

# WALKING MEMORY

## *Berlin's "Holocaust Trail"*

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### Abstract

Since the early 1990s, Berlin has developed what I call a "Holocaust trail"—circa twenty-five officially dedicated memorial sites recalling significant historical events leading to the Final Solution—without acknowledging it yet as a "trail." Berlin is already well known for its two famous museums-memorials: the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (2005) and the Jewish Museum (2001), two strong statements meant to show how the town deals with the heritage of the Holocaust, how it tries to underline the absolute impossibility of its erasure from social memory and to fight revisionism. The different memorial sites of the Holocaust trail came into existence thanks to multiple initiatives that allowed the town to become a true laboratory for the politics of memory concerning the crimes of the Nazi state and the sufferings of the Jewish citizens that fell victim to the state's genocide.

**Keywords:** Berlin, Holocaust trail, Jews, memorial, Nazi regime, *Stolpersteine*

In the Occidental world, Holocaust memorial museums are constructed following Washington, DC's United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (1993) assumption that, when it comes to the Holocaust, it is not enough for the visitors to learn its history; empathy or the identification with the victims are equally essential to their understanding. This has paved the way for a new type of museum: one not only able to display artifacts about the Holocaust but also able to address a difficult question: "How can one understand the places that speak about victims without being, herself or himself, a victim?"

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Berlin has followed this pattern in the constructions of its museums (Jewish Museum in 2001 and Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in 2005),<sup>1</sup> but has also developed—being aware of the expectations of the public at large and also of its own citizens—what I call a Holocaust trail where local sites of significant historical events leading to the Final Solution have been dedicated following multiple initiatives.<sup>2</sup>

## Freedom without Walls

The fall of the Berlin wall (1989) was seen in the Occidental world as the end of the Cold War era and the beginning of a new, free one (*Freedom Without Walls*). The town itself became the symbol of this expected millennium. This event brought about for today's generation many changes, among which we find a different way of dealing with its past. In fact, today's generation looks at the history of its society as a heritage whose elements receive their moral and political significance through the judgment of the generation that follows—their own. In contrast, the pre-World War II generations tended to look at their past as a domineering tradition imposed on them by their elders, which they had to imitate or to contest. Whether they accepted or contested the tradition, it was seen as a dominant and present force.

I make my point by illustrating the way in which, since the early 1990s, the town of Berlin has developed a Holocaust trail. These street memorial sites came into existence thanks to multiple initiatives (the town's senate, the boroughs [*Bezirke*], the Jewish community, private citizens, artists like Gunter Demnig or Christian Boltanski, the League for Human Rights, etc.). Thus, since the late 1980s, the city of Berlin has become a true laboratory for the politics of memory concerning the crimes of the Nazi state and for the sufferings of the citizens that fell victim to the state's genocide.

## Sites: Dates and Genres

In order to show the importance of Berlin street memorial sites as secular pilgrimage sites one should examine them from different angles. The first one should be the construction dates of these sites, which are important for

the overall analysis. The first dedication was done in 1952 (the commemorative site of Plötzensee prison, the former Nazi execution site), and by 1990 only six more street memorials were added. But in 2005 Berlin had twenty-two dedicated memorials in different parts of the town.<sup>3</sup>

If we take 1990 as the dividing line, we can immediately notice that only five street memorial sites were constructed between 1945 and 1989, while eighteen more street memorial sites were added between 1990 and 2005, without counting museums that are not discussed in this article. The very slow progress, in the construction of these street memorials, until 1990, has many reasons, among which is the resistance of the institutions that were requested to take the responsibility for their actions in the Nazi period, and Germany's division in two different antagonistic states, with two different attitudes toward the Shoah.

Another way to examine Berlin's memorial sites in order to show their importance as a secular pilgrimage is to divide them by genre, whether they are tied to specific events, or related to the genocide of a whole community. I first focus on specific events that are retrospectively read as indications of things to come.

