlin new, small monuments emerged which allowed for subjective, inner perspective while also connecting deeply to the forms and materiality of the city.



Figure 9. Peter Eisenman, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, 1994–2004. Photo: Roland Halbe.

Peter Eisenman's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (1994–2004), with its 2711 concrete slabs, does not overwhelm the visitor with scale, mass, or representative forms or statues (figure 9). Instead, it offers a rational grid forming a comprehensible landscape—it represents a non-narrative, abstract visuality, an individual experience, in keeping with Giedion and others' suggesting of qualities such as 'intimacy' to replace the collective experience of monumentality. The material—concrete—is a distinctly urban substance, and here it takes on the familiar visual quality of the stone found on Berlin's streets. Upon entering, what the visitor at first takes to be a coherent and graspable landscape of slabs is quickly upended; and one's faith, one's habitual reliance on perspective, it becomes apparent, is badly placed here.

This is because logic turns to bewilderment as, only a few steps in, the concrete blocks loom over the visitor and paths assume differing elevations; though the pillars are spaced an even 37 inches (95 centimetres) apart, this only allows for individual passage through the grid and one is quickly separated from others. While the slabs are laid in a grid, each 7 feet 10 inches (2.38 metres) long and 3 feet (0.95 metres) wide, because the ground is rendered uneven and the stelae are orientated in slight degrees off the vertical, and at varying heights from 1.6 to 15 feet (0.5 to 4.5 metres), the space seems to close in on the visitor, and individual perspective is thrown off-kilter. At the memorial it is very easy quickly to lose sight of one's companions. As one critic noted, 'upon entering the narrow alleys and plunging between higher and higher slabs, perspectives are sliced to a ribbon, other visitors are cut off from view, and an eerie claustrophobia sets in'.²⁹ Or as Eisenman elucidated:

These spaces condense, narrow, and deepen to provide a multilayered experience from any point. The agitation of the field shatters any notion of absolute axiality and reveals instead an omnidirectional reality. The illusion of the order

and security in the internal grid and the frame of the street grid are thus destroyed. [...] The time of the monument, its duration, is different from the time of human experience and understanding. The traditional monument is understood by its symbolic imagery, by what it represents. It is not understood in time, but in an instant in space; it is seen and understood simultaneously. [...] But] in this monument there is no goal, no end, no working one's way in or out. The duration of an individual's experience of it grants no further understanding, since understanding is impossible.³⁰

This monument is anti-perspectival, one cannot rely on—or come to terms with—perspective at the memorial in any sense of the word. Linear, architectural perspective is thwarted and with it the ability to get a sense of perspective in terms of the Holocaust; its incomprehensible nature is engendered in the bewildering phenomenological experience here. It represents, as historian Jacob Matatyau describes, 'an inassimilable memory through an irresolvable space'.³¹ It also thwarts the monumental in terms of its subtle materials and disbanded form. Even the largest concrete block, taken alone, makes only a quiet statement.

Another site in Berlin similarly replaces monumentality with the intimacy of happenstance and parameters of individual experience, as one has to search out—or one simply stumbles upon—Micha Ullman's *Memorial for the Book Burning* (1995) (figure 10a, b). Set into Bebelplatz, an urban square in the centre of the city, it commemorates the Nazis' 1933 burning of books from the adjacent state library. The 'monument' cannot be seen at any distance because it is an insertion in the ground, protected by a plate of glass set into the plaza, through which one peers down to view empty bookcases that are large enough to be able to hold, symbolically, the 20,000 burnt books. On a plaque inset in the ground, a line by Heinrich Heine is engraved from his play *Almansor* (1821): 'That was only a prelude; where they burn books, they will ultimately also burn people'.³² An identical plaque, set next to the quotation, provides a short explanatory text elucidating what had occurred on the site.

