

FutureAnterior

Volume IV, Number 1, Summer 2007

Journal of Historic Preservation
History, Theory, and Criticism
GSAPP, Columbia University

Architecture Officielle Maudite

Reto Geiser and Martino Stierli

1

Berlin's Castle Versus Palace

Adrian van Buttlar

13

The Reception and Non-Reception of Cesare Brandi

Laurence Kanter

31

Loss, Compensation, and Authenticity

Frank G. Matero

45

Postscript to the Treatment of Lacunae

Cesare Brandi

59

Exhibition Review: Robert Moses and the Modern City

Randall F. Mason

65

Book Review: A Global History of Architecture

John Stubbs

73

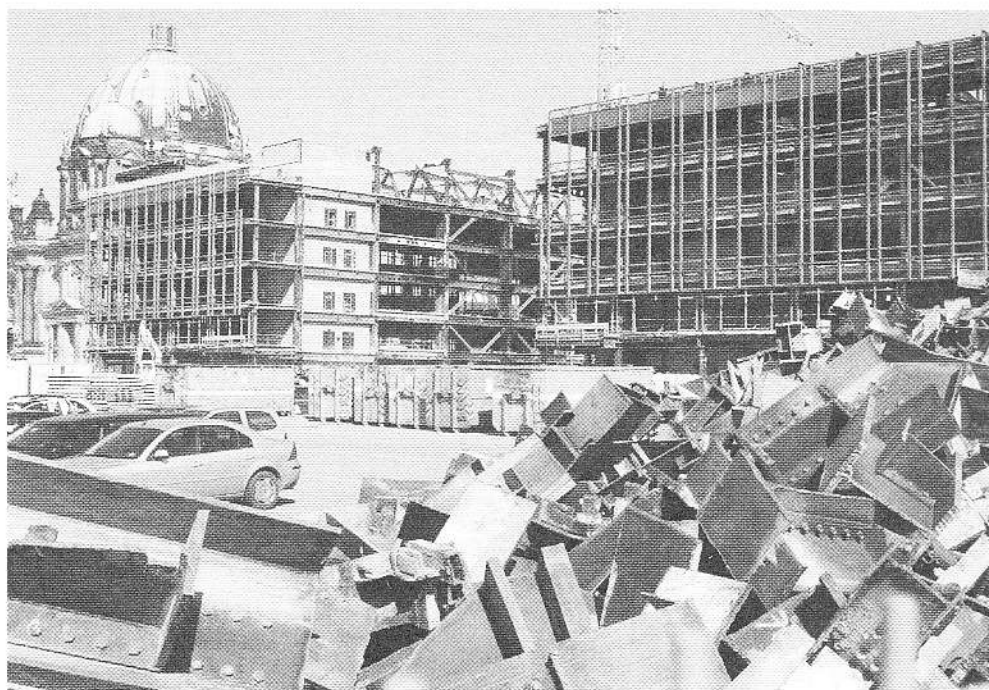
Berlin's Castle Versus Palace: A Proper Past for Germany's Future?

January 31, 2006: Berlin's most influential boulevard paper *BZ* reported with a grin: "The Palace of the Republic [*Palast der Republik*] makes off...Erich's lamp shop ends on the garbage dump of history... Destruction started exactly at eight o'clock. Nobody is shedding a tear." That triumphant assertion was, of course, a lie in all respects.

The public debate over whether to demolish or to preserve this iconic building at the very center of the capital of a freshly united Germany began in the first days of reunification in 1990, and has since carried on with strong passion on both sides.¹ Officially, the Palace battle began with arguments over health, when the building was closed due to asbestos contamination on September 19, 1990, that is, just six weeks before the official takeover by the West German Government. Like Snow White, the Palace fell asleep for seven years and was silently robbed of its political emblems, furnishings and artistic outfit. In 1997, it became clear that decontamination would mean stripping the building down to its skeleton. Thus, by the time the cleanup was finished in 2002, the Palace had already become a mysterious steel-and-glass ruin that could never regain its original character.

The debate over the long-term destiny of the Palace arose from arguments over an allegedly outdated model of urban design and functionalist style typical of the now un-beloved post-World War II Modernism. Modernist buildings and public spaces, which on both sides of the Iron Curtain had once been propagated as promises of aesthetic truth, social happiness, and progress toward a new and better future, in the Post-Modern age were now defined as wounds in what is now called "the urban organism." Modernism was a blight, which supposedly could be healed only by returning to so-called historic scale, space, texture, shape and form of the nineteenth-century European city. On behalf of beauty, official authorities argued, reconstruction of Berlin's former Royal Castle should replace the newfound ugliness of the socialist Palace.²

In the past half-decade, the stripped Palace was occasionally opened for cultural events such as experimental exhibitions, theater productions and concerts. It has become a non-place: a symbol of the desire to transform conflicting histories and memories into completely new experiences and identities. In this new context, the space attained a cultural rather



1. State of destruction of the Palace of the Republic (March 2007). (Photograph by B. Schurian, Courtesy FG Kunstgeschichte Technische Universität Berlin)

than a political presence: a role best expressed in 2005 by the monumental inscription "Zweifel"—which means "doubts"—an ingenious artistic installation by the Finn Lars Ramberg. Doubts, of course, in the mental uncertainty and economic depression of modern Germany, are a subversive and officially unwelcome state of mind.

