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CONTENTS:

CONFERENCE THEME	Volume 1	1
DOING TIME INSIDE Suzie Attiwill		3
RAPA NUI: Beyond The Limit Mike Austin		9
BEWARE GREEKS BEARING GIFTS: The Greek Agora Revisited As A Discontinuous Subject Of Historical Knowledge. Steve Basson		14
TERRITORIES, IDENTITIES AND THRESHOLDS: The Saturday Mothers Phenomenon In Istanbul Gülsüm Baydar and Berfin İvegen		20
EXPANDING LIMITS: Introducing Japanese Architecture in Australia, 1870s–1880s Eugenie Bell		26
PIONEERS AND PUBLIC ART: The Use Of History In Constructing Identity In Outdoor Cultural Objects. Joanna Besley and Lisanne Gibson		32
NEWLY AUTHENTIC ARCHITECTURE IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA David Beynon		37
VISUALISING SPACE B.C. Rosanna Blacket		43
THE LIMINAL, THE SUBLIMINAL AND THE SUBLIME: Crossing Between Landscape And Architecture Jacky Bowring		48
OUTSIDE THE LIMITS OF MODERN LANDSCAPE HISTORY Matthew Bradbury		53
THE ANGLO-ASIAN BUNGALOW IN AUSTRALIA'S NORTHERN TERRITORY David Bridgman		58
HE KOKONGA WHARE E KIMIHIA: Seeking the Corner of a House Dr Deidre Brown		64
NEGOTIATED BOUNDARIES Jeanette Budget		69
OPTICAL SURFACES: The Limits And Possibilities Of Illusionism At William Butterfield's All Saints' Church Karen Burns		75
COLLABORATION MECHANISMS IN DESIGN: Drawing On Discourse Analysis Jane Burry		82
THE LIMITS OF REALISM IN ARCHITECTURAL VISUALISATION Eric Champion		88
THE UNDERBELLY OF AN ARCHITECT: Discursive Practices in the Architecture of Douglas Darden Michael Chapman and Michael J. Ostwald		93
DRESS AS THE SEXUALISED LIMIT OF THE BODY: John Ruskin and the Walls of St Mark's Anuradha Chatterjee		99

Pioneers And Public Art: The Use Of History In Constructing Identity In Outdoor Cultural Objects.

Joanna Besley and Lisanne Gibson

Statues, monuments, memorials, fountains, mosaics, murals and other outdoor cultural objects are enduring elements of Australian cultural landscapes. The recognition that public art and outdoor cultural objects are culturally significant and integral to how people engage with the built environment has been embraced by government as never before and new outdoor cultural objects are being produced at an ever-increasing rate. Many of these new works make claims about asserting the identity of a place or community - identity has emerged as a key concept in contemporary cultural planning policies that underpin the production of public art. Evoking the past, or claiming 'heritage' as it is usually referred to in this context, is a common strategy for conveying identity.

Historical analysis reveals that Australian communities have always used outdoor cultural objects for expressing and indeed consciously creating, identity. A pervasive category of objects that do this are those dedicated to settlers, pioneers and stories of origin. Drawing on recent research into the history of outdoor cultural objects in Queensland, this paper examines the use (and abuse?) of history in the assertion of identity in public art and outdoor cultural monuments dedicated to pioneers and settlers. The treatment of indigenous people and women will be a particular emphasis. Thus, the limits to the representation of Australian history and identity through outdoor cultural objects will be revealed.

