The Stories We Tell Ourselves: Post-Soviet Holocaust Memorialization in Budapest and Berlin

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INTRODUCTION

Thawing Memory

As the Iron Curtain lifted in 1989, it also opened the floodgates of Holocaust memory. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought memories, archives, and *lieux de memoire* of the Holocaust. Behind the Iron Curtain, Holocaust memory had laid dormant, repressed by the Soviet state and subsumed into the larger narrative of the struggle between Communist Russia and the capitalist West. Eastern Europe, the site of concentration camps, mass graves, and the largest Jewish communities in Europe, was isolated from the rest of the world, and so Holocaust consciousness before 1989 was limited only to memories and archives in the West. Because the continent was divided, Holocaust memory and scholarship only fully emerged in the late 20th century, some 50 years after the events of the Holocaust transpired. The 1990s were a convergence for these two pasts; Western Europe had established an incomplete Holocaust consciousness based on Western sources, while Eastern Europe was just beginning to engage with a decades old past. Reconciling these two narratives would be the test of this newly unified continent. The result would be a standardization of Holocaust memory that forgot the local specificity of how the Holocaust was perpetrated and thus how it should be remembered. Two cities caught in this fight are Budapest, Hungary and Berlin, Germany, where engagement with the Holocaust played a role in the building of modern states and national identities.

The memorial cultures of Budapest and Berlin both offer different pasts and different presents. Berlin was the administrative center of the entire Nazi machine as

orders and ideology flowed from the heart to the edges of the Reich. Because of this fact, Berlin will always be inextricably tied to discussions of the Holocaust and provides a natural example of Western European memorialization.[1] Berlin was not, however, a site of Holocaust violence. Berlin Jews, like the Jews in many other cities and towns west of Berlin, were deported east. Most were killed in gas chambers, or died of starvation, disease, and exhaustion. For cities east of Berlin, many of them in the so-called Bloodlands, violence committed by men on their fellow neighbors permeated their streets.[2] The Holocaust arrived in Budapest in 1944, first as a wave of deportations. Rural Jews were deported north into Poland and the majority were gassed upon arrival at death camps. By winter, Budapest was surrounded by Soviet troops and the annihilation of Budapest Jewry fell to the ruling Hungarian fascists, the Arrow Cross Party (Nyilas). It is estimated that some 10,000 Jews were shot into the Danube River and countless more died from disease and starvation in the city's two ghettos, all on the streets of the nation's capital at the hands of the Hungarian government.[3] In 1945 Budapest fell to Soviet troops and Hungary spent the next four decades as a Soviet state. Given the reality of wartime violence, its inclusion as a soviet state, and its geographic location, Budapest provides an excellent example of Eastern European Holocaust memorialization.[4]

This thesis asks how and with what effects Holocaust memorialization has emerged in post-Soviet Eastern versus Western Europe. By memorialization, I mean "such public sites of memory as the museum, the memorial, and the monument," where a

[1] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Basic Books, 2012), viii-ix.
[2] Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*.
[3] Tim Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* (Routledge, 2013), 171.
[4] While I acknowledge that looking solely at Budapest and Berlin cannot draw conclusions about *all* Eastern and Western European memorial responses to the Holocaust, this thesis offers a starting point for discussions on the limits of a standardized approach to memory.

society's memory is negotiated and reflected back on itself while simultaneously being projected outward.[5] This thesis argues that a standardization of Holocaust memory that turned away from engagement with the local specificity of the Holocaust creates a crisis of memory, where we risk forgetting that "the origins of collective violence invariably lie in repressing memory and misconstruing the past."[6] By standardizing Holocaust memory, a once divided continent hoped to guarantee a Europe united under "democracy, freedom, the rule of law, peace, and tolerance," but instead this may have divided the continent further[7]

The main critique offered in this thesis is thus of the oversimplification present in globalized Holocaust history and memory. The Holocaust is presented as the ultimate struggle between good and evil, where good and evil took the same form in every place the war touched. This work hopes to complicate this binary, showing that the Holocaust varied geographically in its implementation, and thus should not be remembered as an event with a homogenous good and a homogenous bad.

This thesis is at its core an interdisciplinary work. While focusing on the historical attributes of Holocaust memorialization, it also relies on theories from art history, philosophy, and memory studies. Over two months of fieldwork, memorials, monuments, and museums were researched as primary documents. By placing the language, imagery, and location of these sites in conversation with their historical specificity, a memory landscape emerges on the streets of these capital cities. In our age of technology and

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[5] James Edward Young, Mazal Holocaust Collection, and N.Y. Jewish Museum New York, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (New York, N.Y.: Prestel : Distributed in the US and Canada on behalf of Prestel by Neues Pub. Co., 1994), 9.
[6] Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton University Press, 2015), 201.
[7] Bernhard Forchtner, and Christoffer Kølvraa, "Narrating a 'New Europe': From 'Bitter Past' to Self-Righteousness?" *Discourse & Society* 23, no. 4 (2012): 377– 387.

fleeting images on televisions and computer screens, memorials and monuments offer a "permanency"[8] and material quality that is lacking in other parts of daily life.[9] While the narratives and opinions expressed in memorials are far from permanent, they represent a moment in time. Collecting these moments, one begins to construct the memorial landscape. Memorials are in constant limbo between global and local memories, and this thesis hopes to deconstruct these battlegrounds of memory. On the streets of Budapest and Berlin, through memorials, monuments and museums, one confronts history as it is packaged and consumed which offers an entry point into the self-conception and self-consciousness of the society.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter establishes the theoretical framework for analyzing memorial cultures in Budapest and Berlin. It claims that by looking at the place, language, symbols, and victim narratives in memorials the relationship between local and global memory of the Holocaust will emerge. The second chapter analyzes Budapest memorial culture using the theoretical framework previously established. Budapest highlights the battleground of memory that exists in a post-soviet city that simultaneously reinforces and contests global and local Holocaust memory while rejecting a thorough self-reflection of the past. The third chapter offers an analysis of Berlin, the former administrative headquarters of the Holocaust. Berlin memorial culture represents the challenges that arise when a city is forthcoming about the Jewish victims of its crimes, but self-conscious about representing the complex Nazi machine.

[8] Permanency is relative, as memorials are far from permanent and are "built on quicksand," Oren Baruch Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Meditations of the Holocaust* (Univ of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 29.
[9] Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 12.

By analyzing the memorial landscapes of Budapest and Berlin, the shortcomings of standardized memory emerge and heighten the differences in the implementation and effects of the Holocaust. Yet, transnational discourses end up excluding, rather than accepting or respecting local Holocaust memories. By highlighting this fact, this thesis hopes to return power of local Holocaust memories and caution transnational narratives that "that the origins of collective violence invariably lie in repressing memory and misconstruing the past"[10]

[10] Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*, 201.

CHAPTER ONE
Memory

"…The ways we remember define us in the present."
—James E. Young, *The Art of Memory*

Memory is first and foremost something that is constructed. Memories are constructed to provide a certain use for the one remembering and that is why different memories of the same event exist. While "our perception of the past is always influenced by the present," memory is inherently biased towards present needs.[11] Remembering is then not a neutral act.

Memorials are, not surprisingly, physical manifestations of memory making and the memorial is " one way of thinking about how attempts have been made to (selectively) transform historical sites…into sites of Holocaust memory."[12] This transformation and selection of history into memory means that "history and memory…are still very much the site of active battles over identity and nationhood."[13] Identity and group formation find their basis in the construction of memory, where, as Jan Assmann suggests, "Whoever wishes to belong must share the group memory."[14] Group memory (collective memory) is shaped and reinforced "by such public sites of memory as the museum, the memorial, and the monument" which make up the memorial culture of the group.[15] By exploring the Holocaust memorial culture in Budapest and Berlin, this

[11] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A. Coser (University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[12] Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto*, 225.
[13] Omer Bartov, "Genocide in a Multiethnic Town: Event, Origins, Aftermath," in *Totalitarian Dictatorship: New Histories*, edited by Daniela Baratieri, et al. (Routledge, 2013), 227.
[14] Jan Assmann, and Rodney Livingstone, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford University Press, 2006), 87.
[15] Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 9.

project seeks to explore the creation of Holocaust memory and the ways that this memory establishes national and moral identities on local and global scales.

CONNECTIVE MEMORY

Collective memories tie individuals together, but connective memory ties the individual to the community.[16] Connective memory is both socially binding and artificial, meaning "that [it] has to be practiced and therefore cannot survive without a memory technique."[17] The memory technique used for Holocaust memory is the standardization and globalization of memorial culture.

Because of this internationalization of the Holocaust, memorializing the Holocaust became an act of connective moral memory that was meant to tie nations together in ethics based relationships.[18] The Holocaust can then be interpreted as a connective event that unifies a global community under "democracy, freedom, the rule of law, peace, and tolerance."[19] The creation of this connective memory is the basis for a discussion on the globalization of the Holocaust where the surge in Holocaust consciousness in the 1990s could be interpreted as the establishment of a Western "moral club" based on a moral memory of the Holocaust.[20]

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[16] Assmann, and Livingstone, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, 88.
[17] *Ibid*, 89.
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] Forchtner, and Kølvraa, "Narrating a 'New Europe': From 'Bitter Past' to Self-Righteousness?" 387.
[20] Aleida Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," In *Memory in a Global Age*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, 97–117 (Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), 111.

CREATION OF GLOBAL MEMORY?