Flush with the ground, from nearly every point in the plaza, the memorial remains unseen—it has no presence until one happens directly upon it. It is the opposite of the Nazi, and later, East German, monuments, which were large-scale incursions placed in the city, visible at a great distance and, when inspected more closely, built of permanent, or permanent-appearing, materials. This post-war, post-Wall Berlin monument relies on neither perspective nor scale to resonate, rather it seems to make manifest Giedion's description of monuments as 'things that remind'. It, like Eisenman's memorial, seems to combine memory with an irresolvable space, in this case, a space containing empty bookshelves that can be looked at but not accessed; akin to the burnt books, no longer available to us.

In the United States, the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (architect: Maya Lin, 1982) was one of the first commemorative, non-figurative monuments to offer personalized perspective via the inscribed

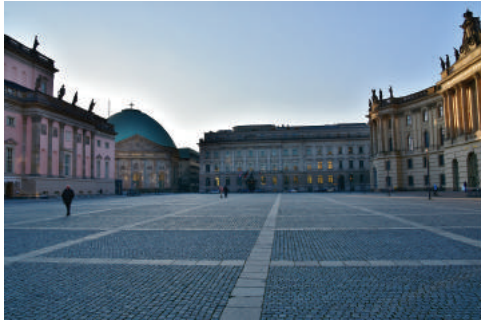


Figure 10a. Bebelplatz, site view of Micha Ullman, *Memorial for the Book Burning*, 1995. Photo: Richard Mortel.



Figure 10b. Micha Ullman, *Memorial for the Book Burning*, 1995. Detail. Photo: Charlotte Nordahl.

individual. The main memorial (two other memorials were later added to the site) is the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall*, which consists of two long, black granite intersecting walls etched with the names of those who died in service or who were unaccounted for during the war. At this wall, via the carving of each name, a space of discrete contemplation was offered to the visitor for reflection, yet the individuals are also collectivized in one monument—the whole also offers itself up to the viewer. This sliding, multivalent perspective proffers something almost graspable and yet immeasurable—simultaneously the unique and the collective.

A similar method of individual—yet collective—commemoration for victims of the Holocaust has been established as an on-going memorial (1992–present) by the artist Gunter Demnig through the placement of *Stolpersteine* (literally ‘stumbling stones’) into the sidewalk in front of the last place of residence of victims of the Nazi regime (figure 11). Particularly present in Berlin, but also at sites across Germany, and elsewhere, the installation involves the removal of a piece of the city’s anonymous material fabric—a single and common paving stone—which is replaced by a small metal commemoration to the absent, similarly removed, dweller. This ‘small monument’ refers to the scale and materiality of the city at

the level of the smallest, individual street unit—a pavement stone—to mark the lost person. The metal insert is engraved with a simple, factual, informational text: name of victim, birth date, deportation date, and place of execution and date (when known). These can be understood as the smallest of monuments, while allowing for perspective at two scales: a large-scale overall memorialization across an entire city (an atomization of the mass scale of deportation) and perspective at the level of an individual (a named citizen and a specific doorstep through which that person exited alive for the last time).

Like the memorial for the burned books, the *Stolpersteine* cannot be seen from any distance, and hardly at all before one happens—or as their name suggests, ‘stumbles’—upon them. They offer no monumental focal point and reject urban linear perspective. Instead, they depend on igniting inner perspective and reflection: the life of the dweller before and after their removal. The *Stolpersteine* elicit pathos for the individual removed from that site (where the viewer stands, peering down, aware of one’s own circumstances in the safety of the present). The sparse text on the metal insert, which



Figure 11. Gunter Demnig, *Stolpersteine*, 1992–present, Berlin: (a) close up and (b) *in situ*. Photos: Author. Individual *Stolpersteine*: 96 mm (height) x 96 mm (width) 100 mm (depth).

illuminates salient details about that life—age, gender, marital status, displacement, and death—combines with the actuality of the site and allows some measure of perspective in. At times, it is clear from a cluster of metal markers that a large extended family was removed at once, in other instances a single resident was displaced, leaving one to wonder if other family members had escaped or been captured earlier, or if that person lived alone, with no one to notice their absence. This lack of information engenders inner perspective in the case of the *Stolpersteine*—these single episodes, as dispersed stones throughout the city, tied to ‘home’, however transient that proved to be, are very personal, representing the inscribed individual. To return to Giedion, they function as intimate and potent ‘things that remind’.