Few Australians could be unaware that public art is a contemporary growth industry. From bushranger rubbish bins in outback towns through to street lamps swathed in bronze seaweed found along coastal boardwalks, public art is proliferating in urban and rural localities across the country.¹ Unlike public art and other outdoor cultural objects such as memorials and fountains that were erected in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century through public subscription, these contemporary pieces are almost entirely initiated and funded by government. With its claims to public accessibility, public art has been a central component of cultural planning and development policies and strategies of Australian governments since the late 1970s. These cultural development strategies aim to establish connections between cultural planning and more general planning considerations in, for example, housing and streetscape design, leisure and recreation strategies, local industry development and tourism. Public art programs have been intrinsic to beautification and civic improvement projects, particularly in areas targeted for 'regeneration' or renewal such as inner city waterfront areas and country towns. The aims of these programs tend to be equally balanced between aesthetic goals and social and economic policy objectives and rely heavily on concepts such as creating 'a sense of place' and capturing and asserting local and regional identity to achieve these.

A common strategy for expressing identity is for artworks to draw on historical themes. In fact historical research is a mandatory stage in most contemporary public art commissioning processes. Artists are usually required to respond to both the history of the site of the artwork and the history of its broader context, that is, the history of the suburb, town, region and its community. Hence the proliferation of artworks making reference to moments of establishment, former industries, local characters, natural disasters and so on. But is this really history, or more precisely, to what purpose is all this history? In his book *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, David Lowenthal critically examines how heritage, in his terms "radically restructures historical domains"² in order to fulfil present aspirations and objectives. He makes a distinction between history and heritage by claiming that "history explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes".³ He implies that this clarification of the past requires considerable sleight of hand: "a present-minded view of the past is bound to celebrate and forget selectively".⁴ In these terms, the history in contemporary public art programs is clearly a heritage strategy. In commissioning processes that mandate historical research, reasons for using the past are already prescribed. To have an identity, a place must have heritage - both heritage and identity are now seen as essential ingredients for survival in the present. Having a story is what matters and a place's particularity as defined through its history is fundamental to attracting both government funds and the tourist dollar - historical consciousness has become a question of marketing and presentation.

The Queensland Government's 'Art Built-In' policy instituted in 1999, which commits two percent of the budget for all capital works projects to the integration of artworks, is a paradigmatic example of contemporary public art policy. Its rhetoric clearly demonstrates the metonymical relationship that has developed between identity and heritage. In fact, early arguments put forward by the Queensland government for the introduction of the policy were in part based on the past failure to protect heritage and implicitly, the need to create 'new' heritage:

"Queensland has a mixed record in the area of heritage protection. Consequently there is a pressing need to revitalise the experience and appreciation of Queensland public spaces, and a concerted effort ensuring all future developments are well considered, well designed and sympathetic to community and the environment in which they are located".⁵

Heritage has its dedicated place in the 'Art Built-in' commissioning process through the stated principle that "the artist's brief contains historical information pertaining to the site and that artists seek to engage in a meaningful dialogue with sense of place". In doing so, public art will "enhance community ownership of public places, express regional and cultural identities and renew a sense of civic pride".⁶ Most striking is how the policy and the marketing material that accompanied it is imbued with a sense of novelty - it all sounds as though this is something new. Indeed, 'Art Built-in' is clearly distinguished from traditional forms of public art with the statement that "public art is more than commemorative statues, murals or paintings hanging in foyers".⁷

Yet, a glance backwards reveals that Australian communities have always used public art and outdoor cultural objects for expressing and indeed consciously creating, identity, as well as for re-packaging past events as 'heritage' to serve their aims at the time. A pervasive category of objects that do this are outdoor cultural objects which are explicitly about the past - those many monuments and other objects dedicated to explorers, settlers, pioneers and stories of origin that are found all over Australia. As part of the domain of public history, outdoor cultural objects are physical and social claims for certain interpretations and renditions of history. They reflect what communities choose to remember, how historical events are understood at particular moments in time and, at the same time, how people want that event to be remembered in the future. This becomes a complicated matter when a community is commemorating its own history by making an assertion of authenticity or shared identity based upon a particular version or interpretation of events. By speaking through and about several examples of outdoor cultural objects in Queensland, this paper examines how the past has been utilised in public art and outdoor cultural monuments in order to assert identity and heritage. As such, the paper is a contribution to the on-going debate about remembering, forgetting and representing Australian history.