The creation of Holocaust memory was a multi-decade process that began in the postwar period as a "mastering [of] the past" which meant "turn[ing] the page [on the war] and, if possible, wiping it from memory" (*vergangenheitsbewältigung*).[21] However, by the 1990s Holocaust memory had turned into a multinational process of "securing, sacralizing and perpetuating of the past" (*Vergangenheitsbewahrung*).[22] In a large sense, the Holocaust had been "adopted by the world" and become a "benchmark" event, "the defining moment in the drama between good and evil."[23] This oversimplification turned "…reference to the Holocaust into a starting point for a desirable Western and even global human rights value system and a universally held moral standard."[24]

While the process of developing the Holocaust as a moral memory took decades, the process of standardizing Holocaust memory reached a pinnacle in 1999 when *The International Task Force on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research* (ITF) was founded in Washington D.C.[25] With the support of Germany and Israel, the task force strengthened the process of creating a transnational Holocaust memory by establishing core values based on a program of Holocaust education in a variety of

[21] Adorno, Theodor W. "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, (1986): 115; Please note that the best translation of this term is 'coming to terms with or mastering the past,' but the term has many political and cultural connotations in Germany that cannot be directly translation. This "mastering of the past" also alludes to a "reworking" of the past.
[22] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 105.
[23] Wittlinger, Ruth, and Steffi Boothroyd. "A 'Usable' Past at Last? The Politics of the Past in United Germany." *German Studies Review* 33, no. 3 (2010): 493; Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler : How History Is Bought, Packaged, and Sold* (Psychology Press, 2000), 13.
[24] Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (AltaMira Press, 2013), 232; Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 112.
[25] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 101.

countries with a focus on local history.[26] While the intention of the ITF was to have Holocaust education rooted in a local understanding of the Holocaust, actual efforts of the ITF pushed an agenda of "shared local values, standardized education tools and a common political agenda" that relied on universal lessons of the Holocaust rather than local specificity.[27]

When in 2005 the European Parliament declared January 27th (the day Auschwitz was liberated) "as a European day of commemoration, and passed a resolution against anti-Semitism in Europe" entrance into the EU was inextricably tied to participation in Holocaust memory.[28] The Holocaust remembrance community and the ITF were created without the input of Eastern European nations and without respect to their Holocaust history.[29] By making Holocaust remembrance a prerequisite for entrance into the EU (something post-soviet countries desperately wanted), Eastern European countries had to accept and create memorial cultures that often went against their pre-established narratives and memories.[30] However, many countries had unsavory pasts in relation to the Holocaust and many functioned as both nations of perpetrators and nations of victims. The standardization of Holocaust memory then became a way of selecting and repressing memory. Aleida Assmann aptly describes this process, that

> "to engage actively in the memorial community of the Holocaust raises the moral profile of a nation in an international context, but it also allows the nation to evade awkward themes concerning its own past: genocide of

[26] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 101.
[27] *Ibid*, 103.
[28] *Ibid*, 102-103.
[29] Vági, Csősz, and Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide*, 233.
[30] *Ibid*, 232.

> the native population, slavery and nuclear warfare in the US, collaboration with the Nazis or the colonial history in various European countries."[31]

This suggests that for countries that participate in this global Holocaust memorial culture, their engagement is often a "….pragmatic gesture to emphasize their belonging to the West and not necessarily the expression of a wish to face their own past."[32] This, we will see later, can create parallel memories of the Holocaust, one meant to reinforce local memory, and the other to reinforce global memory.

The effects of Holocaust memorialization are not just seen in the landscape of the Nation, but also in their political rhetoric and foreign policy. Following Holocaust memorialization, Germany's foreign policy can be viewed in context of the new moral identity Germany was adopting. As an example, when justifying the European Monetary Union in the "Constructing [of] Europe," Chancellor Helmut Kohl did not justify this union on economic grounds, but rather "as a means to avoid repeating Europe's genocidal twentieth-century history."[33] The use of the Holocaust in respect to German foreign policy suggests a link between political success and Holocaust consciousness that shows the high stakes involved in national Holocaust memorialization.

Tensions between local and global memory are at the forefront of Budapest and Berlin memorial cultures and most memorials either reinforce or contest global memory. When discussing the limits and stresses of memorialization trends in Budapest and Berlin, symbols, places, and language are key points of analysis.

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[31] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 105.
[32] Vági, Csősz, and Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide*, 232.
[33] Eric Langenbacher, "The Mastered Past? Collective Memory Trends in Germany since Unification," *German Politics & Society* 28, no. 1 (94) (2010): 45.

PLACE

The placement of Holocaust memorials is not random, and as described by historian Tim Cole, "the space which…monuments occupy is not just an incidental material backdrop but in fact inscribes the statues with meaning."[34] When analyzing the placement of memorials, there are also "concerns with visibility (as well as the opposite concern with hiddenness)."[35]

Place will also always be important to Holocaust memorialization "because there was a physicality to the implementation of the Holocaust" that left a physical and psychological imprint on the places it touched.[36] While the events of the Holocaust transcended national borders, violence, occupation and collaboration took different forms in different locations.[37] This diversity of the Holocaust experience and implementation is often lost in the standardization of Holocaust memory. The globalization of Holocaust memorial projects, with each major city in the West having a Holocaust memorial, has diminished the gravity of visiting sites where violence actually occurred. This suggests that as the Holocaust transcended borders, it also lost its specificity of place. Yet analyzing place is one way that unique and local memories can emerge.

The countries of victims and the countries of perpetrators have different sites of Holocaust *lieux de* memorie.[38] In the countries of victims, sites of memory are infused with the weight of violence that took place on the site and "can function as a substitute

[34] Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto*, 225.
[35] *Ibid*, 225.
[36] *Ibid*, 224.
[37] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 97.
[38] Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 13.

site of mourning and remembrance" when there are no individual tombstones.[39] The countries of perpetrators have to confront a different physicality of the Holocaust. The countries of perpetrators may not have committed violence within their borders, but instead have *lieux de memoire* of administrative centers of violence. Then, some countries are simultaneously victims and perpetrators and struggle with dual memories that oppose one another, often leading to a struggle between competing victimhoods.

COMPETATIVE VICTIMHOOD

A driving force behind the conflict between global and local Holocaust memories is the emergence of competitive victimhood. Competitive victimhood arises in nations that simultaneously are victims and perpetrators. In Budapest this comes from global memory overriding local memory, while in Berlin a new competitive victimhood is arising from the introduction of local memory over global memory.

Since transnational Holocaust remembrance can be practiced without a self-reflection of one's own complicity in the Holocaust, the accepted global Holocaust memory is one that relies on the story of victimhood, where standing with the victim means standing on the "good side."[40] In a memorial culture like that of Budapest, which includes both victims and perpetrators, victims hold the moral high ground. The oversimplification of the Holocaust as the struggle between good and evil left no room for the gray zones of Holocaust history. The suffering of perpetrator communities, like the suffering of Hungarians under German and then Soviet occupation, were ignored in

[39] Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 15.
[40] Vági, Csősz, and Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide*, 233.

favor of a Jewish centered memory.[41] However, if perpetrator communities could also be "… simply a victim, then its own freedom to act in the past along with its subsequent responsibility today are both limited."[42] In Budapest memorial projects have the tendency to obscure both perpetrators and victims is an attempt to eliminate competitive victimhoods and instead create one simplified victimhood.

Competitive victimhood is new in German memorial culture and while competitive victimhood may be too strong a word, a multiplicity of victims and memories are slowly emerging. It is only since the standardization and stabilization of Holocaust memory in Germany that other victim groups have argued for their place in the memory of World War II suffering. However, memorial culture in Germany has still struggled with including other victims of National Socialism, mainly homosexuals, Roma, Sinti, and the mentally ill. Recent efforts have been made to make memorial efforts more inclusive, but the memory of the Dresden bombings and expulsions of ethnic Germans remain difficult subjects to include in parallel to Holocaust suffering.

Competitive victimhoods in the memorial cultures of Budapest and Berlin show how the standardization of Holocaust memory enables both forgetting and remembering. In Budapest, standardized memory made turning away from Hungarian culpability in the Holocaust easier by condensing Jewish and Hungarian suffering in one memorial space. While in Germany standardized memory brought assumed stability to memorial culture, and enabled memories of other wartime violence to be brought forth.

[41] Vági, Csősz, and Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide,* 235.
[42] *Ibid*.

SYMBOLS AND ICONS

The repetition of the same few images throughout Holocaust memorial culture that emblematically signal the Holocaust has contributed to the standardization of Holocaust memorialization while turning away from the local specificity of violence.[43] Key symbols that appear throughout the memorial cultures of Budapest and Berlin are the *Mogen David*, shoes, numbers, names, and the moral lessons of gentiles. As symbols of the Holocaust, these motifs impact how the post-witness generation literally views the Holocaust today and how they construct meaning of the events.[44] These symbols may express a "… truth about the Holocaust [, but] in its most abridged and condensed form" that inherently implies something is left out.[45] While these symbols permeate Holocaust memorial culture, their international use further "…alludes to the existence of a code, an ethical system, for its representation…" that was put forth by the ITF.[46] In Both Budapest and Berlin these symbols reappear and form webs of connective memory that simultaneously contest global and local Holocaust memory.

LANGUAGE

In the memorial, global and local memories confront one another through language. Looking at the language of memorials in Budapest and Berlin offers insight into how the site is placed in the larger memorial culture. To begin, one must ask questions of the memorial. *What languages are these memorials offered in? Is there a*

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[43] Oren Baruch Stier, *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory* (Rutgers University Press, 2015), 3.
[44] *Ibid*, 14.
[45] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 109.
[46] Baruch Stier, *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory*, 14.

different narrative in each language? Do different languages reflect local and global memory in a different way? And does the language used obscure, educate, or reinterpret events that took place? Local languages often tell the local memory of the Holocaust, while English (used as an international language) takes the role of conveying global Holocaust memory. Often times the memories projected in different languages, but on the same memorial are in conflict with one another and reinforce different memories. This shows the importance of audience, language, and memory.

CONCLUSION

Moving forward to explore the memorial landscapes of Budapest and Berlin, memorial theory will come alive in these two cityscapes. The ways in which language, symbols, and place navigate the tension between local and global memory will materialize in these sites of remembrance. Straddling the between remembering and forgetting, these sites will show the limits of standardized Holocaust memory and suggest that while these tensions play out differently in each cityscape, they both result in a lack of full self-reflection of the past. Without a thorough self-reflection, memorialization becomes a way to frame and often times misconstrue events.

CHAPTER TWO

Memorialization in Budapest

> "Studying the links between genocide and memory means, then, examining the ways in which collective memories of past humiliations or victories are mobilized in the present, showing how individuals and societies are traumatized by genocide, and analyzing the ways in which post-genocidal commemorative practices sustain collective memories."
>
> —Dan Stone, *The Holocaust, Fascism, and Memory*

The thawing of the Cold War brought a new Holocaust consciousness to Hungary. Memories that had been silenced under the Soviet regime came to the surface in the post-communist years, and the 1990s became the 'real' post war era, where discussions of culpability, trauma, and memory could take place.[47] Deploying the theories discussed in the previous chapter, this section will use the Budapest memorial landscape as a lens through which to analyze the relationship between local and global memory. [48]

The Soviet era, although not directly confronted in this work, lurks in the background of the Budapest memorial landscape. Lingering effects of Sovietization no doubt influence Budapest's contemporary memorial trends. And the same tactics used by the Soviets to subsume Hungarians into the Soviet narrative, are used today to subsume Holocaust victims into the narrative of Hungarian suffering. In the Budapest memorial landscape, the history of the 20th century collapses in time and space.