Yet another commemorative monument uses the materiality of the city while remaining flush with its surface. The *Berlin Wall Marker*, consisting of cobblestones set into the street paving, traces long sections of the Wall’s former path, broken at intervals with identifying metal plaques with the text ‘Berliner Mauer 1961–1989’ (Berlin Wall 1961–1989) (figure 12). When the border between East and West Berlin opened on 9 November 1989, the demolition of the Wall began that night, and after just a few months, it was nearly gone. The former Berlin Wall, no longer a political, architectural, and physical incursion bisecting the city, has subsequently been memorialized in several ways, but in a manner that tends to reject both monumentality and the use of strong perspective.

In a precise reversal of what occurred when the Wall was erected in 1961, in 1989 suddenly one perspective was instantly opened up (wide areas where the inner wall, the outer wall, and the death strip between them had been), while another perspective, the previous twenty-eight-year, historic, physical division of Berlin, was immediately closed down. Because so much of the former Wall’s space in the intervening years was filled with new urban development, it can be difficult to know where the Wall ran, unless one keeps a mental map of it in mind while moving through the city. A keen, experienced eye will reveal wall fragments and an architectural eye will spy post-1989 infill. Two urban perspectives are implicated: the truncated views when the Wall was in place, and an understanding of the new, opened vistas; both depend on the personal knowledge and experience, the *individual perspective*, of the perceiver. This perspective is only available at the level of the individual person: to the city’s residents and visitors with a longstanding relationship with Berlin, not to all comers.

To counteract this phenomenon of forgetting (or to open this perspective to a wider range of visitors), in the city centre the *Berlin Wall Marker’s* cobblestones have been inserted in the ground along 5.7 kilometres of the former Wall to demarcate where it once stood, although this represents only a fraction of the Wall’s 155 kilometre circumference around West Berlin. As if in an act of architectural alchemy, a political and architectural barrier in concrete—the product of modern state



Figure 12. Berlin Wall Marker, Bernauer Street, 2020. Photo: Author.

relations of the mid-twentieth-century Cold War—was seemingly returned to a nineteenth-century materiality: old-fashioned cobblestones. In tearing down the Wall, perspective was architecturally ‘restored’ to Berlin in the reopened views. And through the use of a very traditional material to represent its former site, that perspective was also depoliticized. This ‘restoration’ was so effective that nearly no traces of the Wall remain—only the flat, ‘small monument’ that is the *Berlin Wall Marker*.

Like the book-burning memorial and the *Stolpersteine*, through the *Berlin Wall Marker* past actions are memorialized by means of a new materiality laid in the ground; not apart from or rising above viewers, but directly engaging the urban plane. The marker is a small monument, more an artefact of



Figure 13. (a) Flight tunnel markers across Bernauer Street; and (b) the memorialization of Berlin Wall victims, 2020. Photos: Author.

place and site of inner contemplation for the victims of the Wall and the Wall's former role in the city as a monumental object bifurcating the urban fabric, and the lives on either side. Through a process of demonumentalization and the removal of three-dimensional forms that allowed for—and yet constricted—perspective, the Wall has been dissolved and replaced by ‘things that remind’.

Throughout the former East Berlin, the widespread placement of luxury condo developments on the former death strip illustrates another instance of how thoroughly the Wall and its perspectives have been erased. New dwellers cheerfully grill food on what was previously the site where tanks rolled by, sand was raked, tripwires were installed, and citizens were killed. Perspective is relative. And it is individual.