The desire for monuments was part of the colonialist impulse. Like cartography, the erection of outdoor cultural objects is a European way of marking the landscape. In the Western tradition of commemoration, material objects such as plaques, statues and cairns are made to stand for memory. In physically taking the place of the mental form of memory, these objects endeavour to safeguard social memory into the future. By erecting commemorative objects to explorers, pioneers and settlers, successions of Australian communities have sought in the first instance to 'make history' in a country that was believed to be "without history",⁸ and also to make particular versions of Australian history the most solid and tangible. A central aim of outdoor cultural objects dedicated to settlement and pioneering has been to sustain orthodox versions of Australian history, as Henry Reynolds has put it, "the nation's commitment to the epic of peaceful pioneering, of settlement as struggle with nature, of hard, clean, bloodless conquest of the land".⁹ In sustaining this version these objects are found to be as much about forgetting as they are about remembering. This selectivity is most obvious in objects dedicated to Indigenous people's place in the story of European settlement/invasion.

Aboriginal people are most likely to be accorded tributes in the public realm for assisting white people or for assuming and demonstrating the values of white society. In this way, Indigenous people are incorporated into a singular narrative of nation-building that attempts to dissolve issues of conflict and difference. By emphasising instances of cooperation or loyalty, outdoor cultural objects avoid confronting the moment of contact as an act of conquest or invasion. Instead, settlement is depicted as having been fostered by Aboriginal help and knowledge, although not to the extent of diminishing the achievements of European settlers and explorers.

One category of objects that do this are those dedicated to helpers, such as Indigenous guides who assisted white explorers. Take, for instance, the concrete memorial cairn erected at Bamaga airport at the tip of Cape York in recognition of Jackey Jackey, explorer Edmund Kennedy's Aboriginal guide. The cairn reads:

Commemorating 'Jackey Jackey', Aboriginal of the Hunter District, NSW. Faithful companion of explorer E. B. C Kennedy who was speared to death in this locality. Jackey Jackey passed near this place in December 1848 on his journey to Port Albany. He was the only member of the expedition to reach its objective and was instrumental in summoning HMS *Ariel* to the aid of fellow members left at Weymouth Bay.

Kennedy was in charge of a disastrous exploratory expedition in 1848 to find a possible site for a northern port at the top of Queensland. The story of the expedition has many of the common elements of Australian frontier legends: a formidable physical task, men pitched against nature, combative Aborigines, a white martyr and a faithful black helper.

Typical of Aboriginal guides, Jackey Jackey came from a settled district of New South Wales and had both traditional skills and experience with Europeans. Aboriginal guides were essential to the European exploration of the continent, offering knowledge of established pathways, tracks, water and food sources and areas of good country, which were themselves a product of hundreds of years of Aboriginal land management through the use of fire. As the story of Jackey Jackey illustrates, explorers relied heavily on their guides and came to know and trust them, often at the expense of engaging with the people whose country they were passing through. The memorial, however, explicitly honours his loyalty rather than Jackey Jackey's other skills. Erected in 1961 at the instigation of the deputy director of the former Queensland Department of Native Affairs, the cairn was paid for by government funds and demonstrates how neatly the story fitted with the then current policies of assimilation.

Another example of assimilation is the statue of Jimmy Crow located at Centenary Park in Crow's Nest, a small timber-getting and agricultural town north of Toowoomba. The Crow's Nest Centenary Committee commissioned the sandstone statue by Fred Gardiner in 1969 as part of the town's centenary celebrations. Local legend has it that the town was named after an Aboriginal man who lived in a hollow tree at the place which became the settlement of Crow's Nest. As the accompanying plaque explains:

In the early days when teamsters visited this area, 'Jimmy Crow', an Aboriginal named by the early settlers who used a large hollow tree as his gunyah, was relied on for information and directions. This place was used as a camping place by teamsters and travellers and became known as 'Jimmy Crow's nest'—hence the name Crow's Nest.

