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# Curating the social, curating the architectural

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In our rootless society, 'historic heritage' has become one of the master words of the media tribe. It refers at once to an institution and to a mentality.<sup>1</sup>

Built works of architecture form vital aspects of our cultural heritage. However, the precise nature of what constitutes this heritage is called into question when it comes to considering buildings in their different physical, social, and cultural manifestations. Do we value, above all, a particular building's 'pure' architectural pedigree, or are its social and communal values paramount?

We have such a dichotomy in the way the visual arts are curated. In Trafalgar Square, London, the National Gallery admits into its canon 'approved' works of artistic merit, or minor works whose pedigree can be securely traced to renowned artists. Around the corner, the National Portrait Gallery aims to possess an image – painted, photographed, or sculpted – of anyone and everyone figuring in British public life. The quality of the portrait, in terms of any inherent artistic merit, is not the main criterion for its inclusion in the collection.

In terms of the built environment the reasons for preservation or conservation are more complex since buildings also possess real estate value, in addition to their architectural and social histories. (When ascribing value to an easel painting, we rarely consider the possibilities of re-using its canvas.) A building, of course, has an inherent monetary value, in addition to its embedded energy. If, however, this is less than the redevelopment value of its site, then a dearth of any inherent social, historical or architectural qualities will render it ripe for demolition.

## Curating buildings – defining the social, the historical and the architectural

But first, back to basics. What do we mean by 'curating' buildings? Clearly this has something to do with building conservation, unless we are referring to that rarity, the collection of model buildings commissioned and built as an exemplar of a particular style or building type, such as the *Weissenhofsiedlung* (1927) in Stuttgart, or its conservative rival, the *Kothenhofsiedlung* (1933). Its other main meaning is the self-

conscious publication of an architect's oeuvre, or of individual buildings, ranging from the academic, such as *Le Corbusier: oeuvres complètes* or *Tadao Ando: Complete Works*, to the populist, such as 'Great Modern Buildings' published as full-colour posters in *The Guardian* newspaper in October 2007. I shall concentrate on the first meaning of curating, and shall examine the different, and sometimes conflicting, attitudes that prevail when deciding which buildings are worth conserving.

If we restrict our attention to the curating of existing buildings we are faced with different kinds of values similar to those of the National Gallery and National Portrait Gallery mentioned above. At the start of the modern era over one hundred years ago it was the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl (1858-1905) who grappled with the problem in a systematic way. The French architectural historian, Françoise Choay (1925- ), makes explicit reference to the debt she owes him in her groundbreaking book *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. She begins her painstaking exploration of the history of building conservation with this definition of heritage:

*Patrimoine*: 'inherited property passed down in accordance with the law, from fathers and mothers to children'; in English: patrimony, inheritance, or, most closely, heritage. This elegant and very ancient word was originally tied to the familial, economic and juridical structures of a stable society, rooted in space and time. Modified by a variety of adjectives (genetic, natural, historic) that have rendered it a 'nomadic' concept, it is now embarked on a new and much mediatised career.<sup>2</sup>

Choay traces the parallel endeavours of French and British architects and writers to cherish the past, to appreciate heritage, and to deal practically with it. Such notables include Prosper Mérimée, Victor Hugo, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, John Ruskin, and William Morris. She regards as monuments structures that are designed to be regarded as monuments (the Albert Memorial in London is a good example), whereas *historic* monuments have their status imposed on them subsequently:

[...] the monument is a deliberate (gewolte) [sic] creation whose purpose is established *a priori* and at the outset, while the historic monument is not initially desired (ungewolte) [sic] and created as such; it is constituted *a posteriori* by the converging gazes of the historian and the *amateur*, who choose it from the mass of existing edifices, of which monuments constitute only a small part. Any object can be converted into an historic witness without having had, originally, a memorial purpose. Conversely, any human artifact can be deliberately invested with memorial function.<sup>3</sup>

The buildings of the German architect Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950) with which I conclude fall into Choay's (and Riegl's) category of 'historic monument' and require 'unconditional preservation'.<sup>4</sup>

For our purposes, Choay's account of how the conservation of historic monuments came to be institutionalised, in ways that are similar to the contemporary practice of 'listing' buildings, is of greatest interest. This so-called 'consecration phase', at the turn of the nineteenth century, is the historical location of so much that was to become pivotal in the development of modernist attitudes and poses; its dichotomies, many of which remain unresolved to the present day, underlie the design of Tessenow's projects which I give as examples at the end of this chapter. His projects for a Jewish philanthropic client have attained historic monument status for two reasons, the first aesthetic, by dint of being rare extant works of this architect, and the second social, since they are built examples of a unique instance of German-Jewish cultural life during Choay's 'consecration' period around the turn of the nineteenth century.