Let us move to a related, final example. Along Bernauer Street, whose east and west sides were divided by the Wall, the commemoration of yet another experience of the Berlin Wall is in place, incised into the urban surface: metal plates marking the physical place of subterranean escape tunnels for crossing from East to West Berlin and the place of death of individual failed escapees. These tunnels are marked by a line of metal corten steel rectangles inserted into the ground at intervals, mapping the tunnel below, while metal disks (rather than a cross or raised monument) have been placed at the points in which victims died attempting to cross the border (figure 13). Like the other instances discussed here, once again traditional perspective and monumentality have been thwarted in the commemoration of an act—the attempt to flee under the Berlin Wall—for which no perspective is, in any case, available to us. Rather, like the memorial to the burned books, the *Stolpersteine*, and the *Berlin Wall Marker*, one has to traverse the markers, happen upon them by chance, in order to see them. (Otherwise, it is nearly impossible to perceive them as different from the myriad of everyday sunken metal objects in the Berlin sidewalk, such as those marking water, sewer, and other utilities.) The metal rectangles marking a hoped-for subterranean tunnel escape and the seemingly randomly disbursed metal disks, each commemorating a lost life, allow for a very personal experience with these small monuments memorializing escape and death.

Rather than a totalizing application of linear perspective, an inner perspective is engendered, one that relies on the urban context and its materiality.

To chart the changing modes through which one might apprehend perspective and monumentality, this article has traced a trajectory from past precedents of the ancient, Renaissance, and Enlightenment periods to nineteenth-century Paris, and then to modern-day Berlin, beginning with its bombastic and imposing monuments, placed at fixed points in the city. From Nazi-controlled Berlin, with its large-scale representational building and monuments, to the construction of the Berlin Wall, a use of traditional perspective was the means by which a repressive form of monumentality came to the fore. But at the point of the Wall's destruction, another kind of monument in post-Wall Berlin began, almost by necessity, to suggest a different way of seeing. If the visual device of perspective had been pervasive in the lead-up to the Second World War, if perspective had been used against citizens in Berlin's divided Cold War period, then in the post-Wall era a new series of small monuments quietly but powerfully has begun to address the need for a new type of perspective. This perspective does less to inform, but instead utilizes chance encounters and engenders individual reflection. The *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, the *Memorial for the Book Burning*, the *Stolpersteine*, the *Berlin Wall Marker*, and the tunnel markers are monuments that allow for personal, inner perspective through the rejection of strong linear perspective and large monumentality, replacing them with a common urban materiality, such as lines of cobblestones and metal plate markers inserted flush with the ground.

While linear perspective has been a key tool for setting apart and distinguishing important monuments (such as the Paris Opera or Berlin's Victory Column) or, on the other hand, for aligning buildings in their surrounding context (apartment houses uniformly lining Haussmann's Paris avenues), subjective perspective has been an essential tool for individuals to comprehend and interact meaningfully with their own situated urban context. Multivalent perspectives

serve to bring the two together—buildings and citizens—in a city. When perspective is impeded, as in the political and historical events of twentieth-century Berlin, then other tools must be used. When a wall is put up enclosing inhabitants in their own country, inner migration—inner perspective—is necessary for sustenance. Panofsky's idea of foregrounding a subjective conception of perspective, of an individual response, is meaningful here.

Thus, a solution to the previous monumental manifestations in Germany's past—whether the nineteenth-century urban monument whose content no longer resonates, memories of a megalomaniacal Nazi spectacle, or an impenetrable wall—is anti-perspective, or actions *against perspective*, as traditionally defined. Eisenman's confounding perspectives at the Jewish memorial present one example. Embedded materiality, and small, intimate monuments, chanced upon in the urban context, recalling Giedion's 'things that remind', present other alternatives. These monuments negate linear perspective at their core, offering up a differing vantage point. In post-Wall Berlin, memorials—almost by necessity—drop flat to the ground, or go underground or thwart the very tools of traditional perspective to project an anti-perspective, in pursuit of a deeper and more personal effect and more meaningful interaction with the built environment.