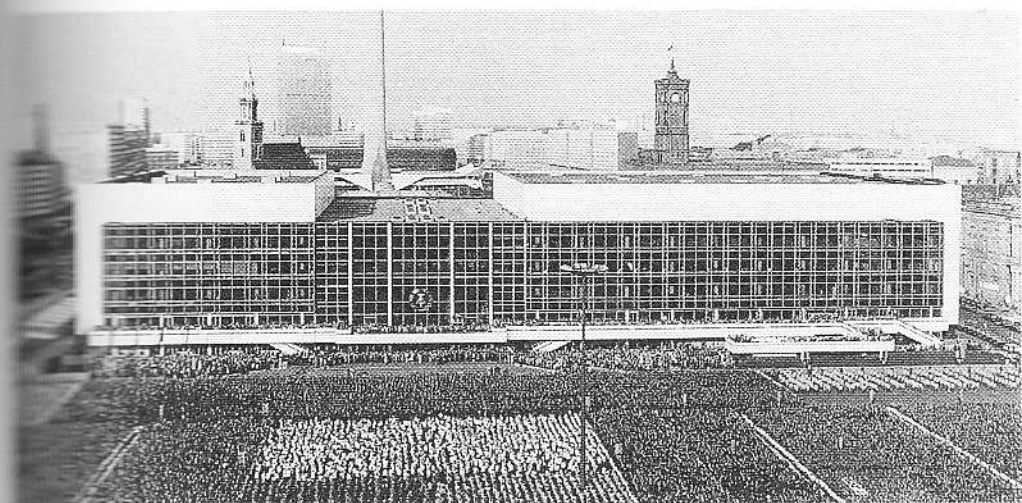
Every day Germans are told by our leading politicians to "look forward"—which essentially means backwards. It seems, then, that we need a proper past for our future. But which past? To answer that question, and understand whose history, memories and ideals the Palace represented and whose identity might be offered in its replacement in the form of the reconstruction of Berlin's Royal Castle, we must first ask who, or even who, the original Palace and Castle were.

Palace of the Republic

It is not easy to escape a neat cleavage in reigning interpretations of the Palace: on one hand, it is a nostalgic glorification of the failed German Democratic Republic (GDR); on the other it embodies an ill-humored judgment against the socialist state, its ideology, and social collectivism. For instance, the Palace's nickname, "Erichs Lampenladen"—the lamp shop of party leader Erich Honecker—when used by an East German before 1989 would have meant a benevolent criticism of the ostentatious splendour of the Palace's thousands of bulbs, while the rest of the energy-short country lingered in the dark. After 1989, the nickname, used in many West German newspaper articles against the Palace's preservation, simply ridicules the whole building, its function, and its meaning.

The Palace was constructed from 1973 to 1976, and ranks among the greatest of Modern multifunctional buildings of the twentieth century. Larger than the comparable Centre Pompidou in Paris, what made the Palace unique was its unusual mixture of functions spread over five floors. The most important areas were two auditoria distributed to the right and left of the Palace's nucleus. The larger one, which accommodated 5,000 people, was designed as a conference hall, and was equipped with writing desks and interpreter cabins. Socialist Party (SED) assemblies occasionally took place here, but more typically it was used for cultural or scientific events. When some of the balconies were hydraulically lowered, it could be used as a concert hall or theater, with a monumental, flexible stage. Flexibility even allowed the lowering of the whole ceiling about five meters, to dismantle the seats, and transform the auditorium into a ballroom, dinner, or reception hall.

The smaller auditorium was intended for the *Volkskammer*, the parliament of the Republic. It has been argued that its political role was insignificant, since there was



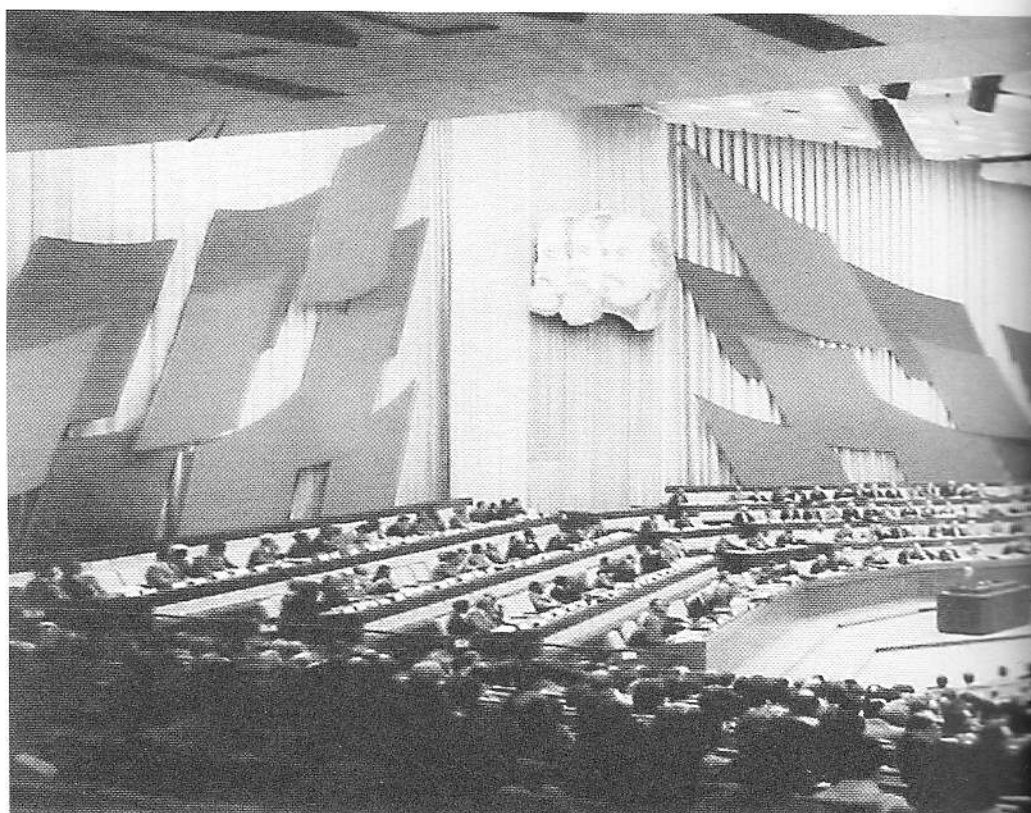
Palace of the Republic during the
People's Party Congress of the SED (1981).
Source: Bundesbauamt/Archiv PdR -
Theater/FK Kunstgeschichte Technische
Universität Berlin)

no free elections. Nevertheless, the idea of incorporating representation of the people into a public multifunctional building containing theaters, restaurants, galleries, conferences, and theatrical entertainments still seems remarkable, and recalls the modernist projects of the 1920s and 1930s, rooted in the socialist tradition.⁴ Comparing the intimate neighborhood of governmental and civil public functions with worldwide security measures today, this concept demonstrates a naive optimism of the GDR elite in the era of the Palace's construction.