Building upon the theories of place, local and global, symbols and icons, language, and competitive victimhood, Budapest memorials are divided into three groups

[47] Dan Stone, *The Holocaust, Fascism, and Memory: Essays in the History of Ideas* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 174.
[48] Forchtner, and Kølvraa, "Narrating a 'New Europe': From 'Bitter Past' to Self-Righteousness?" 387.

for analysis, 'must see' attractions (popular memorials), memorials to individuals (Icons), and memorials easily missed (Plaques and places). These are not stagnant categories, but each of the memorials chosen have been placed in the category that best describes its function in the memorial landscape. These are the waters we plunge into.

POPULAR MEMORIALS

The 'must see' attractions of Budapest include the ruin pubs, castle district, Saint Stephen's Basilica, and some Holocaust themed sites**.** The Budapest edition of the guidebook Lonely Planet gives the *Shoes on the Danube* memorial its own paragraph in the "Parliament and Around" section, lists the Great Synagogue and its Holocaust memorials as number eight on its Top 10 list, and marks the House of Terror museum as a "Top Sight" in the "Erzsèbetvàros & the Jewish Quarter" chapter.[49] These three memorials offer example of the uses of language and the relationship between local and global narratives.

Shoes on the Danube (Cipök a Dunaparton) was installed on the banks of the Danube River in April 2005 (Image 1).[50] 60 cast iron shoes line the riverbank for some 1000 feet and represent the unknown number of Jews shot into the Danube by Arrow Cross militiamen in the winter of 1944-45.[51] While the killings represented the escalation of collaboration between the Arrow Cross party and Nazi Germany, these events also brought the killing of Jews to the center of the Hungarian capital, extending the "bloodlands" further westward, and adding the Hungarian government to the list of

[49] Steve Fallon, *Lonely Planet* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet, 2012), 11, 99, 118.
[50] *Cipök a Dunaparton (Shoes on the Danube),* 2005, (Budapest, Id. Antall József rkp., 1054).
[51] Tim Cole, *Holocaust Landscapes* (London: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2016) 168, 170; *Cipök a Dunaparton (Shoes on the Danube),* 2005.

Image 1: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Shoes on the Danube*.Budapest.

perpetrators in the largest act of mass violence in Europe.[52] The Hungarian people struggle with the reality of this past, and *Shoes on the Danube* brings this struggle back to the center of the Hungarian capital.

Three large plaques embedded in the cobblestones behind the shoes, available in Hungarian, English and Hebrew, offer a vague context for the memorial.[53] These inscriptions read: "To the memory of the victims shot into the Danube by Arrow Cross militiamen in 1944-45."[54] These plaques offer the viewer little information on who were victims or perpetrators of these events.[55] The Arrow Cross party is not a well known aspect of World War II history outside of Hungary and the memorial itself does not offer any education on the subject. While many visitors may know the relationship between *Shoes on the Danube* and the killing of Jews, the memorial itself is not forthcoming about this fact and identifies the victims as "victims," ignoring the reason for their victimization.

The location of *Shoes on the Danube* across from the Hungarian parliament serves two functions. First, the placement near a heavily trafficked tourist destination suggests an awareness of the memorial as a popular destination even before its construction. The memorial has some physical barriers and is difficult to reach along the unmarked dirt path of the riverbank (although the memorial itself is cobblestoned) and a low wall obscures the memorial from people who look towards it from parliament (Image 1). Second, the placement in front of the Hungarian parliament suggests that Hungarian officials are

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[52] Cole, *Holocaust Landscapes,* 171.
[53] *Cipök a Dunaparton (Shoes on the Danube),* 2005.
[54] *Cipök a Dunaparton (Shoes on the Danube),* 2005.
[55] Tracy Jean Rosenberg, "Contemporary Holocaust Memorials in Berlin: On the Borders of the Sacred and the Profane," in *Revisiting Holocaust Representation in the Post-Witness Era,* ed. Schult, Tanja, et al. (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 76.

aware of the connection between Arrow Cross violence in the past and the moral responsibility of the current Hungarian nation to fight against further acts of violence. However the obstructed view of the memorial from parliament suggests this is also a difficult past to face. The placement of the memorial near parliament unifies the local and global uses of the memorial.

Further, the shoes are simultaneously a local and global symbol in their iconography. The shoes are a symbol of the lost Jews from the local community, but shoes also fit into discussions of general Holocaust memorialization. In most Holocaust museums or on the site of former camps, shoes are used to visually represent the victims, and more importantly a symbol of the destruction from which the shoes are all that remains.[56] This suggests that *Shoes on the Danube* is not only a popular memorial because it represents the destruction of the Budapest Jewish community, but also because it fits into a larger transnational trend of Holocaust memorialization.

International visitor engagement with the memorial is also mirrored in Hungarian engagement with the memorial. Engagement with the memorial is mostly through photography, and thus the turnover of visitors is relatively quick. The presence of large groups of visitors suggests that *Shoes on the Danube* is not only a popular memorial in guidebooks, but also one that tourists feel compelled to visit and document. Visitors come and go, as if the deed had been done, respects had been paid, "... stop, take a photograph, and move on."[57] One might suggest that this method is also true for the memorial itself. The fact that the memorial is placed so close to the Hungarian parliament

[56] Oren Baruch Strier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts, 2003) 31.
[57] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977) 7.

suggests that the deed of memorialization had been done, respects had been paid, 'stop, memorialize, move on.'

The *House of Terror* is another popular Budapest destination, one that displays the battle between local and global trauma memory. The building itself was a "witness" to the horrors of two regimes, first as the headquarters of the Arrow Cross party, then as home to the communist terror organizations ÀVO and ÀVH.[58] From the outside of the building, to the entryway, to the museum brochure, the House of Terror projects an equal engagement with the history of "two murderous regimes," the Arrow Cross party and the Soviet Union (Image 2).[59] In reality, World War II history is mostly ignored in favor of projecting the suffering of "Hungarians" at the hands of the Soviets. The House of Terror is thus a museum where "narratives of self-pity and self-glorification prevail over lucid scrutiny of the past."[60]

In certain ways the House of Terror is a "total propaganda space," projecting the history of the building and by extension the history of Hungary as one of victimhood.[61] Jewish suffering in the House of Terror is minimized by the physical and ideological space devoted to discussing World War II as only 3/20 rooms in the museum engage with the events of World War II.[62] In the museum texts, the only direct engagement with the violence committed by the Hungarian Arrow Cross party is in a description of how "The Arrow Cross militia raved and raged until the very last [sic], shooting into the Danube

[58] *Terror Haza; House of Terror*, (Budapest: Terror Haza, 2002) 1; Stone, *The Holocaust, Fascism, and Memory: Essays in the History of Ideas*, 178.
[59] *Terror Haza; House of Terror*, 11; *Terror Haza; House of Terror*, 2002, (Budapest, Andrássy út 60, 1062 Hungary).
[60] Stone, *The Holocaust, Fascism, and Memory: Essays in the History of Ideas*, 175.
[61] *Ibid,* 179.
[62] *Terror Haza; House of Terror*, 2002.

Image 2: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *House of Terror*. Budapest.

Jews whom they wanted to loot…"[63] This is the only confession of Arrow Cross violence, yet the above sentence ends with a qualification, "...but the ghetto — the last one in Europe, but also the most fortunate — weathered the storm."[64] This qualification attempts to downplay the suffering of Hungarian Jews at the hands of the Germans and Hungarians. As a major tourist attraction, the House of Terror does a poor job at educating visitors on the effects of Arrow Cross rule and devotes most of its time to details of Hungarian suffering under Soviet occupation.

In the limited engagement with the events of World War II, most of the information is conveyed by allusions to events, rather than direct engagement. On the back wall of the room titled " Hungarian Nazis" (Nyilas i.e. the Arrow Cross party) there was an ongoing video of water flowing, on top of that video was audio of shots being fired and splashes.[65] This instillation alludes to the shooting of Jews into the Danube, but no explanation is offered and many visitors miss this connection.

On a Friday night the Great Synagogue on Dohany utca is open for Shabbat services.[66] The 2,964 seat synagogue is cavernous, and the small number of attendees alludes to a time where these seats were full. The rest of the synagogue grounds are not open to worshipers on Friday nights, but on any other day the synagogue and its grounds are flooded with tourists itching to see the restored synagogue and the memorial grounds. The synagogue in its uses and its space is caught between local specificity and global interest.

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[63] *Terror Haza; House of Terror*, "Hungarian Nazis," (Budapest: Terror Haza, 2002).
[64] *Ibid*.
[65] *Terror Haza; House of Terror*, 2002.
[66] 'Utca' means 'street' in Hungarian; Shabbat is the Jewish holy day

When a Jewish ghetto was established in Budapest in winter 1944, the Dohany street synagogue was included in its boundaries. The synagogue was bombed in 1939 and received other wartime damage. The true horror of the ghetto is seen in the makeshift cemetery in the courtyard of the Synagogue.[67] In 1945 the open space in the synagogue courtyard became the resting place for some 2000 people who had previously been laying dead on the streets of the ghetto.[68]

While the synagogue and its memorials do not shy away from the violent past, the high entrance price for the city (2,7000 FT ~ $9.25) may explain the absence of local Hungarians. The absence of Hungarians is an interesting factor since many of the memorials on the synagogue site are only available in Hungarian (e.g. the Memorial to Raoul Wallenberg, the memorial to victims of the Holocaust, and the explanation of the tree memorial).[69] The memorial tree (Image 3) that stands in the middle of the memorial park is an important symbol of Holocaust memorialization.[70] Many people buy postcards of the memorial tree or 5FT coins flattened with its image.[71] Interestingly, while the title of the memorial is in Hungarian, the individually sponsored memorial plaques are overwhelmingly in English. This is also true of the memorial plaques inside the synagogue. This shows an interesting relationship between the local support of memorials and the international monetary and memorial engagement with them.

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[67] *Dohany Street Synagogue*, 1859, (Budapest, Dohány u. 2, 1074 Hungary).
[68] "Budapest Dohany Street Great Synagogue - the Largest Synagogue in Europe." *Budapest Dohany Street Great Synagogue - the Largest Synagogue in Europe*. N.p., n.d. Web. 22 Nov. 2016.
[69] *Dohany Street Synagogue*, 1859.
[70] *Hungarian Holocaust Victims and Heroes Memorial*, 1990, (Budapest, Dohány u. 2, 1074 Hungary).
[71] A machine next to the entrance flattened the coins and vendors were selling postcards.