Riegl offered a new, 'scientific' perspective regarding the thorny problem of deciding which buildings are worth conserving. He had become president of the *Austrian Commission on Historic Monuments* in 1902. The following year his book *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (The modern cult of monuments) was published.<sup>5</sup> Riegl distinguished 'commemorative' (*Erinnerungs-*) from 'of the present-day' (*Gegenwarts-*) values. Commemorative values comprise 'age value' (*Alterswert*), 'historic value' (*historischer Wert*), and 'deliberate commemorative value' (*gewollter Erinnerungswert*).<sup>6</sup> Riegl's 'present-day values' comprise materialist 'use values' (*Gebrauchswerte*) and 'art value' (*Kunstwert*). This final, transcendent, quality is further subdivided by Riegl to comprise, intriguingly, 'newness value' (*Neuheitswert*) and 'relative art value' (*relativer Kunstwert*). We are reminded of that feature of nineteenth-century aesthetic theory which sought dualities, such as Karl Bötticher's (1806-89) distinction between elements of buildings as being either *Werkform* (work-form) or *Kunstform* (art-form). These distinctions, of course, underlie the American architect Louis Sullivan's most celebrated dictum 'form follows function'.

Riegl's distinctions enable us to come to conclusions about the value of buildings whose cultural meaning has changed. Do we, in curating such a building, privilege its 'architecture' possibly at the expense of its 'history', or vice versa? Time prevents me from discussing in detail one of Tessenow's last realised projects from the Weimar Republic, his remodelling of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Guard House (1816-18) in Berlin. **(Fig.1)** The project is interesting in two respects. Firstly, it antagonised right-wing architects and critics associated with the *Block* (Paul Bonatz

(1877-1956), Paul Schmitthenner (1884-1972) *et al.*) while non-plussing those associated with the *Neues Bauen*, placing Tessenow in an invidious middle ground within an increasingly politicised environment. Secondly, the project marks the second in a series numbering four to date of the re-curating of the monument. Its third reincarnation came as the East German state's monument to the victims of fascism, whilst the latest remodelling casts it as a vaguely anti-war symbol, complete with its scaled-down Käthe Kollwitz statue of a nurturing mother. The point is that each successive German regime has sought to re-curate the monument in order to make sense of it within its altered political context.

### **Current problems: Tessenow's 'Jewish' projects and their status within both architectural and social history**

Currently two minor buildings designed by Tessenow for a Jewish philanthropic foundation from the years immediately prior to the outbreak of the First World War are challenging conservationists and historians with similar questions as to the primacy of architectural form over more general cultural content. What should our response be towards buildings designed for a Jewish-German nationalist organisation as they fall into disrepair or face a conversion so radical that nothing may be left of their original nature? How do we distinguish a cultural and political heritage as distinct from a strictly architectural one? Perhaps, after close examination of the evidence we can find that there is, in fact, no dilemma and that the cultural and social is necessarily 'inscribed' in the architectural, and vice versa.

Wilhelmine Germany, united under Prussia in 1871, granted full emancipation to the Jews as Napoleon had done in France some seventy years earlier. However, the liberties granted to Jews gave rise to ever more vociferous anti-Jewish sentiments being aired. German anti-Semites voiced their concerns at the increasing presence of Jews, both in public life as Jews assumed ever more prominent roles in academia and commerce, and at the influx of *Ostjuden* from the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires on Germany's eastern borders.

