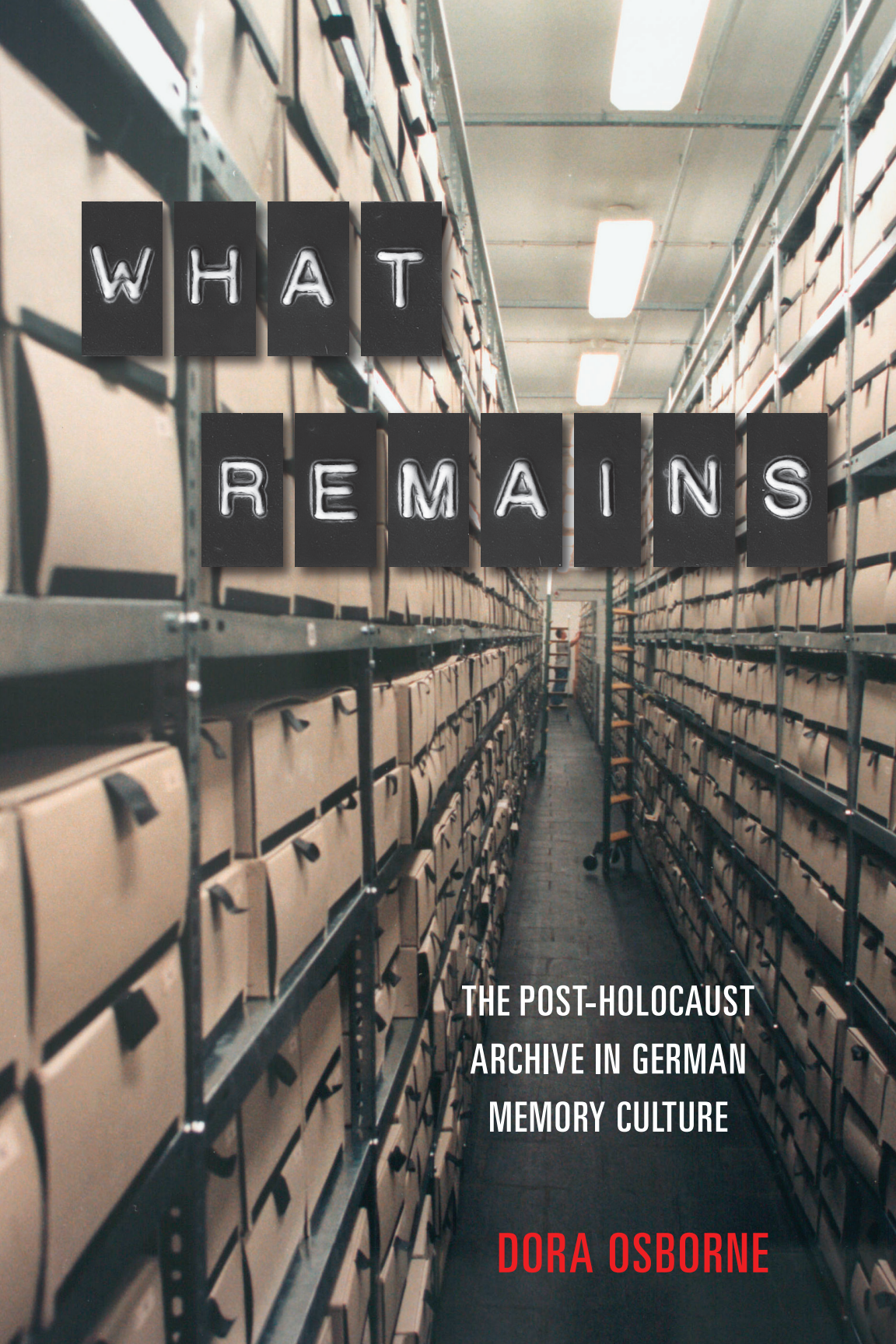

THE POST-HOLOCAUST ARCHIVE IN GERMAN MEMORY CULTURE

DORA OSBORNE

What Remains

Dialogue and Disjunction:
Studies in Jewish German Literature, Culture, and Thought

Series Editors:
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What Remains

The Post-Holocaust Archive in German Memory Culture

Dora Osborne

CAMDEN HOUSE
Rochester, New York

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First published 2020
by Camden House

Camden House is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
www.camden-house.com
and of Boydell & Brewer Limited
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN-13: 978-1-64014-052-3
ISBN-10: 1-64014-052-X

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Osborne, Dora, author.
Title: What remains : the post-Holocaust archive in German memory culture / Dora Osborne.
Description: Rochester : Camden House, [2020] | Series: Dialogue and Disjunction : Studies in Jewish German Literature, Culture, and Thought | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: "A study of the archival turn in contemporary German memory culture, drawing on recent memorials, documentaries, and prose narratives that engage with the material legacy of National Socialism and the Holocaust"—Provided by publisher.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019036920 | ISBN 9781640140523 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781787446649 (nook edition)
Subjects: LCSH: Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945)—Germany—Public opinion. | Collective memory—Germany—Social aspects. | National socialism—Germany—Public opinion. | Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945), in motion pictures. | Archives—Moral and ethical aspects. | Germany—Cultural policy—21st century. | Germany—Public opinion.
Classification: LCC D804.45.G47 O83 2020 | DDC 940.53/181—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019036920

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.
Printed in the United States of America.

To Paul and Emil

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Acknowledgments

This book was made possible through the generous support of the Leverhulme Trust. Much of the research presented here was done during an Early Career Fellowship, which I held at the University of Edinburgh between 2012 and 2015. I am enormously grateful to Leverhulme for giving me this opportunity, and to Mary Cosgrove, who has provided excellent mentorship at Edinburgh and beyond. The project was also generously supported by the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at Durham University and the School of Modern Languages at the University of St Andrews, and I am grateful to both institutions for their contributions.

I would like to thank Julian Klein and Matthias Neukirch for sharing their work and ideas, as well as the Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe for making material available to me. Their generosity has enriched the book greatly. I am also grateful to Andreas Knitz and Helmut Jerabek. I am indebted to Jim Walker and his team at Camden House for the care they have taken and the help they have given along the way. Special thanks are due to Marilyn Flaig for her generosity and expertise in producing the index.

I am very lucky to have brilliant colleagues and friends who have provided invaluable feedback and support as this project has developed. Thank you to Seán Allan, Bettina Bildhauer, Emma Bond, Carolin Duttlinger, Kate Elswit, Steve Joy, Jonathan Long, Abigail Loxham, Teresa Ludden, Frauke Matthes, Laura McMahon, Rob Priest, Maria Roca Lizarazu, Zoe Roth, Tom Smith, Janet Stewart, Lizzie Stewart, Kristen Veel, Simon Ward, Andrew Webber, and Lynn Wolff. Thank you also to my mum, Judy, and my sister, Elizabeth, and to Paul Flaig for your love and encouragement. This book is dedicated to you, and to Emil, who arrived just in time to see it finished.

Sections of the book draw on, or revisit, articles published elsewhere: "*Mal d'archive*. On the Growth of Gunter Demnig's Stolperstein-Project," *Paragraph* 37, no. 3 (2014): 372–86; "Encountering the Archive in Katja Petrowskaja's *Vielleicht Esther*," *Seminar* 52, no. 3 (2016): 255–72; "Too Soon and Too Late: The Problem of Archive Work in Christian Petzold's *Phoenix*," *New German Critique*, no. 139 (forthcoming 2020): 173–95. I am grateful to the editors and publishers for granting me permission to use this work again here.

Introduction

Memory Culture's Archival Turn

Founded on a commitment to remembering National Socialism and the Holocaust, the Berlin Republic is defined by *Erinnerungskultur* (memory culture).[1] This book argues that *Erinnerungskultur*, as it has developed in unified Germany, is increasingly bound to the archive—understood in its broadest sense as the material remnants of the past and the structures and spaces that house them. As those who lived through the Nationalist Socialist period reach the end of their lives, younger generations are increasingly dependent on externalized, material forms of memory, resulting in an "archival turn" in the memory culture of the Berlin Republic.[2] The archive features in this context as a historical resource to help bridge the growing gap between the Third Reich and contemporary Germany, but also—and this is crucial to my argument—to materialize, visualize, and narrativize the (often intangible, invisible, and elusive) work of memory. The close connection between *Erinnerungskultur* and the archive in the Berlin Republic is seen in three installation pieces found in and around the renovated German Parliament Building. Christian Boltanski's *Archiv der Abgeordneten* (Archive of the German Representatives, 1999) is an imposing structure of tin boxes, designed to look like floor-to-ceiling card-index boxes, which carry the names of nearly five thousand members of parliament elected democratically between 1919 and 1999.[3] A single black box represents the rupture in the history of German democracy marked by the Third Reich, and black strips, like small mourning bands, are found on the boxes carrying the names of politicians who became victims of National Socialism. Beyond the names and dates legible on the surface, Boltanski's installation does not contain any substantial information: here, the archive does not feature primarily as an historical resource, but rather in its formal and aesthetic elements to evoke the past (the tin boxes are even marked by rust to suggest aging). Boltanski's installation shows how the recent turn to the archive is made in aesthetic and aestheticized mode to make visible the act of commemoration.

Although Boltanski's installation was made to be seen, *Archiv* also thematizes invisibility, oversight, and repression. Located in the basement of the parliament building, it suggests neglect and forgetting and contrasts with the vision of political and historical transparency emblematized at the other end of the building's vertical plane in Norman Foster's glass

dome. Boltanski evokes the archive as a site and symbol of repression, and, marked with large brown flecks, his metal boxes are reminiscent of hidden objects recently unearthed. On the one hand, the memorial gesture performed through the archive brings Germany's Nazi past, for many years the subject of taboo and repression, back to the domain of contemporary politics, placing it at the foundations of the Berlin Republic. On the other, the installation's subterranean location, its poor illumination, and its lack of usable historical content suggest that this repressed past has been retrieved too late and it is unclear how it can or should be used now. The archive returns to the Berlin Republic after all and has the potential to support the continued work of remembering National Socialism and the Holocaust, a vital resource for younger generations who are reliant on material memory, but it is not fit for conventional historiographical purposes. At the most it seems to function as a reminder of a traumatic past and the ruptures this has left in collective memory and identity.

As an unusable archive, Boltanski's installation bears similarities to another memorial unveiled outside the parliament already in 1992. The cast-iron sculpture comprises a long row of vertical slate-like fragments that carry on their jagged edges the name, date, and place of death of the representatives who fell victim to Nazi persecution.[4] The formation is reminiscent of index cards—precisely the contents missing from Boltanski's archive boxes. However, exposed to the elements, tattered and worn, they are also not fit for purpose. They appear too late and in their damaged state only remind us of the destruction that marks the period of history in question. This archive-style memorial and Boltanski's *Archiv* can thus be seen as emblematic of the relationship between the archive and contemporary memory culture: the two are increasingly intertwined, but not necessarily or not only through the connection of history and memory. In fact, the growing visibility and visualization of this relationship (through different forms of aestheticization and display) expose the status of the archive as complicated: compromised by, and implicated in, the violent history to which it has the potential to testify, and now appropriated and refunctioned by authors, artists, and critical commentators.

This complex relationship is symbolized in another artwork in the parliament, Gerhard Richter's *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* (Black, Red, Gold; 1998–99), which hangs in the west entrance hall.[5] The structure, twenty-one meters high and three meters wide, is made of three panels of enameled glass in the colors of the German flag. Richter is famous for his photorealist painting and his blurring techniques, but for this project he favored the minimalism of his early gray paintings and subsequent color charts.[6] However, the formal simplicity of *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* is misleading, and Richter's long-term project *Atlas* tells us something about this work that the final version does not. Comprising personal, press, and found photographs, *Atlas* provides the artist with the templates for his

paintings, but it also includes Richter's own sketches and so functions as an archive of his life's work. Favoring "heterogeneity and discontinuity" over "homogeneity and continuity," *Atlas* develops what Benjamin Buchloh has called an "anomic archive." Richter uses the format to make juxtapositions, some of which are notoriously provocative, such as images of concentration camps followed by pornographic images.[7]

Despite the pivotal position Holocaust images hold within his project, at the time of the parliament commission Richter had not used photographs of the concentration camps directly as the basis for his large-scale photorealist paintings (his more recent work is discussed in chapter 1 and in the conclusion). Richter had painted a Nazi in uniform, *Onkel Rudi* (Uncle Rudi, 1965) and a child destined to become the victim of a Nazi euthanasia program, *Tante Marianne* (Aunt Marianne, 1965), but he had not reproduced the images from the camps in his major work. Yet the *Atlas* pages relating to *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* clearly include these black and white images.[8] At the turn of the millennium, the camp images, which had haunted *Atlas* and, by implication, Richter's work over several decades, were to feature in a bold, provocative installation at the entrance of the new parliament building. Here, German democracy is shown to be haunted by the ghosts of Nazi brutality. Ultimately, Richter jettisoned this idea, because, according to Helmut Friedel, it would risk a visual distortion ("optische Verzerrung") of the images, to say nothing of the political and media distortion these images would be subject to in such a high-profile and symbolic location.[9] Nevertheless, this gesture is archived in *Atlas* and consequently leaves a shadowy presence on the installation, whose reflective surface makes it difficult to determine what is actually depicted.[10] Richter's response to the commission indicates the complex but interconnected relationship between memory culture—that is, the performance and display of gestures of engaging with the legacy of National Socialism—and the archive as the medium that provides access to this traumatic and burdensome past.

Both Boltanski's and Richter's works are indicative of two phenomena: what Hal Foster has identified as the "archival impulse" of modern art, which, he argues, becomes more pronounced and more nuanced in postwar and postmodern art,[11] and the symbolic significance of archives—and in particular, *absent* archives—for German memory culture. In both artworks the archive plays a central role *in absentia*, which reflects how both absent archives and archives of absence underlie contemporary German identity and memory culture. These absent archives can be understood as another instance of what Andreas Huyssen has called the "voids of Berlin": the missing structures that indicate symbolically and literally the gaps and absences left in the city by its twentieth-century history.[12] Other examples include Micha Ullman's 1995 memorial to the book burning on Bebelplatz, which shows a "missing library," and Boltanski's

The Missing House (1990). The absent archive, as one of these Berlin voids, comes to constitute the precarious foundations of the memory culture that defines the Berlin Republic. It also provokes the attempt to cover over or compensate for this loss through gestures of accretion and excess. Berlin's controversial Holocaust Memorial was to include, at the behest of State Minister for Culture Michael Naumann, a comprehensive library of primary and secondary sources about the Holocaust (as well as literature on German-Jewish history), a gesture of what Bill Niven calls "bureaucratic gigantomania," which seems to attempt a comprehensive act of collection and archiving following attempted annihilation.[13]

An Archival Return

The archival turn means that archive structures, spaces, and materials have an increasingly prominent role to play in the memory culture of the Berlin Republic.[14] They are, however, not new, and are evoked precisely for their connectedness to an increasingly distant past, which is to say, for their "historical" patina (for example, shelves of files, typewritten documents, or black-and-white photographs). Thus, while online archives and new media are increasingly significant resources for memory in a digital age, the present study focuses on the contemporary return to visual and textual analogue media that now seem to have an archival aura.[15] They have, moreover, had a role to play before, not least in the earlier history of *Aufarbeitung*, Germany's attempts to "work through" its National Socialist past. In this sense, the turn to the archive in post-1990 memory culture is also a *return of* the archive at a later stage of this long process. This can be seen in the recent interest in the figure of Fritz Bauer (1903–1968), especially in German cinema. Between 2014 and 2016, no fewer than four feature films focused directly or indirectly on the former chief prosecutor for Hesse, who played a pivotal role in bringing about the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials, which ran from 1963 to 1965.[16] *Im Labyrinth des Schweigens* (released in English as *Labyrinth of Lie*s, dir. Giulio Ricciarelli, 2014) tells the story of a fictional prosecutor, Johann Radmann, who is encouraged by Bauer (played by Gert Voss, in one of his last performances) to pursue legal cases against Nazi criminals despite the resistance he encounters. Another cinema release, *Der Staat gegen Fritz Bauer* (*The People vs. Fritz Bauer*, dir. Lars Kraume, 2015), and the television production *Die Akte General* (The "General" File, dir. Stephan Wagner, 2016), focus on Bauer's involvement in the arrest of Adolf Eichmann, but gesture to his role in the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials. Christian Petzold's *Phoenix* (2014), although set in a much earlier, immediately postwar, period, closes with a dedication to Bauer.

In the films by Ricciarelli, Kraume, and Wagner, the focus on Bauer as heroic figure permits contemporary German memory culture to shift

to a more positive narrative of the nation's slow but concerted effort to come to terms with its National Socialist past, told from the secure perspective of a "worked-through" past. As further examples of "the new profusion of retrofilms," they continue to develop a consensus around German history,[17] to include the history of *Aufarbeitung*, which is shown here to lay the foundations for what Aleida Assmann calls the *Aufbau* (building up) of memory culture in the Berlin Republic.[18] The return to the history of *Aufarbeitung* through the figure of Bauer in these recent films can be read as a key indicator of the archival turn in German memory culture, whereby the work of engaging with the legacy of National Socialism is becoming increasingly focused on the material memory of this period—documents, letters, and photographs. Bauer returns as an emblematic figure for this archival turn, since his work marks a transitional point for the use of archive material in the process of remembering and coming to terms with the very past it documents. As well as Bauer's iconic horn-rimmed glasses and Le Corbusier wallpaper, the films by Ricciarelli, Kraume, and Wagner all use the iconic repertoire of the archive—files and documents—as a key part of the mise-en-scène. This functions in the first instance as a shorthand for the laborious task of amassing the evidence needed to make a legal case against putative perpetrators but also as a visual trope that evokes the wider but changing significance of the archive in remembering Germany's National Socialist past.

Through their focus on Bauer, these films highlight the shifting significance of archive material relating to National Socialism. According to Aleida Assmann, active political archives constitute *Herrschaftswissen*: knowledge needed for the exercise of power. But when power changes hands, active archives become politically insignificant and eventually defunct. Only once they have been "reframed and interpreted in a new context" as "historical" archives do "political" archives gain renewed significance.[19] These films about Bauer and the history of *Aufarbeitung* stage the transformation of the still-political archive of National Socialism into the legal archive used in bringing perpetrators to justice, and also anticipate how this material will come to constitute a historical archive of the period.[20] However, these two archive functions are not distinct: the traffic of documents does not simply contribute to the construction of a legal case; it also shows that material produced as part of one regime is being used by the next, and indicates how the legal process of bringing the perpetrators to justice also comes to contribute to a historical process of understanding the functioning of the camps. Furthermore—and this is what is at stake in the present study—as part of the mise-en-scène, archive material also has a formal, visual role to play in representing the process of *Aufarbeitung*: it appears here in narrative, aesthetic, and aestheticized mode. As such, it indicates how the political and historical archives of National Socialism have become memorial archives that support the

performative work of commemoration and memorialization after those who lived through and remember the period are no longer here to influence the process.

Gesturing towards the work to be done in bringing Nazi criminals to justice at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials, Kraume's film *Der Staat gegen Fritz Bauer* ends with a promise that the prosecutor, using the so-called *Breslauer Dokumente*, an archive resource that offers vital information about Auschwitz, will do the archive work necessary to set the process of *Aufarbeitung* in motion. Bauer berates his scheming colleague, Kreidler, "Tun Sie Ihre Arbeit" (Do your work), and warns him, "Aber seien Sie sicher: Ich werde meine tun" (But make no mistake: I am going to do mine [i.e., my work]). With their focus on the activation of archive material to begin the process of *Aufarbeitung*, these films introduce the idea of "archive work" as a prerequisite to the work of memory and mourning necessitated in the long process of "working through" the National Socialist past.[21] Archive work lies at the origins of *Aufarbeitung*, and even provokes the work of memory and mourning; this task is the overlooked, perhaps even repressed, condition of working through, but it is being brought to the surface belatedly, in the contemporary archival turn—perhaps in a kind of archaeological work, to use another psychoanalytically inflected term. These films return to the foundational archival work of mourning and memory at this late phase of memory culture, precisely because the archive has acquired such a prominent position in contemporary (late) German memory culture. If archive work was a prerequisite of mourning and memory work at the beginnings of *Aufarbeitung*, it has become critical to the *perpetuation* of memory culture in its late phase. Yet as a crucial factor in sustaining memory work, the memorial archive becomes something of a fetish object, subject to repeated representation and recirculation, and the reiteration of archive work that it facilitates—performed in memorial mode—threatens to become a melancholy preoccupation. This book discusses various examples of this archival turn in memory culture—a turn seen not least in the return of archive work—as well as its implications for Holocaust memory.

The archive is the dominant motif of *Im Labyrinth des Schweigens*. The publicity image for the film shows the protagonist, Johann Radmann, overwhelmed by the walls of files in the US-administered Berlin Document Center (BDC) in Berlin-Zehlendorf, and the opening sequence follows the journey of a file trolley down the long corridor of the offices of the prosecution in Frankfurt.[22] This shot is reminiscent of that of a trolley of books being pushed through the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in Alain Resnais's *Toute la mémoire du monde* (*All the Memory of the World*, 1956), the short film that functions as a pendant to *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955).[23] The reference in Ricciarelli's film connects the bureaucratic apparatus of the law with that used in the mass killings at

the camps, but stresses the ambiguity of this connection: does postwar legal bureaucracy operate in continuity with systems of Nazi persecution, or does it provide the structures to call perpetrators to account?[24] Ricciarelli's title refers to the resistance Radmann encounters when he tries to elicit information about the camps; silence and repression dominate postwar German society. But it also refers to the archives as disorienting, overwhelming, and above all silent spaces that, far from providing access to the past, contribute to its repression.

Initially, when Radmann is approached by the journalist Thomas Gnielka (another of the feature film's historical characters, who also pushed for the conviction of Nazi perpetrators), turning to the archive appears to be the only way of preventing the Holocaust from falling into oblivion, but the prosecutor encounters archive spaces as sites of resistance: a visit to the library to find books about Auschwitz yields few results; at the BDC he is warned by a US officer that the Document Center is not openly accessible; and when he tries to find local-authority documentation about a former camp guard who has since been reinstated as a schoolteacher, everything from 1939 to 1945 is missing. Not only does Radmann struggle to access the material he needs to make a viable legal case against the perpetrators, but those around him are extremely reluctant to help: he is told that the task is too great and the files are best left untouched. Even Fritz Bauer warns his protégé about the difficulty of the task he faced: "Herr Radmann, das ist ein Labyrinth. Verlieren Sie sich nicht!" (Herr Radmann, it's a labyrinth. Don't get lost). Bauer means this not as a deterrent but as advice: he understands the emotional challenge facing the young prosecutor and foresees the crisis into which he descends. The archive appears to Radmann as Pandora's box that, once opened, becomes the stage of his nightmares. As well as pursuing the legal case in his professional capacity, Radmann also goes to the Document Center on personal business to find out whether his father was a member of the NSDAP. The fact that he was is a devastating blow to the young, idealistic lawyer, and in the nights that follow this unwelcome revelation, Radmann dreams of his father carrying out Mengele-style experiments in a space reminiscent of the Document Center: knowing now what it can reveal, the protagonist perceives the archive as a chamber of horrors.

Radmann's progress with the case is shown through the visual trope of the archive, which is used to connote the overwhelming difficulty of his task: slowly he makes his way through piles of documents gleaned from various official sources, but does not find what he is looking for. He finds the document that facilitates a major breakthrough elsewhere, namely, in the possession of the camp survivor, Simon Kirsch. It is not found in the official archives, but instead in an old suitcase belonging to Kirsch. An *Erschießungsliste* provides the names of those who were shot in the camps (officially, "auf der Flucht erschossen"—shot while trying to

escape), as well as the names of those who carried out the deed.[25] The list connects victims with perpetrators and thus provides the evidence needed to make a case. The fact such a document exists (in retrospect so incriminating) suggests the perpetrators' adherence to bureaucratic order even in the perpetration of violent acts—Gnielka quips, "Ordnung muss sein. Ist das nicht unglaublich?" (We must have order. Isn't that unbelievable?) However, the fact that the document has survived in the possession of the camp inmate is a matter of chance. Radmann wants to know Kirsch's source so that he can find more such material, but the survivor cannot help him: "Keine Ahnung. Nach der Befreiung war Chaos. Jeder hat mitgenommen, was er kriegen konnte" (No idea. It was chaos after the liberation. Everyone took what they could.) The film shows how archive work is necessary for the process of working through the Nazi past, but, as one example of the contemporary archival turn in German contemporary memory culture, also exposes the problematic aspects of the archive that remains after Auschwitz.

As seminal theorists of the archive, such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, have observed, the archive is determined, if not produced, by political structures and power relations, and so constitutes a compromised resource in testifying to these circumstances in retrospect. In the case of the archive of material that remains following the Holocaust, there is a stark contrast between the overwhelming material produced by a hyper-bureaucratized regime and the depleted possessions of its victims, and yet both resources are pivotal to the archive work undertaken in the name of memory. In Ricciarelli's film, Radmann must navigate his way through the Document Center *and* glean what he can from the scant belongings of the survivor, gathered and symbolized here in the suitcase. While the film's visual vocabulary arguably reinforces a dichotomy—and problematic cliché—between the excessive material remains of the regime's administrative apparatus and the paucity of the few objects left in the victim's suitcase, it also indicates the complex, complicated, and fraught nature of the Holocaust archive: a Nazi document never intended for either the eyes or hands of its prisoners is *not* found among the remnants of the regime's own bureaucratic system, but rather among the last things gathered by those who saw liberation. The contents of the survivor's suitcase cannot be reduced to a simple cliché of pathos-laden personal effects; rather, they include an inflammatory document that provides the force and foundations for the archive work that will challenge postwar repression of the past. The location of the *Erschießungsliste* in this *other* archive, however, provokes a series of questions that stall its use in any legal proceedings: To whom does it belong? Can Gnielka and Radmann make use of it without Kirsch's consent? If the suitcase has served as Kirsch's own metaphorical space of repression, can they force him to open it, and reopen the wounds it represents?

Unfinished Business

The questions raised by this scene are pivotal to Ricciarelli's staging of early *Aufarbeitung* and the archive work it necessitated, but they return at a later stage of memory work with new layers of complexity. For instance, younger generations who are now responsible for the work of remembering and commemorating the Holocaust can no longer address figures like Kirsch directly. They must use the material that remains, because this is all they have, but they must do so mindful of the ethical questions that its use provokes. As the Fritz Bauer films show, the archive appears now in a strange, double temporality: it is at once the condition of working through, and what remains after this process has been initiated and, some might say, completed. This archive work was fundamental to the process of *Aufarbeitung*, but it returns in the Berlin Republic as unfinished business. What remains after the attempted work of mourning and memory is a renewed, but haunted form of archive work. As I will show in the following chapters, archive work is the task left to communities, artists, authors and their protagonists, but it is also the focus of their critical assessments of, and interventions in, contemporary memory culture and memory politics. The archival turn opens new questions for scholars, questions that might be addressed through academic work in and with archives. However, this is not the study I am undertaking here. As I indicate later and set out more fully in theoretical terms in chapter 1, I am interested here in questions of mediation and belatedness: How is archive material used and represented in memory culture and how does the recent turn to the archive respond to the growing temporal distance from the historical events at stake? I focus on what artists, directors, and authors do with the archive rather than on archive material as historical source.

Archive work returns now, after all, because in what has been dubbed the "post-witness era," the work of memory necessarily depends on exterior, media support.[26] As the seminal theories of postmemory and prosthetic memory show, visual media such as photography and film have an increasingly important role to play in connecting subsequent generations to past events, especially through "imaginative investment."[27] Indeed, Marianne Hirsch has returned to her influential work on belated, mediated forms of remembering to posit an "archival turn" in postmemory: now a whole generation—the "generation of postmemory"—is dependent on archival, documentary, and in particular, visual material, for their understanding of a traumatic legacy.[28] In her own work, Hirsch refers to the second generation, but as Mila Ganeva notes, Hirsch's insights have been applied more broadly to subsequent generations, including the third generation (the grandchildren), which is experiencing this archival turn even more emphatically.[29] The perceived insufficiency of conventional historical archives to bear witness to traumatic experience provoked

the growth of Memory Studies and, moreover, the significance of testimony for Holocaust Studies in the 1980s and 1990s; more recently, these sources have returned with a new role to play.[30] As Hirsch notes, this recent turn to the archive looks to sources not as historical, evidentiary artefacts but as memorial, "testimonial" objects.[31] Indeed, Hirsch is particularly interested in how the generation of postmemory uses family archives as a counterbalance, or even point of resistance, to impersonal official archives.[32] The present study certainly works with a broad definition of the archive, one that includes personal documents and family photographs, but it is particularly interested in the return of conventional, official archives after all. How do subsequent generations deal with the material legacies of perpetration? How can they use them in ways that acknowledge their gaps and the power relations that structure their production? Focusing on the material, ethical, and political implications of the archival turn I shift critical attention to the archive itself, and in this sense the present study seeks to do something other than use archival metaphors to describe processes and modes of memory.[33] My argument develops out of the context of contemporary theory and scholarship that understands the archive as much more than a historical resource. It builds on theoretical approaches developed by Jacques Derrida (after Freud) and, more recently, Georges Didi-Huberman, as well as seminal work by the late Michael Sheringham that reflects thinking precisely about the archive as a literary trope. Crucially for this study, their perspectives show how the archive relates to trauma and traumatic memory (see chapter 1 of this volume). I show how the trope of the archive provides a new point of critical scrutiny for the study of the traumatic memory of the Holocaust in the contemporary German context.

The material legacy that, I am arguing, constitutes the archive that remains for contemporary memory work encompasses radically different traces, extending from the bureaucratic documents produced by the Nazi regime to the ash that remains at the sites of the concentration camps. While it is crucial to uphold the fundamental differences between these kinds of material trace, considering how they are inextricably linked through the violence to which they now bear witness is key to the present study. It may be appropriate or accurate to refer in some cases to the archive of National Socialism (and to the archive of perpetration) to describe the bureaucratic documents produced in the administration of the regime, and to refer in others to the archive of the Holocaust (and to the archive of the victims) to describe the residual remains found at sites of perpetration, such as discarded possessions. However, this distinction becomes hard to uphold where the "archival principles" of the National Socialist regime seen emblematically in its drive for *restlose Erfassung* (complete documentation) extend, as Ernst van Alphen has argued, to the "archival principles" of the camps.[34] From the implementation of

racial policy in the early years of Hitler's government to the "liquidation" of what H. G. Adler called the "verwaltete Mensch," or administered, or managed, person, we are faced instead with a contiguity of archivally inscribed and structured traces. Indeed, although in this context "archive" refers to a broadly defined material legacy that is determined by the effects of power and violence in the past, present, and future, the growing significance of the archive for German memory culture calls the very notion of the archive into question. Moreover, if the Holocaust archive—that which remains following attempted eradication—is by definition found wanting, and yet is all that is available for our understanding of this chapter of history, it calls into question the status and definition of the archive "after Auschwitz," to evoke Adorno's controversial dictum.[35] The fact of the Holocaust archive implies the *post-Holocaust archive*: in the twenty-first century we rely more than ever on the material remains that might tell us something about the Third Reich and its legacy, but in the knowledge that the status of these remains is compromised by the very violence to which they bear witness. Like Hirsch's concept of postmemory, the post-Holocaust archive "shares the layering and belatedness of . . . other 'posts,'" and is likewise characterized by "practices of citation and supplementarity."[36] What remains after all as the post-Holocaust archive is subject to citation and supplementation in the attempt to understand the past, but as with "other 'posts,'" these practices of deferral and distancing expose loss as its defining feature as much as they redress it.[37]

Christian Petzold's *Phoenix*, the most ambitious of the films in the seemingly accidental Fritz Bauer series described earlier, shows at the level of narrative the emergence of the Holocaust archive from the ashes of Auschwitz, but in realizing his project Petzold also engages with the emergence of the post-Holocaust archive as a kind of after-effect of *Aufarbeitung*. *Phoenix* reveals the slippage between these two categories when viewed from a contemporary perspective by showing archive work explicitly as unfinished business. Unlike the three other films mentioned, *Phoenix* resists telling the story of Bauer's archive work from the seemingly safe perspective of a "worked-through" present. Instead it foregrounds the strange temporality of archive work; here, it is attempted at once too soon and too late.[38] *Phoenix* takes place immediately after the war—nearly two decades before the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials—but it thematizes the beginnings of the kind of work the trials will eventually necessitate, and it anticipates this work with its closing dedication to Fritz Bauer. The film tells the story of Nelly Lenz, a Jewish singer who survives Auschwitz but on a death march from the camp sustains gunshot wounds that damage her face beyond recognition. She is brought back to Berlin by her friend Lene, who arranges for reconstructive surgery. She then tries to find her husband, Johnny, who, she subsequently and reluctantly learns, denounced her. He seems not to recognize her in her

postoperative state but sees that her similarity to Nelly (whom he believes dead) could help him claim his wife's inheritance.

Petzold's closing dedication to Bauer gestures to the archive work to come in the decades that follow, but the director also refers to the contemporary return of the archive as a kind of unfinished business that haunts the film at its very beginnings. In numerous interviews, Petzold explains that the film was supposed to open with a reconstruction of an archive image showing a death march from Auschwitz in the last days of the camp. He wanted to recreate this photograph, but on filming realized that this was a mistake, that he had broken the injunction on the use of Holocaust images in fictional representations.[39] Petzold's insistence on telling this story shows how archive work is fundamental to his film, although it is attempted both too soon and too late. Playing in the days and weeks after the war, *Phoenix* shows how Lene, who works for the Jewish Agency, tries to identify the dead by cross-referencing the tattooed numbers glimpsed in grainy photographs of corpses from the camps with prisoner files singed at the edges. Here, identification must take place remotely, belatedly, and, moreover, must be supported by the same bureaucratic apparatus designed and implemented for the administration of a dehumanized workforce and what Hannah Arendt calls "the mass production of corpses."[40] We also see how the *destruction* of evidence is crucial to Johnny's attempts to disavow the past and his own culpability; most radically he very nearly erases the prisoner tattoo on Nelly's arm through the infliction of a further trauma, what he calls a "kleine Wunde" (small wound). *Phoenix* shows the gradual emergence of a precarious, fragile Holocaust archive that eventually will form the basis of Fritz Bauer's work, triggering the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials and the gathering of testimony. In Petzold's film, Bauer's archive work, however, also signals the emergence of the post-Holocaust archive from the Holocaust archive: the material used initially and perhaps primarily for documentation and the writing of legal reports and historical accounts is used increasingly in the remembering, commemoration, and memorialization of Auschwitz, as well as its aestheticization, consumption, and commercialization. In positioning his own abandoned reconstruction of this archive at the beginning of the film—indeed, by predicating the emergence of the film on this failure—Petzold emphasizes the difficulty but inescapability of encountering this archive from a contemporary perspective only and always already as the post-Holocaust archive.

Archive Work and Its Discontents

This study considers how what Erin McGlothlin and Jennifer M. Kapczynski have described as "the enduring post-Holocaust condition of contemporary German culture" necessitates an (uneasy) encounter with the

post-Holocaust archive.[41] The archival turn in memory culture coincides with the continued dominance of the National Socialist past in German culture and politics at a time when some might feel that the country has "worked through" this dark chapter of its history. Both the idea that the work of remembering the Holocaust could be completed *and* the perpetuation of this work by generations increasingly disconnected from the historical period in question produce what scholars have called, after Freud, discontent or unease (*Unbehagen*).[42] Focusing on the problematic position of the archive in contemporary German memory culture, this book is interested in *Erinnerungskultur* (specifically the area of memory culture concerned with remembering and commemorating National Socialism and the Holocaust) as a concept itself subject to much critical attention. The Berlin Republic is committed to remembering and commemorating Germany's National Socialist past, but this memory-political (*erinnerungspolitisch*) aspect of German identity is strongly contested, and the archive has no small part to play in the power game of *Erinnerungskultur*. Key to the process of claiming possession of the experiences of the other as part of a "German past," it becomes the site of appropriation and arguably misappropriation. Remembering and commemorating the crimes of National Socialism is fundamental to German identity in the Berlin Republic, no longer necessarily in the mode of negative nationalism, but, no less problematically, as leading the way in commemorative principles and practice: the rest of the world looks to "das *Modell Deutschland*" (the German model), which has exemplary status as a "successful" way of engaging with a difficult national past.[43] The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe is regarded as an emblem of this German model, demonstrating bold government commitment to the memory of the Holocaust through a vast, centralized monument to the nation's crimes. As Aleida Assmann has shown, such gestures and sentiments are the source of much unease surrounding *Erinnerungskultur*.[44] If Assmann's discussion of the "Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur" has echoes of Freud, this is because there is a sense in which the civilized and civilizing gestures of *Erinnerungskultur*, gestures that might even provoke pride, are the result of the Holocaust and the guilt that these crimes produced: memory culture, as the expression of a kind of "belated obedience" to the superego of postwar society, only exists because Germany committed the primal deed of the Holocaust in the first place.[45] The *Unbehagen* discussed by Assmann and others is neatly encapsulated in Gerburg Rohde-Dahl's documentary film about the construction of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, *Ein weites Feld* (released in English as *Expansive Grounds*, 2008). The film presents a passerby who is concerned that even in this, the attempt at commemorating an unthinkable crime, Germany "will Weltbester sein" (wants to be the best in the world). And, Assmann reminds us, Germany

can only claim this dubious title because it was once "Weltmeister im Morden" (world champion of murdering).[46]

The Holocaust memorial has become emblematic of another problematic aspect of *Erinnerungskultur*, namely, its focus on and identification with the victims. According to Ulrike Jureit, this "opferidentifizierte Erinnerungskultur" (memory culture that identifies with the victims) is a result of the rebellion of the so-called 68er generation against their parents, whom they held responsible for the crimes of National Socialism.[47] They identified instead with the victims, a position that was formative for the memory culture that developed in the following decades. These "geliehene Identitäten" (borrowed identities) not only indicate gestures of appropriation, however, they also allow this and subsequent generations to distance themselves from the perpetrators, creating the image of an anonymous mass of demonic figures responsible for past crimes, quite disconnected from their own circumstances and family biographies.[48] As this "opferidentifizierte Erinnerungskultur" has crystalized into a politically, socially, and internationally sanctioned model, it has taken on ritualistic aspects that, according to Jureit, bring the promise of redemption ("Erlösungsversprechen") and the desire for exoneration from past sins through the performance of mourning and memory work, a desire expressed in the cynical phrase "Trauerarbeit macht frei."[49] Moreover, the acceptance and practice of the "German model" has arguably led to stagnation: the practice of a now empty and meaningless ritual facilitates amnesia on the one hand and resentment on the other.[50] For Assmann, however, such stagnation does not need to mean letting the Holocaust slide into oblivion. On the contrary, the very fact that such a response provokes unease means that this *Unbehagen* itself has provocative, disruptive, and thus critical potential.[51] Part of my examination of the role of the archive is to ask whether the turn to material memory is part of a shift in memory culture (and a renewal of its endeavor), or whether it is part of the problem (contributing to the "Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur"). The return to archive work for which I argue has the potential to encourage deeper, more nuanced, and even critical engagements with the Nazi past, but it might also provide a mode for the perpetuation of unquestioning memory work as duty and penance. Reformulated in these terms, Jureit's critical slogan would now be "Archivarbeit macht frei."

This book focuses on the significance of the archival turn in Holocaust memory for German memory culture and for the memory politics of *Erinnerungskultur*. It develops analyses of primary material that can to some extent be called German (German-language source or produced by German authors, artists, or directors), but it also attempts to identify and address the tensions that emerge as a result of non-Jewish German authors' artists', or directors' (the majority discussed here) negotiating between memories of perpetration and Jewish victimhood. Katja

Petrowskaja, a Ukrainian author of Jewish descent, offers an important point of contrast, and I consider how her work with archives is inextricably bound up with her critical view of German memory culture. This book examines the archival turn (as return) in memory culture and its implications through different media and genres: memorials, documentary film and theater, and prose narrative. In chapter 2 I argue that archive work underpins Holocaust memorials of the Berlin Republic in their performance of memory work. I discuss how the Holocaust archive is used in the production of memorials by Jochen Gerz, Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock, Horst Hoheisel, Gunter Demnig, and Sigrid Sigurdsson. This approach has limitations, however, which prompt reflection (either as a feature of or as a response to the memorial itself) on the post-Holocaust archive. The projects developed by Stih and Schnock, Gerz, and Hoheisel reflect on the altered status of the archive after Auschwitz and highlight the memory-political aspects of archive work. Demnig's *Stolpersteine*, meanwhile, require archival research, but not necessarily in critical mode. Moreover, the project uses archive work not only to produce Demnig's memorial stones but also to document the memory work that the project performs. *Stolpersteine* thus come to constitute an archive of *Aufarbeitung*. Something similar can be seen in Sigurdsson's project, which even includes the documents produced in the process of sponsoring Demnig's stones. In chapter 2 I argue that these projects are driven by a contradictory impulse: on the one hand, they offer a means of finishing the work of memory by concluding the unfinished business of archive work (producing one of Demnig's memorial stones or completing research for Sigurdsson's archive); on the other they ensure the ritualistic perpetuation of memory work through projects whose serial archive work can be performed indefinitely.

Chapter 3 focuses on documentary work, film and theater, that screens or stages archive work in a belated phase of working through and remembering the National Socialist past. Both the films *2 oder 3 Dinge, die ich von ihm weiß* (*2 or 3 Things I Know about Him*, dir. Malte Ludin, 2005) and *Winterkinder: Die schweigende Generation* (*Winter's Children: The Silent Generation*, dir. Jens Schanze, 2005) and the play *Hans Schleif* (dir. Julian Klein, premiere 2010) turn to the archive in an attempt to better understand family histories and thus clarify how particular narratives of Nazi perpetration can or should relate to the collective narratives of memory culture. Meanwhile, *Menschliches Versagen* (*Human Failure*, dir. Michael Verhoeven, 2008) considers the status and significance of archival material documenting the process of so-called Aryanization that has recently come to light, and the play *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* (Stumbling Stones State Theater, dir. Hans Werner Kroesinger, premiere 2015) stages the archive work undertaken to chart the process of institutional *Gleichschaltung* ("consolidation"), whereby the state theater became a

national theater and thus implicated in the violence of National Socialism. In all cases, however, the engagement with documents and artefacts fails to finish the business of *Aufarbeitung*; rather, it underscores the unresolved relationship of families and institutions to questions of culpability and perpetration and raises questions about how such material could or should be made part of an ongoing commitment to memory work.

In chapter 4 I look at prose narratives that thematize the archive work undertaken by their protagonists in order to reveal its memory-political dimensions. I discuss Ursula Krechel's *Landgericht* (State Justice, 2012), which, based on the author's own archival research, tells the story of a German Jewish judge who must make use of the archive of National Socialism to make a claim for reparations following his return from exile. Krechel shows how this archive was instrumental to and instrumentalized in the politics of *Aufarbeitung*, and as such continued to exert power (*Gewalt*, in Derrida's Benjaminian terms) over those who were never supposed to return. In her satirical novel, *Das Eigentliche* (The Essential, 2010), Iris Hanika takes a more distanced and critical approach to the question of contemporary memory culture. Expressing in parodic mode the dilemma of her own generation, Hanika shows how her archivist protagonist not only cannot but also does not want to free himself from the burden of Auschwitz for fear that life may become meaningless. The melancholy protagonist's archive work sustains his obsessive attachment to the Holocaust, but it is threatened by the automated systems increasingly used by the state-run Institute for the Administration of the Past (Institut für Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung). Hanika's critique of German memory culture highlights the role of archive work in perpetuating, in bureaucratized mode, the work of memory and her own generation's dependency on such mechanisms. However, it fails to address how a younger generation might respond to the archive work that remains after all.

These literary responses to the archival turn are critical of contemporary memory culture in different ways, but it is authors of a younger generation who also offer alternative, future-oriented ways of approaching the archive in the work of remembering and commemorating the Holocaust. In *Vielleicht Esther* (Maybe Esther, 2014), Katja Petrowskaja's narrator encounters various archive sites as stumbling blocks: in their connection to the Holocaust, they prevent her from accessing a history that precedes this trauma and so force her to return to it after all and in spite of herself. But they also challenge her to respond to the ethical questions raised by the post-Holocaust archive. In her encounters with the material remnants of the past, she sees how family and collective histories are connected. She comes to understand that her belated archive work carries a responsibility for all those whose histories she discovers, regardless of her personal connection to them, a responsibility that demands a

critical approach to the material remnants available to her for this work. In *Flut und Boden* (Flood and Soil, 2014), the author, Per Leo, whose grandfather was a Nazi, parodies the cliché of the archive encounter with evidence of perpetration and seeks to move beyond this by focusing on the counter-archive produced by his great-uncle. This material offers an alternative legacy for a younger generation and a resource for making better sense of his position vis-à-vis a family history of Nazi perpetration. Both authors understand the generational imperative to return to the archive after all, but they resist melancholy fixation on the remnants of the Holocaust and National Socialism by engaging with this material legacy in a broader and more contemporary context. In order to engage with these memorials, documentaries, and texts, I first define the concept of the post-traumatic, post-Holocaust archive through a discussion of key theoretical and contextual positions.

1: The Post-Holocaust Archive

Archivology

In this chapter, I set out how the archive can be understood as concept and trope, as well as material and structure, in order to focus on the specific relevance of this broadly defined term for remembering and commemorating the violence of National Socialism, in particular, the Holocaust. The archive can refer to different things: a physical place of deposit, storage, and preservation; the material housed there; and the order, or house rules, according to which this material is kept and used. Archive material can refer to official documents produced for the purposes of being archived, to other official sources gathered together because an archival authority deems them significant, or to unofficial material—personal letters, family photographs, objects—collected and preserved by their owners or subsequently by others. This expanded definition of the archive reflects the cultural as well as scholarly tendencies in recent decades to question the hegemony of official sources in constructing historical narratives and to use personal, ephemeral, and contingent material in trying to understand the past. As a result, the archive is no longer seen primarily as the site and resource of traditional historiographic pursuit (although it of course continues to serve this function); rather it has become part of the discourse of memory and as such the subject of theoretical reflection about its relation to the work, culture, politics, and ethics of memory.[1] The archive is part of the discourse of memory, but shifts the focus of critical engagement to a new set of questions. According to Ann Laura Stoler, the humanities has witnessed an "archival turn" that can be seen in the shift from "archive-as-source" to "archive-as-subject."[2]

Refocusing on the archive in this way has led to its re-theorization in the mode of "archivology."[3] Such theoretical perspectives draw on the insights of Freud and Foucault, who act as what Knut Ebeling calls "agents" of the archive; Derrida, whose *Archive Fever* is a founding text of archive theory; Achille Mbembe, who has developed an important critique of archival power structures; and more recently Georges Didi-Huberman, who has written about the particular relationship between visual archives and cultural memory.[4] Michael Sheringham's seminal work on the archive as literary trope is key to the methodological approach I develop here, as are the insights of Peter Fritzsche on the historical development of German archives and recent work by Cathy Caruth on

the idea of the traumatic archive. I trace the "archivological" gestures of these thinkers and scholars in order to set out the theoretical stakes for my investigation into the relationship between the archive and German memory culture. In particular, I outline how their insights inform the key term I activate in this study: the post-Holocaust archive. I discuss Didi-Huberman's concept of the archive "in spite of all," used to describe the four blurred photographs taken by members of a *Sonderkommando* (prisoners who were forced to work in the crematoria) at Auschwitz-Birkenau, which provide rare evidence of the camps, produced at great risk by those interned there. These images and Didi-Huberman's analysis of them serve to show how the Holocaust is defined by loss: what remains bears witness to destruction and to what could not be documented and thus what cannot be known. What remains includes these images, as well as the remnants of infrastructure and the scant remains of the victims. But the Holocaust archive also extends to and includes the often bureaucratic, official traces generated by National Socialism. This chapter focuses on the inscription and traces of loss, because these things are contiguous with and haunt the visual and textual documents produced by the Nazi regime. More often than not, these traces form the substance of contemporary archive work, a phenomenon I analyze. If the memorials, documentaries, and prose narratives discussed turn first and foremost to the archive of National Socialism, it is because this is what remains, where the traces of the victims might have been erased. However, to engage with this material legacy now is to engage with the post-Holocaust archive, which is to say, it is to engage with these traces as haunted by the specter of that which has been lost.

Archive and Memory

The archive has become a dominant trope for thinking about the mediation and representation of the past—in other words, for memory. Pierre Nora, whose work is fundamental to Memory Studies, has gone so far as to claim, "Modern memory is, above all, archival."[5] According to Nora, the prominence of the archive signals a loss of memory as internal, subjective experience, and an increasing reliance on its "exterior scaffolding and outward signs." In our modern age the archive promises both the comprehensive recording of the present and its subsequent availability, which allays our anxieties about the unreliability and partiality of memory. It allows us to "delegat[e] to the archive the responsibility of remembering."[6] The archive is thus also pivotal to cultural memory, the mode of memory, as defined by Jan and Aleida Assmann, that exceeds living memory and relies on transmission through material objects and tradition. For Aleida Assmann, the archive represents two forms of memory: *Speichergedächtnis* (storage memory) and *Funktionsgedächtnis* (functional

memory).[7] *Speichergedächtnis* refers to a society's ability to archive and thus to the repository of all material that survives a particular era, which Assmann calls "das kulturelle Archiv" (the cultural archive). *Funktionsgedächtnis* is the archival material that a society deems worthy not only of keeping but also of circulating and displaying—in other words, that it uses as part of a cultural-historical narrative.[8] The relationship between storage and functional memory determines what is remembered and what is forgotten and so alerts us to the power relations that underlie the archive and determine its role not only for cultural memory but also individual and collective memory.

Assmann has described the construction of cultural memory in terms of the relationship between the archive and the canon. The archive represents the "cultural reference memory," from which a culture selects only certain elements for repeated use and circulation ("cultural working memory"), thereby elevating them to the canon.[9] Crucially for Assmann, the archive is a "paradigmatic institution of *passive* cultural memory," a definition that relies on a clear distinction between "political archives" and "historical archives."[10] As repositories of "political power (*Herrschaftswissen*)," political archives enact "the symbolic legitimation of power."[11] However, according to Assmann, they soon "lose their political function and relevance," at which point they become historical archives. These "inert" repositories have the potential to become cultural working memory, but only if they are "reclaim[ed]" and activated as such.[12] Here I am arguing that although the archives of National Socialism and the Holocaust now undoubtedly constitute a vital historical resource, they still retain political power, now manifest in their memory-political dimension. This is why these archives represent such complicated resources for the contemporary work of remembering the National Socialist past: they cannot and should not be used without some consideration of their former status as repositories and instruments (in the production or appropriation) of political power.

Power and Control

The archive refers not only to an accumulation of material but also to the place where, as well as the order according to which, this is accommodated. As place, the archive is a site of power, and as order, a mechanism of power. In *Archive Fever*, Derrida explains that the word "archive" comes from the Greek *arkheion* and designates "the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded."[13] The superior status of the magistrates gave them the power not only to keep important documents but also to read and interpret them. From this position "they recall the law and call on or impose the law."[14] As a site of power where the law is both instituted and maintained the archive also does violence

(*Gewalt*).[15] The archive exerts *Gewalt* in designating what is included and excluded from its order. As Achille Mbembe notes, the archive is "primarily the product of a judgement, the result of the exercise of a specific power and authority." It is "therefore, not a piece of data, but a status."[16] The superior status of the archive, its power to select, makes it a site of political power: according to Derrida "There is no political power without the control of the archive, if not of memory."[17] These power relations can be seen in the regulation of the archive in questions of access, structure, content, and interpretation.[18] Control of the archive implies control of memory, but in whose name and in whose interest does the archive operate? The archive promises safekeeping of the material remnants of the past—Assmann's "storage memory"—but this does not mean that the traces stored will be put into circulation—made part of "functional memory." The archive is not only fundamental to the constitution and regulation of the state, it also contains (controls) evidence of resistance to or of deviation from its order. In housing material that threatens to undermine the dominant power, the archive is doubly political, since it can be made to function as a site of suppression through repression.[19] In this way, archiving is a formal means of stopping the dead from "stirring up disorder in the present."[20] The capacity of the archive to silence contentious matters is also expressed in the German phrase "*ad acta* legen, etw. zu den Akten legen," to file away, which suggests laying the past to rest and thus forgetting it.[21]

The archive controls memory because it takes possession of what remains. In his work on photographic archives, Allan Sekula explains that an archive is always owned, but that "ownership may or may not coincide with authorship."[22] Where the archive functions to inscribe and prescribe collective norms, it partakes of the same disciplinary regimes, as theorized by Foucault, that shape modern institutions such as prisons and asylums. The use of photography to record the criminal body and identify a deviant "type" was a key form of archival discipline in the nineteenth century, whereby the agency of individuals immortalized in criminological and phrenological indexes was lost to dubious empiricist discourse.[23] Arlette Farge also reflects on questions of agency in her work with criminal archives from the eighteenth century. In the case of those who author memoirs or other personal documents, we can presume that they wrote "in the belief that the events of his or her life called for a written record" and that their accounts would be found and read.[24] Juridical records, on the other hand, tell of "lives that never asked to be told in the way they were."[25] In his essay on "infamous men," Foucault describes an archival encounter with those who only entered historical consciousness because they became part of the archive.[26] On the one hand, the fact that traces of individual lives can be found in the archive signals an opportunity to remember those who might otherwise have fallen into oblivion. On the

other hand, the fact that these encounters occur via its disciplinary structure means we can only know them as subjects of power. The individuals that Farge reads about "never wanted to leave any written record, much less the one they ended up leaving."[27] In other words, those whose lives are inscribed in the archive do not give an account of themselves and so cannot be encountered on their own terms. These "small lives that have become ashes" are "revealed in the few sentences that cut them down."[28] To retrieve material from the archive, then, is potentially to bring something to light that was supposed to remain hidden—as with suppression by the state—or it may mean putting into circulation material relating to an individual who had no control over the recording, archiving, or consumption of those details. Making the archive visible again carries responsibility insofar as this is done in the name of another. According to Mbembe, the archive operates "a process of despoilment and dispossession": the very existence of archive material implies that it has "ceased to belong to its author"; thus to make use of it is potentially to appropriate it for some unintended purpose.[29] If, as Mbembe claims, "The final destination of the archive is therefore always situated outside its own materiality, in the story that it makes possible," then those who write such stories bear responsibility for the narrative that emerges.[30]

Futurity and Responsibility

Beyond his work on the lives of infamous men, Foucault developed a definition of the archive that refers not to a repository of documents but to what he calls the historical *a priori* of discursive practice. Foucault's archive is "the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events." It is the "system of [the statement's] enunciability" and "the system of its functioning": "between tradition and oblivion, it reveals the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification. It is *the general system of the formation and transformation of statements.*"[31] Foucault's idea of transformation alerts us to the way the power relations underlying the archive are bound up with an equally fundamental aspect, namely, its futurity. Michael Sheringham notes how the Foucauldian archive creates a network of statements that "makes them available to future operations." The acts of transformation to which Foucault gestures relate to the process of archiving and also to the "strategic uses" to which the material preserved in this way might be put.[32] The archive anticipates future use; otherwise it would be meaningless. This future use, however, remains pure possibility. In its orientation towards the future, the archive carries responsibility. It does not have to be consigned to oblivion; it can be brought back into circulation, but it should be used mindfully. The futurity of the archive produces Derrida's archive fever, *mal d'archive*, because it is at once certain and uncertain:

"The question of the archive is not, we repeat, a question of the past. . . . It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise, and of a responsibility for tomorrow. . . . If we want to know what it will have meant, we will only know in times to come."[33] Controlled and transformed by the laws governing it, the archive and the uses to which it is put are never neutral. What happens, then, to the subjects of the archive in its future "strategic" use?[34] The responsibility of the archive relates both to its futurity—the fact that it can, perhaps should, and perhaps will, be used—and to the question of agency: Are the lives recorded lives archived actively, willingly, wittingly, fully, or do they reveal only "the few sentences that cut them down"?[35] The extent to which individuals determine how their lives are inscribed in the archive may be difficult to determine. Archive material thus carries an ethical burden, yet it also asks to be used, and in the context of contemporary Holocaust memory culture, now it *has* to be used. John D. Caputo argues that we must accept this double bind as constitutive of the archive, even while it is precisely the cause of Derrida's archive fever: "*Nous sommes en mal d'archive*, for that is all we have."[36] The archive carries a responsibility, moreover, because it is governed by its futurity. Our encounter with the archive will not, should not, be the last, but it will determine how the archive is available, used, and read again in the future.

Event and Trace

What remains for the future is determined by the way the archive mediates between the past and the present. Housing and constituting traces of the past, the archive is what Paul Ricoeur calls a "connecteur," something that opens up "the possibility and necessity for a dialogue between history and memory."[37] It marks the passage "from the event to history," but in so doing marks or reinscribes the gap between the event and its status as history, between the past moment and its recollection in the present.[38] Thus, the encounter with the archive, as Sheringham notes, makes us aware of loss, of our "lack of mastery" over the past, which still has a claim on us in the present: "Rather than add something, the encounter with the archive may take something away."[39] The traces that are found in the archive and that have the potential to function as *connecteurs*, also make us aware that, while something has persisted beyond the past, other things have not, at once reminding us of what is no longer available in any integral sense and of the fact that not everything has been integrated into history.[40] The archive reminds us, then, not only that the past and the present do not coincide but also that they cannot be experienced as distinct: the past haunts the present. According to Derrida, the archive is "spectral *a priori*: neither present nor absent 'in the flesh,' neither visible nor invisible."[41] Thus the archive is like the trace or the signature. As

the remainder of a singular moment, it exposes precisely the non-coincidence of trace and origin, *arkhē* and archive. The archive is the trace that remains: "the archive takes place at the place of memory at the place of originary and structural breakdown of the said memory."[42] The archive comes into being only by virtue of its iterability: it "will never be either memory or anamnesis as spontaneous, alive and internal experience."[43] The archive is not the original, rather it is its "*type*, the *typos*, the iterable letter or character."[44] As "mnemotechnical supplement or representative" the archive implies the "possibility of . . . repetition, of reproduction, or of reimpression."[45]

In *Archive Fever* Derrida illustrates the gap between the *arkhē* and archive by tracing the psychoanalytic search for origins in a literary text. He returns to Wilhelm Jensen's 1903 novella, *Gradiva: Ein pompejanisches Fantasiestück* (Gradiva: A Pompeiian Fantasy), and to Freud's famous analysis of the text, *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens 'Gradiva'* (Delusion and Dream in Jensen's *Gradiva*). This story and its role in psychoanalysis turn on the bas-relief of a woman with a distinctive gait. In Jensen's novella, Hanold, an archaeologist, sees the bas-relief in a museum and is so taken by the woman depicted that he procures a copy for his office. He begins to speculate about her identity and origins. He gives her the name Gradiva, and imagines that she was a victim of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79.[46] He even travels to Pompeii, believing that she must literally ("im wörtlichen Sinn") have left traces in the ash on account of her unique gait.[47] Hanold does not find Gradiva's toe prints as he had hoped, but he does encounter a childhood friend, Zoë Bertgang, who it turns out is the real object of his Gradiva fantasy.