The popular memorials of Budapest attract global visitors and thus their message is one that is conscious of this global audience. Whether it is rewriting or obscuring the past, these memorials present history through Hungarian memory of the Holocaust while still using global Holocaust themes. The discussion of Holocaust icons below will further explore the awareness of Hungarian Holocaust memorialization in the global memorial context.

Image 3: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Hungarian Holocaust Victims and Heroes Memorial*. Budapest.

ICONS

The icons of Budapest holocaust memorial culture are the people that reoccur in the memorial landscape. Through their stories, these individuals embody the moral values that Hungarian and Western society today want to promote.[72] Taken out of context, these memorials act as symbols of "this is how we wish we acted" while their actual use in the memorial landscape projects the notion of "this *is* how we acted." Raoul Wallenberg, Carl Lutz, and Sztehlo Gabor embody the moral choices Hungary (and other nations) hope to align themselves with.[73] These memorials also very distinctly unite local and global narratives of Holocaust memorialization.

Raoul Wallenberg, Carl Lutz, and Sztehlo Gabor are all three men who risked their own lives to save the lives of countless Hungarian Jews. Raoul Wallenberg was a Swedish diplomat stationed in Budapest during World War II. In an effort to protect Jews while still staying within the restraints of his homeland law, Wallenberg issued almost 20,000 Swedish *Schutzpass* that offered the protection of the Swedish government to Hungarian Jews.[74] Wallenberg also established safe houses along the Danube that were supposed to act as little islands of Sweden, protecting those that lived inside, unfortunately, the inhabitants of these houses often became targets of Arrow Cross militiamen and many were shot on the banks of the Danube.[75]

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[72] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 111.
[73] Forchtner, and Kølvraa, "Narrating a 'New Europe': From 'Bitter Past' to Self-Righteousness?" 387. There is some very interesting scholarship on the gendered nature of Holocaust memorialization, but because of length is not included here.
[74] Cole, *Holocaust Landscapes*, 156.
[75] Cole, *Holocaust Landscapes,* 168.

Image 4: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Raoul Wallenberg Szent Istvan Park.* Budapest.

Image 5: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Statue of Raoul Wallenberg, Buda*. Budapest.

Image 6: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Righteous Gentiles*. Budapest.

Wallenberg was captured by Soviet forces upon the liberation of Budapest and to this day his exact fate remains unknown. Carl Lutz performed a similar legal rescue of Jews, but under the protections of the Swiss flag. Carl Lutz also issued protective documents and established safety houses under the Swiss flag along the Danube. Sztehlo Gabor exemplifies Hungarian defiance, he was a Christian minister who saved hundreds of Jewish children by hiding and caring for them in his own home, risking his own life, but following his moral compass. All three of these men have since been awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.[76]

There are many memorials to Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest (Images 4,5,6).[77] And there is not much variation in these memorials. Core elements appear again and again. Most importantly the image of a man fighting a snake, showing the struggle between good and evil, while the face of the man connotes "calm strength," his stance is one of certainty, not physical superiority (Images 4,5,6).[78] This image holds a larger meaning in the history of Holocaust memorialization in Budapest, one that simultaneously speaks to the communist past of Hungary, another reason perhaps why the image is repeated. The original memorial with this man and snake was created by artist Pàl Pàtzay in 1949 and meant to be installed in Szent Istvàn Park along the Danube (Image 4). The memorial, although accepted by the Wallenberg Committee, was rejected by communist officials and the memorial was removed on the day of its planned

[76] "The International School for Holocaust Studies." *The Shoes on the Danube Promenade – Commemoration of the Tragedy - E-Newsletter - Education & E-Learning - Yad Vashem*. Yad Vashem, n.d. Web. 22 Nov. 2016.
[77] *Raoul Wallenberg Statue*, 1998, (Budapest, Szent Istvan Park 30, 1137 Hungary). *Statue of Wallenberg*, 1987, (At the corner of Szilagayi Erzsebet fasor utca and Nagyajtai utca). *A Dunai Rakpartok Nevadoi Tiszeletere (Dedicated to the Memory of the Name Givers of the Danube Quays),* 2012, (Corner of Pesti also rkp and Szabad Sajto utca).
[78] Tanja Schult, *A Hero's Many Faces: Raoul Wallenberg in Contemporary Monuments* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 82, 85.

inauguration.[79] The story not only relays the response Hungary wishes it had to the Holocaust, but the Soviet rejection of the memorial also speaks to the Hungarian identity of victimhood. The struggle of man vs. snake, good vs. evil, is then not only the struggle of Raoul Wallenberg to save the Jews of Budapest, but also the fight of the Hungarian nation against communism. This image has also come to embody all righteous gentiles in Hungary as a small man versus snake is etched on the bottom of the memorial to all righteous gentiles along the Danube (Image 6).[80] The funding behind these memorials also shows the investment of the nation in the promoting this history as most Raoul Wallenberg memorials are sponsored by state cultural institutions. The story of the man and the snake also connects to international morals, as memorials to Raoul Wallenberg are found in Tel Aviv, London, Stockholm, and New York.

Carl Lutz saved the lives of Jewish Hungarians using many of the same bureaucratic measures that also made Raoul Wallenberg successful. While Carl Lutz is not as well known of a figure as Raoul Wallenberg, his story is still one that aligns itself with the moral values of western society. The most telling example of this is the Carl Lutz memorial outside of the US embassy, highlighted by the quote: ”Carl Lutz honorably represented the interests of the United States of America and other countries between 1942 and 1945” (Image 7).[81] Here the United States is aligning itself with the moral righteousness of Carl Lutz, and here the local history and global moral values meet.

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[79] Schult, *A Hero's Many Faces: Raoul Wallenberg in Contemporary Monuments,* 88.
[80] *A Dunai Rakpartok Nevadoi Tiszeletere (Dedicated to the Memory of the Name Givers of the Danube Quays),* 2012.
[81] *Carl Lutz Memorial (U.S Embassy),* (Budapest, Szabadsag ter 12, 1054 Hungary).

Image 7: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Carl Lutz, U.S. Embassy*. Budapest.

Image 8: Sanderson, Yaari. *Stehlo Gabo, Deak Ferenc Ter*. Budapest.

The Carl Lutz memorial in the Jewish quarter of the city is a memorial that dominates the landscape.[82] The information offered by this memorial is similar to the obscured message in *Shoes on the Danube*. Neither the victims nor the perpetrators are entirely clear. In English the memorial describes Carl Lutz as a man who "rescued thousands from National Socialist persecution" while in Hungarian thousands were rescued from Nazism.[83] The victim is not defined at all while the memorial fights itself on defining a perpetrator. Using Nazism as the perpetrator in Hungarian does not accurately describe the persecution of Jews in Budapest and the term Nazi places the onus more on Germany than engaging in any national self-reflection. The English explanation is similarly vague, as National Socialism does not accurately describe the situation either.

A memorial to Sztehlo Gabor stands proudly in the Deak Ferenc Ter, the central square in Budapest (Image 8).[84] The abstracted figure of Gabor, who saved the lives of hundreds of Jewish children, shields a child in his arms. The meaning of the abstraction is lost to many visitors and many people use the low side as a place to sit. The memorial is supported by the Budapest municipality as well as evangelical organizations and the National Cultural Fund, this show an involvement of the state with the promotion of this history.[85] The prominent place of the memorial in Deak Ferenc Ter also shows the importance of this memorial in the Hungarian self-image.

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82 *Carl Lutz emlékmû* (Karl Lutz memorial), 1991, (At the corner of Dob utca and Rumbach utca).
83 *Carl Lutz emlékmû* (Karl Lutz memorial), 1991.
84 *Sztehlo Gabor Statue*, 2009, (Deak Ferenc ter, Budapest, Hungary).
85 *Sztehlo Gabor Statue*, 2009.

Using these icons in the Budapest memorial landscape unites the local specificity of the Holocaust with the globalized moral lessons offered by Holocaust memorialization. The Hungarian financial support for these memorials suggests that states desire to share this Holocaust narrative, often in Budapest's most trafficked public spaces.

PLAQUES AND PLACES

Plaques and places are the site of 'authentic' memorials, memorials in "actual physical sites where events had occurred."[86] As contrasted with the memorials of icons, plaques and places offer the immorality of the Holocaust and thus are a threat to the moral image of Hungary today. Because of this contrast, plaques and places offer questions about hiddenness versus visibility and the uses of memory that threaten the desired narrative. Because they "blend into the city like pieces of furniture," plaques and places become familiar and thus unnoticed objects for people who see them everyday.[87] Because of their subdued image, these memorials do not attract international visitors and are more for locals, even if they do not notice them. The two Ghetto Wall memorials (the rebuilt ghetto wall and the Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall), the proliferation of memorial plaques in Pest, and the Jewish Cemetery are sites for analysis.

The Ghetto wall was hastily built in the winter of 1944, meant to keep Jewish populations confined in their walls. The ghetto was one of the shorter ones in Europe, but

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[86] Rosenberg, "Contemporary Holocaust Memorials in Berlin: On the Borders of the Sacred and the Profane," 77.
[87] Stone, *The Holocaust, Fascism, and Memory: Essays in the History of Ideas*.151; Rosenberg, "Contemporary Holocaust Memorials in Berlin: On the Borders of the Sacred and the Profane," 84.

death, disease, and deportation was still a reality of ghetto life.[88] Today the Jewish quarter, the historical center of Jewish life in Budapest and the site of the ghetto is a lively part of town. The famous ruin pubs of Budapest inhabit buildings that were once Jewish homes and businesses. The ghetto was liberated long ago, and few remnants of that period remain. However, there are two sites that memorialize the site and effects of the ghetto wall. The first is a rebuilt portion of the wall in the inner courtyard of a building (Rebuilt Ghetto Wall).[89] The second is a large wall exhibition on the grounds of the Jewish-Hungarian School in Budapest (Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall).[90]

The original ghetto wall fragment was destroyed in 2006, but a memorial wall was reconstructed in 2010.[91] This information is available on a plaque outside a plain yellow building in the Jewish quarter (Image 9). The memorial wall calls for "us to be reminded of them by the rocks reestablished in 2010" in Hungarian.[92] Yet the English says the memorial wall was built in "their memory," there is nothing calling the viewer to partake in any type of action.[93] This difference may suggest that the memorial is calling out locals to participate with the memorial in a way that international visitors are not called to do. This call to actively remember is odd since the plaque is on the outside of the building, while the reconstructed wall is in the inner courtyard of the building. This courtyard is behind locked doors and inhibits direct engagement with the memorial wall. If one does manage to make it into the inner courtyard, the reconstructed wall is at the

[88] Cole, *Holocaust Landscapes*, 168.
[89] *Rebuilt Ghetto Wall*, 2010, (Budapest, Kiraly utca 15, 1075 Hungary).
[90] *Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall*, 2014, (Budapest, Dohany utca 32, 1074 Hungary).
[91] *Rebuilt Ghetto Wall*, 2010.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] *Ibid*

Image 9: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Rebuilt Ghetto Wall Exterior*. Budapest.

