

建筑立场系列丛书 No. 08

记忆空间

Memory in Architecture

[德]里伯斯金建筑事务所等 | 编
大连理工大学出版社

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于凤军 钱进 罗茜 王晴 刘欣 王方冰 | 译

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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

记忆空间：汉英对照 / 德国里伯斯金建筑事务所等编；于风军等译。—大连：大连理工大学出版社，2019.4

(建筑立场系列丛书)

ISBN 978-7-5685-1955-7

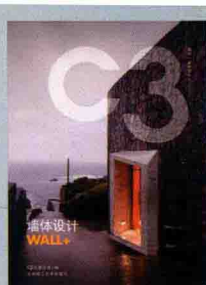
I. ①记… II. ①德… ②于… III. ①纪念建筑—研究—汉、英 IV. ①TU251

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2019)第062517号

出版发行：大连理工大学出版社
(地址：大连市软件园路80号 邮编：116023)
印刷：上海锦良印刷厂有限公司
幅面尺寸：225mm×300mm
印张：13.75
出版时间：2019年4月第1版
印刷时间：2019年4月第1次印刷
出版人：金英伟
统筹：房磊
责任编辑：杨丹
封面设计：王志峰
责任校对：张昕焱
书号：978-7-5685-1955-7
定价：258.00元

发行：0411-84708842
传真：0411-84701466
E-mail: 12282980@qq.com
URL: <http://dutp.dlut.edu.cn>

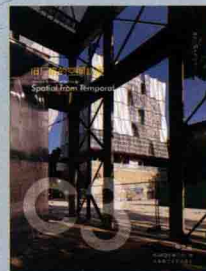
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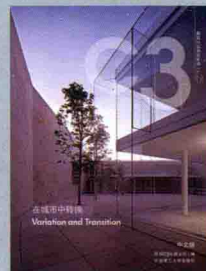
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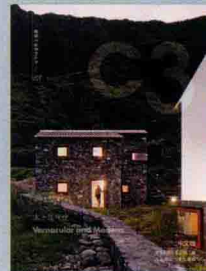
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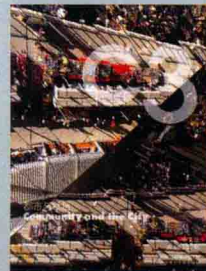
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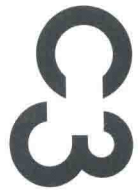
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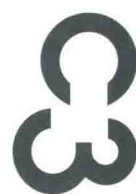
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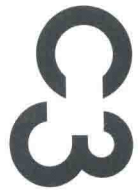
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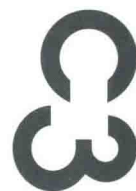
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城市与记忆

City and Memory

Olga Sezneva

如果说雕像就是为了纪念某个人或某起事件而修建的(如牛津字典所定义的那样),那么罗伯特·李将军就有麻烦了。现在,人们对这位将军英雄事迹的记忆永远被一位年轻女性希瑟·海耶的死亡蒙上了一层阴影。2017年夏天,美国弗吉尼亚州夏洛茨维尔市爆发了一场抗议活动,随后抗议发展成了暴乱,希瑟·海耶在这起事件中丧生。不过,罗伯特·李将军的麻烦并不是2017年夏天才开始的。早在2015年,李将军以及其他一些南部邦联人士就成为公众质疑的对象。在路易斯安那州新奥尔良、佛罗里达州的盖恩斯维尔或杰克逊维尔等城市,他们的雕像都被拆掉了。对南部邦联英雄人物雕像进行批判性审查的潮流后又蔓延到美国北部并不断扩大。在纽约市,许多雕像也遭到人们的非议。一些要求被拆除的雕像包括:矗立在自然历史博物馆之外的西奥多·罗斯福总统的骑马雕像,位于第五大道和103街上的妇科医生J. 马里恩·辛斯的雕像,还有位于中央公园西南角的克里斯托弗·哥伦布纪念碑。现在,铭刻在人们记忆里的是:罗斯福倡导优生学,辛斯凭借对南方黑人女性不使用麻醉药进行医学实验而获得他作为“妇科手术之父”的美誉¹,而哥伦布发现新大陆导致了土著人的灭绝。