In his analysis, Freud makes Jensen's narrative exemplary for the mechanism of repression and for the work of psychoanalysis in bringing repressed desires to light. But, Derrida argues, in so doing, Freud tries to make his own theories fundamental to Jensen's story, to put psychoanalysis before the narrative. Freud, in trying to come closer to the origins of the Gradiva figure than either Jensen or Hanold, betrays the archive fever affecting psychoanalysis. The analyst as archaeologist wants to unearth the truth, to let "stones talk!," but "the very success of the dig must sign the effacement of the archivist."[48] In trying to "bring to light a more originary origin," Freud desires "an archive without archive, where, suddenly indiscernible from the impression of its imprint, Gradiva's footstep speaks by itself!"[49] Or, as Caputo puts it, "Freud tries to get past the trace, to outrun the footprint, to find the still living footstep at the origin, the instant when the living step and the (psychic) impression it makes are still one."[50] Derrida's reading shows how this is an impossibility, not least because the moment to which Freud tries to return is pure fantasy. The image of Gradiva walking in the ash of Vesuvius and of her "literally" leaving an impression there is a figment of Hanold's dream: "But that

literality . . . is the rub, . . . we are always before the letter, in the letter, *in litera*, in litera-ture, in ()literability, in the archive. So the very thing that makes it possible to dream . . . of the unity of foot and print . . . is what also divides and separates the foot from the print."[51]

Crucially, then, while the archive testifies to the event, the origin, the instant, it also withdraws from it in the very moment that it makes re-presentation possible: "The instant itself, in itself, remains a secret."[52] We might say that the archive encrypts the event that subsequently becomes history. As David F. Bell notes, Derrida wrote *Archive Fever* only shortly after *Specters of Marx* and it thus figures a kind of hauntology of the archive. Indeed, for Derrida the archive does not figure as medium for restoring a "plenitude of memory"; rather, "The vestiges of the past return to haunt the present—both as reminders of the past and as announcements of the future."[53] The noncoincidence between the event and its trace, between *arkhē* and archive, is of critical significance when thinking about the role the archive has to play in our understanding of past events. The archive does not give access to a more authentic or reliable version of the past; it does not bypass the fallibility of memory. On the contrary, the archive exposes not only that the gap between the past and its reconstruction in the present but also that this gap is constitutive of the very resource used in this endeavor. The archive signals what Bell calls "the always already existence of the trace," which is itself "constitutive of the event."[54] In this way, Derrida writes, archiving "produces as much as it records the event."[55] Indeed, the archive cannot make the unique referent available again; it can only gesture towards its singularity through reproduction: "This took place, and it took place only once."[56] As a result, the archive is caught "between translation and invention."[57] The unique, singular referent recorded in the archive can only be made available through its transposition or transformation.

The noncoincidence between the event and its trace, the *arkhē* and the archive, is an inevitable consequence of our belatedness. As Ulrich Raulff notes, "Every archive comes too late: dispersal and irretrievable loss precede its foundation."[58] In Freud's analysis of Jensen's novella, Hanold's wish to find the traces of Gradiva is to be understood as the desire felt by every archaeologist to witness what he in fact came too late to see—in Hanold's case, the eruption of Vesuvius.[59] The archive is often that which remains following disaster, destruction, or upheaval. In our encounter with it, it signals our status as survivors, as those left to understand the event we came too late to know and who now can know it only through the traces left behind, remnants necessarily, because catastrophe destroys wholeness. We must use the archive, for this is what remains, but in using it we are inevitably, necessarily, affected by archive fever, by the desire to return to the origin, despite knowing that we have come too late, and this burning desire threatens to destroy the trace. Yet, as

Caputo points out, we must accept this dilemma, accept that Freud's *saxa loquuntur!* is a fantasy, that stones "do not speak but need to be read and interpreted."[60] Thus, while Derrida indicates the "troubled and . . . troubling" status of the archive, we must engage with it after all, "for that is all we have."[61]

Auschwitz and the Archive

Trauma and Ash

In *Literature in the Ashes of History*, Cathy Caruth develops her theory of trauma to focus on the inscription of traumatic history. It is not for nothing, she writes, that Freud's thinking about trauma emerges in the context of the First World War, after violence so extreme that it challenges the inscription of history. In the twentieth century, she contends, "History emerges . . . as the performance of its own disappearance."[62] The archive, in Derrida's reading, functions precisely as a trope for "'writing' history that participates not only in its remembering but also in its forgetting."[63] Indeed, for Caruth, Derrida's archive is another way of describing Freud's deferred action, or *Nachträglichkeit*, memory that "originates as its own deferral and also as its later repetition."[64] Crucially, however, Derrida's archive, in circumscribing the erasure that at the origin attends and undermines the very possibility of remembrance, refers to the specific traumatic history of the Holocaust. Indeed, Derrida, through his belated return to the figure of Gradiva and her impression left in the ash, develops a theory of the archive that inscribes the "language" and "figure" of ashes as the condition of twentieth-century history.[65] As Robert Eaglestone has shown, the Holocaust underlies deconstruction because it provides the context in which Derrida develops his theory of the "trace" as not simply the appearance of the "absent other" but "the exterior that is unqualifiable or unnamable by philosophy . . . the infinite responsibility that arises from the other appearing before (and so outside) reasoned thinking."[66] Derrida even says he prefers the paradigm of ashes to refer to trace: "something which erases itself totally, radically, while presenting itself."[67] And he develops a "philosophy of cinders," of ashes, which refers to "what remains without remaining from the holocaust, from the all-burning."[68] Thus, according to Eaglestone, the cinder "brings the trace into temporality," specifically, post-Holocaust temporality.[69] If the trace is "the appearance of an infinite responsibility and demand for justice, after all," the cinder is the appearance of a responsibility to the question of humanity, of "the status of the human after the Holocaust."[70] The figure of ashes evoked by Derrida and subsequently by Caruth is key for thinking about the post-Holocaust archive. While we can talk of the Holocaust archive to describe the material traces that remain following

the historical events of the Third Reich, the post-Holocaust archive refers, in addition, to the symbolic and ethical status of the archive after Auschwitz. It refers to Derrida's trace as cinder, and to the responsibility of turning to the ashes of history to respond to these events. As Mona Körte explains, ash acquires a particular significance after 1945, provoking reflection on that which remains, not only by Derrida but also Samuel Beckett, Sarah Kofman, and Imre Kertész .[71] In its radical reduction, ash resists legibility, but as the last remnant of that which has been destroyed it still remains connected to this.[72] The different literary and philosophical attempts to decipher ash have yielded different results, but these relate not to the meaning and thus rationalization of the destruction itself, but to the meaning to be gleaned from that which remains after Auschwitz.[73] Giorgio Agamben takes a key position in this debate, focusing not (yet) on ash as the "remnant of Auschwitz," but the survivor who must bear witness for the dead.

The Archive and the Witness

In *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, Agamben explains how claims to the unsayability of the Holocaust are countered by the fact of the witness. Drawing on Foucault's definition of the archive as the system of enunciations that defines the said and the unsaid, Agamben argues that the witness adopts a crucial position "outside both the archive and the *corpus* of what has already been said."[74] Testimony emerges from what remains between the dead and the survivors, between the drowned and the saved, and thus distinguishes itself from the "factual truth of the statement safeguarded in the archive."[75] Indeed to reiterate these statements would be to reaffirm the language of power that structured the camps. Instead, testimony articulates the "language of the 'dark shadows'" found in Paul Celan's poetry, the "non-language . . . that has no place in the libraries of what has been said or in the archives of statements."[76] Citing the poet Friedrich Hölderlin, Agamben describes the witness as poet, whose word is "always situated in the position of a remnant" and who thus "found[s] language as what remains, as what actually survives the possibility, or impossibility, of speaking."[77]

Witness testimony has a pivotal role to play in remembering and commemorating the Holocaust, and as the survivors reach the end of their lives, their narratives arguably become even more important, constituting a unique and invaluable archive. Ruth Kluger, speaking to the German Studies Association in 2013, explained how she responds to concerned questions about what will remain when the last witnesses are gone. She does not share this concern because she knows that "the living witnesses of every event in history have died and their memory has persisted thanks to writing and other recording devices."[78] As understanding of the value

of witness testimony has grown, attempts have been made to archive the testimonies of survivors systematically. Projects such as the Fortunoff Archive and the Shoah Foundation not only see the memories of witnesses as constituting an archive of the Holocaust, they also attempt to create their own repository to ensure that these memories are preserved and made widely available to future generations through digital technologies.[79] The archive of witness testimony constitutes a significant part of the post-Holocaust archive, providing an important counterpoint to the archive of statements, which, following Foucault's and Agamben's readings, "safeguard[s]" what has been said according to the system of enunciation operative in the regime of the perpetrator and which "presupposed the bracketing of the subject, who was reduced to a simple function or an empty position."[80]

In some of the projects discussed in the following chapters, the archive of witness testimony comes to be used precisely to counter the discourse preserved and available in the archives that were produced by the dominant discourse—by the perpetrators. In other instances, the absence of witness testimony signals a more problematic focus on the archive material that is a product of the system that made certain individuals subject to its dehumanizing regime. The focus of this book, however, is not the archive of subsequently produced witness testimony but precisely those material remnants over which the victims and the survivors may have had little influence, yet which will nonetheless shape what we come to know of the times they lived through. Georges Didi-Huberman identifies the irreversible division between experience and its documentation in the archive in a description of the Holocaust survivor Jorge Semprún as he watches film footage of Buchenwald, the camp where he was interned. In this primal scene of the archive, Semprún experiences how the images of something intensely personal become something foreign, the other of collective history ("Fremdheit der kollektiven Geschichte) in their projection onto the screen.[81] Although these images relate to Semprún's own experience, as images they are no longer his most personal property ("das Eigenste"). He experiences how his own witness escapes the subjectivity of the survivor (his subjectivity) in order to become the collective or communal property ("Eigentum") of those gathered in the cinema. Semprún's experience poses the questions, Whose memory is this and whose memory will this become? For Didi-Huberman, this transition, whereby embodied experience detaches from the individual to become part of a collective archive, constitutes an imperative to be shared and transmitted as both "property" ("Eigentum") and "haunting" ("Heimsuchung")—both our own and that of another.[82] Indeed, the alienation provoked in the survivor by an encounter with such images should provoke us to engage with this archive in its otherness.

The Archive after Auschwitz

Noting the connection of the archive to disaster and upheaval, Ulrich Raulff explains that the catastrophes of the twentieth century in particular have given a more prominent status to "those institutions that give memory a location: museums, memorials and, last but not least, archives."[83] Peter Fritzsche shows how this observation relates specifically to German archives, the "epistemological status" of which has changed radically at the end of the long twentieth century.[84] Archives are fundamental to the establishment and functioning of the nation-state, and they become all the more important in times of conflict, especially in affirming national identity.[85] In the Third Reich the archive was instrumental to executing racial politics. It was used in the documentation of Aryan identity and also in identifying non-Aryans for the purposes of deportation. In the demographic archive of *Volkskarteien* (card catalogues of citizens), Jewish citizens were identified by a black mark on an index card, a distinction used after 1941 in the work of targeting and rounding up Jews for deportation.[86] Fritzsche also notes how Nazi control over the archive extended to refusing Jewish citizens access to its materials, a measure implemented already in 1938. Thus, an archive constituted for the express purpose of administering racial politics is accessible only to those who would use it for its intended purpose of discrimination. Considering the status of archives after 1945, Fritzsche describes what remains as "archives of loss."[87] Much was lost in the devastation of war, but much was also destroyed in the struggle for both personal and political survival. Walter Klemperer burned many of his carefully kept papers, an act preceded by the burning of "politically risky archives" by left-wing politicians.[88] For Fritzsche, then, after 1945 the German archive is "broken" and we have an obligation to engage with it as a deeply problematic resource, if we are to avoid replicating the exclusionary structures that characterized the administration of the Third Reich.[89]

The archive after Auschwitz represents a paradox not accounted for by the history of official archives, however: that the "archives of loss" that Fritzsche describes are haunted by archives of excess preserved in spite of all and after all at the sites of mass destruction. Piles of suitcases, shoes, glasses, and hair are a persistent, even iconic, presence in the cultural memory of the Holocaust, and their belatedly conferred status as archive requires custody and care never intended for this material. Moreover, the very survival of these remnants invites (or, some might say, necessitates) their display as part of a Holocaust museum culture that is variously historical, memorial, and admonishing. Peter Weiss describes the strange encounter with material remnants of the camps in his famous essay "Meine Ortschaft" (My Place, 1964). On a visit to the memorial site at Auschwitz, organized as part of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials, which

Weiss attended, he describes encountering a place destined for him but to which he, as an exile in Sweden, had never been sent. He was struck by the contrast between the desolation of the place and the overwhelming accumulations of abandoned property that once belonged to the victims of the camp.[90] Weiss observes how the attempt to make a place of destruction into a place of commemoration is also the attempt to make the camp into a museum, which in turn requires objects for display. In a place where the only true remnant of the victims is the ash dispersed in the ground, these objects, themselves arrested in the process of their misappropriation by the perpetrators, are ambivalent artefacts indeed. How are visitors supposed to encounter them without making them objects of a voyeuristic gaze?

Ruth Klüger poses precisely this and related questions in her autobiographical narrative *weiter leben: Eine Kindheit* (1992). From the perspective of a survivor of the camps, Klüger questions various aspects of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, including the museum culture that has emerged at the sites of former Nazi camps. She refers to Weiss's essay, which she reads as his attempt to lay to rest the specters raised by the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials.[91] Weiss seems to fail, but ultimately he succeeds, she says, because Auschwitz as museum is no longer the same place as the camp. In this new context, Weiss is able to lay down his burden. Yet for Klüger it is precisely this shift in function that makes it impossible for her to return to Auschwitz: "das Lager . . . ist . . . eben nicht mehr mein Lager" (the camp . . . is . . . no longer my camp). Now it is part of the order of collective memorialization.[92] She distances herself from the commemorative site because for her it cannot convey to any visitor the experiences of those taken there against their will. Drawing on the thoughts expressed in Klüger's autobiography, Aleida Assmann notes that the camp-turned-museum needs to be maintained if it is to serve its memorial function, but in so doing, the original place of memory is lost and replaced by screen memories.[93] Klüger is deeply skeptical about the purpose and effects of this transformation. She wonders whether the remnants of past horrors that have been restored in the camp-as-museum ("diese renovierten Überbleibsel alter Schrecken") don't just provoke sentimentality, reflecting the feelings of visitors rather than actually making them aware of the historical objects on display.[94] For her the answer is clear: the scant remains are given a new lease of life in the name of "KZ-Sentimentalität" (concentration camp sentimentality) and for the cathartic purposes of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.[95] While Klüger rejects the memorial site at Auschwitz, she sees the abandoned camp at Flossenbürg as a more meaningful site of memory.[96] For Klüger, what remains at the camp and what makes the camp meaningful are the last traces left by the victims, not the "renovierte Überbleibsel" that are the products of a commemorative regime administrated by those who have no generational

or experiential connection to the place in its camp function. This remains a "Zeitschaft" (timescape), a place connected to a particular moment in history that cannot be restaged in the present using the props of memory culture.[97]

The Camp as Archive and Museum

In *weiter leben*, Klüger describes meeting two earnest young German men who did their civilian service at the museum at Auschwitz and whose tasks included painting the fences white. Performing as they do the problematic gesture of maintaining the camp in a way that is not authentic to its original function—actual whitewashing becomes symbolic whitewashing—they function as one of several "foil characters" for Klüger's critique of German memory culture.[98] Auschwitz is no longer the camp where Klüger was interned. Now it is "eher das Lager, wo die zwei lieben deutschen Jungen die Zäune brav weiß streichen" (but rather the camp where the two nice German boys dutifully paint the fences white).[99]

Several decades after Weiss wrote "Meine Ortschaft" and several years after Klüger wrote her autobiographical narrative, Robert Thalheim returned to the thorny issue of the camp-as-museum in his feature film, *Am Ende kommen Touristen* (released as *And Along Come Tourists*, 2007).[100] The film's main protagonist Sven is a young German who, like the two men in Klüger's narrative, goes to Auschwitz to do his civilian service placement. But in contrast to these Germans, "die ihren eigenen Leuten nicht trauen und die Opfer hochstilisieren" (who don't trust their own people and elevate the victims), Sven is more detached.[101] Belonging to a slightly younger generation, he does not come with any particular preconceptions and certainly has no memory-political agenda.[102]

He accepts the tasks allocated to him, which include small errands for Stanisław Krzemiński, an elderly camp survivor living on the site. Krzemiński busies himself with the repair of old suitcases that form part of the display in the museum. He prides himself on his careful work, which functions as an act of reparation: he survived only by taking the possessions of newly arrived prisoners at the point of selection and preventing panic by promising the safe return of their cases. But the experts in the conservation department criticize his methods and refuse him access to any more suitcases. Through Krzemiński's work, Thalheim draws our attention to Klüger's "renovierte Überbleibsel alter Schrecken" and asks what is being preserved here and for whom.[103] The experts see matters objectively and professionally: they want the work to be done in a way that ensures the museum is provided with the "right" artefacts in a condition that is both sustainable and authentic. But what does restoration mean here? Restoration to what state? For Krzemiński, who thinks of the former owners, it is important that he returns the cases to full working

order. For the museum, these artefacts need to be rescued only from complete disintegration, not returned to an original state. Indeed, in order to retain their authenticity as Holocaust artefacts, they must be kept in the state of disrepair in which they would have been found after the arduous journey to the camp (what Jennifer Kapczynski calls a "state of temporal otherness").[104] The conservation work of the museum in fact equates the production of "the artifice of collective memorialization," and is irreconcilable with Krzemiński's self-appointed task of repair as reparation.[105] The intervention, undertaken in the name of the museum, suggests a preservation of these last remnants in order to maintain their usability and legitimacy as artefacts and is entirely incompatible with their emotional significance for Krzemiński. Repairing the cases is a small, ultimately unsustainable, but for the survivor necessary means of preserving the memory of the victims. The care he takes over this restoration is both a gesture of compensation for the fact that he survived where others did not and an act of ritual, manual labor that performs in a physical sense the symbolic work of memory and commemoration. Preventing Krzemiński from doing this work leaves him without purpose.

For the memorial center at Auschwitz, however, his purpose is clear. The survivor serves as a museum artefact to be exhibited on commemorative occasions, such as the unveiling of a new memorial at the site of the Buna factory. His value for the center lies in his status as camp survivor, who on request can roll up his sleeve to display his prisoner tattoo. At a question and answer session for apprentices at a new German factory in the town, he can convince a disbelieving younger generation of the truth of his experience in the camp and, by extension, of his own validity as museum exhibit.

Thalheim addresses similar concerns as Klüger—can or should the camp preserve what remains for the purposes of museum exhibition?—but from a different perspective. In the film, the work with the "Überbleibsel" not only is symptomatic of the problems of camp museum culture, it also serves a vital purpose for one of its survivors. Thalheim is also keen to show the critical juncture at which we as postmemorial inheritors of and participants in memory culture find ourselves: as the last survivors reach the end of their lives and the role of the museum takes precedence, the work of memory begins to function independent of the survivors.[106] His protagonist, Sven, sees the effects of the "professionalization" of memory on Krzemiński, who, realizing that his value has been overtaken by other resources, feels exploited. Observing from the distance of a later generation, Sven is able to see with greater clarity the dilemma produced by the work of memory in the camp-as-museum.

Thalheim's title gestures towards this turning point: in the end, at the end of the lives of the survivors, the camps will be tourist destinations, sites for the display of architecture and artefacts carefully maintained by

professionals trained in modern methods of conservation. This *Ende*, though, also suggests the end of an era of *Aufarbeitung*. At the end of what might be deemed an acceptable period of active, engaged commemoration comes the passive consumption of tourism, and the perhaps inevitable transition from memory to musealization. In this way, Thalheim's title also gestures towards the series of "posts" that define our contemporary engagement with the Holocaust. Sven's generation is the "generation of postmemory" (and perhaps prosthetic memory), for whom *Schindler's List* is an easier point of access to this traumatic past than the survivors themselves, and in a postmodern, post-Holocaust world, perhaps we are all tourists.[107] One thing is certain, after this turning point, *am Ende* all that will remain are the suitcases—not the suitcases repaired by Krzemiński or the narrative attached to this work, but the artefacts carefully yet artificially preserved in the state in which they reached the camp by the professionals employed at the museum. Our encounters with this post-Holocaust archive, whether as tourists or as viewers of films about tourists, require a critical engagement with the implication of these material remnants in the politics of memory and the politics of the museum.

Remnants of a Self-Archiving Regime

The significance of the archive for German memory culture is now so great because the temporal distance from the crimes of National Socialism necessitates the mediation of memory in material form. But what remains is marked by contradiction. For Weiss, this is seen in the disjuncture between material excess and radical absence at the site of annihilation. But it is also found more broadly in the tension between obliteration and preservation, between eradication and the strategic, proleptic archiving that characterizes the Nazi regime.[108] The Holocaust was supposed to bring about the destruction of the Jews without leaving a trace, yet Nazi policies of destruction were accompanied by policies of documentation, so that the bureaucratic administration of the Holocaust also ensured the production of its own archive. This book is concerned with precisely this contradiction and shows how subsequent generations turn to these bureaucratic traces as that which is most readily available, even though the traces can only reinscribe and never compensate for destruction. The documentation of National Socialism is not restricted to administrative processes, however; it extends to grandiose gestures of self-documentation for propaganda and posterity. A notorious example is the Jewish Museum in Prague, which, under the control of the SS, was made into a "Museum eines auszusterbenden Volkes," a museum for a race that will die out.[109] The liquidation of Jews from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia became an opportunity for

amassing the evidence both of a people *and* of the process of its purging from the Reich. The museal, archival drive behind this project stands in contradiction to the desire for absolute destruction, yet was fundamental to the Nazi administration of the area. The Nazis even involved the Jewish community, making use of the expertise at hand. Until their deportation, Jews were responsible for the transformation of the synagogue into a museum and for the preparation, curation, and installation of a special exhibition (not for the public, but for Nazi functionaries and their guests) about Jewish life and customs. As Dirk Rupnow has shown, the fate of the Prague Jewish Museum has been made part of divergent narratives. On the one hand, the development of the museum as a project to underpin Nazi racial politics represented the most grotesque manifestation of the drive to take possession of the Jewish race in the process of its ultimate annihilation. On the other, for some it represented a unique opportunity to salvage the little that could be saved—albeit artefacts, not people—as a small but significant gesture towards securing a Jewish legacy even while this was being destroyed.[110]

A key figure involved with the work at the Jewish Museum in Prague was H. G. Adler (1910–1988), the author, scholar, and Holocaust survivor now best known for his encyclopedic inventory of the Theresienstadt camp, which gained prominence through its citation in W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*.[111] Adler was all too aware of the tragedy of the situation in Prague; he was a great supporter of the museum, advocating for its work in correspondence and lectures.[112] Adler ultimately also understood the paradox of the museum—that it had survived in its current state as a result of the attempt to annihilate the very people whose lives and heritage it testifies to—and thematizes this in his lesser-known fictional work. His son, the Germanist Jeremy Adler, observes that here Adler anticipates "the most recent turn in memory, the Museum of the Holocaust" and the fraught question of what this institution might be.[113] The remit of such commemorative sites is ultimately quite different from the Prague museum, but its origins are uncannily similar, which is to say, a Holocaust museum shows what remains following the attempt to annihilate a people. Thus, like the Jewish Museum in Prague planned by the Nazis, it is a "Museum eines auszusterbenden Volkes."[114] By definition, the camp museum displays what remains of the apparatus that fabricated corpses and thus it arguably foregrounds the perpetrators by showing the victims as subject to their deadly regime. Writing in the 1950s, H. G. Adler already shows how such museal spaces are subject to the control of the gaze of the other and have the potential to be the site of voyeuristic fantasies.[115] And in the Holocaust museums that were realized in the decades that

followed, the question remains: How can, how should, the Holocaust archive be used in the commemoration of the victims, to account for them in a way that acknowledges their lives as autonomous individuals, not merely as subject to and victims of a genocidal regime?

Since the Nazi regime initiated not only acts of annihilation but also acts of documentation, the material that remains is necessarily marked by this tension and its legibility is compromised as a result. Sebald cites Adler's study of Theresienstadt at length in *Austerlitz* in order to scrutinize the construction and administration of the ghetto there, which became a major example of Nazi deception.[116] Jewish citizens were lured to Theresienstadt under the pretense that this was a spa town, even paying for their own place. The truth was much different. Sebald foregrounds the extent of the deception, describing a propaganda video made on the occasion of a Red Cross visit for which substantial work was undertaken.[117] The camp was not only staged as a model village but was a gift given to the Jews by a benevolent leader—the film is known as *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer Gives the Jews a Town). The film was made by the Nazis as a fake documentary, but now serves as a document of the Nazis and, as it features in Sebald's narrative, is caught up in various archival layers. Sebald's protagonist, Austerlitz, obtains his copy of the film from the Federal Archives in Berlin and watches it at the Imperial War Museum in London. He slows the footage down to scrutinize the detail of the images, but this merely distorts them. Damaged areas become multiple blind spots which obscure the film, even causing the picture to dissolve. The commentary—in the original film, a positive narrative about the ghetto's effective work program and the opportunities it affords those in Theresienstadt—becomes an incomprehensible roar, which reminds Austerlitz of the distress of caged animals.[118] Thus, the visual and aural distortion of the footage betrays the film's duplicity to Austerlitz, but what lies behind it remains inaccessible. Through his protagonist's desperate and obsessive treatment of the film fragments, Sebald shows how this material, a staged documentary of grotesque proportions, remains as a perverse bequest to the archive of the Holocaust—what remains in the place of the victims and what will remain after the survivors—but it requires particularly attentive reading because to view it at face value would eclipse the victims' experiences. Sebald's thematization of this material and his belated encounter with it in *Austerlitz* provokes reflection on the implications of the archive for the future of Holocaust memory. The episode thus functions as an encounter with the post-Holocaust archive and offers an example of the kind of archive work at stake in the memorials, films, and texts under discussion in the following chapters.

The Post-Holocaust Archive

Holocaust Representability and the Archive in Spite of All

The Theresienstadt footage also featured in Claude Lanzmann's 2013 film, *Le dernier des injustes* (The Last of the Unjust). Its use here tells us something about its deeply complex and fraught status as archive material, since Lanzmann refutes the possibility of a Holocaust archive—he famously eschewed the use of archive footage in *Shoah* (1985). For Lanzmann, there can be no archive of the Holocaust because this would have had to be recorded in the place where nothing survived: the gas chambers. His use of the Theresienstadt footage has to do first and foremost with the fact that, Theresienstadt was not an extermination camp (even though it claimed tens of thousands of victims). But it also has to do with its status as façade: we know now that the footage conceals what the camp was really like, but we cannot see behind it. Thus, Lanzmann's use of this footage suggests that, from his perspective, the Holocaust archive shows what remains of the Holocaust, but it cannot show the destruction itself, which remains unrepresentable.[119] Meanwhile, the art historian Georges Didi-Huberman, adopting a position radically opposed to that of Lanzmann, has made a case for the centrality of images "in spite of all" in our engagement with the Holocaust. In his response to the exhibition of four images taken at Auschwitz showing the crematoria at Birkenau and naked corpses being burned on the ground outside, Didi-Huberman argues that the very existence of these photographs makes untenable the claim made by Lanzmann and others that the Holocaust is unrepresentable.[120]

The very fact of an archive confronts us not only with the existence of the camps but also with the simultaneous disjuncture and interconnection between event and history, between the experience of those who perished there and the imperative to record this in some form, in spite of all. The Holocaust archive exists only—but precisely—as the "*memory of obliteration.*"[121] The irreducibility of these images in spite of all signals the fundamental relevance of the archive to the memory of the camps. In this sense, Didi-Huberman's essay returns from a different perspective to the paradox of the camps identified by Weiss: the idea that these are at once sites of annihilation, where human life and its signs have been eradicated, and excess, where the last signs of an unthinkable event are piled up behind glass. Didi-Huberman contrasts the survival of these images with the relentless attempt to break down the fact of human existence beyond identification, beyond its own materiality: "To grind the bones . . . to pile it all up, to throw it into a neighboring river or use it as fill for the road being constructed near the camp."[122] He goes on to explain that the *Sonderkommandos* were forced not only to carry out acts of annihilation but also to obliterate the traces of this work, to burn the last documents relating to the dead, for fear that the annihilation would become

known: "It was with the tools of obliteration that *archives—the memory of obliteration—had to be obliterated*. It was a way of keeping the obliteration forever in its *unimaginable* condition." In this way, the victims were murdered "without remains and without memory."[123] Thus, the very act of producing these images put the lives of these men at risk. The fact that these images exist testifies to the imperative the prisoners felt to show what the world outside would not believe, but which would be the only record in the face of their own inevitable demise.[124]

These photographs, taken by a prisoner only identified as Alex, using a camera that had been smuggled into the camp, emerge "in the fold between these two impossibilities—the imminent obliteration of the witness, the certain unrepresentability of the testimony."[125] So for Didi-Huberman, the very fact of these images, images in spite of all, confronts us with a Holocaust archive and contradicts arguments about the unrepresentability of the Holocaust.[126] Although there is a danger in attaching so much significance to these "remnants of images"—Didi-Huberman has been accused of as much—there is also a danger, he warns, in refusing to read this archive in anything other than documentary terms. This danger becomes apparent where the images have been doctored—cropped, or modified "with a view to making them more *informative* than they were in their initial state." But prioritizing the image as document meant that their phenomenology, "everything that made them an *event* (a process, a job, physical contact)" was lost.[127] Arguably, the trace of the event captured in these images, more than their documentary legibility, is what makes them part of a Holocaust archive. Didi-Huberman's observation about the loss of the phenomenological significance of these images is of relevance for the use of archive material more broadly discussed here. The archive plays a crucial role in the later work of remembering and commemorating a traumatic past not experienced, but where this role is primarily documentary, the material might not be able to bear this epistemological load. In other words, where archive materials are used by a later generation, their perceived or assumed documentary value is given precedence, perhaps leading to unwitting or even willful misreading and even to a failure to recognize the circumstances under which these materials were produced. Didi-Huberman advocates a phenomenological engagement with what remains, an approach that underpins some of the contemporary artistic and literary work being done with archives, but this is arguably bypassed where the attempt to make these remnants "more *informative* than they were in their original state" is given priority. The significance of the archive is that it cannot always be significant. Sometimes it stands as a remainder of historical events that, in their violence, defy reconstruction.

In his discussion of "images in spite of all," Didi-Huberman describes an archival imperative, which relates to both an almost existential drive to

leave evidence of one's existence when this is under threat and the ethical task of acknowledging and engaging with this archive as evidence of an unthinkable event in spite of its unrepresentability. But attention given to these and other images often emerges through gestures of remembering or commemorating which focus on the status of the victims as just, and only, victims. Although a number of individuals risked their lives to document their experiences in the camps and ghettos and although the four Birkenau photographs have become better known, not least through Didi-Huberman's discussion of them, it is still the visual material produced during the liberation of the camps that is most widely circulated and which ultimately constitutes the archive of the period.[128] Such focus on atrocity images displaces attention from projects undertaken in the camps and ghettos that aimed to preserve the lives lived in spite of all. For example, the photographer Henryk Ross worked to capture a "fuller arc of survival" in the Lodz Ghetto, taking pictures not just of suffering but of happiness, for example, at weddings.[129] His photographs complicate the image of the victim derived from the liberation material, which is perhaps one reason why his photographic record has received so little attention.[130]

Another archive produced in spite of all was actively made to document Jewish life in defiance of its destruction. The Oneg Shabbat Archives were initiated and overseen by Emanuel Ringelblum, but is comprises contributions of a whole collective in the Warsaw Ghetto.[131] Here, too, it was the threat of liquidation, of death and the consequent silencing of their experiences, that motivated Ringelblum and his followers to undertake this project.[132] Above all, Ringelblum was determined to leave behind material that would show how Jews had lived, not only how they suffered and perished. Indeed, his great fear was that Jews would be remembered only as victims of trauma, not as autonomous actors in history. His archive was a means of writing a more continuous history in spite of all, what Samuel D. Kassow calls "an antidote to a memory of catastrophe which, however well intentioned, would subsume what had been into what had been destroyed."[133] Ringelblum not only understood the importance of ensuring that an archive survived where people did not but also anticipated how the post-catastrophic archive, by definition, focuses on the losses incurred at the exclusion of the life lived before. Echoing some of the concerns surrounding the Jewish Museum in Prague—where, according to one narrative, Jewish citizens saw their implication in the Nazi project as one, perhaps the only, means to preserve their heritage, even where their own lives were clearly under threat—the Oneg Shabbat also worked to ensure that Jewish culture was preserved, against all the odds.

The title of Kassow's account of the Oneg Shabbat, *Who Will Write Our History*, not only expresses the fear of oblivion felt by those in the

ghetto—who will write our history when we are gone?—but also expresses Ringelblum's fear of appropriation and misrepresentation (benign or otherwise): Who will write our history in a way that takes account of more than the ghetto?[134] This Holocaust archive, produced by a kind of archival imperative, presents challenges for the subsequent generations for whom it was made. First, as the very existence of this archive "in spite of all" is improbable at best, so its discovery in the future cannot be guaranteed. Second, if it is found, its use is fraught with ethical questions. For Didi-Huberman, the Holocaust archive must be read first and foremost phenomenologically, as evidence of an event, which although unthinkable has nevertheless been recorded, represented. But—and this was Ringelblum's fear—such a reading risks limiting preserved documents to their singular context and reducing the victims to being only victims, displacing the life led before its obliteration, subsuming "what had been into what had been destroyed."[135] In the cases of Ringelblum, Ross, and the Greek Jew, Alex, who took the four Birkenau images, material is preserved in spite of all and as such is produced not through choice but in the only way possible. Archivization by necessity is a mode of survival to which the victims of the ghettos and camps turned in the knowledge that their own survival was all but impossible, but that the fact of their eradication must be made known. In this mode of material survival, what could be called survival by proxy, the agency of the individual is given over to these last remnants. Thus, the role of the archive in memory culture also tells us something about the agents of history: what remains was determined and preserved largely through the will of those in power, while the remnants left by those who were made victims are remnants in spite of all, which should not have remained but did through their determination not to be forgotten.

Archive Images after All

Didi-Huberman's assessment of the Birkenau photographs has been given renewed attention following the exhibition of recent work by Gerhard Richter that draws on these four images in spite of all. Richter's oeuvre had been distinctive for its tentative use of Holocaust images: their presence in his *Atlas* but their exclusion from his major individual and serial works. This state of affairs changed, however. In 2015 Richter exhibited his most recent work in his hometown of Dresden. The four canvases carried the elusive title, *Abstrakte Bilder* (937/1–4) (Abstract Images [937/1–4]), but were in fact the result of Richter's attempt to paint the four Auschwitz photographs. In subsequent exhibitions, at the Fondation Beyeler and Museum Frieder Burda, they were given the title *Birkenau-Zyklus* (Birkenau Cycle). This cycle represents a significant moment in Richter's career, since he completes here the gestures attempted but ultimately

abandoned at earlier stages, namely, representing the camps.[136] It is well known that Richter's *Atlas* contains Holocaust images. It even contains two of the four *Sonderkommando* photographs, albeit in the modified, cropped versions widely reproduced in history books and criticized by Didi-Huberman.[137] He first attempted to use these images between 1965 and 1967, when he added bright colors to a panel of photographs, in the manner of Andy Warhol, as well as positioning images from the camps in close proximity to pornographic photographs, a provocative montage, which Didi-Huberman likens to the cinema of Jean-Luc Godard.[138] His second came much later, when Richter was devising his artwork *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* for the new parliament of the Berlin Republic. Despite sketches that show the use of black and white photographs from the camps—a choir of women prisoners, assembled crowds of inmates—the final design bears no visible trace of these archive images. More than a decade later, Richter produced four canvases that appear as new permutations of his abstract images, made in a characteristically laborious and painstaking process of layering thick paint over previous layers and dragging it across the canvas with a squeegee. Underlying these abstract layers are four figurative depictions of the Auschwitz photographs. If the fact of Richter's engagement with the Holocaust archive haunts *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* at the level of its conception, in his *Birkenau-Zyklus* the specters of Auschwitz appear in and are part of the work itself.

The process leading up to this moment is documented in subtle ways by Corinna Belz in her 2011 documentary film, *Gerhard Richter Painting*. We catch a glimpse of Richter's studio, which includes not only his painting space but also his desk and the selected images that hang above it, seemingly as inspiration. Asked by the director about their significance, the artist explains that they figure a kind of repository of images against which he tests ideas of art and beauty. Among these images is one of the four *Sonderkommando* photographs. Richter says that he saw it for the first time at the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts—somewhat clandestinely. Elsewhere, we learn that this particular reproduction is the one that appeared in Horst Bredekamp's review of the German translation of Didi-Huberman's book in 2007, which Richter cut out and hung on his wall.[139] Thus, Richter's most recent return to Holocaust images is mediated by Didi-Huberman's own meditation on the status of the Holocaust archive, on these images in spite of all. Didi-Huberman responded to this gesture by visiting and subsequently writing two letters to Richter that have been published in two exhibition catalogues. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Didi-Huberman approves of Richter's treatment of the photographs and sees in *Birkenau-Zyklus* a realization and implementation of the negotiation of the images for which he advocated so vehemently in *Images in Spite of All*. Whatever potential criticisms of the work Didi-Huberman's correspondence omits, it

highlights some key points of overlap between his commentary on the Auschwitz photographs and Richter's work that relate to the status and use of the Holocaust archive in a contemporary context, and thus the post-Holocaust archive.

When Didi-Huberman visited Richter, the four canvases were still blank and the only evidence of the project was the material collected in a folder. According to Didi-Huberman, these "*latent* images," "*not-yet-pictures*" were an indication of the fundamental tension in Richter's work, "between doubt and desire."[140] Richter understands the critical importance of these archive images in spite of all, but profoundly doubts that he can use art to make this importance apparent. This doubt still dominated in 2011, when, in an interview with Nicholas Serota, Richter explained, "I couldn't add anything to it; if I turned it into a much larger painting, it would probably only be to its detriment."[141] Not too long afterwards Richter began painting these images. Of course, he then went on to paint over what he had depicted, and thus to reaffirm his previous claim that it is not possible to depict Auschwitz—"Man kann Auschwitz nicht abmalen"—but he nevertheless made use of these archive images.[142] One can only speculate as to why at this moment Richter decided to do what he had hitherto refused to do. At the latter stage of his career he might feel pressure to provide a definitive answer to a long-open question about the representability of the Holocaust, and the renewed prevalence and significance given to these images by Didi-Huberman might have spurred the artist to some aesthetic response. In spite of his own doubt, Richter demonstrates "Kraft *zu malen trotz allem*" (the strength to paint in spite of all).[143] His archive work consists of his resolute engagement with the aporia that these images represent.[144] Richter neither elevates the images to icons ("subjecting them to hypertrophy, . . . wanting to see everything in them") nor renders them banal ("reducing, desiccating the image; . . . seeing in it no more than a *document* of horror"). Rather, he paints them in such a way "dass das *Böse* in ihnen erhalten bleibe" (that the evil in them is preserved).[145] Richter neither appropriates the images nor simply reproduces them: he cites them by reframing them (here Didi-Huberman draws a sharp distinction between the crass modifications to which the images have been subjected in earlier contexts and the interventions in format made by the artist).[146] Critics have claimed that images of atrocity are always a disavowal (*Verleugnung*): either they disavow the reality they claim to show, or they are constructed as fetish object. But Didi-Huberman claims that these images in spite of all were made to *bear witness* to reality and so oppose any attempt at disavowal. He finds, too, that Richter's treatment of these images remains true to their intention.[147] In working with the archive as aporia, Didi-Huberman claims, Richter is able to show these images in their dual modality, as both "evidence" and "symptom," thereby revealing the kind of *Nachleben* (afterlife) that Aby

Warburg sought in images. He "respects" them as documents by not adding anything to them, and he "reveals" their symptomatic quality.[148]

Didi-Huberman applauds Richter's careful use of these images in spite of all, but *Birkenau-Zyklus* raises questions about the instrumentalization of these archive images specifically, and the aesthetic return to the Holocaust archive more generally. Richter seems to negotiate between the importance of acknowledging the existence of these images as "archives of the Shoah" and the danger of fetishizing them by making the final, visible surface of these works abstract painting, *not* photorealist reproductions.[149] However, the act of painting over the photorealist reproductions could be read as an act of obliteration, whereby the Birkenau images not only are made invisible but are overwritten by the non-Jewish German artist's signature technique. This claim is easily countered by the fact that the works were shown alongside the photographic images. For instance, in Baden Baden they were hung on the same wall as the paintings, and a series of high-resolution photographic reproductions of the paintings were hung on the opposite wall. This arrangement allowed for a comparison of Richter's work with the photographs (which areas, textures, and colors corresponded to the composition of the photographic images), as well as showing the fundamental importance of these archive images to the paintings.

Yet the position and framing of the photographs arguably also elevated their status to that of artworks, a status conferred retroactively by establishing their relevance for Richter's work.[150] In other words, they perhaps appear as part of Richter's work, rather than as the images that precede and make this possible in the first place. Richter does not "mak[e] them more *informative* than they were in their initial state"; on the contrary, he encounters them precisely in their phenomenology, as Didi-Huberman advocates, but he arguably also elides their documentary significance in an act of appropriation and elevation to the status of artwork. Richter's use of these photographic images after Didi-Huberman is also potentially problematic because it partakes of a circulation of these images (including images of naked female bodies) in a male intellectual exchange. On the one hand, Richter's use of the archive ensures its visibility and encourages critical engagement—for example, by drawing attention to its earlier manipulation. On the other, it makes the images available principally as the subject of their treatment of them and through the dialogue the two artists have developed around them. *Birkenau-Zyklus* offers a powerful response to Richter's long-term dilemma about the representability of the Holocaust, one that reflects on Didi-Huberman's equally powerful plea for the use of images in spite of all, but it also embodies some of the problems attached to the use of the Holocaust archive after all, which is to say, the use of the post-Holocaust archive.

Using the concept of the archive set out earlier, in the chapters that follow I consider projects—memorial, documentary, and literary—that return to the Holocaust archive after all. In a late phase of memory culture, the archive is crucial to the process of remembering and commemorating a past not personally experienced, but its status now is more complicated than ever. Part of this complication has to do with the contiguity of the Holocaust archive (documenting the violence of the camps and other sites of perpetration, but which might include both traces left by the victims and the traces generated by the regime in executing violence) and the archive of National Socialism (traces produced by and in the name of the regime, which inscribe the bureaucratic processes relating to deportation and the camps but which might also precede this, documenting the implementation of racial policy that anticipated deportation). This contiguity is part of the legacy that remains to younger generations and is part of what constitutes the post-Holocaust archive. I consider the extent to which artists, filmmakers, and authors use the archive critically in their work, engaging with it as post-Holocaust archive and thus with the ethical and political questions that affect the contemporary work of memory in its relation to the archive. I begin with a discussion of memorials.

2: Memorial Projects: Memory Work as Archive Work

In an article from 2013, Bill Niven argues that recent Holocaust memorials make notable use of "archival . . . elements."[1] Drawing on the work of Paul Williams, which shows the shift towards commemoration in museums and the prominence of so-called "memorial museums," Niven argues that a similar movement can be observed in memorials, which increasingly include elements associated with museums and with archives. Crucially, these "combimemorials," as Niven calls them, "begin to dissolve the traditional boundaries between memorials on the one hand, and archives and exhibitions on the other."[2] As well as aligning themselves with such changing trends in museums, combimemorials also place an emphasis on public engagement, and thus mark an important difference from the "second generation" of so-called countermonuments that preceded them.[3] Whereas countermonuments centered on the artist's engagement with the difficulty of representing the "gaps, rifts, and malleability" of collective memory, combimemorials turn on the collective that constitutes this memory, "encouraging people to engage actively in researching, remembering, and memorializing."[4] Moreover, combimemorials—unlike countermonuments, whose initial and characteristic provocative potential has, perhaps inevitably, diminished—facilitate the continuation of the work of memory, both in its performance and documentation: "Exhibiting and archiving this concrete memory work . . . the memorial becomes potentially ever-expanding testimony not just to the remembered, but also to a process of accretive memory work."[5] Thus, the combimemorial's archival aspects relate not only to the historical events being commemorated but also to a recording of the process of commemoration and memorialization itself. We might say that the combimemorial comes to function as an archive of *Aufarbeitung*.

Niven maps the transition from countermonuments to combimemorials onto a shift from second- to third-generation engagement, but acknowledges that generational overlap means that such clear distinctions are not always found in practice and that some countermonuments already show features more typical of combimemorials.[6] He cites the Berlin Holocaust Memorial as an important example: Peter Eisenman's field of stele exists alongside the underground information center, which adds dimensions of the archive, museum, and exhibition to the

memorial. Here, documentary evidence is used to give historical meaning to the abstract sculpture, and demonstrates the important relationship at stake in memorialization between memory and history. According to Niven, countermonuments and combimemorials negotiate this relationship differently. If countermonuments focused on the more abstract process and performance of memory, combimemorials seem to reintegrate history into the work of memory through archive work, especially that delegated to and carried out by the public.[7] This would certainly be one way of understanding the role of the archive in recent memorial projects. However, the relationship is complex and complicated, especially as the projects discussed are, like most, designed by artists and therefore turn to the archive as part of a formal and aesthetic strategy. In what follows I reconsider two of the memorials and artists discussed by Niven as examples of combimemorials, and thus as projects that integrate "archival . . . elements," in order to show how these elements relate to the archival turn in memory culture: Gunter Demnig's *Stolpersteine* (Stumbling Stones, 1995–present) and one of Sigrid Sigurdsson's *Offene Archive* (Open Archives) projects, *Braunschweig—eine Stadt in Deutschland erinnert sich* (Brunswick—A Town in Germany Remembers, 1996–present). I also discuss Horst Hoheisel's *Zermahlene Geschichte* (Crushed History, 1997; 2002), Jochen Gerz's *2146 Steine: Mahnmal gegen Rassismus* (2146 Stones: Memorial against Racism, 1990–1993), and Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock's *Orte des Erinnerns* (Places of Remembrance, 1993). These other projects are more artist-driven than Demnig's and Sigurdsson's and so are more readily defined as countermonuments, but they have distinctive archival dimensions that make them important for my discussion of the archival turn in memory culture.[8] I argue that the integration of "archival . . . elements" in all these memorials is a key indicator of an archival turn following Stoler's definition, that is, of a shift from the "archive-as-source" to the "archive-as-subject."[9] Moreover, I consider the specific complexity presented by these memorials, where the limitations of using the Holocaust "archive-as-source" prompt reflection (either as a feature of or a response to the memorial itself) on the post-Holocaust "archive-as-subject."

As Harold Marcuse explains in his article about the emergence of Holocaust memorials as a "new genre of commemorative art," information and material relating to the period in question were integrated already into early memorials. Statistics, although often not accurate, produced "numerical symbolism" and relics from the camps produced the "material symbolism" that was needed to evoke the camps, especially where memorials were not site-specific.[10] Marcuse also notes the shift to the use of "specific information" in Holocaust memorials in the 1990s.[11] In both these and early memorials, the Holocaust archive—the material that remains and is available for the writing and commemoration of this

history—is used as a documentary historical resource. Other later examples are the Berlin-based *Deportations-Mahnmal am Ort der Synagoge Levetzowstraße* (Deportation Memorial at the Site of the Levetzowstraße Synagogue, 1988), *Mahnmal Gleis 17* (Platform 17 Memorial, 1998), and the Stuttgart memorial *Zeichen der Erinnerung* (Signs of Memory, 2006), which display facts and figures relating to deportation. On the most obvious level, this information gives historical specificity to the memorial, helping the public to understand its significance. But where archival elements are part of the memorial's formal, aesthetic features, they have the potential to function as the subject of critical reflection: the subject at stake is the post-Holocaust archive, and critical reflection relates to its memory-political dimensions. The deportation memorial on Levetzowstraße provides an early indication of an archival turn, understood following Stoler as the shift from "archive-as-source" to "archive-as-subject." Its design includes a relief showing information relating to Berlin's synagogues (their location, year of construction, capacity, and fate), accompanied by a small schematic image of the building. This information is not available for all of the squares that make up the relief, however, and in some cases a small placeholder square, reminiscent of a digital icon, bears the text "Kein Bilddokument auffindbar" (see figure 1).[12] In this way the memorial also provides a comment on the limitations of the archive, which cannot give comprehensive information. Since these gaps likely are a consequence of the violence being remembered, this aspect of the design makes the post-Holocaust archive a subject of the memorial.

Similar indications of an archival turn can be seen in the Information Center of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, which also thematizes the particular gaps in the archive that remain after Auschwitz. In the "Room of Families," for example, text features in the place of images for two families, with the explanation that no group photographs are available as a result of persecution. Nevertheless, the Holocaust Memorial maintains a clear distinction between the sculptural and explicitly "artistic" part of the design and the Information Center, which was not part of the original submission, but was deemed necessary by the Berlin Senate and was made part of the official plan in 1999. Its subterranean location means it is less conspicuous than the stele and it is quite possible to walk through the memorial without visiting it. The memorials discussed in this chapter emerged either in the context of or directly in response to the protracted debates around the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, but they developed and have left us with a more complex relationship between their archival elements and the commemorative function they aim to fulfill than the Berlin Republic's flagship project. The complexity of this relationship arises not least because these other projects do not necessarily integrate archival elements exclusively to authenticate or verify the history they commemorate. On the contrary, two projects that were made immediately after

Figure 1. Deportations-Mahnmal am Ort der Synagoge Levetzowstraße *(Deportation memorial at the site of the Levetzowstraße synagogue, 1988). Design by Jürgen Wenyel, Theseus Bappert, and Peter Herbrich. Photograph by the author.*

unification and that have been widely discussed in Memory Studies and Holocaust Studies scholarship use archive material in ways that challenge, rather than affirm, its presumed relationship to history. In his well-known installation *The Missing House* (1990), Christian Boltanski affixed signs, made in the style of death notices, with the names of former residents to the exposed walls left at the site of a bombed-out house on Große Hamburger Straße in the Scheunenviertel, the former Jewish district that before the fall of the wall was part of East Berlin. Less well known is the counterpart installation, *The Museum*, a display of the archive work undertaken by the artist and his assistants to investigate the wartime history of the house, which was exhibited in a district of West Berlin.[13] The two-part installation produced a disjuncture between the archive material and the place to which it referred, leading those who read the laconic signs on *The Missing House* to make assumptions about its history that the archive material, visible only in another place, did not necessarily substantiate.[14]

Shimon Attie's light installation *The Writing on the Wall* (1993) was also displayed in the Scheunenviertel. In order to confront passersby with the ghosts of the unassimilated Jews who once lived there but who seemed to have vanished from collective and cultural memory, Attie projected historical images onto buildings. Attie sourced the photographs he

used from various archives, but his artistic concern with evoking specters was stronger than any commitment to historical accuracy and he also used images that did not originate from the Scheunenviertel.[15] In the projects by Attie and Boltanski, and even already in the Levetzowstraße memorial, the archive features as more than a documentary resource. It serves to highlight gaps between the past and the present, leading us to question our access to information as well as our motivation for accessing it in the first place. It also highlights how these gaps are the result of the particular history of the Holocaust; memorials cannot simply close these gaps but must integrate them into the memory work that they perform. This in turn poses fundamental questions about the relationship between post-Holocaust memory, history, and aesthetics: How might archive material be retrieved for use in contemporary memorials and what happens to this when it is made part of their formal, visual, and affective dimensions?

The archival elements of the memorials under discussion here are the result of archive work undertaken by the artist or by members of the public, who according to Niven are increasingly involved in third-generation memorial projects.[16] In a late phase of what Simon Ward calls "*place* memory work"—a topographically performed engagement with the past—archive work is a necessary, even fundamental, task.[17] But, as in the Fritz Bauer films discussed in the introduction, archive work also returns to the process of memorialization as unfinished business. This aspect of the archival turn might be understood in terms of the open-endedness that characterizes combimemorials—in other words, the unfinished business of archive work facilitates the continuation of memory work that Niven reads positively as ensuring the future of memory culture. However, it might also be understood in terms of more problematic, perhaps pathological, drives affecting Germany's relationship to its Nazi past. In the context of memorialization, it indicates the contradictory potential both to *complete* the task—to work through the past "successfully" by finishing the business of archive work—and to *perpetuate* the work of memory as a compulsive or fetishistic attachment to the past. This can be seen particularly in memorials that commemorate individuals, such as Gunter Demnig's *Stolpersteine* (discussed later). On the one hand, Demnig's project allows for the process of commissioning and researching a single stone to be completed, and on the other, ensures that there are, for the foreseeable future, ample opportunities to begin the process again for a different individual. Moreover, where the archive work undertaken in the production of a memorial also functions to document this work, it produces an archive of *Aufarbeitung* that documents the task that has been completed in a particular instance, but which is repeatable in another.

Crucially, the archive work that underlies the majority of projects discussed here takes place elsewhere before being integrated into the site-specific (and, in the case of *Stolpersteine*, decentralized) memorial.

Although the projects do not necessarily draw only on official archives, these sources are found—are housed—elsewhere. Thus, the archival elements analyzed here do not relate to the urban traces that, according to Michael Sheringham, constitute an archive of city life, and whose curation in the form of, for example, memorials, also constitutes an act of archiving.[18] Rather, they are found in other places and are transposed—Ward uses the term "translated"—from the site of their archivization to the site of memorialization.[19] This effect can be seen in Demnig's *Stolpersteine*. Demnig places his small brass plaques outside the last place of residence occupied by those who were deported under National Socialism; in an act of attempted restitution, the names of the victims are brought home. However, the archival traces that are inscribed on Demnig's stones seem to want to cover over the absence of traces, the signs of life, left by the individuals who were taken to the camps. The archive work necessitated by contemporary memorials suggests a variant on Ward's "place memory work," namely, "*displaced* memory work," whereby a preoccupation with documents in the other place of the archive compensates for the missed encounter of traumatic loss, for the breach in understanding that opens up between these ordinary urban, residential environments and the *Zeitschaften* of the camps.[20] Archive work might remind us of the displacement of individuals to the camps and the implication of bureaucratic procedure in this process—the work of remembering displacement—but it might also displace attention away from this connection, instead facilitating the efficient execution of memory work through compensatory archive work, in other words, displaced memory work.