Image 10: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Ghetto Wall Rebuilt, Plaque*. Budapest.

back of the courtyard, where residents kept their garbage. The wall itself mirrors the call to action that the outside plaque asked for. The plaque on the reconstructed wall shows the borders of the ghetto and shows where the viewer is standing, however this information is implied as the plaque offers no information on the wall itself (Image 10). The plaque calls for the viewer to take action by using the quote from Exodus 13:8 "You shall tell your son…"[94] This quotation calls the visitor to participate in spreading the message of the memorial even after direct engagement with the memorial.

The Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall memorial also asks for direct engagement from the viewer (Image 11 and 12). This memorial requires engagement during and after the direct experience of it. On the concrete wall is a map of the ghetto wall (a similarity to the other ghetto wall memorial).[95] This map is dotted with pinholes that the viewer can look through (Image 12).[96] The images are a mixture of present day and past Jewish lives, uniting the past and present in a single space. This is an immediate action the memorial asks the viewer to take. In the text of the memorial, the memorial asks the visitor to take additional actions of remembrance outside of the memorial space, like the first ghetto wall memorial. The memorial asks the viewer, "Consider: lighting candles next Friday in honor of Shabbat. Participating in services at a synagogue. Reciting a chapter of Psalms,

[94] *Rebuilt Ghetto Wall*, 2010.
[95] *Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall*, 2014.
[96] *Ibid.*

Image 11: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall*. Budapest.

Image 12:Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Jewish Day School Ghetto Wall, Pin Hole*. Budapest.

for example: (Psalm 23 is printed below)."[97] These acts of remembrance are very clearly speaking to an intended audience, other Jews, and since the memorial is on the site of a Hebrew-Hungarian bilingual school and paid for by Hungarian-Jewish organizations, this is not surprising.

The Jewish cemetery of Budapest is an hour bus ride from the city center and the distance is enough of a hurdle to dramatically limit the number of visitors. The Orthodox and secular cemeteries are side by side. The orthodox cemetery is overgrown with brush and ivy, rats scurry beneath your feet, there are no other visitors (Image 13).[98] The Orthodox cemetery is devoid of any mention of the Holocaust, but the absence of people is itself a lingering effect of that history on the Orthodox community. The secular cemetery also lacks visitors, but it does not lack images and memorials to murdered Hungarian Jews.[99] While the cemetery may not be a place where Holocaust violence occurred it is included in the category of *Plaques and Places* because many Holocaust victims do not have a true resting place. In this way the cemetery becomes an 'authentic' space that "can function as a substitute site of mourning and remembrance" when there are no individual tombstones.[100]

The largest memorial on the cemetery grounds is a large covered walkway with walls listing the names of Hungarian victims and their place and date (if known) of death (Image 14).[101] Death in the Jewish religion has many strict rules, no cremation, immediate burial, *dust to dust*. The Kaddish (Jewish Prayer for the dead) plays an important role in Jewish religious and cultural life and says that as long as someone

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[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Orthodox Jewish Cemetery,* (Budapest, Csucsor utca, 1108 Hungary).
[99] *Kozma Cemetery*, (Budapest, Kozma utca 6, 1108 Hungary).
[100] Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 15.
[101] *Holocaust Memorial Kozma Cemetery*, (Kozma utca 6, 1108 Hungary).

Image 13: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Orthodox Jewish Cemetery*. Budapest.

Image 14: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Kozma Cemetery Holocaust Memorial*. Budapest.

Image 15: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Kozma Cemetery 'Graffiti,'* Budapest.

remembers and recites your name, your memory lives on. This I suggest is one reason for the "name mania" of Holocaust memorials and museums, which is reflected in the Budapest cemetery as well.[102] The name mania also unites the memorial to international expectations of Holocaust representation. And while the cemetery does not attract many foreign visitors because of its distance from the city and the domination of the Hungarian language, the wall of names still connects this local commemoration to global tends in Holocaust memorials. The memorial walls also do indicate a presence of visitors and visitor involvement. People have written names of other victims in the margins of the list of names, adding their own loved ones to be remembered (Image 15).[103] This practice questions whether memorials are about the event being remembered of the individual.

Plaques mark houses and buildings all over Budapest. The rate at which these plaques were erected also speaks to how quickly they could be taken down; memorials are built on the quicksand of national identity.[104] The plaques in northern Pest were erected in 2015 these are new memorials, which may hopefully signal an advancement in Holocaust memorialization in the ten years between the plaques and *Shoes on the Danube*.

In Northern Pest many houses have large plaques that identify them as protected houses that were part of the International Ghetto.[105] These are the Houses that Raoul Wallenberg and Carl Lutz protected under the Swedish and Swiss flag. These plaques are only available in Hungarian and repeat the same information at each address. The plaque states that this is a house that provided some protections for Jews under the flag of the

[102] Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust,* 29.
[103] *Holocaust Memorial Kozma Cemetery.*
[104] Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust,* 29.
[105] *Vedett Hazak (protected Houses),* 2015, (All around northern Pest. Ex. Radnoti Miklos (Egykori Sziget) utca 40, 43, 45).

Swiss or Swedish, but that "From the protected houses thousands of Jews were taken and were killed by the Arrow Cross annihilation on the banks of the Danube."[106] Compared to previous memorial projects that have been discussed, this plaque offers a clearer picture of the victims and perpetrators. This memorial project is sponsored by the Jewish Heritage Public Foundation of Hungary, and with funding from a Jewish organization, this may explain why the memorial is more forthcoming about the victims and perpetrators.[107] This memorial project shows the connection between local and international funding and the type of story that is projected.

Plaques and places in the Budapest memorial landscape mediate between local and global memory. The memorials reflect the local specificity of the Holocaust and the voids left behind by Nazi and Arrow Cross violence, and the narratives of these memorials contest the institutionalized and state sponsored memory. While the funding for most of these plaques and places comes from international sources and Jewish victim groups, this suggests a disconnect between the local specificity of the Holocaust and the themes that emerge from a standardized global memory.

CONCLUSIONS

The Budapest memorial landscape shows the tensions between a global standardized memorial culture and the local specificity of the past. Through popular memorials, the differences between confronting the past and memorializing the past emerge. While offering memorials and the image of engagement with the Holocaust past,

[106] *Vedett Hazak (protected Houses),* 2015.
[107] *Ibid*.

Budapest popular memorials show the ways that engagement with the Holocaust is used as a way to raise the moral profile of Hungary while simultaneously allowing the nation to "evade awkward themes concerning its own past" as actors in the Holocaust.[108]

Icons offer the standardized moral lessons of global Holocaust, while presenting only the most righteous of Budapest residents. Without being counterbalanced by a self awareness of the Arrow Cross role in the Holocaust, the use of these icons in the memorial landscape projects the notion of "this *is* how we acted" instead of "this is how we wish we acted." The state sponsorship of these memorials suggests the state's role in promoting this narrative and the moral profile that comes with it.

In contrast, plaques and places are memorials entrenched in the local specificity of the Holocaust and more importantly in the voids that were left behind. Many of these memorials ask the viewer to preform a task, to "tell your son" or to "light candles," and reflect the narratives, memories, and commemoration of the missing Jewish community for Jews. These memorials are also *by* Jews in that their funding comes from Jewish organizations and are on the sites of the past and present Jewish community. While these memorials can be united by globalized trends, such as walls of names and Jewish imagery, they reject the internationalization of Holocaust memorialization and instead focus on the local ramifications and violence of the Holocaust. These memorials, by asking the viewer to participate with them, reject the tendency of 'global' memorials to evade confrontation with the past. Instead these memorials ask the viewer to be self reflective of themselves, their nation, and their actions.

The Budapest memorial landscape is an example of the uses and misuses of

[108] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 105.

standardized global Holocaust memory. Although a city filled with Holocaust memorials, Budapest struggles with confronting the local specificity of the Holocaust and the culpability of the Hungarian government. By participating in standardized global memorial trends, Budapest receives the moral profile of a nation that has confronted its past without ever doing so. In obscuring victims and perpetrators, Budapest avoids a thorough self-reflection of the past. In evading self-reflection, memorials leave one asking what is actually supposed to be remembered? It is through the Budapest memorial landscape that the limits of globalized Holocaust memory emerge and the tensions created by dislocating memory from its local specificity present themselves.

CHAPTER THREE

Memorialization in Berlin[109]

> "As other nations have remembered the Holocaust according to their founding myths and ideals, their experiences as liberators, victims or fighters, Germany will also remember according to its own complex and self-abnegating motives, whether we like it or not."
>
> —James E. Young, *Berlin's Memorial Problem and Mine*

The fall of the Berlin wall on November 9, 1989 and the subsequent reunification of Germany ushered in a surge of German Holocaust memorialization. As a reunified nation, Germany could (and some argue must) confront its past as the main instigator of the largest genocide on the European continent.[110] Reunification brought back memories of when Germany was last unified and inevitably memories associated with the Holocaust and Nazi Germany.[111] This newly invigorated process of memorialization and remembrance in Germany, particularly in the capitol city of Berlin, was, as offered by Mary Rachel Gould, an integral part of national (re)building, where as "Germans dug for traces of the Holocaust, they increasingly discovered themselves."[112] What parts of

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[109] Berlin Holocaust memorialization has had a plethora of scholarship devoted to it and millions of dollars donated by the government and international individuals for memorial projects. Analyzing this gigantic memorial landscape is beyond the scope of this paper and so the focus of this analysis will be limited to the ways in which certain aspects of memorial projects reflect and reinforce the conflict between local and global memorialization and the tension between victim and perpetrator delineation.