The hall of the *Volkskammer* gained special historical importance when the first freely elected Parliament of the GDR voted to join the Federal Republic on August 23, 1990. The hall is bound for protection, although not on site: only its sober interior furnishings, presently stored elsewhere, will be saved, maybe for future reconstruction in a history museum, or in the reconstructed castle—or maybe for sale on eBay.⁵

The wide entrance hall of the Palace opened to stairs, which led to the basement for cloakrooms, or up to the glamorous main lounges and galleries. Each day, thousands of people gathered for meetings or private appointments, or met at the monumental glass flower sculpture. Many went to one of the restaurants, the milk bar, the wine or beer tavern, all of which promised unusual luxury and variety.⁶ Or they visited the galleries, created to exhibit the monumental paintings of favoured GDR artists, some of whom, like Mattheuer, Heisig, Tübke, Sitte, or Metzkes are highly estimated in art history.

The Palace, conceived as a wide, shining cube, was entered from the Marx-Engels-Platz, which since the 1950s was the main setting for official GDR political demonstrations and parades. The skyline of the townscape, including Henselmann's elegant 1969 TV Tower at Alexanderplatz, could be enjoyed from all six stories through the golden anodized glass curtain. As in West German architecture, glass facades

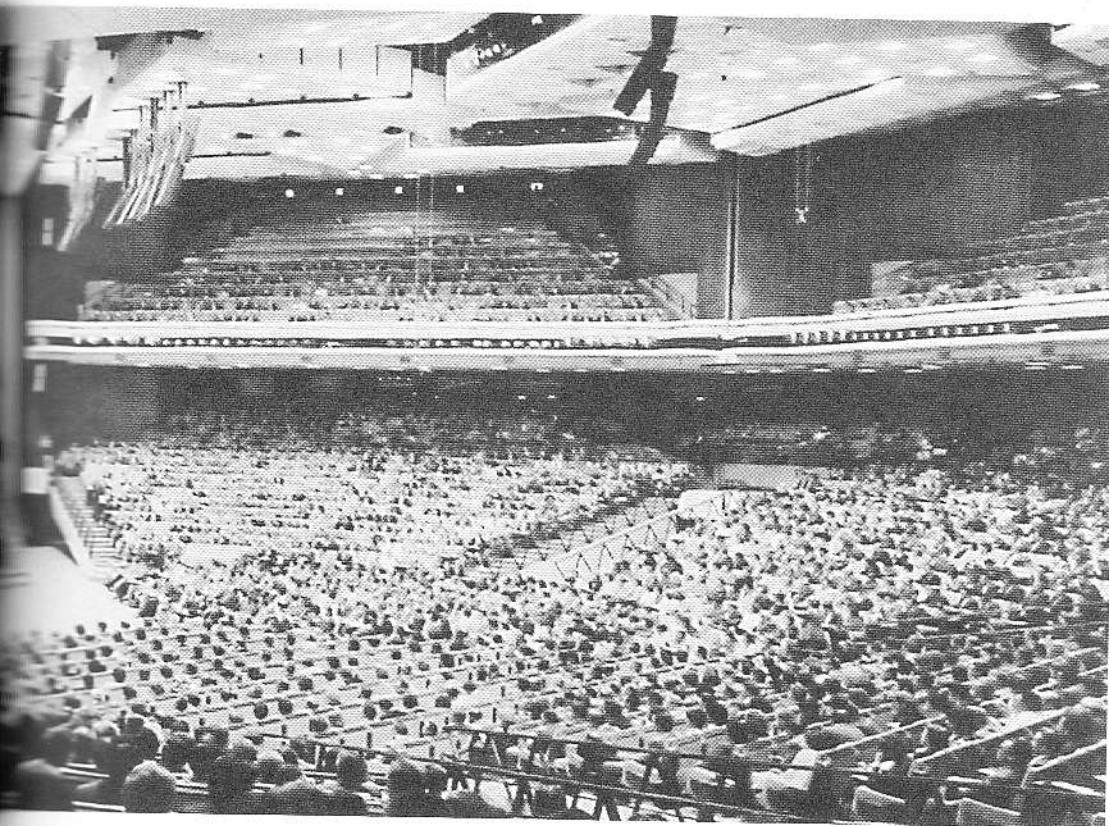


3. Interior of the Grand Hall of the Palace of the Republic during the Ninth Party Congress of the SED (1976). (Courtesy Fotothek FG Kunstgeschichte, Technische Universität Berlin)

signaled transparency, and transparency in the 1960s symbolized democracy.⁷⁸ Although aesthetically isolated from the surviving historic buildings like the Baroque Armory (1700), Schinkel's Old Museum (1830), Ihne's Royal Stud (1901) and Raschdorff's Neo-Baroque Cathedral (1905), the Palace considered their dimensions and possessed a remarkable aesthetical and technical elegance, reminiscent, for instance, of Gropius' Bauhaus in Dessau, which for its socialist implications had been rediscovered in the GDR during the 1970s.

In consequence of its internationally advanced technical, social, and in some eyes artistic standards, the Palace provided a source of self-reliance in competition with architectural icons of Western democracies, although its financial costs were nearly beyond the limit that the GDR could afford. In the fourteen years of its active life the Palace not only promised but literally supplied happy hours: it was widely frequented and even beloved by the GDR society. The Palace thus served the goal of enhancing identification with the socialist order, nearly two decades after the Wall had definitively enclosed East Berlin.⁹

The Palace, thus, is a unique document of German cultural history, because it was one of the few monumental realizations of the concept of the *Volkshaus*, inspired by the amalgamation of nineteenth and early twentieth-century pro-



totypes tied to the visions of the Modern Movement. The leading Palace architect, Heinz Graffunder—a disciple of famous Hans Scharoun—could look back to utopian concepts from Berlin's expressionist era, for instance Bruno Taut's idea of a "Stadtkrone" (1919), and to Russia, especially to the international projects for the Soviet Palace in Moscow (1932-34).¹⁰ Compared to one of the first schemes for rebuilding the socialist city center by Richard Paulick (1952), the Palace's predecessor, a Stalinistic skyscraper, had shrunk to the horizontal cube, while the dominating vertical accent now became embodied in the TV tower.