In October 1879 Wilhelm Marr (1818-1904) founded the *Antisemiten Liga* (League of Antisemites). His book *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum* (The Victory of Judaism over Germany) appeared in March 1879 and the subsequent *Antisemitische Hefte* which he began publishing the following year fanned the public outpourings of anti-Semitism within Germany.<sup>7</sup> There were two prominent public figures leading Wilhelmine anti-Semitism: the pastor Adolf Stöcker (1835-1909) and the historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-96), and their agitation helped fuel the

infamous 'Berlin Movement' anti-Semitic petition of April 1881 which mustered 250 000 signatories (including those of 4 000 students).<sup>8</sup> This was just four months after the formation of the openly anti-Semitic *Verein deutscher Studenten* (Union of German Students, founded 16 December 1880) whose statutes declared that '[t]he Association will form clubs that will accept full-time Christian students who attend higher institutions of learning in Germany'.<sup>9</sup> Paragraph five added that '[i]t is forbidden to demand or accept satisfaction with a weapon from members of the Jewish race'.<sup>10</sup>

The response of Jewish students to these anti-Semitic *Burschenschaften* (student associations) was to found their own German-Jewish associations, whilst amongst German Jewry at large two groupings arose to combat anti-Semitism. They were mutually antagonistic: the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; henceforth the CV) founded 26 March 1893, and the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland* (Zionist Union for Germany; the ZVfD) founded in 1897. The CV's response to the challenge of Zionism was 'for the Jews to assimilate as a national entity into the nations in whose midst they reside'.<sup>11</sup> The Zionists, on the other hand, rejected assimilation and argued for the resettlement of Jews in Palestine.

One might suppose that progressive circles in Wilhelmine Germany were immune to the virus of anti-Semitism. The Reform movement (*Reformbewegung*) is a catch-all term covering all aspects of social, cultural and artistic reform in central Europe, ranging from vegetarianism and informal dress to garden cities and eurhythmics.<sup>12</sup> However, anti-Semitism became associated with certain aspects of the Reform movement in Germany (as it did elsewhere in the Western world) and the editors of mass-circulation journals which were either sympathetic to its ideals or which actively promoted its aims were renowned for their anti-Semitic attitudes. Otto Glagau (1834-92) was the publisher of the magazine *Die Gartenlaube* between 1874 and 1875. This magazine (English: the arbour, or bower) was the leading journal of the rising middle class in Germany. Glagau wrote a series of articles labelling the Jews 'swindlers and financial racketeers'.<sup>13</sup> His book *Der Börsen und Gründungsschwindel in Deutschland* (The Stockmarket and Foundation Swindle in Germany; 1877) contributed both to the growing tide of anti-Semitism, as well as to the beginnings of the garden city movement. The two were not such strange bedfellows as might first be imagined. The garden city movement was essentially anti-cosmopolitan, and sought to vacate the city and all its evils for the unsullied purity of the countryside.

If *Die Gartenlaube* represented the liberal middle-class, then *Der Kunstwart* was perhaps the most prestigious art journal published in Germany around the turn of the century. Its anti-Semitic editor Ferdinand Avenarius published an essay by the (Zionist) Moritz Goldstein in March 1912 entitled '*Deutsch Jüdischer Parnass*' (German-Jewish Parnassus). In this essay Goldstein attacked those self-deluding Jews who believed they could assimilate into German society.<sup>14</sup> The article reinforced the idea amongst circles of 'progressive' artists and intellectuals that the Jews were unable to integrate into society at large and should instead follow the path of Zionism in seeking a separate national existence in Palestine.

However, the great majority of German Jews remained loyal to the assimilationist *Centralverein*, and groups openly hostile to the aims of Zionism emerged. The dispute between the pro- and anti- Zionist Jewish camps came to a head in 1914 when over 500 Jewish notables signed a full-page advertisement in all the major German newspapers. According to the historian Jehuda Reinharz, this 'expressed their twofold fear: that Zionism had become powerful enough to attract German Jews and that Christians would identify the entire German Jewish community with the Zionists, thereby adding fuel to the anti-semitic arguments that Jews were a foreign body within the German nation'.<sup>15</sup> It could therefore be said that the *Centralverein* represented the class aspirations and realities of the great majority of German Jews, and as such had no truck with 'getting back to the land', regardless of whether this was located in Palestine or in Germany.

There was, however, a minority of German Jews who were neither Zionist nor bourgeois. These were those disparate groups, broadly attuned to the aims of the *Reformbewegung*, whose aim it was to re-integrate German Jews into the German nation, into its *Boden* (soil), if not its *Blut* (blood). The particular aspect of the Reform movement that they stressed was its anti-cosmopolitan, 'back-to-the-land' philosophy. There had been attempts in the last decades of the nineteenth century to promote the assimilation of German Jews, not in the political sense but rather by returning Jews to trades and occupations which they had hitherto neglected (or from which they had been excluded). The *Verein zur Verbreitung der Handwerke unter den Juden* (Association for the Spread of Trades amongst the Jews) was founded in Düsseldorf in 1880. It established apprentices' homes there and in Cologne. Similar institutions were also founded in Berlin, but the most important foundation for accomplishing occupational reform was that created by Moritz Simon (1837-1905).