2007年,在地球另一端的波罗的海沿岸,相关部门计划拆除一座纪念碑,但却遭到了这个城市里近一半人口的反对和抗议。一时之间,纪念碑成为公众热议的对象。这座城市便是塔林,被称作“青铜战士”的纪念碑早在半个世纪之前就赫然矗立在市中心,十分显眼。此处的纪念碑与李将军雕像不同,它不是用来纪念任何具体的人的,它代表的是整个国家,尤其是国家的军事力量:苏联红军。尽

If the memorial is indeed a sculpture established to remind of a person or an event (as the Oxford dictionary tells us), then General Robert Lee is in trouble. The memory of his deeds is now forever overshadowed by that of the death of a young woman, Heather Heyer, who was killed in Charlottesville, VA, USA in the summer of 2017 when a protest turned violent. The General's trouble has not started there, however. He, as well as a half-a-dozen of other Confederate figures, fell under public scrutiny earlier, in 2015; their statues were taken down in cities like New Orleans, LA, Gainesville or Jacksonville, FL. The tide of critical examination of the Confederate memorials then moved north and widened, reaching the city of New York and bringing its own statuary to question. Monuments threatened with removal included the equestrian statue of President Theodore Roosevelt outside the Museum of Natural History and the statue of the gynecologist J. Marion Sims on Fifth Avenue and 103rd Street, in addition to the memorial of Christopher Columbus at the southwest corner of Central Park. It has been now remembered that Roosevelt advocated eugenics and Sims gained his reputation as a pioneering gynaecologist by performing medical experiments on black women in the South without the use of anaesthesia¹, while the discoveries of Columbus led to the extermination of indigenous people.

On the other side of the globe, near Baltic shore, in 2007, half of the population of a city rebelled when plans were made to remove a memorial, making monuments a popular object of public contention. The city was Tallinn and the memorial called the Bronze Soldier was erected prominently in the city center half-a-century earlier. The memorial was different from that to General Lee. It did not commemorate any concrete individual, but represented a nation, and specifically, its military force: the Soviet. Still, it stirred controversy decades after it was constructed for a



希瑟·海耶纪念地，美国弗吉尼亚州夏洛茨维尔
第四街道西南
Memorial for Heather Heyer on 4th Street SE in
Charlottesville, Virginia, USA



罗伯特·爱德华·李将军雕像，美国弗吉尼亚州
夏洛茨维尔
Robert Edward Lee Sculpture in Charlottesville,
Virginia, USA

管如此，在其建立数十年后还是因为类似的原因（社会风气与国际政治格局已经发生了变化）出现了争议。随着苏联解体，爱沙尼亚成为欧盟与北约成员国，矗立的士兵雕塑却代表着苏联和俄罗斯人对其的占领和统治，因此占这个国家主体的爱沙尼亚族人希望将其拆除，而占少数的俄罗斯族人——其中几乎近一半的人非爱沙尼亚公民身份，仅享有居住权——则对此持反对意见。因为于他们而言，拆除纪念碑意味着将他们自身从历史中抹去。因此，他们发动暴乱（造成一人死亡），对爱沙尼亚工商企业发动网络攻击，最后迫使爱沙尼亚政府做出妥协：不拆毁纪念碑，但将其从市中心迁移到该市更加庄严肃穆的公墓。

纪念碑或雕像并不总是与暴力联系在一起的。大多数时候，这些纪念碑或雕像仅仅在城市景观中起装饰性作用，除了鸟儿之外，人们几乎很少注意到它们，只有在举行为数不多的正式庆典的时候，它们才会进入社区的公共生活当中。在这一点上，它们无一例外：大多数纪念碑或雕像都是以这样的方式进入人们生活的，没有一块大理石或锻铁本身就蕴含着历史；对于具有纪念意义的纪念碑而言，它需要嵌入当前关系与当代政治进程的网络中，需要与其他文化符号展开对话。