Orte des Erinnerns

Archive work carried out both by local residents and then by the artists Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock was pivotal to the memorial project developed in Berlin's Bavarian Quarter, an area inhabited by affluent, professional, assimilated Jews before their forced displacement under National Socialism. Stih and Schnock's *Orte des Erinnerns* is made up of eighty double-sided signs carrying texts of anti-Jewish legislation of the Third Reich on one side and simple illustrations on the other. It has been widely discussed by scholars, but as Margit Sinka argues, often without acknowledging the long, community-based process that led to, and underpins, the artists' design.[21] Knowledge of this process is important: it shows how, as Katharina Kaiser, head of the Schöneberg Arts Council, puts it, "Der Prozeß gehört zum Denkmal" (The process is part of the memorial) and that the project's relationship to the archive is not only fundamental but complex.[22] The participation of the public is a defining feature of Niven's third-generation combimemorials, but this engagement already played a role in second-generation memory

work, not least in the "Grabe wo du stehst" (Dig where you are standing) public history movement mobilized in the 1980s. It is this kind of bottom-up, publicly driven investigation that paved the way for Stih and Schnock's countermonument. In 1983, a local group began to research the area. As Caroline Wiedmer explains, they discovered various documents, "ranging from real estate deeds to personal letters and diaries, from photographs to Gestapo orders and deportation records."[23] Even though, Kaiser notes, it seemed that in contemporary life no trace of persecution and deportation remained, evidence could be gleaned from written testimonies in the form of letters and literature of the witnesses, as well as from impersonal bureaucratic sources.[24] The results of this research were integrated into an exhibition held to coincide with the fifty-year anniversary of Hitler's accession to power in 1933. The work continued, and a second exhibition and supplemented catalogue was produced for Berlin's 750th anniversary in 1987.[25] That year also saw a remarkable undertaking by a local citizen working alone. In a very personal act of *Trauerarbeit* (mourning work), Andreas Wilcke, before going about his regular business, every morning devoted an hour to working with files from the *Oberfinanzdirektion* (regional finance office) to search for traces of the area's Jewish citizens.[26] The notes Wilcke made on index cards can be seen today in the permanent exhibition Wir waren Nachbarn (We Were Neighbors) at the Schöneberg Town Hall (see figure 2). As Kaiser notes, the files that Wilcke consulted, which record in minute detail the assets of those who were deported—assets that were appropriated by the state—are often the only traces of these people that remain.[27]

Paradoxically, such documents also demonstrate how the commemoration of the victims of National Socialism is rendered difficult by the very archives that provide access to these otherwise invisible individuals. The documents constitute a significant part of the available resources, but they are the product of the inhumane processes that made people victims and thus, subsequently, the object of commemoration. However, in the early stages of *Orte des Erinnerns*, this difficulty was not made part of any critical reflection. On the contrary, these archive sources, themselves products of the regime whose victims are to be commemorated, provided the impetus for a particular development in practices of memorialization in Germany and beyond: a focus on named individuals as opposed to an anonymous victim group. Once the Schöneberg Art Council had made the decision to commission a memorial, many approaches were discussed, and local public involvement continued throughout these debates. One decision that was made called for a decentralized memorial rather than single, central monument.[28] Possible memorials were also discussed that featured the Jewish citizens' names that were retrieved from the archives. Indeed, this was Wilcke's personal preference. Inspired by a war memorial

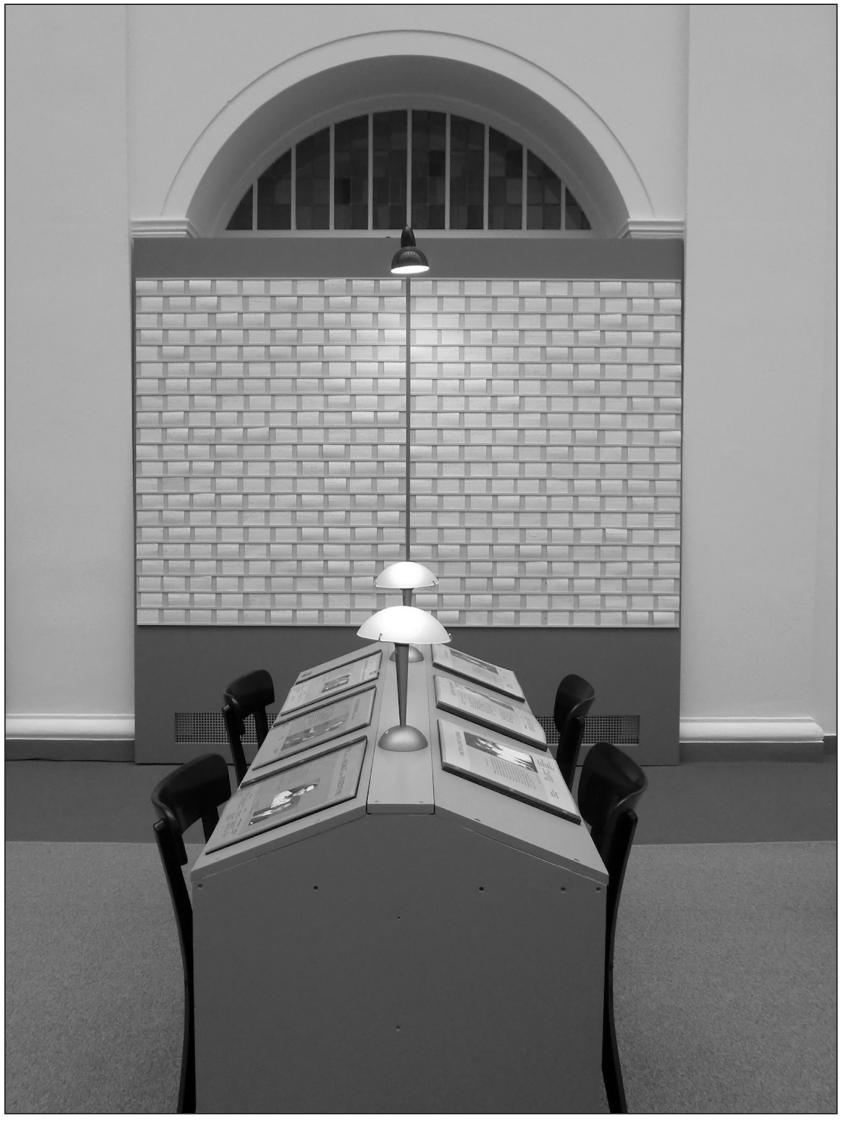

Figure 2. Interior view of the permanent exhibition, Wir waren Nachbarn *(We were neighbors), at Schöneberg Town Hall, Berlin. Photograph by the author and reproduced here with kind permission of the association frag doch!*

that named members of the navy who had died in the First World War, he envisaged a memorial "das all diese 6.000 Namen wiedergibt" (that reproduces all 6,000 of these names).[29] Wilcke's inspiration highlights the problems that emerge with a memorial that includes the names of victims. Aside from the militaristic connotations of the war memorial model, it is important to note that these sailors are named in their official, professional capacity, honored for the role they played in military campaigns, whereas the Jewish residents never sought to take on the role of victim or to be commemorated as such. Furthermore, the files that provide the names of these individuals as victims is part of the documentary material produced by the regime that condemned them to their status as victims. Wilcke's archive work asks questions about how such resources are mobilized in representing individuals who have no power to influence this use. Individuals did not choose to leave these records, and those who come to use them subsequently find themselves looking at the details of individuals who, to paraphrase Farge and Kassow, did not ask that their lives be recorded in this way and who may have had more to tell than the story of their persecution.[30]

In 1988 a local SPD group in the Berlin district of Schöneberg realized an idea for a memorial that commemorated individuals to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the November Pogrom, which was subsequently dubbed *Papptafelaktion* (cardboard sign campaign).[31] Cardboard signs were made bearing the names, ages, and dates of departure of deportees—data derived from Wilcke's list—and affixed outside the houses where more than ten people were forcibly removed. It was this campaign that, for some, gave momentum to the idea of a decentralized memorial. The idea of naming individuals, however, became more contentious. Although from the outset the people involved with the project wanted to draw attention to the perpetrators as much as the victims, highlighting how persecution had happened in full view of other residents, they were reluctant to name those responsible. Local groups debated the legitimacy of revealing the names of people who had reported their Jewish neighbors—also documented in police records—and decided that this would be untenable.[32] This debate shows the problematic position of the archive in memorial projects: in this instance, the archive was used selectively and arguably to distil a particular kind of victim image, namely, passive and unthreatening. In this, the Schöneberg project contrasts starkly with Attie's *The Writing on the Wall*, which confronted passersby with the seemingly unwanted image of the unassimilated, nonaffluent Jewish other. In the Schöneberg project, the focus on the assimilated Jews of the area allowed local groups to memorialize the victims of National Socialism as neighbors, people "just like them."

Significantly, the work and ideas of those local groups that had initiated the memorial through their research did not always harmonize with

those of the artists, especially with Stih and Schnock, who were eventually chosen to carry out the commission.[33] Their design acknowledged the desire for a decentralized memorial, but they decided against using the names of residents that had been retrieved and compiled by Wilcke because, they claimed, it was "problematic to affix names to the *Judenhäuser*."[34] As Wiedmer explains these houses were used to gather together "Jews for easier deportation," and so to use these sites uncritically for memorialization would reinstate the very structures that are being implicitly condemned.[35] The artists' objections show that they were aware that using archive material uncritically risks replicating and reinforcing precisely the power structures operative in the persecution and deportation of those now to be memorialized. This is not to say that Stih and Schnock were completely averse to using the research material produced by the local groups. On the contrary, they and around thirty other artists taking part in the competition took up the Art Council's offer of engaging with the documentation that had been gathered.[36] However, crucially, they used this to inform their work and develop other archival aspects relating to legislation, rather than reproduce names of individuals.

Stih and Schnock's memorial makes visible anti-Jewish legislation enforced during the Third Reich. Their principal source was *Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat* (Special Laws for the Jews in the Nazi State), the careful compilation of these orders made by the Jewish historian Joseph Walk. They modified the texts, modernizing the rather arcane bureaucratic language, and reframed them using simple bright and modern images. Nevertheless their signs retain the present tense of the law, which, as Karen Till notes, was crucial for getting "passersby to notice and confront the past in the present."[37] For Henry Pickford, moreover, the citation of a past law in the present produces an effect that can be described in Benjaminian terms as a confrontation with the material remnant of history that has the potential to produce shock in the contemporary witness, "transform[ing] the habitual user into a reflective viewer."[38] For Pickford, "each citation is a visitation, a haunting of today's juridical, municipal and private institutions by their former incarnation."[39] I would extend this analysis to argue that Stih and Schnock's citation of the law, made and conserved in the very act of its inscription and thus, following Derrida, its archivization, exposes the implication of the archive in the very regime that is being documented and commemorated here. In his introduction to Walk's publication, Robert M. W. Kempner notes the particular significance of this information as law: it demonstrates the Nazi obsession with legitimation, the belief that inscribing inhumane orders in the form and language of the law legitimizes what is clearly unjust.[40] Thus, these texts testify to the function of their archivization in Derrida's terms, to the making and conserving of the law, and thus to the violence (*Gewalt*—here Derrida quotes Benjamin) implied in asserting these

actions as prescribed and incontrovertible.[41] As Kempner notes, these were highly significant texts because, inscribed as law, their effects could not be legally challenged. Moreover, these bureaucratic traces undermine the idea of a dual state, where bureaucrats operated separately from criminals; rather, bureaucrats legitimized their crimes.[42] Those involved in constructing these covers of legality understood the absolute validity of these legislations but also the incriminating nature of what they were producing. According to Kempner, they even betrayed a guilty conscience in the final legislation recorded in Walk's compendium: "Wenn der Abtransport von Akten, deren Gegenstand anti-jüdische Tätigkeiten sind, nicht möglich ist, sind sie zu vernichten, damit sie nicht dem Feind in die Hände fallen" (If it is not possible to remove files that document anti-Jewish activities, they should be destroyed so that they don't fall into enemy hands).[43]

Stih and Schnock's choice of anti-Jewish legislation for their memorial design suggests their interest in the questions raised by this particular resource, and their choice of this final text for one of their signs their particular interest in the question of legality and criminality it encompassed. In other words, the artists are interested in the post-Holocaust archive and the challenges it poses for memorialization. In this case, the sign's illustration shows a vertical box file and on the reverse is the instruction "Akten, deren Gegenstand anti-jüdische Tätigkeiten sind, sind zu vernichten. (16.2.1945)" (Files documenting anti-Jewish activities are to be destroyed. [16.2.1945]). As James E. Young notes, this sign shows the artists' understanding that this erasure of evidence "was an extension of the crime itself," and that "the Nazi persecution of the Jews was designed to be, after all, a self-effacing crime."[44] The artists gesture towards the paradoxical nature of the documentation available to them. On the one hand, as the work of the Schöneberg groups showed, the Nazi records kept with stereotypical precision allow a detailed reconstruction of the neighborhood. On the other, if this instruction to destroy the evidence was enforced in the last year of the war, what implications does this have for the material available to subsequent generations in trying to understand the extent and impact of Nazi policies? The bigger Schöneberg project draws on what Assmann calls the "historical archive," material compiled for contemporary political purposes that no longer fulfills its original function but has instead become relevant for understanding the past in the present.[45] Stih and Schnock's use of the archive, however, extends to a commentary about its continued (memory-)political relevance: What does it mean for contemporary memory work if the sources available are so clearly shaped—both, paradoxically, in their existence and absence—by the regime whose injustices are being commemorated? As if to emphasize and perhaps partially redress this imbalance, their memorial also draws on the private, personal archives of witnesses. Some signs

include letters or reports of those affected by the legislation documented. As Pickford notes, the contrast between the sign forbidding Jews from keeping pets and the report of someone affected by this order is used to "create a small narrative."[46] This personal account may be a small supplement to the law, but it makes devastating reading. The narrator explains how her husband was denounced because he could not bear to give up his beloved parakeet, and some weeks later she received notification from the authorities that she could pick up his ashes. The personal archive supplements the official archive, inscribing the effects not considered by the law, but it also underscores the powerlessness of affected individuals where the law prescribes the only possible procedure and prohibits any challenge to this. Not only does such personal documentation reveal what has been omitted from the official version, it also gestures towards the unspeakability of the traumas that people suffered. This is legible between the lines of the personal report, but can only be speculated on the basis of the official archive.

Stih and Schnock's use of this particular archive is also significant because it contrasts with the list of individuals compiled by Andreas Wilcke and implemented by the local groups in their *Papptafelaktion*. It enabled them to question the kind of victim image and the groups' identification with it that their archive work arguably facilitated. If there was tension between the artists and the local contributors, it was greatest in their respective understandings of the victim category. Wiedmer notes that the local initiative seemed to require an "idealized victim, . . . well-defined, and worthy of being mourned," to enable their members to adopt a "more comfortable subject-position with regard to the history of the Third Reich." Stih and Schnock, by contrast, were at pains to include signs showing laws that challenged the idea of "necessarily and essentially passive, resourceless victims," such as those banning Jews from owning firearms, or from buying goods that would have marked them as affluent.[47] Nevertheless, as noted, the memorial in the Bayerisches Viertel contrasts with Attie's project in Berlin's Scheunenviertel because of its focus on the city's assimilated Jews. The project pivots on an idealized, nonthreatening victim, seen as being "just like us," and the citation of Third Reich regulations encourages an identification with those affected by this slow erosion of personal liberty by provoking the question "How would I feel?" However, the citation also has a different potential, namely, to exclude and marginalize. Visiting the Bayerisches Viertel, Juliet Koss perceived the memorial very differently, and felt that the concept did not anticipate or acknowledge a Jewish audience. She felt that the power of the memorial came from its address to non-Jewish Germans: "In distinguishing a marginalized group—the absent Jews—from the community the project addresses—contemporary Berliners—it seems to insist that Jews exist only in the past and that Berlin is populated only by non-Jewish

Germans."[48] In contrast to Pickford, who sees the citation of past law in the present as creating the conditions for critical engagement, Koss finds the project's use of the archive menacing: the signs "divide their audience, once again, into perpetrators and victims."[49] Moreover, she claims that the use of documentation as a seemingly neutral or objective mode of representing the past in fact "masks an extraordinary hostility."[50] The experience of passersby mistaking the signs for actual current laws has been understood as proving the power of the memorial; Koss, however, sees this rather as "evidence of . . . its offensiveness." By retrieving anti-Jewish law from the archives, the project upsets "the very constituency it claims to honor: assimilated Jews."[51]

Orte des Erinnerns is an important example of the archival turn in memory culture because in the course of its development the project shifted from using the archive relating to deportation as a source (a gesture made predominantly by the local residents who were motivated to remember the Jewish citizens who once lived in the district) to engaging with the archive—specifically the archive of legislation that instituted the persecution of Jewish citizens—as subject (a gesture undertaken by the artists in response to the work done by the local residents). Stih and Schnock returned to the archive to reactive its historical political power (*Gewalt*) for contemporary memory-political work. As Koss's response indicates, however, the violence of these past laws threatens to return with their rearticulation.

2146 Steine—Mahnmal gegen Rassismus

Around the same time that Stih and Schnock were developing *Orte des Erinnerns* in Berlin, another memorial was being made in the town of Saarbrucken that also exemplifies the archival turn in memory culture. Artist Jochen Gerz had engaged critically with the politics of Holocaust memorialization and musealization already in his 1972 Dachau project *Exit*, and with his *Mahnmal gegen Faschismus* (Memorial against Fascism, 1986) in Hamburg-Harburg he became a leading proponent of the countermonument.[52] Between 1990 and 1993 Gerz realized his *Mahnmal gegen Rassismus*, a title to extend and perhaps modernize his *Mahnmal gegen Faschismus*: while he was working on the project racially motivated arson attacks in Rostock and Solingen dominated the headlines.[53] This title was prefaced by *2146 Steine*, a reference to the form of the memorial, which used stones to memorialize the 2,146 Jewish cemeteries in Germany in existence in 1933. These spaces now symbolize not only the history of destruction in the first half of the twentieth century but also postwar neglect and repression. Above all, these spaces are sites of absence, not only in their connection to death but also, specifically as

German Jewish cemeteries, because they are the places where so many who died in the Holocaust were never buried.[54]

To create the artwork, in a clandestine campaign carried out under the cover of darkness, stones were removed from the square in front of Saarbrucken Castle and place holders were substituted. The stones were engraved with the locations of the cemeteries and subsequently were returned to their original location but with the inscriptions facedown. As the project developed and more stones were laid, it became impossible to continue working covertly and the memorial eventually gained local government support, leading to the renaming of the square, which is now called Platz des Unsichtbaren Mahnmals (Square of the Invisible Memorial). The choice of location was not arbitrary; the castle has been the seat of various instances of power over centuries, including the Gestapo in the Third Reich, and Gerz was intrigued by the way traces of the past had been preserved (or repressed) in this "Ort der Legitimität" (place of legitimacy).[55]

Gerz conceived of this memorial as a collaborative project with his students at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste Saar (Academy of Fine Arts Saar). He suggested the theme of absence, the force of which was, for him, "ein konkreter biographischer Umstand, den man mit 'zu spät' umreißen kann. Es scheint absurd, aber ich glaube, nicht der einzige Deutsche einer Generation zu sein, der dies so empfindet" (a concrete biographical fact, which can be encapsulated in "too late." It seems absurd, but I don't think I'm the only German in a generation who feels like this).[56] Using terms that resonate with the post-Holocaust archive, Gerz explains how belatedness and absence determine how his generation accesses the past, specifically the National Socialist past: "Alles, was am Ende übrigbleibt, sind Listen, Listings" (All that's left in the end, are lists, listings). Moreover, what remains after the catastrophe is only partial, a schematization that stands in for a lost whole, and thus is "eine Vereinfachung, eine Reduktion" (a simplification, a reduction). This project was to be a critical comment on the belated condition Gerz describes, in so far as it would merely replicate the radically reduced documentation of what has been lost: "Wir werden eine Liste mehr publizieren" (We are going to publish one more list).[57] In this sense, Gerz's project is at once a gesture of resignation—what else can his generation and subsequent generations do faced with the reductive lists that remain?—and a provocation—if the lists that remain reduce unthinkable historical events to quantities, they are a tool in the repression of these events. By adding to these lists, Gerz disrupts this work. In the first instance, Gerz undertakes archive work, researching the locations of Jewish cemeteries in Germany, to undo the work of repression. This could be described in psychoanalytic terms as archaeological work. But in burying the results of his research, Gerz goes on to *redo* the work of repression, precisely because, following Freud, he

knows that the repressed always returns to haunt us.[58] In performing the repression of his own memorial—which performs the work of memory—Gerz refuses to let his audience rid themselves of the past they might rather forget.

Gerz's two-part process of undoing and redoing the work of repression is underpinned by archive work. Gerz had his students research the locations of Jewish cemeteries by using existing registers and also, importantly, by contacting local Jewish communities, whose members were asked to consult and make available their records.[59] In delegating this task to his students, he made archive work a means for cross-cultural and cross-generational dialogue as well as allowing them to build up a more comprehensive picture of the number of Jewish communities across Germany prior to 1933. Archive work in Gerz's project is not concerned simply with using extant material as a resource for historical research; it also encouraged his students to think about how such resources are compiled and made available in the first place. By focusing on the period up to and including 1933, Gerz and his students were not working directly and by default with the material produced by the authorities of the Third Reich, the archive of National Socialism, but with information that predated the Third Reich. The interaction with Jewish communities was also pivotal to the project because it allowed for the production of a more accurate record. As Jacqueline Lichtenstein and Gérard Wajcman note in their interview with Gerz, exposing gaps in the extant records also served to expose the failure to engage with this history in the first place, and the record generated by the project offers a belated corrective.[60] The research also revealed the disparity between the number of Jewish cemeteries in existence before Hitler's rise to power and the depleted size of the Jewish population at the end of the twentieth century: "Es gibt in ganz Deutschland ungefähr 30 000 Juden—eine kleine Stadt. Die Liste, die wir aufgestellt haben, umfaßt 2146 Friedhöfe—eine Zahl, die selbst die jüdischen Gemeinden nicht vermutet hatten" (There are around 30,000 Jews in the whole of Germany—a small town. The list we produced includes 2,146 cemeteries, a figure even the Jewish communities hadn't reckoned with).[61] Although loss and absence are at the heart of Gerz's project, it also evokes, albeit *in absentia*, the richness of Jewish life in Germany before 1933.

Initiating dialogue with Jewish communities was fundamental to the project, but produced divergent responses. For the student Gabi Raddau it made her more sensitive in the way she approached the history of National Socialism.[62] But many representatives of the Jewish communities were suspicious of, or simply against, the project. Gerz found that generational and cultural barriers were difficult to break down, for example, in his encounter with Dr. Kahn from Koblenz: "Man muß sich jemanden mit 85 Jahren vorstellen, verantwortlich für eine jüdische

Gemeinde von einigen wenigen Menschen, die 90 Friedhöfe betreut, und der Ihnen sagt: Nein, Sie bekommen meine Friedhöfe nicht!" (You have to imagine someone who is 85 and responsible for a Jewish community of just a few people that oversees 90 cemeteries, and who says to you: No, you're not getting my cemeteries).[63] Dr. Kahn's response highlights an important question raised by both the project and memorial culture generally: To whom does memory "belong"? Gerz developed a project that avoided using the archive of the perpetrators, but he still needed to gain access to material to which he had no claim. The project depended on the acquisition of documentary information not publicly, generally accessible, that is, access to the archives of another, in order to make this part of the memorial. This dubious trading in memory left Gerz and his team feeling like "Teppichhändler" (carpet dealers).[64] The archive work undertaken as part of this memorial does not simply enact the transposition of archival information to the public spaces of "place memory work" (as in Boltanski's and Attie's work); it involves a transaction whereby forgotten custodians of information relating to a repressed past are asked to pass on what they know for the purposes of remembering after all.

If Gerz uses archive work here to undo the work of repression, what is the fate of this work in the artist's second gesture of *redoing* the work of repression—in both an expression of frustration and an attempt at provocation? Perhaps unsurprisingly, some of the resistance Gerz encountered among the Jewish communities related to the renewed burial of information that seemed destined to be forgotten.[65] Rendering the signs of a repressed past invisible once again is, as one commentator noted, the radical form employed by Gerz in his long engagement with Germany's past, albeit an aspect of his art that seems to conflict with its impulse to remember. However, following the artist's experiences in Hamburg-Harburg, where, in response to his call for public commentaries and contributions, some people saw fit to inscribe his *Mahnmal gegen Faschismus* with swastikas, Gerz understands the gesture of turning his inscriptions facedown as a "'Geste des Schützens,' eine Notwendigkeit gegen den Vandalismus" ("a gesture of protection" a necessary measure against vandalism).[66] Seen in this way, Gerz's project might be understood as undertaking a particular kind of archive work that not only investigates the past and reveals its repressed aspects but that also looks to secure these signs for the future. And significantly, in contrast to the work by Boltanski and Stih and Schnock, Gerz does not draw on the problematic archive of National Socialism but rather on the forgotten archives of Jewish communities. The information at stake constitutes some of the last traces relating to groups that were threatened, if not eradicated, in the first half of the twentieth century. Gaining access to them and making them available to others is not a matter to be taken lightly, yet the perpetuation—both

in the sense of communication and preservation—of this information is a matter of priority. By gathering together and making use of these dispersed sources in his memorial project, Gerz increased awareness of Jewish communities in Germany, but by secreting this information underground, he performed a kind of archivization, preserving these traces to avoid leaving them open to vandalism or misuse.

Zermahlene Geschichte

The artist Horst Hoheisel has made a uniquely important contribution to the conceptualization and critical discussion of Holocaust memorials in Germany. Along with Gerz's *Mahnmal gegen Faschismus* (1986), Hoheisel's *Aschrottbrunnen* (Aschrott Fountain, 1987) is often cited as one of the first countermonuments, and Hoheisel has gone on to design and make many more memorials (often working with the architect Andreas Knitz). Hoheisel's contribution to and critical interventions in memory culture have been widely acknowledged, for example, through an exhibition in his hometown of Kassel in 2015, but Hoheisel has never gained the same degree of public recognition and even celebrity as Gunter Demnig, the artist behind the *Stolpersteine* project. One reason for this may be that Hoheisel's projects do not invite identification with the victims or easy affective responses. His work focuses first and foremost on history, specifically the history of National Socialism, and although it is not necessarily accusatory, it emphatically confronts viewers with the unavoidable fact of perpetration. It often reinscribes the traces of historical events and circumstances, forcing viewers to acknowledge the past through an encounter with details they might rather forget. The retrieval of these traces often happens through research undertaken by the artist or by others, so archive work is also fundamental to much of Hoheisel's memorial art. In some projects it becomes central to the form and function of the memorial itself, but in ways that suggest a critical engagement with the form and function of the archive. Apart from anything else, Hoheisel's evolving processes of design, conceptualization, and reformulation indicate how his use of historical traces is subject to constant rethinking. His oeuvre, comprising a number of smaller, locally specific, but provocative projects, is his response to the impossibility of prescribing any one memorial form.[67]

In 1997 Hoheisel and Knitz won a competition to commemorate the history of Weimar's Marstall, an imposing neo-renaissance complex now housing Thuringia's State Archive. During the Third Reich, the Marstall was used by the Gestapo: it converted a carriage shed into a prison and constructed a wooden barracks to be used for administrative purposes. These two buildings, sites of the administration of persecutory measures, of torture, deportation, and murder, were to be demolished in order to

make more space for the archive's growing collection, but without any proper acknowledgement of the dark history being cleared from the grounds. As with his *Aschrottbrunnen*, Hoheisel rejected this swift erasure by forcing the community to witness a protracted performance of the demolition and by ensuring they be permanently confronted with the remains of these buildings. Hoheisel filmed the demolition and the shredding of the resultant debris and had the ground-up remains deposited in two containers positioned ostentatiously at the front of the archive.[68] TV monitors inside the open containers would replay the process on loop to passersby. Eventually the contents would be used to fill the plot outlines of the former buildings—brick for the prison and wood for the barracks—as a permanent reminder and memorial in the courtyard titled *Zermahlene Geschichte* (see figure 3).

At every stage Hoheisel and Knitz's design reflected on and reinscribed the connection between the nonspecific archive as institution and the "kompromittierte Geschichte" (compromised history) of the specific site, indicated in the physical and perhaps structural proximity between the archive buildings and the former stages of persecution and incarceration, which the State Archive had sought to render invisible.[69] The acute need for more storage space that had provoked the project in the first place was a result of what in Assmann's terms would be the transition from "political archive" to "historical archive," following the dissolution of German Democratic Republic (GDR) offices and organizations, whose archival repositories needed to be rehoused.[70] However, for Hoheisel and Knitz, the archive, in seeking to do away with the traces of the Gestapo, became once again an explicitly political site. Their project sought to draw attention to the double function of the archive to preserve *and* destroy by referencing the official process of disposal (German archival science uses the term *Kassation*). As Volker Wahl, director of the archive, notes, *Kassation* is a necessary part of archivization: "Archivare vernichten auch Geschichte—das ist weder ein Paradoxon noch ein Widerspruch" (archivists also destroy history—that is neither a paradox nor a contradiction).[71] However, in their design Hoheisel and Knitz were at pains to expose the potential problems of such a process when applied to an undesirable element of the past: when does a rationalization of available space facilitate the erasure of an unwanted history? As if to pose this question through their design, part of Hoheisel and Knitz's submission for the competition includes two photographs of the Gestapo buildings, each with *Kassation* written in black marker pen over the image.[72] In this way his memorial even performs *Kassation* in critical mode. Designating this building as an object for legitimate disposal means that it disappears from view and thus collective memory). The planned demolition of the two former Gestapo buildings might be described as *Kassation*, but Hoheisel and Knitz wanted to show that in this case archival politics

Figure 3. Exterior view of Zermahlene Geschichte *in the courtyard of Thuringia's Main State Archive in Weimar. Memorial designed by Horst Hoheisel and Andreas Knitz. Photograph by the author and reproduced here with kind permission of Andreas Knitz.*

clearly conflict with (or are perhaps complicit with) memory politics. They revealed the tension that arises when the archive dispenses with one history in order to make space for the "proper" preservation of another and refused to see this resolved, instead insisting that the unwanted buildings be kept within its structures after all.

Keeping this history visible seemed especially urgent in Weimar, a town long mythologized as the birthplace of a noble German intellectual tradition.[73] Hoheisel and Knitz wanted to disrupt this image by showing the continuity between different historical eras, which was nowhere more apparent than in the State Archive, which houses both Goethe's official correspondence and the records of the Buchenwald concentration camp. As Anne Erfle observes, Hoheisel and Knitz's design brings the violence of National Socialism closer to home: "Sie schlagen die Brücke vom nahen und bislang doch so fernen Buchenwald nach Weimar" (They make the connection between Buchenwald—so near and yet for so long stillso remote—and Weimar).[74] Moreover, in connecting proud and shameful histories, they indicate that acts of proud and shameful commemoration are also, in this case necessarily, linked.[75] Opposing histories converge at the State Archive, and Hoheisel and Knitz use this site to

oppose the production of a tabula rasa and to demand instead uncomfortable acts of remembrance and commemoration.

In its engagement with the archive as both a historically specific site and a nonspecific institution that is implicated in the work of memory in both these senses, their design develops an "Ästhetik für die Mahnmal-Kultur" (aesthetic for memorial culture).[76] Instead of dealing in the currency of the victims, evoking affective, identificatory responses from the public, the project directs attention to the perpetrators.[77] Moreover, in emphasizing the idea of memorialization as process, it does not offer a memorial object as compensation.[78] The process of demolition does not do away with the past. Rather, enacted here in the mode of recycling it ensures its return. Filled with the debris of the demolished structures and placed at the front of the State Archive, the containers come in place of conventional portals that would mark the building as important. These rather unbecoming objects question the status and authority of the archive, and they also insist on the custody it provides. As Dirk Schwarz writes, Hoheisel and Knitz's "Erinnerungsbehälter" (memory containers) enforce a significant "Erinnerungsphase" (stage of remembering) before transforming the contents into "Erinnerungsfelder" (memory fields).[79] Schwarz's composite nouns (*Erinnerungsbehälter*, *Erinnerungsfelder*) describe how Hoheisel and Knitz resist the attempt to remove the former prison and administrative building from the archive and collective memory by producing other repositories, archival structures that are emphatically bound to memory.

Hoheisel and Kntiz underpin their engagement with the archive by integrating its structures and features into their design. They put oversized archive labels on the containers at the front of the building, and had the director of the State Archive fill them in, so that the containers would appear as oversized archive boxes—"die Container als Archivschachteln" (the containers as archive boxes)—and regular-sized boxes were filled with samples of the debris and contents from the buildings.[80] They compiled a collection of evidence (*Sachbeweise*), which they deposited in an *Asservatenkammer* (evidence room), a room of exhibits ready for some kind of judicial proceedings.[81] In a further attempt to resist the erasure of an unwanted past and in order to provoke questions about accountability or responsibility for this past, they emphasize the evidentiary status of these remnants. This aspect of the design now constitutes a permanent exhibition in the basement of the State Archive. Here, visitors find various artifacts from the buildings—its fixtures and fittings—also bearing archive labels; Hoheisel and Knitz thus embed the project in the institution itself (see figure 4). Despite the putatively criminological ordering of these exhibits (*Asservate*), Hoheisel and Knitz refuse to allocate the artefacts to their historical moment: "Welche Teile aus der GESTAPO-Zeit, der Zeit des NKWD oder der DDR stammen, ist nicht mehr zu trennen. Die Gegenstände spiegeln die gesamte Zeit" (It's not possible to distinguish which pieces

Figure 4. Hanging exhibits. Part of a permanent exhibition in basement area of Thuringia's Main State Archive in Weimar and key element of Zermahlene Geschichte *by Horst Hoheisel and Andreas Knitz. Photograph by the author and reproduced here with kind permission of Andreas Knitz.*

are from the time of the Gestapo, the time of the NKVD or the time of the GDR. The objects reflect the whole period).[82] Since the exhibits once constituted the very fabric of the building, Hoheisel and Knitz emphasize how the archive as a layered and conflicting site becomes implicated in the histories it documents. The archive, their project insists, is not a neutral space. It is where histories are preserved but also forgotten, and it seems to be a space of continuity where one regime and its abuses of power merge seamlessly with the next.

Zermahlene Geschichte questions the role or function of the archive as institution in general terms, but the historical specificity of the site at which Hoheisel and Knitz work and the artist's life-long preoccupation with the collective memory of National Socialism make this work an explicit engagement with the post-Holocaust archive. Hoheisel and Knitz show that the responsibility of the archive after Auschwitz is different, and he calls the State Archive to account as it tries to use its institutional obligations (demolishing buildings to make more storage space) to legitimize the erasure of National Socialist history. With their permanent exhibition in the basement of the Marstall and its collection of evidence, Hoheisel and Knitz have prepared a space where

the archive might (or should) be held to account—made to answer to its responsibility as post-Holocaust archive.

Stolpersteine

Gunter Demnig's *Stolpersteine*—literally, "stumbling stones"—small brass plaques that commemorate individual victims of National Socialism, are now a familiar sight in Germany and, increasingly, elsewhere in Europe. Like *Orte des Erinnerns*, the *Stolperstein* project is decentralized, dispersing attention from a single, central monument to everyday spaces, and it commemorates individuals, rather than reducing victims to the anonymity of a particular victim group, which has proved controversial in Holocaust memorialization. Despite the Munich local council's continued rejection (at the time of writing) of the *Stolpersteine*, Demnig's project is seen by many as being more "successful" than other Holocaust memorials and its growing acceptance and popularity seem to demonstrate the power of the project to fulfill the different demands of those invested in the process of Holocaust memorialization. Indeed, much recent scholarship on Holocaust memory and memorialization has turned to Demnig's project as an example of a memorial that seems to avoid the pitfalls of other Holocaust memorials.[83] My aim here is not to contradict such positive assessments or to dismiss the very important role the memorial stones have come to play for groups and individuals alike. Instead I aim to highlight points of potential criticism of the project—an important gesture that has been performed consistently with other memorials and that has led to the diverse memorial landscape we have today, but that features less in discussions of Demnig's *Stolpersteine*. My discussion focuses on aspects of the project that are inflected by its close links to the archive.

Demnig's idea, like *Orte des Erinnerns*, emerged in a context where artists as well as local councils and citizens' initiatives were thinking about ways of shifting the focus of memory away from a single, central memorial to individuals. However, it is also important to consider how *Stolpersteine* emerged in the context of Demnig's own artistic practice, an aspect often absent from critical discussions. Crucially, Demnig's work has always been preoccupied with traces, with retracing the past and reinscribing traces first and foremost through the transient medium of artistic performance. His work prior to *Stolpersteine* also involved the inscription of text using tools or machines, but the first work to introduce the form used in the *Stolpersteine*, a cube with an engraved metal surface, was his *Himmler Befehl* (Himmler Command, 1992). This project is very similar to *Stolpersteine* but differs in two regards: the inscription reproduced the first part of a law—the so-called "Auschwitz-Erlass" (Auschwitz-Decree)—not data relating to an individual; and the stone itself carried the remaining text as a sort of time capsule.[84] For its citation of Nazi law, *Himmler*

Befehl perhaps anticipates Stih and Schnock, who cite anti-Jewish legislation in their memorial, but rather than try to disorientate passersby by using contemporary language, Demnig cites the text as emphatically historical. Moreover, the *Auschwitz-Erlass* orders specifically the deportation of Roma and Sinti, and Demnig undertook the project to commemorate the fifty-year anniversary of this fateful moment in the history of that community, as well as using the opportunity to express his opinion in the debate about displaced Roma and Sinti from former Yugoslavia following its breakup in the Yugoslav Wars. This is important because a number of Demnig's earlier projects have focused on Roma and Sinti, including the earliest *Stolpersteine*. As the project grew, the victim category invoked by the artist expanded to include all victims of National Socialism, and Demnig has always been explicit in applying a broad understanding of this label. Nevertheless, the *Stolperstein* project is often read publicly and popularly as a memorial for Jewish victims of Nazi aggression, a misreading perhaps facilitated by the project's increasing association with a clichéd victim image that originates in the archive of National Socialism's anti-Semitic policies.

In 1993, a year after he made his *Himmler Befehl*, Demnig set out his *Projekt Stolperstein* in a publication showcasing work by artists who were invited to respond to Europe as an idea or concept. In his contribution to *Größenwahn: Kunstprojekte für Europa* (Megalomania: Art Projects for Europe), Demnig is photographed with his *Himmler Befehl* stone—the formal, aesthetic precursor to *Stolpersteine*—but in the text he outlines a project that corresponds to what has become his famous decentralized memorial commemorating the victims of National Socialism set into the sidewalk in front of the building where they lived (very often before being deported, or before going into exile).[85] Nevertheless, this early manifesto differs from the *Stolperstein* project in its current guise in a number of important ways. First, the work of research is not a fundamental element of the project; rather, it seems that Demnig plans on making use of the research being carried out by others (perhaps he was thinking of the "Grabe wo du stehst" movement, or indeed *Orte des Erinnerns*, which has several points of resonance with his stones, suggesting that Demnig was aware of the initiative). Second, in this document he seems to be operating much more in line with the political principles evident in his other work that mark him out as a staunch 68er, that is to say, anticapitalist, antiimperialist, and active in the cause of social justice. Thus, his focus in this project is not only on the crimes of the past but also on contemporary acts of violence.[86] As the project has developed, however, it remains firmly focused on victims of the National Socialist regime, that is, past crimes. The most significant way in which this first iteration of the project differs from its subsequent realization and reiteration, however, relates to its status as concept. Demnig presents this proposal as part of

an initiative that sought artistic responses to the idea of Europe that were megalomaniac in their ambition and consequently were never to be realized.[87] Indeed, Demnig first saw his project in these terms: "Anfangs war die Idee des Gedenkens der Opfer für mich ein theoretisches Konzept—6 Millionen Stolpersteine für Europa zu realisieren eher eine absurde Idee" (Initially, the idea of commemorating the victims was a theoretical concept for me—to realize 6 million Stolpersteine for Europe was more an absurd idea).[88] If the project as it was first set out and in the context of the *Größenwahn* (megalomania) initiative was never to be realized comprehensively, this was because Demnig already understood the impossibility of such a task as well as the limitations of the archive as a contributing factor. He could never make and set six million stones in his lifetime, and even if he could, documentary evidence for every victim is simply not available. This fact has to do with the inherent gaps and insufficiencies in any archival system, the lack of any central, consolidated archive of the victims (as much as documentation centers and memorial museums such as Yad Vashem have tried to compile these subsequently, but can only work with the partial resources that remain), and the intention of the Nazi regime to eradicate its victims *without leaving a trace*. The impossibility of Demnig's proposal was his response to the impossibility of producing a Holocaust memorial that would not always be destined to failure because of the fallacy of such a gesture in the first place. Moreover, it staged a confrontation with the post-Holocaust archive and the memory-political dimensions of the archive after Auschwitz, which constrain the ambitions of memorial projects. The post-Holocaust archive appears as a stumbling block to the idealism of Demnig's stumbling stones, a barrier that he incorporates into the project at this conceptual stage but that seems to be disavowed as he commits to realizing the project after all.

Despite the manifestly abstract, hypothetical nature of Demnig's proposal, there was already a desire to see it realized at least in part. A year later Demnig was encouraged to make a small number of his stones by Kurt Werner Pick, the pastor of the Antoniterkirche in Cologne, a man who also supported asylum for Roma and Sinti refugees from former Yugoslavia.[89] Demnig did this knowing that this would be about making a small gesture rather than attempting the impossible.[90] Using data provided by the NS-Dokumentationszentrum in Cologne, he produced stones for Roma and Sinti, Jewish, and other victims.[91] At this stage archive work was still not part of the work of making the memorial, although it made use of the data collected and collated by others. Although Demnig's proposal turned on the placement of the stones in public space, in this first iteration he had to forgo this element of the memorial, instead taking up Pick's offer to display them in his church. In 1995, Demnig laid his first stones in public space, albeit without the necessary permission from the local authorities. This act fits Demnig's

antiestablishment politics, which leads him to produce art as intervention, as *Aktionskunst* (action art), and it is also in the vein of Gerz's clandestine work on his project. In order to engage people in remembering, memorials need to disrupt the social order, which too readily sanctions forgetting through unmemorable commemorative rituals. In 1996 Demnig was invited to contribute to the exhibition *Künstler forschen nach Auschwitz* (artists research Auschwitz) organized by the Berlin-based nGbK (neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst) together with the Kunstamt Schöneberg, the Schöneberg Arts Council, which had been so strongly involved with *Orte des Erinnerns*.[92] He accepted and took *Projekt Stolperstein* to Berlin.

As the title indicates, the nGbK exhibition emphasized research as fundamental to the process undertaken by the artists. In addition, the initiative was an explicit attempt to counteract the competition for the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, which was running concurrently, by encouraging artists to engage with the thorny issue of Holocaust representation precisely through research (which might include but is not limited to archive work).[93] Not only did the nGbK competition emphasize research (*forschen*), it also emphasized the place of this work *after Auschwitz*, where *nach* should be understood "im räumlichen und zeitlichen Sinn" (in spatial and temporal terms). Thus, artists were not only researching about the Holocaust but also were thinking about what it means that *after Auschwitz* the act of research is all that is available to subsequent generations, a necessarily difficult task given that the purpose of the camps was to eradicate without leaving a trace. In other words, the project encouraged engagement with the post-Holocaust archive. In emphasizing belatedness and the material of research, such as lists, it resonates with Gerz's description of his generation's position in relation to the National Socialist past.[94] For his project Demnig laid fifty-one *Stolpersteine* in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin. He also showed *Lemniskate* (Lemniscate, 1994), an installation of a model railway running on a track that forms a figure eight, which comments on the use of the railroads in deportations. Demnig needed archival information to realize the first part of his contribution, and in this sense his *Stolpersteine* fulfilled the nGbK brief, according to which "die persönliche Recherche wird zum integralen Bestandteil der Arbeiten" (personal research will be an integral part of the works). This aspect of his project still seems to be a prerequisite of, rather than integral to, his art (as intervention, as *Aktion*). It seems that staff at official archives had already undertaken the necessary research for an earlier project, and Demnig was able to use this for his stones. A press statement from May 2, 1996, states. "In diesem Zusammenhang möchten wir uns beim Kreuzberg Museum danken, auf dessen verdienstvolle Recherche im Rahmen des Projekts 'Juden in Kreuzberg' (1991) Gunter Demnig seine Aktion durchführen konnte" (In this context, we wish to thank the Kreuzberg Museum, on the basis of whose valuable research for the

project "Jews in Kreuzberg" (1991) Gunter Demnig was able to carry out his action).[95]

Having realized his project in a further test case, Demnig consigned *Stolpersteine* to the bottom drawer.[96] However, as we now know, this was not the end of the story. In this early phase, Demnig saw his project not as a consolation for the victims and their relatives but rather, like the *Orte des Erinnerns*, as a provocation to address head-on the question of perpetration and passive witness: How could this have happened in plain sight? Demnig says he wasn't thinking about relatives of victims when he made the stones, but in 2001, when they began to approach him, he took up the project again in order to grant their requests for a *Stolperstein* for a relative.[97] This shift in orientation from perpetrator to victim changes the nature of the project considerably, a change that can be formulated in Niven's terms. I would argue that *Stolpersteine* began as countermonument but in this new iteration fall into the category of combimemorial, which is how Niven sees them.[98] As Demnig started to respond to requests, the archive work underpinning a stone was directed towards finding information about a specific and previously identified individual rather than towards using extant research providing information about an individual for whom a stone is then laid. In 2002, he spoke of the different sources that offer information: "Es sind verschiedene Vereine und Organisationen, die mir bei den Recherchen der historischen Daten helfen" (there are various groups and organizations that help me research the historical information).[99] At this stage Demnig indicated that other organizations work on his behalf, implying that archive work is not part of the production of the artwork per se (as it is for Gerz). Nevertheless, he also indicated that in this revived version, where research is undertaken to search for information about specific individuals, the kinds of sources and resources brought into play are becoming increasingly diverse. Moreover, the relative ease or challenge of this archive work reflects variation in the availability of resources and, in turn, variation in the extent to which communities have begun the work of *Aufarbeitung*.[100]

Since these early stages, the responsibility for archive research has fallen entirely to the person or group applying for a stone, the so-called *Pate/Patin*, or sponsor. In many ways the delegation of research to the public has foregrounded and diversified this element of the project. As people have tried to find out about individuals they have looked beyond official or conventional archives, broadening the idea of research to include interaction with contemporary witnesses and others with a connection to the victims. This interactive, community-based element of the project has grown significantly since Demnig took up the project again in 2001. It has encouraged involvement from young people—an important demographic in Demnig's eyes—and proved the importance and value of reaching out to the community rather than restricting the act of research

to official archives.[101] Despite the more expansive definition of research brought to bear in the revived project as an interactive, community-based approach that positions *Stolpersteine* firmly in the category of combi-memorial, Demnig insists on official archival evidence where possible as the means of legitimating a stone. The *Stolperstein* website has a list of instructions about how to go about research, including requests to ensure that information gleaned from other sources corresponds to that found in the Federal Archives, which the initiative regards as the most reliable source, and that any relatives of the individual have been informed of the application.[102]

As the project has grown, many major towns and cities in Germany have their own local initiatives that coordinate the laying of stones in their area; their websites also provide advice about the sources available for research. This degree of delegation means that *Stolpersteine* has become a collaborative project that engages the public in the production of a decentralized memorial. It also means that Demnig's artistic input is focused on the installation of the stones, a performance in public space that continues in the vein of *Aktionskunst* and also reinforces the status of *Stolpersteine* as social sculpture after Joseph Beuys.[103] This division of labor suggests that the project now operates on two levels: as a publicly driven research-based initiative and as a piece of extreme performance art. Indeed, if we consider Demnig's previous works, such as *Duftmarken Kassel–Paris* (Scent Trails Kassel–Paris) and *Blutspur Kassel–London* (Blood Trace Kassel–London)—acts of endurance that saw the artist traveling long distances on foot and which made this physical aspect as much part of the artwork as any aesthetic product—his commitment to laying *Stolpersteine* in a grueling daily regime of back-breaking work can be read as a continuation of this earlier practice in even more extreme mode.[104] Since, as was clear to him from the outset, the project can never be realized in any comprehensive sense, he could potentially carry on until the *Aktion* kills him. In this sense the delegation of the research needed for a stone to the members of the public who request it surely has a practical dimension in so far as it allows Demnig to dedicate himself entirely to the physical labor of laying his stones. But it arguably also facilitates a division of artistic and archival labor that affects the project fundamentally because the work of research is not integrated into the memorial as artwork in critical, reflective ways whose potential is seen in some of the projects outlined earlier. As a consequence, the archive, as it is used for Demnig's *Stolperstein* project, facilitates the highly problematic construction and fetishization of an undifferentiated, clichéd victim image, a dimension of the memorial that calls for closer critical scrutiny.

The critical response to *Stolpersteine* has been largely positive, positioning the project as a sensitive and affective alternative to other Holocaust memorials. *Stolpersteine* have nevertheless faced vehement

opposition and, as mentioned earlier, have been the source of continued controversy in Munich, where they are still not allowed to be laid in public spaces. These objections are to the form and position of the memorial rather than to the process by which *Stolpersteine* are initiated. Critics claim that it is disrespectful to those being commemorated to have their names on the ground where they can be trampled on again, perhaps in an act of violence on the part of Neo-Nazis. By contrast, evaluations of the project often praise its focus on individual victims. However, this aspect seems problematic, especially in view of the research undertaken about these individuals, something addressed by the few critical voices to respond to the project that go beyond the familiar objections in public debates. As *Stolpersteine* have become widely accepted and increasingly popular, sponsorship (*Patenschaft*) of a stone extends well beyond those with personal connections to the individual in question. Using the structures provided by local initiatives, sponsors include young people (for example, school classes undertaking research for a stone as part of a project) and non-Jewish German citizens, perhaps those with some connection to Nazi perpetrators and perhaps those who are part of the 68er generation. Sponsorship necessitates archive work, but this prompts questions about the criteria for, or process involved in, "selecting" a victim to be commemorated by a *Stolperstein*. Do sponsors apply for a stone for a particular individual because the evidence required is more readily available, because traces of this person have survived in the archives? Ulrike Schrader, a staunch critic of the stones, notes the dubious case of an initiative in Dusseldorf where sponsors were supposed to choose a victim from a list that had been arranged according to age, gender, and victim group by placing a cross in a box.[105] She also notes the disparity between accessible information in different towns, which suggests that the question of who is chosen for a stone might have more to do with the kind of archive resources available than with the individuals themselves.[106] These questions expose archival politics that determine what is available to others more generally, but also post-Holocaust archival politics in particular. The regime that makes victims of some also exerts power over how or whether the traces of these lives are recorded.

In many cases, often as part of local initiatives, sponsors gather more information than the minimal data included on the stone, producing biographical sketches to be published online or in leaflets to accompany the laying of the stone. Publishing the results of extended archive work in this way indicates the kind of expansive research encouraged and fostered by the *Stolperstein* project in its second iteration, arguably counteracting a superficial engagement with data relating to individuals. However, such close engagement with a victim biography perhaps invites identification with the individual, and where the selection of this person is either arbitrary or influenced by the kind of resources available, the basis of such

a relationship is questionable. Linde Apel, another critic of the project, notes how some sponsors "develop a sense of ownership," referring to those they are researching as "'my victim' or 'our victim.'"[107] She notes that those involved with the "Grabe wo du stehst" movement were equally prone to identifying with the victims' narratives they researched (see also the work of the Schöneberg groups), but by undertaking this work themselves and reclaiming history for a grassroots initiative, they were at least trying to challenge the status quo. By contrast, the "amateur historians" undertaking research for *Stolpersteine* "do not set out to challenge historiographical orthodoxy."[108] As a consequence, they do not necessarily reflect on the types of sources being used, or what it means to use and replicate the bureaucratic structures that were established in the act of disempowering, dispossessing, and ostracizing certain people, and so reinforce their victim status.

The sources recommended by local groups for sponsors researching a stone include municipal archives that have records of deportation, seized property, and subsequent applications to claim reparations—in other words, sources that testify to and reinforce the status of the individuals as victims through their subjugation to the Nazi regime. As Demnig himself notes, documents that have been produced subsequently in the service of respectful commemoration, such as memorial books, are also a key resource for research, but despite the importance of and positive motivation behind such compilations, these too were produced using some of the same documents—the archive of National Socialism. In a small number of cases, the inscriptions on Demnig's stones actually replicate the language of National Socialism: Demnig has been criticized for his use of labels such as *Rassenschande* (racial defilement) and *Volksschädling* (enemy of the people), although his supporters have defended him saying such words appear in scare quotes.[109] In this sense, the archive becomes instrumental not only in identifying victims but in reducing them to the victim cliché that *Stolpersteine* arguably represent. Here too, Arlette Farge's remarks about the agency of those being inscribed into histories of power have particular relevance. In commemorating the victims using the remnants of the bureaucratic structures to which they were subject, *Stolpersteine* reinscribe these lives through the coordinates of their subjugation. Moreover, by distilling the results of archive work to fit Demnig's formula, the stones reduce the life story that "never asked to be told" in this way to a prescriptive narrative of victimhood.[110]

Apel goes on to argue that the cliché required, reinforced, and replicated by the *Stolperstein* project is that of a helpless, harmless victim—as also emerged in *Orte des Erinnerns*. The project, as it has been driven by local initiatives, propagates what she calls "selective remembrance," whereby sponsors and the artist make "distinctions between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' victims." Apel argues that since the gesture of initiating

a stone can be viewed as a good deed, it is unsurprising that some victim groups have been ignored, such as so-called *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals) or those labeled *asozial* (asocial) or *arbeitsscheu* (work-shy). This oversight has been addressed in Berlin, where in 2016 the first stones were laid for five men labeled *arbeitsscheu* or *asozial*.[111] These stones differ from Demnig's more familiar model. The men were of no fixed abode, so the stones have been laid on the very central and public Alexanderplatz and the plaques omit the usual "Hier wohnte . . ." (Here lived). Demnig's stones usually make no mention of the reason for deportation, and thus do not label victims according to groups, but here Demnig has included a larger, rectangular plaque positioned above the square stones with an inscription explaining the categories used.

With his first stones, made in Cologne, Demnig responded to the objections of local Roma and Sinti who did not want the names of individuals engraved on the brass plaques. These *Stolpersteine* carry inscriptions indicating merely the gender of members of the Roma and Sinti community: "Romm" or "Rommni," "Sinto" or "Sintezza."[112] However, carrying out his project in its new, publicly driven, combimemorial guise, Demnig subsequently laid stones for Roma and Sinti using their names. When survivors protested, their objections were ignored, indicating how local *Stolpersteine* initiatives are convinced of the rightness of their memorial undertaking. To Rudko Kawczynski, it seemed that "the victims had to be 'commemorated' at all costs. End of discussion."[113] Eventually, the stones of those who protested were removed, but as Apel explains, only to be "returned to their sponsors," which indicates their attachment to named individuals as examples of a victim cliché.[114] The removal of the stones might be read not as a gesture of respect towards the objections of Roma and Sinti survivors but as a kind of riposte to a victim group that has rejected the status of "deserving" victim bestowed upon them by the project. The fact that they were given back to sponsors underlines how the project encourages and affirms identification with, if not appropriation of, the individual identities at stake.

As well as asking what happens to the identities of victims when they are made part of Demnig's project, Apel also argues that the fixation on the victim and the reduction of individuals to the *Stolperstein* formula flattens out the complexity of the National Socialist regime. This might serve as a strategy for making difficult circumstances comprehensible to different generations and demographic groups, but it also means that *Stolpersteine* "often hide more than they reveal."[115] In the same way that the "amateur historians" involved in the project are not seeking to challenge the conventions of historical work, they are not undertaking research "to add to our knowledge of the complexity of the Nazi past." Rather their work facilitates the emotional relationships that "offer relief" from an overwhelming burden.[116] For Schrader, the reductive nature of

Stolpersteine and their fixation on the victim suggest that, despite the gloss on the project as one that engages with the "lives" of ordinary people, sponsors and supporters of the project are interested first and foremost in the victims' deaths, and she asks whether these individuals are made the object of memorialization only because they died as victims of the Holocaust.[117] Moreover, the fascination with and appeal of the project seem to her to have to do with the self-referentiality of the *Stolpersteine*. According to Schrader, the stones have lost their connection with the historical context in which the named individuals were made victims and simply testify to their position within Demnig's project. If the stones initially documented the victims' place of residence, now photographs of the stones document *Stolpersteine*, moving Schrader to asks whether we can now forego the inscriptions where the stones serve merely as signs of themselves.[118] Schrader's observations indicate how Demnig's stones come to take the place—come *in place*—of the victim identities they claim to commemorate, eclipsing these individuals in the act of showing evidence of proactive *Aufarbeitung* and memory work, a gesture made through the performance and display of archive work.

There are indeed several examples of how *Stolpersteine* are seen and used self-referentially, in particular the way they are seen and used increasingly as an archive of deportation in the Third Reich. According to Niven, *Stolpersteine* "constitute a system of documentation as much as one of memorialization; to a degree, they are archives, as they 'store' fundamental information about individuals otherwise difficult to come by."[119] But arguably they serve first and foremost to document the take-up of Demnig's project by particular communities and thus as evidence of the politics of memory culture. Most local *Stolperstein* initiative websites include searchable databases of stones that have been laid, in addition to providing information about useful archives for potential sponsors. These are surely invaluable resources for historians, amateur and professional, for those researching family history, as well as for potential sponsors, but the idea of searching, either by name or address, also inevitably reduces the individual identities to data in a manner that unwittingly resonates with the impersonal, bureaucratic structures that were instrumental to their persecution. stolpersteine-guide.de maps *Stolpersteine* across Germany, sourcing and collating information from those who "manage" ("verwalten") stones at local level. This digital database has been called the "basis for an archive"—but an archive of what?[120] As long as Demnig continues working alone and at his current pace, the project can never comprehensively reflect the most accurate data regarding those who were victims of National Socialism—Deming produces his stones on the basis of this data—so at best they can serve as an archive of Demnig's project. Moreover, in a number of cases, more than one stone exists for an individual, where, for example, *Stolpersteine* have been laid at their place of

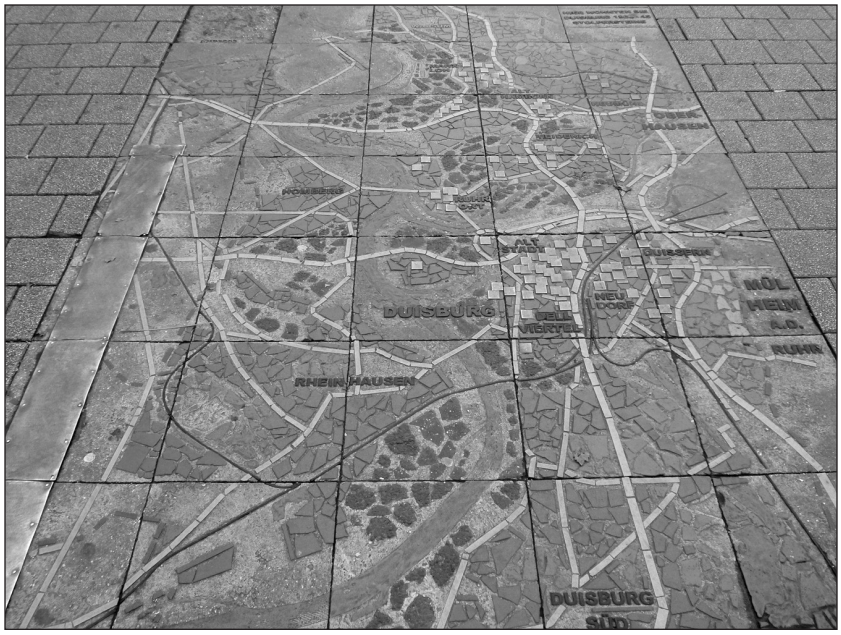

Figure 5. Memorial mosaic outside Duisburg's main railway station made by Gunter Deming and others as part of the 2002 "Jüdische Kulturtage." Photograph by the author.

work as well as their residence. Such doublings question the extent to which *Stolpersteine* can be reliably and meaningfully used as a documentary resource.[121]

The legibility of *Stolpersteine* is also complicated in the town of Duisburg, where a mosaic outside the main station shows a map with small brass plaques representing Demnig's stones at the former homes of Jewish residents (see figure 5). This project from 2002 bears what in Demnig's other work is his trademark industrial signature, his name impressed into the work's material (here, concrete) and the date ("02"), and so deviates from the *Stolpersteine*, which, unlike his earlier projects, carry no identifying mark other than what might now qualify as their own iconicity. Demnig produced the mosaic memorial as part of the 2002 "Jüdische Kulturtage," a celebration of Jewish culture, together with young women studying for a qualification in cosmetics and young members of the local Jewish community, who researched the locations of apartments occupied by Jewish residents between 1933 and 1945.[122] The *Stolpersteine* mosaic indicates where Demnig's stones were to be laid—in 2002, Demnig had only just taken up the project again—and it focuses explicitly on Jewish victims. The mosaic functions as a map marking the distribution of Duisburg's Jewish residents, who, according to the inscription, were

"deportiert und ermordet . . . oder als verschollen gelten" (deported and murdered . . . or disappeared without a trace). The aspiration behind Demnig's project, at this stage is still to be understood in terms of its unrealizability, a pivotal aspect of its nGbK iteration. The research drew on information held in the city archive, but is apparently not comprehensive. The Wikipedia site, also not comprehensive, that lists the *Stolpersteine* in Duisburg corresponds to the list of street names integrated into the mosaic only in some small part. Stones set outside additional houses in the same streets suggest that further research revealed evidence of other residents who became victims of the regime who may or may not have been Jewish.[123] The stones on the mosaic and the stones on the streets of Duisburg function as two data sets relating to National Socialism, but they do not correlate, making it difficult to read either as anything more than partial. This ambivalence arguably allows us to understand Demnig's project as providing an important critical commentary on memory culture and memorial politics, but this possibility is eclipsed where *Stolpersteine* are increasingly understood as an unambiguous documentary resource.