The perfect example is the underground memorial called The Empty Library—by Israeli artist Micha Ullman—on Bebelplatz, located at the spot where on 10 May 1933 national-socialist students burned twenty thousand books written by more than four hundred different authors who were considered to be “un-German.” The empty white lit library bookcases in the subterranean room—covered with a glass roof in a shape of a window for passersby to look down into it—symbolize the loss of the twenty thousand books. A bronze plaque nearby bears a quote by Heinrich Heine (1797–1856): “Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen” (That was a prelude only. Where one burns books one will ultimately burn people also). The memorial, set up at the initiative of the Berlin Senate, was inaugurated on the sixty-second anniversary of this infamous fire, on 10 May 1995.<sup>4</sup>

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**Figure 1:** Tourists around the Empty Library in Bebelplatz (Berlin, 2011).  
Photo: Maria Pia Di Bella



Next, specific events serve to reconstitute and remind us of the way in which the genocide was organized. These events cannot be separated from the type of locations in which they took place. I think in particular of “collective points of assembly” and of “train stations” for, as we all know, Jewish citizens were first summoned to come to a particular place and, subsequently, taken to a particular train station close by in order to be carried to death camps.

## Assembling Points and Train Station in Moabit

Some of these places—the assembling points and the train stations—have become major memorial sites honoring the victims’ memory, for example

the Levetzow Deportation Memorial (corner Jagowstrasse), set up at the initiative of the Berlin Senate and dedicated in 1988. The Levetzow Deportation Memorial stands at the site of what used to be the Liberal Synagogue Levetzowstrasse (Moabit)—one of the largest synagogues in the city, used from 1941 on as a central collection point for Jews to be deported to death camps, destroyed during an air raid in 1944, and torn down in the mid-1950s. Up to one thousand Jews per night were taken from their homes and brought here, all in all thirty-seven thousand persons.

On this site now stands a sculpted ramp and a cattle train car, in front of which is a marble statue representing people huddled together, erected by two architects, Jürgen Wenzel and Theseus Bappert, as well as a sculptor, Peter Herbrich.<sup>5</sup> Behind the marble statue, a tall metal headstone rises with the deportation dates inscribed on it, the number of people carried off at each deportation, and where they were taken.

The memorial in Putlitzbrücke (Putlitz Bridge)—dedicated in 1987—recalls the deportation of thirty-two thousand Jewish citizens carried from the “collective points of assembly” at the Liberal Synagogue Levetzowstrasse. In fact, when deportations started, Jews were taken to the Grunewald Railway Station, but from March 1942 on to the nearby Moabit freight depot (or at Anhalter Bahnhof) across from the Putlitz Bridge, to cattle train cars on their way to the death camps.<sup>6</sup>

The Putlitz Bridge Deportation Memorial consists of a two-and-a-half-meter high (8 feet 4 inches) sculpture in stainless steel by Volkmar Haase, the front part separated from the back part, each part leaning in opposite directions, with the front part toward the onlooker, and the back part backward, as if the moment of separation between the two parts is taking place “here and now.” The front part resembles a gravestone and the David Star on top of it is there to state that it is a gravestone to the thirty-two thousand Jews deported to extermination camps from this particular bridge. On its lower part one can read the following poem:

“Stufen, die keine Stufen mehr sind. Eine Treppe, die keine Treppe mehr ist. Abgebrochen, Symbol des Weges der kein Weg mehr war fuer die, die ueber Rampen, Gleise, Stufen und Treppen diesen letzen Weg gehen mussten.”

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(Steps which are no longer steps. A stair which no longer is a stair. Broken off, symbol of a journey which was no longer a journey for those who across ramps, tracks, steps and stairs had to go this last way.)

The back part on the contrary—which shoots up to the sky to fall immediately in what seems to be a flight of stairs—suggests the break of the relationship between Jews and Germans during the Nazi regime.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to link the places that were functionally linked, like the two examples discussed here. The historian has to do it in order to highlight the apparatus of genocide to show that this crime could not have been realized without the full support of the state bureaucratic and technological means. And the visitors or the pilgrims wishing to walk the Berlin Holocaust trail would have the option to access certain memorials in a sequel in order to understand—thanks to these memorials—that the unconceivable happened and how it happened.

## **Train Station in Grunewald: Platform 17 Memorial**

A train station memorial that stands out, in my view, is Platform 17 (Gleis 17 Mahnmahl) at Grunewald Railway Station, built to commemorate the deportation of all Berlin Jews, and dedicated on 27 January 1998.<sup>8</sup>

The role played by Deutsche Reichsbahn (German State Railway) during the National Socialist regime was evident to all historians: without the railway, at that time run by Deutsche Reichsbahn, the deportation of the European Jews to the extermination camps would not have been possible. But for many years, both the Bundesbahn in West Germany and the Reichsbahn in East Germany were unwilling to take a critical look at the role played by Deutsche Reichsbahn in the Nazi crimes.