但是这一切与城市又有什么关系呢？城市为制造这样的记忆提供了材料、空间以及专门知识。理查德·桑内特曾写道：“……为了认同一个人，你认同了一个空间”，²而城市中恰恰满是这样的空间。这些空间拥有自然的地形，成为文化记忆深植的土壤，或者说，这些地方成为生活“素材”的档案库。这一点在路街的名字和地方的名字上表现得最为明显，但又不仅仅局限于此。过去的影子在建筑与

similar reason: societal mores and international politics have changed. With the decomposition of the communist block and Estonia choosing the route of membership in the European Union and the NATO, the soldier stood to represent the Soviet and the Russian occupation. The ethnic Estonian majority wanted it to be removed. The ethnic Russian minority – nearly half of it not carrying Estonian citizenship but a mere residency – resisted. To them, the removal of the monument signalled their own erasure from history. They rioted leaving behind one dead, launched cyberattacks on Estonian businesses, and eventually forced a compromise: the memorial was not demolished but moved from the center to the city's more venerated cemetery.

Violence has not always been part of the memorials' lives. Most of the time they stood as mere decorative additions to townscapes hardly noticed by all but birds, entering public lives of communities at rare moments of official celebrations. In that, they were not an exception: most memorials do that. No piece of marble or wrought iron contains history in itself; for a memorial to possess a mnemonic power, it needs to be inserted in a web of current relationships, contemporary political processes, and enter a dialogue with other cultural symbols.

However, where does this all have to do with the city? Cities provide the material, the space and the expertise with which such memories are made. Richard Sennett once wrote that, "...you identify with a space in order to identify with another human being"², and cities are filled with such spaces. They are physical terrains in which cultural memory is embedded – or even better, where the "stuff" of life is archived. This is most evident in the names that streets and places bear, but it is not all. The presence of the past is visible in the architecture and the street layout, the offices and the shops, the bars and the cafes, and even the greenery. But which history? In the body of the



克里斯托弗·哥伦布雕像，美国纽约
statue of Christopher
Columbus, NYC, USA



军事墓地的青铜战士雕像，爱沙尼亚塔林
Bronze Soldier at the Military Cemetery in Tallinn,
Estonia

街道布局、办公室与商店、酒吧与咖啡馆中随处可见，甚至在绿色植物中也能追寻到一些它的踪迹。但是，人们铭记的又是怎样的历史呢？巴黎著名的纪念性建筑——圣心大教堂记录的全是法国共和主义阶级斗争的历史，记录的是巴黎公社的历史。³其漫长的建造史（译者注：历时44年）及其尴尬的外形（译者注：兼具拜占庭建筑风格和罗马建筑表现手法）都反映了长达一个世纪以来的压迫与反抗、资本主义的成熟和民族自豪感。另一个例子便是柏林的共和国宫。共和国宫在21世纪初被迫拆除，为重建霍亨索伦王朝的宫殿让位。共和国宫被迫拆除是因为该建筑的外形和给人的感觉以及建造共和国宫所使用的混凝土的颜色。⁴在如今隶属俄罗斯的加里宁格勒市，经历过第二次世界大战和苏联时期世界格局重组洗礼的树木都能让人看到德国柯尼斯堡（译者注：与加里宁格勒同音同义）市的影子。德国柯尼斯堡现在已经不存在了，是加里宁格勒的前身。⁵这儿要提到的最后一个例子让人们想起了一个世纪以前李格尔（译者注：Alois Riegl, 1858—1905年，19世纪末20世纪初奥地利著名艺术史家）所指出的精心打造的纪念性建筑和无心为之的纪念性建筑之间的区别：一些遗址、建筑物，甚至它们的遗迹都会因为一个社会的意志成为人们的记忆，而不是设计师的想法。⁶诚然，任何事物都可以充满记忆的力量。Urville, Azeville以及Biville都是诺曼底地区的小型社区，它们因为摄影艺术家Jane Wilson和Louise Wilson所拍摄的第二次世界大战时诺曼底防线遗迹而举世闻名。一封信（一张纸），一幅画（一张图，一张照片，一份数字文件）以及一朵干枯玫瑰都蕴含着一起事件的历史、一个废墟的历史、一个遗迹的历史，唤起人们对此的记忆，它们可能会成为历史的载体。