[110] Caroline Alice Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* (Ithaca (N.Y.); London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 142.

[111] Wittlinger and Boothroyd. "A 'Usable' Past at Last? The Politics of the Past in United Germany," 490.

[112] Mary Rachel Gould, and Rachel E. Silverman, "Stumbling upon History: Collective Memory and the Urban Landscape," *GeoJournal* 78, no. 5 (2013): 792; Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (University of California Press, 2000), 258.

themselves they uncovered and what parts of themselves lay hidden, remains the driving question for analysis.

Building upon the rhetorical strategies of place, local and global memory, symbols and icons, language, and competitive victimhood, Berlin's memorial landscape is divided into three prominent categories: Popular memorials, voids, and growing victim groups. These categories appeared naturally from the landscape, and while they are not the only memorial trends, these categories reinforce concepts of local and global memory, victimhood, place, and self-consciousness.

POPULAR MEMORIALS

Many tourists flock to Berlin and many "specifically travel to witness a past that cannot be glorified."[113] At any one of the many tourist offices and museum entrances, visitors can pick up pamphlets about the many destinations Berlin has to offer that relate to the Nazi past. A pamphlet entitled *Sites of Remembrance 1933-1945* offers 15 "memorial sites, documentation centres and historical museums […] considered to be places of remembrance which assist in the advancement of a tolerant and democratic society."[114] The goals of these sites reflect the values of "democracy, freedom, the rule of law, peace, and tolerance" established by the ITF and reflect the transnational standard for Holocaust memorialization.[115] Two sites that reoccur in tourist brochures are the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* and the *Topography of Terror*. These two

[113] Gould, and Rachel E. Silverman, "Stumbling upon History: Collective Memory and the Urban Landscape," 792.
[114] Sarah Breithoff, *Sites of Remembrance 1933-1945: Memorial sites, documentation centers and museums concerning the history of the national socialist dictatorship in Berlin and Brandenburg*, (Berlin. 2013), 1.
[115] Forchtner, and Kølvraa. "Narrating a 'New Europe': From 'Bitter Past' to Self-Righteousness?" 387.

popular sites offer opposite relationships to memorialization and enable analysis of global and local memorial trends, victim narratives, and the use of historical sites.

The *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* was erected in the center of Berlin, close to the Reichstag (the German Parliament) and the Brandenburger Tor (a symbol of national identity), in 2005 (Image 16).[116] The five-acre field of stile was constructed on what was a Nazi administrative building until 1945 and then part of the Berlin Wall until 1989. After the fall of the wall, the newly created real estate in the center of a newly reunified capital had become, in the words of Historian James E, Young, "one of Berlin's most sought-after pieces of real estate—and was thus regarded as a magnanimous, if monumental, gesture to the memory of Europe's murdered Jews" when the memorial was erected there.[117] The memorial does stand as a testament to the German's willingness

> "to build a memorial apart from [… authentic] sites of destruction [and signifies that memory] is not merely the passive recognition and preservation of the past, [but] is a deliberate act of remembrance, a strong statement that *memory must be created* for the next generation, not only preserved."[118]

Without diminishing the magnitude of this gesture, one wonders whether memorializing the victims assists "in the advancements of a tolerant and democratic society" more than educating about the historical path and institution that led to the persecution of millions of people. In building over the site of a former Nazi administrative center, the memorial destroys, rather than preserves physical history and memory. The *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* is then a "rememoration […], a framing strategy of remembering to remember the past in the present rather than trying to

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116 *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, 2005, (Cora-Berliner-Straße 1, 10117 Berlin, Germany).
117 James Edward Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem—and Mine," *The Public Historian* 24, no. 4 (2002): 66. doi:10.1525/tph.2002.24.4.65.
118 *Ibid*, 75.

Image 16: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Berlin.

reconstitute past events in all their detail."[119] The site may be better used as an educational centre documenting the path to Nazism, and in that sense be a more accurate reflection of the sites authentic history.

This question of education versus remembrance arises in the educational center that lies below the field of stile. While the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* projects the self-awareness of a nation of perpetrators, in reality the memorial offers a thorough reflection of victims and victimhood that is not mirrored in a thorough evaluation of the path to Nazism. The "exhibition prelude" in the educational center offers an overview of Nazi terror policy, charting the main dates and events in the rise of National Socialism, but the majority of the centre is victim centered.[120] The following "Room of Dimensions," "Room of Families", and "Room of Names" take up the bulk of the educational space and offer photos, multimedia displays, and stories of victims, infusing life into the stories of the dead.[121] Visitors experience history through the stories and words of victims, and thus leave the centre with knowledge of victims, and not the circumstances and people that made them victims. This lack of engagement with perpetrator history and the prominence of victim history, reflects a larger trend where "the perpetrators are represented as an unidentifiable mass while the victims are shown as thinking, feeling individuals."[122] As Germany's most visited and prominent memorial, the limited engagement with the evolution of Nazism misses a major opportunity to

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[119] Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, 284.
[120] *Information: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and Information Center*, (Funded by Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien); *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, 2005.
[121] *Ibid*.
[122] Kristin Wagrell, "Cosmopolitan memory in a National Context: The Case of the 'Living History Forum,'" in *Revisiting Holocaust Representation in the Post-Witness Era,* ed. Schult, Tanja, et al. (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 281.

educate about the dangers of totalitarianism, hyper-nationalism, and intolerance. Instead, the reliance on victim narratives "de-territorializes" Holocaust memory, dislocating it from the local context, and the memorial becomes part of global Holocaust memory.[123]

The *Topography of Terror* is another popular site in Berlin's memorial landscape that offers a different approach to the Nazi past. Today, the former site of the central headquarters of the Secret State Police (Gestapo), security service (SD), and the Reich Security main office (RSHA) is an education center "along with the actual physical traces of the past."[124] While the museum and memorial center have a vague mission of providing information on the "European dimensions of the Nazi Reign of Terror," the actual exhibit offers a thorough (and at times overwhelming) illustration of the Nazi rise and reign in Europe (Image 17).[125] The vague mission of the museum portrayed in visitor literature, may seem self-conscious, but this vagueness is not mirrored in the exhibit's thorough self-reflection of the Nazi past. The museum takes a documentary approach with primary documents and photos not offered in other institutions, yet the plethora of information requires a literate visitor with the stamina to get through the comprehensive exhibit. While the persecution of minority groups is a part of the exhibit, the focus is on the institutions and ideologies responsible for the persecution and not on individual stories of victims.

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[123] Wagrell, "Cosmopolitan memory in a National Context: The Case of the 'Living History Forum,'" 275.

[124] Breithoff, *Sites of Remembrance 1933-1945: Memorial sites, documentation centers and museums concerning the history of the national socialist dictatorship in Berlin and Brandenburg*, 32.

[125] Breithoff, *Sites of Remembrance 1933-1945: Memorial sites, documentation centers and museums concerning the history of the national socialist dictatorship in Berlin and Brandenburg*, 32; *Topography of Terror*, 1987, (Niederkirchnerstraße 8, 10963 Berlin, Germany).

Image 17: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Topography of Terror Exhibition*. Berlin.

In its conception, the *Topography of Terror* organizers

> "were not opposed to honoring the victims. But they were convinced that the Gestapo terrain must be used to symbolize the history of the perpetrators, and they asserted their right, indeed their obligation, to determine what part of the history of Nazism was to be represented at the site."[126]

By mirroring the historical use of the site in the exhibitions, the organizers of the *Topography of Terror* link local physical memory and historical memory.

Through analyzing the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* and the *Topography of Terror*, one sees that popular memorials in Berlin do not project concise and unified narratives. The *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* favors victim narratives over educating about Nazi ideology and aggression. This reliance on victim narratives that "de-territorializes" Holocaust memory places the memorial within global Holocaust memory. Instead, the *Topography of Terror* grounds memory locally in the historical uses of the site and offers a self-analysis of the rise of Nazism. These two memorial sites project different narratives of the Holocaust, but together offer challenges to standardized memorial trends.

VOIDS

Voids left behind by the Berlin Jewish community are a central theme in the memorial landscape. The *Jewish Museum Berlin* itself tries to recreate these voids in the jagged architecture of the building.[127] While Budapest is also aware of the voids left

[126] Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, 264.
[127] The Jewish Museum is a major attraction in Berlin, but a thorough analysis of this site has been left out due to a lack of space. Applying the rhetorical tools of this project to the Jewish

behind by former Jewish residents, Berlin is not only aware of these voids, but specifically highlights them as sites for commemoration. For local communities, traditional memorials to victims,

> "proved to be inadequate to understand the void left by Jews and Jewish Culture […and…] The fact that Nazism virtually eradicated all reminders of the Jewish contributions to German culture necessitated a more archeological approach to the past, a digging for traces, that would enable people imaginatively to reconstruct lost connections and relationships."[128]

By looking at memorials at the Grunewald Bahnhof, Jewish cemeteries, and the instillation *Wir Waren Nachbarn*, these voids represent challenges to transnational memorial trends and local narratives.

The Grunewald Bahnhof on the outskirts of Berlin was the site from where most Berlin Jews were deported. Berlin, like most Western European cities, was not the site of Holocaust violence. Berlin and German victims were deported to death camps in Poland and while the forced deportation of your own citizens is a violent act, it is an act that transports the literal bloodshed across borders. The majority of Holocaust victims were not German citizens, but in fact the citizens of other nations who were also transported by rail to death factories in Poland.[129] Rail stations like Grunewald Bahnhof, as sites of deportation, have become sites of memory that confront the transnational nature of the Holocaust, but also serve as a local touchstone for Holocaust violence that took place outside German borders.

While there are signs pointing to the Holocaust memorial on Greis 17 (platform 17) at Grunewald Bahnhof, the signs are unassuming, only offered in German, and easily

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Museum would be beneficial in future projects. *Jewish Museum Berlin*, 2001, (Lindenstraße 9-14, 10969 Berlin, Germany).

[128] Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, 253.

[129] Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, viii-ix.

Image 18: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Greis 17*. Berlin.