When the reunified railways were merged to form Deutsche Bahn, the management board decided to erect one central memorial at Grunewald station on behalf of Deutsche Bahn in order to commemorate the deportation transports handled in all Berlin by Deutsche Reichsbahn between 1941 and 1945, and to keep the memory of the victims of National Socialism alive.

Thus the memorial Platform 17 was installed at the Grunewald train station's deportation track—which ceased to be in use—reachable by going up the stairs once in the station. The memorial is composed of 186 cast steel

grates—each grate representing a transport that took place— assembled in chronological order and set in the ballast next to the platform edge. The design was created by a team of German architects, Nikolaus Hirsch, Wolfgang Lorch, and Andrea Wandel, of the Wandel Hoefer Lorch and Hirsch Office.<sup>9</sup> Each cast steel grate is engraved with a full date, number of Jews deported on that date, the place of departure (Berlin) and destination. Thus, the first grate reads: “18. 10. 1941 / 1251 Jews / Berlin - Lodz.” And the last grate reads: “27. 3. 1945 / 18 Jews / Berlin - Theresienstadt.”

The memorial is steps away from the monument created by Karol Broniatowski in 1991, a concrete block embedded with several human silhouettes—five silhouettes are distinctly visible, two are more faded—inserted in the passage taken by Berlin Jews on the way to the rail track 17 for deportation. Platform 17 memorial (or double memorial) has become one of the most popular memorial in Berlin, being part of many touristic tours of the town.

## Artists on Grosse Hamburger Strasse

Berlin’s memorial sites division by genre has also to take into account the artists’ contribution. Behind every memorial in Berlin’s streets there is an artist that came up with an original idea allowing her or him to win the contest promoted by the town’s senate. Or the artist came up with the idea and proposed it to the town. The most important difference between the works is that some—the majority in fact—had to be done on the spot while others could be done anywhere, possibly allowing the artist a greater freedom to express herself or himself. But the works artists presented in order to honor the memory of the Shoah are generally outstanding and they contribute to the public knowledge of Berlin’s past history and to the spectators’ empathy with the victims.

One example is the trail one can walk in Berlin Mitte’s Grosse Hamburger Strasse. This trail goes north from Christian Boltanski’s *The Missing House* (1990) to *The Abandoned Room* (1996) in Koppenplatz (Koppen Square). Steps away from these two postwar contributions is a plaque—dedicated in 1985—next to the Jewish cemetery entrance (Grosse Hamburger Strasse 26). It sits on the site of the former Jewish Home for Elders emptied in 1942 by the Gestapo and used as a “collective point of assembly,” com-

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memorating the more than fifty-five thousand Berlin Jews deported, and a sculpture, designed by Will and Mark Lammert (1985).<sup>10</sup>

The Jewish cemetery itself, the oldest in Berlin (1672), had reached its capacity in 1820. In 1943 the Gestapo ordered all graves to be destroyed. In 2009, the gravestones were returned to the cemetery; even earlier, in 1990, a reproduction of the original tomb of Moses Mendelssohn was erected once again in the cemetery. The remodeling of the cemetery was financed by the Berlin Senate and the Jewish community.<sup>11</sup>

After the fall of the Berlin wall, the reunification of the two Germanies was celebrated with the exhibition *Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit* (1990), where the French artist Christian Boltanski was invited to participate. He and his students found—on Grosse Hamburger Strasse 15–16—the empty space, formerly occupied by a building destroyed in February 1945 during an aerial bombardment. And they discovered that, among its residents, twenty-eight Jews had been sent to death camps. He decided to use the empty space between the walls to construct a memorial dedicated to “absence,” which he called *The Missing House*. Plaques were set up approximately where the residents used to live, with their full names, dates of birth and death, and their profession. “Plaques indicate the approximate space occupied by Jewish and non-Jewish residents, testifying to a diversity that was lost with Nazi decrees against the Jews and removal of the Jewish population from Berlin.”<sup>12</sup>