The Palace was the cornerstone of the government center of the socialist capital, grouped around the Marx-Engels-Platz. On the south side was the Staatsratsgebäude, seat of Chairman Erich Honecker, constructed by Roland Korn's collective in 1964. This building—with the prominent application of the Royal Castle's north Portal IV—is the only monument under protection after having been rescued from intended destruction at the last minute. It served as the provisional seat for Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder, after the government had moved from Bonn to Berlin in 2000, and since 2005 has housed a private American management school. On the west side of the square stood the rather monotonous cube of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, erected in 1969 and demolished

in 1995 to make way for the reconstruction of Schinkel's famous *Bauakademie*.

The whole ensemble, but especially the Palace itself, was designed as a deliberate counter-vision to the Royal Castle that had occupied the site for nearly five hundred years. Allied air raids had heavily damaged the castle in 1944, but repairs on the Castle had begun when the Cold War definitively split Germany in 1948–49. As a *damnatio memoriae* and to create a wide space and tribune for mass agitation to represent the new socialist order, Honecker's predecessor Walter Ulbricht blew up the castle remains in December 1950.¹¹ For months, thousands of trucks carried the rubble, including the precious stone sculpture and ornamentation into the desert miles outside town, where they were silently buried. Curiously, these relics have recently been rediscovered and await resurrection.¹²

Royal Castle

Summarily defining the half-millennium role of Berlin's castle is fraught with problems.¹³ In short: since the fifteenth century, the Castle, initially an outgrowth of the late medieval fortifications, became the center of power in relation to the civil society of the double cities of Berlin and Cölln. The Hohenzollern Dynasty, who reigned first as margraves then as electors of Brandenburg, steadily enlarged the structure; and in the sixteenth century the castle was rebuilt in the style of the Flemish-Dutch Renaissance (under Joachim II). It was connected on the south side to a Dominican monastery and on the north side to a beautiful court garden, today well known as Museum Island and Lustgarten¹⁴.

The Castle was the result of an immense enlargement, commissioned by elector Frederick III when he plotted to become Prussia's first king. Frederick crowned himself King Frederick I in Königsberg 1701, and his realm steadily gained power and influence among the great European kingdoms. Building had already begun two years earlier, on the designs of the great German Baroque architect and sculptor Andreas Schlüter, who sought to reflect the new role of royal representation in the age of absolutism. Elements of the Medieval and Renaissance structures were incorporated into the new Baroque quadrangle. Ten years later, Schlüter's Swedish follower Johann Eosander doubled the quadrangle on the Castle's west side, where the newly erected districts and the Parade Street "Unter den Linden" extended Berlin into a new residential scale. A triumphant arch formed the entrance to the castle on this side. Friedrich August Stüler in 1850 was commissioned to build a tremendous dome above Eosander's Portal, as the western approach had become the primary view of the Castle.



4. September 6, 1950: demolition of the original Castle begins [as pictured in *Architectural Imitations*, Shaker Publishing BV].

For the interior, skilled artists from across Europe were called to Berlin and, starting from Schlüter's ideas, they certainly achieved an outstanding sequence of representative halls and apartments, perhaps comparable to the Louvre or to Nikodemus Tessin's Royal Castle at Stockholm. But Berlin's castle was never finished: every generation restored and refurnished the royal dwellings according to changing taste and fashion. Frederick the Great, who reigned from 1740-1786, favored the Prussian Rococo, Frederick William II and III up to 1840 introduced early and high classicism, and Frederick William IV and Emperors William I and II continued in the mood of Romanticism and historicism.

In short, the Castle was a heterogenous building, which grew over five centuries, from the late Gothic to late nineteenth-century historicism, and documented nearly the whole course of Prussian history, and of European art through its extraordinary decorations and furnishings, now lost. Likewise, the political and symbolic meaning of the Castle grew according to the rise of Prussia and the German Empire. In the November Revolution 1918, Communist party leader Karl Liebknecht pronounced the first Socialist Republic of Germany, soon to become the social-democratic *Weimarer Republik*, from the Castle's Portal IV. That is why the portal was the only relic to be preserved from the demolition in 1950, to be applied like a trophy to the Staatsratsgebäude thirteen years later.¹⁵



5. & 6.
Heraclitus' Paradox. Left, the Palace
of the Republic, viewed from Karl-
Liebknecht Strasse. Opposite: photo-
simulation of reconstructed Castle
from same angle (2005). (Courtesy
Förderverein Berliner Schloss)

The first German Republic did not destroy or reclaim the Castle for democratic government, but instead neutralized its symbolic meaning by turning it into a museum. Until 1945, the Castle contained the historical rooms and furnishings, together with a special Hohenzollernmuseum about the royal dynasty.

It was only with the takeover of the East German Socialist Party and the foundation of the GDR in 1949 that the Castle became radically identified with feudalism, Prussian militarism and German imperialism—a line of tradition which in the eyes (and in historic legitimization, also in Hitler's own propaganda) seemed to lead up to National Socialism and finally to the catastrophe of the World War II. In consequence, the GDR radically wiped out all memories of Prussian history. Even the famous statues of the officers of the German liberation wars against Napoleon and the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, inaugurated in 1843, were torn from their pedestals and hidden away. Paradoxically, only shortly after the Palace of the Republic had been opened, the GDR's government rediscovered and rehabilitated the so-called progressive aspects of Prussian history. In 1981, the statues were returned to their locations, but the Castle had disappeared forever.

Royal Castle: Resurrection

Until Germany's political union in 1990, the reconstruction of the Castle had not been considered. Politically, ideologically, financially, and technically, even the suggestion would have



been absurd. In 1950, courageous citizens on both sides of the border, most of them experts, had protested its demolition, but memories of the Castle soon vanished: the re-educated younger generation in both German states detested Prussian history, the Hohenzollern Dynasty, and especially the imperial *époque*.