The mosaic is particularly interesting, however, in formal terms. As an early part of Demnig's reengagement with *Stolpersteine*, it shows one of the ways in which the project might have evolved, rather than becoming fixed in the formulaic version familiar to us now. Most significant, this project does not use individual names. Instead its title uses a nonspecific plural: "Sie wohnten hier. Duisburg 1933–45. Stolpersteine" (They lived here. Duisburg 1933–45. Stolpersteine), and the brass plaques that feature on the upper surface of the stone appear here as oblong lists of addresses. This information ordinarily is given implicitly through the location of stones, but here is presented alphabetically and according to district, thus giving the mosaic an explicitly archival aspect. With his memorial Demnig places the same emphasis on crimes happening unchallenged within communities, questioning the role of passive bystanders, as he does with *Stolpersteine*, but he does not rely on the names of individual victims. The mosaic demonstrates an important variation of the memorial concept embedded in *Stolpersteine*, but is the only exception I am aware of. The mosaic seems not to have attracted much attention. Located at a busy thoroughfare outside the main train station, it goes ignored by the commuters who walk over it and it bears the marks of this traffic—chewing gum and food obscure certain elements, and the brass engraving has become barely legible.

Not only have *Stolpersteine* come to constitute a kind of archive, "they 'exhibit' this information to the public," as Niven notes.[124] In their self-referentiality, the *Stolpersteine* as archive and exhibit also encourage questionable practices of collecting and secondary display. Schrader notes how photographs of stones document *Stolpersteine*, and there are a growing number of examples of images of *Stolpersteine* being used to

document and display the project in this self-referential manner.[125] For example, the local initiative "Projekt Stolpersteine im Evangelischen Kirchenkreis Teltow-Zehlendorf" sells a poster for €5 that shows "eine Auswahl von 55 Steinen mit einigen Fotos der Opfer, soweit sie gefunden werden konnten" (a selection of 55 stones with some photos of the victims so far as they could be found).[126] Here *Stolpersteine* appear as a grid, interspersed with black-and-white headshots. The website states that the poster has been made so that the names of these people will not be forgotten, it nevertheless implies a voyeuristic dimension, presenting victim clichés for the gaze of non-Jewish Germans (implied by the church affiliation), who are part of or associated with this local initiative. The mixture of *Stolpersteine* and archive images demonstrates and performs the process by which archive information is transposed to the formula of Demnig's stone, arguably eliding the individuals by immortalizing them in this form. Demnig's decentralized memorial effectively disperses the contents of the archive, inviting the re-collection and ordering of the stones into their own kind of archive. This can be seen in the databases that have been produced by many of the local *Stolpersteine* initiatives, and also in more idiosyncratic responses. In November 2015, *Der Tagesspiegel* ran a piece on the amateur photographer Thomas S. (he wanted to remain anonymous for fear of Neo-Nazi aggression), who has made it his job to photograph all the *Stolpersteine* in Berlin, a work in progress that is available on Wikipedia.[127] He is driven not only to make a comprehensive list but to order it alphabetically. Demnig's project provokes in Thomas S. a questionable urge to collect and perhaps even claim some kind of ownership of the individual stones through the application of a new, archival order: "Wenn man einmal angefangen hat, will man alle haben" (Once you've started, you want to get them all).[128] The obsession with the stones as objects questions the place and status of the named individuals.

Formulaic and iconic, Demnig's *Stolpersteine* are recognized and recognizable as a kind of shorthand for Holocaust victims that arguably eclipses the individuals it claims to commemorate. The growing number of stones encourages what Schrader describes as a disconcerting pleasure in discovery ("Entdeckerfreude"), experienced regardless of the individual identities at stake.[129] Exhibiting *Stolpersteine*, making the names of victims—presented according to Demnig's formula—available to a voyeuristic gaze seems a particularly problematic way of using the information relating to individuals, but has happened in a number of different contexts.[130] In 2010 Demnig was invited to display his *Stolpersteine* in the German pavilion at the Shanghai Expo. This raises several questions: How did Demnig select the stones for exhibition? Were they stones commissioned for real people or fictional victims? As part of this exhibition of national pride and achievement, what is being shown here as exemplary? The victims, Demnig's project, or Germany's commitment to coming to

terms with its Nazi past? The same year Demnig made a guest appearance on the long-running German soap opera *Lindenstraße*. After a number of episodes in which one of the characters researches the fate of her Jewish neighbors and then wrangles with a local politician for permission to have *Stolpersteine* laid for them (the storyline was an obvious reference to the standoff between some local governments and local groups), the artist appeared playing himself and installed two stones on set. The appearance on mainstream television testifies to the project's popularity in spite of the Munich ban, as does the appearance of the two stones for the fictional victims at an exhibition at Munich's Jewish Museum showcasing Jewish contributions to and involvement in German television.[131] Yet the manufacture and display of *Stolpersteine* for fictional victims calls into question the links Demnig's project claims with individuals and provides a further example of victims' identities being eclipsed by the success and status of the *Stolperstein* initiative. In 2014, the actress Margarita Broich was widely criticized for her plan to name her fictional detective character in the television series *Tatort* after the woman, Selma Jacobi, commemorated on a *Stolperstein* outside her apartment. Although Broich claimed she wanted to honor Jacobi's name, many, including Demnig, found the gesture disrespectful, and the actress was forced to find a different name.[132] Demnig claims that with his *Stolpersteine* he is giving victims their names back ("Auf dem Stolperstein bekommt das Opfer seinen Namen wieder"), as if in an act of restitution, but this example shows how his project in fact makes their names available for appropriation by others.[133]

The popularity and widespread take-up of Demnig's project makes it a dominant presence in German memory culture. In an article for *Der Tagesspiegel*, Claudia Keller criticizes this ubiquity, claiming that *Stolpersteine* have created a monopoly on memory. The earlier appeal of the project as an alternative mode of memorialization (decentralized, democratized, and individualized) has been lost now that *Stolpersteine* have established a socially and politically sanctioned norm: "Aus der gut gemeinten Idee ist ein staatlich gefördertes Gedenkprogramm geworden und eine Ideologie, die sich immun stellt gegen Kritik—wie so oft, wenn sich die Deutschen in etwas verlieben" (The well-meant idea has become a state-sponsored program of remembrance and an ideology immune to criticism—as is so often the case when Germans fall in love with something).[134] The visual aspect of the project, the way it encourages a voyeuristic gaze through the production of a visual object, the ceremony of its installation, and perhaps its display in exhibition space offers an iconography that reinforces the status of *Stolpersteine* as *the* accepted and acceptable mode of Holocaust commemoration. A photographic exhibition in Hamburg in 2012 demonstrated how the project has unintentionally been used in its visual aspect for precisely this purpose. Gesche M. Cordes photographed people as they bent down to look at, read, and reflect upon the many

Stolpersteine in Hamburg.[135] These are sponsors, relatives, and passersby, but all are captured, heads bowed, in reverent reflection, some in genuflection. These images offer a pattern of exemplary behavior, reinforcing and demonstrating for exhibition visitors an ideal for respectful interaction with the memorial. The exhibition also included a glass case of Demnig's stones, perhaps encouraging visitors to adopt similar behavior in readiness for their encounters with *Stolpersteine* outside the gallery space. Keller claims that the monopoly of one form of memorialization can lead to "Erstarrung und Banalisierung" (ossification and banalization), something already apparent in the reduction to and serialization of a standardized response seen in this exhibition.

But Keller's main concern is that advocacy for the project has morphed into intolerance for alternatives. She cites the example of a Swiss artist, Dessa, who was presenting *Stolzesteine* (*Stones of Pride*), her alternative to *Stolpersteine*, in Berlin, when she faced angry reactions from those who believe that Demnig's project should not be challenged.[136] Indeed, both Demnig and his project seem to have accrued an authority in the political landscape of *Erinnerungskultur* that is rarely questioned. In 2016 an exhibition dedicated to Demnig's project, *Stolpersteine—Gedenken und soziale Skulptur* (Stolpersteine—Commemoration and Social Sculpture), was shown at the Topography of Terror museum and memorial site in Berlin. It demonstrates the extent to which the memorial has proliferated across Germany and Europe, but also emphasizes the dominance of Demnig's particular mode of commemoration. The launch of the foundation Stiftung—Spuren—Gunter Demnig (Foundation—Traces—Gunter Demnig) also indicates the efforts being made to ensure the continuation of his project in the future and to shore up his legacy.[137]

Indeed, the authority of Demnig's project seems unquestioned, and *Stolpersteine* are often evoked as icons of Holocaust commemoration to legitimize or authorize other memorials and initiatives. In Berlin-Spandau, Demnig's stones feature on an information pillar placed near another Holocaust memorial that explains the district's Jewish history. One side of the board suggests a "memory walk" through the Spandau Old Town to find "Spuren jüdischen Lebens" (traces of Jewish life). Here, *Spuren* mean *Stolpersteine*, and the sign indicates five sites where the stones can be found. Text boxes are headed with five addresses, followed by the names of various people for whom these sites were places of residence or work, then the word "Stolperstein." The information board helps visitors and residents to understand the wider significance of the different memorials in the area and weaves them together to form a more intricate local history. Yet the use of *Stolpersteine* to mark "Spuren jüdischen Lebens" visually and topographically threatens to displace the individual biographies documented. In the first instance, it is Demnig's project that is documented: his stones provide the rationale for selecting these biographies and are used to encourage

visitors to participate in a kind of treasure hunt. In a similar vein, the permanent exhibition *Wir waren Nachbarn* (We were neighbors), dedicated to the work of the Schöneberg Arts Council and the *Orte des Erinnerns*, housed at Schöneberg Town Hall, uses small "Stolperstein" tags in the biographical files laid out for visitors that contain information about the district's former Jewish residents. Indicating those individuals who have also been remembered with a *Stolperstein*, the tags connect memorial projects, showing the extent of memory work in the city, but they perhaps also highlight certain individuals whose memorial credentials are somehow seen as greater because of their inclusion in Demnig's project.

The authority of Demnig's project also has to do with its archive work, which serves to authenticate each stone that Demnig lays but which also comes to serve as evidence of memory work. The archive work necessitated by *Stolpersteine* thus functions as, or comes to be refunctioned to constitute, an archive of *Aufarbeitung*. And the documentation of the processes and performances that follow the initial research into a victim biography—principally, the laying of the stone and the ceremony often organized around this, but also the interaction with the stone, as seen in Gesche M. Cordes' photographs—serves to expand this archive of *Aufarbeitung* work. Demnig's project not only offers a now familiar and accepted formula for this process, its serial structure and seemingly endless repeatability (even though Demnig can only realistically produce figures in the tens of thousands in his lifetime) guarantees the perpetuation of memory work, while offering to sponsors an individual stone as evidence of a completed iteration of this task. Here, the reworked version of Ulrike Jureit's slogan evoked in the introduction might be used for a polemical take on Deming's stones: "Archivarbeit macht frei."[138] Thus, archive work has two seemingly paradoxical functions: It returns to this late phase of memory culture and is performed in the production of memorials as a kind of unfinished business. In this way it ensures the perpetuation of memory work even when its potential seems to be exhausted. At the same time, the form of archive work as it is required and performed for the production of *Stolpersteine* allows for the completion of this business with each stone commissioned, manufactured, and installed. With his *Stolperstein* project Demnig has developed a memorial model that through its archival dimension fulfills the dual desire of *Erinnerungskultur* to see the work of memory both done and available for continued and continuous performance.

Braunschweig—Eine Stadt in Deutschland erinnert sich

Sigrid Sigurdsson's memorial project *Braunschweig—Eine Stadt in Deutschland erinnert sich* has also come to constitute an archive of

Aufarbeitung, and features Demnig's *Stolpersteine* among its holdings. It was begun in 1996 as part of the artist's ongoing project, *Offene Archive* (Open Archives), a series of memorial and archival works on display digitally and around Germany.[139] As the title implies, Sigurdsson's *Offene Archive* are unconventional archives. They are not subject to the same restrictions to access or use imposed by official archives. As "open" repositories they are designed to change and evolve in form and content, and they encourage participation in and reflection on the construction of archives more generally. Indeed, as Niven notes, Sigurdsson's democratic interpretation of the archive makes her *Offene Archive* a prime example of the combimemorial.[140] For Sigurdsson, the archive is first and foremost a metaphor for memory, both individual and collective, and, as Martina Pottek explains, it has always featured in her art and in parallel with her acts of collecting and of thinking about memory. Sigurdsson sees people as carriers of memory and histories and her work operates under the heading "Mensch als Archiv" (individual as archive).[141] In democratizing the process of gathering and archiving histories, Sigurdsson encourages active reflection on those varied and various accounts, rather than a passive acceptance of a single, prescribed history. As Pottek explains, the artist resists the administration ("Verwaltung") of the past conventionally performed by and in archives, encouraging instead its positioning ("Verortung") within contemporary communities.[142]

The open and open-ended structure of Sigurdsson's artworks as archives also means that archive work and memory work merge. While some material is visibly historical, originating from the time of the Third Reich, or even before, Sigurdsson also collects and curates the material generated in the course of the project itself. Her open archives are thus also self-archiving archives of the process of memorialization that they represent. *Offene Archive* activate extant official and personal documents, and also the *process* of archivization, in order to perform and document the work of memory.

Sigurdsson's Braunschweig memorial responds to the tensions generated at the historical site of the Schilldenkmal, a monument to the rebellion against French domination led by Ferdinand von Schill in the Napoleonic Wars, then rededicated to fallen soldiers of the Second World War. However, the site also borders the location of the former satellite labor camp of Neuengamme on Schillstraße, and so has provoked protest among those who felt that this history of forced labor was being ignored in commemorating military history. Sigurdsson's concept for a memorial comprised three elements: a neon light installation at the site of the former camp bearing the text of a rabbinical proverb, "Die Vergangenheit hat eine lange Zukunft" (the past has a long future), which can be viewed from an empty podium next to the war memorial; an installation in the nineteenth-century building next to the memorial, the so-called

Invalidenhaus, which contains several shelves of archive boxes filled with the material produced by local businesses, community groups (boxes are labeled with the names of contributors), and individuals in response to Sigurdsson's project and the National Socialist history of the site; and finally, a series of metal plaques attached to the wall surrounding the war memorial and the newer podium, which have been inscribed with a selection of the texts archived in the Invalidenhaus. As with Sigurdsson's other *Offene Archive*, the material that fills the archive boxes has been collected over time and represents a wide range of responses and perspectives. The boxes include historical material sourced and collected by the different groups involved, but the installation has a predominantly contemporary archival aspect. Historical material is refunctioned, used for the archive work necessitated by memory work and then made part of an archive of *Aufarbeitung*, which also includes new material generated in this process. In the case of Braunschweig, the (re)production of both historical and contemporary material seems necessary, since Sigurdsson wanted to make this process visible to show how the community was finally engaging with its National Socialist past after a long period of resistance.

One particular example in Braunschweig's open archive shows how the production of an archive of *Aufarbeitung* contributes to the process of memorialization as initiated by Sigurdsson. The Invalidenhaus houses three files that are dedicated to local community engagement with Demnig's *Stolperstein* project from 2006, 2011, and 2016 (under the auspices of the group Stolpersteine für Braunschweig). These files document the research undertaken by different sponsors, predominantly schoolchildren, but also individuals. They demonstrate the dominance of Demnig's project as a now familiar and accepted form of memorialization, and they also suggest that for this reason, *Stolpersteine* are a key resource in encouraging the continuation of memory work at a stage when interest might otherwise have waned (although not all research seems to culminate in a completed *Stolperstein*—in one case, a relative objected to stones for three individuals). On one level the files document a very concrete example of *Aufarbeitung* and the archive work that underpins and facilitates memory work, and on another they show how the production of further documentation, such as printed copies of email correspondence with various archives, serves to perpetuate memory work, even providing tangible evidence and authentication of this process. One file contains certificates of sponsorship (*Patenschaftsurkunden*) issued by the Stolpersteine für Braunschweig initiative. There is perhaps an irony in the way the archive work that *Stolpersteine* and Sigurdsson's Braunschweig project necessitate produces, or reproduces, the bureaucratically inflected excesses associated with the regime whose victims are being commemorated. Ultimately, however, the production of archive material (both the copies of extant archival documents used in research and the new documents generated for

Sigurdsson's archive of *Aufarbeitung*) to commemorate lives destroyed and lost under National Socialism can never compensate for the losses; rather, these archival excesses are produced in response to absence and belatedness. In this sense, Sigurdsson's project resonates with Gerz's in that it can only produce "eine Liste mehr."

Indeed, the archival excesses seen in the *Stolpersteine* files and in many of the other boxes that make up Sigurdsson's memorial contrast strongly with the response to Sigurdsson given by Braunschweig's Jewish community: "Diese Seite enthält keine Erinnerungen, weil es kein Gemeindemitglied mehr gibt, der die Vorkriegstage hier erlebt hat. Die Erinnerungen, die man hier lesen könnte, sind mit ihren Trägern ausgewandert, verschleppt worden oder umgekommen" (This page doesn't contain any memories, because there is no member of the community left who experienced the time before the war. The memories that you might have been able to read here were exiled, deported, or killed with those who carried them).[143] This laconic statement emphasizes loss and absence and contrasts with the many pages gathered by other respondents. Moreover, the community seems to resist Sigurdsson's gesture of collecting and curating memory in the collective form of the archive, emphasizing how the period of history in question disrupted the chains of memory produced in communities. This is a very different mode of preservation, one that opposes the archival urge of Sigurdsson's project to externalize and collect the memories of others in one place. Like Sigurdsson, the representatives of Braunschweig's Jewish community see the individual as an archive, but not as an *open* archive.

The selection of texts from Braunschweig's open archive that has been made part of the open-air display reflects the heterogeneous memories relating to the site and the city. The panels are predominantly personal memories and reflections, eyewitness reports, and responses of younger generations of families of industrialists who profited from forced labor. The panels tell, for example, of the suffering of those affected by devastating bombing raids in the city, the attempts by locals to give food to the camp's prisoners, and the anger felt by one prisoner who was forced to work through the harsh winter as she watched another woman looking at Christmas gifts in a shop window. The combination of these experiences does not form a consistent whole; rather is riven with contradiction and incompatibility. Sigurdsson's open archive is not only an archive of *Aufarbeitung*; it is also an archive of the struggle to see different experiences remembered and legitimated—what Mary Cosgrove and Anne Fuchs have termed "memory contests."[144] The installation does not work through these tensions, rather presents them *as* the memorial, and thus invites passersby to encounter conflicting memories. The installation also includes two panels relating to *Stolpersteine*, taken from one of the *Stolpersteine* files. These focus on the project itself rather than the biographies of

those commemorated, which are included in the files. The first panel contains a text provided by the Stolpersteine für Braunschweig initiative and gives an outline of the project and its perceived merits. The second provides responses from local schoolchildren that speak both for the importance of the initiative, especially for a young generation, and its problems (echoing some of the concerns outlined earlier). *Stolpersteine* are praised as an engaging alternative to the "usual" treatment of the topic in history lessons, which is "boring" and "theoretical." *Stolpersteine*, by contrast, allowed for a more personal approach: "Bei unserer Arbeit fanden wir Quellen über 'unsere' Familien, die Auswirkungen auf das Projekt hatten" (In the course of our work, we found sources about "our" families, which had an impact on the project). The use of the personal pronoun is particularly interesting in this statement because it implies that the group had made these family histories their own even before undertaking their research—this was to shape their project, but it seems that this sense of ownership was developed even in the act of initiating a *Stolperstein*. The penultimate quotation appears as a kind of poem. The schoolchildren ask: "Was bleibt von dem Menschenleben übrig? / Viele Akten und ein Stein aus Messing" (What remains of a human life? / Lots of files and a stone made of brass). They counter this description of what H. G. Adler would call "der verwaltete Mensch" (the administered person)—and what we might call the memorialized subject—with a more optimistic emphasis on the process of memory work as archive work. Their project showed them that memory and memorialization is about the act of stumbling over history and individual lives, not the object of the stone: "es [geht] nicht um den Stein, sondern ums Stolpern" (it's not about the stone, it's about stumbling). And the final quotation sums up in remarkably lucid fashion the fallacy of the archive work undertaken in the name of memory work, namely, that no amount of research can compensate for the loss to be commemorated: "Wir möchten, dass aus Namen wieder Menschen werden" (We'd like the names to become people again).[145] It goes without saying that this wish can never be fulfilled, but its articulation alongside the expression of so many other complex and conflicting responses to the historical period being commemorated here makes a pivotal contribution to Sigurdsson's open archive and to the complex and ongoing process of Holocaust memorialization in Germany more broadly. That this response is articulated through the rhetoric of Demnig's project indicates the dominant position his stones have come to assume in contemporary memory politics: even though this statement appears as part of Sigurdsson's memorial, it responds to the challenge of Holocaust memorialization using the now standard model of *Stolpersteine*.

The memorial projects just discussed all feature archival elements in ways that evidence the archival turn in memory culture and that show a shift from the "archive-as-source" to the "archive-as-subject," following

Stoler's definition. As those involved with the projects are confronted with the gaps in the Holocaust archive, gaps that challenge and change the work of memorialization, they reflect on what it means to use this resource at a later stage of memory work and thus make the post-Holocaust archive the subject of their attempts at memorialization. To return to Gerz's statement about his belated position in relation to the losses of twentieth-century history and the absences they leave, the reductive, impersonal form of the list is all that remains to those who seek to remember. The projects discussed respond to this legacy differently. Stih and Schnock develop the community work with the historical archive that formed the basis of *Orte des Erinnerns* to remind the public of the archive's power (*Gewalt*) through the rearticulation of anti-Jewish legislation. Gerz makes "eine Liste mehr," but refuses to use this form as a compensation for loss; on the contrary, it serves as a reminder of losses that some would rather have forgotten. Hoheisel also reproduces archival forms to show that the desire for disposal—*Kassation*, to use archivists' terminology—cannot be fulfilled, and his crushed remains persist as a remainder of the past, as *Zermahlene Geschichte*.

Demnig's project seeks to animate the lists that remain, to retrieve and fill out biographies on the basis of the traces that remain in archives. The almost compensatory function attributed to his stones, however, disavows the loss or lack to which the archive necessarily testifies. Moreover, the archive work carried out in order to have a stone made and laid by the artist generates a new repository of material, an archive of *Aufarbeitung* that comes to evidence and legitimate the memory work done in the name of creating *Stolpersteine*.

Sigurdsson's open archive in Braunschweig also functions (arguably in more self-reflexive mode) to document the memory work undertaken belatedly by the community—*eine Stadt in Deutschland erinnert sich*. On the one hand, these two projects suggest a different kind of archival turn, whereby archive work produces a shift from the (historical) archive of the Holocaust to the (contemporary, open) archive of memory work. On the other, in revealing a tension between the desire to see the work of memory completed and the desire to see it available for infinite performance, the archive of *Aufarbeitung* generated by these projects might also be read as a—not unproblematic—response to the post-Holocaust archive and the unbridgeable gaps it opens between the past to be remembered and the present that cannot compensate for its losses.

3: Documentary Film and Theater: The Unfinished Business of Archive Work

The archive has always been a fundamental if contested feature of documentaries about National Socialism and the Holocaust.[1] Films often draw on the footage made by American, British, and Soviet forces when they liberated the camps. The material was used initially in unmediated mode to show what had happened, for example in the Nuremberg Trials, but it has been used subsequently as what Bill Nichols would call a "building block" for other documentaries.[2] Thus, as David Bathrick has argued, not only does the visual archive of the Holocaust serve as an index, testifying to the events that happened in the camps, but also through its repeated circulation, it takes on iconic status.[3] However, the significance of these so-called atrocity films, which were made *after* the camps had been liberated, has been subject to much scrutiny.[4] The political purpose of these films affected their making and staging, and they therefore require more critical use in a contemporary context. The fact that some of this early footage is among the most widely reused and circulated in Holocaust documentaries has implications for our understanding of these later films.

The visual archive is fundamental to Holocaust documentary because this genre or mode is affected, like other cultural engagements with the Holocaust, by debates about the representability of the camps. Indeed, these debates have been had most forcibly among, and were perhaps defined by, documentary filmmakers. Famously, while *Night and Fog* by Alain Resnais *does* make use of archive footage from the camps, Claude Lanzmann has claimed that there is *no* archive that shows what happens in Auschwitz, and in his own documentary, *Shoah*, he eschews the use of archive footage.[5] Instead, Lanzmann returns to the site of the camps to interview witnesses from a contemporary perspective. In its use of interviews *Shoah* also signals a broader shift in Holocaust historiography and memory culture in the 1980s and 1990s away from the historical archive to testimony. Many Holocaust documentaries have used interviews with survivors, perpetrators, and bystanders. However, the majority feature these alongside documentary footage. As Sven Kramer notes, in this format the witnesses serve to authenticate the archive.[6] As the number of witnesses becomes ever smaller, however, the scope for this kind of dialogue between archive footage and interviews also diminishes. These voices are

still available to filmmakers and others through the repositories of survivor testimony captured on video in projects like the Shoah Foundation, but using them in this way would still mean a formal and epistemological shift away from the physically present witness towards the mediated testimonial archive. Thus, in a very particular manifestation of the archival turn in Holocaust documentary, the strict opposition emblematized by Resnais's and Lanzmann's films can no longer be upheld. Now Lanzmann himself seems to have shifted his position: using archive footage of Theresienstadt in his 2013 film, *The Last of the Unjust*, even he has entered a "'post-Lanzmann' phase," Brad Prager argues.[7] With the loss of the witnesses, the archive returns to take up a more prominent place in later projects that deal with the legacy of National Socialism and the Holocaust. Now, Prager argues, a generation of filmmakers who want to move beyond the old "either/or" imperative is making "new and inventive" use of the archive.[8] Prager is interested in the temporal remove of these "postmillennial" filmmakers, who have turned to the iconic images made by the liberating forces "after the fact" to engage with them *in their reinscribed belatedness*, that is, "at a moment truly after the fact, after most of the survivors have passed."[9] In this way, the archival turn of a "postmemorial era" might refer to a turn to the post-Holocaust archive, that is, to the archive of Holocaust images that returns at this late stage of memory culture to be read after the witnesses, and after the debates had around the question of Holocaust representability.[10]

In their critical use of the visual archive, this young generation of filmmakers follows in the footsteps of Harun Farocki, who has challenged how we use and view the "archival medium" of film.[11] For example, in *Aufschub* (*Respite*, 2007) Farocki examines footage taken at the Westerbork transit camp by the German Jewish photographer Rudolf Breslauer in 1944.[12] Working in interrogative mode, Farocki asks us to consider the extent to which the wide and repeated circulation of both stills and moving images from the camps leads us to assume that we know what we are looking at, and thus to make the material do more or less than it might or should. Crucially, Farocki does not merely show archive footage, he *works* with it, or makes *it* work, in order that *we* work. His documentaries screen archive work. Farocki's critical engagement with the visual archive of the Holocaust informs projects such as *A Film Unfinished* (2010) by the Israeli filmmaker Yael Hersonski, which reframes footage from the Warsaw Ghetto made for propaganda purposes. *A Film Unfinished* supplements and disrupts this material, insisting on its incompleteness and prioritizing "memory . . . over history," a gesture that frustrated some critics.[13] Without such intervention, the footage would not show the details of its own production and so would reinforce its original propagandistic message.[14] Made in a "postmemorial era," *A Film Unfinished* also shows the encounter with this footage as an encounter with the archive,

and refocuses attention on the question of what it means to Hersonski's generation that this footage remains. For "postmillennial" filmmakers, who must now turn to the archive, this is a symbolic as much as a material or visual encounter. The archival turn also informs the documentary practice of this postmemorial generation beyond the cinema, for example, in the installation art of Clemens von Wedemeyer (born 1974). In his 2016 exhibition, *P.O.V.* (Point of View), von Wedemeyer "dissect[s]. . . and reconfigure[s]" archive film material made by his grandfather, who was a cavalry officer and amateur photographer during the Second World War.[15] Across seven stations, he uses the archive to consider both what the images were intended to show and what we see in them now, especially given the historical knowledge that we have acquired, which was generated precisely through the use of archive images.

The visual archive of the Holocaust, the still and moving images made during the Third Reich, is fundamental to many documentary projects that engage with this historical legacy. They produce, in increasingly self-reflexive mode, what Jaimie Baron has called the "archive effect" of found footage.[16] Indeed, critical engagement with these projects has also been focused on the status of the visual archive in and for contemporary Holocaust documentaries. However, I am interested here in the "archive effect" not of archive images but of what Prager qualifies as "images of archives."[17] How do documentaries use the formal and visual features of files and documents and the structures that house them to screen or stage archive work? And to what effect? The focus on the materiality and structural features of archives at stake is exemplified in *Deutsche Dienststelle* (German Office, 1999), a film by the documentary filmmaker Bernhard Sallmann. Sallmann's film captures the work of the Deutsche Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht, a government office responsible for providing information to relatives about fallen and former Wehrmacht soldiers. It was established in 1939 as the WASt, the Wehrmachtsauskunftstelle für Kriegsverluste und Kriegsgefangene (Wehrmacht Information Center for Military Losses and Prisoners of War); today the WASt holds a huge archive of documents relating to military personnel. As a little-known document of an equally little-known archive, *Deutsche Dienststelle* contrasts significantly with the projects discussed in this book, namely, those that turn to the archive in their enactment of or engagement with public-facing gestures of remembrance and commemoration. Indeed, Sallmann shows an archive that is emphatically not, and is not likely to become, part of memory culture. At the time of making *Deutsche Dienststelle*, the tasks assigned to the WASt also included war crimes cases, but the film never directly addresses the question of guilt or culpability. Perhaps this was not necessary: filmed in the summer of 1999 and shown on German television the same year, *Deutsche Dienststelle*

would have resonated with viewers familiar with the media coverage of the highly controversial *Wehrmachtsausstellung* (Wehrmacht Exhibition), which in its first iteration had been touring Germany since 1995. Thus, Sallmann shows the WASt as a site of significant repression: of both the huge national and personal losses in conflict, the mourning of which has always been constrained by the legacy of national and personal guilt, and of this guilt and the claims of crimes perpetrated by the Wehrmacht that threatened established narratives of heroism and honorable action. It is for precisely these reasons that *Deutsche Dienststelle* provides a useful counterpoint for introducing this chapter, which shows how the archival turn in German memory culture inflects documentary work. Despite its very different focus, Sallmann's film resonates with the projects discussed later for the following reasons: it shows images of archives (not archive images or archive footage); with its focus on the employees of the WASt it shows archive work; and it asks about the relation of this archive, the archive of the Wehrmacht, to the other archive, the archive of the Holocaust, through absence or omission.

Deutsche Dienststelle asks questions about the fate of this little-known archive and shows that it has not and, because of its connectedness to the history and facts of perpetration, perhaps cannot be integrated into a public-facing culture of memory. And yet it remains. Sallmann's film thus anticipates an important issue at stake in the archival turn in German memory culture: after Auschwitz, after the various stages of postwar *Aufarbeitung*, this archive of the Wehrmacht cannot be seen only as a record of German military losses and suffering. It is connected in ways that are still unclear and contested to the archive of the Holocaust and thus is part of the post-Holocaust archive and part of the legacy—manifest as unfinished business—left to contemporary generations in their belated engagement with the Nazi past. In this chapter I consider documentaries that focus on the National Socialist period from a belated position and thus through the performance or screening of archive work as the task left to subsequent generations. The material used in this task is sometimes of a visual nature because these documentaries use archive images and footage; but they also use documents and artefacts, and frame these in relation to the archive spaces that house them. I am interested in how these films engage with official documents, material produced through the administrative processes of the Nazi regime. The films show how these documents are connected to the camps and to the experiences of the victims, but also how they fail to provide an adequate understanding of either these experiences or the thorny issue of culpability or responsibility. In this respect this archive material is a burdensome and haunting legacy. I first discuss Malte Ludin's *2 oder 3 Dinge, die ich von ihm weiß* (2 or 3 Things I Know about Him, 2005) and Jens Schanze's *Winterkinder. Die schweigende Generation* (Winter's Children: The Silent Generation, 2005), both of

them autobiographical documentaries that turn to the archive to counter the family narratives woven around Nazi relatives. Then I look at Michael Verhoeven's *Menschliches Versagen* (Human Failure, 2008), which considers what it means to work with the archive material documenting the confiscation of Jewish assets, where this has only recently been made available to researchers. Finally, I discuss two documentary theater productions, *Hans Schleif: Eine Spurensuche* (Hans Schleif: A Search for Traces, premiere 2010) and *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* (Stumbling Stones State Theater, premiere 2015), both of which perform archive work in order to work through connections to the National Socialist regime—the former deals with family ties and the latter with institutional links.

2 oder 3 Dinge, die ich von ihm weiß

In *2 oder 3 Dinge, die ich von ihm weiß*, Malte Ludin turns to the archive to challenge the narrative that has long been perpetuated in his family about his father. Hanns Ludin was Hitler's emissary in Preßburg (today Bratislava, Slovakia) from 1941 to 1945. In this capacity he was involved in authorizing numerous deportations to the East; he was executed for war crimes in 1947. Despite this conviction, Hanns Ludin's wife, Erla, defended his reputation until her death in 1997. Their six children have struggled in different ways to deal with this family legacy; the youngest, Malte Ludin, seeks to capture these responses in his film. Two of his siblings are no longer alive: Tillman died in South Africa, where he had lived for many years, and Erika, who never got over the loss of her father in such circumstances, died following an accident that occurred as a result of long-term alcoholism and depression. His three remaining sisters, Barbel, Ellen, and Andrea, follow to greater or lesser degrees their mother's staunch defense of their father. With and in his film, Malte Ludin tries to provoke them to rethink the positive memory they have created and upheld. A key resource in this work is official documents that testify to Hanns Ludin's commitment to Hitler, his administrative role in deportations, and his knowledge of the Final Solution. In many ways Ludin's film seems to illustrate Yosef Yerushalmi's claim that the archive is fundamentally opposed to memory: "The documents in an archive are not part of memory; if they were, we should have no need to retrieve them; once retrieved, they are often at odds with memory."[18] In *2 oder 3 Dinge*, Ludin tries to challenge family memory using the archive, but finds it eludes his control.

Malte Ludin's turn to the archive in this project is actually a return to the archive. In the late 1950s Erla Ludin made an application for a higher widow's pension, and she sent her youngest son to the library of the Foreign Office, then in Bonn, to source the relevant evidence. Malte Ludin recalls that she kept the material she amassed for this purpose

neatly ordered in files ("säuberlich in Ordnern abgelegt").[19] This means that the information relating to Hanns Ludin's wartime role has been known to the family for some time, but has not been used in the process of "working through" a personal connection to National Socialism. Indeed, at the time of Erla Ludin's enquiries, it was possible to insist on her husband's bureaucratic function in the Third Reich to claim financial support without addressing the question of his culpability. This selective use of research suited Malte Ludin, too. As a young man, he still idolized his father. Then, around 1968, he rejected his father's story as that of a typical Nazi. He describes his late return to the subject as a consequence of the fall of the Iron Curtain. In 1989, he met his wife and the film's producer, Iva Svarcová, who opened a new perspective for him, namely, that of the victims of the Third Reich, and he also had access to archives that were previously unavailable. After the inattentive research undertaken in Bonn, Ludin embarked on more systematic archive work for his film.[20] However, his later research did not ultimately yield any new information that would change what was already known from the documents gathered previously.[21] Crucially, then, the function of the archive work shown in *2 oder 3 Dinge* is not historiographical; rather, it is a visual and narrative device to stage a confrontation between his siblings' selective memories of their father and the evidence of his involvement in the deportation of thousands of Jews. Yet despite the very deliberate ways in which Ludin uses archive spaces and material to make his film, these aspects also function, perhaps against his intentions, as spectral figures that escape his control. Ludin returns to the archive as a catalyst for the task of *Aufarbeitung*, but the archive also returns to haunt him, signaling the failure of this work, both on a family and a personal level: it returns as unfinished business.

Ludin's film is structured using various material and visual props, ranging from the photographs and objects found in the family archive—confined to the cellar, this *Kummerkiste* (chest of sorrows) symbolizes the Ludins' repression of their Nazi past—to documents from official archives. As Prager notes, within Ludin's broad use of "'archival' images," we find a specific focus on "images of archives."[22] These are used to counter and contradict the statements made by Ludin's relatives in interviews. In the first sequence, Ludin's sister Barbel, the most vehement in her defense of their father, insists on her claim to see him as she chooses and so announces her refusal to relinquish her hold on the positive image of Hanns Ludin that has dominated the family. In the next, an archivist in a white coat walks past a set of rolling stacks. She turns the handle to move one of the shelves and Ludin's film title emerges from the space between. Ludin's opening establishes what Susanne Luhmann describes as "a tension between the detached archive of empirical historical evidence and the affect-laden archive of narrated familial memory,"

and implies that the sober official repository is the more reliable source, compared with his agitated sister.[23] Ludin's frustration seems to grow as he introduces images into his film that are the results of his later, post-1989 archive work, undertaken in the Slovak National Archives. Here, Ludin finds documents relating to his father's ambassadorial office, which provide a clear indication of his administrative involvement in deportations and his understanding of the fate of those being sent away. Ludin's use of shots of this material exposes his siblings' dogged attachment to an innocent father figure, but it does not allow him to change their feelings, not least because the documents do not actually alter the facts; they simply reinforce, in the most incriminating terms, what is already known by the family but not accepted as evidence of culpability. In this way, the film's archive work—that is, its work with archives—does not necessarily lead to a working though of the father's Nazi past. Instead it feeds the mechanisms of disavowal and repression that are operative in the family and allow for the perpetuation of an idealized image of Hanns Ludin.[24]

Moreover, Ludin's use of "images of archives" gives expression to the ambivalence he feels when faced with these sources as a result of his own failure to work through his past. Despite Ludin's confrontational stance vis-à-vis his sisters, he is also not able to condemn his father unreservedly. His later archive work is not undertaken to prove his sisters wrong beyond all reasonable doubt, but rather, as he says in the film, in the hope of finding evidence that would exonerate his father. This proves a vain hope, however, and the images of archives that constitute an important part of the film's visual and narrative structure reverberate with the son's growing disappointment and discomfort faced with this damning material. The first sequence showing Ludin's archive work appears early in the film. He reads from the last letter written by his father before his execution. Hanns Ludin insists on his innocence, claiming that he could provide evidence if necessary. This is the evidence that Malte Ludin still hopes to find, but his hopes are dashed in the next line where Hanns Ludin suggests he might admit some responsibility to reduce his penalty, a concession that contradicts his plea of innocence. His son is visibly and audibly affected by the contents of this letter. He repeats his father's claim, "Ich kann mich nicht schuldig erklären" (I can't admit any guilt), emphasizing different parts of the sentence, as if trying to make it ring true one way or another, then breaks off.[25] In an interview Ludin explains that the confrontation with a man who was writing to save his life led to feelings not of anger but of grief.[26] The director's encounter with this letter in the archive, shown early in the film, seems to determine the course of the archive work shown subsequently. Ludin begins a frantic search for the evidence his father claims to have, but finds only documents that incriminate him. His concern with the evidentiary status of the archive

material is soon overwhelmed by its emblematic significance as a sign of the burdensome legacy of National Socialism.

The "images of archives," including images of official archive material, occupy a smaller portion of the film than, say, the interviews with relatives. This supports Luhmann's claim that the film is "more concerned with the force of the family archive" as an "archive of feelings" than with externally located documents.[27] Nevertheless, these "images of archives" are clearly significant for Ludin's project. The cameraman Martin Gressman explains that he filmed "vor allem ganz viele Dokumente, . . . wahnsinnig viel Archiv" (mainly lots and lots of documents . . . an unbelievable amount of archive material). For him, the authenticity and history of the documents was mediated through their smell and their materiality—the old paper and the different marks made, red ink and various stamps. He notes the sobriety of such documents, which with their orders and signatures were read and processed by others.[28] Ludin's attention to this material in its connectedness to the historical period in question and, through Hanns Ludin's signature, to its indexical relation to his father contrasts with the almost mythical family narratives, which have become disconnected from historical reality in the intervening years. Tellingly, Ludin's relatives never accompany him on his archive visits and we never see him showing them copies of the documents he finds; at most he summarizes their contents for them. He uses official archive sources only as a structuring device for his film, as inserts to counter the statements made in interviews. At one point Barbel refuses to believe her brother's version of events, and when he tells her that he has seen documents to support this, she says she would have to see them in order to take his view into account. Barbel's husband also resists engaging fully with his brother-in-law's most recent research: "Das kann man aus diesen Unterlagen, soweit ich sie gesehen haben, nicht erkennen" (That's not evident in the documents, to the extent that I've seen them). In what is clearly part self-styling and part Ludin's staging, Barbel's husband appears at his neat desk beneath a self-portrait with a rather anachronistic typewriter to one side and a stamp rack to the other. In his refusal to question the information available to him, he is shown as a proto-*Schreibtischtäter* (desk criminal). Ludin fails to share (other than as oral description) the material he finds with the relatives he castigates, so refuses them the same encounter with evidence that he needed in order to concede his father's guilt. But he knows that they are unwilling to engage with the documents that they already know, so perhaps he withholds this new material to prevent its being dismissed in the same way.

Malte Ludin's later encounter with archive material relating to his father provokes something of a personal crisis. In this sense, his lone work with and in official archives provides a counterpoint to the "family drama" he stages in his film.[29] In the section "Spuren auf Papier"

(Traces on Paper), Ludin focuses on his visit to the archive introduced already at the beginning of the film. His voiceover introduces the archive and the collection of files it houses: "Hier ruht säuberlich dokumentiert meines Vaters Vergangenheit als Hitlers Gesandter" (Here lies, neatly documented, my father's past as Hitler's emissary). These files, like the material gathered by his mother, are described as "säuberlich," and "Hier ruht" emphasizes that, like the dead, they are undisturbed. The order of the archive does not invite the kind of disruptive gestures that Ludin's film enacts but rather lays the ghosts of the past to rest. He is determined to look, however, not least because of his desire to find evidence to support his father's claim to innocence. We see him seated at a desk, looking through the pages of a file. The speed at which he turns the pages indicates that he is scanning rather than reading the documents and that he knows neither the contents nor the target of his search. The film cuts to a point-of-view shot of one of the pages, reflecting Ludin's position as reader. The unsteady camera reflects his erratic gaze, moving haltingly down the document until it finally stops at the words "100%er Lösung der Judenfrage" (100 percent solution of the Jewish question). There is no voiceover here, only an eerie soundtrack with noises that could represent wind or the labored breathing of some strange being—not necessarily a human—and ominous beating produced by intermittent percussion.[30] Opening the past that had been laid to rest in the archive unleashes a disquieting force.

Following further interview sequences, the film returns to the scene of Ludin's archive work. Again he looks at documents in a file, but this time is less frantic. As he begins to read out sections of the text, the strange soundtrack returns, as if animating the text in this way raises the ghosts of the past. Following an interview with the survivor poet Tuvia Rübner, who grew up in Preßburg before escaping to Palestine, we are again shown footage of the documents that Ludin finds in the archive. Now the director is absent from the shots, which focus steadily on the paper. Still images of whole pages allow viewers to read the text, then close-ups and a voiceover (not the director) draw our attention to key phrases. Ludin includes three extracts from official archive documents, using them to respond to various interview sequences with his relatives. The first bears the heading "Überblick über die Lage der Juden in der Slowakei" (Overview of the situation of the Jews in Slovakia). The camera and voiceover focus on the phrase "Notwendigkeit einer totalen Lösung" (Necessity of a complete solution). The second is a letter signed by Hanns Ludin reporting that Slovak bishops had spoken out against the "antijüdische Maßnahmen" (anti-Jewish measures) being carried out locally. Ludin reports that their pastoral letters claim "nicht nur Männer sondern auch Frauen und Kinder" (not only men, but women and children) were affected and that the actions were "mit einer physischen

Liquidation verbunden" (were linked to a physical liquidation). The third document records Hanns Ludin's refusal to grant Jews asylum in January 1945 because they might strengthen the forces behind the national uprising. The presentation of these three documents signals an important shift from Ludin's reading of his father's letter and his initial frenzied search for information in the files. Now Ludin no longer tries to speak his father's words or have them impersonated, instead using an anonymous and detached voiceover. The position of these short sequences following the interview with Rübner also suggests that Ludin now approaches this material with more distance and sobriety. The opportunity for discovering the evidence that would exculpate Hanns Ludin has passed and Rübner's testimony overpowers the fading image of the innocent father.

Indeed, the encounter with the poet is pivotal to the film. It confronts Ludin not only with the perspective of the victim but also with his own tenacious attachment to his father's innocence. In spite of himself, Ludin relativizes his father's actions, saying that he was involved in, but not directly responsible for, the deportations ("Aber nicht exekutiv" [not in an executive function]). The short archival sequences that follow suggest a response to Ludin's defense of his father; the documents reveal details that are indefensible. This information seems to overwhelm Ludin. The focus on certain words and phrases is maintained through visual effects. Some of the close-ups show how the ink of individual letters has dispersed in the fibers of the paper and the words are also made to appear as bright flashes, as if the document is subject to overexposure. These effects make the words resonate beyond the level of textual signification. They reverberate with the historical knowledge we now have of the Holocaust and with the personal knowledge of the director. The impersonal, official archive becomes personal. In each sequence the camera rests on Ludin's signature, both handwritten and typed, showing the direct connection between the content of the documents and the director's father: he put his name to the orders and information communicated here. The repeated shots of the word "Ludin" have an uncanny effect, both evoking the specter of the war criminal father and connecting his actions to the son who reads these documents and who carries the same name. The word "Ludin" thus functions not only as a signature registering the father's agency in executing these actions but also as a kind of address, asking the son for a response when faced with the father's deeds.

The sequences involving Rübner are also significant for Ludin's screening of archive work because they expose what Luhmann calls "the (unacknowledged) privileges enjoyed by the descendants of the perpetrator." The Ludins not only have a "family that actually survived," they also possess "an archive of those who died."[31] It is certainly debatable whether Ludin acknowledges this privilege in his film. The central position adopted by the "Kummerkiste," the Ludin archive of repressed

memories stored in the family wine cellar, would suggest not. But the contrast between this abundant (yet selectively used) material and Rübner's description of what he calls "das letzte Zeichen" (the last sign) of his parents offers at least one instance where the film exposes the discrepancy between the resources that remain to the victim or victim's family and those available to the perpetrator or perpetrator's family for the task of *Aufarbeitung.* Having been separated from his parents, Rübner was allowed, through the Red Cross, to send them a letter once every two months, which had a small space for their answer. The letters were limited to twenty-four words and were censored. The last reply he had from his parents said they had been resettled in Łódź; the rest had been rendered illegible. Rübner adds that he still has this "last sign." This anecdote serves to heighten the deeply problematic status of the archive in the Ludin "family drama."[32] Not only do the members of the Ludin family possess or have access to a plethora of material, but they use it willfully and selectively (Ludin as much as his siblings) in the construction of favorable narratives and the disavowal of unpalatable information. Rübner does not have this luxury. His "last sign" points to only one irreversible sequence of events. The tangibility of this contrast suggests that Ludin uses his film as a space to express his unease at his own position and behavior in this antagonistic family scenario. In a second sequence with the poet, Rübner reads, from a book of his verse, a poem dedicated to his sister. He is filmed inside, then outside, in both cases against a backdrop of beautiful mountains. When he has finished, he closes the book with a small but decisive, audible gesture. From here Ludin cuts back to an interview with his sister in which they continue arguing in a claustrophobic domestic space. Rübner appears in *2 oder 3 Dinge* as the survivor poet who, according to Giorgio Agamben, bears witness to the Holocaust from the remnants of Auschwitz: "'what remains is what the poets found' (*Was bleibt, stiften die Dichter*)."[33] Ludin sees in Rübner someone who has made something profound as a result of his own "archive work," his work with the remnants of Auschwitz. His experience still haunts him, but Rübner has succeeded in producing something and in producing something that is finished, in the relative terms of being written, published, and bound in a book that can be closed. The Ludin family, by contrast, have failed miserably in their *Aufarbeitung*, and the late archive work that Malte Ludin initiates simply adds to, and exposes, the messy, unresolved situation they find themselves in. They may have access to a variety of material resources, but they make poor use of them.

Rübner also features in the closing section of the film, intercut with a sequence showing Ludin walking to his father's grave in Bratislava. As in the archive, Ludin is alone here, alone with the insights that Rübner has given him and the information that the documents have revealed to him. Along with the sound of birds we hear the same eerie soundtrack

heard in the archive, and the same strange noises that might be wind or breathing return in the graveyard. Ludin's subsequent archive work has not facilitated the process of reconsideration and perhaps of *Aufarbeitung* that he sought to encourage among his siblings and in himself. At most, poring over the family archive of photographs has permitted his siblings a renewed performance of selective memory work in the modes of nostalgia and disavowal. Ludin returns to the archive at this belated stage still harboring the hope of finding evidence to exonerate his father, but as he realizes his own attachment to an idealized father figure, the archive returns to haunt him, reminding him of the uncomfortable truths of his father's knowledge and actions. At the end of the film the grave and the archive are aligned; the graveyard suggests the rest (*Ruhe*) of the dead seemingly accorded to archived documents ("Hier ruht säuberlich dokumentiert meines Vaters Vergangenheit . . ."), but the film exposes both as sites of profound unrest or unease. In fact, they resound with uncanny echoes of the past. Both haunt Ludin, granting him neither rest nor resolution.

Winterkinder: Die schweigende Generation

Jens Schanze's *Winterkinder* bears many similarities to *2 oder 3 Dinge*, and the films have been analyzed together as examples of generational conflict produced by the legacy of National Socialism.[34] Although Schanze's film is about his grandfather rather than his father, it is also autobiographical and similarly concerned with the tension between family memory and historical facts. Indeed, as scholars note, both films seem to respond to Harald Welzer's work on family memory and German history, in which the sociologist argues that for many Germans an acceptance of wrongdoing at a national or collective level coexists with the firm belief that they have no personal connection to Nazi crimes: "Opa war kein Nazi" (Grandpa was not a Nazi).[35] Rather than make this explicit claim, Schanze instead poses the question "War Großvater ein Nazi?" (Was Grandfather a Nazi?) and embarks on a search for traces (*Spurensuche*) that might provide him with an answer.[36] Schanze does not know the details of his grandfather's Nazi past because of the veil of silence that surrounds his family. His mother, Antonie, has always been reluctant to talk of the past—in the course of the film it becomes apparent that she was traumatized by her own wartime experiences of flight and expulsion—and has immortalized her father as an incontrovertibly positive figure. He remains "unser guter Vater" (our good father). Like Ludin, Schanze turns to other sources, including official archives, to try and develop a fuller and more balanced picture of his grandfather. But unlike Ludin, he does not provoke defensive outbursts with his research. He chooses

not to antagonize his family, especially his mother, with further probing, a decision that was criticized by some reviewers, and he encounters renewed silent resistance.[37]

Schanze turns to official sources to access the information that his mother withholds or represses, but the archives prove no less silent and unyielding. He includes footage of his visits to three archival institutions: the State Library of Bavaria (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich; the National Socialist archive of the former GDR housed at a temporary location in Berlin-Brandenburg (since dispersed across various other archives including the German Federal Archives); and the German Federal Archives in Berlin. Schanze intersperses interviews with his family and footage from the journey he undertakes with his parents to Antonie's childhood home in Neurode (today Nova Ruda in Poland) with the scenes filmed at these three sites. Unlike Ludin, who uses such footage to contrast the information they hold with his family's refusal to acknowledge historical details, Schanze shows the similarities between the family and institutional scenes—they are all marked by stillness and reticence. Each sequence showing Schanze's research with these sources begins with an exterior shot of the respective archive. Schanze does not show official signage but instead adds simple text to give the name and location of each institution, and presents the architecture as austere and impenetrable. Shot from a low angle, Schanze's image of the Bavarian State Library shows an imposing, foreboding staircase. From the outside the National Socialist archive in Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten does not suggest an archive at all; it looks more like a rundown industrial building with an abandoned forecourt, closed shutters, two double doors, and three large bins in front. And the Federal Archives building, with its stained façade and lower windows covered by metal grilles, is similarly anonymous and uninviting.

Given these establishing shots, it comes as no surprise that Schanze's three visits are ultimately unrevealing. In Munich he finds articles in a Silesian local newspaper, *Die Grenzwacht*, containing reports of two speeches given by his grandfather at party events. In Brandenburg he finds his grandfather's speaker's permit (*Rednerausweis*), and in Berlin, his NSDAP membership card. The newspaper articles, read out by Schanze off-screen, seem to speak for themselves as provincial but politically charged reports, and give insight into his grandfather's role in and allegiance to the party, but the speaker's permit and membership card are strangely limited in what they can say about him. In both of these archives, Schanze is accompanied by a member of the staff, from whom he tries, without success, to elicit more information. In Brandenburg, the employee is very reluctant to help; he steps aside to avoid being in the shot and defers immediately to his colleague with more expertise (*Sachbearbeiter*), even though the significance of the permit is self-evident—Schanze proves as much by reading from it.

The staff member at the Federal Archives is more forthcoming, but can only confirm what the card states and that it forms part of a huge collection—the archive has 10 million of these cards. She can add nothing to the demonstrable fact that Schanze's grandfather was a party member.

In an interview Schanze explains that these three scenes show the full extent of the results of his archive work: "Alles was ich finden konnte in Archiven über die Gedanken oder Aktivitäten meines Großvaters für die nationalsozialistische Ideologie, das wird im Film erzählt. Es gibt . . . ich habe keine Belege dafür gefunden, dass er aktiv jemanden denunziert hätte oder an Gewaltverbrechen aktiv beteiligt gewesen ist" (Everything I was able to find in archives relating to my grandfather's thoughts and activities in support of National Socialist ideology is in the film. There's . . . I couldn't find any evidence that he actively denounced anyone, or that he was actively involved in violent crimes).[38] Schanze has been criticized for not going far enough in his investigation and thus making an ultimately apologist portrait of his grandfather.[39] Yet he is clearly concerned to show the difficulty of declaring him an unequivocal Nazi perpetrator given the elusive and reticent nature of family and official sources. He is reluctant to use the material available to him speculatively, and the rather laconic responses of the archivists to the material shown at least demonstrate how these institutions are treating resources objectively. Schanze's refusal to speculate can also be seen in the film's deleted scenes, one of which shows his visit with his parents to the so-called Projekt Riese (Project Giant), a tunnel system built by prisoners of the Groß Rosen camp near Neurode. The scene could have been an important one for Schanze because it shows his mother's distress and her need to know more about the suffering of the prisoners (she asks their guide how far they had to walk to the site and what kind of accommodation they found there). Her reaction might suggest feelings of guilt when faced with the possibility that her father was implicated in the exploitation of prisoners. However, Schanze does not include the scene in the final cut, because he could find no documentary evidence of his grandfather's involvement in the building of the tunnel.[40]

Schanze's inability to find evidence of his grandfather's active involvement in Nazi crimes means that his archive work fails to break through the silence that surrounds this figure and his family more generally. In his search for an answer to the question "War Großvater ein Nazi?" Schanze also grapples with what this label means and where culpability begins. He can find no evidence that his grandfather committed crimes against victims of National Socialism, but asks himself whether his grandfather's propagandistic oratory incited the hatred and violence that led to such crimes. Do his "Aktivitäten . . . für die nationalsozialistische Ideologie" (activities in support of National Socialist ideology) make him a perpetrator (*Täter*)? Schanze tries to understand the impact of his grandfather's

speech, but in the archives only silence remains. Indeed, the silence that dominates *Winterkinder* is not only a metaphor for and sign of repression in his family, it also contrasts with the speeches that are the only known act or deed (*Tat*) performed by his grandfather. However, the reports found in the archive fail to convey the full effects or impact of his speeches, which frustrates the director's *Spurensuche*. This failure contrasts with the film's opening. In what transpires to be the loudest, most aurally aggressive part of Schanze's subdued documentary, we hear an audio recording of Hitler addressing a group of Hitler Youth in 1938. This sound archive extract establishes a counterpoint to later archive scenes. Compared with Hitler's unmistakable voice, the words of "Parteigenosser Schülke" (party comrade Schülke, Schanze's grandfather) disappear in an indistinguishable mass of imitators who may or may not have had any influence with their speeches. The power of Hitler's voice reminds the audience of the contagious fanaticism that made his oration so dangerous, but without an audio recording of or more information about his grandfather's speeches, Schanze cannot establish their effects and thus any real sense of Schülke's culpability.

Crucially, the recording is of Hitler speaking to youths, who were also Schülke's audience. Schanze seeks to understand the effects of his grandfather's attempts at indoctrinating specifically young people. He reads the newspaper report summarizing the contents of the first speech over footage of him reading the report on a roll of microfiche at the State Library in Munich. We learn that a reading from *Mein Kampf* set the stage for Schülke's oratory, which was concerned with the German virtue of *Treue* (loyalty). Schanze cuts away from the official archive to close-ups of photographs from the family album showing Schülke with his children. Schanze's juxtaposition exposes the paradoxical coexistence and irreconcilability of these two images—the fervent Nazi orator and the loving father. We identify Antonie among her siblings all the more easily because the shot before the State Library sequence shows a photograph of her on a swing rigged up in the doorframe of the family home in Neurode. Despite the fervent report of the event provided in the newspaper, it is difficult to gauge the political influence of Schülke's words, but Schanze sees all too clearly how they have had a life-long effect on Schülke's daughter, whose loyalty to her Nazi father cannot be shaken. Antonie's embodiment of this "German virtue" shows the personal influence of Schülke words. Following this archive montage of official and family sources, Schanze cuts to a child's drawing of a *Kasperlhaus*, a reference to the *Kasperltheater* (traditional puppet theater) that Antonie remembers her father was so good at performing for her and her siblings. Lingering on this object, the director leaves his audience to question the power and influence his grandfather's performances had over those around him.

A second article reports another speech made by Schülke in 1940 on the topic "England und die Juden" (England and the Jews). This is perhaps the most incriminating piece of evidence Schanze finds in the archives, since it demonstrates his grandfather's anti-Semitism and his support for the war as a means of eradicating the Jewish population. According to the newspaper, he claimed "das scharfe Schwert der deutschen Wehrmacht würde dafür sorgen, dass in nächster Zeit diese Geißeln der gesamten Menschheit verschwänden" (the sharp sword of the German army will ensure that very soon this scourge on humanity disappears). Schanze reads this out over shots from the second archive sequence—the exterior of the former GDR archive of National Socialism and a handheld camera moving down the empty aisles flanked by documents and files. His juxtaposition suggests that the inflammatory content of the speech is destined to remain in the silent spaces of the archive, where one man's words are overwhelmed by the vast material amassed there. A member of staff comes into view and the camera follows him to a file containing Schülke's speaker's permit. Schanze shows the ambivalent connection between the speech and the certificate by both questioning the authority that gave license to his grandfather to make such toxic speeches and drawing attention to the power structures and hierarchies in which his grandfather was clearly trying to establish himself.