North of Grosse Hamburger Strasse, in Koppenplatz—at the far end of a peaceful public garden where adults come to read or chat and children to play—*The Abandoned Room* (1996) created by Karl Biedermann and Eva Butzmann. This sculpture represents the sudden departure of Jewish citizens from their homes: on a rather large rectangular parquet floor is a rectangular brown bronze table surrounded by two brown bronze chairs, one of which is with its back on the floor, suggesting a violent confrontation or a swift departure. The four sides of the rectangular floor are framed with an excerpt from a poem by Nelly Sachs (1891–1970), a Jewish German poet.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 2:** The Abandoned Room in Koppenplatz (Berlin, 2012)

Photo: Maria Pia Di Bella



## Places of Remembrance in Schöneberg

The Schöneberg borough has always been appreciated by Jewish intellectuals who came to live in its peaceful streets and handsome Wilhelmine-style houses from the turn of the century on—Gisèle Freund (1908–1933), Albert Einstein (1918–1932), Billy Wilder (1927–1928), Wilhelm Reich (until 1933), and Claudio Arrau (1930–1937). Today the streets where they lived are covered with plaques reminding visitor and passerby of their presence (Blakenburg 2011: 45-49).

Thus when the senate and the Schöneberg borough had to choose a memorial to the Jews in “the awakening spirit of working through the past,” (Wiedmer 2009: 7) they dared to choose a fascinating project by Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock that not only reminds the onlookers of the past, but also informs them of the many official Nazi laws or regulations that kept coming out regularly—from 1933 on—and commenting on each law via an image or a symbol.<sup>14</sup>

The result is not simply a Holocaust trail, but one that adds a “labyrinth spirit” that the two artists use in order to remind the onlookers of the recent

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past intricate history and, at the same time, to show all the absurd, comic, and murderous implications of these Nazi laws. Their project, called “Places of remembrance: Isolation and deprivation of rights, expulsion, deportation and murder of Berlin Jews in the years 1933 to 1945,” is made up of eighty signs, each one bolted rather high to lampposts. On one side of the sign there is a text that gives the gist of an anti-Jewish Nazi regulation or law with its date, while on the other side there is a “comment” by Stih and Schnock on the specific regulation or law via an artistic image or symbol. The eighty signs are scattered all around the Bayerisches Platz area. To help visitors to find their way around, individual maps are available on request and two general ones are posted in the square. The visit may take two hours or several days, depending on the way one wishes to progress in this labyrinthical trail.

## *Stolpersteine* (Stumbling Stones)

Since 1992, the Berlin sculptor Gunter Demnig (born in 1947) has been producing handmade brass memorial cubes, which he calls *Stolpersteine* (stumbling stones). Official approval in Germany of his project came in 2000 (City of Cologne 2007: 14-15). The cubes are called stumbling stones because one unexpectedly trips over them—figuratively speaking—while strolling through the city sidewalks.<sup>15</sup> They are brass cobblestones engraved in the center with, on the first line, the words **HIER WOHNTE** (here lived) followed, in the next line, by the person’s full name in capital letters, with the maiden name for married women in the third line, coming after the word **GEB.** (name of birth); the fourth line has **JG** (for *Jahrgang*, year of birth); the fifth line has generally the word **DEPORTIERT** (deported) followed by the full date of arrest; next line, the name of the concentration camp; on the following line the word **ERMORDET** (murdered) with the date of assassination and, on the last line, the place of assassination, often **AUSCHWITZ**.

Each *Stolperstein* is placed in front of a house where a person lived last and from where he or she was deported by the Nazis, literally pointing—in Berlin’s streets—to the number of victims sent to their death that nobody could have ignored. *Stolpersteine* are the perfect answer to the people who say that they never noticed that their Jewish neighbors were taken away.<sup>16</sup>

**Figure 3:** Gunter Demning's eight commemorative *Stolpersteine* (Berlin, 2011)  
Photo: Maria Pia Di Bella



Demning says that he wants to bring back—with his art—the names of the millions of Jews, gays, resistance fighters, and Gypsies who perished at the hands of the Nazis between 1933 and 1945. In fact this is the true significance of the *Stolpersteine*: they are an individual tribute and not a collective one, they allow the name of the persons to survive as long as the stumbling stones are kept in the pavement of cities that witnessed the murder of millions of people before and during World War II.