famous Paris monument, Basilique du Sacré-Cœur, is written an entire history of class struggle, the French Republicanism and of the Paris Commune.³ Its long coming to existence, as much as its awkward shape reflects a long century of oppression and resistance, the maturing of capitalism and nationalistic pride. Another example is Palast der Republik in Berlin, which had to be demolished in the early 2000s to give way to a replica of Hohenzollern Palace, all because of the shape and the feel of the building, and the colour of the concrete of which it was made.⁴ And in the Russian city of Kaliningrad which nowadays belongs to Russia, trees that survived WWII and the Soviet-period reorganization stand to be living witnesses of the German Königsberg, a non-existent city that Kaliningrad once was.⁵ This last example brings to mind the distinction made by Alois Riegl a century ago between the intentional and unintentional monuments: some sites, buildings and even their traces turn into memory topoi by the will of a society, not intentions of their designers.⁶ Truly anything may become imbued with mnemonic power. Urville, Azeville and Biville, small communities in Normandy, became internationally known when ruins of the WWII defence lines attracted photography artists Jane Wilson and Louise Wilson. The way a letter (a piece of paper), a picture (a drawing, a photograph, a digital file), and a dry rose together summon and contain a history of an affair, a ruin, a trace, may be vectors to history.

The city throws up its own mnemonic effect, as literary creations from Walter Benjamin's "Moscow Diary", to Stratis Tsirkas' trilogy "Drifting Cities", to the recent Teju Cole's "Open City", poignantly show. The city has its own way of connecting cultures, generations, technologies, the domains that are human and nonhuman, even spectral. The infamous Hungry Ghost festival in Singapore is one example of the latter. In its course, paper money, paper houses,



霍亨索伦宫, 柏林, 1950年
Hohenzollern Palace in Berlin, 1950



共和国宫, 柏林, 于2008年拆除
Palace of the Republic, Berlin, before the demolition
in 2008

城市本身能唤起人们许多记忆, 如瓦尔特·本雅明的《莫斯科日记》, Stratis Tsirkas的三部曲《漂流的城市》以及最近出版的泰茹·科尔的《开放城市》等文学作品所展示的那样。城市有其自己的方式将文化、世代传承、技术以及各个领域(人类、非人类甚至至邪魔鬼怪)都联系在一起。关于鬼怪之说, “远近闻名”的新加坡“饿鬼节”(译者注: 中元节)就是其中一个。节日期间, 人们在有些地方的人行道边、街头拐角、车库外以及美食广场等地焚烧纸钱、纸房子, 甚至纸做的宝马车, 因为直到20世纪90年代城区重新规划改造之前, 这些地方都是城市里华人安葬死者的“坟场”。为了慰藉死者, 生者继续为他们带来祭品。当夜幕降临, “第二张地图, 即历史上幽灵们居住的地方, 出现在人们最熟悉的地方, 这是人们记忆与所熟悉的地形地貌的彻底分离……出现在一切都受到超级控制的当代城市之中”⁷。这就是“城市就是一个档案馆”这一隐喻的含义。这一隐喻非常恰当, 城市里的许多建筑环境都以其体现的形式捕捉生活中的细枝末节, 并作为想象历史的源泉得以流传。建筑环境是一个集合体, 集艺术品、活动的沉淀模式以及实践于一体, 充分体现在建筑构造甚至其所在场地上, 成为标志, 成为象征, 蕴涵着历史, 记录着过去, 仍然与现在琴瑟共鸣, 是另一种记录和保存的方法。