Schanze confronts his mother with the contents of the speech, although we are not shown the encounter, only the response. Antonie skirts round the issue of her father's anti-Semitism, saying that one (*man*) would like to believe that he respected people, whether or not they were Jewish. But then she concedes that the student fraternity he was part of in fact was formed to stop the increasing number of Jewish professors "taking over." As she speaks we see her husband through a window as he works outside. This rather banal image seems unrelated to the words we hear, Antonie's response to Schanze's archive work, but it represents her limited or controlling view. Unlike her son, she chooses not to stray outside the domestic spaces of family memory, and from this vantage point she tries to sanitize the harmful archive material brought to her by her son. Indeed, throughout the film Schanze shows how Antonie uses the family archive in the construction and preservation of her highly selective version of events. When Schanze organizes a reunion with her childhood friend, Antonie looks with interest at old photographs; she even asks for the magnifying glass so she can see details more clearly. As the film progresses, this gesture seems rather ironic. Antonie refuses to study more closely or read more carefully the material her son presents her with in order to encourage her rethinking of her father, but she looks with great attention and affection at objects that uphold her understanding of the past. Antonie's interactions with material memory—her attachment to a carefully curated family archive and her gentle but firm dismissal of

official sources—demonstrate what Kerstin Mueller-Dembling calls the "disconnect between knowledge and emotional remembering" that is so evident in both Schanze's and Ludin's films.[41]

Schanze includes a further report from *Die Grenzwacht*, which describes a memorial ceremony dedicated to the first fallen soldiers of the war, as well as the *Blutzeugen* (martyrs—the "fallen" Nazis) of the 1923 Munich Putsch. In his speech Schülke praises the worthy sacrifice of these young men and tells the assembled youth that they must now prepare themselves for the same honorable end. Their death, he says, is the only way to ensure Germany's future. Schanze reads these lines over the footage of the visit he makes with his parents to the site of the Groß Rosen concentration camp near Antonie's childhood home. On a bitterly cold day, the camera follows Schanze's parents as they walk through the snow, the words spoken by their son (after his grandfather) seeming to cling to their backs. As they move through the gates, above which stands the infamous slogan "Arbeit macht frei," into the desolate space beyond, the contrast between sound and image becomes overwhelmingly stark. Antonie wants to believe that her father was a decent man who thought the sacrifices of war worth making for the sake of the Führer, but she does not want to believe that he knew of the existence of the camps or the crimes of National Socialism. Schanze's juxtaposition emphasizes that such an easy separation is simply not feasible or credible, however, and even if she refuses to draw such conclusions from the documentary material he shows her, she must finally see that here of all places. Above all, the contrast between past words and present images exposes Schülke's speech as hollow and gullible—the future that awaited Germany is seen here in a devastating reversal of the glory promised: Germany's future has been realized as the legacy of its shameful past, memorialized at sites like these across Europe. Although Schanze's archive work has not revealed much that is conclusive, it affects his interaction with sites of collective and cultural memory such as this, connecting them to family memory and exposing the futility of Antonie's attempts to keep this a domestic affair.

Although the connection between the grandfather's "activities" in support of National Socialist ideology and the actions of the regime remains ultimately elusive, Schanze, like Ludin, understands that culpability is also determined by what Schülke knew about the crimes of National Socialism—specifically, what he knew of Groß Rosen and its satellite camp, and the extent to which his work as an engineer at the coal mines in Neurode was connected to the exploitation of prisoners. For Antonie, this could only be established by asking her parents, something she never did and now cannot. She thus uses unknowability to exculpate her father. This is precisely what her son does *not* do, and his archive work is a performance of this refusal. Although Schanze ultimately fails to get his mother rethink her image of her father, he witnesses a break in her resolute

commitment to a narrative of his ignorance and therefore innocence during their trip to Neurode. If the journey seems to unfold as a nostalgic rediscovery of *Heimat* that facilitates Antonie's continued disavowal of her family's Nazi past, their visit to Groß Rosen forces her to confront the possibility of a different story. The desolate space provides an important contrast with the abundant family photo albums through which Schanze has been leafing, and once again lays bare "the (unacknowledged) privileges enjoyed by the descendants of the perpetrator": here, almost nothing remains.[42] Schanze's mother, who has otherwise worked so hard to look away from uncomfortable facts, can look nowhere else and is visibly moved. It is she who points out the crematorium oven, causing the camera to follow her gaze and show the viewer the one unavoidable object in this otherwise desolate landscape.

Out of shot, Schanze begins a conversation with his mother. We learn that this is not her first visit to the camp. Following an excursion four years previously, she wrote to her son and said she wished she could have spoken to her parents. Recalling this letter, Schanze asks her why. With breaking voice, she says, "Ja, weil ich gerne gefragt hätte, ob sie gewusst haben, dass hier so ein Lager war" (Well, because I would have liked to ask if they knew that there was a camp like this here). Schanze then asks, "Was glaubst du?" (What do you think?). He exposes the tension between knowledge and conviction, between what his mother does or can know and what she would want to believe. Once again his mother retreats, if not into silence, then into a statement that commits her to silence: "Dazu kann ich nichts sagen" (I can't say anything about that). Yet the situation has caused her to let down her guard and she continues: "Natürlich möchte ich glauben, dass sie es nicht wussten, aber dazu kann ich nichts sagen, ich weiß es nicht" (Of course I want to believe that they didn't know anything, but I can't comment, I don't know). Schanze shows how, for his mother, the desire or need to believe in the ignorance of others has foreclosed the pursuit of information of the kind the director seeks. This is a key moment in the film, one which in its intensity might counter the claim that Schanze operates in exculpatory mode. In this topography of terror, Schanze's mother stands exposed and she is forced to acknowledge what she does not want to know. As her defense starts to crumble, Schanze renders it untenable as he speaks off-screen of a letter from his grandmother to her sister in which she writes about the camp and her anxiety that the thousands of Jews imprisoned there might be set free if it were to be hit by a bomb. He uses a passive formulation to introduce the letter—"Später findet sich ein Brief meiner Oma" (Sometime later a letter from my grandma is found)—so it is unclear who knew of its contents. Nevertheless, we see in the film how carefully Antonie has kept other family letters, and we know that she can scrutinize family photographs very closely. It seems that this crucial information was

secreted in the family archive after all, and even if Schanze fails to answer his own question about his grandfather's Nazi status fully or to change his mother's image of her father, he has shown how the very repository used in upholding a positive family narrative contains traces that undermine it.

At the end of *Winterkinder* Schanze stages a family portrait. Taken outside in the summer, it seems to show thawed family relations following the conversations he has initiated. Critics have questioned the image of restored harmony and closure that this scene suggests, but I think Schanze's gesture is far from consolatory.[43] The close-up shots of each family member's face reveal the feelings of discontent that have plagued the family for years and are all too apparent in Schanze's footage. Moreover, it shows their complicity in what is obviously a staging. As the contrast between the carefully compiled family albums and the sisters' struggles with their mother's silence suggest, Antonie is no stranger to such performances of family integrity.[44] What matters here is that Schanze *shows* the performance and, following the creation of his portrait of a troubled family, shows it for what it is. The staging is unconvincing and instead carries the nonverbal traces of what has gone unsaid, despite his attempts to initiate conversations. In the following scene Schanze shows his family as they watch the film he has made. Even now Antonie refuses to change her view, making only comments that skirt the issues that Schanze has tried to raise. By documenting the family's reactions (or failure to react) to his archive work and by including this in his film, Schanze shows the process by which a document can be viewed and its implications ignored—the habitual gesture performed by Antonie and repeated by the whole family on seeing the film. *Winterkinder* screens archive work and documents its limitations.

Schanze turns to the archive in the face of the silence that surrounds the family memory of his grandfather, but his work does not reveal incontrovertible evidence of Schülke's culpability. He tries to access his grandfather's own words, rather than Antonie's insistence on her "guter Vater," but finds that these are still mediated in different ways that obscure his intentions and motivations. The rather generic material he finds in the archives does not tell him anything about the effects of his grandfather's actions, which amount to oratory. Nevertheless, Schanze does what Antonie refuses to do: he seeks out and looks at the official sources relating to Schülke and shows, moreover, that her tightly controlled version of family memory has forced her to conceal particular information, such as the letter from her mother. In this sense, the archive work screened in *Winterkinder* is about bringing to light, through the medium of documentary, that which has been repressed. *Winterkinder* shows the increasing importance of younger generations countering selective family memory narratives with other, official sources, and where these also fail to provide a fuller account, of making these gaps and silences apparent.

For Schanze and his generation, archive work is about showing the workings of family and official archives, which might be repressive rather than revealing, and making these limitations an explicit part of the collective narratives of cultural memory.

Menschliches Versagen

Michael Verhoeven's 2008 documentary, *Menschliches Versagen*, traces the process of Aryanization—the confiscation of Jewish property by the state and the transfer of these assets to non-Jews—using archive material that has only recently been made available to researchers.[45] In an interview, Verhoeven explains that he became interested in the history of Aryanization after reading Goetz Aly's controversial book, *Hitlers Volksstaat* (published in English as *Hitler's Beneficiaries*, 2005), which argued that ordinary Germans profited from the bureaucratically executed processes of discrimination and persecution that in many cases were directly linked to deportation. He then heard about a traveling exhibition that had been organized by the historian Wolfgang Dreßen in 1998 and that drew on material documenting Aryanization.[46] Administered by regional finance offices, the transfer of property and assets to the state upon emigration or deportation was carefully documented in tax files (*Steuerakten*), but after the war access was restricted according to the Federal Archive Law (*Bundesarchivgesetz*). Falling under tax secrecy (*Steuergeheimnis*) laws specifically, the files were closed for eighty years, but in 2002—six years before the release of Verhoeven's film—this restriction was lifted.[47] The film draws on material from files found in Cologne and Dusseldorf, as well as in Munich, but Verhoeven is quick to show that gaining access to these resources, which are caught up in complicated memory politics, has been a difficult process. Aly, who appears in the film alongside other historians and archivists, notes that these are the last documents pertaining to National Socialism to be released by the federal states, hence the sudden scholarly interest in the topic of Aryanization, but that many such files were also systematically destroyed. For Verhoeven, access to the material was key: he emphasizes that physical contact with these documents made the subject of his documentary tangible.[48] Unsurprisingly, then, the files are a prominent visual feature of *Menschliches Versagen*. Verhoeven shows how Dreßen and others, for example, Bernhard Grau, Director of the Bavarian State Archive, have dealt and are dealing with this archival material. He also stages encounters between the documents and those with a personal connection to the property inventoried there. With its focus on this material, the film underscores the visual aspect of archive work as a means of *showing* the work of memory and of working through that, following the late change in the archive laws relating to these *Steuerakten*, still remains to be performed after all.

Menschliches Versagen begins with an exhumation. A large box covered with black cloth is carried up a staircase in what we later see is the Jewish Museum in Munich. The box appears as a coffin, but the upward trajectory suggests that it is not being buried, but rather unearthed. At the end of the film we discover how the box beneath the cloth relates to the history of Aryanization and to gestures of *Aufarbeitung*, remembering, and memorialization. But initially the sequence serves as a metaphor for the files that have come to light—albeit it in sporadic and opaque ways—and contain such important information about the processes and extent of expropriation in the Third Reich. The opening sequence also poses the question that concerns Verhoeven in his film more broadly: What should happen with this material where it is available? Indeed, if Verhoeven's title refers in the first instance to the failings of Germans who chose to profit from rather than resist the exploitation of their Jewish neighbors, it also gestures to the potential for further failing in the use of this legacy following its belated retrieval. This symbolic act of exhumation is followed by a sequence in which Dreßen explains how he managed to gain access to the files that formed the basis for his exhibition. In the late 1990s he made enquiries with the regional finance offices (*Oberfinanzdirektion*) in Cologne and in Dusseldorf. Both told him they had no relevant files, an answer that he thought plausible given wartime upheaval. He then received an anonymous call from the Cologne office telling him to persevere—there were indeed relevant files here. Through sheer persistence he was able to look at around 2,000 files, a fraction of what was held by the *Oberfinanzdirektion*, but enough to make his exhibition, which featured surreptitiously made copies of individual pages.

Dreßen's exhibition allowed the historian to show the contents of these files publicly at a time when access to them was still restricted. Almost a decade later, however, the *Oberfinanzdirektion* still seems rather impenetrable. Dreßen returns to the Cologne office to show Verhoeven the site of his earlier research and we meet two officials who struggle to say much to the historian as he explains—to them as much as to the camera—that the office is implicated in the history of persecution during the Third Reich and that he thinks this should at least be acknowledged on some kind of sign or plaque. Through a doorway, he then shows the camera the stacks filled with 20,000 files where he worked as he gathered material for the exhibition. In a different location, he goes on to show Verhoeven individual files using the color copies he had made and not the originals glimpsed in the *Oberfinanzdirektion*. Throughout the film, Verhoeven includes material from the exhibition, but this is seen in this storeroom and not on display. Where Dreßen is shown peeling back bubble wrap to reveal interesting details, Verhoeven suggests that access to these documents is still far from unimpeded.

As Bernhard Grau, director of the Bavarian State Archive in Munich explains, with the acquisition of *Steuerakten* a few years previously—following the change in the law in 2002—from the *Oberfinanzdirektion* in Munich, he and his colleagues face a huge challenge in processing the material. At the time of filming, they have managed to catalogue just a third of the files. Verhoeven's film suggests that, even in the cases where this work has been done, there are limits to how the documents can be used now. Where it is too late for the files to be used in compensating those immediately affected, Verhoeven connects now older relatives with the material that remains, filming them as they look at documents and respond to the information gathered there.[49] These scenes highlight the reduction of individual lives to impersonal inventories by contrasting the domestic space of the home with the bureaucratic space of the archive. The archive, as Derrida reminds us, is a house, or domicile (*arkheion*), but, Jean-François Lyotard emphasizes, this is not the same as the home, or *domus*.[50] Sven Spieker returns to Lyotard's distinction in his discussion of the bureaucratic archive and explains that the archive is the "counterplace" to the "*domus* as a home (a collection) of memories." Here, "the people, objects and animals that populate the *domus* are subject to cataloguing and inventory, and administration by letters and numbers." In the archive, "counting takes the place of recounting."[51] With his scenes of encounter between family members and the files of Aryanization, Verhoeven shows the archive as haunted house. Here we find the specter of the violated and decimated *domus*. The film's staging of archive work emphasizes the traumatic relation between these two spaces. For example, Verhoeven has relatives view and discuss copies of the files in their own homes, producing a striking contrast between the process of dispossession documented and the security of the contemporary domestic environment. Other relatives read original documents in the Bavarian State Archive in Munich, where the impersonal and imposing shelves of files that fill the screen contrast with the names of domestic objects being read out for the camera. These two contrasting scenes show how the home as *domus* opposes the archive as domicile: the inventory of domestic property is contingent on the destruction of the *domus*, and the *domus* is more than the sum of its enumerated parts left in the domicile of the archive.

Verhoeven attempts a belated reversal of the effects of what Lyotard calls "the anonymity of archives" by reconnecting the inventories of Aryanization with family memory.[52] This is an important intervention in several ways. First, it resists the idea that the documents might speak for themselves, especially where the statements they deliver might, without context, suggest that these were consensual processes. Second, it contrasts the reductive form of the list or inventory, which is only capable of enumeration (*zählen*), with the memories and family stories of relatives,

which represent the work of narrative (*erzählen*). Finally, it acknowledges the disparity in the way the process of Aryanization and the experience of dispossession have been documented—this meticulous archive does not give voice to the victims. At this late stage, it is not possible to redress this imbalance, but interviews with relatives both remind us of the absence of the victims themselves and offer a counterpoint to the bureaucratic language of the perpetrators.

Those with a connection to the victims of expropriation see the duplicity of these documents most clearly and know how to read the euphemistic language of the regime critically. Edgar Feuchtwanger, historian and nephew of the author Lion Feuchtwanger, explains how another uncle, Fritz, had to give up his property when he was imprisoned in Dachau. He has in front of him the document that records this process, signed by his uncle. He remarks wryly that, according to the official text, this happened by common consent ("einstimmig"). Verhoeven not only insists on critical engagement with the documents, he also lets the files function or even speak in unintended ways. Edgar Feuchtwanger remembers how his parents reacted to the Gestapo coming to seize his father's library. They went straight for the most beautiful and thus most valuable books, carrying them away in boxes in an act the Gestapo called "securing" (*sicherstellen*). Witnessing how her husband's carefully compiled and curated collection is forcibly removed, Edgar Feuchtwanger's mother allowed herself a biting remark: "Ach, Sie müssen sie sicherstellen" (Oh, you have to secure them). Her son remembers what was surely a dangerous but also defiant act as he examines the family file. This exchange was not recorded but, crucially, indicates how his mother refused to be silent, challenging instead the euphemistic language of Gestapo procedure. In a later sequence Edgar Feuchtwanger reads the inventory of possessions that his family had to submit to the authorities, but interrupts the list as he recalls the objects. The file triggers memories of the time, which supplement the impersonal lists. Verhoeven's camera focuses on Feuchtwanger's hands as he runs his finger down the list of objects, points at examples, then gestures freely in more elaborate descriptions of items. The human body acts as a medium, retrieving and animating objects that once had their place in his family. He stops at the entry for two candelabra to describe how his enraged father closed the suitcase in which they had been placed with the full force of his foot. The list merely documents what was handed over to the authorities; it does not explain that Ludwig Feuchtwanger resisted this appropriation in the only way he could, namely by destroying the objects to be taken from him forcibly. Edgar Feuchtwanger's recollections are crucial for showing the limits of the newly discovered archival evidence and the importance of narrative supplement.

These scenes also underscore the irreparable loss that the process of Aryanization brought about. Evoking Walter Benjamin's essay

"Unpacking My Library," Spieker notes, "Where nonarchival collections offer a dwelling place to their owners . . . archives rarely offer such shelter."[53] Edgar Feuchtwanger's description of the dismantling of his father's library similarly shows how the significance of domestic collections was eradicated through the Gestapo's violation of the family home. Verhoeven's film attempts, if not repair of, then a belated response to this damage, through the narratives of survivors that reassert the order of the home in the face of its destruction. When Edgar Feuchtwanger returns to his first home with his childhood friend Beate Green, Verhoeven's camera follows them as they recall the domestic layout, locating rooms and furniture in their mind's eye. Feuchtwanger and Green seem to reclaim the items destined for inventory in the Aryanization files and return them, through memory, to their rightful place. For the friends, these are vivid recollections, but for Verhoeven's audience it is harder to visualize since the home is now an office, and the places previously occupied by family bookcases are now occupied, ironically, by filing cabinets.

The absence of the domestic items once so carefully inventoried provokes Verhoeven to consider the opaque issue of the current whereabouts of the objects listed in the files. These reveal the extent and details of Aryanization, and also the fact that the archive is merely a bureaucratic trace of this process—*not* the things it lists. The *Steuerakten* were not accessible for six decades, and misappropriated Jewish property has remained hidden in non-Jewish homes. Both signal the repression—by the state and by ordinary people—of Aryanization, a reaction triggered not least by the realization that this process stood in a contiguous relationship to the destruction of Jews in the camps. Thus, the archive of Aryanization is a haunted house (*domicile*) in a double sense. Here we find not only the specter of the violated Jewish home (*domus*) but also that of the German home (*domus*) into which these possessions were absorbed, the *domus* where, since the end of the war, knowledge of their provenance has been increasingly repressed. Thus, this archive is constituted of complex relations of ownership that both determine and complicate how this resource might be used for contemporary memory work. The archive of Aryanization illustrates, in a very particular way, Spieker's claim that "archives do not simply reconnect us with what we have lost. Instead, they remind us . . . of what we have never possessed in the first place."[54] Spieker refers here to the belated nature of the encounter with archives—we come too late to reclaim that of which the archive is always only a trace—but in this context his statement resonates with the specific way in which the *Steuerakten* are always only a trace of misappropriation, and thus remind us of how those who took ownership of Jewish property never rightfully, in an ethical sense, possessed it. Moreover, the gap that opens up here between the objects once owned by Jewish citizens and the traces that remain is reinscribed in the fact that these traces belong, effectively, to the German

state, through its regional authorities and archives. In other words, a *German* archive bears witness to the loss of *Jewish* property, and since this is what remains for the work of remembering and commemorating this loss, the *German* archive now determines how this Jewish loss is remembered and commemorated.[55]

The repression of Aryanization through the secretion of both the possessions that were misappropriated and the documentary evidence of this process was possible in part because the rightful owners never returned to reclaim what was theirs. Verhoeven's film shows how the repressed returns after all with a rare example of vanished possessions reappearing and being recognized by their proper owner. Vera Treplin, a child survivor, recalls how, upon her arrival at Theresienstadt, she and her mother lost the trunk of clothes they had brought with them, which contained among other items a rabbit-fur coat. Verhoeven cuts from Treplin to footage of Dreßen showing documents that record the delivery to Germany of large quantities of clothes and linen from the East. In other words, these documents indicate the fate of the luggage taken from deportees like Treplin. In the camps, death is explicitly part of the logic of dispossession—these people will no longer need the things that Germans can still make use of. Treplin continues her story, explaining that several decades later, her son's friend came to play and she noticed that the little girl was wearing her coat ("Es war *mein* Mantel"). This is more than a strange incident; it is an uncanny accident or coincidence. Treplin was not supposed to survive, let alone recognize a particular item of the clothing taken from her against her will. The experience disturbed her greatly because it reminded her that she was not supposed to have a claim to either the coat or an existence in Germany. Treplin's encounter is uncanny—*unheimlich*, in Freud's sense—not simply because the repressed evidence of Aryanization has returned. It is uncanny because *she* has returned, where she was supposed to have disappeared, and this realization confronts her with her own survival—she is alive, but was supposed to be dead.

Treplin's encounter is also *unheimlich* because the coat—*her* coat—returns to *her home*, but, via the bureaucratically executed process of Aryanization, as the possession of another. If, according to Lyotard, the *domus* is the site of narrative forms of memory, Treplin can no longer connect to her unique memory of this garment in her home, because this has been overwritten by the nonnarrative mode of inventory and its subsequent repossession by its new owner. The uncanny return of the rabbit-fur coat shows, through a particular object, what Treplin has been made to feel more broadly as a survivor, namely, that the bureaucratic processes that were used against her in the Third Reich and the archives generated as a result have continued to determine and even legitimize her identity even after the end of the regime. In an additional scene included in the DVD extras, she explains how she found her own name on Yad Vashem's

memorial list of deceased victims. According to Verhoeven, this experience leaves her feeling that she is "immer noch von diesem Dritten Reich ausradiert" (still erased by this Third Reich).[56] The documentation showing that she was taken to Theresienstadt was accepted as evidence that she had died there, an assumption that was hard to contradict because that was where the bureaucratic evidence of her existence ended. She explains that in postwar Germany her physical presence was not enough for local authorities to acknowledge that she was alive after all. Although she was upset to discover her name among the dead listed by Yad Vashem, she has decided not to apply for a correction, since the person who had her name added has since died. Consequently it would fall to her to gather official documents to prove that she is actually alive, and she wonders if she would not be dead anyhow by the time she had done so.

This interview emphasizes the difficulties presented by the *Steuerakten* as a contemporary resource for remembering National Socialism. The dominant form of the inventory performs and reenacts in symbolic mode the stripping away of identity that Aryanization effected. Families and individuals were reduced to a set of generic items rather than the personal possessions that helped define their social identities. Treplin's insistence on "mein Mantel" to describe the coat she lost at Theresienstadt contrasts with the archives of Aryanization that merely inventory anonymous lost objects but that nevertheless remain as evidence of the process of dispossession. Moreover, the archive of Aryanization remains as the property of the state, but haunted by the lost property it documents. *Menschliches Versagen* shows how the fate of this German archive seems to lie, for now at least, in German hands. Verhoeven seems to agree with Dreßen's imperative that this material "muss an die Öffentlichkeit" (must be put in the public realm), but exactly how this might best be done and how it can be used without simply replicating and reaffirming the power structures underpinning the process of Aryanization are questions the film leaves open. Dreßen's exhibition, first shown in 1998, is a possible but ultimately limited answer. It was conceived as a traveling exhibition, but we see Dreßen not in a museum or exhibition space but in a storeroom where the components are kept. In order to show Verhoeven the different panels, the historian must peel away various layers of packaging. As mentioned earlier, this rather covert operation, as well as the camera's awkward attempts to negotiate Dreßen and his bubble wrap, emphasize the persistent difficulties in accessing this material. But Verhoeven also gives the impression that the public circulation of this material was rather temporary. Beyond this, we might also ask questions about its custody. Here, the male historian keeps the documents under his watchful eye until there is another opportunity to stage his own exhibition, and in the meantime offers glimpses to the male director. Juxtaposing Verhoeven's interviews with Dreßen and with Treplin, it seems that the return of the archive at

this late phase of memory work might mean the reinstatement of its patriarchival order at the exclusion of the female survivor.

Verhoeven's film emphasizes how the *Steuerakten* anonymize (Lyotard's term) those affected by Aryanization and he tries to reconnect the inventoried items to their owners, or at least remind us that they had owners, first through the interviews with relatives discussed above, and also through his focus on the identity cards (*Kennkarten*) issued to Jews in the Third Reich and filed with their resident's registration card. We are shown the *Kennkarten* by Andreas Heusler, a historian and archivist at the Munich City Archive, who explains that these 'duplicate' cards found their way into the archive by chance in the 1980s when colleagues at the local residents' registration office (*Einwohnermeldeamt*) discovered them. The *Kennkarten* were not restricted, like the *Steuerakten*, but they are an important pendant to these recently accessed files. They provide further evidence of racial policy that was, in Aly's words, "durchbürokratisiert" (wholly bureaucratized). These identification cards were only issued to Jews, and were printed with a large *J* in the background. A photograph was attached, fingerprints were taken, and the name entered included the generic marker of Jewish identity insisted on by the authorities, the names Israel for men and Sara for women. Verhoeven focuses on the passport-style photographs to remind us of the owners of Aryanized property, and to help tell their stories, which invariably ended in the camps. Nevertheless, like the *Steuerakten*, these cards document the abuses of the National Socialist regime. If the *Steuerakten* record the stripping of assets, the *Kennkarten* show the stripping of status. Where neither the possessions in question nor their owners remain, subsequent generations must turn to the traces of misappropriation and dehumanization, but it is difficult to use these resources for restitutive work that seeks to remember those affected as more than victims.

In another additional scene featured in the DVD extras, Verhoeven shows the launch of a new memorial book, compiled by Heusler, using the *Kennkarten* that feature frequently in the final cut.[57] This is another example of how the archive of National Socialism is used in the later work of commemoration, and, as Heusler explains, it is an especially valuable resource since it was found only accidentally and was supposed to be destroyed. Heusler's work now, as Verhoeven explains, is only possible because of the regime's "Lust ins Detail festzuhalten" (desire to hold on to everything in detail). This is, then, a deeply troubling part of the work of commemoration. It can be performed so accurately and systematically *because* of the hyperbureaucratized system that led these individuals to become the subject of subsequent commemoration. Heusler describes this relation as one of mirroring: "Das Gedenkbuch ist auch der Spiegel einer Bürokratie des Todes" (The Memorial Book also mirrors the bureaucracy of death). He suggests that the problematic

underpinnings of this memorial gesture are, or should be, visible as a kind of reflection in the Memorial Book itself. In this sense the book not only remembers (in the sense of *gedenken*) the lives contained in its pages, it also remembers (in the sense of *mahnen*) the mode in which some of this information has been recorded and mediated. With this observation Heusler demonstrates a more reflective stance vis-à-vis the archive than the more problematic position seen in relation to *Stolpersteine* (discussed in the previous chapter), where sources are not necessarily used for a critical mode of archive work.

Verhoeven concludes his film by returning to the coffinlike object that was exhumed at the beginning. We learn that it has not only a metaphorical but also a metonymic relationship to the *Steuerakten*. Beneath the cloth is a large trunk that was owned by Rosa Picard, a Jewish resident of Munich and was recently donated to the city's Jewish Museum by Hubert Engelbrecht. He explains that he used to play with the trunk, which was kept in the attic of his childhood home, but when he found a large pile of shares, he started to think that the trunk belonged to someone else. It seems Rosa Picard used the case to hide valuable items (jewelry or money) so she would not have to relinquish these to the authorities, but there is no trace of these things now. The case has a metonymic relationship to the files because it contained items that should, according to the prescriptions of the Third Reich, have been listed in these documents, and it is a metaphor for these files, because it has appeared after many decades, but without its contents (in the case of the files, the possessions that they list). Verhoeven's "exhumation" seems to direct our attention to the place of this legacy (the trunk/the files) in contemporary society. In the film's opening sequence, the trunk is not carried to the top of the flight of the stairs (the "daylight" in this metaphor); rather is taken off to the right (presumably to the exhibition space where it will be displayed, which we see at the end of the film). The film asks not only how these files should be made available to the public, but how they should be made available within the context, or as part, of memory culture. Verhoeven indicates how the trunk will go on show as part of an exhibition and the story of Rosa Picard will be told using the trunk as a prop.[58] But as her granddaughter Christiane, who has been invited to unveil the trunk, explores its empty interior, we are reminded that what was taken has not been returned. The files and the trunk testify to the process and details of misappropriation, but they do not reinstate these things. Verhoeven's film suggests that this material should be brought into dialogue with subsequent generations, and the losses that it traces integrated into the process of commemoration.

An additional scene featuring the museum's curator, Jutta Fleckstein, indicates how the postwar generation are turning to the museum as an institution of cultural memory, believing it to be the right place for

objects that have been in family possession but likely came from Jewish households.[59] Seemingly aware that their parents' generation failed in this regard, these individuals now want to do the right thing. Fleckstein is often asked for her input—would the object belong in a museum, could research be undertaken to find the rightful owners? Whichever way they might proceed, this is also a means of ensuring that the object does *not* end up back in their home ("ohne dass ich das in meinen eigenen Keller bringen muss"). On the one hand, Fleckstein describes the desire of individuals to see possessions that were never properly theirs in a place where they might serve a meaningful function (encouraging engagement with the past). On the other, it reveals a desire in this younger generation to purge their private spaces of the traces of the National Socialist past, and to see the public sites of collective and cultural memory affirmed as the "right place" for these traces. The process of Aryanization makes acute the implication of the private in the public and vice versa. These domestic objects do not really belong in a museum, they belong in the homes they came from, but it is not possible to return them now. And the fact that many items are still in homes they were not intended for reminds us both of the implication of individuals in the exploitation of Jewish citizens and of the continued repression of this fact. In this sense, the choice of Rosa Piccard's trunk as exhibition object puts the history of Aryanization on display, but also gestures towards the difficulty of its commemoration. The trunk itself is Rosa's possession, but it was also used to hold particularly valuable possessions that are not there. In other words, it shows what was lost as much as it shows what remains. Moreover, the trunk is not so much a domestic as a transitional object. It evokes journeys, undertaken both voluntarily and perhaps forcibly (and reminds us of the case that Vera Treplin lost at Theresienstadt), and it suggests the passage between the home and other spaces. The fact the trunk is housed not in the home (*domus*) but in another institution (*domicile*) reminds us of the passage between personal, domestic spaces and the anonymous space of the archive and what was lost in the process.

Hans Schleif: Eine Spurensuche

As well as being screened in the recent documentary films discussed earlier, archive work is also staged in recent plays that can be described as documentary in their approach and form. German documentary theater has its origins in the 1920s and the work of Erwin Piscator, and it reemerged as a major force of postwar theater, most notably in Peter Weiss's staging of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials, *Die Ermittlung* (*The Investigation*, 1965).[60] It has since returned to German stages, in productions in the 1990s and more recently in what Matthew Cornish has called the "documentary theatre of the digital age."[61] Research is

fundamental to these contemporary productions, and the onstage scrutiny of the documents sourced as a result of archival investigations is one of their key features.[62] Indeed, as Cornish notes, unlike postwar documentary theater, contemporary theater developed in documentary mode foregrounds "the representation and story-telling inherent in presenting historical documents."[63] The two examples of recent documentary theater discussed here can be read in this vein, as staging archive work in its relation to contemporary memory work. Both *Hans Schleif* (premiere 2010) and *Staatstheater Stolpersteine* (premiere 2015) are underpinned by archival research, which is then restaged as part of the performance and thus made available for audience scrutiny. In what follows I consider how they stage and reflect on archive work as part of their engagement with the legacy of National Socialism.

Hans Schleif stages archive work in order to tell the story of a renowned archaeologist and architect who also became a high-ranking SS official. Schleif was the grandfather of the actor Matthias Neukirch, who recounts his biography as Schleif's grandson. Neukirch appears alongside his director, Julian Klein, who remains onstage to guide and respond to the actor's narrative. The play, which premiered at the Deutsches Theater but has since been performed at a number of other European venues, requires audience members to join Klein and Neukirch onstage (regular seating is left deliberately empty). The audience members take their seats at tables arranged in horse-shoe formation, as if they were taking part in a seminar. Klein sits alongside the group, while Neukirch takes his place at a separate table at the front of the audience. From here he tells the story of his Nazi grandfather, a story that has been pieced together through archival research undertaken with Klein at the German Federal Archives as well as the Military Archive in Freiburg.[64] Neukirch relies on these sources because he never knew his grandfather. Indeed, as the play's subtitle indicates, *Hans Schleif* is *eine Spurensuche* (a search for traces). Referring to his grandfather's occupation, Neukirch performs this work in both archaeological and architectural modes, as both excavation and reconstruction.

Schleif's legacy is similar in many ways to that described in the films by Ludin and Schanze. Like Antonie Schanze, Edith Neukirch, Schleif's daughter by his first marriage and the mother of Matthias Neukirch, insists on upholding a positive image of her father, and the evidence presented to her by her son cannot shake her conviction that he was a good man; instead she refers him to the official papers certifying Schleif's denazification in 1953. Like Ludin and Schanze, Neukirch turns to the archive in the search for information that he knows his mother will not give him, and his play, like their films, stages archive work and its results as a means of showing the engagement of subsequent generations with a personal Nazi legacy. And like Ludin and Schanze, Klein and Neukirch

find that their research leaves many questions unanswered. As a play, however, *Hans Schleif* necessarily shows this work differently from the films. Subject to repeat performances, it emphasizes the ongoing nature of the research undertaken. New information is integrated as it emerges and Klein uses his presence onstage, where he interacts with Neukirch and makes notes, to resist the idea that the play is complete.[65] Unlike the films, which feature talking heads, *Hans Schleif* mediates all perspectives through the figures of Neukirch and Klein—we do not meet Edith Neukirch, for instance, although we do hear a recording of her voice. And while the films' camera work controls what we see of the evidence presented to family members, Neukirch circulates copies of documents taken from the archive, allowing the audience to engage with the material used in the play as evidence. Following the play, Neukirch and Klein invite audience members to stay and talk to them, and feedback is integrated, along with further research, into subsequent performances.

The tables around which the audience and actor sit in order to perform archive work are *Hans Schleif*'s central prop and structuring device. As Klein notes, the table used by Neukirch acts as a screen (*Projektionsfläche*), and is pivotal to the performance of a number of scenarios, such as Schleif's wedding and the legal process of denazification. It is also the place where "die Fakten landen" (the facts land) and through Neukirch's reenactment of his encounter with various archival sources is the stage for his archive work.[66] After several staged false starts, Neukirch begins the play by describing his encounter with the Federal Archives, a standard route for those wanting to know about family connections to National Socialism: "Wenn man also in Deutschland wissen will, ob jemand in der Familie Nazi war, kann man einfach ans Bundesarchiv schreiben" (So in Germany, if you want to know if anyone in your family was a Nazi, all you need to do is write to the Federal Archives).[67] Neukirch describes his visit to the imposing "Nazi-Bau" (Nazi building) in Berlin-Steglitz. He registers, then moves through to an old barracks erected by the US occupying troops, and enters the reading room, filled with people working at laptops. He requests the file for Hans Schleif, but is shocked to discover that there are in fact six. Neukirch has copies of the material with him onstage, which fill a number of lever-arch files. According to the rules of the archive, he is only allowed to take two to his desk, to avoid anything being lost or removed, and Neukirch similarly works onstage with two files.[68]

Despite the central presence and importance of archive materials onstage, *Hans Schleif* does not stage archive work as an encounter with incontrovertible fact or objective truth. On the contrary, Klein is insistent that theater implies fiction and that *Hans Schleif* is driven by the subjectivity of the audience and the actor; it demands imaginative work in order to ask different questions.[69] According to the director, theater has the

capacity "etwas an die Oberfläche und ins Bewusstsein zu bringen, was dort noch nicht vorgekommen ist, oder vielleicht noch nicht in genügender Weise" (to bring something to the surface and into consciousness, which hasn't appeared there before, or perhaps not yet to a sufficient degree).[70] *Hans Schleif* turns to a large extent on the question of how to tell this particular story. Neukirch makes several attempts to begin his narrative, each time giving the audience a potential title that they must imagine written in front of them.[71] This is a play as much about Schleif as it is about what it means to recover and reassemble the traces of his biography. The performance of this process as *theater* draws attention to the selectivity and constructedness of all narratives. As Klein explains, "Die Geschichte um Hans Schleif zeigt exemplarisch und sehr direkt, dass die größte Fiktion darin bestehen würde, daran zu glauben, dass die Fakten für sich alleine sprechen könnten" (The story of Hans Schleif demonstrates in exemplary and very direct fashion that the biggest fiction would be to believe that the facts speak for themselves).[72]

Neukirch turns to the archive to find out about his grandfather's Nazi past. Initially it seems Schleif had no particular political ambition, but became involved with the Nazis to further his career. He was persuaded to assist with Himmler's *Ahnenerbe* (a research organization that promoted pseudo-scientific ideas about German ancestry and racial superiority) and joined the SS in 1935. He took up a senior role at the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt) in 1943, and although the precise nature of his work remains unclear, the documents that remain show that he not only knew of the existence of the camps, he also oversaw their construction at a bureaucratic level. The encounter with this material, staged in *Hans Schleif*, thus also triggers a personal crisis for the grandson, which is explored through the play. *Hans Schleif* is structured through a number of attempted beginnings that indicate Neukirch's struggle to approach and tell this story. But this difficulty in beginning also indicates how, following Derrida, the archive is both a site of commencement and commandment.[73] Neukirch's attempts to begin his grandfather's story indicate his realization that this narrative is constrained by the "paternal and patriarchic" principle of the archive.[74] His grandfather's Nazi past is determined and controlled by a network of men, which also, through his mother's enthrallment to patriarchal figures, determines the story told and retold by Edith Neukirch. The play's first beginning stages a phone conversation in 1996 between Neukirch and a political scientist, Jörg Kammler, whose father, Hans Kammler, was Hans Schleif's superior at the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office. At the time Neukirch had been playing the part of an SS-officer in a production in Kassel and had been given Kammler's details. In the conversation Neukirch is uncertain and made to feel increasingly uneasy as he realizes that he does not really know much about his grandfather, or even why he

has called Kammler. With his belated questions, he appears naïve. Kammler, meanwhile is portrayed as an intimidating and rather impatient academic who has long since researched these questions and for whom access to all-important historical documents is naturally granted.[75]

Neukirch seems to resist beginning with the archive even as he wants to tell his grandfather's story. Klein, meanwhile, leads Neukirch firmly back to historical sources, insisting on doing the research that will provide the foundations of the play. Indeed, after Neukirch's initial digressions, Klein instructs him to begin: "Vielleicht fängst du jetzt auch mal *an*" (Perhaps now you can just *start*).[76] And beginning means, in this case, his visit to the Federal Archives. Neukirch resists the archive because it contains the information that will clarify, and thus bind him more closely to, his Nazi legacy. Presented with six times the amount of material relating to his grandfather than he was expected, he is afraid of what these documents will reveal: "Zum ersten Mal bekam ich Angst" (For the first time I was scared).[77] Klein, in his role as an advocate of the archive, encourages Neukirch to persevere with his research, as a result of which the grandson learns about his grandfather's position in the SS. As he realizes that Hans Schleif was involved with the construction of concentration camps, Neukirch is overwhelmed. He explains how he imagined a connection like this, but seeing the evidence before him was completely different. He would be happy to stop right here, but Klein insists that they must look for more, this time in the Military Archive in Freiburg.[78]

Neukirch's resistance has to do with the dominance of Hans Schleif as a patriarchal figure in his family. Turning to the archive reinforces the sense that the grandfather still exerts his control over subsequent generations, long after his death (Schleif killed himself, his second wife, and his two children, twins, at the end of the war). Moreover, it confronts Neukirch with overwhelming indications that he cannot free himself from his grandfather's legacy, which asserts itself in a series of uncanny returns and repetitions that connect the lives of the two men. Neukirch refers to the patriarchal dominance of Hans Schleif in his family on two occasions: first he describes him as "*die* Vaterfigur in der Familie" (*the* father figure of the family); then, asked why he is even digging up the past, he makes a Freudian slip, saying "weil er mein Vater ist" (because he's my father)—not grandfather. He corrects himself, but again adds that his grandfather figures overwhelmingly as a father figure. This leads him to suggest that the play is in fact about fathers ("Vielleicht geht's einfach nur um die Väter"), and that *this* would be a place to start ("Dann fangen wir bei den Vätern an"). A possible title for the play would be *Über Väter* (On Fathers), a play on words, since *Überväter* means superfathers.[79] *Hans Schleif* is a play about both father figures and the persistent presence of superior, dominant patriarchs in postmemorial narratives about the Third Reich. The archive, as the domicile of superior patriarchs who make and

uphold the law, figures as the site at which the grandson experiences this dominance as it impinges on him.

As Neukirch discovers Hans Schleif's interactions with various networks of men—from fervent Nazi academics, to Himmler and his cronies—he sees how they make themselves important by pedantically recording the smallest interactions. For instance, he quotes a note passed by his grandfather across a table during a meeting and expresses his bewilderment that this has been archived. He mocks the bureaucratic urges of these men which drive them to type everything they hear, whereby they make frequent use of the special *SS*-key found on official typewriters. But Neukirch's mix of irony and frustration cannot uphold adequate distance between him and these men, and the play slowly reveals the grandson's anxiety as his archive work confronts him with unwanted correspondences between him and his grandfather. Indeed, turning to the archive as objective historical resource suggests a distanced encounter with a relative he never met, but it in fact brings the relative closer than he would care to have him. Through performance, Neukirch shows how he starts to inhabit the role of his grandfather in spite of himself. We recall that his research and the play that performs this "begin" when Neukirch finds himself playing the role of an SS officer. When he first notes the dominance of his grandfather as a father figure, he recalls how his mother eagerly sought signs in her son that he would become like her father. Observing his childhood attempts at drawing she would remark that he was going to be an architect like his grandfather. And it seems that, despite his early rejection of his Nazi grandfather, Neukirch cannot tell his story without taking his place. The methods of excavation and reconstruction used both in research and in performing research not only reference Hans Schleif's professional background in archaeology and architecture, they also show Neukirch operating in the same modes, that is, following in his grandfather's footsteps.

In a particularly striking scene, Neukirch sketches the borders of Germany in 1939 on the stage floor using a piece of chalk. Moving around on his hands and knees, he evokes an archaeologist at a dig, but in creating a kind of visual, spatial model, he also suggests an architect. Moreover, in making this chalk sketch the grandson recreates a scene already described in the play in which the grandfather presents his research to a committee of academics. Reading the protocol of Hans Schleif's *Habilitationsprobevorlesung* (a teaching and research presentation given as part of obtaining a postdoctoral degree), which Neukirch discovered in the course of his research, the grandson says, "Sein lebendiger Vortrag bewies eine bemerkenswerte Fähigkeit *mit Hilfe von Kreideskizzen* anschaulich, klar und fesselnd auch nicht vorgebildeten Zuhörern schwierige Konstruktionen und architektonische Objekte und Situationen zu erläutern" (His lively presentation shows a remarkable ability to explain difficult

constructions and architectural objects and situations, even to listeners with no prerequisite knowledge, in a vivid, clear, and engaging manner *using chalk sketches*).[80] Like his grandfather before him, the grandson uses a chalk sketch to tell his story "in a vivid, clear, and engaging manner" to a lay audience. Neukirch even notes the ironic similarities between the two situations: he learns from the protocol that his grandfather's presentation addressed, from an architectural art historical perspective, the "Problem des antiken Theaters" (the problem of ancient theater); eighty years later he finds himself performing a play about the "Probleme eines antiken Bauforschers" (the problems of a classical architectural art historian).[81] In *Hans Schleif*, then, staging archive work means engaging in uncanny role-play with the other.

In her work on performance and the archive, Rebecca Schneider has argued that performance can reassert the body against the patriarchal logic of the archive, which presumes that flesh is given to disappearance while traces—documents and bones—remain. In fact, Schneider argues, the "trace-logic" of the archive "*produces*" loss in order to "regulate, maintain, institutionalize" this loss both in and as its remains.[82] The flesh of the living, live, performing body thus has the potential to resist the archive in its presumption that flesh "does not remain."[83] However, in this two-man show, the archive dominates even in the realm of performance. Indeed, *Hans Schleif* stages the archive in its overwhelmingly patriarchal logic, showing how, two generations later, family order is still determined by the law-of-the-father, or, to draw on Foucault's definition of the archive, by what the father has said and allows to be said in his name. This patriarchal dominance is also the reason why, in Derrida's reading of the archive, archival logic is both paternal *and* parricidal: "This archontic, that is, paternal and patriarchic, principle, only posited itself to repeat itself and returned to re-posit itself only in parricide. It amounts to repressed or suppressed parricide, in the name of the father as dead father."[84] The grandson finds himself subject to the archival principle that institutes and upholds the law-of-the-father as the dead father, a symbolic death always already desired by those of later generations who seek to deal with the legacy of National Socialism but who find themselves in a relation of belated obedience to past generations that is performed in their belated return to the archives to work through this past. For Hans Schleif's grandson, his grandfather's work for the pseudo-science of Himmler's *Ahnenerbe* returns in the *Erbschuld*, the guilt inherited by the descendants of Nazi perpetrators.[85] Despite the dominance of the patriarch through the institution of the archive, *Hans Schleif* represents some challenges to the repetition and return of unchanged traces through the staging of archive work. Schneider emphasizes the role of "body-to-body transmission" in asserting flesh where the archive determines that only traces remain. Her examples of this exchange include "attendance

to documents in the library (the physical acts of acquisition, the physical acts of reading, writing, educating)." "Body-to-body transmission" also includes the "performance of access" that occurs in archives: "one *performs* a mode of access in the archive."[86] By staging archive work, *Hans Schleif* performs the "physical acts" of working with archives, a performance undertaken not only by Neukirch but also by members of the audience as they peruse the copies that are circulated. In this way the documents are made to speak not only in the name-of-the-father, but with the addition of a new generation of voices, whose legacy these archive materials have become.

Stolpersteine Staatstheater

With *Stolpersteine Staatstheater*, Hans Werner Kroesinger, a director very much at the vanguard of contemporary documentary theater, has developed a piece of documentary theater also concerned with archive work. In contrast to *Hans Schleif*, *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* investigates institutional rather than personal connections to National Socialism. The play premiered in 2015 at the Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe to mark the city's three-hundredth anniversary. Against this celebratory backdrop, Kroesinger and his team decided to show a darker aspect of municipal history by documenting the rise of National Socialism in the city and the state theater's complicity in the Nazi regime. In addition, following what Thomas Irmer identifies as contemporary documentary theater's focus on "unresolved problems of the present," Kroesinger's production connects this history to resurgent nationalism and the growing presence of Pegida (and its local offshoot, Kargida) in the city.[87] Thus, *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* questions the role of cultural institutions in politically charged and divided times, be they historical or contemporary. In a short, provocative prologue, the play's four actors assert culture as a national affair, before inviting the audience to take their seats. A large part of the play then documents the state theater's *Gleichschaltung* following Hitler's accession to power in 1933, a process charted through individuals whose lives are affected by the theater's politics. *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* describes the professional rise and fall of Lily Jankelowitz, a singer and actor known as Lily Jank; Hermann Brand, also an actor; the prompter Emma Grandeit; and another actor, Paul Gemmeke. All four were dismissed from their posts at the theater, three because they were Jewish and Gemmeke because he was married to a Jewish woman. Jank later perished in Ravensbrück, Brand escaped to Switzerland, Gemmeke took his own life in 1937 (his wife died in Auschwitz), and Grandeit survived a period of detention in a concentration camp. In 2013, two *Stolpersteine* were laid in front of the theater to commemorate Jank and Gemmeke. As the play's title suggests and as discussed at the end of the section, Kroesinger refers to

Demnig's project and to these two stones in his play; in this way, *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* addresses not only the "unresolved problem" of nationalism but also the ways the Nazi past is remembered in a contemporary context.

Stolpersteine Staatstheater is premised on the archival research undertaken by Kroesinger and his team in the Generallandesarchiv, a department of the State Archive of Baden-Württemberg that is located in Karlsruhe. There they found various documents, largely contained in personnel files, relating to the theater and its employees such as contracts, professional and private correspondence, reviews, and fliers. This material is used in the production, making the play a piece of documentary theater. But more than this, Kroesinger stages the work of gathering and reviewing the documents; that is, he stages archive work as an act of contemporary memory work. Indeed, as one reviewer notes, the study of documents is the "Grundsituation der Inszenierung" (the basic situation of the production).[88]

When the audience is invited to take their seats following the prologue, they are led not to the stalls but to the stage; here stools have been set out around a long table that, seen from above, looks like half a swastika.[89] The four actors sit among the audience at the two ends of the table and at the middle. Documents and lever-arch files are spread out in front of them, and towards the back of the stage a document trolley stands laden with further files. Taking the personnel files of Jankelowitz, Brand, Grandeit, and Gemmeke in turn, the actors use the documents to present the theater employees' stories. Each actor takes on the role of one of these former employees, for example, reading the letters they wrote, while the others play their interlocutors. The actors also stage the presentation of the four biographies as archive work. They circulate documents around the table, take further material from the file trolley, decide among themselves which file they will read from next, and discuss the information in the texts, such as the wages paid to the former actors. As they work, the various documents are projected onto two large screens that flank the table. In this double mode, Kroesinger's actors perform both the production of the archive that remains and the archive work that remains to later generations in working through the National Socialist past.

As in *Hans Schleif*, the table onstage functions as a work surface or desk (*Arbeitstisch*) on which to stage archive work. In *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* the table is the site for the reenactment of unjust, discriminatory practices instigated by the regime (as the table's shape reminds us) and carried out through bureaucratic procedures. It is thus a site of power and violence, the *Gewalt* that the archive inscribes.[90] Kroesinger represents this through the performance of violent gestures around the table, often using the archive material gathered there. As well as lever-arch files, the actors use files secured with elastic fastenings, which they snap audibly.

The opening and closing of files in this emphatic way signal the opening and closing of the four cases. Moreover, reminiscent of a whip being cracked, this sound signals the violence that will be revealed in the bureaucratic exchanges contained within each file. It is followed by similar gestures that indicate an increase in the aggression being shown towards the employees: documents become missiles when Kroesinger's actors throw files across the long table to each other; when we hear of Hermann Brand coming under attack in his own home, the actor performing his phone call to the police is hit by balls of paper that another actor has made from the documents and launches in his direction across the table. The violence documented in the archive material is also expressed through the performance of professional correspondence. When the file for Paul Gemmeke is opened, the audience members are immediately confronted with the contents of a questionnaire designed to establish his racial purity. The documents are read out in the manner of an interrogation during which the questions are hurled at the actor playing Gemmeke with such force and speed that he is eventually unable to return his answers quickly enough and so is overwhelmed by his interrogators.

The *Gewalt* inscribed in and enacted through the archive relates in this institutional context to the power exerted by the state (here, the newly Nazified theater) over the individual. Kroesinger's production aims to expose this violent relationship through its documentation of individual lives using the archive material produced by the state. The pivotal role of the *Personalakte* (personnel file) throws this relationship into sharper relief. In the context of the Third Reich, the personnel file does more than document an employment history; it reveals how the regime was already having a devastating effect on people's lives, even before they were affected by more radical actions such as deportation. The powerlessness of the individual in the face of state violence is made especially apparent in the case of the state actor (*Staatsschauspieler*) Paul Gemmeke. In 1933, the theater's new general director, Himmighoffen, declares that the state theater will be run as a national theater and a people's theater. In this fervently nationalistic and propagandistic climate, Gemmeke, who is married to a Jewish woman, struggles to maintain his professional position. When his neighbor denounces him for declining to fly a swastika from his balcony, he comes under increasing scrutiny by the authorities. Gemmeke's downfall is documented in the letters exchanged by officials of the Reich, including Goebbels, and Himmighoffen. As these are read out, the state actor tries in vain to do his job. He is cast in a production of *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, by Heinrich von Kleist—Kleist features heavily on the program of the new *Nationaltheater*—and attempts to deliver the speech given by the Prince before his execution. A review of the production claims that the choice of this particular play is only right, given its clear message about the sovereignty of the state and the responsibility

of the individual to bow to its law. Onstage, however, we see how the actor Gemmeke is forced to submit to the will of the state. The actor playing Gemmeke tries repeatedly to deliver the Prince's speech on one of the smaller square units that makes up the large half-swastika whole, which has now become the stage. But with each attempt the table is thrust backwards by another of the actors, and Gemmeke falls repeatedly to his knees. Each of these violent gestures corresponds to the progressive undermining of Gemmeke's professional position as documented in the official correspondence about the state actor. And with each push, the table shifts closer to the file trolley, suggesting how Gemmeke's downfall is both inscribed in and enacted through the documents that remain.

In the gap that emerges as Gemmeke is literally, physically ousted from his position, the next phase of Kroesinger's production begins. The four actors each take an empty suitcase and stand in pairs with their backs to each other in the space that has now been produced in the half-swastika. They place the cases on the tables in front of them. Echoing the audible gesture of snapping files open and closed, they now open and shut the suitcases as they play the mnemonic game "Ich packe meinen Koffer . . ." (I'm packing my suitcase . . .). With this short sequence Kroesinger not only references forced exile and deportation under National Socialism, he also draws attention to the disparity between the excessive, pedantic bureaucratic traces that remain as evidence of the theater's *Gleichschaltung* and the lack or loss of the personal effects of the victims of this process (in this game the cases are empty, the contents merely a figment of the actors' imagination). Having packed, the actors stand ready with their suitcases by their sides, and an audio recording is heard giving cynical instructions about *Vermögensbeschlagnahme* (confiscation of assets), *Vermögenserklärung* (declaration of assets), and *Mitnahme von Zahlungsmitteln, Urkunden und Reisegepäck* (taking means of payment, documentation and luggage).[91] Along with the instructions, the actors' lists are also played back, generating a rising cacophony and a sense of confusion, which contrasts with the physical absence onstage of the personal possessions referred to in the recordings. The actors then place their suitcases on the table unit that has been removed from the larger configuration, and whose new proximity to the file trolley further emphasizes the contrast between the comprehensive institutional archive that remains and the absence of personal property. This contrast is marked more strongly still in the next sequence when the actor playing Gemmeke reads out letters sent from Theresienstadt by his wife, Martha, to her friends in Karlsruhe. This highly personal and emotional correspondence stands in stark opposition to the impersonal bureaucracy that has dominated the play so far, but it provides only a brief glimpse of Martha Gemmeke's situation. The last letter has been returned to sender because the intended recipient has been taken to Auschwitz.

Faced with the discrepancy between the archival material documenting the theater's *Gleichschaltung* and the lack of personal traces, the actors draw attention to Demnig's memorial stones: "Was bleibt ist ein Stolperstein vor diesem Theater" (What remains is a *Stolperstein* in front of this theater).[92] They recite the brief text found on each stone, indicating, on the one hand, how the memorials inscribe what the institutional record does not and would not want to include and, on the other, how they reduce the complex biographies staged. Kroesinger's reference to the two *Stolpersteine* as that which remain after all also allows him to turn to the question of how the archive might support the subsequent work of remembering (or, indeed, be strategically overlooked in the process of forgetting). For this final section of *Stolpersteine Staatstheater*, the audience are invited to move to their intended seats in front of the stage. An actor reads a letter sent by Emma Grandeit to the new general director in 1946 in which she requests his help with her reparation claim following twelve years of forced unemployment. She asks him directly if he can confirm her employment history because her enquiries with the theater have drawn a blank. She is told that all records have been destroyed and no one remembers her, but Grandeit feels sure that he will remember her, and encloses two references to help jog his memory. Grandeit's reliance on the memory of her senior colleague is necessitated by the willful way in which the material traces of her time at the theater are ignored. The theater's claim that no records exist rings particularly hollow in light of the hour that has just been spent scouring the significant archive material that is available to anyone willing to look for it. Following this example of amnesia or disavowal in the immediate postwar period, Kroesinger turns his attention to subsequent attitudes, staging an interview made in 1986 with a former theater employee. She is asked what she remembers of the time when her Jewish peers were dismissed and of the November Pogrom in Karlsruhe. She says that she is saddened by the events, which she sees as tragic, but her memories are those of a passive bystander, and she does not seem to reflect on her own actions (or inaction, as the case may be). Nor does she seem able to see how the unfair treatment of Jewish colleagues leaves its mark on the institution. For her—and this is the closing statement of *Stolpersteine Staatstheater*—the fact that certain people made it when others did not is ultimately a matter of luck. Between these interview statements, Kroesinger intersperses references to contemporary life in Karlsruhe. The actors offer personal reflections on and anecdotes about the *Stolpersteine* they encounter in the city, as well as the political attitudes of those around them. This leads to a brief eruption of right-wing xenophobic chants, which mark the presence of Pegida and Kargida. Here, memory work competes with its undoing by those who idealize the Nazi past.