It is an arduous task to find a Holocaust trail by following Demning's *Stolpersteine* in Berlin. Wikimedia does provide a listing on Berlin's

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*Stolpersteine*.<sup>17</sup> Most likely in the future specific lists pointing to possible trails will exist and will be used by persons eager to see *de visu* the *Stolpersteine* of people they loved or knew about.

## Politics of Memory

The Berlin Senate has played, since the 1990s, a very active role in the politics of memory, creating a nonmuseal form of memory that makes the architecture and the space of the city the incorporation and the carrier of memory: the Gleis 17 in the still fully functioning Grunewald train station, the Levetzow Synagogue Memorial at the site of a much used playground, and the memorial on the Putlitz Bridge Deportation Memorial—often attacked by right-wing groups, and always renovated—are important traffic point, all of which can be easily accessed by foot.

Is Berlin's politics of memory successful? During my visits (2010, 2011, 2012), I did not notice too many visitors in the places I went, except at Bebelplatz, around The Empty Library memorial, and at Grunewald's station Gleis 17 Memorial. But traces of motivated visitors are always perceptible due to the fact that they leave behind small stones or a rose as a religious or familial duty.<sup>18</sup> And during discussions with friends and colleagues on Berlin's development, I realized the impact these memorials have on them as well, especially the *Stolpersteine*.

For the time being tourists seem to prefer official well-known historical sites, like the Reichstag, restored during the 1990s as the center of the German Federal Republic government, when the capital was moved from Bonn back to Berlin, now the symbol of the new Germany. Or like the House of the Wannsee-Conference, the villa that on 20 January 1942 harbored the discussion, organization, and implementation of the decision to deport and murder European Jews in East Europe.<sup>19</sup> But once the trail is fully completed—and it will take some years to be completed—Berlin's Holocaust trail will be a major attraction as a secular pilgrimage for tourists and local residents alike.

In conclusion I want to underline that the memorials and the Holocaust trail do not exist solely to relate a history or to allow people to empathize but also to address the memory and the conscience of the heirs of those who planned and executed the Holocaust. These memorials represent an archi-

ecture that condemns a whole period of German history and make it impossible to forget it. This also explains why it took many decades to build the memory of genocide in lasting monuments all over the city.

## Notes

1. See Bernau, 2005; Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2005; Rauterberg, 2005; Schlör, 2005.
2. I suggest in this article the appellation of the Holocaust trail following the example of Boston's Freedom Trail. In March 1951, Bill Schofield—columnist and editor for the *Herald Traveler*—wrote to suggest that Boston citizens get together to create the link that would “tie the story of the American Revolution together” from ... “Paul Revere’s house and the Old North Church to the Old State House and the Old South Meetinghouse.” ... A walking trail was designated on Boston’s sidewalks in front of sixteen historically significant buildings and locations. The new path was called Freedom Trail (<http://www.thefreedomtrail.org/freedom-trail/establishing-ft.shtml> [accessed 3 September 2012]). I am aware that in Berlin the distance from one site to the other is sometimes very long and that I should possibly use the plural “trails” in order to convey a better idea of what we find on the ground. But until 1942 Jewish citizens were taken by foot from the Liberal Synagogue Levetzowstrasse (Moabit) to the far away Grunewald Railway station, instead of being taken to the nearest stations—Moabit freight depot or Anhalter Bahnhof. Thus these distant places were linked historically and this is the reason why I use singular “trail.”
3. In this article I am not able to further discuss the topic of the trail’s construction dates but I still want to give an overview of the phenomenon by listing the dedicated sites in Berlin. In 1952, the execution shed at Plötzensee prison was turned into a memorial operated by the Memorial to the German Resistance institution to commemorate the 2,891 people executed there by the Nazis; in 1963, a plaque and a monument was erected to the destroyed Münchener Strasse Synagogue, in Schöneberg (built in 1909 and destroyed in 1956); in 1967, a steel sign—Places of Terror We Must Never Forget—was erected at the Wittenberg Platz, at the initiative of the League for Human Rights; in 1985, a memorial stone was erected: it commemorates the “collection point” organized by the Gestapo in 1942 at Grosse Hamburger Strasse 26, from where more than fifty-five thousand Berlin Jews were deported; in 1987, the Putlitz Bridge Deportation Memorial was erected in Moabit; in 1988, the Levetzow Synagogue Memorial was erected in Moabit; on December 1989, the restoration of the Jewish Congregation (*Adass Yisroel*) was ordered and the reconstruction of the Congregation began. The new synagogue was consecrated in 1990 in the ancestral community center and Torah scrolls were brought over from Israel; in 1990, The Missing House was dedicated in Grosse-Hamburger Strasse (Mitte); during the 1990s, the Reichstag was restored as