新加坡“鬼怪”的存在也显示了某些其他重要的东西。在这里, 我们不仅谈论分类, 还可以谈论形成记忆(和失忆)的不同方式; 其中传递的不仅是思想与事实, 还有经历与情感; 在唤醒过去的过程中不同的生命也得以被召唤。这便引出另一种思考: 每个空间都有展示过去、为过去发声或使过去沉默的不同方式。街道、人行道、铺设的路面这些构成典型城市生活的元素都是记忆生态的组成部分。

even paper BMWs are burnt on sidewalk curbs, street corners, parking garages and food courts in the areas, which until the urban renewal of 1990s were burial sites for the city's Chinese community. To tame the dead, the living continue to bring offerings. As darkness falls, "a second map, a ghostly historical topography, appears on top of the familiar one, a radical disjuncture of memory and topography... within the hyper-controlled surfaces of the contemporary city"⁷. This is "the city as an archive" metaphor, which works well because so much of the city's built environment captures the minutia of life in its embodied form, circulating as a source of historical imagination. It is an assemblage of artefacts, sedimented patterns of activities and practices embedded in its fabric and even its ground, as signs and representations, as a collection and a record of the past that continues to resonate in the present. It is another method of filing and preserving.

The spectral presences of Singapore bring out something else which is important. Here, not only of cataloging, we may also speak of different ways in which memory (and amnesia) are "done", in which what are transmitted are not only thoughts and facts, but also experiences and emotions, and in which different beings are summoned in the processes of evoking the past. This leads to a different kind of consideration: each space has different ways of showing, articulating or silencing the past. A street, a sidewalk, a pavement – the elements of a typical urban life – are parts of an ecology of memory.

Much of the statuary in the modern city works by appealing to contemplation. Strategically placed, monuments are the object of viewing. They participate in urban spectacle. They create perspectives and vistas. Scaled to impress, they commonly appeal to collectivities. The Berlin-born artist Gunter Demnig recognized a different possibil-



哥尼斯堡塔楼，俄罗斯加里宁格勒
Königsberg Castle tower, Kaliningrad,
Russia



海滩与房屋遗迹，法国Urville-Nacqueville
Beach and Vestiges of Blockhouse, Urville-Nacqueville, France

现代城市中的许多雕塑都是通过引发人们沉思而发挥自身作用的。从其选址的策略来看，纪念性建筑是人们瞻仰的对象，也是城市景观的一部分，为人们了解城市提供了不同的视角，使人们对未来充满希望。这些纪念性建筑通常都非常宏伟，能够吸引公众的目光。出生于柏林的艺术家冈特·德姆尼希发现城市空间中存在着一种不同的可能性，即城市空间特有的交际功能。他发明了一种通过安装记忆触发器而不是通过设立雕像的方式来使人们回忆过去，铭记历史。自20世纪90年代中期开始，他将“绊脚石”铺设在柏林街头一些房屋前的人行道上。这些房屋正是犹太人受害者被赶往集中营之前的住所。最近，该项目扩展到纪念其他纳粹受害者们，其中包括：罗姆人、同性恋者和残疾人。“绊脚石”的大小和形状与常见的铺设路面的方砖无异，表面的黄铜上铭刻有受害者的姓名、生前住址以及死亡的细节。这些逝者的名字没有被安放在特定的地点，而是与马路融为一体。人们行走其上，会注意到它们的存在。这一想法与犹太人必须在一年一度的逾越节家宴上宣讲《哈加达》（译者注：哈加达是希伯来文的名词，意思是“告诉”。犹太人的父母需在逾越节向子女讲述当年出埃及的故事，突出庆祝逾越节的主题：对获得自由的一种庆祝。）故事以纪念以色列人走出埃及的做法不谋而合。《哈加达》要求信徒不要记住历史事件，而是将自己置身于事件发生时，置身于神出现的那一刻，置身于走出埃及的那一刻（不是过去人们如何走出埃及），因此，从某种程度上来说，是要重现那一场景⁸：每一代人都要把自己想象成是从埃及逃出来的。柏林街头每天都在上演的行为，即人们每天都要经过那些“绊脚石”，也是同样的逻辑。它们的存在打乱了人们正常的行进节奏，先是身