Image 19: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Voids, Grunewald Bahnhof*. Berlin.

missed, yet the platform itself is the opposite of unassuming.[130] The entire platform has been decommissioned and redesigned with steel plates that give the date and number, and destination of people deported (Image 18). The void in the rail system created by the decommissioned platform echoes the void left behind by the victims these rails transported, and stands as an example of the magnitude of the deportations. This void is echoed in the reliefs added by artist Karol Broniatowski in 1991 (Image 19).[131] The voids, hollow reliefs of human forms, represent the lives that left Germany on this site. The historical use of the platform as the site for deportation grounds the memorial in the local history of Berlin. The memorial plaque, only available in German, reflects the local culpability in these past acts and stands "As a reminder to *us*, to defy courageously and without hesitation, every contempt for the life and dignity of man."[132]

Another memorial that reflects local memory of the voids left behind by Jewish Holocaust victims is the exhibit *Wir Waren Nachbarn* (We Were Neighbors) in the town hall of Berlin's Schöneberg neighborhood.[133] *Wir Waren Nachbarn* offers the stories and fates of Schöneberg's Jewish residents persecuted under National Socialism. In charting the stories of former residents, the exhibition aims to show who and what was lost by Schöneberg because of the Nazi persecution of Jews. The most striking element of the exhibition are the walls of the room, which have individual cards organized alphabetically by street, one card for each person deported by the National Socialist

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[130] Brian Ladd, "Center and Periphery in the New Berlin: Architecture, Public Art, and the Search for Identity," *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 22, no. 2 (2000): 18; *Greis 17, Grunewald Bahnhof*, 1998, (S7 Grunewald, 14193 Berlin, Germany).
[131] Brian Ladd, "Center and Periphery in the New Berlin: Architecture, Public Art, and the Search for Identity," *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 22, no. 2 (2000): 18; *Voids, Grunewald Bahnhof*, 1991, (S7 Grunewald, 14193 Berlin, Germany).
[132] *Voids, Grunewald Bahnhof*, 1991. my emphasis, "Zur Mahnung an uns, jeder Mißachtung des Lebens und der Würde des Menschen mutig und ohne entgegensutreten.
[133] *Wir Waren Nachbarn*, 2005, (John-F-Kennedy-Platz 1, 10825 Berlin, Germany).

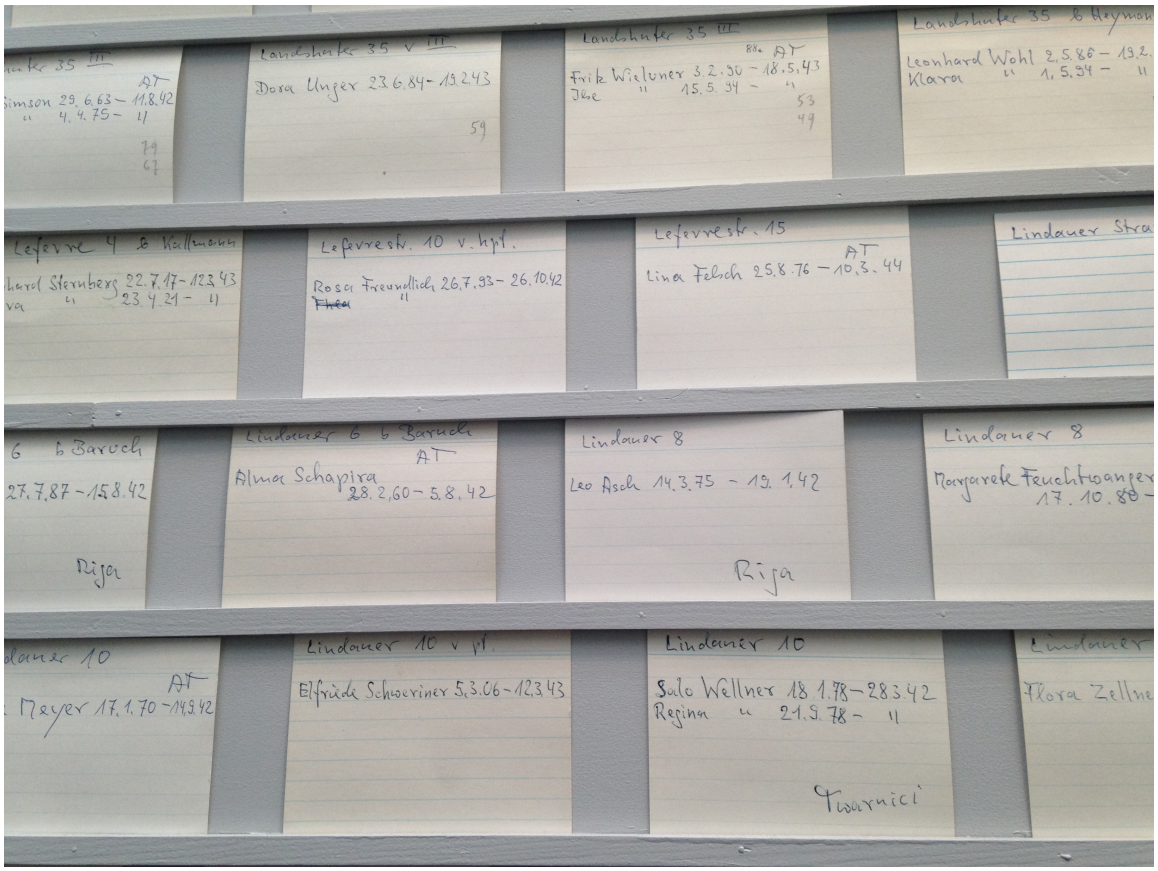

Image 20: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Wir Waren Nachbarn*. Berlin.

regime (Image 20).[134] Each card tells the name, address, and fate of the resident that once lived in Schöneberg and visitors are encouraged to look for their own addresses. This activity "mirrors recent attempts by artists to create more interactive memorials that avoid instant consumption and subsequent oblivion."[135]

Unfortunately *Wir Waren Nachbarn* highlights the trend for "The perpetrators [to be] represented as an unidentifiable mass while the victims are shown as thinking, feeling individuals."[136] While the exhibit is rooted in the local specificity of the victim's history, it lacks information about the interaction between Jews, Germans, and members of the Nazi party. The exhibit successfully locates the victims in the local context, but dislocates the crimes and system that made these individuals victims from the local context. The fact that many victims lived in the same buildings as members of the National Socialist regime is never clearly stated in the exhibit. Without this important self-reflection of victims *and* perpetrators, visiting memorials becomes a duty to remember the victim, not remember the act that created victims and "remembering becomes a kind of circle—where you're remembering to remember, but you don't remember what you're supposed to be remembering."[137]

Cemeteries offer another local memorialization of voids left by Holocaust victims. The most central Berlin cemetery on Hamburgerstraße was destroyed under Nazi rule and today the grounds and remaining headstones are a testament to the enduring

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134 *Wir Waren Nachbarn*, 2005.
135 Nicole Thesz, "Dangerous Monuments: Günter Grass and German Memory Culture," *German Studies Review* 31, no. 1 (2008): 10.
136 Wagrell, "Cosmopolitan memory in a National Context: The Case of the 'Living History Forum,'" 281.
137 Nina Siegal, "Anne Frank Who? Museums Combat Ignorance About the Holocaust," *The New York Times*, March 21, 2017, accessed March 22, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/21/arts/design/anne-frank-house-anti-semitism.html.

Jewish community in Berlin.[138] The cemetery is next to a large Jewish school in Berlin, and managed by the Jewish community, cemetery administration.[139] While these are both reflections of local Jewish Holocaust memory, outside the cemetery is a memorial project that links the cemetery to global Holocaust memory.

Along one wall of the entrance courtyard is a tile mural sponsored by the U.S. based organization CITYarts (Image 21).[140] The mural depicts the "visions and hopes for a future of peace" from children representing twelve schools across Berlin.[141] The mission of this mural, to serve as an "inspiration for the world's youth to lead the way to an enduring world peace," echoes the mission of the ITF, where Holocaust memorialization is a symbol of the moral ambitions of the nation.[142] The place of this memorial, although supported by local Jews and financially sponsored by an international organization, links local memory to global monetary and ideological investment.

The largest Jewish cemetery in Berlin (Jüdischer Friedhof Weißensee) is almost a mirror image of the Jewish cemetery in Budapest.[143] Immediately upon entering the cemetery, one becomes conscious of a connection to the Holocaust. A large stone semi-circle with stone plaques representing each work or death camp surround a headstone

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138 *Jüdisches Friedhof Große Hamburger Straße (Jewish Cemetery Große Hamburger Street)*, (Große Hamburger Straße 25, 10115 Berlin, Germany).
139 *Jüdisches Friedhof Große Hamburger Straße (Jewish Cemetery Große Hamburger Street)*.
140 *CityArts Die Fünfte Weltweite Friedensmauer in Berlin 2013 (5th Global Peace Wall Berlin)*, 2013, (Große Hamburger Straße 25, 10115 Berlin, Germany).
141 *Ibid*.
142 *Ibid*.
143 *Jüdischer Friedhof Weißensee (Jewish Cemetery Weißensee)*, (Herbert-Baumstraße 31, 13088 Berlin, Germany).

Image 21: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Hamburgerstrase Friedhof Mural.* Berlin.

Image 22: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Weißensee Friedhof*. Berlin.

(Image 22).[144] The headstone's inscription, only available in German, reads "Remember always what happened to us. Dedicated to the memory of our brothers and sisters 1933-1945 and the living ones who are to fulfill the law of the dead" ("Gedenke ewiger was uns geschehen. Gewidmet dem gedächtnis unserer ermordeten Brüder und Schwestern 1933-1945 und den lebenden die das verächtnis der Toten erfüllen sollen").[145] The memorial speaks directly to a Jewish audience, calling the dead "*our* brothers and sisters" and asking the viewer to "remember always what happened to *us*" (my emphasis). The memorial also asks the visitor to participate by fulfilling the "law of the dead," which implies reciting the Kaddish (the prayer for the dead). Individual plaques to Holocaust victims are found throughout the cemetery, but the largest collection of plaques and names are along a back wall.[146] Lists of former Berlin residents are engraved on metal headstones and reflect the global trend of name mania that was also found in Budapest.[147] These names not only represent the voids left behind by Berlin's lost Jews, but these tombstones "can function as a substitute site of mourning and remembrance" when there are no individual tombstones.[148] These memorials then remember the local lives and culture that were lost.