After 1990, confronted with the problem of how to treat GDR's political, material, and artistic heritage, the West German officials could not avoid the impression of suppression or cooption.¹⁷ There were immediately considerations and discussions about how to adapt and develop the socialist town center to the needs of the reunited capital. In 1990, the Western board of Planning and City Development, under the direction of Hans Stimmann, began work on the "Masterplan", which aimed for a "critical reconstruction" of the dense historic groundplan, texture, and scale of the prewar city.¹⁸ The principles of New Urbanism since 1980 had become intertwined to the rediscovery and neo-myth of the historic European city as a model for urban planners in both East and West Germany. Thus the Masterplan, although the key to the neo-conservative turn for reconstruction, was disputed only where it explicitly threatened special prominent buildings or public spaces of the postwar period.¹⁹ The first sketches for the Marx-Engels-Platz propagated only an abstract and supposedly modern volume in the dimensions of the former Castle—maybe in addition to the existing Palace, maybe as its substitute, and left future incarnations in a vague realm.

The 1992-93 official competition for replanning the inner city (*Spreeinsel-Wettbewerb*)²⁰ left the question to individual decision, but by then the public discussions of the reconstruction of the Castle had entered a critical stage. At the same time, a new myth of highly civilized and innocent nineteenth-century Prussia as a cultural rather than political model served as a therapy to construct a new German identity beyond the negative twentieth-century experiences of imperialism, militarism, national socialism and communism. Even Palace architect Heinz Graffunder, in order to save his favorite child, proposed a hybrid of Palace and Castle, which would illustrate the fusion of history and shared cultural memory, a formula that unfortunately never had a real chance in the discussion.²¹

At the same time, a private businessman from Hamburg, Wilhelm von Boddien, architectural historian Goerd Peschken, scientific biographer of the Castle's history, and the architect Frank Augustin started a professional campaign for an accurately reconstructed Castle. Backed by a growing number of the conservative intellectuals and politicians, the idea struck public opinion when Boddien in 1993 realized an extraordinary illusory effect by a painted 1:1-simulation of the Castle, partly reflected and elongated by a mirror on the Palace facade. The mock-up was accompanied by a simultaneous exhibition documenting the forgotten building and explaining the alleged necessity of its resurrection.²² Boddien founded an association for the reconstruction,²³ which today has about 460 members. Another association, called "Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin," governed by nostalgic visions of a beautiful past, acted successfully in generating desire for better memories.²⁴ After the government's move to Berlin in 2000, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, though personally in favor of avant-garde art, joined the coalition for the Castle because it would present "a nicer view."²⁵ This concession would win him votes.

Against the simple-minded arguments for gentrifying the "communist desert"—as it was called by the publisher Wolf Jobst Siedler,²⁶ international avant-garde architects proposed provocative rather than realistic alternative Castles.²⁷ In response to a 1997 search for ideas by Berlin's leading newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel*,²⁸ architects Heide, Beckerath, Alberts proposed to double the disputed Palace in order to fill the gap. Instead of Palace or Castle, Sir Norman Foster envisioned a soccer field under giant umbrella. Meinard von Gerkan—nearest to the unease of the times—invented a chameleon castle with electronic facades, which could screen everything from the Palace to Schlüter's architecture.

The counter-alliance of those who wanted to rescue the Palace organized in the more left-orientated association *Palast-Bündnis*,²⁹ failed to win their case. In 1994, the former

Marx-Engels-Platz already was named "Schlossplatz," a name the site had never carried before; the steady usurpation of the Palace's identity was well on its way. Despite 80,000 signatures against demolition, the Castle advocates, who themselves have never number more than a 1,000 stalwarts, continued their propaganda campaign successfully.³⁰ An official expert commission, established by the federal government in 2000, recommended by a one-vote-majority in summer 2002 to replace the Palace.³¹ In its place, the commission recommended a building that would serve public and cultural purposes, represent the volume of the Castle, possibly incorporate remnants of the Palace, though dressed in Baroque façades. The German Parliament in 2003 voted accordingly to tear down the Palace and to reconstruct the Castle. A final moratorium against demolition of the Palace was rejected in November 2005.³²

The building will be financed primarily by private investors, with the additional costs of the Baroque facades paid for by donation. The Castle builders have collected only a small portion of the one billion euros necessary to imitate the surfaces of the Schlüter Castle. Nevertheless, in January 2006, the Castle promoters loudly welcomed the start of demolition because the "horror vacui" in the town center would increase the pressure on the government to contribute funding to this politics of symbols. The fundraising campaign of the Castle association pretends that the Castle will be legitimized as everybody's Palace through widespread contributions, but the Castle economy will certainly result in a public-private partnership, governed by a select group of shareholders.

Reconstructed Castle: Function

Besides location, form and material, use and function of a reconstructed building were counted among the criteria for authenticity on the Nara Conference in 1996.³³ Surprisingly, these items always lingered in the background of the Castle discussion. In the first call for private investors, commerce was welcome and only indecent usage excluded. Then, in relation to the increasing symbolic intentions, cultural functions, which could have also been served brilliantly by the former Palace became preferred: a conference center linked to an exclusive hotel and restaurants, exhibition halls, locations for scientific and academic societies, auditoriums for public events, performances and receptions. However, this agglomeration has never been convincing enough to justify the special exterior.