ity in urban space, it's particular communicative capacity. He devised a different method of remembering by installing mnemonic triggers rather than objects. Since the mid-1990s, he has been placing Stolperstein – stumbling stones – in sidewalks of Berlin in front the houses from which their Jewish residents were taken to concentration camps. Recently, the project expanded to include other victims of National Socialism: Roma, homosexual people and the disabled. The stones, made in size and shape of the commonly used pavement brick, bear names of the dead, the address at which they lived and were taken from, and the details of their deaths. Instead of securely placing names in the specifically designated areas, they are sunk into the road, walked over and made to be tripped on. The idea indirectly echoes the Jewish Haggadah, a guide to the Passover seder, which commemorates the Israelite's exodus from Egypt. The Haggadah asks the believers not to remember a historic event but to place themselves, once again, within the moment of divine intervention that the exodus itself is (not was!), and in a sense, to re-enact it⁸: every generation should consider themselves as if they themselves were rescued from Egypt. Part of daily practice in Berlin – walking – “stumbling stones” have a similar logic. They disrupt a flow of a normal routine bringing consciousness back to the body and then back to history. Feet, dogs and bikes trample over them, people bend over to read the inscription, and at this banal moment a crucial choice is made: does one curse in annoyance or pause with respect⁹? The scripture to the memorial book is what stumbling stones to the equestrian statue. Ecology activates identities by triggering different experiences. Memory is the awareness achieved through them. Seeing the city through the lease of an “archive” and an “ecology” also means paying attention to the ways in which memories are mass-mediated. There has been an ever-increasing importance of digital media platforms and online



Azeville Battery房屋, 法国, 1941年
Azeville Battery, France, 1941

©Archangel12



饿鬼节, Selegie路, 新加坡
Hungry Ghost Festival, Selegie road, Singapore

©Etienne Dessaut

体意识到它们的存在, 然后人们会记起那段历史。无数只脚、狗和自行车从其上踏过或碾过。人们俯身去读刻在这些石头上的文字。就在这最平凡普通的一刻, 人们却要做出一个重要选择: 是恼怒地咒骂还是出于尊重在这些逝者的名字前稍作停留⁹? 刻在这些石头上的文字如同介绍雕像的纪念册, 而铺在路面上的绊脚石则如同李将军骑马雕像一样。生态学通过触发不同的体验来激活认同。记忆则是通过认同实现意识。

通过“城市档案”和“城市生态”来观察一座城市, 也意味着需要注意承载记忆的大众媒体和方式。如今, 无论是为了使人们记住什么, 还是为了让城市成为一座值得纪念的城市, 数字媒体平台和在线社交网络的重要性日益凸显。以手机智能应用程序为例, 这些应用可以将历史上旧镜头投射到实际存在的城市空间。Instagram也起到同样的作用(译者注: Instagram照片墙是一款运行在移动端上的社交应用程序)。现如今, 使游客拥有ICT(信息和通信技术)介导的博物馆和文化遗产地参观经历已经成为该行业的一部分。交互式的、扩展的体验功能大大增强了博物馆传统的“保存-展览”参观体验。不过, 最近, 整座城市俨然已经变成了一个数字媒体空间, 使用应用程序, 可以使用户置身于不同的时空当中。Urban Archive(城市档案馆)是为纽约市开发的一款应用程序, 它在多维数字平台上开凿了一个可窥见该市历史的孔隙。当用户走过一栋历史悠久的建筑物时(即使这栋建筑已不复存在), 其先进而复杂的界面就会推送通知。它会给人某些特定社区才有的徒步旅行体验, 而这些社区的故事以前都是不为人所知的。人们也可以使用一个流行的并排照片

social networks for both, cultivating memories and making cities memorable as a whole. Take examples of mobile applications that project historical footage onto actually existing urban spaces; or the Instagram. ICT mediated museum and heritage-site experiences have been part of the business for a while now. They augmented the traditional “preserve-and-display” approach with interactive, extended experience feature. Recently, however, inroads were made into presenting an entire city as a media-space, and by doing so, transposing the user to different chronotopes (places-in-time) with the use of the app. Urban Archive, an app developed for New York City, creates apertures into the city’s history in a multi-dimensional digital platform. Its sophisticated interface sends push notifications when a user walks past a historic building, including a no-longer existing one. It curates walking tours designed by specific urban communities whose stories were previously untold. It allows for a popular side-by-side photo generator to produce images which can be shared on popular social media. The emergence of such technologies not only enriches the perception of a city – it allows seeing what is no longer there, but also gives agency to individual urban explorers and enthusiasts, as much as communities and volunteer associations.