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the symbol of the new Germany. The new glass dome by Norman Foster speaks of the idea of “transparency” in government. In its cellar, Christian Boltanski installed an archive related to past and present members of the German parliament. Outside the Reichstag itself, we find a Memorial to the Murdered Parliament Members from 1933 to 1945, a monument to those killed in concentration camps during the Nazi era, a Memorial to East Germans Killed Fleeing over Berlin Wall and graffiti from Soviet soldiers; in 1992, the Memorial and Educational Site House of the Wannsee Conference was opened, on the fiftieth anniversary of the meeting that established Nazi policy on the “final solution of the Jewish question”; in 1993, Places of Remembrance: Isolation and Deprivation of Rights, Expulsion, Deportation and Murder of Berlin Jews in the Years 1933 to 1945 was erected in the Bayerisches Platz area (Schöneberg); in 1993, the former Neue Wache (New Guard House) in Unter den Linden became the Central Memorial of the Federal Republic of Germany for the Victims of War and Tyranny. The interior, reconstructed to look the way it did in 1931, contains a replica of the sculpture *Mother with Dead Son* by Käthe Kollwitz; in 1995, Der Spiegelwand (Mirrored Wall Memorial)—a memorial for the former Synagogue Haus Wofenstein on Düppelstrasse, designed by architects Wolfgang Göschel and Joachim von Rosenberg, in cooperation with Berlin historian Hans-Norbert Burkert, was erected on Hermann-Ehlers-Platz (Steglitz). It consists of eighteen highly polished stainless steel plates—thirty feet wide and eleven feet high—which have engraved the names, birthdates, and addresses of 1,723 deported Jews, including 229 from Steglitz, arranged by transport in Nazi concentration camps. At the same time, the memorial reflects the onlookers and everyday events on the square; in 1995, The Empty Library was erected in Bebelplatz (Mitte); also in 1995, Block of Women, an ensemble of protesting and mourning women monument by Ingeborg Hunzinger was erected on the site of the Rosenstrasse Protest (1 March 1943); in 1996, The Abandoned Room was erected in Koppenplatz (Mitte); on 27 January 1998, a memorial to the memory of the deportation of all Berlin Jews from rapid transit stations was dedicated in the historic Grunewald platform number 17; also in 1998, JUST STOP! The Bus Shelter Project was erected at Kurfürstenstrasse 115/116, at the initiative of Ronnie Golz; in November 2001, a memorial was dedicated to Rabbi Menchem M. Schneerson at the home where the Rabbi lived (Hansa Ufer 7); on 8 May 2005, the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe—a field of columns designed by the American architect Peter Eisenman near the Brandenburg gate—opened; on 27 May 2008, The Memorial to Homosexuals Persecuted under Nazism in Berlin designed by artists Michael Elmgreen and Ingar Dragset, was inaugurated in the Tiergarten, next to the Reichstag and the Brandenburg Gate; also in 2008, The Silent Heroes Memorial Center—financed with funds from the German government and the Klassenlotterie Foundation Berlin—was opened in the Haus Schwarzkopf building in the Rosenthaler Strasse in Berlin’s Mitte borough; on 6 May 2010, the documentation center Topography of Terror—designed by the architect Ursula Wilms and the landscape architect Heinz W. Hallmann—located on the grounds of the former Prinz Albrecht Palais, on Wilhelmstrasse, where the Gestapo and the Security Service of the SS had their headquarters, opened: their exhibitions examine the Third Reich’s systematic persecutions and repressions. Remains of former buildings bear witness to the history of the site; on 24 October 2012, a memorial site to the memory of the murdered Sinti and Roma, designed by the Israeli artists Dani Karavan—a circular pool of water with a small plinth in the middle where a fresh flower will be laid every day—was unveiled in the Tiergarten.