While these anecdotes from 1946, 1983, and 2015 are recounted, the other actors tidy the files that have been used throughout the first

part of the production, until they have all been cleared from the tables (the stage direction: "Alle Akten müssen von den Tischen verschwunden sein").[93] The gradual disappearance of the archive material corresponds to the different attempts at and reflections on memory work and suggest how withdrawing the archive from circulation in the realm of collective and cultural memory leads to, or facilitates, forgetting. Yet *Stolpersteine Staatstheater* never stops staging archive work, and in this way it signals its interest in the archival turn of contemporary memory culture. Once the files have been cleared from the tables, the actors begin to busy themselves with the material again. They set out the documents in new configurations on three tables that have been rearranged from the different units that made up the half-swastika, and move the file trolley round the stage to add different material to the selection. These actions suggest that there is now more work than ever to be done with the archive, that is, with keeping the traces of the Nazi past in circulation. Kroesinger's title indicates how the implication of institutions such as the theater in the Nazi regime poses a stumbling block to their contemporary functioning if the past is ignored or forgotten. Archive work can allow for an albeit belated working through, and it can also initiate a belated phase of memory or memorial work, for example, through Demnig's memorial stones. Placed in front of the theater entrance, they also act as stumbling stones to remind contemporary visitors of the archive work that remains to be done by later generations as a form of memory work after all. In her short *Stolperstein*-monologue, one actor describes how she goes on cleaning sprees, polishing oxidized stones in the city, and wonders who will still do this work in seventy years' time. As she considers the future of this kind of memory work, the other actors, who busy themselves with files, freeze momentarily. With their brief cessation, archive work and memory work are shown as intimately connected and mutually dependent if the past is not to be forgotten in the future. The continuous archive work staged by the actors in Kroesinger's production reminds the audience of this imperative, and their renewed work with the documents onstage—the reconfiguration of the tables and the redistribution of the documents in the final section—encourages their participation in what might be called the play's epilogue. When the actors have finished their performance, the audience is invited back to the stage, which now functions as a reading room of sorts. Here they can peruse the documents sourced by Kroesinger and his team and used in the production. As well as historical material from the National Socialist period, readers also find material about Demnig's stones, such as the newspaper article written to mark twenty years of the project.[94] Thus Kroesinger's documentary theater presents not only archive work as the task that remains but also an archive that expands to document the memory work that is underpinned by the archive, his own production included.

The documentary projects just discussed screen and stage archive work as unfinished business. In their family-focused documentaries, Schanze, Ludin, and Klein and Neukirch turn to the documents relating to National Socialism in order to return to this past. However, they find that this archive does not serve to clarify questions of responsibility and culpability but functions as a site of repression, disavowal, and silencing. Moreover, their contemporary archive work is still limited in what it can reveal about the actions of still-dominant patriarchal figures. Indeed, the patriarchival logic of the archive constrains what can be said in the name of the (grand)father, yet exerts an inescapable influence over those born later. With their shift away from family legacies to the archives of Aryanization and institutional *Gleichschaltung*, respectively, Verhoeven and Kroesinger show how the traces of bureaucracy are traces of *Gewalt*, the power and violence inscribed in and through the archive. The belated return of and to these documents asks questions about the place of the archive of National Socialism in contemporary memory culture. For Verhoeven and Kroesinger, the performance of archive work by later generations serves to mediate between the realms of individual and collective memory and to reactivate the work of memory using sources that have been repressed. By staging archive work as part of a performance that includes his audience, Kroesinger also suggests that such a return to the documents relating to National Socialism is a necessary part of contemporary memory work, especially as this relates to the role of cultural institutions in politically volatile times.

4: Prose Narrative: Archive Work and Its Discontents

Reflecting the post-Wende "memory boom" that has shaped German culture since 1990, German literature in the Berlin Republic has focused on the memory of National Socialism and the Holocaust in ways that show the complexity and continued relevance of this legacy.[1] Literary texts narrate and perform memory work, which is often triggered by an encounter with archive material, be this an official document or a family photograph. It is almost a cliché of this genre that the discovery of a long-hidden artefact initiates a belated process of remembering.[2] Beyond the use of archive material as a narrative device, however, recent literary texts show how subsequent generations depend increasingly on the archive to engage with the legacy of National Socialism and the Holocaust. Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory" has become a crucial paradigm for understanding the particular preoccupation of recent German literature with material artefacts in its broader focus on this period of history. Hirsch developed her concept to describe how the second generation relates to the traumatic pasts of their parents; however, postmemory is applied increasingly to the engagement of subsequent generations and to those without family connection to the victims.[3] Indeed, postmemory as a means of connecting with a past not experienced directly is pivotal in responding to what Jennifer Kapczynski and Erin McGlothlin describe as "the enduring post-Holocaust condition of contemporary German culture."[4] According to Hirsch, postmemory turns on "leftovers, debris, single items," which are to be "collected and assembled" in order to generate narratives about a past previously unarticulated.[5] Thus, it relies on archive material. The archival turn that I am arguing for here can be understood in part as the pivotal gesture of postmemory. As mentioned in the introduction, Hirsch has even gone on to identify postmemory's own "archival turn," arguing that the "aesthetic and ethical practices of postmemory" are characterized by an "archival impulse."[6] Yet postmemory also stands in a certain opposition to the archive: Hirsch highlights the role of the family archive in connecting to the past, and the way in which the personal, intimate materials that this encompasses often act as "correctives or additions" to the insufficiencies of the formal archive.[7] A key element in Hirsch's concept, moreover—something that has been subject to criticism by other scholars—is "imaginative investment and creation,"

a dynamic that "repairs the cold impersonality" of official documents.[8] Where "dreams and desires can shape an alternate archive," the significance of the archive itself is displaced by these reparative and recuperative counter gestures.[9] As Kirsten Gwyer has argued, however, some postmemorial accounts resist this kind of narrative resolution, refusing to invest these "belated processes . . . with a retrospectively enlightened or even prophetic quality," and instead underline the problems of archive work.[10]

In this chapter I discuss four texts published in the 2010s that evidence an archival turn as part of their postmemorial narratives, but that go beyond this gesture to thematize the problematic status of both the archive and archive work. Ursula Krechel's *Landgericht* (State Justice, 2012), Iris Hanika's *Das Eigentliche* (The Essential, 2010), Katja Petrowskaja's *Vielleicht Esther* (*Maybe Esther*, 2014), and Per Leo's *Flut und Boden* (Flood and Soil, 2014) focus explicitly on the archive—its material, space, and structure—and on archive work in its political and ethical relation to memory work and *Erinnerungskultur*. The archive features in these texts as more than a mere prop of postmemory; it is a central trope. Shifting the narrative focus to the archive in this way, these texts pose the following questions: What are the implications of archive work for memory work? How does the memory-political dimension of the post-Holocaust archive affect the narration of the National Socialist past from this contemporary, which is to say, belated perspective? To what extent does the archive determine the future of *Erinnerungskultur*? Crucially, these texts do more than evoke the archive as either a metaphor for memory (what Andreas Huyssen has called "the memory archive") or as a metaphor for repression (where, according to Anne Fuchs, the unconscious figures as "a virtual archive of sorts").[11] They demonstrate, in the particular context of contemporary German memory culture, what Michael Sheringham has identified more broadly as a "recent fascination with the archive."[12] He argues that this is seen in literary texts "rang[ing] from literary biography seen as a form of archival journey, to fictions focused on archivists or biographers, to personal memoirs involving an individual's archival quest."[13] For Sheringham, the archive has become prominent in literature because traumatic events impact what we can access of the past, and because authors have responded to scholarly interrogation of the status of archives.[14] In the specific case of contemporary German literature about the National Socialist past and the Holocaust, the factors that Sheringham identifies relate to the question of what remains to subsequent generations and the ethically fraught status of the post-Holocaust archive. Sheringham's approach is particularly instructive here because he understands the "fascination with the archive" as a post-traumatic response: the archive, he notes, "can be shorthand for a certain encounter between subject and memory, where memory, even one's own, has become other."[15] In this way he underscores how archive work

reinscribes temporal and experiential distance; it reminds us of what we cannot know and do not possess.

A leading figure of the archival turn in recent German literature is undoubtedly W. G. Sebald. Libraries, museums, and other archival collections feature in his prose as the potential source of knowledge relating to past traumas, but, as Jonathan Long has shown, they also expose the workings of power, its uses and abuses throughout the history of modernity.[16] Moreover, these sites of memory have the potential to replicate in uncanny fashion the power structures they aim to remember or commemorate. For example, the eponymous protagonist of *Austerlitz* (2001) is overcome by the realization that the order of the museum at the site of the Theresienstadt ghetto reinscribes the administrative apparatus of the Third Reich.[17] Throwing into relief the return of what Richard Crownshaw calls "archival violence," Sebald thematizes precisely what it means to encounter the Holocaust archive as post-Holocaust archive, and his narrative evocation of the "archive fever" this triggers in his protagonist signals the difficulty of such an encounter.[18] The influence of Sebald's "literary historiographical" project can be seen in the narratives discussed here.[19] Like Sebald, the authors of these narratives not only draw on archival sources in the construction of their narratives but also, crucially, engage with them, as Lynn Wolff notes, "auf einer Metaebene" (on a meta-level).[20] In *Landgericht* Ursula Krechel makes her own archival research the basis for the story she tells. In this sense her novel is an example of Sheringham's "literary biography seen as a form of archival journey," and it also performs archive work as a gesture of restitution, rescuing the memory of her protagonist from oblivion.[21] Focusing on its protagonist's struggle for reparation in the postwar years, *Landgericht* also exposes how the archival logic of bureaucracy and the law is used against him both under and after National Socialism. What remains to Krechel is an archive of persecution in more than one sense. Iris Hanika's *Das Eigentliche*, a biting satire of contemporary memory culture and politics, falls into Sheringham's category of "fictions focused on archivists or biographers."[22] Through her archivist protagonist, Hanika critiques Germany's obsession with and crippling dependence on the Holocaust as the foundational narrative of her generation, and she exposes the archive as the primary means by which her contemporaries perpetuate a fantasized relationship to an experience that is not their own. Katja Petrowskaja's *Vielleicht Esther* and Per Leo's *Flut und Boden* are examples of what Sheringham describes as "personal memoirs involving an individual's archival quest."[23] Born in 1970 and 1972, respectively, both authors negotiate the implication of their family histories in the violent events of the Nazi era from a later perspective. While Petrowskaja stumbles repeatedly over the Holocaust archive and fails to move beyond this historical period, Leo satirizes the archive documenting his grandfather's Nazi career, exposing

it as a cliché of contemporary memory culture. He looks beyond the Nazi archive to the counterarchive left by his great-uncle in order to understand his grandfather in a broader historical and cultural context.

Landgericht

Ursula Krechel's *Landgericht* tells the story of Richard Kornitzer, a German Jewish judge who returns to Germany in 1948 after spending the war years in exile in Cuba. The novel describes Kornitzer's persecution in the Third Reich and his time abroad, but beginning with his return, focuses on his life in postwar Germany. The former judge struggles to regain his professional status and have his discriminatory treatment properly recognized or compensated. He finds that attitudes have not changed with the end of National Socialism. Nazi allegiances go unchallenged and he remains a "Fremdkörper" (foreign body) in Germany, despite his attempts to reintegrate himself.[24] In his struggle against repression and disavowal, Kornitzer figures as a proto–Fritz Bauer figure, but, acting before those around him are willing to listen to his story, he is destined to fail. He pursues his own case for reparations doggedly but dies in the process. *Landgericht* is the product of Krechel's extensive work in and with archives. The figure of Kornitzer is based on Robert Bernd Michaelis, a judge whose biography Krechel discovered while doing research for her previous novel about German Jewish exiles, *Shanghai fern von wo* (Shanghai, Far from Everywhere, 2008). Michaelis had written a legal report for a reparation application that made a deep impression on Krechel and she subsequently made enquiries about its author. She was able to locate his personnel record (*Personalakte*) at the State Archive for Rheinland Palatinate, and she also looked at professional records of those who had had careers in the Third Reich who continued with their work uninterrupted in the Federal Republic. In addition, Krechel was able to find Kornitzer's own reparation file at the State Archive in Berlin, which she describes as the "spiegelbildliche Akte" (the mirror-image file) of his personnel record.[25] Since Michaelis had been dead for over thirty years, Krechel was allowed both to view and quote from the material—her text integrates excerpts, indicated in italics. *Landgericht* uses the formal language of the archive to emphasize the impersonal and inflexible structures to which its protagonist is subject.

Landgericht is not only a story *from* the archives, however; it is also *about* how these archives came into being and came to remain as a source on which Krechel bases her fictional text. Kornitzer's story has a particularly significant relation to the archive, because of the connection between the archive and the law. As Derrida explains, the archive, etymologically, indicates the place "where men and gods *command*, *there* where authority, social order are exercised."[26] The archive is thus the site of "violence of a

power (*Gewalt*) which at once posits and conserves the law."[27] As a representative of the law, Kornitzer exercises this power: he has the "publicly recognized authority" to "interpret the archives."[28] But under National Socialism he also became subject to the power of the law (as *Gewalt*). Despite his experiences of persecution and discrimination, he returns to Germany believing that his conception of the law as the objective and apolitical force of justice will have been restored, but is troubled to find that this is not the case. As Krechel says of her protagonist: "Der Richter steht für eine Gewalt des Staates, und wird von der Gewalt des Staates hinausgetrieben und hat mit denselben Leuten, die ihn hinausgetrieben haben, später wieder zu tun" (The judge represents a state power, but is driven out by the power of the state and later has to deal with the same people who drove him out).[29]

In her study of files as legal technology, Cornelia Vismann writes that the law is "not an instrument or medium for the arbitration of conflicts but . . . a repository of forms of authoritarian and administrative acts."[30] It is precisely this distinction that Kornitzer refuses to accept, however, persisting in his belief that the law can be used objectively in the pursuit of justice. Dedicated to civil law, Kornitzer admits that he was never interested in politics, but his experiences in and after the Third Reich expose and subject him to the political aspect of the law.[31] Kornitzer works with the material that will come to be housed in archives such as those used by Krechel; he works with files (*Aktenarbeit*). As Vismann explains, files "lay the groundwork for the validity of the law"; they "act" in the modes of "*transmission* and *storage*."[32] However, unlike the archive work of Fritz Bauer, which in the recent films discussed in the introduction is inscribed as a founding narrative of *Aufarbeitung*, Kornitzer's work fails to begin the process of working through the National Socialist past. Rather, his insistence on the sanctity of the law only confronts him with its instrumentalization, past and present, by those who want to see him stripped of his social and professional status. For the state Kornitzer was supposed to have been a closed case (*ad acta gelegt*), but he returns to Germany and wants justice. To achieve this he inspects files that were supposed to have been laid to rest. In challenging the archive as a site of repression, Kornitzer is made to feel the full force of the law that it institutes and conserves. Krechel turns to the historical archive of National Socialism and the postwar years to write the story of her protagonist's work with and experience of the still-political archive of that time (what Assmann calls *Herrschaftswissen*).[33] She shows how this archive is used against him to ensure his downfall, even after he survives the first attempt to force him from society. For this reason his reparation file is the mirror image of the personnel record that is instrumental in building up a case against him. Although Kornitzer puts this file together himself to make a case to prove his mistreatment, it mirrors the gestures recorded in the file controlled by

his superiors and shows his complete subjugation to those in power, even as he tries to call on the law in his defense. In this way, Krechel notes, "Der Anspruchsberechtigte wurde zum Bittsteller degradiert" (The rightful claimant was forced to become a supplicant).[34]

Kornitzer returns to Germany hoping to rebuild both his personal and professional life. An ambitious man, he had risen quickly in the German judiciary but was forced into retirement in 1933 and separated from his wife and children. With the decrees that discriminate against Jewish citizens, Kornitzer comes to feel the full force of the law, which is described in terms of physical violence: "Keulenschläge" (*LG*, 248; blows from a cudgel). Once back in Germany he starts to see the lasting damage caused to him through National Socialist rule, which used legally enforced bureaucratic measures to deny him agency, strip him of his professional status, and destroy his existence: "Er hatte seit zehn Jahren nichts mehr erwählt, er war eingeordnet, aufgelistet worden. . . . Hätte man nicht den ihm zudiktierten Namen Richard Israel Kornitzer (der Dr. jur. kam nicht mehr vor) in Listen eingetragen mitsamt einer Adresse, einer Steuernummer, hätte man nicht seine wirtschaftliche Existenz vernichtet" (*LG*, 39; For ten years he hadn't chosen anything, he had been classified and registered. . . . If the name given to him, Richard Israel Kornitzer (his professional title was no longer used) hadn't been included in lists along with an address and tax number, his financial existence would not have been destroyed). Kornitzer struggles to rebuild his life because the bureaucratic traces that would legitimize his place in postwar Germany cannot be sufficiently quantified or enumerated. He has been reduced to a "Rumpfexistenz" (*LG*, 40; rump existence). Kornitzer was granted passage back to Germany because he was deemed to have an important contribution to make to rebuilding democracy; indeed, this remains Kornitzer's strongest wish. However, still stripped of his German citizenship, he has no status in his own country and no right to work. He tries in vain to explain to the temporary authorities that his lack of citizenship is only a remnant of "der früheren nationalsozialistischen Maßnahmen" (*LG*, 38; the earlier National Socialist measures). Much to his frustration, he sees how the law of National Socialism still dominates despite the end of the regime.

Despite these initial bureaucratic setbacks, Kornitzer is invited to join a denazification committee. He accepts the post, but by this time sanctions have already been replaced with mere categories that reduce the process to a routine exercise: "Es war ein Abhaken, ein schematisches Sortieren, wie Eier oder Äpfel in Körbe sortiert werden, es kam nicht auf das Urteil an, es kam auf die Kategorie an, auf die sich die Ausschußmitglieder einigten" (*LG*, 56–57; It was a matter of ticking a box, of schematic sorting, just as eggs or apples are sorted into baskets, it had nothing to do with the judgment, it was about the category upon which the members of the committee agreed). And, in what Kornitzer discovers

is a "Mitläuferfabrik" (*LG*, 57; factory of Nazi followers), the question of which box gets ticked is hardly a matter of objective evaluation. When he is offered a post at the district court in Mainz he gladly accepts it. He is keen to begin the slow process of restoring his professional status and in 1949 is made a senior judge, but he cannot forget that he was ousted from his post or fail to notice that his profession is filled with men who have continued to progress regardless of their Nazi affiliations. He would rather have continued his work in the court dealing with compensation, but is refused this privilege as *he* is deemed biased (*LG*, 174). Kornitzer wants to believe that he can use the law as an "instrument" to make judgments about individuals' involvement with the Nazi regime, but he finds that it is being used to perform little more than "administrative acts" that hold no one to account.[35] It dawns on him that his commission never dealt with cases from the judiciary and he comes to see why. His colleagues are particularly adept at evading denazification and its consequences, making use of the legal medium of files (in the modes of "transmission and storage") to do away with the proceedings.[36] For example, Judge Beck escapes penalty because the proposed measures only take effect through their publication and the details were never made known. This might have been an oversight, but, the narrator suspects, it is more likely a strategy to protect Beck, a strategy based on an old jurists' saying: "*Quod non est in actis, non est in mundo*, sagen die klassisch gebildeten Juristen. Was nicht in den Akten steht, das gibt's auch nicht" (*LG*, 78; As the classically trained lawyers say, *quod non est in actis, non est in mundo*. If it's not on file, it doesn't exist). In its storage function, the archive is not only a site of repression, it is used by Kornitzer's colleagues as a means of erasure.

In the district court Kornitzer no longer deals directly or explicitly with matters relating to the National Socialist past; this topic is very much taboo. However, he tries to hold on to what he still believes to be the constant force of the law: "Er stürzte sich in die Arbeit wie ein Berserker. . . . Ja, er stürzte sich. Alles diente der Rechtsfindung. . . . Die Arbeit erdete" (*LG* 172; He threw himself into his work like a madman. . . . It was all in the search for justice. . . . Work grounded him). After the abuses he has witnessed, the reinstated judge wants to see the law applied fairly and objectively again. Kornitzer's work has nothing to do with *Aufarbeitung*; it is about restoring the status quo and thus a kind of repression that responds to the repression of those around him: "Also arbeitete er, vertiefte sich in Akten, bereitete Urteile vor und formulierte sie. Rechtsstaatlichkeit, rechtsstaatliche Normalität, daran war nicht zu zweifeln" (*LG*, 175; And so he worked, buried himself in files, prepared and wrote verdicts. The rule of law, constitutional normality, there was nothing to doubt about that). Kornitzer's attempts to bury himself in his work and to reassure himself of the sanctity of law after all are

undermined by the abuses he sees in the case of Philip Auerbach. Auerbach was a camp survivor who became a high-profile figure in securing reparations for other victims. In 1951 he was put on trial for fraud and embezzlement before a court of judges all of whom had affiliations to the Nazi regime. He took his own life before the verdict was given. In 1954 he was cleared of all charges posthumously. Kornitzer is angered by the inflammatory, anti-Semitic press reports on the case, but he is even more shocked to find a defamatory reference to Auerbach in an academic publication about the process of denazification (*LG*, 198). Kornitzer not only despairs at the failure of the justice system that he believes follows the law objectively, he also feels guilty that he has channeled his energies into legal work unrelated to Nazi persecution: "Kornitzer hätte gleich nach seiner Rückkehr aus der Emigration nach München fahren und Auerbach seine Arbeitskraft anbieten sollen. . . . Aber seine Hände waren ihm schwer geworden, zögerlich, seine Hände blätterten durch Akten" (*LG*, 190; Kornitzer should have gone to Munich right after his return from emigration and offered Auerbach manpower. . . . But his hands had become heavy, hesitant, his hands leafed through files). His confrontation with the Auerbach case—something that affects him personally, professionally, and politically—makes him realize that the law is not neutral in its relation to the past. Rather "*Dem Recht wohnt beides inne: das Erinnern und das Vergessen*" (*LG*, 190, emphasis in original; Both remembering and forgetting inhere in the law).

Not until 1953 are federal measures introduced for claiming reparations. The Bundesergänzungsgesetz is supposed to provide a proper, centralized framework, but in reality fails to operate for the benefit of claimants, instead offering pretexts for claims to be rejected (*LG*, 400). Kornitzer finds the legal framework insufficient and turns down the invitation to preside over a reparations court—precisely the opportunity he had sought at the time of his appointment in Mainz—"aus Gewissensgründen" (*LG*, 399; for reasons of conscience). He nevertheless begins work on his own application. The process is pedantically bureaucratic, and since the burden of proof (*Beweislast*) is on the victims, it is left entirely to Kornitzer: "Für jeden Anspruch mußte ein gesonderter Akt angelegt werden: für die beruflichen Schäden, für die gesundheitlichen Schäden, für die materiellen Verluste" (*LG*, 401; An individual file had to be created for every claim: for professional damages, for damages to health, for material losses). This neat division, the narrator notes, does not allow claimants to register the personal, emotional losses that resist categorization. Moreover, the division of the claim into different files ensures the fragmentation of the individual.[37] Whereas Kornitzer's professional work with files had helped distract him from the persistent injustices of the Nazi regime, his personal work with this kind of material is an overwhelming reminder: "Rückerstattungssache Kornitzer ./. Deutsches

Reich hießen solche Akten, sie ließen den Kläger schlaflos und bereiteten Kopfschmerzen untertags" (*LG*, 402; These files were called "The Matter of Kornitzer's Reparation vs. German Reich"; they left the claimant sleepless and caused headaches during the day). Kornitzer's obsessive work on his case makes him ill and overweight: "Ja, Kornitzer geht zu wenig, bewegt die Akten, aber nicht seinen Körper, er wird stark" (*LG*, 416; Yes, Kornitzer doesn't walk enough, moves files but not his body, he becomes heavy). He is signed off work and his colleagues use this opportunity to gather evidence against him. His doctor's note is added to his personnel record, and another note is made claiming that Kornitzer feels disadvantaged and is having personal issues with his colleagues. A note is also made of his increasing weight. Kornitzer protests that this kind of remark does not belong in his file, but his request to have it removed is turned down.

Tensions at the court reach a climax in September 1956. A new president of the court is to be appointed and when the post is given to a Protestant colleague, Kornitzer believes he has been deliberately overlooked, despite his experience and qualifications. In protest, Kornitzer uses a session of court, to which he has invited a colleague and a journalist, to recite, without further comment, two extracts from the Basic Law: article 3, paragraph 3 states that no one should be discriminated against on the basis of sex, parentage, race, language, country of origin, faith or religious or political views; article 97, paragraph 1 states that judges are independent and subject only to the law. After years of silently immersing himself in his legal work, Kornitzer uses the court to perform an act of resistance. Sensing his discontent, his superiors quickly work to suppress his act (*Tat*) by using the mechanisms of the law to put this on the record as wrongdoing (*die Tat*) and to make of Kornitzer a perpetrator (*Täter*). Statements are hastily taken and sent the way of bureaucratic traffic, that is, filed away (ad acta *gelegt*), so that the matter can be forgotten: "Und es kam darauf an, aus einem Akt eine Akte zu fabrizieren, die an das Ministerium der Justiz gesandt werden könnte, sogleich am 21. September. . . . Das ist der Dienstweg, . . . Aus einem Akt wird eine Akte, aus einem Handelnden ein Täter. (Opfer?) Es ist eine systematische Arbeit der Zermalmung der Erinnerungsfähigkeit, ein Anschwellen des Papierberges, mit dem die verschiedensten Personen befaßt waren" (*LG*, 437; It was about using the act to create a file that could be sent to the Ministry of Justice, already on September 21. . . . That is the official route. . . . An act is made into a file, an actor is made into a perpetrator. (Victim?) It is a systematic task of grinding down the ability to remember, the growth of a pile of paper, on which all kinds of people can be recorded). Kornitzer wanted his act or deed (*Tat*) to reassert the law in the face of those who abuse their power for their own advantage and for his exclusion; instead it shows him that he is hamstrung by his insistence on his own conception of justice (*LG*, 450).

While he becomes increasingly isolated from the court in Mainz, he gains recognition outside Germany. Kornitzer is asked to be Vice President of the Hague Academy for International Law and his colleagues there are keen to know about the preparations for the pending Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials. Despite the limited domestic press coverage, Kornitzer is able to tell them about the man at the center of the trials, and it seems he admires Bauer, "ein Mann, von dem noch viel zu erwarten war, betonte er" (*LG*, 454; a man from whom we can still expect great things, he emphasized). On the one hand, Bauer is a figure of hope for Kornitzer, but on the other, a reminder of his own failure to act. Kornitzer refrains from quoting in front of his Hague colleagues Bauer's now-famous statement: "Wenn ich mein Dienstzimmer verlasse, betrete ich feindliches Ausland" (*LG*, 454; When I leave my office, I enter hostile territory). Even though this resonates with Kornitzer's experience, he does not want the message that reaches the outside world about Germany's reckoning with its past to be compromised by information about persistent Nazi attitudes. He perhaps omits it from his conversations also because it reminds him that while Bauer has entered this hostile territory, he has confined himself to his spaces of work as a way of avoiding conflict with the outside world.

The hostility of members of the court towards Kornitzer's act leads him to take a leave of absence. His health continues to deteriorate and he continues in his dogged pursuit of justice with his own reparations claim. The senior judge is reduced to nothing more than "ein Antragsteller" (*LG*, 460; a claimant). Addressed in this way, Kornitzer is told that his application is being rejected because he has already been rehabilitated to his current post in a gesture of recompense. The persecution he experienced under the Nazi regime continues in the refusal of putatively different authorities to acknowledge this injustice: "Aus der Verfolgung seiner Person ist eine Verfolgung seiner Ansprüche geworden" (*LG*, 465; Where once *he* was persecuted, now his claims are being targeted). His colleagues, meanwhile, continue to make notes in his personnel record questioning his professional ability. Eventually he reaches an agreement whereby he is elected president of the Senate but goes into retirement the next day. This is the price senior figures are willing to pay to be rid of this "unbequemen Mann" (*LG*, 473; difficult man). He has at least secured a financial benefit (a higher salary), but the judge has nevertheless been forced to leave his profession a second time. The anti-Semitic laws of the Third Reich may no longer be in force, but Kornitzer still feels their effects. Kornitzer sets about trying to reclaim the money lost through the financial levies imposed on Jewish citizens under National Socialism (*Judenvermögensabgabe* and the *Reichsfluchtsteuer*) and is reminded of how the tax authorities meted out violence through such bureaucratic processes: "Die Finanzbehörden sind der lange Arm des Faschismus. Die

trappelnden Stiefel, das Gegröle, das pathetische Geschrei, die Verhaftungen, die Schmutzarbeit auf der einen Seite: dagegen die Formulare, die Drucksachen, die Bescheide, die rastergenaue Erfassung aller Juden" (*LG*, 476; The tax authorities are the long arm of fascism. The clattering boots, the bawling, the impassioned cheering, the arrests, the dirty work on one side: on the other, the forms, the printed papers, the decrees, the registration of all Jews precisely following a formula). The bureaucratic work of these offices might not be physically brutal like the attacks carried out by other representatives of the regime, but is still intent on destroying lives: "Den Finanzbehörden oblag es, die bürgerliche Existenz der Verfolgten auszulöschen" (*LG*, 476; It lay with the tax authorities to erase the bourgeois existence of the persecuted)."

Kornitzer is frustrated by the rigid bureaucracy that requires him to provide detailed evidence in support of his claim. He oscillates between conformity and resistance. On the one hand, in his desperation to have his case taken seriously, he follows this requirement and even begins to replicate the structures being imposed on him, spending his sleepless nights making more lists (*LG*, 476). On the other, he mocks the petty bureaucracy that is at odds with the brute violence he seeks to have recognized. When Kornitzer receives a letter telling him that the claim he has made for damages sustained by his wife when the Gestapo searched their flat cannot be processed without evidence, he responds that no receipt was issued (*LG*, 478). While the state remains impervious to the efforts of the individual, Kornitzer's anger grows. He was subject to the violence of National Socialism through the force of law and bureaucracy. In his pursuit of justice, Kornitzer tries to command the power of the law, but as he falls victim to the violence of the state once again, he loses control and becomes violent himself. Kornitzer responds to each rejection with more paperwork in an attempt to keep the case open. But these are angry outbursts: "Am nächsten Tag hämmert er in die Schreibmaschine (*LG*, 479; The next day he hammers away at the typewriter). When the frustration of remote correspondence becomes too much, he even seeks violent confrontation: "Er will nach Berlin reisen, er will auf den Tisch hauen (welchen Tisch?), er will sein Recht, jetzt sogleich, und zwar zur Gänze" (*LG*, 479; He wants to go to Berlin, he wants to bang on the desk [which desk?], he wants what's due him, right now, and in full). In the final, most obsessive phase of his fight for compensation, Krechel's protagonist appears at his most ambivalent: in his fixation on his own case he has forgotten the injustice meted out to others, an oversight at odds with his professional self, and has alienated himself from those who might have pointed out the error of his ways (*LG*, 490).

In 1970, the tax authorities finally agree to pay Kornitzer 3,000 DM for the property taken by the Gestapo, although they still insist it was lost, not seized (*LG*, 499). At the beginning of Krechel's next and

final chapter, which serves as a kind of epilogue, we learn that Kornitzer died the same year. After his long and futile struggle to see his suffering recognized, what will remain of Richard Kornitzer? He was no Fritz Bauer so will not be remembered as a significant figure in postwar history. Nevertheless, Kornitzer's son, George, receives a letter from the editors of the *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933* (*International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*). They would like to include an entry for his father and request that his son check the information they have collected about him. George declines. He would rather put to rest the case that has brought indignity to his father for too long. The editor of the handbook regretfully leaves Kornitzer's entry out of the book, but archives the files she has put together for a later attempt at memory work. Krechel echoes the character's regret, concluding her novel with the laconic observation that the handbook contains no entry for Richard Kornitzer. The author clearly regards this as a lamentable omission, a significant sentiment, given that the reference work *does* contain an entry for Robert Michaelis, on whom her protagonist is based.[38] Krechel's final chapter seems to reference her own experiences with Michaelis's son, who did not want to discuss his father with her and asked that she let these old stories be.[39] His stance opposes that of his sister, who has joined Krechel at public appearances, and of his own son, who has written in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* that he feels honored by Krechel's rewriting of his grandfather's biography.[40]

The ending of *Landgericht* suggests that Krechel believes collective remembrance of individuals such as Michaelis is a priority, even when this conflicts with the personal wishes of relatives, and archive work provides an important means to access information that relatives might not want to give. Although the data gathered by the editors of the handbook are described as "dürre Daten" (dry data), the narrator claims they nevertheless reveal something of Kornitzer as an individual: "aber etwas aufblitzte von dem, was Kornitzer ausgemacht hatte. Es könnte George stolz machen, daß sein Vater nicht vergessen ist" (*LG*, 501; but something did flash up of Kornitzer's person. George could be proud that his father has not been forgotten). That George rejects this chance is shown emphatically as a failing and the archive as a means of righting this wrong in the future. Moreover, Krechel shows, both through her own research and that of the handbook editors, that the archive will not resist the memory work of others. In the next few decades the generation of Michaelis's son and George Kornitzer will no longer be able to protest the attempts of others to include their parents in commemorative gestures, but the resistance of these men (one fictional, one real) to the gestures of and in *Landgericht* reminds us of the ethical and memory-political questions raised by the archival turn and by archive work performed as memory

work in the name of another. The archive is thus an ambivalent, even contradictory, feature of *Landgericht*. Krechel's protagonist is shown to be subject to its power (as continued *Gewalt*) in the postwar year, where it is used in the service of repression and forgetting. For Krechel's own memory work, however, it serves the purposes of remembering after all and in spite of the personal resistance shown towards the appropriation of individual experiences through gestures of collective memory.

Das Eigentliche

Iris Hanika's 2010 novel, *Das Eigentliche*, is a biting satire of German memory culture in the Berlin Republic, which finds expression through and is focused on the archive.[41] If Krechel performs archive work as memory work, Hanika, born some twenty years later, parodies the use of the archive as a means of perpetuating *Erinnerungskultur* and questions the sustainability of such an approach. Hanika's archivist protagonist, Hans Frambach, is, like the author, younger than the 68er generation, but nevertheless grew up in the clutches of Germany's National Socialist past.[42] Like Hanika, who worked on this text for over twenty years, Frambach witnesses Germany's shift from a nation wanting to forget its past to a nation *obsessed* with its past.[43] In her novel Hanika parodies this obsession through the fictional Institut für Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung (Institute for the Management of the Past), Hans Frambach's place of work and the heart of the recently unified nation. This institution symbolizes a shift from *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, Germany's concerted if fraught effort to come to terms with its past, to *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung*, the state-sanctioned, state-financed, and state-driven administration of this memory work. In her wry narrative Hanika presents as a fait accompli the scenario that Robert Thalheim provokes his audience to consider in *Am Ende kommen Touristen* (discussed in chapter 1), namely, what becomes of memory work when it starts to function independently of those connected to the experiences in question. In the automated world of *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung*, memory work operates in the name of a collective—the citizens of the Berlin Republic—but now without personal input. As Mary Cosgrove notes, "Individual and collective memory are thus out of synch."[44] Where the state has effectively taken over the work of memory, the individual is left wondering what he or she can still meaningfully do, or even whether there was any point in doing anything in the first place. As Hanika says, "Egal, was man tut, es ist furchtbar, also wenn man nichts täte, wäre es furchtbar, und wenn man permanent was tut, ist es auch furchtbar" (Whatever you do, it's terrible, so if you did nothing, it would be terrible, and if you constantly do something, that's also terrible).[45] Through her protagonist's apparent search for, or questioning of, *das Eigentliche*, the authentic element of Holocaust memory

(in one sense of the phrase), Hanika presents the dilemma surrounding the different but related kinds of work undertaken in response to the Holocaust—mourning work, memory work, and now archive work. Both futile and compulsive, the task faced and performed by Frambach is Sisyphean.[46] Given as a punishment, its performance contributes to the labor of atonement and its repetition ensures an infinite structure that protects Frambach and others from having to think about what would come after its completion.

Where memory work requires or even equates with archive work, Frambach feels his job at the institute contributes to the bigger project of remembering the Nazi past. Indeed, Frambach sees the memory of Auschwitz as inescapable and thus constitutive of his identity and he resigns himself to a melancholy existence, but as he starts to see life in the Berlin Republic being lived uncoupled from the past that he administers in his day job, he is plunged into crisis. He explains to his friend Graziela that the misfortune or sadness (*Unglück*) of which he felt so sure seems to have become the affliction of acedia, but instead of doubting God as the fourth-century monks did in the desert, Frambach doubts his memory work (*DE*, 123). In her compelling reading of the text, Cosgrove argues that Hanika's portrait of Frambach shows the decline of the postwar melancholy genius as practitioner of ethical memory in a noble tradition after Auschwitz and his reduction to a subject left with nothing to say about an exhausted topic. Frambach is nothing more than a "slothful pencil-pusher of *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung*."[47] In her highly mediated, self-reflexive text, Hanika provides her reader with a set of quotations relating to the affliction of melancholy to make sense of Frambach's fixation. The last comes from Roland Barthes, who notes that acedia—mental sloth or apathy—is about the cathexis of a now lost object that the subject never actually possessed: "Akedia *ist die Trauer um die Besetzung, nicht um das besetzte Objekt*" (Barthes quoted in *DE*, 98; "Acedy is the mourning of investment itself, not the thing invested in").[48] Frambach's attachment to the Holocaust is, as Cosgrove notes, "phantasmatic," and his melancholy, a consequence of his not being able to mourn properly the lost object never properly possessed.[49] If Frambach maintains that his *Eigentliche* is his suffering as a consequence of Nazi crimes, he is forced to confront the possibility that this relationship to the past is a fantasy (interestingly, we know nothing about Frambach's family). Indeed, as Frambach's "Freude an der Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung" (*DE*, 123; pleasure in managing the past) is eroded, the reader sees how the Holocaust has functioned as a "topology of the unreal" that has given meaning to his humdrum existence.[50]

Crucially, Frambach's preoccupation with the phantasmatic object of the Holocaust is supported predominantly by his archive work; the documents he works with function as Ersatz-objects that sustain his

melancholy attachment to an object never possessed. As Jonathan Boulter argues, the archive is a trope of melancholy: in Freud's terms, the melancholy subject does not want to move beyond loss because loss is what defines him or her, and the archive, understood as a repository of that which remains following loss, is instrumental in maintaining this relationship. It functions as a site "where loss is maintained and nourished."[51] Moreover, since the archive is oriented as much to the future as to the past, it is "doubly inflected by loss: it is a response to loss . . . and it anticipates, perhaps creates, the conditions of future loss."[52] Boulter even goes so far as to argue that the archive "is not the site of the preservation of the past, of history, of memory, but of the inevitable loss of these things."[53] The institute's archive—a product of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*—both responds to and anticipates loss: it is a response to Nazi crimes and it anticipates the loss of living memory of this period of German history. For Frambach, his archive work both responds to his *Unglück* (his loss of happiness as part of a generation that feels itself inextricably bound to the legacy of Auschwitz) and anticipates the loss of his relationship to the Holocaust (as phantasmatic loss). His work in the institute's archive positions the protagonist in a nostalgic relationship to the work of remembering the Holocaust in its earlier, more personal mode. Indeed, Frambach's work is no longer representative of the work of the institute, which is increasingly automated. The new "*state of the art*" archive, with "das . . . modernste Rechnerzentrum" (the . . . most *up-to-date* computer room), now operates as *Meta-Archiv* connecting all other archives in Germany needed for the purposes of *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung* (*DE*, 49, 34; italics in original). Frambach's archive work, by contrast, is conducted in the old archive, which now serves as a kind of closet for that which does not fit in the grand meta-archive. His activities there are similarly outmoded, and he increasingly feels redundant, but performing them allows him to preserve the old mode of memory work. Frambach's job and his acedia are bound in a complicated relationship: his melancholy is sustained by his archive work, and the waning validity of his outmoded version of this labor sustains his melancholy.

Hanika describes her melancholy archivist's work with the documents of just one estate, documents left by the camp survivor Siegfried Wolkenkraut. This task both "maintain[s] and nourishe[s]" Frambach's relationship to the Holocaust (as phantasmatic loss), but it also confronts him with the futility of his work.[54] Wolkenkraut's estate essentially contains little more than a one-page text entitled "Bericht von meinem Aufenthalt in verschiedenen Konzentrationslagern" (*DE*, 36; Report on My Time in Various Concentration Camps), which has been reproduced over two hundred times and oscillates between poetry and prose. The significance of this formal variation remains obscure, however, since none of the versions are dated (*DE*, 38). For a long time his estate was thought lost, but

this was of no concern to anyone from the institute, or anyone else, for that matter. While alive, Wolkenkraut published a slim volume of poems in 1951, and a couple of short essays appeared in a local newspaper. His prints were also exhibited once, in a small gallery in Göttingen that has long since closed (*DE*, 39). Frambach suspects that Wolkenkraut's death two years later was suicide, not an accident (*DE*, 126). The reader might extrapolate from this that the survivor killed himself because no one was interested in what he had to say about his experiences. His daughter, Mafalda, kills herself some years later, but makes a last attempt to ensure that her father's legacy is not forgotten by bequeathing his papers to the institute. Although Wolkenkraut's papers are now safely kept in the institute's archive, Frambach's slow, solitary work of cataloguing does not give the impression that many people will know of, or come to use, these documents. Moreover, the liminal position of Wolkenkraut's papers between the institute's own archive and the new meta-archive—presumably Frambach is cataloguing them to facilitate precisely this transition—suggest that they, like the archivist himself, might fall into obsolescence before the process is complete.

Frambach's work is not only slow and solitary, it is also mechanical. His task consists of stamping the individual sheets of paper, giving them a number, and filling in a form on his electronic cataloguing program. In other words, his task requires him to process the documents so that they become part of the archival order and *not* to engage with their content, with what might be considered *das Eigentliche*. However, Frambach cannot help but be affected by the repeated confrontation with Wolkenkraut's report—this is precisely the weakness in the system that the institute is trying to eliminate with its meta-archive. This close, continuous contact with Wolkenkraut's testimony threatens the boundary between archivist and survivor and Frambach shows signs of identifying with Wolkenkraut. In processing each copy of Wolkenkraut's text, Frambach's work mirrors the excessive labor of the survivor. But, as Sven Kramer notes, it differs in one important regard, and for this reason marks Frambach's transgression: whereas the traumatized Wolkenkraut is driven by a "compulsion" to repeat his text, Frambach *wants* to repeat his work with the text.[55] This "will to repeat" does not merely cause Frambach to *identify* with the victim; it pushes him to put himself in, to take, Wolkenkraut's place. In an additional untitled text that deviates from his report, Wolkenkraut writes, "Ich gehe in den Abend hinein und lege voller Ergebung mein Haupt der schlachtenden Nacht unters Beil" (*DE*, 41; I go into the evening and, in full submission, lay my head beneath the guillotine of the butchering night). When Frambach finds himself once again snubbed by his friend Graziela and waiting until she is free to speak to him on the phone, he writes out Wolkenkraut's words. He then looks at the sentence "den er geschrieben hatte und der nicht von ihm stammte" (*DE*, 71; which he

had written but which wasn't his). When, later in the narrative, Frambach returns to his desk and Wolkenkraut's file, he reaches his limit and, in sheer despair, lays his head on his desk, as if it were a guillotine, thus imitating the gesture Wolkenkraut describes: "Er klappte den Mappendeckel wieder zu und drückte seinen Kopf weit genug nach unten, um ihn unter die Guillotine zu legen" (*DE*, 95; He slammed the file cover closed again and pushed his head down far enough so that it lay under the guillotine). Frambach's archive work, then, facilitates and indulges a kind of appropriation, sustaining his relationship to the phantasm of Holocaust memory through his imitation of the survivors, his seeing himself in their place, and feeding parasitically off their *Unglück* to maintain his own. The archive gives meaning to Frambach's melancholy, sustaining his memory work, performed here as archive work, and thus his fabricated connection and even pseudo-subjugation to the past. His melancholy attachment to the losses sustained by others also allows him to ignore his own shortcomings. The Holocaust offers Frambach what Cosgrove calls the "best excuse for not engaging with the self," and he makes the archive complicit in this, using its material for the imitation and appropriation of the experiences of others.[56] This signals one of the most damning elements of Hanika's critique of *Erinnerungskultur*, namely, that the nation's fixation on its Nazi past, perpetuated in this late phase through the archive, has left her contemporaries bereft of a sense of identity.

Frambach's attachment to the past he administers is so strong that he sees its traces in the world around him. For Frambach, public memorials are a vital sign outside the institute that life *cannot* carry on as normal, contrary to the impression given by those around him. Walking home from work, the thought of his phone-date with Graziela puts a spring in his step, but this is tempered by his usual encounter with a number of *Stolpersteine* (*DE*, 58). There follows a two-paragraph description of the stones from Frambach's perspective, in which he sees them, like the material he encounters at work, as archival objects. Read through the eyes of the archivist, the stones present data organized according to categories. Frambach assesses the significance of name, location, fate, age, and gender; the permutations of these different categories are indicated through the repetition of "oder" (or): "Oder es war der Name einer Bewohnerin. Dann standen dieselben Dinge auf dem Stein: wann die Bewohnerin geboren und wann und wohin sie aus diesem Haus deportiert worden war und wann sie starb, bald nach der Deportation, immer vor dem Ende des Krieges. Oder verscholl. Wann sie verschollen war. Oder er. Die Bewohnerin oder der Bewohner" (*DE*, 58; Or, it was the name of a female resident. Then it was the same things that appeared on the stone: when the resident was born and when she was deported from this house and where to, and when she died, soon after deportation, always before the end of the war. Or disappeared. When she disappeared. Or he. The female

resident or the male resident). Frambach sees the memorial as a data set to be processed; he does not note the individual names that are so important to Demnig's project. "Kleine goldene Grabsteine" (small golden gravestones) produce ambivalent feelings in Frambach, who, tonight as every night, tries to avoid coming into contact with the plaques out of a combination of reverence and fear (*DE*, 59–60). In this public space, Frambach wonders about the special status conferred on those commemorated in this way: these, he thinks, were people who had never been distinguished until their name appeared on a list, specifically a deportation list, and now this makes them "d[ie] besondersten Personen überhaupt . . . niemand ihnen gleich, einzig" (*DE*, 59; the most important people ever . . . no one came close, unique). Hanika's irony makes a subtle comment on the almost celebrity status conferred on victims commemorated through *Stolpersteine*, a dubious accolade bestowed on those with the misfortune to have found themselves on this particular kind of list. However, Frambach, who is as much a target of as a vehicle for Hanika's critique of memory culture, responds ambivalently to the stones. He betrays not only contempt but also envy. The project may seem gauche to Frambach, but it is also more alluring than his inconspicuous, unacknowledged archive work with the survivor's monotonous legacy. Yet these names, which fail to conform to the order Frambach enforces inside the institute, appear to him as untamed, perhaps even promiscuous. The archivist sees them escape his gaze in unspecified quantities: "so viele, so viele solcher kleinen Gedenksteine, so viele, viele, viele, so viele, so viele, so viele" (*DE*, 59; so many, so many of these small memorial stones, so many, many, many, so many, so many, so many).

Nevertheless, Frambach has previously succumbed to the desire to free himself from the burden of the past. Visiting the memorial site at Auschwitz-Birkenau several years earlier, he experienced an uncanny feeling while walking through the camp. Following in the footsteps of the prisoners, he felt he was doing something grotesque, but then his feet, as if operating independently from his mind, deviated from the path to the gas chamber, allowing him to do what the prisoners were not permitted to, namely, walk free: "Dort trat er . . . aus dem Lager hinaus. . . . Und war frei" (*DE*, 133; Here, he . . . left the camp. . . . And was free). Here Hanika plays provocatively with the infamous slogan on the gates of Auschwitz, which claimed that work would lead to freedom. In the Berlin Republic, where the state commitment to memory culture suggests that "Erinnerungsarbeit macht frei" (memory work makes you free), Frambach follows a similar mantra with his commitment to the institute: "Archivarbeit macht frei" (archive work makes you free).[57] But his memory of his visit to Auschwitz reminds him that it is precisely *not* his slavish performance of memory work as archive work that will free him from the burden of the past. On the contrary, this work enables enslavement to his

Unglück, which is the shadow of the Holocaust that, however negatively, provides his existence with meaning. Freedom, meanwhile, comes when he steps *out* of the traces left by the victims and walks away from the site of trauma. Recalling his experience at the memorial site, Frambach wonders whether he should, in fact, *not* have returned to the institute and the ritual performance of his archive work. He did go back, however, and Hanika's "Und war frei" might be read also as a reference to Alfred Döblin's protagonist, Franz Biberkopf, who at the beginning of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* seems to stand free following his release from prison, only to descend into a spiral of recidivism.[58] Frambach might have felt free after he had liberated himself from the traces of history, but he immediately returns to his old ways—not without a certain enjoyment.

Despite his attachment to archive work as a means of prolonging his phantasmatic relationship to the Holocaust, Frambach must acknowledge that this, too, is finite. Soon the archivist reaches the bottom of Wolkenkraut's file. Here he finds three further copies of the "Bericht," one of which is a lithograph. Wolkenkraut has used stone, the material of melancholy, to make his testimony infinitely reproducible, but the institute has only the finite paper prints, not the original stone. Beneath these last copies Frambach discovers two more sheets: one is a child's drawing, signed by Wolkenkraut's daughter, showing a clichéd scene of a house with a red roof, a sun, and three figures, a mother, a father, and a child standing on green ground. Frambach ruminates on the transience of the image—not just what it shows (Wolkenkraut's now deceased family), but also its material fragility—and concludes that Wolkenkraut's estate is mere ephemera: "Jetzt alle tot, dachte er. Die ganze Familie weg, alle tot. Schlechtes Papier. Zerfällt bald. Dann auch tot" (*DE*, 152; Now they were all dead, he thought. The whole family gone, all dead. Poor-quality paper. Will disintegrate soon. Then dead too). With nothing to sustain it, Frambach's archive work is threatened by the same fate. Beneath Mafalda's drawing he finds another lithograph, Wolkenkraut's copy of his daughter's image. Reproduced using stone, in black and white, this is a melancholy version of the family idyll, an image that bears witness to family tragedy. Although the composition remains the same, seen through Frambach's eyes it becomes radically deconstructed, a vision of the bureaucratic signs to which his archive work reduces such legacies, but also of the absence that remains after both the archive and the work it generates have been exhausted: "Keine gelbe Sonne mehr, keine grüne Erde, kein rotes Dach, kein blaues Kleid. Keine fröhlichen Gesichter mehr, nur noch schwarze Linien. Alle tot" (*DE*, 152; No more yellow sun, no green ground, no red roof, no blue dress. No more cheerful faces, only black lines. All dead). Frambach realizes that his archive work has had the same effect on him, "Ich auch, dachte er" (*DE*, 152; Me too, he thought).

The archivist finds himself in a dilemma. His work might be killing him, but at least, he thinks, looking down on the city below from the sixteenth floor of the institute, he does not lead the ordinary life devoid of the Holocaust that is possible in the Berlin Republic. Here, he feels a kind of superior, if morbid, freedom: "Und ich in meinem Grab in den Lüften, da liegt man nicht eng" (*DE*, 153; And me in my grave in the air, there you won't lie too cramped).[59] Frambach's irreverently reverent appropriation of Celan's "Todesfuge" (Death fugue) expresses a dubious sentiment, contingent as it is on an equally dubious identification with the victims whose past he administers. Even he is not persuaded by his attempts to reaffirm his superior position and he leaves the building. Before he goes, however, he decides to steal the last two pages in Wolkenkraut's file. Ever the archivist, he packs them carefully and stows them in his briefcase before departing. What might be read as Frambach's second attempt at liberation seems doomed to failure, however, precisely because he cannot part with the archive. If he learned at Auschwitz that he must deviate from the path taken by the victims in order to free himself from his *Unglück*, he knows that he must let go of the material remnants of the past housed in the institute. His failure to do so indicates not only his continued melancholy attachment to the (his) phantasm of Holocaust memory, but also to the archive in sustaining this.

Hanika's satire of *Erinnerungskultur* in the Berlin Republic opens an important critical perspective on the obsessive, compulsive aspects of memory work that are facilitated by and perpetuated through archive work. However, *Das Eigentliche* portrays a dystopian version of contemporary Germany: Hanika does not look beyond Frambach's inevitable demise, and her focus on his (her) generation does not open any perspective on the future. People younger than her protagonist are entirely absent from the novel (although they are, by implication, among the masses upon which Frambach gazes in disgust because they lead their lives seemingly unaffected by the memory of the Holocaust), and Hanika does not seem to see a future for *Erinnerungskultur* beyond its automated administration.

The two authors discussed next are a little younger than Hanika and have continued to engage with the legacy of National Socialism and the Holocaust, despite the expectation, implied in *Das Eigentliche*, that they would have "moved on." Their engagement with this legacy is explicitly an engagement with the archive as post-Holocaust archive and the ethical and memory-political questions this poses for contemporary and future generations.

Vielleicht Esther

Born in 1970 in Kiev, Katja Petrowskaja views the events of the Second World War and the Holocaust not only with the generational distance

of a postmemorial subject, but also from different cultural and political perspectives.[60] In her autobiographical debut, *Vielleicht Esther*, Petrowskaja describes the search for her family history, the traces of which are dispersed across Europe. The narrative begins in Berlin, where the narrator lives, but moves to the places connected to her family's past—Poland, Ukraine, Austria. This geographical reach demonstrates the rich Eastern European culture that has shaped Petrowskaja's Jewish family, but also her family's experience of the upheavals and traumas of the twentieth century—the Warsaw ghetto, the massacre at Babi Yar, and the Mauthausen concentration camp.[61] Her mother's relatives left Warsaw for Kiev in 1915, although some of the family remained and were probably deported. When Kiev came under German occupation in 1941, her mother and grandmother left, but her great-grandmother and great-aunt were killed at Babi Yar. Her non-Jewish grandfather, Wassilij, was a prisoner-of-war in various camps, including Mauthausen. Her paternal grandfather joined the Bolshevik revolution and changed his name to Petrowskij, and his brother, Judas Stern, was executed in 1932 for the attempted assassination of a German diplomat. Her father's side of the family also fled Kiev in 1941, except for her great-grandmother, who might have been called Esther—"Vielleicht Esther" (Maybe Esther)—and who was summoned along with the city's other Jews to Babi Yar. Barely able to walk, she probably never made it to the ravine and might, the narrator speculates, have been shot by a German officer.

In an attempt to compensate for the more recent losses sustained by her relatives and across European culture more broadly, Petrowskaja's autobiographical narrator seeks an idealized image of her prewar family, in particular, her mother's Jewish forebears, who in the nineteenth and early twentieth century set up schools for the deaf in various countries across Europe and who, for her, embody this now elusive cultural legacy. But she comes to realize that however much she would like to do so, she cannot bypass recent history, which obstructs her access to an older past. In this sense, *Vielleicht Esther* differs from *Das Eigentliche* and Frambach's obsession with the Nazi past. Unlike Hanika, who feels condemned to return to this chapter of history, Petrowskaja does so in spite of herself: "Ich wollte eigentlich ein Buch über meine Familie so in den letzten 200 Jahren erzählen. Was ich erzählt habe, war immer wieder Krieg. . . . Ich habe [*sic*] immer wieder gestolpert" (Actually I wanted to tell the story of my family from the last 200 years or so. But the story I told was always war. . . . I kept stumbling).[62] The gesture of stumbling indicates both an unintended encounter—Petrowskaja stumbling *across* the war while retracing her family history—and a repeated encounter with an impediment—stumbling *over* the war, despite her attempt to bypass it. The obstruction that the recent past poses to an older genealogical narrative

signals how the violence of the twentieth century obliterates the traces of long-established histories and traditions.

Petrowskaja ends up writing a text that focuses on the traumas of the war and the Holocaust, but she also writes critically about the commemorative and memorial practices that have developed since. In this sense her text does have affinities with Hanika's. Nevertheless, as Jessica Ortner has shown, Petrowskaja's critique extends beyond Germany to Soviet memory politics.[63] She describes growing up celebrating the Great Patriotic War, participating in narratives that forgot the victims and failed to acknowledge loss. The devastating effects of this approach are felt most strongly at Babi Yar, the ravine where 33,771 people were shot in two days and which in the following decades became a site of repression and disavowal.[64] However, Petrowskaja is also critical of the memory culture of the Berlin Republic, which has been held up as exemplary. She gently mocks Germany's aggressively coercive *Erinnerungskultur*, the political sensitivity surrounding the discourse of Holocaust remembrance, and the peculiar national possessiveness felt towards Nazi history (*VE*, 7–9; *ME*, 2–3, and *VE*, 44–46; *ME*, 35–37). She also exposes German ignorance about sites of perpetration other than Auschwitz (a word never used in the text), when a librarian assumes that the narrator has misspoken her request for information about Babi Yar: "Meinen Sie Baby Jahr?" (*VE*, 183; Do you mean *baby year*? [*ME*, 163]).[65] And, visiting Mauthausen, the narrator expresses unease at the significance of such sites in contemporary society: What does it mean that people who live there go about their everyday lives? Unlike Frambach, she is not affronted by this normality; rather, she questions her own initial feelings of disapproval (*VE*, 259–65; *ME*, 231–35). She also finds herself caught in the commercial relations of the camp run as museum. When the employee refuses to take her call because it is lunchtime she feels aggrieved at the poor customer service: "Sie arbeitet, und ich bin die Empfängerin ihrer Arbeit" (*VE*, 232; She works, and I receive the fruits of her labor [*ME*, 206]). Where memory work is performed as part of the service industry, the narrator wonders, "Was macht Arbeit eigentlich aus den Menschen?" (*VE*, 233; What does *Arbeit* do to people, anyway? [*ME*, 207]). Petrowskaja's play on words suggests that the false promise of the camp, *Arbeit macht frei*, is equally fallacious in the age of memory culture. Memory work makes employees resentful and unwilling to do the work they are supposed to be doing.

Petrowskaja's narrator encounters these questionable aspects of memory culture in the course of her research into her own family. As part of a later generation, the work she undertakes cannot be that of social memory or "conversational remembering,"[66] but must relate to the reconstruction of "history" using the sources available: "Geschichte ist, wenn es plötzlich keine Menschen mehr gibt, die man fragen kann, sondern nur

noch Quellen. Ich hatte niemanden mehr, den ich hätte fragen können, der sich an diese Zeiten noch erinnern konnte. Was mir blieb: Erinnerungsfetzen, zweifelhafte Notizen und Dokumente in fernen Archiven" (*VE*, 30; History begins when there are no more people to ask, only sources. I had no one left to question, no one who could still recall these times. All I had were fragments of memory, notes of dubious value, and documents in distant archives [*ME*, 22–23]). The narrator is reliant upon that which remains ("Was mir blieb"), which includes both a social legacy (the memory of stories heard in family circles) and a material one (the contents of various archives). In both senses, what remains is fragmented, dubious, and remote. *Vielleicht Esther* is about the dependence of a later generation on mediated knowledge, but also, as one reviewer noted, it foregrounds the uncertainty of the archive work undertaken as a result.[67]

In *Vielleicht Esther*, the archive becomes the site of, and a metaphor for, the narrative encounter with what remains and, by implication, with what is missing. The narrator begins to understand that the archive controls what remains and that she is subject to this control when she uses the archive to write her story. If particular power relations determine which traces are inscribed, preserved, and transmitted, her own subsequent use of these traces implicates her in the same power relations.[68] As the *Gewalt* of the archive (power that is also potentially violence) becomes apparent to her, it also causes the information it controls to disintegrate before her, and to produce more questions than answers.[69] Thus, the narrator struggles with an ethical dilemma about how to use her research responsibly for fictional purposes. On the one hand, fiction offers Petrowskaja a means of resisting the violence of history, of not accepting the reductive statistics that disregard individual experience: "Das war das Wichtigste für mein Buch: Es gibt überhaupt keine Selbstverständlichkeit, dass die Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert in diese Richtung gegangen ist und nicht in die andere. Dass alle diese Toten so selbstverständlich sind. Wenn wir diese Zahlen akzeptieren, dann akzeptieren wir Gewalt" (That was the most important thing for my book: It is in no way self-evident for the history of the twentieth century to have gone in this direction and not the another. That all these dead people are so self-evident. If we accept these numbers then we accept violence).[70] Rather than use her research to write history from a personal perspective, she uses the uncertainties of this process to reclaim agency over narrative, overwriting the single, dominant *Geschichte* with the multiple *Geschichten* that give *Vielleicht Esther* its subtitle.[71] On the other, her narrator finds that the uncertainty of the archive gives her license to speculate and fabricate, sometimes to make her family's story more significant than it perhaps is, sometimes to protect herself from unpalatable truths, and she struggles with and against this impulse.