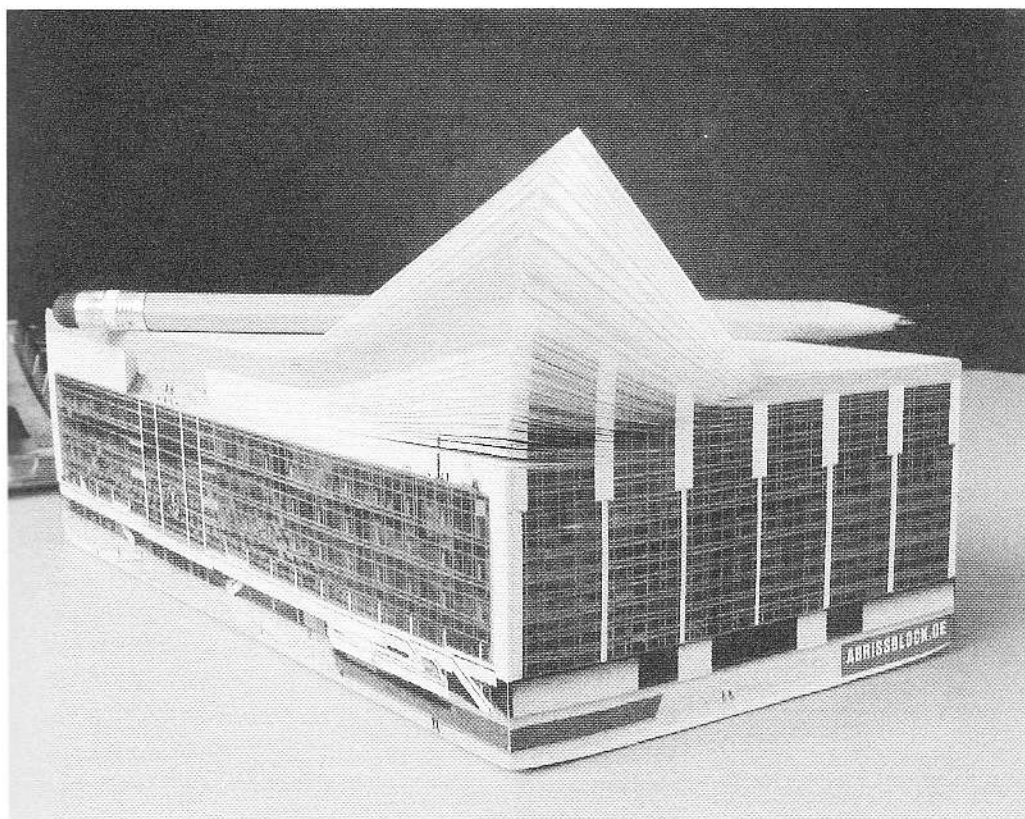
The invention of the vague but magical idea of a Humboldt Forum served to bridge the gap between form and content by referring to the highly esteemed brothers

Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, who in the first half of the nineteenth century became the leading exponents of humanities and natural sciences in Germany. Working in the nearby university which later took their name,³⁴ the Humboldts also worked in the cultural reform administration of Prussia, thus offering a whole field of possible analogies and possible identifications for the future Castle: the amalgamation and pacification of the tensions between natural and cultural sciences, and the globalized views of ethnography and art on precolonial civilizations. Instead of a dull Prussian or Teutonic nationalism, Germany will be represented in the sanitized memory of its own nineteenth-century liberal enlightenment.

Although the Humboldts were a hundred years younger than the Castle, and most of the collections to be presented are a hundred years younger than the Humboldts, it is argued that those presentations genuinely belong to the Castle, because they originate from the Renaissance concept of the princely *Kunst und Wunderkammer*, the germ-cell of all museums and, moreover, because the Castle had become a home for academic research institutions like Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft as early as in 1918.

Although that program would appear to be a fine ideological superstructure, it does not provide precise data for planning within the symbolic shell of the castle. The current conception is to place the so-called agora for public events into the basement and ground floor, and to the reconstructed Schlüter Court, covered with a glass ceiling, as Berlin's central stage for festive social gatherings. The main floors would be needed for the exhibitions and museums and the top floor for the National Library. But that is not all: the main sequences of historic parade rooms, about one third of the entire Castle volume scattered here and there, are to be incorporated in their exact dimensions and in their exact locations to allow later generations the exact reconstruction of the historic interior decorations.³⁵

The desire for a cloned Castle as an architecture of memory indicates an iconic turn in our definition of authenticity. Substance loses its magical aura and can be replaced, while that aura can be transferred by a few marginal but holy relics. This recipe has been successfully applied in all recent reconstructions.³⁶ Paradoxically, the façades of the Castle will be executed by manual labour, using traditional tools and working techniques and, of course, genuine materials. Thus a monumental fiction takes a holy oath on authentic truth, while the authentic monument's evidence for true history and its challenge for critical investigation of the past step-by-step becomes fictitious. To avoid the awkward prefix *re-*, the Castle advocates argue that the art of architecture is not manifest in the actual building but in its plan, which might serve as a



7. The Palace of the Republic as a tear-off notepad. (Photograph by B. Schurian, Courtesy FG Kunstgeschichte, Technische Universität Berlin)

musical score for as many “performances” as ever needed in our unstable world.³⁷

Why Reconstruction Has Won

The defenders of the Palace failed to define its aesthetic and social dimensions not only as positive memories but as beautiful promises for the future. In regard to GDR history and to reigning anti-Modernist reservations, this argument was perhaps impossible. In addition, the State Board of Preservation’s attempt to put the Palace on a protected monuments list failed in 1995 because the institution is subordinate to the political department for town development, which was governed by changing authorities who one-by-one became allied with the Castle’s advocates, who had influential sponsors such as Deutsche Bank. At the same time, the alliance of New Urbanist postulations of the traditional historic European city through the Masterplan, set the widely accepted course for reconstruction of historic spaces and volumes far beyond the Castle’s reconstruction.

Finally, like the great projects for building or restoring national monuments in the nineteenth century, the process itself, perhaps more than its products, generated a new belonging to a more or less unified and egalitarian group of civil society. It is simply easier to attack, to destroy, to raise

funds and to build something new and sensational, than to react, to defend, to repair, to transform, to redefine and explain the existing and well-known.

The whole Palace drama is like a change of scenery on an open stage. If we look forward and envision the future monuments of past history yet to be built, preservation forces must contemplate how to fit into the next act of the play or face obsolescence. Or perhaps we should follow the proposal of singer Blixa Bargeld, and found a new civil initiative for the destruction of the not-yet-erected castle?