The life-size sculpture of Jimmy Crow is mounted on a large stone plinth and stands in front of a hollow tree stump which has a fig tree planted in its top to re-create his home. Although a depiction of an individual, the statue is not specifically a tribute to Jimmy Crow's individual characteristics or skills; rather, he is a historical character used to tell the story of the settlement of the town. This symbolic quality is further emphasised by the portrayal of Jimmy Crow as 'natural'—naked, muscular, with an upright bearing and sombre expression, reflecting how Indigenous people were often identified with the Australian landscape as needing to be 'tamed' and controlled to make way for European 'culture'. Jimmy Crow has symbolic power because, in the story at least, he conformed to white Australians' expectations; he was settled and lived in a home, he was friendly, and he assisted them in coming to understand the land.

Another way that outdoor cultural objects construct an assimilationist version of Australian history is by 'honouring' Aboriginal society as the forerunner to white civilisation; thus Aboriginal history becomes the 'prehistory' in the continuum of Australian history. This occurs with outdoor cultural objects dedicated

to individuals as 'the last of their tribe'. More than just helpers, these were usually Indigenous people who, to some extent, had become integrated into the white community and represented the passing of Aboriginal culture or its integration into mainstream culture. The small marker on the grave of Bullum, or Johnny Allen, at St John's Church at Mundoolan near Beaudesert and the memorial to Kal-Ma-Kuta at Bribie Island, to the north of Brisbane, are examples of this category of monuments.

Kal-Ma-Kuta was also known as Mrs Alma Turner and was described by Thomas Welsby, the chronicler of Moreton Bay, as 'a smart intelligent woman who lives near Toorbul Point, where she has resided for seventeen years and borne seven children to a white father'.¹⁰ A member of the Undanbi clan who lived along both sides of Pumicestone Passage, Kal-ma-kuta was married to local oyster fisherman Fred Turner and lived at a place known as Turner's Camp from 1874 until she died in 1897. Much later, in 1962, the Caboolture Historical Society erected a tall cairn of river stones next to her grave and planted a native fig and a grove of bunya pines. Just as Kal-Ma-Kuta was being honoured as 'the last of the Joondoorburri tribe', the unveiling ceremony was attended by the then 'last of the old ones', Uncle Willie McKenzie of Kilcoy Station and a Mrs Shakespeare. The Caboolture Shire Centenary Volume also pays tribute to Kal-Ma-Kuta as a helper: 'her skill as a swimmer and boat-woman was responsible for many rescues and prevented tragedies in the Pumicestone Passage'.

Bullum's people, the Wangerriburra, are commemorated by a cairn located at Duck Creek Road between Beaudesert and Green Mountains, in the Border Ranges close to New South Wales. The local authority constructed this road in the early twentieth century using funds raised by auctioning sites along the road for the erection of memorial cairns. A site was purchased by a local priest, Father Enright, who dedicated a cairn to the Wangerriburra people. The inscription on the cairn reads:

Wangerriburra the aboriginal people who lived on, from, and with this land, west to Birnham range, south to the Macphersons, east to the young Nerang, north to Cedar Creek. A land of beauty and plenty. From some of the new people.

While the inscription hints at a recognition of Aboriginal ways of life and offers a gesture of reconciliation, the memorial de-contextualises Aboriginal history by again consigning it to the 'time before', rather than as active and in the present. In evoking the qualities of the land, it gives an impression of peaceful settlement, despite the fact that the colonising of this district, like many others, involved conflict between white troopers, pioneers and neighbouring clans as settlement brought increasing pressure on natural resources.