As Petrowskaja's narrator considers belatedly the significance of historical trauma for her family, she comes to understand the feeling of loss

that she experienced as a child. Growing up, she witnessed the rather eccentric behavior of her two grandmothers, a consequence of their wartime traumatization: "Sie hatten nicht alle Tassen im Schrank, obwohl man auf Russisch nicht alle Tassen sagt, sondern Hast du nicht alle zu Hause?" (*VE*, 21; They didn't have all their marbles, you might say, though in Russian you don't use the expression "all their marbles." Russians would ask, Don't you have them all at home? [*ME*, 15]). This Russian idiom makes the young narrator uneasy, since it implies that something is missing in her family, and she is left wondering, "Wer oder was eigentlich fehlt" (*VE*, 21; Who or what was actually missing [*ME*, 15]). As she comes to answer this question, the narrator is also confronted with the fact that her losses are connected to those experienced by many others and that they are inscribed in a whole culture. On visiting the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, she is told that almost no evidence remains, since all the archives were destroyed. Christian citizens were registered in church records, but "für die Juden war der Verlust natürlich fatal" (*VE*, 107; for the Jews the loss was of course disastrous [*ME*, 93]). Here the narrator wonders why the consequences should be "natürlich fatal" and realizes that this is because these actions were part of a systematic eradication: not only did individuals perish, any traces of their existence were also erased. When the narrator enquires about her family at the Jewish Genealogy and Family Heritage Center, part of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, she is told that she is fortunate (*ME*, 93; "Sie haben Glück" [*VE*, 106]). Since her family did not come from Warsaw originally, their records were not destroyed with the other archives.

The narrator then meets Jan Jagielski, another JHI employee, who shows her a photograph of the house where her family used to live, a house that subsequently became part of the Warsaw ghetto. The photograph dates from that time and includes a number of people wearing yellow stars. However, the narrator's family left Warsaw in 1915, so she is only interested in the photograph for what it can show her about a time before. She feels uneasy, but is again told that she has been very fortunate: "Sie haben Glück, sagte Janek, das ist das einzige Foto" (*VE*, 109; You're in luck, Janek said, that is the only photo [*ME*, 95]). He bought the image on eBay, which is now a good source for the institute. This photo, like many others, has been sold by a former member of the Wehrmacht for seventy euros, "ein guter Preis" (*VE*, 109; a good price [*ME*, 95]). From Jan's perspective, the archive seems to be governed by chance (*Glück*), but this transaction shows that it is controlled by both wartime power relations (this image was presumably taken by the German soldier) and by the market forces of contemporary memory culture. Individuals and institutions are part of a chain of supply and demand, where perpetrators trade in the evidence of their experiences and subsequent generations in the memories of their predecessors. This system replicates the power

relations of the war, where the perpetrators exert control over the victims. Here, it is those working in the interest of Jewish families who want what German families can provide.

Looking at this image now, the narrator feels complicit in the power structures inscribed in its production and preservation: "Viele, sehr viele Menschen sind auf der Straße, manche schauen mich an, voller Angst, als ob eine Gefahr von mir ausginge, als wäre ich der Fotograf, ein Täter" (*VE*, 109; A great many people are on the street, some of them looking my way, full of fear, as though a danger was radiating from me, as though I were the photographer, a perpetrator [*ME*, 95]). Moreover, the photograph makes the narrator acutely aware that this is *not* her family (because they left Warsaw more than two decades earlier), but that it easily could have been. The Stars of David seen in the image signal photography's future anterior; they serve as the sign that these people would all be dead three years later (*VE*, 114; *ME*, 99).[72] If she is to continue her research, the narrator must look past these people to find the house she is looking for, but she realizes that she cannot do this. Key to this realization is the apparently arbitrary link between the narrator and the information carried by the archive image. When she discovers that her family lived not in the house photographed, but in the house next door, it seems that the image to which she had attached so much significance has no relevance to her family history after all and she feels both betrayed and dishonest. As it turns out, she has once again been fortunate—"Was für ein Glück! (*VE*, 114; What luck! [*ME*, 99])—since both houses are in fact visible in the photo, which thus retains its relevance for the narrator. This moment of doubt confronts her with the contingency of history—that her family lived at number 16, not number 14, but also that her family were not among those Jewish faces only because they left the city in 1915. Where the narrator's encounters with her family history are necessarily mediated by the archive in this way, she cannot be selective, rather must acknowledge her family's position in a collective history and take some responsibility for the memory of those she did not set out to remember.

The narrator visits the Polish town of Kalisz, home to generations of her family, in the hope of finding out more about their past. The Celtic root of the name means "source" or "origin," which makes her think that here she will be able to access an older family history. The Slavic root means 'swamp," however, and the name of the town thus more accurately signals the morass of disparate information into which she sinks (*VE*, 128; *ME*, 112). In the local archive she finds evidence that her great-uncle was an illegitimate child, casting doubt on the family legend that he inherited his father's school for deaf and mute children, and she discovers that his first wife did not die young, but in fact outlived Ozjel Krzewin by a year. Nevertheless, the last entry on her registration card is written in German and indicates that she was deported (*VE*, 132; *ME*, 115). Estera

Patt might have lived longer than the narrator thought, but her deportation means one more relative was a victim of the Holocaust. The narrator's archive work (*Archivarbeit*) by no means strengthens and develops what she knew anecdotally about her family history. On the contrary, it causes this to unravel and appear to her instead like fragments of the fragile lace traditionally made in Kalisz. The narrator feels that she should be able to employ narrative as a kind of handiwork (*Handarbeit*) to suture these frayed pieces in an act of weaving, but she realizes that she does not have these traditional skills: "Ich sollte spinnen, beherrschte aber keine Handarbeit" (*VE* 134; I needed to spin my yarn, but I wasn't skilled at handicrafts [*ME*, 117]).

In Kalisz she comes to see that the traces of the past have been fragmented and dispersed through the violence of history. Walking through the town, she stumbles across fragments of Hebrew script in the paved streets. The acquaintance who accompanies her explains that during the war gravestones were removed from the Jewish cemetery and cut into small pieces. Turned upside-down so that no one would see their inscriptions, these were used to pave the streets. Following roadworks a few years earlier, the fragments were returned, some face-up, thus revealing the script after all. Her encounter with the fragments makes it clear that this act was carried out as part of a "System der Vernichtung mit mehrfacher Sicherung" (*VE*, 135; It was a system of annihilation with multiple failsafe switches [*ME*, 118]), whereby the annihilation of a people is reinforced by the eradication of any traces designed to remember and commemorate them in death. The physical destruction of the gravestones also enacts the symbolic destruction of the long Jewish tradition and history that precedes the war. Although now partly visible again, the stone fragments do not regain their legibility; rather they remain "verlorene Buchstaben" (*VE*, 134; lost letters [*ME* 117]). The narrator attempts a kind of "fragwürdige Restitution" (dubious restitution) by collecting the pieces in her mind's eye—a symbolic rather than literal act—but she senses that she comes too late and that these lost objects, whose connection to her family is uncertain and now untraceable, are not hers to collect, or to decipher. She wants to imagine herself as a typographer, a typical job for deaf and mute people, and also another kind of manual labor (*Handarbeit*), who could configure these text fragments to generate something meaningful, but this job is not available to her (*VE*, 136; *ME*, 118–19).

As the "Vielleicht" of Petrowskaja's title indicates, the research undertaken by the narrator does not consolidate her understanding of her family history, but rather causes knowledge to disperse. Her great-uncle Judas Stern was executed in 1932 following the attempted assassination of a German diplomat in Moscow, but the case is shrouded in mystery—was Stern deranged, an anarchist, or an undercover agent? The narrator searches in the archive for a statement from her great-uncle, but the only

record is an official one, in which he says what he was expected to say (*VE*, 153; *ME*, 134). The documents literally fall apart in her hands—further evidence that she cannot transpose her *Archivarbeit* into something meaningful through *Handarbeit*—and with this disintegration, any hope of understanding her great-uncle's actions: "Je weiter ich lese, desto schneller zerfallen die Blätter. . . . Ich stelle mir vor, wie am Ende des Lesens das Papier komplett zerfallen und das Wissen verschwunden wäre" (*VE*, 151; The further I read, the faster the pages fall apart. . . . I imagine the paper falling apart altogether at the end of my reading, and the knowledge vanishing [*ME*, 133]). The narrator's archive work is work against time, which is fast running out; she must find information about her great-uncle before he falls into oblivion. She is fascinated by the appearance of the name "Judas Stern" on every page (*VE*, 150; *ME*, 132), and through the literary reworking of her archive work is tempted to confer on it some greater significance. As she grapples with her great-uncle's motivation for the attack, she casts him as a van der Lubbe figure, whose actions were intended to steer the course of history in one direction but caused it to lurch in another. She makes him part of an equation, where the sum of his parts equals the catastrophic fate of the Jews under the Nazis: Judas + Stern = an uncanny omen (*VE*, 157; *ME*, 138). Her father warns her against such "kühne Vergleiche" (bold comparisons, *VE*, 157; *ME*, 139) and her brother cautions her that she is letting fiction overtake history (*VE*, 173; *ME*, 153). The narrator needs Judas Stern to take control of the history that eludes her, that is, the history of her family in the history of the twentieth century, but as she tries to manipulate a narrative with these disparate and contradictory fragments (another example of attempted *Handarbeit*), she sees that she risks fabrication and appropriation.

In her search for family history, the narrator must turn to what remains, but in so doing she encounters the specter of what does not remain, what is lost or missing. Babi Yar, the ravine on the outskirts of Kiev where the SS carried out one of the worst massacres of the Second World War, figures in Petrowskaja's text as a kind of anti-archive, precisely because it marks the place where so much has been lost and where traces are missing. The work of remembering Babi Yar has been made so difficult because nothing remains and "Staub kann man nicht zählen" (*VE*, 188; Dust can't be counted [*ME*, 167]). The narrator has a personal connection to the massacre—her great-grandmother and great-aunt were killed there and she can only imagine that her other great-grandmother was shot before she even got to the ravine, declared an assembly point by the SS—but she believes that everyone has a part to play in acknowledging and commemorating those lost there (*VE*, 184; *ME*, 164). In the contestations of memory and victimhood that have further scarred the site (it has since become an extremely conflicted site of Soviet memory politics),

and in the reduction of the atrocity to unreliable statistics and numerical approximations, the narrator feels the human aspect of Babi Yar has been obscured. And this is precisely what makes the memory of this place a matter of collective responsibility: "Was mir fehlt, ist das Wort Mensch. Wem gehören diese Opfer? Sind sie Waisen unserer gescheiterten Erinnerung? Oder sind sie alle—unsere?" (*VE*, 191; What I am missing is the word *human*. Who do these victims belong to? Are they orphans of our failed memory? Or are they all ours? [*ME*, 171). Here, "Was mir fehlt" contrasts with her previous "was mir blieb" (*VE*, 30; *ME*, 22, literally, what remains to me). Dubious documents and overwhelming statistics remain, but the people are missing—literally because they did not survive, but also symbolically in the struggle for control over memory and history.

Considering those who perished at Babi Yar, the narrator also thinks of those who survived. She recalls the story told by her father about his family's escape from Kiev. With little time to spare, his father ordered them onto a truck. There was no room for nine-year-old Miron Petrowskij, but at the last minute, his father took a ficus plant off the truck and put his son on board in its stead. Miron later tells his daughter that he is no longer sure about this part of the story; he has no memory of the plant. However, the ficus is key to the narrator's understanding of her father's fate, since this act of exchange was the decisive factor in his survival and consequently her own existence: "Wenn mein Großvater diesen fragwürdigen Fikus nicht von der Ladefläche heruntergenommen hätte, hätte der neunjährige Junge, der später mein Vater wurde, keinen Platz in der Arche des Lastwagens bekommen, wäre er nicht auf der Liste der Überlebenden gelandet, würde ich nicht existieren" (*VE*, 220; If my grandfather hadn't taken down this dubious ficus from the loading platform, the nine-year-old boy who later became my father wouldn't have had room in the ark of the truck, he wouldn't have wound up on the list of the survivors, and I wouldn't exist [*ME*, 195]). Like the Old Testament ark, the truck contains the bare minimum needed for survival, but it also means those left behind will fall victim to the coming catastrophe. This *Lastwagen*, literally a vehicle of burden, weighs heavily on the narrator, for whom it carries a difficult truth. Her father's survival through an act of exchange means that he exists where others perished. Of course, he is swapped with a plant, not another person, but is the plant even real? Through a play on the word "ficus," the plant comes to symbolize a fictional element in the story, "fiction," and a revealing slip about the way narrative can be used to conceal as much as reveal the truth (*VE*, 219; *ME*, 195). The narrator realizes that the ficus is necessary because it covers over—like a fig leaf—the shameful possibility that her father might have been given his place on the ark in exchange for someone else: "Die Stammesbrüder dieses Jungen, die, die in der Stadt geblieben waren . . . wurden in Babij Jar zusammengetrieben. . . . Und dort wurden sie

erschossen. . . . Und jetzt weiß ich, wozu ich meinen Fikus brauche" (*VE*, 218; Others of the boy's tribe, those who had remained in the city . . . were rounded up in Babi Yar. . . . And they were shot to death there. . . . And now I know what I need my ficus for [*ME*, 198]). The narrator must engage with *what* remains, with the archive that restricts access to and obscures the past, and with *who* remains, with those who were given a place on the ark. Both the archive and the ark, two spaces constructed to ensure survival, are haunted by the specter of absence.

Babi Yar contrasts starkly with the memorial site in Mauthausen, where the narrator is overwhelmed by documentation. Nevertheless she still struggles to a find out about her grandfather, who was interned there briefly as a prisoner-of-war, before being moved to Gunskirchen in March 1945. She finds that the majority of the information on his registration card is incorrect; it seems that her grandfather gave false information, disavowing his Jewish wife, in order to survive (*VE*, 241; *ME*, 214). However, this falsified version is how her grandfather appears to her now through the archival order of the camp museum, itself established on the remains of the camp administration. Indeed, this order determines how he is available to her: "Nur seine Kriegsgefangenschaft war mir zugänglich" (*VE*, 255; Only his time as a prisoner of war was accessible to me [*ME*, 226]). The narrator feels all the more frustrated by the limitations of the memorial site because she is growing increasingly uneasy about her grandfather, wondering what exactly he did before the war (he was an agriculturalist) and the extent to which he was involved in Stalin's collectivization policies. Despite Wassilij's liberation at the end of the war, he did not return home to his family in Kiev until 1982, a fact for which there is no adequate explanation. Reading accounts of the death marches from Mauthausen to Gunskirchen in April 1945 on which thousands of Hungarian Jews perished, the narrator starts to wonder if, in the fight for survival, her grandfather acted towards those prisoners in a way that made him unable to return to and face his Jewish family: "Woran ich dachte . . . dass es kaum Wasser im Lager gab, und wenn mein Großvater überlebt hat, bedeutet es, dass jemand an seiner Stelle sterben musste" (*VE*, 274–75; What I was thinking . . . that there was barely any water in the camp, and if my grandfather survived it means that someone had to die in his place [*ME*, 244]). The survival of both her grandfather and her father is predicated on a principal of exchange: those who survive do so in the place of those who perish. What and who remain to the narrator are haunted by her realization that others are missing.

Reading these accounts of Gunskirchen, the narrator is overcome by a kind of archive fever. She devours the reports until she can take no more: "Mein seelischer Speicher war voll mit den Toten im Wald" (*VE* 273; My emotional repository was full with the dead in the woods [*ME*, 242]). In an attempt to overcome the limitations of her "seelischer

Speicher," the narrator begins to make photocopies of the loose pages, imagining that she could extend or duplicate someone's life this way (*VE*, 273; *ME*, 243). But the narrator realizes that she is not trying to save anyone from the camp, but rather herself, "dass ich wieder einmal *e* von *ä* nicht unterschied, gerettet, Geräte, und in diesem Gerät Rettung suchte, unbedacht" (*VE*, 274; that as usual I was drawing no distinction between the e in the German word *gerettet* (saved) and the similar sounding ä in *Geräte* (machines), and was unwittingly seeking salvation from this machine [*ME*, 243]). As she concedes, the narrator has no intention of reading these documents, but she needs to make these reproductions (*VE*, 273; *ME*, 243). Copying these documents both ensures and *infinitely defers* her future encounter with the archive, which might confront her with evidence of her grandfather's brutality to the other. She thus grants herself a reprieve: "Ich kopierte alles und spürte wie meine eigene Zukunft immer größer, immer ausgedehnter wurde . . . angesichts dieser immer weiter aufgeschobenen Betrachtung" (*VE*, 274; I made copies of everything and felt my own future growing and expanding . . . in the process putting off more and more the contemplation of what it all meant [*ME*, 243]). To preserve copies of these documents for consultation at an unspecified point in the future allows her to preserve an intact image of her grandfather for the present, but produces a threatening sense of the unknown. Whereas the narrator's earlier encounters with what remains were frustrating, confronting her with the belatedness of her archive work (what, in Derrida's terms, would be the noncoincidence between the singular event and its trace), now, in order to defer her encounter with an unpalatable truth, she exploits this gap between the original and the copy. Archive work simultaneously allows her to perform memory work and ensure its deferral.

In *Vielleicht Esther*, Petrowskaja describes the difficulty of a later generation in trying to retrace family history that precedes the traumas of the twentieth century. What remains to her narrator is compromised—fragmentary, dispersed, inaccessible—and always haunted by the specter of what is absent. She must make use of this nonetheless because it is all that is available to her. Her encounter with the archive is an encounter with the memory of the other. It confronts her with the fact of historical violence, but also with the fact that survival may have meant the death of another. The continuity of family history is bound to the contingency of history writ large. As a consequence, she feels she must take responsibility for the memories she discovers, even—or particularly—where these are not related to her own family. But this proves difficult where the truth secreted in the archive threatens to undermine her existing family narrative. She thus learns that the archive does not simply preserve the truth; it offers a means for deferring its revelation and for its fabrication in the future, through the kind of *Handarbeit* that she attempts throughout the

narrative. Petrowskaja uses the mode of literature precisely to reflect on the difficulties and temptations presented by the material she works with. As part of a later generation, she thematizes in elaborate and playful ways the dilemma faced by those who must perform memory work to some degree as archive work. She describes and addresses the challenges posed by the post-Holocaust archive, presenting her reader with both ethically responsible approaches, adoption of the orphans of memory, and the anguish caused by the impulse to ethically dubious responses—fabricating versions of history using the fragments that remain.

Flut und Boden

Like *Vielleicht Esther*, Per Leo's *Flut und Boden. Roman einer Familie* (Flood and Soil: Novel of a Family) is autobiographical and is the author's literary debut. It focuses on family history, including the Nazi past of the narrator's grandfather, who trained in forestry and land acquisition, then made his way into the senior ranks of the SS Rassen- und Siedlungshauptamt (SS Race and Settlement Main Office). Friedrich Leo returned home following his escape from an American prison camp, but was never charged for his Nazi involvement due to lack of evidence. He spent the rest of his life confined to the family home, a failed and frustrated patriarch.[73] His grandson's investigation into family history suggests parallels with *Winterkinder* (discussed in chapter 3), but in contrast to the silence that shrouds subsequent generations of the Schanze family, Friedrich's SS role was, as the title of the fourth chapter indicates, "Kein Geheimnis" (no secret). Nevertheless, it has certainly not been the focus of family "working through." Per Leo, born 1972, had shown little interest in his grandfather's Nazi past until his death in 1993. When, two years later, his grandmother invited him to look through his grandfather's possessions and take anything he wanted, he found among his books a copy of *Handschrift und Charakter. Gemeinverständlicher Abriß der graphologischen Technik* (Handwriting and Character: A General Outline of Graphological Technique), by Ludwig Klages, seen as a visionary by some and protofascist and anti-Semitic by others. The work of the philosopher and graphologist Klages has divided thinkers, among them Walter Benjamin, with whom, I argue, Leo's novel is in dialogue.[74] This division is reflected in the shelves of the grandfather's bookcase, where Klages appears alongside Goethe, Schopenhauer, and Hölderlin, but also Walther Darré, Hans Günther, and Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß. Fascinated by the contradictory figure of Klages, Per Leo went on to write his doctoral thesis on his thought and influence.[75]

Upon the discovery of Friedrich's books, the narrator also decides to engage more fully with his grandfather's Nazi past, primarily by undertaking archival research. Trained as a historian, he finds this a relatively

straightforward but ultimately unsatisfying task. Archive work seems to the narrator just one step in the process he describes ironically as "the making of a Nazienkel" (*FB*, 29; the making of a Nazi grandson), in which he sees himself performing all the clichés of contemporary memory culture in his attempt to come to terms with his family legacy. However, it also makes him aware of the confines of the patriarchal order that structures both national and family history. His two frustrations are connected where the patriarchival process of investigating the past can only connect him to the Nazi past and his Nazi grandfather. Consequently, Leo tries to resist and escape these strictures by diminishing the stature of the Nazi grandfather and placing him in his broader context. Leo resists the dominant gestures of contemporary memory culture, which make "Auschwitz so groß . . ., dass man dahinter gar nichts mehr sieht" (Auschwitz so big . . . that you can no longer see anything behind it).[76] Unlike Petrowskaja, who cannot help stumbling over the period of the Second World War and the Holocaust, despite her desire to return to an older family history, Leo seeks to widen his perspective on the past, to understand the historical, cultural, and intellectual context in which his grandfather became a Nazi.

Per Leo's historiographical work on Klages is one way the author tries to do this. However, Klages also forms a basis for his literary text because the narrator finds out that his graphological treatise was also owned by his great-uncle Martin, who, unlike Friedrich, was a deeply intelligent man. According to the author, it was the encounter with Martin as "Gegenfigur" (counterfigure) that allowed him to write his family novel.[77] Martin is a counterpoint to the Nazi grandfather because he does not adhere to any of National Socialism's specious doctrines, and because, suffering from ankylosing spondylitis, he was sterilized in 1938 and thus a victim of the Nazi eugenic policy that his own brother came to implement. In *Flut und Boden*, Martin figures as a key device in allowing Leo to give literary form to the questions underlying his academic thesis. As Stefanie Schüler-Springorum notes, here the author does not content himself with the standard question of memory culture, namely, "Wie wurde Opa ein Nazi?" (How did Granddad become a Nazi). Rather, he goes on to ask "Wieso wurde Opas Bruder kein Nazi?" (How come Granddad's brother did not become a Nazi?)[78] Leo also explores the question of whether Martin's engagement with a German intellectual tradition severely tested by National Socialism provides a model for contemporary German identity that goes beyond his own reduction to *Nazienkel*.

The discovery of Martin as counterpoint to the clichéd family narrative enables a different negotiation of recent German history, but it also makes the narrator aware that these two possibilities are part of the same genealogy: "Ich musste erst sein Leben neben dem meines Großvaters legen, um festzustellen, dass die beiden für mich zusammengehören wie zwei Hälften eines zerrissenen Bildes" (*FB*, 47; I first of all had to put

his life alongside that of my grandfather in order to see that, for me, they belonged together like two halves of an image that has been torn apart). Friedrich and Martin provide the narrator with two opposing poles for thinking about the same historical moment and its impact on his family history. Leo aligns Martin and Friedrich with water and land respectively, the *Flut und Boden* of the title. In so doing he undoes the intensification of *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil), the infamous Nazi slogan of racial ideology, making an opposition instead. The elements earth and water connote aspects of the two brothers that align with, and deviate from, Nazi ideology: Friedrich is associated with the horizontal, with expansionist gestures and the occupation of land, while Martin is associated with the vertical, the profound and the probing.[79] Made infertile (although he had children earlier), Martin is excluded from the patrimonial dominance of the master race and appears in the novel as a counterfigure also to the patriarchal order of the family and to the patriarchvial order of family memory. This contrast is reinforced through the difference in their material legacies with which the narrator now works. Whereas he finds out about Friedrich's SS career through official Nazi documents, his understanding of his great-uncle develops through a unique resource. In 2008, the year before he finished his thesis, Per Leo came into contact with a different kind of archive relating to his family history when his father sent him Martin's personal papers. His encounter with his great-uncle's diaries and records opens a very different perspective on his family, as well as on his own position as *Nazienkel*.

As Elizabeth Heineman notes, the Leo family narrative is structured through patrimony: "This is a book about brothers. It is about fathers and sons, grandfathers and grandsons, nephews and uncles, even doctoral advisor (*Doktorvater*) and student (*Doktorand*)."[80] The death of the narrator's grandfather spells the end of his patriarchal dominance and that of older generations, a break with the past made all the more palpable through the loss of the family home, the patrician house in Bremen's Vegesack district (*FB*, 19). Until this point the narrator always felt uncomfortable in Friedrich's house, which, like the patriarchal house of the archive, operated through rules, restrictions, and exclusions: "Große Häuser, alte zumal, sind selten einladend. . . . Sie werden gebaut, um Unterschiede fühlbar zu machen. . . . Der Einlass ist ein Privileg. Im Innern herrscht eine unverrückbare Ordnung. . . . Das erste Gebot für Besucher der Weserstraße 84 hieß: Du darfst niemals tun, was du willst" (*FB*, 11; Grand houses, especially old ones, are seldom inviting. . . . They are built to make differences palpable. . . . Admittance is a privilege. Inside an immovable order dominates. . . . The first commandment for visitors of 84 Weser Street is: You may never do what you want). Friedrich also controlled his family by using a reductive, impersonal formula to refer to his children: M [*männlich*/male] or W [*weiblich*/female] + year of birth.

One of Friedrich's daughters committed suicide, but a photograph serves to preserve a harmonious family image that represses the truth of the circumstances that caused her to take her own life: "Die Großeltern saßen an ihrem angestammten Platz auf dem mit grünem Samt bezogenen Sofa, direkt unter dem ovalen, mit rosafarbenen Blumen bekränzten Foto, das W38 so zeigte, wie sie im Gedächtnis der Eltern verteidigt werden sollte: nicht als das vermutlich verlorenste, sondern als das mit Sicherheit schönste ihrer sechs Kinder" (*FB*, 13; The grandparents sat in their traditional place on the green velvet sofa, directly beneath the oval photo, framed by pink flowers, which showed W38 just as she was to be defended in her parents' memory: not as likely the most forlorn of their six children, but as surely the most beautiful). In Friedrich's lifetime, the family home keeps family memories by confining them and making them part of strictly controlled narratives, but with Friedrich's death, the repressive order of the patrician house as patriarchive is broken and the narrator can engage with his family past in new ways.

Fundamental to this reengagement is Leo's refusal to allow the grandfather to dominate his narrative. Like Friedrich's Nazi career, the existence of the stash of books by Klages and other authors was familiar to the narrator from childhood, but never scrutinized. Contrary to readers' expectations, however, this revelation does not trigger an extensive account of the grandfather's wartime biography. Indeed, if reviewers noted that the discovery of Nazi-related material in the attic was nothing more than an "abgegriffene[s] Bild" (a hackneyed image), this is because Per Leo's narrative frames this moment as cliché.[81] The now-familiar image of the secret repository brought to light by a later generation is parodied here in the description of the bookcase as "Giftschrank" (*FB*, 24; poison cabinet). It is both noxious (the cabinet of Nazi horrors) and a gift (meaning *Gabe* in Middle High German and Old High German); this timely and welcome contribution triggers a now routine process of investigation and permits entry into the ranks of *Nazienkel*. For Leo, irony, if not sarcasm, is the only way of approaching an exhausted topic.[82] As he takes the contents of the *Giftschrank* from his grandmother's home, he imagines himself in a film, rescuing treasure from an encroaching flood (*FB*, 24). Driving through Bremen, "irgendwo zwischen der Müllverbrennungsanlage und dem bleistiftförmigen Fallturm der Universität" (somewhere between the refuse incineration plant and the university's pencil-shaped drop tower) the narrator is overcome by a powerful vision: his grandfather's life flashes before him, his memory images are externalized, and his family history lies before him, washed up as flotsam (*FB*, 26–27). In this cinematically described sequence, the two Bremen landmarks represent the twin threats of destruction (incineration) and trivialization (the burden of the past becoming weightless), from which the heroic narrator rescues the past. It is on this journey that he makes his

"Entschluss zur Recherche" (*FB*, 31; decision to research), his pact with himself to undertake the archive work needed to perform the memory work of a *Nazienkel*.

The image of rescue is reversed (but the cliché of memory culture merely intensified), when the narrator finds himself adrift as a new student at university. He sinks into depression, lacking motivation and a sense of identity. In this state, archive work provides him with a lifeline: "Und schon da war mir die Möglichkeit, Großvaters Tätigkeit bei der SS zu erforschen, wie ein Ast am Ufer eines bedrohlich schneller werdenden Flusses vorgekommen, den ich um keinen Preis mehr loslassen wollte" (*FB*, 31; And even then the opportunity of researching Grandfather's SS function seemed to me like a branch on the bank of a river with a tide that was quickening dangerously, a branch that I didn't want to let go of at any price). In this melodramatic image, the tides that threaten the narrator might be seen, in an echo of *Das Eigentliche*, as contemporary existence, which continues apace *without* the National Socialist past. By reaching for the lifeline of the archive, he, like Frambach, can cling to this past, which provides meaning and a sense of identity. As a historian and a member of the third generation, he finds locating the right sources "erstaunlich einfach" (*FB*, 31; incredibly easy). He contacts a now-familiar inventory of institutions with holdings related to National Socialism—the Berlin Document Center, the Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg, the Federal Archive in Berlin. Connecting all the different documents he receives in copy is isolating work, but still better than being faced with the chasm of his own meaningless existence. The archive material is quickly exhausted, however, and the game ends, leaving the narrator adrift once again: "Und dann waren die Akten ausgelesen. In groben Zügen stand das Bild meines Großvaters im Dritten Reich. . . . Der Nazi war erlegt—und nun?" (*FB*, 32; And then I finished reading the files. The picture of my grandfather in the Third Reich was painted in broad brushstrokes. . . . The Nazi was slain—and now what?)

The narrator need not despair. His research stands him in good stead and he starts to reap the rewards of his newly acquired status. The campus therapist suddenly starts to take him seriously after being bored by his generic tales of depression, and at parties, girls now want to sleep with him. Here, Leo critiques what Heineman calls the "perverse social capital" to be gained from the performance of *Aufarbeitung*.[83] The narrator is also motivated to enroll in a course with the famous historian Ulrich Herbert. He notes wryly that it might as well be called "Grundlagenvertiefung für Nazienkel" (*FB*, 41; Advanced History for Nazi-grandchildren), which ironically and perversely replicates in the young students the fervent pursuit of ideals that characterized adherents of Hitler's regime: "Wir wollten Herbert gefallen, so wie die jungen SS-Offiziere [Werner]

Best . . . hatten gefallen wollen" (*FB* 44; We wanted to please Herbert just as the young SS-officers wanted to please [Werner] Best). Per Leo exposes how his generation's version of *Aufarbeitung* is undertaken sincerely, but so earnestly as to overlook the parallels with National Socialism. In this sense, his critique shows how the "making of a Nazienkel" does not lead just to the narrator's identifying himself as the grandson of a Nazi, it makes him a *Nazi* grandson.

In his ironic and, at times sarcastic portrayal of memory culture, Leo makes Friedrich a rather two-dimensional figure who is afforded little narrative space and is obscured by the clichés to which his grandson has recourse. Specifically, the Nazi grandfather appears with diminished stature in this early part of the narrative because the archive material relating to his SS career does not feature as anything more than its own cliché. Unlike in *Vielleicht Esther*, where sources relating to those persecuted and killed are elusive or inaccessible, the material relating to Friedrich Leo is readily available and the archive work undertaken by the narrator is a routine matter. Moreover, this is not an overwhelming encounter with his grandfather's Nazi past; on the contrary, Leo describes the material he was sent as "überschaubar" (easy to grasp),[84] and the narrator easily integrates it into his own clear and cogent filing system: "Ein dicker Leitz-Ordner. Auf das Etikett habe ich 1996 mit grünem Filzstift *Großvater* geschrieben, darunter in etwas kleineren Buchstaben *NS-Dokumente*. Im Innern befinden sich vier mit Heftstreifen zusammengehaltene Stöße Schwarzweißkopien. Vor das jeweils erste Blatt ist eine ebenfalls von meiner Hand beschriftete Karteikarte geklemmt: *1) Personalakte BDC; 2) Bundesarchiv NS-Akten; 3) Akten der Zentralen Stelle Ludwigsburg; 4) Nürnberger Dokumente*" (*FB*, 74; A fat Leitz file. In 1996 I wrote *Grandfather* in green felt pen, beneath it, *Nazi documents* in smaller letters. Inside there are four piles of black-and-white copies held together with file strips. In front of each first page there's an index card written in my hand: *1) Personnel Record Berlin Document Center; 2) Federal Archive National Socialism Files; 3) Files from the Central Office Ludwigsburg; 4) Nuremberg Documents*).

Since Friedrich's SS career was "no secret," the archive material simply confirms what was already known. What it cannot tell the narrator (or perhaps what he does not want to know) is exactly how Friedrich's certifications of racial purity related to the fates of individual victims. Arguably and problematically, Leo upholds the distance between the "klassischer Schreibtischtäter" (classic desk criminal), and his victims by not pursuing the connection between his grandfather and those affected by his categorizations.[85] Instead, he finds the Nazi archive equally prone to over-inflation and choses to reduce its proportions in his narrative, showing it as limited and predictable, even if necessary for the performance of memory work. Indeed, as Heineman notes, this chapter, in which the narrator sets out the archive information he has found and describes his

grandfather's career path, is the novel's shortest.[86] By diminishing the status of the archive of National Socialism for his narrative, Leo focuses on more abstract questions (questions also addressed in his thesis): What led to the interest in human difference in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, and why was thinking on the matter so ideologically and politically divisive? To do this he needs to move out from under the shadow cast by his grandfather and look to the counter-figure who will broaden his perspective, namely, his great-uncle Martin.

The narrator's discovery of Martin's personal archive as a counterpoint to his grandfather's Nazi documents disrupts the narrative as told according to family conventions, and then, collective conventions: "Die langweilige Geschichte bekam einen zweiten, einen Gegenpol" (The boring story found its second half, its opposite pole).[87] Moreover, the cliché of the "Schreibtischtäter" is countered by Martin's unique "Schreibtätigkeit" (*FB*, 58; writing activity). The narrator is struck by Martin's words "die keine Botschaft und keine Absicht transportieren" (*FB*, 55; which carry neither a message nor an intention), but also by the form of this material. Martin's archive comprises "205 zerfranste Blätter, von korrodierenden Haftklammern kapitelweise zusammengehalten" (*FB*, 57; 205 frayed pages held together in chapters by corroding staples), the contents of which are certainly intriguing and valuable, but whose form, whose status as object, seems equally worthy of scrutiny: "Was erzählen solche Blätter nicht alles, ohne dass man auch nur ein einziges Wort lesen müsste!" (*FB* 57; What stories these pages tell without one's even having to read a word!) This idiosyncratic archive tells him all kinds of things about its author:

> Nicht nur duften sie nach ihrem Alter, vor allem versammeln sich auf ihnen die vielfältigen Spuren eines schreibenden Individuums: die gewählte Papiersorte; die Raumaufteilung der Seite; die Schriftmasse aus Tinte, Blei, Filz, Leinen, Wachs oder Talkum; die von einer Hand oder einer Maschinentype herrührende Schriftgestalt; die mit Lineal oder frei gezogenen Linien; und natürlich all die Zeichen, die wie Staub auf dem Text liegen und immer nur das Auge des Lesers erreichen, aber nie sein geistiges Gehör—das idiosynkratrische Spektakel aus Durchstreichungen, Korrekturen, Randbemerkungen, Kritzeleien, Zeichnungen oder wie in fast allen Texten von Martins Hand: aus Zeitangaben. (*FB*, 57–58)
>
> [They don't just smell of their age; above all they have gathered the various traces of an individual who writes: the type of paper chosen; the use of space on each page; the writing in ink, lead, felt, linen, wax or talc; the form of the script, whether it be written by hand or typed; the lines drawn with a ruler or by hand; and of course all the signs that sit on the text like dust and only meet the reader's eye,

> never his inner ear—that idiosyncratic spectacle of strike-throughs, corrections, marginalia, scribbles, drawings, or, as in almost all of the texts by Martin's hand: time indicators.]

Personal, unique, these pages contrast with the impersonal bureaucracy of Friedrich's archive. Moreover, unlike the papers made to certify the actions of the National Socialist regime but used after the fact in the reconstruction of Germany's dark past, the narrator feels that his great-uncle's papers were made with a reader like him in mind. He can enter into dialogue with Martin because his "Schreibtätigkeit" was motivated not by fascist ideology but by humanism.

He discovers one piece of writing in particular that has been carefully constructed to balance "Sinn und Form" (meaning and form) and, as such, he concludes, was intended to be seen by others, "anders als ein Manuskript oder ein im Archiv verstecktes Notizblatt" (*FB*, 65; unlike a manuscript or a note hidden in an archive). These ten pages, probably written after the war, in the Soviet Occupation Zone, represent "eine Keimzelle von Martins Autobiographie" (a nucleus of Martin's autobiography).[88] Although the content constitutes a single unit, the text has been written by not one but three hands. The pages contain one of Martin's childhood memories, but this "Erinnerungsstück" (*FB*, 66; memento) in fact constitutes an "Erinnerungsakt" (*FB* 70; act of memory) that connects his children with his own past. The first two quarters of the text have been written by each of the children in the Latinate script they would have learned at school, and the second half is written by their father in the traditional Sütterlin script. The narrator guesses that Martin wrote the whole text himself and had his children copy the first half, so that they had to learn to read the kind of writing that their father had learned when he was young. This is more than a nostalgic gesture because it does not simply allow Martin to look back at his own childhood, rather it allows him to transmit something of that time to his own offspring (*FB* 70). For the *Nazienkel* who has been left cold by his research into his grandfather, Martin's attempt to connect with the next generation, to bring his children into contact with the past and to bring the past into contact with their present, offers a more meaningful and functional model of memory work facilitated by a very different kind of archive and attendant archive work. Indeed, this *Erinnerungsakt* stands in direct contrast to the *Akten* that make up the official archive relating to Friedrich; it also resists the patriarchal mode of the archive, which determines what can be said in the name of the (grand)father, instead opening up dialogue between generations.

For Martin, as for the narrator, "die Erinnerung ist eine Bewegung in zwei Richtungen, das Auftauchen des Vergangenen in der Gegenwart wie das Abtauchen des Gegenwärtigen in die Vergangenheit" (*FB*, 71;

memory is a movement in two directions, the appearance of the past in the present as well as the immersion of the present in the past). This dialectical movement is carefully reflected in the content of the story. Martin recalls his first day at his new school with the teacher and family friend known as Onkel Christians. Using an ingenious experiment with red ink, a white rose, and a piece of white chalk, Onkel Christians explains questions of difference and identity to the children. Via the red and white Bremen flag, the chalk functions as an analogy for the position of the Hanseatic League (its cosmopolitan perspective indicated in the use of Latinate script) in relation to Prussia (its introversion indicated in the use of Sütterlin): "*Die Preußen können nicht mit beiden Farben ihrer schwarzweißen Fahne auf der Tafel schreiben, wir Hanseaten, wir Bremer können das!*" (*FB* 69; *The Prussians can't write with both the colors of their black and white flag on the board, we citizens of the Hanseatic league, we Bremen people, we can do that!*) Meanwhile the rose, taking in the ink as it opens, is a symbol of flourishing, distinct Hanseatic identity. Unlike the quickly exhausted cabinet of Nazi horrors symbolized in the *Giftschrank* and the archive work that follows its discovery, this nucleus of Martin's archive is a "Spiegelkabinett . . . ohne Zentrum" (*FB*, 73; hall of mirrors . . . without a center). Its symmetry produces a convergence of apparent opposites, of "Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Erwachsenalter und Kindheit, Inhalt und Form" (*FB*, 73; past and present, adulthood and childhood, content and form), without causing their distinction to be lost—difference and identity are intricately interwoven. Martin's careful negotiation of difference and identity contrasts with Friedrich's attitudes. As brothers they would probably have experienced the same schooling and thus similar lessons to that given by Onkel Christians, but grew up to invest in radically different positions.

Not only do Martin's documents offer an alternative archive for understanding and engaging with his family history, Martin himself seems to constitute a different repository of family history. The narrator describes him as a "gekrümmter, beschwerlich, doch ruhig atmender Mann" (*FB*, 61; hunched man, whose breathing was labored but quiet). His ankylosing spondylitis makes him a hunchback, like the figure described by Walter Benjamin (as one of Klages's interlocutors, Benjamin features peripherally in Leo's text). The "bucklicht Männlein" (little hunchback) features at various points in Benjamin's writing as a reminder of that which has been forgotten, but deserves our attention: he is, according to Rainer Nägele, a "figure of the displaced, forgotten things that haunt, as emissaries of greater powers, our lives and (hi)stories."[89] In carrying with him reminders of an archaic past (*Urbilder*), he is, moreover, what Miriam Hansen calls, a figure of "transgenerational memory."[90] In Leo's family novel, he serves to bring into view those things that have been obscured by the enormity of the Nazi past. In *Berliner Kindheit*, the

hunchback is described as the elusive object of the child's gaze; only as an adult does the narrator understand that the roles were actually reversed: "Allein ich habe es nie gesehn. Es sah nur immer mich" (Only, I never saw him. It was he who always saw me).[91] In this sense, the little man's hunchback is a kind of archive, a repository of all the images it captures of the naïve child in its inattentiveness. Martin, the "Augenmensch" (visual person), has captured memory images that others around him did not see, and Leo makes space in his narrative for this figure who has himself been overlooked. Moreover, Benjamin's "bucklicht Männlein" makes the child painfully aware of his inattentiveness by causing mishaps. In Benjamin's *Berliner Kindheit* he is, then, a disruptive force that upsets bourgeois order. In *Flut und Boden*, Martin's disruptive potential is directed slightly differently; namely, at the bourgeois order of memory culture and dutiful *Aufarbeitung*. He upsets the clichéd narratives of the *Nazienkel* who discovers and investigates his grandfather's Nazi past, but as a figure of "transgenerational memory" offers his great-nephew an opportunity to view the other images he has collected for him and others who succeed him.

Per Leo's attempt to make his grandfather's Nazi past seem diminutive by focusing on the counterfigure, Martin, might suggest that the author is trying obfuscate this past. Indeed, for some critics, Leo does not scrutinize the figure of Friedrich enough.[92] However, his Nazi legacy does persist in the narrative, and in the penultimate chapter the author introduces another family member who has struggled significantly with the burden of the past. M41, another of Friedrich's children, spent his life trapped in the patriarchal order of his family history, constrained by the law of the father even as he tried to reject it. Despite attempts to travel and leave Vegesack, he ends up back in the patrician house and is still there when Friedrich dies (*FB*, 10). In 2003, five years before the narrator encounters Martin's archive, he conducts and records interviews with his father, M41, and another uncle, M44. While his father and other uncle respond with well-rehearsed narratives, M41 lacks their self-control, but for this reason is a more interesting interlocutor. He is curious to know about his nephew's research into his father's SS activities, not just to understand Friedrich's role but also to find out something about himself. Unlike M44, an exemplary 68er, M41 has not been able to reject his father and has grown up in his shadow. He even believes that he is an SS member because he was born when his father worked for the SS Race and Settlement Main Office: "Weißt du, dass ich in der SS war? Mit der Geburt, dooh" (*FB* 304; Did you know I was in the SS? From birth). The narrator can neither confirm nor refute this claim, but thinks it is plausible. For M41, this bureaucratic reflex has given him a strange sense of being implicated in a system in which he never had any active part. If, as Heineman observes, "the technocratic designations" of Friedrich's

children show how individual narratives are inextricably linked to the "dehumanized and bureaucratic aspects of this history," this is seen most acutely in the tragic figure of M41.[93]

M41 is both aware of and affected by the traumatic intersection of history and personal identity. Perhaps for this reason the narrator shows his uncle a recent publication that details the work of the SS Race and Settlement Main Office.[94] They look at the glossary of names and the narrator points out that the entry for his grandfather precedes that of Josef Mengele: "Hier: M kommt gleich nach L, und Mengele gleich nach Leo" (*FB*, 322; Look: *M* comes right after *L*, and Mengele right after Leo). The proximity between the two men is underscored by the repetition of Friedrich—Mengele appears erroneously as Friedrich Mengele. Here, uncle and nephew are struck by the effects of alphabetical ordering, which make the difference between one of the most notorious faces of the Nazi eugenic campaign and a middle-ranking SS officer negligible. The narrator also shows M41 the book's cover image, which features photographic images—a profile, half-profile, and a portrait—used in classifying and certifying Polish children as sufficiently or insufficiently Aryan. They are thus photographs "wie aus der Verbrecherkartei" (*FB*, 322; like something from criminal records). M41 notes immediately which child would have been deemed Aryan and which not (*FB*, 322). When the narrator asks him why he is so sure, he explains that he grew up with his father's regular slide shows of such images: "Er war ja ganz versessen darauf, Menschen zu unterscheiden" (*FB*, 322; He was completely obsessed with finding differences between people). Here, again, what seems to have become history returns as family memory. The archive images that support and illustrate historical work are remembered by M41 as the visual supports of Friedrich's racist typology and taxonomy.

M41 remembers his father's obsession not only with finding differences between people but also with concealing differences where they posed a personal threat. The narrator's father had said that Friedrich had given M41 a shaved haircut like that of the Polish boy in the photograph. M41 corrects the anecdote: his father shaved the back of his head because he has a double hair whorl, a mark of difference that Friedrich was presumably anxious to render invisible. Friedrich's obsession with difference has preoccupied M41 his whole life. His second wife was a Slovakian and he never told his father about the existence of his son, Friedrich's own "slawischen Enkel" (*FB* 323; Slavic grandson). Despite Friedrich's attempts, supported by the archival logic of category and type, to identify what was to be excluded, these undesirable elements appear in his own family nonetheless and after all. And in a gesture of resistance, M41 fosters a very different attitude to that of his father. He ends the interview (the narrator's last encounter with and document of his uncle, who dies in 2011) by saying, "Wir sollten uns alle mehr vermischen. Das hab ich

schon oft gedacht" (*FB* 323; We should all mix more. I've often thought that). Although he only meets him once, the narrator likes M41's son, and he also gets on well with Martin's grandson. In the eyes of the Nazis, neither of these men should have been born, but their existence and their place in the Leo family, despite Friedrich's devotion to Hitler's cause, is another way in which Per Leo tries to develop a family narrative that is not dominated by his Nazi grandfather. Crucially, however, as this penultimate chapter dedicated to M41 shows, he does not try to bypass or dismiss his connection to the history of National Socialism, that is, his status as *Nazienkel*; rather he seeks models of transgenerational mediation that allow him to integrate this difficult legacy in a larger historical and cultural narrative, one where he can also find a place.

Flut und Boden concludes with this larger narrative in a chapter that is both facilitated by the narrator's engagement with Martin's archive and seemingly dedicated to this crucial counterfigure. If Petrowskaja fails to return to the older history of her family ("so in den letzten 200 Jahren" [from the last 200 years or so]), this is exactly what Per Leo manages to achieve at the end of his family novel.[95] He returns to Vegesack, the River Weser, and its namesake, Germany's first steamship, *Die Weser*, all captured in the engraving that appears on the front and back inside covers of the book, which was made by Anton Radl "vor knapp zweihundert Jahren" (*FB*, 327; almost two hundred years ago). He returns to Johann Lange, shipbuilder and ancestor, to reconsider the place of the steamship in his family history. The narrator notes that, for those in the know, *Die Weser* was as important as *Der Adler*, Germany's first railway train, built just four years later. For the *Nazienkel* technology, iconically the railway, is tainted by its abuses in the Third Reich, but steamboats offer a connection to water—the *other* element associated with the *other* brother Martin—and to the Leo family's pre-Nazi history, and it is through this technology that the narrator reconstructs his family history in the final chapter. Reading Martin's diaries and memoirs, he has learned how significant the shipbuilding industry and steam technology were for this descendant of Johann Lange (*FB*, 339). He even discovers how Martin, nicknamed Bind, describes himself as a kind of steam vehicle, taking walks in Saxony while smoking his pipe: "Bind dampft durch die DDR" (*FB*, 221; Bind puffs along in the GDR).

Martin passed on his enthusiasm for steamships to his grandson, S., whom the narrator visits in Dresden. Recalling this visit, the narrator links Vegesack, the place that Friedrich never left other than during the war, and the former East Germany, where Martin made his home. Out and about they see the *Diesbar*, an old steamboat, pass by on the Elbe, and the narrator is profoundly moved by the experience. In an almost epiphanic moment, he feels past and present meet: "Ein paar Herzschläge lang neigte ein fremdes Zeitalter sein Haupt zu uns hinab—und entschwand"

(*FB* 343; For a few heartbeats, a distant time bent its head down to us—and disappeared). Later he remembers a picture drawn in felt-tip pen by his young daughter, stored on his phone. Looking again, after his encounter with the *Diesbar*, he is struck by his daughter's apparently spontaneous choice of subject, two steamships, and the coincidence that she executed the drawing sitting beneath an oil painting of Johann Lange's grandson, Diedrich: "Jetzt aber berührte es mich ähnlich stark wie kurz zuvor die Begegnung mit der *Diesbar*, weniger eindrücklich, aber dafür umso tiefer. Beide Erlebnisse, das stille Dahingleiten des echten und der surreale Wolkenflug der gemalten Dampfer schienen mir durch eine geheimnisvolle Spannung miteinander verbunden" (*FB*, 345; But now it touched me with a similar strength as the earlier encounter with the *Diesbar*, less impressive, but all the more deeply. Both experiences, the silent gliding by of the real steamer and the surreal flight of the steamers in the drawing seemed to be connected to each other by a mysterious tension).

The narrator realizes that this is not just any old image, "sondern das Leitmotiv unseres Familienmythos" (*FB*, 345; rather the leitmotif of our family myth). Indeed, unlike the rest of the novel, which focuses on the Leos as a "schriftfixierte Familie" (family obsessed with writing),[96] whose members include the "Schreibtischtäter" Friedrich as well as Lutheran preachers all too skilled at mobilizing the power of words, this final chapter is filled with images and scenes of image-making: Anton Radl's engraving, Johann Lange "im Zeichenraum" (*FB*, 335; in his drawing room), a watercolor of a steamship by S's sister (*FB*, 343), and finally the child's drawing. Here, the narrator collects the Benjaminian *Urbilder* (archaic images) of his family history and views them, following the example of Martin as little hunchback, as a medium of transgenerational memory. His great-uncle left Vegesack, but he never forgot "das Bild der Weser, des Flusses wie das gleichnamigen Schiffs" (the image of the Weser, of the river as well as the ship of the same name), and he taught his grandson about different types of ships, and also to value their individuality (*FB*, 340). The narrator's encounter with Martin's personal archive has allowed him to inherit something similar, and so he is able to ensure connections within the family where past rupture might have threatened its future: "Mein Großvater war anders als Bind. Und S. ist anders als ich. Aber wir verstehen uns gut" (*FB*, 341; My grandfather was different from Bind. And S. is different from me. But we get on well). Nevertheless, the narrator's visit to S. and his two epiphanic encounters happen in 2011, the same year in which M41 dies. Thus, his visions of an alternative mode of engaging with the past, inspired by his great-uncle, are still marked by the uncle who failed to escape his father's legacy and whose tragedy acts as a reminder of the burden of the Nazi past after all.

Archive work is fundamental to the prose narratives discussed here, but it reveals a profound unease about what it means to use archive

material for the work of remembering the Nazi past. For Krechel, archive work as literary practice functions as a memorial gesture, ensuring that subsequent generations remember the lives of others. However, her own protagonist's subjugation to the archive reminds us that archives are sites of power that determine how the lives of others are inscribed and thus what remains for subsequent memory work. The role of the archive in Krechel's carefully researched project contrasts with Iris Hanika's fictional narrative, in which the archive is a symptom of Germany's pathological attachment to its Nazi past, and archive work, an obsessive pursuit that indulges this melancholy fixation. Through her protagonist Hanika produces a searing critique of memory culture in the Berlin Republic, which in her vision revolves around the archive. Katja Petrowskaja is also critical of contemporary memory culture in *Vielleicht Esther* but, writing autobiographically, feels very much implicated in its imperatives. Petrowskaja, as part of a younger generation, is dependent for her narrative on archival resources, but her encounters with the material that remains to her causes her to reflect on the "archive-as-subject," following Stoler, and the losses and failings this circumscribes. Per Leo also understands that archive work is the task that remains to his generation, but he finds that it has been reduced to, and instrumentalized in, a problematic cliché. In response, Leo seeks to go beyond the archive of National Socialism and a simplistic historiography that tells him nothing new, instead drawing on other repositories that contribute to his understanding of the post-Holocaust archive and the kind of legacy this constitutes.

Conclusion

In September 2017, Gerhard Richter donated part of his *Birkenau-Zyklus* (discussed in chapter 1) to the Bundestag. A print of his four abstract paintings, along with reproductions of the four *Sonderkommando* photos, now hangs in the entrance hall of the German Parliament opposite *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* (discussed in the introduction). This juxtaposition seems to encapsulate a narrative about the archival turn in memory culture. In the early years of the Berlin Republic Richter planned to return to the archive of the Holocaust, to use images from the camps in his commission, but he rejected this idea, instead reproducing the abstract design of the German flag. Two decades later he returns to the Holocaust archive after all and makes a figurative depiction of the four images from Auschwitz the underlying formal feature of his abstract canvases in *Birkenau-Zyklus*.[1] If the archive returns as the unfinished business of Richter's project and of German memory culture, the location of this new work in the Bundestag, and opposite this earlier work evoking an archive *in absentia*, now suggests resolution and a past that has been "worked through." An answer to the fraught question about Holocaust representability and the role the archive has to play in this has been provided by a German artist and displayed in the symbolic center of the newly unified German nation. Indeed, housing Richter's archive work in the place that is both emblematically German and emblematic of the Berlin Republic's commitment to *Erinnerungskultur* suggests that the future of Holocaust memory has been secured—moreover, secured on the "German model."[2]

However, this book has shown the archival turn in German memory culture to be more complicated than such a narrative would allow. The readings offered indicate, across different media and cultural modes, how the archive is increasingly fundamental to post-witness remembering, but its status and significance for subsequent generations are compromised by the violence it traces. The artists, directors, and authors discussed here turn to the archive not simply as historical source but also, to expand on Stoler's definition, as the subject of their engagement with the culture and politics of memory.[3] For the "generation of postmemory,"[4] the archive of National Socialism and the archive of the Holocaust return now as what I have called the post-Holocaust archive, at once radically different and inextricably linked, a haunted legacy that does not provide simple answers to their questions about Germany's past. Instead, it confronts them with their own belatedness and resists any sense of a "worked through" past.

Their engagements with the archive reveal the difficulties of using such an ambivalent resource for a late phase of memory work and have the potential to intervene in and critique memory-political gestures that otherwise do not reflect on the status and significance of what remains.

I have shown how archive work is performed in the production of memorials, in documentary film and theater, and by the authors and protagonists of literary texts to make visible and tangible the work of memory. Turning to material that has an indexical relationship to the period in question seems, moreover, to authenticate and document the very process of remembering and commemorating a past that is increasingly remote. However, archive work also makes those who perform it aware of the growing gap between National Socialism and the Holocaust and the next generations who remain committed to the task of remembering. As Michael Sheringham tells us, the encounter with the archive makes us aware our "lack of mastery" over the past, which nevertheless still has a claim on us in the present.[5] It reminds us of our belatedness and reminds us that the memory of this traumatic past "has become other."[6] Indeed, those performing archive work in the chapters above invariably find that, "[r]ather than add something, the encounter with the archive may take something away."[7]

The memorials, documentaries, and texts discussed all evidence an archival turn in German memory culture. They also show this turn to be a return, both of and to the task of "working through" (*Aufarbeitung*). At a late stage of remembering the Nazi past—when most of the witnesses are gone and contemporary generations have no immediate connection to the period—the archive serves a complicated, even contradictory, function. With its return, it counteracts any sense that the task of *Aufarbeitung* might be nearing "completion" by facilitating a renewed commitment to remembering the past—that is, not forgetting the crimes of National Socialism and its victims. Yet in its bureaucratic structuring—what remains is inevitably determined by the regime that produced its victims systematically—the archive available for memory work threatens to make this a process that, governed by repeatability, reduces memorial subjects to clichés. Moreover, the archive allows at once for the duty and penance of remembering to be performed repeatedly *and* for each iteration of this task to be completed, that is, for the duty to be done. In this sense, the archive reveals a tension or unease, to quote Assmann after Freud, in German memory culture, namely, between the desire to see the task of memory available for completion (and thus potentially completed) and available for infinite performance in response to the imperative upon which the contemporary nation is founded.