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NOTES

- 1– Sigfried Giedion, 'The Need for a New Monumentality', in *New Architecture and City Planning: A Symposium*, ed. Paul Zucker (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), 549–68, at 549.
- 2– José Luis Sert, Fernand Léger, and Siegfried Giedion, 'Nine Points on Monumentality' (1943); repr. in Joan Ockman, ed., with Edward Eigen, *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation & Rizzoli, 1993), 29–30.
- 3– *Ibid.*, 29.
- 4– Giedion, 'Need for a New Monumentality', 550.
- 5– *Ibid.*, 553.
- 6– *Ibid.*, 552 (original emphasis).
- 7– *Ibid.*
- 8– Gregor Paulsson, 'In Search of a New Monumentality: A Symposium', by Gregor Paulsson, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, William Holford, Siegfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Lucio Costa, Alfred Roth', *The Architectural Review* (September 1948): 117–28, at 123.
- 9– James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), xiii.
- 10– *Ibid.*, xi.
- 11– Christopher S. Wood, 'Introduction', to Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (1927), trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone, 1997): 7–24, at 23; originally published as Erwin Panofsky, *Die Perspektive als 'Symbolische Form'* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927).
- 12– Margaret Iversen, 'The Discourse of Perspective in the Twentieth Century: Panofsky, Damisch, Lacan', *Oxford Art Journal* 28, no. 2 (2005): 193–202, at 196.
- 13– Alberto Perez-Gomez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).
- 14– Massimo Scolari, *Oblique Drawing: A History of Anti-perspective* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012).
- 15– Elkins, *Poetics of Perspective*, 17.
- 16– Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 44–45.
- 17– Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990); *idem*, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
- 18– Martin Heidegger, 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking' (1951); repr. in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Perennial, 2013), 141–59, at 150.
- 19– Alfred Döblin, *Berlin*, first published as the foreword to Mario von Bucovich, *Berlin* (Berlin: Albertus, 1928), vii–xii, and translated by David Britt in *Metropolis Berlin: 1880–1940*, ed. Iain Boyd Whyte and David Frisby (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 381–85, at 381. While not all the monuments that Döblin cites involve perspectival vistas, many are enhanced by the striking urban views that make up their context.
- 20– Franz Hessel, 'Ich lerne', in *Ein Flaneur in Berlin* (1929); repr. as Franz Hessel, *Spazieren in Berlin* (Berlin: Arsenal, 1984), 12–15; and translated as 'I Learn' by David Britt, in Whyte and Frisby, *Metropolis Berlin*, 386–89, at 388.
- 21– Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1926), 288 ff., trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 240–42; translated excerpt in Whyte and Frisby, *Metropolis Berlin*, 376–77, at 376.
- 22– Gerdy Troost, *Das Bauen im neuen Reich* (Bayreuth: Gauverlag Bayerischer Ostmark, 1938), 56; cited in Whyte and Frisby, *Metropolis Berlin*, 583.
- 23– Film, *Berlin Wall Memorial*, produced by the Stiftung Berliner Mauer, 2012.
- 24– Charles W. Haxthausen, correspondence with the author, 31 March 2015.
- 25– Panofsky, as discussed by Iversen, 'Discourse of Perspective', 197.
- 26– Unless otherwise noted, translations are by the author. Matthias Hoffmann, 'Gruß vom Aussichtsturm: Ein Gespräch über das getrennte Erinnern an die Berliner Mauer', *Berliner Stadtzeitung Scheinschlag* 8 (August–September 2001), http://www.scheinschlag.de/archiv/2001/08_2001/texte/30.html (accessed 11 February 2021).
- 27– However, this interviewee later moved across the city to an area, Tempelhof, located away from the Wall, in order to escape the experience of seeing it daily. Other Westerners, interviewed deep in West Berlin, in areas such as Schöneberg or Charlottenburg, said they did not encounter the Wall in daily life or think about it; *Berlin Wall Memorial*, film in document center, produced by the Stiftung Berliner Mauer, 2014.
- 28– Giedion is used here as a way of understanding monuments placed in Berlin following the fall of the Wall, not as a direct citation by the authorities entrusted with the decision-making power; Giedion, 'Need for a New Monumentality', 553.
- 29– Richard Brody, 'The Inadequacy of Berlin's "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe"', *The New Yorker* (12 July 2012). Online edition (accessed 11 February 2021)
- 30– Peter Eisenman, project text for the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*.
- 31– Jacob Matatyau, 'Memory–Space–Politics: Public Memorial and the Problem of Political Judgment' (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2008), 96–97.
- 32– Plaque accompanying Micha Ullman, *Memorial for the Book Burning*, 1995, Berlin. Original quotation in German: 'Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort woman Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen.'