Simon was a prosperous Hanover banker. During a visit to America he had been moved by the poverty of the newly arrived Jewish immigrants and had resolved to take steps on behalf of occupational reform in Germany when he returned home.

After an attempt to introduce vocational training into the curriculum of the Jewish teachers' seminary in Hanover had failed, he and a few colleagues started the *Israelitische Erziehungsanstalt* (Israelite Educational Institute) for training Jewish youth in horticulture and manual skills at Ahlem, near Hanover, in 1893.<sup>16</sup> He addressed the *Centralverein* in Berlin 1904. Its chairman, Maximilian Horwitz, 'emphasized the close relationship between his organization and the *Verein zur Förderung der Bodenkultur unter den Juden Deutschlands*'.<sup>17</sup> (English: Association for the Promotion of Agriculture amongst the Jews of Germany)

Simon argued that 'a large part of those persons who now sympathize with the anti-Semites but are not themselves professional or racial anti-Semites will be healed of their prejudices as soon as they see how a number of Jews also participate in physically taxing labours'.<sup>18</sup>

The story now becomes quite fascinating. Moritz Simon's Foundation, established after his death, was instrumental in setting up two institutions which furthered the Jewish-German Nationalist cause (as represented by the *Centralverein*). However, these institutions resembled, to all intents and purposes, Zionist training camps. Simon wanted a return to the Land, but for him the land was located in Germany, and not Palestine. The architectural and planning models his architect Tessenow chose were those of the Reform movement, a movement which had its own inherent anti-Semitic bias as I have indicated above. Simon wanted German Jews to relinquish their atavistic ghetto mentalities by returning to manual labour skills; the Zionists also wanted them to do so, but in Palestine. The bourgeois position of the *Centralverein*, on the other hand, sought primarily social advancement through the professions. In hindsight, of course, the aims of the Simon Foundation strike one as anomalous, brave, but ultimately doomed.<sup>19</sup>

The Teachers' Training College at Peine (1911; also called the Simon Department for Horticulture and Manual Dexterity), and the Apprentices' Home for the Teaching Estate for Young Israelite Farmers in nearby Steinhorst were two projects executed by Tessenow between 1910 and 1913 on the instigation of the Simon Foundation to attract young Jewish men from their traditional sources of employment and 'return' them to the land.<sup>20</sup> **(Figs 2 and 3)** The Simon Foundation sought to integrate German Jews with their Christian neighbours, and was not Zionist in intent but reformist and (German) nationalist, in the liberal, non-xenophobic sense of the word. The Simon family was acquainted with the Dohrns, who had been instrumental in commissioning Tessenow to design the Dalcroze Institute in Dresden-Hellerau. Having seen Tessenow's work at Hellerau and been recommended him by Wolf Dohrn (Tessenow's great patron who was effective in driving forward the



building of the Institute), it decided to entrust the commission to him. Tessenow's scheme at Peine saw the realisation of an ideal agricultural community with striking formal similarities to the layout of the dance community at Hellerau.<sup>21</sup> **(Fig.4)**

Tessenow's position between the engaged left-wing architects of the *Neues Bauen* and the conservative *Block* group may be viewed as a reflection of the Simon Foundation's 'utopian' aims of returning Jews to Germany's (as opposed to Palestine's) organic basis. Tessenow was sandwiched between the *Block* and the Bauhaus, and it was this apolitical stance which in the end fell foul of both polarities of German architectural practice in the late Weimar period. The strictly architectural qualities of Tessenow's work for the Simon Foundation are ascetic and refined, and the buildings manage to rise above purely local considerations of style without recourse to the bombast typical of much late Wilhelmine work. The Peine and Steinhorst buildings qualify as historic monuments in Choay's sense simply because they stand as remnants of German-Jewish life, having survived the Nazi interregnum. Their conservation is particularly relevant as they represent a poignant double memory of Reformist values in two respects: design and social change.