Indeed, the discussion of memorials, films, plays, and texts shows above all that archive work is an uneasy task. Its performance asks how the material that remains was produced and how this came to remain

where other material did not. In other words, it shows how the power and politics of the archive affect the politics of memory culture. Specifically, the encounter with the post-Holocaust archive confronts us with what is absent, with what has been lost, and it shows us how what remains is inflected by the violence to which it testifies. Despite the fundamental gaps that the archive opens up, it ensures the future of Holocaust memory after all, that is, after the destruction of Auschwitz and after the witnesses. The turn of contemporary artists, directors, and authors to material memory is key to activating the archive, to making it meaningful in and for the present, but it necessarily entails acts of mediation—of narrative, framing, staging—that change what remains and thus change what remains for the future. The archival turn, then, does not simply signal the next phase in the process of remembering and working through National Socialism and the Holocaust. It signals the effects of the archive's belatedness and futurity, its violence and power (*Gewalt*) on the very process it ensures. Here I have argued for the particular status of the archive after Auschwitz and set out the implications of work with the post-Holocaust archive, but the political and ethical questions raised might extend to the way we use and reuse other post-traumatic archives. Where remembering relies on what remains, but what remains is compromised by the violence to be remembered, archive work is a difficult but necessary task that requires us to engage with traumatic memory in its otherness.

As I indicated in the introduction, the futurity of the archive is already inscribed in the contemporary archival turn as a return to and of the archive, where the material available to the generation of postmemory for the performance of a belated phase of memory work now also includes the political and historical archives used in the early attempts at *Aufarbeitung*, and thus the *Aufbau* of later memory culture.[8] The belated legacy of the post-Holocaust archive encompasses not only the traces of National Socialist violence but also, now, the subsequent work of remembering and attempted working through, seen emblematically in the work of Fritz Bauer in initiating the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials. These hearings formed the basis of Peter Weiss's landmark postwar documentary play *Die Ermittlung* (The Investigation, 1965), but the trials also provoked a lesser-known work by Sigrid Sigurdsson, one of whose *Offene Archive* projects was discussed in chapter 2. Like Weiss, Sigurdsson watched the proceedings and was particularly struck by the gaps and silences in witness testimony. In response she created a vitrine with a reel of magnetic tape cut to symbolize these nonverbal elements. In 2014, fifty years later and with support from the Fritz Bauer Foundation, she and her son, Gunnar Brandt-Sigurdsson, realized this project in the context of her most recent "open archive," *Die Bibliothek der Alten* (The Library of the Old). *Die Redepausen* (The Pauses in Speech) uses digitized recordings of the trials and constitutes a kind of audio collage of all the verbal breaks in the

testimony given.[9] Sigurdsson's work with the archives of the trials shows how the contemporary archival turn in German memory culture is a return of and to the archive, and includes the archives that form the foundations of *Aufarbeitung* upon which the memory culture of the Berlin Republic was built. Moreover, as a turn to the *post*-Holocaust archive, it inscribes the belatedness of this process *and* the belated position of those who seek to understand both postwar memory politics and the traumatic events to be "worked through"—Sigurdsson's later return to her own work in collaboration with her son. Above all, it inscribes the absent archive of that which cannot be said, the silences that the process of *Aufarbeitung* can only record as omissions but that belong emphatically to the post-Holocaust archive as the specter of its own post-traumatic condition. It is this specter that haunts future memory work, a reminder to later generations of both the difficulty and importance of engaging with this legacy.

If, as Derrida tells us, the archive is itself "a question of the future," what might the future of the archival turn in German memory culture be?[10] Just a month after Richter donated part of his *Birkenau-Zyklus* to the German Parliament, it was announced that the text and audio files produced at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials had been accepted for inclusion in the UNESCO "Memory of the World" register. This decision indicates the global relevance of this archive, but it also revealed the extent to which—and this has been the premise of my argument here—its significance is still in many ways nationally inscribed and circumscribed: it is held in a German archive, the Hessian State Archive in Wiesbaden; the witness statements that make up the audio files were given in German, or include the German version provided by interpreters; and, commenting on the announcement, Hesse's minister for science and art noted that the UNESCO status emphasized the unique significance of the files for "die Nachkriegsgeschichte und Erinnerungskultur *Deutschlands*" (*Germany*'s postwar history and memory culture).[11] Nevertheless, the UNESCO decision might signal the future of the archival turn described here, namely increasingly transnational, a shift in focus seen already in the *Stolpersteine* set in European countries outside Germany and in Petrowskaja's *Vielleicht Esther*.[12] And as Sigurdsson's *Redepausen* project indicates, the future of the archival turn in German memory culture might also be increasingly transgenerational and transmedial.[13] As the archive crosses such boundaries, it might secure the future of Holocaust memory in diverse cultural contexts, but it asks renewed questions about who will use it, how, and for what purpose.

Notes

Introduction

[1] See Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur*. Assmann writes that German memory culture is written into the statues of the Berlin Republic and that it underpins the state—is "staatstragend." She also notes that a commitment to the upkeep of historical memorial sites is written into the Unification Treaty and that the proposal for a Holocaust memorial in Berlin was approved by the parliament with a large majority (69).

[2] Stoler's discussion in *Along the Archival Grain* of an "archival turn" in the humanities has led to the broader use of the phrase in a range of cultural contexts.

[3] See the curator, Andreas Kaernbach's, description of the installation on the Bundestag website, http://www.bundestag.de/kulturundgeschichte/kunst/kuenstler/boltanski, accessed July 25, 2018.

[4] See Endlich, *Wege zur Erinnerung*, 244–45.

[5] Richter returned to this motif in 2015 to produce one of his *Serien* for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Unification (*Serien SRG IV: Sonderedition zum 25. Jahrestag der deutschen Wiedervereinigung*).

[6] Richter was heavily criticized for his submission, which was perceived as uninspired (Jenni-Preihs, *Gerhard Richter und die Geschichte Deutschlands*, 210). See also Fleckner, "Die Demokratie der ästhetischen Erfahrung."

[7] Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*: The Anomic Archive," 117.

[8] Richter and Friedel, *Atlas*, panels 647–49, "Reichstag, 1997."

[9] See the video on Gerhard Richter's website, https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/videos/exhibitions/gerhard-richter-atlas-54, accessed July 26, 2018.

[10] Fleckner sees in *Schwarz, Rot, Gold* a palimpsest of recent German history, including the ghostly presence of Richter's RAF cycle, *18. October 1977* ("Die Demokratie der ästhetischen Erfahrung," 292, 297).

[11] Foster, "An Archival Impulse." See also Foster, "The Archive without Museums"; Enwesor, *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*; and Spieker, *The Big Archive*.

[12] Huyssen, *Present Pasts*, 49–71.

[13] Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 224–26.

[14] The archive is showing itself to be a particularly significant paradigm for German Studies, as seen in several recent special issues and edited collections (for example, Osborne, *Archive and Memory in German Literature and Visual Culture*; Brandt and Glajar, *The Politics of Archives*; and Petrescu, Lewis, and Glajar,

Archive und Geheimdienstakten). Despite the post-*Wende* focus of the present study, it falls outside its scope to address the fundamental relationship between the archive and memory in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). This topic has been addressed by a number of scholars; see, for example, Petrescu, Lewis, and Glajar, *Archive und Geheimdienstakten*, as well as Wallen, "Narrative Tensions"; Lewis, "Erinnerung, Zeugenschaft und die Staatssicherheit"; and Jones, *The Media of Testimony*.

[15] On the use of digital practices to repurpose archive material see Torlasco, *The Heretical Archive*; on the role of digital archives in Holocaust memory see Shandler, *Holocaust Memory in the Digital Age*.

[16] The television docudrama *Eichmanns Ende—Liebe, Verrat, Tod* (Eichmann's End—Love, Betrayal, Death, 2010) also featured Bauer as a character, played by Axel Milberg, and was broadcast the same year as Ilon Ziok's documentary film *Fritz Bauer: Tod auf Raten* (Fritz Bauer: Death by Installments) was released. 2014 saw the opening of a traveling exhibition about Bauer at the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt, *Fritz Bauer: Der Staatsanwalt. NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht* (Fritz Bauer, The State Prosecutor: Nazi Crimes before the Court). Irmtrud Wojak published the first biography of Bauer in 2009, *Fritz Bauer 1903–1968: Eine Biografie* (Fritz Bauer 1903–1968: A Biography); Ronen Steinke's biography, *Fritz Bauer oder Auschwitz vor Gericht* (Fritz Bauer, or Auschwitz on Trial) appeared four years later.

[17] Rentschler, *The Uses and Abuses of Cinema*, 320.

[18] Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur*, 59. *Erinnerungskultur*—memory culture—can of course refer to the memory of other or broader historical periods, but in the German context is predominantly associated with the memory of National Socialism. See Cornelißen, "Was heißt Erinnerungskultur?"

[19] Assmann, "Canon and Archive," 102–3.

[20] Peter Reichel, in *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland*, refers to the "politisch-justitielle Auseinandersetzung" (political-judicial engagement) with Hitler's regime and to the "wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung" (academic engagement) with the history of National Socialism as two of four *Handlungsfelder* (areas of activity) after 1945, the other two being public memory and memorial culture and the artistic representation of this period of history (9–10).

[21] Freudian processes of remembering, repeating, and working through, as well as the gestures of *Trauerarbeit* (mourning work) and *Erinnerungsarbeit* (memory work) are fundamental to the critical responses to the discourse and process of *NS-Aufarbeitung*. They form the basis of Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlichs' watershed study *Die Unfähigkeit zu Trauern* (The Inability to Mourn) and important critical assessments of postwar culture, such as Santner, *Stranded Objects*.

[22] This was the central repository for material relating to Nazi administration, which was saved from destruction and put under US administration. It was a major resource for the Nuremberg and Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials (see Beddie, "The Berlin Document Center").

[23] According to Wilson, *Toute la mémoire du monde*, "exists with and against *Nuit et bruillard*" (*Alain Resnais*, 34).

[24] Zygmunt Bauman traces the links between the Holocaust and the bureaucratic systems of modernity in his seminal account *Modernity and the Holocaust*, and Adler's in-depth study *Der verwaltete Mensch* (The Administrated Human) traces how administrative procedures were used to effect the Holocaust.

[25] Evoking the most famous list of Holocaust narrative/narrative cinema, *Schindler's List*, this *Erschießungsliste* (shooting list) emphasizes how its bureaucratic function is to administer radical binaries, permitting life or condemning to death.

[26] See Popescu and Schult, *Revisiting Holocaust Memory in the Post-Witness Era*.

[27] See Hirsch, *Family Frames*, and Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*; Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 22.

[28] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 227–49.

[29] Ganeva, "From West-German Väterliteratur to Post-Wall Enkelliteratur," 151.

[30] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 15–16.

[31] Ibid., 22–24.

[32] Ibid., 249.

[33] For example, Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, describes how multidirectional memory, the concept he has developed to think about transnational Holocaust memory, itself works to create a "transversal" archive of dispersed memories (18).

[34] Van Alphen, *Staging the Archive*, 208. See also Van Alphen, "List Mania in Holocaust Commemoration."

[35] Adorno's much-quoted statement, "nach Auschwitz ein Gedicht zu schreiben ist barbarisch" has generated intense debate about the role and status of art and literature after 1945 ("Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft," 31).

[36] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 5.

[37] I evoke here the language of post-catastrophe following Didi-Huberman, who, in *Images in Spite of All*, his essay on Auschwitz photography, discusses the archive that remains "in spite of all." I turn to this concept in chapter 1.

[38] The film's motivic use of Kurt Weill's love song "Speak Low," echoes this conflicting temporality ("We're late, darling, we're late / The curtain descends, everything ends too soon, too soon"). I offer a more sustained reading of the film in Osborne, "Too Soon and Too Late: The Problem of Archive Work in Christian Petzold's *Phoenix*."

[39] See, for example, Steinhoff, "Ich mag keine Nazis ins Bild setzen," and Neil Young in interview with Petzold, "The Past Is Not Myself" (40). Perhaps most significant, Petzold includes this anecdote in his "Director's Statement," in the film's press kit.

[40] Arendt, "The Concentration Camps," 745.

[41] Kapczynski and McGlothlin, in the introduction to in *Persistent Legacy*, 8.

[42] See Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur* and Jureit and Schneider, "Unbehagen mit der Erinnerung."

[43] Jureit, "Erinnerung wird zum Gesellschaftszustand," 20.

[44] Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur*.

[45] Ibid., 9–10. More fundamentally, Assmann's evocation of Freud draws attention to the tension between culture and barbarism that finds extreme expression in the camps and now again in the camp-as-museum (see Didi-Huberman, *Bark*, 23–24).

[46] Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen*, 59.

[47] Jureit and Schneider, "Unbehagen mit der Erinnerung," 10; Jureit, "Erinnerung wird zum Gesellschaftszustand," 26–29.

[48] Ibid., 23, 29–30.

[49] Jureit and Schneider, "Unbehagen mit der Erinnerung," 11, 15.

[50] Jureit, "Erinnerung wird zum Gesellschaftszustand," 19, 34.

[51] Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur*, 70–71.

Chapter One

[1] Steedman describes the feverish aspect of historians' archive work in her study *Dust*.

[2] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 46.

[3] Ebeling and Günzel, *Archivologie*. Russell, *Archiveology*, also uses the term "archiveology" to describe the work of filmmakers with archival material.

[4] Ebeling, "Die Asche des Archivs," 36.

[5] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 13.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 54–58.

[8] Ibid., 57.

[9] Assmann, "Canon and Archive" 100–104.

[10] Ibid., 102 (emphasis mine), 103.

[11] Ibid., 102.

[12] Ibid., 103.

[13] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 2.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., 7. H. G. Adler also describes the etymological links between *Gewalt* (violence, power) and *Verwaltung* (administration) in *Der verwaltete Mensch*, 879–81.

[16] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," 20.

[17] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 4.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," 23. As Sheringham, notes, the archive houses "what the social body often desires to repress or keep hidden" ("Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 47–48).

[20] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," 22.

[21] Adler notes how the bureaucratic phrase "Ablegen zu den Akten" (file away the documents) describes the completed process of liquidation in the camps (*Der verwaltete Mensch*, 869).

[22] Sekula, "Reading an Archive," 444.

[23] Sekula, "The Body and the Archive."

[24] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 8–9. Vismann also notes how Goethe organized his own documents to control his "literary afterlife" and prevent "posthumous distortions" (*Files*, 113).

[25] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 6.

[26] Foucault, "The Life of Infamous Men."

[27] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 8–9.

[28] Foucault, "The Life of Infamous Men," quoted in Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 32. The question of archival agency also increasingly relates to passive or nonconsensual archivization in the digital age. The pervasive use of surveillance technologies and tracking devices means that we are hard-pressed to live our daily lives without being archived in ways we are unable to control.

[29] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," 20.

[30] Ibid., 21.

[31] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 145–46.

[32] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 50.

[33] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 36.

[34] The relationship between the archive and the embodied memory expressed in performance is explored in seminal works by Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, and Schneider, *Performing Remains*. In *Future Memory*, a project about inheritance, performance, and the archive, the choreographer and dance scholar Kate Elswit has engaged with precisely these questions (see Elswit, "Inheriting Dance's Alternative Histories"). A project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, *Performing the Jewish Archive*, also considers what it means to stage past works in a contemporary context. It aims to "explore hidden archives, uncover and perform lost works, and create a legacy for the future" (see project website, http://ptja.leeds.ac.uk, accessed February 2, 2016).

[35] Foucault, "The Life of Infamous Men," quoted in Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 32.

[36] Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida*, 277.

[37] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 50. See Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 3, 116–26.

[38] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 80.

[39] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 51.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 84.

[42] Ibid., 11.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., 98.

[45] Ibid., 11.

[46] Freud, *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens 'Gradiva,'* 35.

[47] Jensen quoted in Freud, *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens 'Gradiva,'* 41, 93.

[48] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 93, 92.

[49] Ibid., 97–98.

[50] Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida*, 276.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Bell, "Infinite Archives," 149.

[54] Ibid., 160.

[55] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 17.

[56] Derrida, *Copy, Archive, Signature*, 3.

[57] Richter, "Between Translation and Invention," ix–xxxviii.

[58] Raulff, "Grand Hotel Abyss: Towards a Theory of the Modern Literary Archive," 164.

[59] Freud, *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens 'Gradiva,'* 122.

[60] Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida*, 276.

[61] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 90; Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida*, 277.

[62] Caruth, *Literature in the Ashes of History*, xi.

[63] Ibid., 75.

[64] Ibid., 80.

[65] Ibid., 87–88.

[66] Eaglestone, "Derrida and the Holocaust," 30–31.

[67] Derrida quoted in Eaglestone, "Derrida and the Holocaust," 31.

[68] Ibid.," 33; Derrida quoted in ibid., 32.

[69] Ibid., 32.

[70] Ibid., 32, 35.

[71] Körte, *Essbare Lettern, brennendes Buch*, 122.

[72] Ibid., 123.

[73] Ibid., 151.

[74] Agamben, *The Remnants of Auschwitz*, 161.

[75] Ibid., 164, 158.

[76] Ibid., 162.

[77] Ibid., 161.

[78] Kluger, "The Future of Holocaust Literature," 391.

[79] For analysis of the significance of Holocaust video testimony, see Michaelis, *Erzählräume nach Auschwitz*.

[80] Agamben, *The Remnants of Auschwitz*, 158, 145.

[81] Didi-Huberman, "Das Archiv brennt," 15.

[82] Ibid., 16.

[83] Raulff, "Grand Hotel Abyss," 164.

[84] Fritzsche, "The Archive and the German Nation," 203.

[85] Ibid., 187.

[86] Ibid., 197.

[87] Ibid., 200.

[88] Ibid., 200–201.

[89] Ibid., 204.

[90] Peter Weiss, "Meine Ortschaft," 121–24.

[91] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 75.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, 333; Wickerson, "Seeing the Sites," describes this effect as "the artifice of collective memorialization" (203).

[94] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 76.

[95] Ibid., 75.

[96] See Duttlinger, "The Ethics of Curiosity," 231.

[97] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 78–79.

[98] Smith, "'Über eure Kriegserlebnisse dürft und könnt ihr sprechen,'" 391.

[99] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 75.

[100] Other films that critique the camp as museum and memorial site include Rex Bloomstein's documentary about Mauthausen, *KZ* (2006), Frauke Finsterwalder's dark parody, *Finsterworld* (2013), and more recently Sergei Loznitsa's documentary about the camp tourist industry, *Austerlitz* (2016).

[101] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 85.

[102] Thalheim also did his civilian service at the education center at Auschwitz, but he explains in the audio commentary provided on the DVD of *Am Ende kommen Touristen* that he was more idealistic than Sven.

[103] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 76.

[104] Kapczynski, "Past Lessons," 12.

[105] Wickerson, "Seeing the Sites," 203.

[106] Thalheim, *Am Ende kommen Touristen*, DVD audio commentary.

[107] See Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, and Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*. Krzemiński remarks lugubriously that this film makes more of an impression on young people than his own narratives.

[108] See Rupnow, *Vernichten und Erinnern*.

[109] Hubmann and Lanz, *Zu Hause im Exil*, 193.

[110] See Rupnow, "Endlager und Mahnmal."

[111] Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941-1945*; Sebald, *Austerlitz*, 335–49.

[112] For example, Adler, "Die Geschichte des Prager Jüdischen Museums."

[113] Adler, "Good against Evil?," 89.

[114] Hubmann and Lanz, *Zu Hause im Exil*, 193.

[115] Adler, "Good against Evil?," 89. For a discussion of Adler's work with the Prague Jewish Museum and his thematization of the idea of the Holocaust museum, see Osborne, "Memory, Witness and the (Holocaust) Museum."

[116] Sebald, *Austerlitz*, 335–49.

[117] Ibid., 349.

[118] Ibid., 353.

[119] Lanzmann, "Niemand war in Auschwitz."

[120] Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All*, 25.

[121] Ibid., 22, emphasis in original.

[122] Ibid., 5.

[123] Ibid., 22, emphasis in original.

[124] As well as the four *Sonderkommando* images, prisoners also produced and preserved the material known now as the Scrolls of Auschwitz (see Chare and Williams, *Matters of Testimony*).

[125] Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All*, 6.

[126] Ibid., 23.

[127] Ibid., 34–36, emphasis in original.

[128] The four Birkenau images have also received renewed attention in László Nemes' film *Son of Saul* (2015). Didi-Huberman wrote a letter to the director published as *Sortir du noir*.

[129] Sutnik, "Cruel Tragedies, Consoling Pleasures," 28.

[130] Ibid., 33.

[131] The project is carefully documented in Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?* See also "The Oneg Shabbat Archives: 'Let the World Read and Know,'" Yad Vashem: The World Holocaust Remembrance Center, accessed September 26, 2019, https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/ringelblum/index.asp.

[132] Quoted in Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?* 2.

[133] Ibid., 14.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

[136] See Buchloh, *Gerhard Richters* Birkenau-*Bilder*.

[137] Richter and Friedel, *Atlas*, panel 19, "Fotos aus Büchern, 1967," and panel 635, "Holocaust, 1997." These images are the photographs of women running and the *Sonderkommando* burning bodies, respectively.

[138] Didi-Huberman, "Die Malerei in ihrem aporetischen Moment," letter to Gerhard Richter, March 4, 2014, 37. Richter intended to display these images at an exhibition in Dusseldorf with Konrad Lueg, but abandoned this plan (Richter and Friedel, *Atlas*, panels 19–22, "Fotos aus Büchern, 1967," "Fotos aus Magazinen, 1967"; Buchloh, *Gerhard Richters* Birkenau-*Bilder*, 7–9).

[139] Didi-Huberman claims the review appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, but it in fact appeared in *Die Zeit* ("Die Malerei in ihrem aporetischen Moment," 38); Bredekamp, "Blick in dunkle Kammern."

[140] Didi-Huberman, "Out of the Plan, out of the Plane," letter to Gerhard Richter, February 19, 2014, 170, 157, 166.

[141] Richter and Serota, "I Have Nothing to Say and I'm Saying It," 25, cited in Didi-Huberman, "Out of the Plan, out of the Plane," 172.

[142] Richter, Voss, and Geimer, "Gespräch mit Gerhard Richter."

[143] Didi-Huberman, "Die Malerei in ihrem aporetischen Moment," 31, italics in original.

[144] Ibid., 33.

[145] Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All*, 34, emphasis in original; "Die Malerei in ihrem aporetischen Moment," 37, emphasis in original.

[146] Ibid., 41.

[147] Ibid., 47.

[148] Ibid., 49–50.

[149] Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All*, 23.

[150] Richter states that the photographs are *not* shown as an artwork, rather as document and memento (see Andreas Kernbach (curator), flyer, https://www.bundestag.de/blob/546610/b2d7fdcd3950fc4721fc4da32cc3861c/flyer_birkenau-data.pdf).

Chapter Two

[1] Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 75.

[2] Ibid., 84.

[3] On the countermonument or countermemorial see James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*.

[4] Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 85.

[5] Ibid., 89.

[6] Ibid., 84.

[7] Ibid., 77. Richard Crownshaw argues that in so doing countermonuments did not simply challenge the grand narrative of history, they in fact "eclipsed" the very history at stake. He reads the Holocaust Memorial's information center as part of the problem, arguing that the documentation is made part of the self-referential memory work that has "subsumed history" (Crownshaw, *The Afterlife of Holocaust Memory*, 182, 190).

[8] Niven discusses the works by Gerz and Stih and Schnock as examples of countermemorials (Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 76).

[9] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 46.

[10] Marcuse, "Holocaust Memorials."

[11] Ibid., 84.

[12] See the entry in Endlich, *Wege zur Erinnerung*, 236–38.

[13] See Herzogenrath, Sartorius, and Tannert, *Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit*.

[14] A number of critics have commented on this disjuncture and its effects. See, for example, Czaplicka, "History, Aesthetics, and Contemporary Commemorative Practice in Berlin"; Solomon-Godeau, "Mourning or Melancholia"; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 364; and, more recently, Ewing "The Unexpected Encounter."

[15] Attie, "The Writing on the Wall Project," 9, 11.

[16] Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 85.

[17] See Ward, *Urban Memory and Visual Culture in Berlin*, 13, 73–112, emphasis mine.

[18] Sheringham, "Archiving."

[19] Ward, *Urban Memory and Visual Culture in Berlin*, 139.

[20] Klüger, *weiter leben*, 78–79. For a reading of Demnig's stones and their relation to (displaced) archival traces, see Osborne, "*Mal d'archive*." My discussion of the memorial below grew from the work I presented in this article.

[21] Sinka, "The 'Different' Holocaust Memorial," 200.

[22] Kaiser, "Der Prozeß gehört zum Denkmal." Jordan, *Structures of Memory*, investigates precisely the process by which memorials are made, tracing the complex interactions with different authorities and groups that have different claims to the public space at stake.

[23] Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 104.

[24] Kaiser, "Der Prozeß gehört zum Denkmal," 85.

[25] Ibid., 86.

[26] Ibid., 86.

[27] Ibid.

[28] These were to act as *Stolpersteine*, "stumbling" stones or provocations (Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 106). It is unclear whether Gunter Demnig's *Stolpersteine* were in any way influenced by this project, but they share several features and the debates around the central, official Holocaust memorial created a context for alternative ideas that influenced the development of both Stih and Schnock's *Orte des Erinnerns* and Demnig's *Stolpersteine*. The move to decentralized and individualized forms of commemoration was a common feature of proposed designs.

[29] Wilcke et al., "Ein Denkmal und keine Gedenkstätte," 72.

[30] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 6; Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?* 14.

[31] Wilcke et al., "Ein Denkmal und keine Gedenkstätte," 73; Kaiser, "Der Prozeß gehört zum Denkmal," 87.

[32] Wilcke et al., "Ein Denkmal und keine Gedenkstätte," 76.

[33] Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 114–15.

[34] Cited in ibid., 107.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Kaiser, "Der Prozeß gehört zum Denkmal," 90.

[37] Till, *The New Berlin*, 158.

[38] Pickford, "Conflict and Commemoration," 166–67.

[39] Ibid., 169.

[40] Kempner, "Einführung," xiii.

[41] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 7.

[42] Kempner, "Einführung," xvi, xii.

[43] Ibid., xii; Walk, *Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat*, 406.

[44] Young, *The Texture of Memory*, 115.

[45] Assmann, "Canon and Archive," 103.

[46] Pickford, "Conflict and Commemoration," 164.

[47] Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 114–15.

[48] Koss, "Coming to Terms with the Present," 124.

[49] Ibid., 124.

[50] Ibid., 126.

[51] Ibid., 127.

[52] See Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 120–51.

[53] The memorial was originally to be called *Mahnmal gegen Faschismus* (Monument against Fascism), but Gerz felt the term "fascism" lacked the necessary provocation (Lichtenstein and Wajcman, "Interview mit Jochen Gerz," 10.

[54] Ibid., 12.

[55] Ibid., 8.

[56] Ibid., 8.

[57] Ibid., 11.

[58] Ibid., 7.

[59] Ibid., 9.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Gerz, *2146 Steine: Mahnmal gegen Rassismus Saarbrücken*, 151.

[63] Lichtenstein and Wajcman, "Interview mit Jochen Gerz," 9.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] von Jhering, "Duell mit der Verdrängung."

[67] See Hoheisel, "Aschrottbrunnen—Denk-Stein-Sammlung—Brandenburger Tor—Buchenwald."

[68] For footage of the demolition see "Weimar: Zermahlene Geschichte," https://vimeo.com/107616921, accessed May 18, 2016.

[69] Hoheisel and Knitz, "Zermahlene Geschichte—Erläuterungstext zum Entwurf," 29.

[70] Wahl, "Das Thüringische Hauptstaatsarchiv im Marstall zu Weimar," 13.

[71] Ibid., 15.

[72] Hoheisel and Knitz, *Zermahlene Geschichte*, 27.

[73] Hoheisel quoted in Arning, "Künstler reißen die konstruierte Kontinuität auseinander."

[74] Erfle, "Konservierung von Nazi-Gebäuden im Recycling-Verfahren." This connection was reinforced in a further commemorative gesture in 1999, Weimar's year as European City of Culture: the construction of a path that connects Schloss Ettersburg and Buchenwald encouraged people to reflect on the relationship between culture and barbarism.

[75] Hamm, "Topographie des Terrors."

[76] Schwarze, "Erinnerungen, die sich nicht abschütteln lassen," 12.

[77] Volkhard Knigge quoted in N.N., "Statt heimlich beseitigen bewußt daran erinnern."

[78] Schwarze, "Erinnerungen, die sich nicht abschütteln lassen," 11.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Hoheisel and Knitz, *Zermahlene Geschichte*, 29.

[81] Hoheisel's use of the label *Asservate* (evidence), which plays with the status of material remnants as shifting between historical and aesthetic artifacts in the process of memorialization, resonates with Naomi Tereza Salomon's *Asservate—Exhibits* (1989–1995), a photographic series of artefacts from concentration camps and part of the collections at Yad Vashem, Auschwitz, and Buchenwald. Her work was shown in 1995 in the Kunstkabinett am Goetheplatz in Weimar—just before Hoheisel and Knitz began *Zermahlene Geschichte* (see Salomon, *Asservate—Exhibits*).

[82] Hoheisel and Knitz, *Zermahlene Geschichte*, 36.

[83] See Harjes, "Stumbling Stones"; Imort, "Stumbling Blocks"; and Ewing, "The Unexpected Encounter."

[84] The stone was forcibly removed (potentially an act of vandalism or theft), and in 2010 and in 2013 Demnig laid a replacement (see http://www.stadt-koeln.de/politik-und-verwaltung/presse/weitere-stolpersteine-koeln, accessed March 15, 2015). A video of the installation seems to show a regular *Stolperstein*, so the time capsule element was apparently not included in the replacement version (see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Verlegung_Stolperstein_Historisches_Rathaus_K%C3%B6ln.WebM, accessed March15, 2015).

[85] Lindinger and Schmid, *Größenwahn: Kunstprojekte für Europa*.

[86] Ibid., 61.

[87] Ibid., 14–15.

[88] Franke and Demnig, "Am treffendsten läßt sich meine Berufsbezeichnung mit Bildhauer umschreiben," 12.

[89] Petra T. Fritsche provides a clear description of how Demnig's project evolved in Fritsche, *Stolpersteine*, 208–14. A chronology of the project is also given in *Stolpersteine: Gunter Demnig und sein Projekt*, 12–13, reprinted in Rönneper, *Vor meiner Haustür*, 116–17.

[90] Franke and Demnig, "Am treffendsten läßt sich meine Berufsbezeichnung mit Bildhauer umschreiben," 12.

[91] Fritsche, *Stolpersteine*, 212.

[92] For a description of the exhbition see http://www.germangalleries.com/NGBK/Bakunin-ein_Denkmal.html, accessed October 14, 2013.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Lichtenstein and Wajcman, "Interview mit Jochen Gerz," 8.

[95] "Pressemitteilung zum 'Stolpersteine-Verlegen'" available in the nGbK archive, https://archiv.ngbk.de/en/projekte/kuenstler-forschen-nach-auschwitz/, accessed October 14, 2013.

[96] Demnig interviewed by Petra Fritsche, quoted in Fritsche, *Stolpersteine*, 214.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 85–86.

[99] Franke and Demnig, "Am treffendsten läßt sich meine Berufsbezeichnung mit Bildhauer umschreiben," 13.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Rönneper, *Vor meiner Haustür*, 12.

[102] "Schritte zum Verlegen von Stolpersteinen," http://www.stolpersteine.eu/fileadmin/pdfs/STOLPERSTEINE_ErsteSchritte_11_2015.pdf, accessed October 30, 2013.

[103] Demnig's likeness to Beuys has been noted in the media, although Demnig denies any self-styling in this manner (Borgmann, "Gunter Demnig: Der Mann der Stolpersteine"). Nevertheless, he does understand his project as social sculpture in the manner of Beuys. See N.N., "Ein Leben für den Stolperstein."

[104] Thorsten Schmitz notes that lifting the stones has damaged Demnig's back ("Ausgebucht").

[105] Schrader, "Die 'Stolpersteine' oder von der Leichtigkeit des Gedenkens," 175.

[106] Ibid., 176.

[107] Apel, "Stumbling Blocks in Germany," 185.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Keller, "Monopol der Erinnerung."

[110] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 6.

[111] See N.N., "Die ersten Stolpersteine für als 'asozial' Verfolgte in Berlin."

[112] Apel, "Stumbling Blocks in Germany," 187. See also Sommer, "Gesellschaftliches Erinnern an den Nationalsozialismus," 81.

[113] Quoted in Apel, "Stumbling Blocks in Germany," 187.

[114] Ibid., 187.

[115] Ibid., 185, 189.

[116] Ibid., 185.

[117] Schrader, "Die 'Stolpersteine' oder von der Leichtigkeit des Gedenkens," 176. Demnig does also set stones for those who went into exile.

[118] Ibid., 177–79.

[119] Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 86.

[120] N.N., "Stolpersteine als Basis für Archiv."

[121] Demnig has also made stones whose inscription begin with something other than "Hier wohnte," including for the Sinto boxer, Johann Trollmann ("Hier boxte"), and several academics ("Hier lehrte"). In the case of Trollmann and the artist Hugo Meier-Thur, for instance, Demnig has also made stones for their place of residence ("Hier wohnte").

[122] See Evangelische Kirchenkreis Duisburg/Evangelisches Familienbildungswerk, "Stolpersteine in Duisburg," https://ebw-duisburg.de/fileadmin/user_upload/ev_duisburg/pdf/Stolpersteine_1.pdf, accessed July 20, 2017.

[123] See "Liste der Stolpersteine in Duisburg," https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Stolpersteine_in_Duisburg, accessed July 20, 2017.

[124] Niven, "Combimemorials," 86.

[125] Schrader, "Die 'Stolpersteine' oder von der Leichtigkeit des Gedenkens," 177.

[126] See Evangelische Kirche Kirchenkreis Teltow-Zehlendorf, "Projekt Stolpersteine," http://www.teltow-zehlendorf.de/handeln/stolpersteine.html, accessed June 30, 2016.

[127] Niewendick, "Stein für Stein, Foto für Foto."

[128] Ibid.

[129] Schrader, "Die 'Stolpersteine' oder von der Leichtigkeit des Gedenkens," 177.

[130] Writing about the treatment of Abu Ghraib prisoners and the media circulation of images of torture, Judith Butler asks whether *not* using the names of victims (as a gesture to accompany *not* showing the faces of victims) in fact preserves the humanity that the torturers wanted to erode: "In this sense, the face and name are not ours to know, and affirming this cognitive limit is a way of affirming the humanity that has escaped the visual control of the photograph" (Butler, *Frames of War*, 95).

[131] *Das war spitze! Jüdisches in der deutschen Fernsehunterhaltung*, exhibition in the Jewish Museum in Munich, April 13–November 6, 2011; see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSlqY7uzEms, accessed May 18, 2014. Demnig's stones are also a point of reference in an increasing number of literary texts, two of which are discussed in chapter 4 of this volume. In her 2003 novel *Unscharfe Bilder*, Ulla Hahn even inserts two text boxes designed to look like *Stolpersteine* into the body of the main text. They represent two stones that the protagonist, Musbach,

stumbles upon outside his old flat in Hamburg. The encounter triggers an almost cinematic fantasy where Musbach imagines the scene of deportation of these two people. (The names are not obviously available via the online databank produced by the *Stolpersteine Hamburg* initiative, so might be fictional, like Hahn's story.) Musbach then thinks to himself that he might sponsor a stone. His general approval of the project and his interest in becoming involved suggest that, despite the question of his culpability in the execution of a partisan, he is able to engage easily with the practices of *Erinnerungskultur* (Hahn, *Unscharfe Bilder*, 164–65).

132 "Shoah-Opfer als Rollenname."

133 Franke and Demnig, "Am treffendsten läßt sich meine Berufsbezeichnung mit Bildhauer umschreiben," 13.

134 Keller, "Monopol der Erinnerung."

135 See Cordes, *Stolpersteine und Angehörige*.

136 See Dessa, *Stolzesteine—Stones of Pride*.

137 See Foundation website, https://www.stiftung-spuren-gunterdemnig.eu.

138 Cf. "Trauerarbeit macht frei," in Jureit and Schneider, "Unbehagen mit der Erinnerung," 15.

139 Other examples of *Offene Archive* include the major work *Vor der Stille*, a vast collection of openly accessible material now permanently on display in the Osthaus Museum in Hagen, which Sigurdsson began in 1988 (see Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, 364–67), her comprehensive atlas of National Socialist camps, produced together with historians, *Deutschland—Ein Denkmal, ein Forschungsauftrag* (see Assmann, "'The Whole Country Is a Monument'"), and her more recent project work shown in Frankfurt, *Die Bibliothek der Alten*.

140 Niven, "From Countermonument to Combimemorial," 87–89.

141 Pottek, *Kunst als Medium der Erinnerung*, 81.

142 Ibid., 125.

143 Extract from the file produced by Braunschweig's Jewish Community for Sigurdsson's project and reproduced on one of the plaques set alongside the Schill Memorial.

144 Fuchs, Cosgrove, and Grote, *German Memory Contests*.

145 Extracts from the file produced by Braunschweig's *Stolperstein* initiative and reproduced on the plaques set alongside the Schill Memorial.

Chapter Three

1 More broadly, film is, as Mary Ann Doane argues in *Emergence of Cinematic Time*, an inherently "archival medium" (222). According to Amad, *Counter-Archive* (4), film's "unique documentary qualities" changed the very nature of the "traditionally text-based" archive.

2 Nichols, *Speaking Truths with Films*, 98.

3 Bathrick, "Introduction," 3.

[4] See, for example, Prager, *After the Fact*. The status of these films was also discussed as part of a series of screenings by the Goethe-Institut, London in 2015, "Documenting Nazi Atrocities—Early Films about the Liberation of the Camps."

[5] Lanzmann, "Niemand war in Auschwitz."

[6] Kramer, "Reiterative Reading," 36.

[7] Prager, *After the Fact*, 10.

[8] Ibid., 11.

[9] Ibid., 20–21.

[10] Ibid., 21.

[11] Doane, *Emergence of Cinematic Time*, 222.

[12] For analyses of Farocki's particular mode of archive work, see Kramer, "Reiterative Reading"; Prager, "Interpreting the Visible Traces of Theresienstadt"; Elsaesser, *German Cinema—Terror and Trauma*, 245–60.

[13] See Prager's discussion of the film in *After the Fact*, 192.

[14] See also Ebbrecht-Hartmann, "Echoes from the Archive."

[15] Babias, "Introduction," 25–26.

[16] See Baron, *The Archive Effect*.

[17] Prager, *After the Fact*, 159.

[18] Yerushalmi, "Series Z: An Archival Fantasy."

[19] Eue, "Interview mit Malte Ludin."

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Prager, *After the Fact*, 159.

[23] Luhmann, "Filming Familial Secrets."

[24] Tacke, in "Zwei oder drei Dinge über Malte Ludins Film" (201), describes the mechanisms of exclusion, repression, and reinterpretation seen in Ludin's film; Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann uses Freud's essay on the family romance to understand the disavowal operative among Ludin's relatives (Ebbrecht-Hartmann, "History Runs through the Family").

[25] Prager, in *After the Fact* (166) describes this moment as a "testimonial performance," in which Ludin "enacts, stages, and appropriates the persona of the perpetrator in order to re-contextualize it for purposes of his documentary."

[26] Reichelt, "Ich war nicht frei von Tränen."

[27] Luhmann, "Filming Familial Secrets," 123–24. Here, Luhmann borrows "the term but not the definition" from Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*.

[28] Lustig and Gressmann, "Interview."

[29] Luhmann argues that the "family drama" "cannot help . . . upstage" the attempt to establish the facts about Hanns Ludin's actions ("Filming Familial Secrets," 116).

[30] This does not seem to be part of the music by the Austrian composer Werner Pircher that is used throughout the film and included in the DVD extras. The percussion credit is given to Hakim Ludin.

[31] Luhmann, "Filming Familial Secrets," 125.

[32] Ibid., 116.

[33] Agamben, *The Remnants of Auschwitz*, 161.

[34] See Ebbrecht-Hartmann, "History Runs through the Family"; Mueller Dembling, "Opa Was a Nazi"; Luhmann, "Filming Familial Secrets"; Bangert, *The Nazi Past in Contemporary German Film*.

[35] Welzer, Moller, Tschuggnall, *"Opa war kein Nazi."* See, for example, Mueller Dembling, "Opa Was a Nazi"; Tacke, "Zwei oder drei Dinge über Malte Ludins Film"; Ebbrecht-Hartmann, "History Runs through the Family." Ludin includes an interview with Welzer in the DVD extras.

[36] Leaflet accompanying DVD.

[37] See, for example, Kühn, "Der liebe Opa ein Nazi."

[38] Interview with Jens Schanze, DVD extras.

[39] Kühn, "Der liebe Opa ein Nazi."

[40] Interview with Jens Schanze, DVD extras.

[41] Mueller Dembling, "Opa Was a Nazi," 489.

[42] Luhmann, "Filming Familial Secrets," 125.

[43] Ibid., 129; Reichelt, "Falsche Bekennung, falsche Katharsis."

[44] Sascha Westphal notes how Antonie not only gets used to the presence of the camera, she starts to perform for it ("Alles über meinen Opa").

[45] Verhoeven's film has received little scholarly attention, but Judith Keilbach discusses it briefly in her article on the function of objects in two other documentaries about Aryanization ("Houses, Vases, Bicycles and Rocking Horses").

[46] The exhibition Betrifft: 'Aktion 3': Deutsche verwerten jüdische Nachbarn: Dokumente zur Arisierung was shown at the Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf from October 29, 1998 to January 10, 1999. Verhoeven's previous film, *Der unbekannte Soldat* (*The Unknown Soldier*, 2006) also focuses on an exhibition that had significant consequences for German memory politics, the controversial *Wehrmachtsausstellung*.

[47] See Meinl and Zwilling, *Legalisierter Raub*, 314.

[48] Verhoeven, "Interview." Archives as visual props are also a significant feature of Verhoeven's *Das schreckliche Mädchen* (also released as *The Nasty Girl*, 1990). The protagonist turns to the archives when the community refuses to answer her questions, but in so doing she alienates herself from this community. Her work with archives is staged in a Brechtian manner, whereby the shelves and documents appear as theatrical props within the film set.

[49] Verhoeven says that the files might lead to reparations claims, but that that was not the point of the film and it was not something that interested his interviewees (Verhoeven, "Interview").

[50] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 2; Lyotard, *The Inhuman*, 193–94.

[51] Spieker, *The Big Archive*, 4.

[52] Lyotard, *The Inhuman*, 194.

[53] Spieker, *The Big Archive*, 4.

[54] Ibid., 4.

[55] Bernhard Grau emphasizes that for some victims, the *Steuerakten* are the only record that remains (see Verhoeven, "Steuerakten" [Tax Files]).

[56] Verhoeven, "Auf der Totenliste" (On the List of the Dead).

[57] Verhoeven, "Das Gedenkbuch" (The Memorial Book).

[58] See Purin, *Stadt ohne Juden*, 36–37. According to this catalogue, the empty trunk is also used to evoke the *Leerstelle* (empty space) left by the years 1933–45 (13).

[59] Verhoeven, "Gestohlenes" (Stolen Things).

[60] See Irmer, "Searching for New Realities: Documentary Theatre in Germany," 17–19.

[61] Ibid.; Cornish, "Performing the Archive," 66.

[62] Irmer, "Searching for New Realities," 20; Cornish, "Performing the Archive," 67.

[63] Ibid.

[64] The play can be seen as an example of "artistic research," the practice developed by Klein as part of the cultural initiative Institut für künstlerische Forschung (Institute for Artistic Research). See project website, http://www.artistic-research.de/projekte/aktuelle-projekte/hans-schleif).

[65] Klein, "'Hans Schleif,'" 141.

[66] Ibid., 142.

[67] Julian Klein and Matthias Neukirch, *Hans Schleif: Eine Spurensuche* (Deutsches Theater, Berlin 2011), performance on March 9, 2018, in Zurich. I am grateful to the director for granting me access to a recording of this performance and permission to quote from it here.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Klein, Neukirch, and Mensing, "Der Fall Hans Schleif."

[70] Ibid., 6.

[71] Klein, "'Hans Schleif'—Skizzen zu einer Theaterinszenierung," 141.

[72] Ibid., 142.

[73] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 1.

[74] Ibid., 95.

[75] Klein and Neukirch, *Hans Schleif*, performance on March 9, 2018 in Zurich.

[76] Ibid., emphasis in recording.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid, emphasis mine.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 103.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 95.

[85] Klein and Neukirch, *Hans Schleif*, performance on March 9, 2018 in Zurich.

[86] Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 104.

[87] Irmer, "Searching for New Realities," 19.

[88] Rößler, "Akten lesen."

[89] My discussion is based on a visit to a performance in 2016, as well as the script and a recording of the premiere. I am grateful to the Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe for granting me access to these documents and for permission to quote from them.

[90] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 7. A radio feature based on the play and broadcast on November 27, 2016, on SWR2 was billed as showing a "Panorama struktureller Gewalt" (panorama of structural violence), https://www.swr.de/swr2/programm/sendungen/feature/swr2-feature-am-sonntag-das-feierabendwerk-des-ganzen-volkes/-/id=659934/did=18282494/nid=659934/1jgsu2d/index.html, accessed June 12, 2018.

[91] Hans-Werner Kroesinger and Regina Dura, "Stolpersteine Staatstheater," 52 (unpublished playscript); English version, translated by David Tuschingham, 49, at Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe.

[92] Recording of premiere, June 21, 2015, STUDIO, accessed via vimeo.

[93] Kroesinger and Dura, "Stolpersteine Staatstheater," 61; English version, 57.

[94] Schmitz, "Ausgebucht."

Chapter Four

[1] Kapczynski and McGlothlin reference the growing intensity of memory culture and discourse after 1990 in order to chart the "persistent legacy" of the Holocaust in German Studies (3–7).

[2] The literary critic Ijoma Mangold calls this a "running gag" of contemporary literature ("The Making of a Nazi-Enkel").

[3] Ganeva, "From West-German Väterliteratur to Post-Wall Enkelliteratur," 151.

[4] Kapczynski and McGlothlin, *Persistent Legacy*, 8.

[5] Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 13.

[6] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 228.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 22; *The Generation of Postmemory*, 249. See, for example, J. J. Long's critique of postmemory, "Monika Maron's *Pawels Briefe*."

[9] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 249.

[10] Gwyer, "Beyond Lateness?," 143.

[11] Huyssen, *Present Pasts*, 6; Fuchs, "From *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* to Generational Memory Contests," 178.

[12] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 47. There is a long literary tradition of writing about archives. Kafka, Borges, and José Saramago evoke fantasies of infinite collections and all-encompassing bureaucratic worlds. The formal and structural elements of the archive feature in literary engagements with the legacy of National Socialism by German-language authors, for example, Walter Kempowski's multivolume project *Das Echolot: Ein kollektives Tagebuch* (Sonar: A Collective Diary, 1993), and Gerhard Roth's multivolume work, *Die Archive des Schweigens* (The Archives of Silence, 1980–91). The recent literary preoccupation with the post-Holocaust archive can also be found outside German literature. Examples include Patrick Modiano's *Dora Bruder* (published in English as *The Search Warrant*, 1997) and Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* (2001). The latter formed the basis for Cate Shortland's 2012 film, *Lore*, which Andrew Webber has discussed in relation to the archive ("Passing for Children in Cate Shortland's *Lore*").

[13] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 48.

[14] Ibid., 47–48.

[15] Ibid., 47. Using a psychoanalytically inflected approach, Jonathan Boulter, in *Melancholy and the Archive*, similarly focuses on the significance of the archive in literature in its particular relationship to loss and trauma.

[16] Long, *W. G. Sebald*.

[17] de-Simine, "Memory Museum and Museum Text," 27–28.

[18] Crownshaw argues that "archival violence" is "continuous from ghetto to museum" in *Austerlitz* ("Reconsidering Postmemory," 227). Long, however, takes issue with Crownshaw's argument, claiming that he "equat[es] memorial practices and the bureaucratic apparatus of genocide . . . to offer a reading of the archive that is essentialist and ahistorical" (Long, *W. G. Sebald*, 87). While my focus here is very much the implication of the bureaucratic archive of National Socialist administration in the memory work that aims to remember its abuses, I avoid collapsing these two historically very different notions by engaging with, precisely, the difficulty of using what remains from this apparatus to remember those who were subject to it.

[19] See Wolff, *W. G. Sebald's Hybrid Poetics*. Wolff has gone on to show the influence of Sebald's approach in contemporary fiction, including two of the texts discussed here, Petrowskaja's *Vielleicht Esther* and Leo's *Flut und Boden*, in Wolff, "Literatur als Historiografie nach W. G. Sebald." I am grateful to the author for sharing this manuscript with me prior to publication.

[20] Ibid., 294.

[21] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 48.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Krechel, "Die Sprache hat nicht immer recht," 400.

[25] Krechel described her research for the novel in a conversation with Martin Zingg at the Literaturhaus Basel on March 25, 2013. Recording available at http://www.dichterlesen.net/veranstaltungen/ursula-krechel-landgericht-1842/?L=0&cHash=ea804327256f46f782ce35bbeedb9dac, and accessed May 4, 2017.

[26] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 1 (emphasis in the original).

[27] Ibid., 7.

[28] Ibid., 2.

[29] Ursula Krechel in interview with Maike Albath at the Literarisches Kolloquium Berlin, October 31, 2012, http://www.dichterlesen.net/veranstaltungen/ursula-krechel-landgericht-1842/?L=0&cHash=ea804327256f46f782ce35bbeedb9dac, and accessed May 4, 2017.

[30] Vismann, *Files*, xiii.

[31] Krechel, *Landgericht*, 329. Hereafter cited as *LG*.

[32] Vismann, *Files*, 13; xiv.

[33] Assmann, "Canon and Archive," 102.

[34] Krechel, "Die Sprache hat nicht immer recht," 400.

[35] Vismann, xiii.

[36] Ibid., xiv.

[37] Krechel in conversation with Zingg.

[38] Röder and Strauss, *Biographisches Handbuch*, 501.

[39] Krechel in conversation with Zingg.

[40] Michaelis, "Diese Geschichte vererbt sich an die Kinder."

[41] Schliephake, "Textualität und 'Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung'" (304) calls *Das Eigentliche* "eine Art erinnerungskulturelles Metanarrativ und Gedächtnisreflexion" (a kind of memory-cultural metanarrative and reflection on memory).

[42] According to Hanika's website, http://www.iris-hanika.de, the novel shows "wie die Verbrechen der Nazizeit uns bis heute in ihren Klauen halten" (how the crimes of National Socialism have their grip on us even today).

[43] According to Köppchen, "Der Bewältigungsweltmeister," Hanika's novel describes Germany's transition "von der 'geschichtsvergessenen' zur 'geschichtsversessenen' Nation" (from a nation that forgets its past to one obsessed with it).

[44] Cosgrove, *Born under Auschwitz*, 190.

[45] Staudacher, "Leben, Lieben und Schreiben nach Auschwitz."

[46] Hanika, *Das Eigentliche*, 21. Herafter cited as *DE*. Katja Petrowskaja also describes the task of memory and commemoration as Sisyphean in *Vielleicht Esther*, 266–70, 236–41.

[47] Cosgrove, *Born under Auschwitz*, 191.

[48] Barthes, *How to Live Together*, 22.

[49] Cosgrove, *Born under Auschwitz*, 193–94.

[50] Ibid., 192.

[51] Boulter, *Melancholy and the Archive*, 1.

[52] Ibid., 7.

[53] Ibid., 7.

[54] Ibid., 1.

[55] Kramer, "Identifying with the Victims in the Land of the Perpetrators," 165. Kramer shows how Hanika's protagonist is an example (drawn in satirical mode) of the victim-centered memory of which Jureit and Schneider are so critical.

[56] Cosgrove, *Born under Auschwitz*, 193.

[57] This would be a modification of Jureit and Schneider's phrase "Trauerarbeit macht frei" ("Unbehagen mit der Erinnerung," 15).

[58] Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 15.

[59] Translation John Felstiner in Felstiner, *Paul Celan*, 31.

[60] This section is a revised version of my article "Encountering the Archive in Katja Petrowskaja's *Vielleicht Esther*." Maria Roca Lizarazu discusses the postmemorial elements of the narrative in "The Family Tree, the Web, and the Palimpsest."

[61] See Böttiger, "Wir sind die letzten Europäer!"

[62] Petrowskaja and Timm, "Es gibt keine Grenze zwischen Literaturen."

[63] Ortner, "Reconfiguration of the European Archive."

[64] Petrowskaja, *Vielleicht Esther*, 188–90; *Maybe Esther*, 168–69. Hereafter cited as *VE* and *ME*.

[65] Petrowskaja's focus on sites of perpetration other than Auschwitz is a key part of Ortner's discussion of the text.

[66] Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 28.

[67] Petrowskaja in interview with Holger Heimann, "Familiensaga im Kontext des Zweiten Weltkriegs."

[68] Lizarazu, "The Family Tree, the Web, and the Palimpsest" (183–88), draws on the work of Michael Rothberg to consider the notion of "implication" in Petrowskaja's text.

[69] I refer here again to Derrida's use of *Gewalt* following Benjamin (*Archive Fever*, 7), but also to Petrowskaja's own use of the word in her description of an archive (*VE* 149; 131).

[70] Petrowskaja in interview with Heimann, "Familiensaga im Kontext des Zweiten Weltkriegs."

[71] The subtitle is not translated in the English edition used here. In the 2019 US edition it is translated as "A Family Story," which captures neither the plural nor the slippage between *history* and *story* of the original *Geschichten*.

[72] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 96.

[73] Leo, *Flut und Boden*, 89. Hereafter cited as *FB*.

[74] See, for example, Block, "Selective Affinities."

[75] Leo, *Der Wille zum Wesen*.

[76] Eller, "Wie eine Waffe des Teufels."

[77] Deneke, "Per Leo, *Flut und Boden*." In an interview with Heiner Wittmann for the Klett-Cotta blog, Leo says, "Der Nazi alleine hätte mich dann doch nicht genug interessiert" (I wouldn't have been interested enough if it had just been the Nazi) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04T-pVcmP3s, accessed June 27, 2017.

[78] Schüler-Springorum, Review of Per Leo, *Flut und Boden*.

[79] Wittmann and Leo, Interview for Klett-Cotta blog. Leo's title was criticized for its seemingly flippant play with Nazi jargon (see, for example, Dirk, "Quer durch die Zeiten."

[80] Heineman, "Memoir, History, and Patrimony," 101.

[81] Schröder, "Gutes Haus, schiefe Bahn, SS-Karriere." Leo acknowledges that the discovery of a box in the attic has become a cliché of German literature (Eller, "Wie eine Waffe des Teufels").

[82] Ibid.

[83] Heineman, "Memoir, History, and Patrimony," 102.

[84] Eller, "Wie eine Waffe des Teufels."

[85] Schüler-Springorum, Review of Per Leo, *Flut und Boden*. Julian Schütt expressed concern at this omission during a discussion on the SRF program *Literaturclub*, May 13, 2014, http://www.srf.ch/play/tv/literaturclub/video/flut-und-boden-von-per-leo-klett-cotta?id=5614c8b8-066d-4e7e-b41c-2fad-71d18cab, accessed June 12, 2018.

[86] Heineman, "Memoir, History, and Patrimony," 102.

[87] Leo, "BD^{5}R: Bericht aus Mitteldeutschland," 261.

[88] Noting that it was probably produced in East Germany, Leo here suggests Martin's text is worthy of the liberal GDR journal.

[89] Nägele, "Trembling Contours: Kierkegaard—Benjamin—Brecht," 116.

[90] Hansen, *Cinema and Experience*, 124.

[91] Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. VII, 430; *Selected Writings*, vol 3, 385.

[92] Schüler-Springorum, review of *Flut und Boden*, by Per Leo.

[93] Heineman, "Memoir, History, and Patrimony," 103.

[94] Heinemann, *"Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut."*

[95] Petrowskaja and Timm, "Es gibt keine Grenze zwischen Literaturen."

[96] Mangold, "The Making of a Nazi-Enkel."

Conclusion

[1] Andreas Kernbach (curator), flyer, https://www.bundestag.de/blob/546610/b2d7fdcd3950fc4721fc4da32cc3861c/flyer_birkenau-data.pdf.

[2] Jureit, "Erinnerung wird zum Gesellschaftszustand," 20.

[3] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 46.

[4] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*.

[5] Sheringham, "Memory and the Archive in Contemporary Life-Writing," 51.

[6] Ibid., 48.

[7] Ibid., 51.

[8] Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen*, 59.

[9] Reith, "Die Kunst der Erinnerung." See also Sigrid Sigurdsson, "Redepausen," audio recording, at http://sigrid-sigurdsson.de/redepausen/.

[10] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 36.

[11] DPA, "Auschwitz-Prozessakten werden UNESCO-Erbe" (emphasis mine). I am indebted to Peter Davies who explained the significance of interpretation into German at the trials in a paper entitled "'Die Dolmetscherin des Grauens': Wera Kapkajew as Interpreter at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–65" given at the eighty-second annual conference of the Association for German Studies in Great Britain and Ireland at the University of Bristol, September 4–6, 2019.

[12] Such a shift is also in line with the discourse of transnationalism that dominates contemporary Memory Studies. See, for example, Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, and de Cesari and Rigney, *Transnational Memory*.

[13] McGlothlin and Kapczynski, *Persistent Legacy* (5–8), emphasize the importance of these three "dimensions"—the transnational, the transgenerational, and the transmedial—for contemporary Holocaust studies and thus for the "persistent legacy" of the Holocaust in German Studies. Digitized versions of the audio recordings made at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials have been available online through the Fritz Bauer Institute since 2013. This digital platform is a key part of the web presence for the material that has been developed since the UNESCO announcement (see http://www.auschwitz-trial-frankfurt.hessen.de/index.html). The website is also available in English, French, Spanish, and Hebrew. I am again grateful to Peter Davies for informal discussion about the use and availability of this digitized archive.

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ith the passing of those who witnessed National Socialism and the Holocaust, the archive matters as never before. However, the material that remains for the work of remembering and commemorating this period of history is determined by both the bureaucratic excesses of the Nazi regime and the attempt to eradicate its victims without trace. This book argues that memory culture in the Berlin Republic is marked by an archival turn that reflects this shift from embodied to externalized, material memory and responds to the particular status of the archive "after Auschwitz." What remains in this late phase of memory culture is the post-Holocaust archive, which at once ensures and haunts the future of Holocaust memory.

Drawing on the thinking of Freud, Derrida, and Georges Didi-Huberman, this book traces the political, ethical, and aesthetic implications of the archival turn in contemporary German memory culture across different media and genres. In its discussion of recent memorials, documentary film and theater, as well as prose narratives, all of which engage with the material legacy of the Nazi past, it argues that the performance of "archive work" is not only crucial to contemporary memory work but also fundamentally challenges it.

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Cover image: Berlin-Dahlem, Document Center: the files and central index of the National Socialist Party, taken over by the American military government in 1947, turned over to the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) on July 1, 1994. Interior view. Photo 1994 © AKG / Herbert Kraft.

Cover design: Frank Gutbrod

ISBN 978-1-64014-052-3

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