The voids remembered in Berlin's memorial landscape offer local memory narratives that are site specific, yet exemplify challenges to local memory. While the voids memorialized at Grunewald Bahnhof reflect local memory, the site inherently

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144 *Memorial Stone for 6 Million Jewish Victims of Fascist Persecution, (Entrance,* Herbert-Baumstraße 31, 13088 Berlin, Germany).
145 *Memorial Stone for 6 Million Jewish Victims of Fascist Persecution.*
146 *Urne Field with Ashes of Murdered Jews from Fascist Concentration Camps*. Field G7, Herbert-Baumstraße 31, 13088 Berlin, Germany.
147 Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust,* 29.
148 Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 15.

reflects the transnational nature of the Holocaust that transported victims across national borders. Local memory is also central to the exhibition *Wir Waren Nachbarn*, but memory is victim centered and offers little reflection on the local history of perpetrators. The Weißensee cemetery, created by Berlin Jews and offered only in the German language, calls locals to remember and offers the only completely local memory of the Holocaust. Voids are then manifestations of local and global Holocaust memory.

GROWING VICTIM GROUPS

> "Many groups suffered and died under Nazism, for example, but the broader culture increasingly ratified what could only be called a heightened competition over the status of victimhood. Homosexuals, Sinti and Roma, and Jehovah's Witnesses agitated for public recognition as persecuted groups under Nazi rule."
>
> —Rudy Koshar,
> *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*

Central to debates about Holocaust memorialization are questions about who is included as victims of the Holocaust and on the flip side, which victims of National Socialism are excluded from the memorial landscape. Memorials to German victims further complicate the memorial landscape, and represent the discomfort with memorializing German victims alongside Jewish victims and other minority groups. Analyzing the memorials of marginalized victim groups offers an example of how memorializing Jewish victims of the Holocaust "allows the nation to evade awkward themes concerning [other aspects of] its own past."[149] Memorials to Homosexuals, Sinti,

[149] Assmann, "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," 105.

Roma, and Euthanasia victims, and the German Resistance Memorial Center are examples of the challenges that arise in a memorial landscape with a plurality of victims.

As discussions about the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* took place, voices of other victim groups remained at the margins of society. Particularly the voices of Homosexuals, Sinti and Roma, and victims of the Euthanasia program. In the process of building the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* an important decision on definition about the acts included in the term 'Holocaust' was made that set the standard for what engaging with the victims of WWII would mean. From discussion between German politicians and prominent German voices, Anti-Semitism was concluded to be the "fundamental centre of National Socialism and not only a part of it."[150] Yet other victims groups see themselves as part of this same genocidal program. The memorial for the Sinti and Roma, located across from the Reichstag, directly comments on their exclusion from the Berlin memory landscape with a quote at the memorial's entrance: "The genocide of the Sinti and Roma was motivated by the same obsession with race, carried out with the same resolve and the same intent to achieve their methodical and final extermination as the genocide against the Jews" (Image 23).[151] The effects of marginalized victim groups are also mirrored in the *Memorial and Information Point for the Victims of National Socialist Euthanasia Killings*, which today stands on the site of the former

[150] Imke Girßmann, "Sites that Matter: Current Developments of Urban Holocaust Commemoration in Berlin and Munich," in *Revisiting Holocaust Representation in the Post-Witness Era,* ed. Schult, Tanja, et al. (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 56.
[151] *Denkmal für die im Nationalsozialismus erdmordeten Sinti und Roma Europas (Memorial to the Sinti and Roma of Europe Murdered under National Socialism),* 2012, (Simsonweg, 10557 Berlin, Germany).

Image 23: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Memorial to the Sinti and Roma of Europe Murdered under nAtional Socialism*. Berlin.

Image 24: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Memorial and Information Point for the Victims of National Socialist Euthanasia Killings*. Berlin.

Image 25: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime*. Berlin.

Euthanasia program headquarters (Image 24).[152] The memorial begins its series of educational plaques by commenting on the long path to recognition for euthanasia victims by saying that

> "After 1945, knowledge of the suffering and death of the victims was suppressed. Only since the 1980s have a plaque and a Richard Serra sculpture at this historical site commemorated the patients murdered in institutional settings. In 2007, Berlin citizens began to campaign for an appropriate memorial site. The German parliament granted this wish in November 2011."[153]

The *Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime* begins with a similar reflection on the "decades, gays continued to be prosecuted in both German post-war states and the homosexual victims of National Socialism were excluded from the culture of remembrance" (Image 25).[154]

Another group fighting for space in the Berlin memorial landscape are German victims of National Socialism. Today the *German Resistance Memorial Center* exemplifies the self-conscious nature of memorializing German resistance victims alongside other victims of National Socialism.[155] Today the *German Resistance Memorial Center* chronicles the efforts of prominent German resisters to Nazism in the physical space where the failed attempt to overthrow the Nazi regime occurred. The overthrow attempt of July 20, 1944 ended in the courtyard of the building, where members of the resistance were shot by firing squad. Compared to other sites in Berlin,

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152 *Gedenk-und Informationsort für die Opfer der Nationalsozialistischen Euthanasie morde (Memorial and Information Point for the Victims of National Socialist Euthanasia Killings)*, 2014, (Tiergartenstraße 4, 10785 Berlin, Germany).
153 *Ibid*.
154 Information Panel Text, *Denkmal für die im Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Homosexuellen (Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime)*, 2008, (Ebertstraße, 10557 Berlin, Germany).
155 *Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Center)*, 1989, (Stauffenbergstraße 13, 10785 Berlin, Germany).

the *German Resistance Memorial Center* is a scarcely visited site, yet one that takes the same comprehensive approach to memorialization offered in the *Topography of Terror*.

The museum is poorly marked and the external memorial plaques that are meant to draw passersby into the site are only available in German.[156] Memorial literature states that "Since 1989, the German Resistance Memorial Center's permanent exhibition has been a central site of remembrance in Germany, providing extensive documentation of the motives, aims, and forms of the fight against the National Socialist dictatorship," and while the site does play a role in German memory, it does not project its mission beyond local memorial bounds.[157] Much of the memorial is available only in German, which suggests a memorial that is self-conscious of projecting its mission to highlight *German* resistance and victimhood, to non-German speakers. The memorial then reflects both local memory and local self-consciousness.

The idea of German victimhood and more so, the possibility of German martyrs, challenges the traditional global narrative of Jewish victimhood and German aggression. The Memorial Center navigates the uncomfortable space between global trends and local memory by offering most of the memorials only in German. The inscription of the statue of a man with his hands tied in the courtyard, reads, "You did not blame the shame, you were resisting, you gave the great eternal sign of repentance, your life, for liberty and honor" ("Ihr trugt die Schande nicht ihr wehrtet euch ihr gabt das Grosse ewig Wache

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156 *Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Center)*, 1989.
157 *Information Panel Text: Der Bendlerblock (The Bendler Block), Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Center),* 1989, (Stauffenbergstraße 13, 10785 Berlin, Germany).

Image 26: Sanderson, Yaari. 2016. *German Resistance Memorial Center*. Berlin

zeichen der Umkehr Opfernd euer Heisses leben für freiheit recht und ehre") (Image 26)[158] Offered here is my own translation of the German, and the notion of shame stands out, shame in regard to Nazism, and shame in regard to the memorial itself. Across the courtyard is another wall plaque in German, "Here they died for Germany" it reads (Hier starben für Deutschland).[159] Their death mirrors their memorial, both are only for Germany. The memorial courtyard is then a reflection not only of local memory for a local audience, but a byproduct of the uncomfortable challenge to memorialize Germans in a global memorial landscape that is victim centered.

The challenge of growing victim groups in the Berlin memorial landscape reflects both a local self-consciousness and a global exclusion. While global Holocaust memorialization has been standardized, the inclusion of other victims, be it, Roma, Sinti, Homosexuals, or even Germans have been ignored. Locally, memorials to growing victim groups require Germany to redefine who are victims of National Socialism, and take on the uncomfortable task of including Germans themselves as victims.

CONCLUSION

The nation's self-conception is projected from its capital city, and Berlin navigates a multifaceted German identity. Today, Berlin's fractured memorial landscape reflects a continued struggle with Germany's dark past, even 70 years after the events of World War II. The memorial landscape reflects questions that Germans have yet to confront. Who are victims; how are sites of administration to be remembered; what is the relationship between global and local narratives; how to be self-conscious and yet also

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158 *Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Center)*, 1989.
159 *Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Center)*, 1989.

self-reflective. There are all questions that remain to be answered. For now, Berlin struggles most evidently between memorializing Jewish victims and educating about the path to Nazism. This general struggle mirrors the challenges faced in Budapest, and I assume other countries yet to be researched. As global morals derived from the Holocaust take center stage where does the local specificity of the crime fit into the narrative? Berlin, as the city of perpetrators, has no easier time with this question, and produces a memorial landscape that is also equally as flawed.

CONCLUSION

The Future of Memory

Caught between the past and the present, both Budapest and Berlin struggle to create a memorial landscape that matches the gravity and complexity of the Holocaust. Whether Jewish victims and perpetrators go unsaid in Budapest's popular memorials, or victims are excluded and the path to Nazism is overlooked in Berlin, who are victims and who are perpetrators remains a central challenge for both cities. Local and global memory float across the memorial landscape, solidifying themselves in different forms. Symbols, icons, and places all fight between local specificity and global obligations, calling into question what *is* and what *should be* remembered.

Always present in the memorial landscape is the mission of the ITF, to have Holocaust education reflect the moral values of "democracy, freedom, the rule of law, peace, and tolerance."[160] And while an honorable endeavor, the memorial cultures of Budapest and Berlin have shown the reality of memorializing the Holocaust does not always mean abiding by these standards. While memorializing the Holocaust raises the moral profile of the nation, memorialization does not require a thorough self-reflection of the past.

Both cities represent a struggle with the past in the present. While at the outset of this project I intended to find two very different memorial landscapes in Eastern and Western Europe, this project revealed two cities that experience challenges and shortcomings in their memorial landscapes. Reaching this conclusion was both

[160] Forchtner, and Kølvraa, "Narrating a 'New Europe': From 'Bitter Past' to Self-Righteousness?" 387.

comforting and disappointing. While it is comforting that there is no right or wrong way to represent the past, with one region offering a superior version, it also means that there is more work to be done. As we have seen, memory work requires active engagement, for memory can both bind us and divide us as individuals, nations, and global communities. And as historian Omer Bartov aptly describes:

> "We have just left behind us the bloodiest century in world history, and seem to be heading right into one that could prove to be even bloodier. Before we plunge into yet another ocean of blood, it behooves us to reflect on the causes and consequences of previous atrocities and to finally understand that the origins of collective violence invariably lie in repressing memory and misconstruing the past"[161]

[161] Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*, 201.

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