## **Conclusion**

The questions raised here concern our attitude towards heritage. The historian Tristram Hunt, in his article 'A jewel of democracy', argues for our valuing the built heritage of radical history, in this case St Mary's church, Putney, which was the home of the famous Putney debates (1647) of the English Civil War.<sup>22</sup> There are finer late medieval parish churches in England, but few have the resonance of radical history in the same measure as Putney. To conclude with Francoise Choay, I was particularly inspired to write this piece after having read her essay on the Parisian suburb of Drancy, in which she debates the pros and cons of conserving its housing estate that served as France's main rounding-up point of prisoners, mainly French Jews, before despatching them to the east, to Auschwitz and the other camps.<sup>23</sup> Should Drancy be conserved as a memorial? Choay sets out three criteria of assessment for such a site: its economic and use value, its historic value, and its memorial value. Her conclusion is that it can't both be a memorial, in the full sense of that word, and a place of daily life.

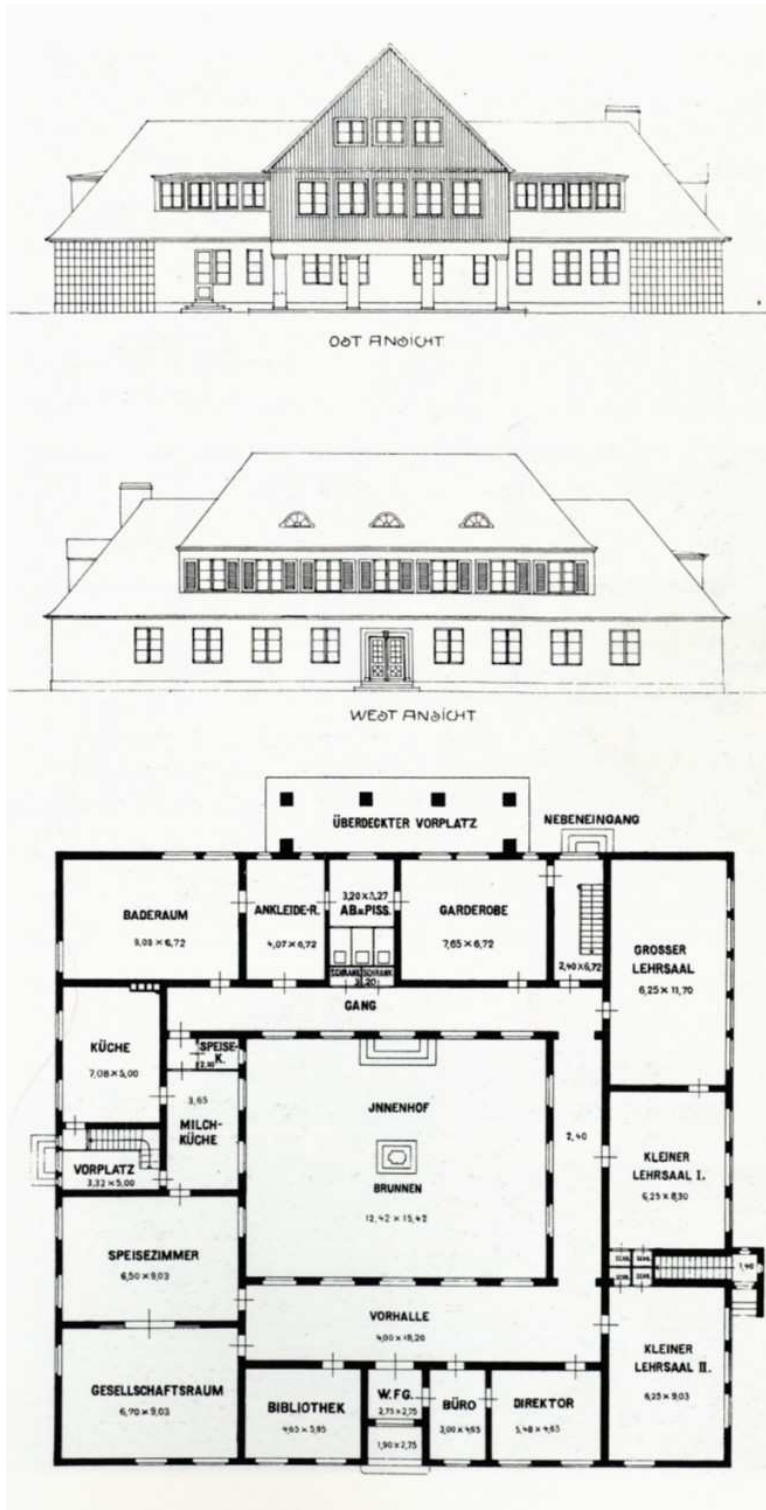
Memory can only be invoked there by excluding any utilitarian or daily function. You don't live on the battlefields of Verdun. You don't live in Auschwitz.<sup>24</sup>