The ICT’s another effect is on the individual memory of the user who takes snapshots, uploads his or her favourite images on the social media, the blogosphere or sends them to public image repositories. Together, these actions contribute to building a city’s external image, its branding and trending. How much we can learn from the Instagram about a city remains a widely debated issue, of course. For instance, it is quite possible that proliferation of selfies and snapshots of specific, high-profile places, such as the Museumplein in Amsterdam, popularises so much, making it so iconic, that the complex and layered history of the location – for example, its connection to colonial



绊脚石，冈特·德姆尼希设计，捷克共和国科林
Stolpersteine by Gunter Demnig, Kolin, Czech Republic

©Lorfe Shaull

生成器来生成可在社交媒体上共享的图像。这种技术的出现不仅丰富了人们对一座城市的感知——因为它能够使人们看到不复存在的东西，还为不同的城市探险家和爱好者提供了一个类似社区和志愿者协会的共享机构。

ICT的另一个影响体现在这种技术使用者的个人城市记忆方面，使用者拍摄快照，将最喜欢的图像上传到社交媒体、博客圈，或将图像发送到公共图像存储库。这些行为共同构建了一个城市的外部形象，打造了城市品牌和城市潮流。当然，我们能从Instagram上面获取多少关于一座城市的信息，这还有待进一步广泛讨论。举例来说，像阿姆斯特丹博物馆广场这样引人注目、知名度较高的场所的自拍和快照在社交媒体出现得越来越多，因此非常有可能越来越受人们的关注，成为一个标志，而使人们忽略了这类场所本身体现出的历史厚重感。例如，世界博览会让人们知道阿姆斯特丹博物馆广场与殖民贸易休戚相关。而现在，这类场所正逐渐沦为浮华之地，而非一个可以唤起人们关于历史记忆的场所。

这一切对城市的纪念传统（城市里的纪念碑和纪念堂）有什么借鉴意义？首先，我们需要打造一些灵活多变、能够适应不断变化的纪念场所。福特基金会主席、纽约城市艺术纪念碑和地标委员会联合主席达伦·沃克曾说道：“我们民族有太多关于我们自身身份的记述，这反映了谁掌握权力，谁拥有特权。”¹随着争取社会正义的斗争继续进行，纪念场所需要能够反映其动态和不断变化的权力格局，能够反映那些蕴藏在史书中现在变得明晰的道德态度，能够反映社会记忆的选择性。其次，纪念性建筑应该不仅仅被看作是用来存储记忆的时间胶囊，也应该被看作是公众的“刺激物”。当被问及像夏洛茨维尔那样的纪念碑或纪念雕像应该如何处理的时候，一

trade via the World Fair – escapes interest of the public. The place is being reduced to a glitz, not a lived and alive memory.

What are the implications of all this for commemorative traditions in a city, its monuments and memorials? First, such places need to be created with ongoing flows of change in the society in mind. They need to be flexible. In the words of Darren Walker, the president of the Ford Foundation who co-chaired the Commission on City Art, Monuments and Markers in New York, “So much about our narratives of who we are as a people is a reflection of who has power, who has privilege,”¹ and as the struggle for social justice continues, memorial sites need to be capable of reflecting its dynamics and the changing landscape of power; the moral attitudes implicit in the writing of history as those become explicit, and the very selectivity of social memory. Second, memorials should be seen not only as time capsules but also as public “irritants”. When asked what should be done with the monuments like those in Charlottesville, an elderly woman said that they should stay put, so that her grandchildren could know what happened here. Their presence can ignite, rather than merely reflect, a public dispute, disagreement or conflict. Naturally, this may touch on the memorial’s existence as a whole or its specific aesthetic qualities; some will become unwanted and removed, others altered. More important than a monument’s preservation is a societal dialogue about history associated with it that the monument can ignite. “Flexible monument” might become a material expression of revisions of history natural to any society. (Of course, in some cases there is a sheer collective joy that comes from toppling of public statues, and that cannot be overlooked. Such acts in themselves are crucial