Strategies for presenting hegemonic versions of historical events are also evident in objects dedicated to pioneer women. One example is the

monument to Eliza Fraser located on the shores of Lake Cootharabra, near Gympie. Eliza Fraser was the survivor of a shipwreck who spent several weeks living with Aboriginal people on nearby Fraser Island, which was named after her. Complex and contradictory, the tale has excited speculation since it was first reported in the nineteenth century and has subsequently attained national cultural significance comparable to the Ned Kelly, Burke and Wills and Lindy Chamberlain stories.¹² In part, this can be attributed to works inspired by the story by the painter Sidney Nolan and the author Patrick White, as well as other artists, writers, film-makers, composers, playwrights, feminists, archaeologists, anthropologists and historians who have written, painted, filmed and studied the story. Given this level of attention, it is surprising that the monument erected in 1979 to Eliza Fraser is a simple rock with a plaque that reads: 'Elisa Fraser who was shipwrecked and after suffering a great ordeal was rescued from northern shores of this lake in 1836 by convict Graham'. The inscription gives little indication of the controversy surrounding the rescue of Eliza Fraser, the lurid details reported about her time spent with the Aboriginal people, the death of her husband (the captain of the ill-fated ship), her remarriage upon rescue, and the way she subsequently exploited her tale for financial benefit in Sydney and London. Fraser's rescue and deliverance back into white society is what is emphasised by this monument. Thus, it underscores her vulnerability and victimhood rather than her survival and ingenuity.

Another monument to a pioneering woman, an ornamental drinking fountain dedicated to Mary Watson in Cooktown also remembers her as a victim. Mary Watson, along with her baby son and Chinese employee Ah Sam, died tragically in 1881 as she attempted to flee from her home on Lizard Island, 50 kilometres north-east of Cooktown. The trio had been attacked by a group of mainland Aborigines who had recently arrived on the island, presumably because the Watson's home was built in the vicinity of a ceremonial site. Married to a *bêche-de-mer* (sea cucumber) fisherman who was often away, Mary Watson epitomised the fortitude of the women in remote parts of Queensland. She escaped to sea with Ah Sam and her son in a cut-down iron ship's tank used for boiling *bêche-de-mer*, hoping to attract the attention of a passing ship from a nearby reef. However, all three of them died from thirst and exposure before finding water or being found. Their remains were found four months later by the crew of a passing fishing boat. All three were given public funerals attended by over six hundred people. Contemporary accounts describe how a Chinese band accompanied Ah Sam's coffin and local Chinese merchants provided refreshments for the crowd, while 'at the grave, candles and charm papers were burned, and the usual propitiatory libations were poured around the grave, then came a fusillade of crackers'.¹³ Despite this evidence of shared public mourning, Ah Sam is not commemorated on the memorial that was erected in 1886 by the citizens of Cooktown. In 1885 public subscriptions, with assistance from the Cooktown Municipal Council, funded the erection of the memorial outside the town

hall. Ironically, it takes the form of an ornate Gothic drinking fountain and is inscribed with tributes to Mary Watson as a mother. Her relentless compulsion to protect her infant son, Ferrier, right up until the moment of her own death, is the aspect of the story commemorated as her heroic feat. Her journal that was found with her remains provided inspiration for a poem written by the Cooktown mayor that is inscribed on the monument:

Five fearful days beneath the scorching glare her babe she nursed.

God knows the pangs that woman had to bear,
Whose last sad entry showed a mother's care.
Then—'near dead with thirst'.

Despite details of both these women's stories that indicate that each of them displayed physical competence, endurance and courage in the face of forbidding circumstances, the memorials emphasise only their suffering and the underlying message is of pioneer women's vulnerability. In their memorialisation, the unique stories of these women are presented so that they fit a general, idealised female typology, invested with the socially desired qualities for women of the time.