The buildings designed by Tessenow at Peine and Steinhorst are different from Drancy since they bear the memory of a remarkably *optimistic* interlude in German history. What Germany has in the case of these buildings by Tessenow are rare examples of surviving buildings designed according to Reformist principles. What makes them virtually unique in terms of heritage is that their status as 'historic monuments', unlike the vast majority of Jewish sites in Germany and those parts of Europe which came under German occupation during the Second World War (including Drancy), bears witness to an extremely hopeful and positive episode in German-Jewish social and cultural life. Their conservation, which must involve the provision of meaningful contemporary uses for their locations and communities, is an absolute necessity.



**Fig.1**

Heinrich Tessenow, Remodelling of Schinkel's *Neue Wache*, Berlin-Mitte, (1930). Marco de Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950: Das architektonische Gesamtwerk* (Stuttgart, DVA, 1991), p.308. Original source: Berlin, Institut für Denkmalpflege, Messbildarchiv.



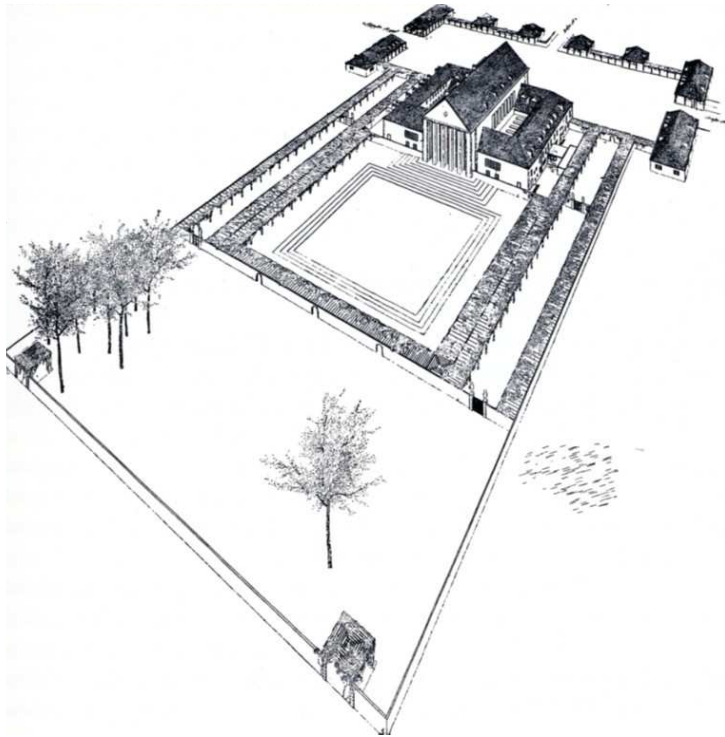
**Fig. 2**

Heinrich Tessenow, Teachers' Training College, Peine, (1911-1912).  
 Marco de Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950: Das architektonische Gesamtwerk* (Stuttgart, DVA, 1991), p. 223. Original source: Peine, Stadtarchiv.



**Fig. 3**

Heinrich Tessenow, Apprentices' Home for the Teaching Estate for Young Israelite Farmers, Steinhorst near Celle, 1910.  
Photograph by author.



**Fig. 4**

Heinrich Tessenow, The Institute for Rhythmic Education, Hellerau near Dresden  
Birds eye view from the north-west  
Werner Durth, (ed.), *Entwurf zur Moderne Hellerau: Stand Ort Bestimmung*  
(Stuttgart: DVA, 1996), p.61. Original source: Deutscher Werkbund

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), trans. Lauren M. O'Connell, p.x [French: *Allégorie du patrimoine*, Editions du Seuil, 1992].

<sup>2</sup> Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, p.x.

<sup>3</sup> Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, pp.12-13.

<sup>4</sup> Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, p.14.

<sup>5</sup> See Ernst Bacher (ed.), *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?: Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), and 'Riegl, Alois: The Modern Cult of Monuments, its Charter and its Origin', trans. K.W.Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions*, no. 25, New York, 1982, 21–51.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that Riegl's 'age value' was for him a material fact about the building and not a transcendent value, as it was for Ruskin (Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, p.112) According to Choay, Riegl's age-value 'has some connection with Ruskin's piety value'. (ibid., p.112) 'Gewollter Erinnerungswert,' for Riegl, represents the 'eternal present' (*ewige Gegenwart*) (Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?* p. 80.)