Postscript

The demolition of the Palace, which was supposed to be completed by March 2007, will continue until 2008, with the rebuilding of the Castle scheduled to begin in 2009. Demolition has become a public spectacle, to be observed from a special platform where the building's demolition is identified as the outcome of "democratic process." The protracted destruction has been ridiculed in a tear-off notepad in the form of the shrinking Palace. The financial contribution of the federal government to the reconstructed Castle is still unclear, while the Society of German Architects has asked for an official competition that would allow modern solutions for the Humboldt Forum. Castle patron Wilhelm von Boddien has founded an American society for the Castle reconstruction, with the aid of Henry Kissinger.

Adrian von Buttlar studied the History of Art at Munich and at the Courtauld Institute, London, 1968–1977. After completing his PhD on the English Country Seat 1715–1760 (1977) and his postdoctoral lecturer qualification on the architect Leo von Klenze (1984), he became Professor of Art History at Kiel University. Since 2001, he has held the Chair at the Technical University in Berlin. He is acting Chairman of the Berlin Council for the Preservation of Historic Monuments (since 1996), Chairman of the Scientific Council for the Foundation of Royal Castles and Gardens of Prussia, and is a Trustee of the German Central Institute of Art History, Munich. Buttlar is participating in the Transatlantic Graduate Program Berlin-New York on the History and Culture of the Twentieth-Century Metropolis. He has published widely on the history of garden art, architectural history from the Renaissance to Modernity, and on the history, methodology, and politics of preservation.

This article was originally delivered as a talk at the James Marston Fitch colloquium on Historic Preservation titled "Resurrection: Reconstruction and Denial," at Columbia University on April 1, 2006.

Endnotes

¹ For the history of the Palace see Martin Beerbaum, Heinz Graffunder, Gerhard Murza, *Der Palast der Republik* (Leipzig, 1979); Kirsten Heidler (ed.), *Von Erichs Lampenladen zur Asbestruine – Alles über den Palast der Republik* (Berlin, 1998); Thomas Beutelschmidt, Julia M. Novak, *Ein Palast und seine Republik* (Berlin 2001); Anke Kuhrmann: *Der Palast der Republik: Geschichte und Bedeutung des Ost-Berliner Parlaments- und Kulturhauses*, Petersberg 2006; Wilhelm von Boddien [ed.]: *Die Berliner Schloßdebatte - Pro und Contra* / Wilhelm v. Boddien, Berlin 2000. Cf. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palast_der_Republik#Abriss

² "Prominente Schloßfans für ein "Recht auf Schönheit", in *Der Tagesspiegel*, 9.2.1999. Cf. Rainer Haubrich: Kein Lehrstück politischer Kultur – Ein Nachruf aus Westsicht, in: Beutelschmidt / Novak (2001), 200–205.

³ On Palast des Zweifels see Jennifer Allen "Lars Ramberg [Exhibit]" *Artforum International* v. 43 no. 9 (May 2005): 258. [<http://www.larsramberg.de/4/viewentry/3921>]

⁴ See Simone Hain "Das Volkshaus der DDR – Zur Entwurfsgeschichte und Funktionsbestimmung" in *Beutelschmidt / Novak* (2001), 76–89; Anke Kuhrmann, "Zwischen Bauhaus und DDR-Moderne – Der Palast und seine Ideengeschichte", *ibid.* 92–107.

⁵ The Failure of Berlin's Board of Preservation of Historic Monuments [Landesdenkmalamt für Denkmalpflege] to list the Palace as a historic monument is analyzed by Michael Falser "Identität und Authentizität. Deutsche Denkmalpflege zwischen nationaler Befindlichkeit und kultureller Wertedynamik" (unpublished PhD Thesis, TU Berlin) 2006, 255–256, 262; "DDR hinter Hohenzollern-Mauern Wie viel Palast passt ins Schloss? "Manche halten zumindest den Volkskammersaal für integrierbar" *Der Tagesspiegel* (July 6, 2002)

⁶ We have to remember that there was no private gastronomy in the GDR and that the official restaurants were rare and, moreover, rather dull.

⁷ Beerbaum, Graffunder, Murza (1979), 42–62; Oliver Jirka, "DDR-Design in den 70er Jahren. Die Innengestaltung" in *Beutelschmidt/Novak* (2001), 108–131

⁸ The glass curtain walls are rumored to have been sold to a clever businessman, who will transform them into nostalgic palace sunglasses!

⁹ For detailed figures and pictures of the Palace cf. <http://www.pdr.kultur-netz.de> For the calendar of events see *Veranstaltungen im Großen Saal und im Theater im Palast, April 1976 bis August 1990*, Beihft. zu Beutelschmidt / Novak (2001).

¹⁰ Anke Kuhrmann (Fn. 4), 102–105. For the socialist planning of the capital see Bruno Flierl "Planung und Bau des Palastes" in *Beutelschmidt/Novak* (2001), 56–75; and Peter Müller, *Symbolsuche – Die Ost-Berliner Zentrumsplanung zwischen Repräsentation und Agitation* (Berlin, 2005).

¹¹ Philipp Meuser, *Schlossplatz 1. Vom Staatsratsgebäude zum Bundeskanzleramt*, (Berlin, 1999).

¹² See Die Überreste des Berliner Schlosses, Grundlagen für die Rekonstruktion: Website "Förderverein Berliner Schloss e.V." [<http://www.berliner-schloss.de/start.php?navID=220>]

¹³ Selected Castle literature : Karl Rodemann (ed.) *Das Berliner Schloss und sein Untergang* (Berlin, 1951); Goerd Peschken and Hans-Werner Klünner *Das Berliner Schloss* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin [u.a.]; 1982, 1991?) (Das klassische Berlin); Liselotte Wiesinger *Das Berliner Schloss - von der kurfürstlichen Residenz zum Königsschloss* (Darmstadt, 1989); Hela Zettler, ed. *Das Berliner Schloss : eine Fotodokumentation der verlorenen Stadtmitte* (Berlin, 1991); Renate Petras, *Das*

Schloss in Berlin - Von der Revolution 1918 bis zur Vernichtung 1950 (Berlin, 1999); Guido Hinterkeuser, *Das Berliner Schloss : der Umbau durch Andreas Schlüter* (Berlin, 2003).