In other examples of commemoration, women are simply left out of the historical record. The Queensland First Free Settlers Memorial was erected by public subscription, with government support, in the northern Brisbane suburb of Nundah in 1938 to mark the centenary of the arrival of the first free settlers in the colony. It is a tribute to a group of Evangelical German settlers who established a mission at Zion's Hill (Nundah) in 1837 with the intention of converting local Aborigines to Christianity. Bronze plaques are fixed to the four sides of the memorial and together articulate a mixed assemblage of imperial, nationalist and multicultural sentiments. The eastern plaque tells the story of the monument itself and its dedication. The northern plaque refers to the work of the famous Scottish Presbyterian Rev. John Dunmore Lang and the German Lutheran Pastor Johannes Evangelista Gossner. It was the impassioned vision of Lang that brought the German settlers to the fledgling colony of Moreton Bay. The fourth plaque pays tribute to the continuity of British ideals and law in Australia by listing the names of the British monarchs in 1838 and 1938, together with the names of the Queensland governors of these years. The southern plaque lists the names of the original settlers and although there were several women and children among this group, only the male names are listed. The sweep of commemoration included in this monument was comprehensive, yet no room was found for women.

Much of the scholarship about commemoration stresses its socially integrating aspects in seeking to materialise consensus and resolution in relation to national events and stories.¹⁴ Such arguments are most sustainable in relation to outdoor cultural objects such as war memorials that serve nationalistic purposes as well as the universal need for mourning and to account for both personal and communal loss. However, the selectivity that is found in many explicitly historical outdoor cultural objects

demonstrates expressly political attempts to claim hegemonic versions of Australian history at the expense of other versions. As this brief survey has shown, objects erected in Queensland throughout the twentieth century have utilised strategies of representation and exclusion that reinforced particular formulations of Australian history - what Andreas Huyssen has called "the tradition of the legitimizing, identity-nurturing monument".¹⁵ However, when many of these objects were erected, the now-familiar shifts in the interpretation of Australian history were yet to occur and there is little point in castigating people in the past for representing history in the way they then understood it. Huyssen's statement, which hints at the potentially chauvinistic purposes of outdoor cultural objects, has more relevance to my earlier discussion about the use of the past in contemporary public art. The idea that history, or heritage, can be a shortcut to the creation of a shared identity or 'sense of place' or belonging is simplistic and the potential for exclusionary representational strategies is as real as in traditional commemoration. Rather than disguising the reality that outdoor cultural objects are inevitably selective claims for social memory - not least because of their solid materiality and attempts to capture time and space in the public realm - contemporary public art policy needs to actively engage with the disputed nature of historical consciousness. The attempts to use history for purposes such as urban renewal or job creation for artists need to be resisted. Instead, contemporary policies need to be re-framed so that history can be used to inform the creation of outdoor cultural objects that invite dialogue and debate. Then, we may begin to articulate a shared Australian identity.

1 These are examples from Queensland: the rubbish bins are in Mitchell and the lights in Caloundra.

2 David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Harmondsworth: Viking, 1997, p 147.

3 Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p xi.

4 Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p 148.

5 Arts Queensland, *Queensland: A State for the Arts*, Brisbane: Queensland Government, 1991, p 121.

6 Arts Queensland, *Art Built-In Policy Statement*, Brisbane: Queensland Government, 1999, pp A2-1-A2-3.

7 Arts Queensland, *An Introduction to the Queensland Government's Public Art Policy*, Brisbane: Queensland Government.

8 See the Introduction in Chris Healy, *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 for a discussion of this line of thought.

9 Henry Reynolds, *Black Pioneers*, Ringwood: Penguin Books, 2000, p 2.

10 W. R. F. Love, *Bribie Dreaming: The Original Island Inhabitants*, self-published booklet, 1993, p 4.

11 Love, *Bribie Dreaming*, p 4.

12 Elaine Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000, p 84.

13 M. Trotter, *Mrs Watson: A Cooktown Heroine. One of the Saddest Tales of the Sea*, Post Douglas and Mosman Record Company, undated, p 1.

14 See for example K.S Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1998, Donald Horne, *The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History*, London: Pluto Press, 1984 and Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2000.

15 Andrea Huyssen, 'Monument and memory in a Postmodern Age' in James E. Young (ed), *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994, p 15.