4. Quoted from: [www.chabadberlin.de](http://www.chabadberlin.de), and Wikipedia. Accessed on August 30, 2012.

5. Quoted from <http://fcit.usf.edu/holocaust>. Accessed on August 30, 2012.
6. See *Berlin Anhalter Bahnhof*, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin\\_Anhalter\\_Bahnhof](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_Anhalter_Bahnhof). Accessed on August 29, 2012.
7. See also [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deportationsmahnmal\\_Putlitzbrücke](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deportationsmahnmal_Putlitzbrücke) and <http://memorialmuseums.eu/eng/staettens/view/1402/Deportation-Memorial-on-Putlitzbr%C3%BCcke>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.
8. Quoted from: <http://www.deutschebahn.com/site/bahn/en/group/history/topics/platform17/.html>. Accessed on August 30, 2012.
9. [http://www.deutschebahn.com/en/group/history/topics/platform17\\_memorial.html](http://www.deutschebahn.com/en/group/history/topics/platform17_memorial.html). Accessed on August 29, 2012.
10. At Grosse-Hamburger-Strasse 27 there is also a reminder of the boys' school of the Jewish community in an inscription above the portal. See, for information on Grosse-Hamburger-Strasse, Rebiger, 2010: 9-12; see also <http://www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/staettens/view/1422/Jewish-Sites-of-Remembrance-in-Gro%C3%9Fe-Hamburger-Stra%C3%9Fe>, and also the Center for Holocaust & Genocide Studies, University of Minnesota, <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/berlin/index.html>. Accessed last on August 27, 2012.
11. Quoted from: <http://memorialmuseums.eu/eng/denkmaeler/view/1422/Jewish-Sites-of-Remembrance-in-Grosse-Hamburger-Strasse>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.
12. Quoted from: <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/berlin>. See also <http://artspla.over-blog.com/article-la-memoire-the-missing-house-de-christian-boltanski-74814976.html>. Accessed on August 30, 2012.
13. The full quotation in Koppenplatz goes: “[1] ... O die Wohnungen des Todes,/ Einladend hergerichtet/ Für den Wirt des Hauses, der sonst [2] Gast war./ O ihr Finger,/ Die Eingangsschwelle legend/ Wie ein Messer [3] Zwischen Leben und Tod-/O ihr Schornsteine,/ O ihr Finger,/ Und Israels Leib im Rauch durch [4] Die Luft!” Nelly Sachs (10. Dezember 1981 Berlin- 12. Mai 1970 Stockholm). Nelly Sachs was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1966.
14. Stih's and Schnock's Places of Remembrance is an “art in public space” project, approved by the Senate of Berlin (Die Senatsverwaltung für Bau-und Wohnungswesen), which was in charge of all art in public space projects at the time the project was conceived.
15. See Kirsten Grieshaber, “German Artist Gunter Demnig Revives Names of Holocaust Victims,” at [http://www.artdaily.com/index.asp?int\\_sec=2&int\\_new=39124](http://www.artdaily.com/index.asp?int_sec=2&int_new=39124). Accessed on Sept. 2, 2012. See also “List of cities by country that have *Stolpersteine*,” at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki>. Accessed on Sept. 2, 2012.
16. Rosetta Loy (2000) recounts in a moving way her childhood souvenirs when, in Rome, her Jewish neighbors started to “fade away” or to be taken away by the Fascist police.
17. For the complete alphabetical list of names found in Berlin's *Stolpersteine*, see <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:OTFW/Bilder/Gedenktafeln/Stolpersteine>. According to this site, the number of *Stolpersteine* in Berlin today is 2,950. Accessed on Sept. 2, 2012.
18. “Even when visiting Jewish graves of someone that the visitor never knew, the custom is to place a small stone on the grave using the left hand. This shows that someone visited the gravesite, and is also a way of participating in the mitzvah of burial. [...] Another reason for leaving stones is to tend the grave. In Biblical times, grave-stones were not used; graves were marked with mounds of stones (a kind of cairn), so by placing (or replacing) them, one perpetuated the existence of the site,” cited from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bereavement\\_in\\_Judaism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bereavement_in_Judaism). Accessed on Sept. 3, 2012.

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19. For information on Berlin's memorials, go to the Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance, a project of the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. It is part of the exhibition of the Information Centre under the Field of Stelea of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin, see: <http://memorialmuseums.eu/pages/home>. Accessed last on August 30, 2012.

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