<sup>7</sup> Jehuda Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893-1914* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1975), p.15.

<sup>8</sup> The year 1881 is infamous for the start of the three-year pogrom against the Jews in Russia, and led to mass Jewish emigration to Western Europe and North America.

<sup>9</sup> Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*, p.29.

<sup>10</sup> Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*, p.29.

<sup>11</sup> Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*, p.183.

<sup>12</sup> Eurhythmics was an important aspect of the burgeoning body-culture of the Reform movement. One of its main practitioners and proponents was the Swiss music pedagogue Emile Jaques-Dalcroze for whom Tessenow designed his Institute in the newly-founded Hellerau Garden City just outside Dresden.

<sup>13</sup> Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*, p.14.

<sup>14</sup> Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*, pp.195-6.

<sup>15</sup> Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*, p.220.

<sup>16</sup> Sanford Ragins, *Jewish Responses to anti-semitism in Germany* (1980), p.68. Ragins has the incorrect year of 1883.

<sup>17</sup> Ragins, *Jewish Responses*, p.69. The deputy chairman of the Association was Gustav Tuch. His son Ernst spelt out the solution to German anti-Semitism:

In Tuch's view the Jews should recognize that their membership in a declining class would lead to disaster, and hence, as an expression of their own self-interest and out of dedication to their self-preservation, they must leave that class en masse and turn to agriculture and primary production. 'The slogan for the economic redemption of German Jewry,' Tuch said, 'thus must read: Get out of the merchant class [*Los vom Kaufmannstande*]!'. (Ragins, *Jewish Responses*, p.70)

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<sup>18</sup> Ragins, *Jewish Responses*, p.69, citing the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 8 March 1895, pp. 113-114.

<sup>19</sup> See also Ragins, *Jewish Responses*, p.66:

Zionists like Leo Pinsker and Theodor Herzl argued that the anti-semitic movement was an ugly but logical response to the fundamental abnormality of Jewish life, namely the lack of a Jewish national homeland. [...] The German Jewish liberals, of course, rejected the concept of Jewish nationhood, and they also gave considerable emphasis to the irrational component in anti-Semitism. But, like the Zionists, they too admitted that there were aspects of Jewish life which were contributing causes of the hostility they experienced. And, again like the Zionists, they acknowledged, for the most part, and these were located in the circumstances of Jewish life and behaviour, not in Jewish teaching and religious doctrine. Not Judaism, but Jewry was in need of reform.

<sup>20</sup> The other buildings were the Israelite Children's Day-Home, Hanover (1913; destroyed) and the Apprentices' Home, Steinhorst (1912; extant).

<sup>21</sup> I am indebted to Theodor Böll, archivist at the *Kunstabibliothek* Berlin, for kindly supplying me with the background information on Tessenow's connections with the *Simon'sche Stiftung*. I would also like to thank Reiner Schaffrath from Steinhorst for sending me the exhibition catalogue Anja Schrader and Rainer Schaffrath, *Thora Tore Tessenow: Ein Haus und (s)eine Geschichte gestern, heute – morgen?* (Ausstellung vom 9. September bis 15. Oktober 2000 im 'Haus der Gemeinde' in Steinhorst (Steinhorst: Gemeinde Steinhorst, 2000).

<sup>22</sup> Tristram Hunt, 'A jewel of democracy', *The Guardian* (G2 supplement), 26 October 2007, pp. 4-7. The irony is that hardly anything remains of the medieval fabric at Putney: it is nearly all nineteenth century.

<sup>23</sup> Françoise Choay, 'Cité de la Muette, Drancy: le culte patrimoniale', Françoise Choay, *Pour une Anthropologie de l'Espace* (Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2006). She goes on to say ' [...] what's to be done with la Muette? It cannot be both a memorial at the same time as retaining its significance as a place of local life.' (' [...] que faire de la cité de la Muette ? En aucun cas à la fois un mémorial et un lieu de vie locale. ') (Choay, *Anthropologie*, p.340.)

<sup>24</sup> Choay, *Anthropologie*, p.340. French: Le travail de la mémoire n'y est possible qu'à condition d'en exclure toute fonction utilitaire et quotidienne. On n'habite pas les champs de bataille de Verdun. On n'habite pas Auschwitz.