¹⁴ For the transformations of the whole site see Markus Jäger, "Der Berliner Lustgarten – Gartenkunst und Stadtgestalt" in *Preußens Mitte* (Berlin, 2005).

¹⁵ The Emperor himself had long ago packed up his private belongings, and lived in Dutch exile until his death in 1940.

¹⁶ Bernd Maether, *Die Vernichtung des Berliner Stadtschlösses : eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 2000).

¹⁷ Michael Falser, "Identität und Authentizität. Deutsche Denkmalpflege zwischen nationaler Befindlichkeit und kultureller Wertedynamik" (unpublished PhD. Thesis, TU Berlin, 2006) Chapter VI: "Steinbruch, Mythenraum, Geschichtswerkstatt – die Berliner Spreeinsel und ihr Umfeld nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung," 162–280.

¹⁸ Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie (ed.) *Planwerk Innenstadt*. (Erster Entwurf, Berlin [1997 = Stadtentwicklung Heft 4] and: *Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin: Ergebnis, Prozess, sektorale Planungen und Werkstätten* [1999: Stadtentwicklung Heft 25]) For critical discussion see Architektenkammer Berlin (ed.), *Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin – eine Provokation* (1997).

¹⁹ Bernd Faskel /Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wettbewerb Spreeinsel, *Internationaler städtebaulicher Wettbewerb Spreeinsel* 3 vols. (Berlin, 1994).

²⁰ Graffunder's project (1992) was published and discussed in several newspapers; see Heidler 212.

²¹ Goerd Peschken and Frank Augustin "Zur Restitution von Stadtraum und Schloss" (Galerie Aedes 1991), in Förderverein Berliner Stadtschloss (ed.) *Das Schloss? Eine Ausstellung über die Mitte Berlins* (Berlin, 1993) 97–106.

²² Förderverein Berliner Schloss e.V. Wiederaufbau Berliner Schloss [<http://www.berliner-schloss.de/start.php>]. There is also the "Gesellschaft Berliner Schloss e.V." [<http://www.berliner-stadtschloss.de/index1.htm>] and the Forum Stadtbild Berlin [<http://www.stadtbild-berlin.de>].

²³ "Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin e.V." [<http://www.ghb-online.de/de/index.php4>].

²⁴ "Der Kanzler kann den Palast der Republik nicht mehr ertragen – Palast sprengen? Stadtschloss bauen?" *B.Z.*, (November 5, 1999).

²⁵ Stadt-Schloss Wolf Jobst Siedler, "Das Schloss lag nicht in Berlin – Berlin war das Schloss" (1991), in *Das Schloss ?* (Fn. 21), 12–22.

²⁶ The campaign "Der Berliner Schlossplatz" in the newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel* lasted from September 1996 to April 1997; it was republished in Monika Zimmermann (ed.) *Der Berliner Schloßplatz : Visionen zur Gestaltung der Berliner Mitte* (Berlin, 1997); also see Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bauen und Wohnen (ed.) *Historische Mitte Berlins – Schlossplatz. Ideen und Entwürfe 1991–2001* (Berlin, 2001).

²⁷ "Verein zur Erhaltung des Palastes der Republik e.V.," founded 1997 [http://www.pdr.kultur-netz.de/verein_index.html?RahmentestUmleitung:/verein.html], and "Bündnis für den Palast," founded in 2005 [http://www.palastbueundnis.de/pages/Info/Info_dasbueundnis.html].

²⁸ Internationale Expertenkommission 'Historische Mitte' (ed.), *Materialien, Abschlussbericht* (2 vols.) (Berlin, 2002).

²⁹ [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palast_der_Republik#Abriss...].

³⁰ For newest developments see The Castle-Newspaper "Berliner Extrablatt," edited by the Förderverein Berliner Stadtschloss e.V., especially "Pressespiegel".

³¹ For the Nara Conference on Authenticity (1994) see <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>.

³² For Humboldt-Forum see "Humboldts Traum – Ein republikanisches Haus für die Universität: Gebt dem Geist Raum auf dem Schlossplatz" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (February 24, 1997): "Ein offenes europäisches Haus" *Der Tagesspiegel* (June 27, 2000); [<http://www.humboldt-forum.de/main/>].

³³ See <http://www.berliner-schloss.de/start.php?navID=60>]; Guido Hinterkeuser and Gesellschaft Berliner Schloss, *Das Berliner Schloss - mehr als nur Fassade: die verlorenen Innenräume des Berliner Schlosses und die Möglichkeiten der Rekonstruktion zerstörter Raumkunst nach 1945* (München/Berlin, hrsg. von der Gesellschaft Berliner Schloss e.V., 2006). Official conservators agree that the reconstruction will be unable to produce a trustworthy representation of the Castle, as it only will reproduce a very abbreviated and sterilized image of its main features, deprived of time and history.

³⁴ The evidence of its value as a monument in the "Gutachten zur Denkmaleigenschaft Palast der Republik," ordered by the district Berlin-Mitte and delivered by Volker Hübner and Christiane Oehmig (1996, copy in the Archive of

the Author) was not accepted by Senator Hassemer. See Michael Falser (2006) footnote 5.

²² The "Kommandantenhaus" opposite to the forthcoming Castle was completely reconstructed in 2003 by Stuhlemmer Architekten, who also provided plans for the Castle-reconstruction, Schinkel's famous Bauakademie has been re-erected as a scenic simulation, and awaits exact rebuilding. There are dozens of projects in Berlin and Germany under discussion after the public success of the resurrection of Dresden's Our Ladies' Church.

²³ The German debate about conservation versus reconstruction can not be fully documented here; see Adrian von Buttlar, "Welche Vergangenheit für unsere Zukunft: Anmerkung zur Reproduzierbarkeit historischer Architektur" Festvortrag zum 147. *Schinkelfest des Architekten- und Ingenieurvereins zu Berlin*, (AIV Berlin 2002).

²⁴ "Radau in der Ruine" *Der Tagesspiegel* (November 2, 2004) [<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/archiv/02.11.2004/1454905.asp>].