



Landeshauptstadt
München

ThemenGeschichtspfad

Places of Remembrance
and Commemoration

National Socialism
in Munich

The thematic history trails (ThemenGeschichtspfade) are part of the cultural history trails series (KulturGeschichtspfade) published by the City of Munich

Existing titles in the thematic history trails series:

Volume 1	Der Nationalsozialismus in München
Volume 1 Eng.	National Socialism in Munich
Volume 2	Geschichte der Lesben und Schwulen in München
Volume 3	Orte des Erinnerns und Gedenkens Nationalsozialismus in München
Volume 3 Eng.	Places of Remembrance and Commemoration National Socialism in Munich

For further information please visit:
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You will find a list of existing and future publications in the cultural history trails series (KulturGeschichtspfade) at the back of this booklet.

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Foreword

Munich played an ignominious role in the rise of the National Socialist movement long before the Nazis actually seized power. It was in Munich that Adolf Hitler celebrated many of his early triumphs and that the Nazi Party – the NSDAP – was founded. It was likewise in Munich that the “Führer” staged his attempted putsch in November 1923, that the party newspaper, the *Völkische Beobachter*, was first published, and that the party headquarters was located. In 1933 Munich was declared the “Capital of German Art” and in 1935 the “Capital of the Movement” and it was here that the first concentration camp was planned and built, in Dachau just outside the city gates, so to speak. The city was also home to the Gestapo, and was the scene of many evil deeds carried out in anticipation of orders yet to come, even before the Nazis made them law for the whole Reich.

This volume forms the sequel to the history trail published in 2006 (English edition 2007) devoted to the theme of National Socialism in Munich. As its title “Places of Remembrance and Commemoration” suggests, it explains where and in what form the civic community has addressed this historical burden.

The shortcomings in how the city has dealt with the past will not be glossed over here. The woefully long time it has taken for some sites to be commemorated at all is certainly dismaying. However, we should guard against self-righteousness. When Munich lay in ruins at the end of the war, the horrors of the Nazi dictatorship were still very present in people’s memories. Rebuilding the bombed city and establishing a democratic order based on the rule of law were their chief priorities. At the same time people were inhibited about addressing the plight of the victims of Nazism and even more so about confronting the perpetrators and those complicit in their misdeeds, especially when these people were still alive and in some cases had even once again been appointed to important political and administrative offices.

Now, as the number of contemporary witnesses steadily decreases, the desire for places of remembrance and commemoration is growing ever stronger, and reticence about addressing the perpetrators of Nazi crimes has lessened.

A documentation centre established to address the history of National Socialism in Munich must inevitably deal with the post-1945 period as well. It must ask what was repressed, and what was not publicly discussed until decades later. Who among the victims of Nazism or among the resistance to the Nazi regime was for a long time overlooked? Which names were never mentioned at all or even expunged from the collective memory? Who deserves greater recognition for what they did? None of these questions can be answered once and for all, any more than the question of the guilt and responsibility of the Germans can.

This thematic history trail offers a tour of Munich’s Places of Remembrance and Commemoration and at the same time is intended as a stimulus to discussion about the city’s past and present commemorative culture.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Christian Ude". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Christian Ude
Mayor of Munich



Practical information

This history trail takes the visitor to thirty-eight Places of Remembrance and Commemoration associated with Munich's National Socialist past. All of them are located in the city centre. Visitors may choose to follow the complete route or parts of it or else to visit sites individually.



The route:

Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus – Brienner Straße – Königsplatz – Prielmayerstraße – Herzog-Max-Straße – Neuhauser Straße – Marienplatz – Rosental – St.-Jakobs-Platz – Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße – Odeonsplatz – Hofgarten – Prinzregentenstraße – Ludwigstraße – Geschwister-Scholl-Platz – Georg-Elser-Platz

Start: Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus

End: Georg-Elser-Platz

Duration: approx. 3.5 – 4 hours on foot
approx. 2.5 hours by bicycle

Public transport along the route:

Odeonsplatz	Underground (U3/4/5/6); Bus 100
Königsplatz	U 2, Bus 100
Karlsplatz (Stachus)	Suburban trains (S-Bahn, all lines); U 4/5; Tram 19, 27
Marienplatz	S-Bahn (all lines), U 3/6, Bus 52
Sendlinger Tor	U 1/2/3/6, Tram 27
Universität	U 3/6

Connection from St.-Jakobs-Platz to Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße:

U 3/6 (Sendlinger Tor) to Marienplatz or on foot via Rindermarkt and Marienplatz to Weinstraße and Maffeistraße

Places of Remembrance
and Commemoration
National Socialism
in Munich

A walk from Platz der Opfer
des Nationalsozialismus to
Georg-Elser-Platz



The names of Munich victims of the Holocaust being read out in front of the memorial to the former main synagogue in Herzog-Max-Straße, 9 November 2009.



The art installation "8 November 1939" in memory of Georg Elser on Georg-Elser-Platz.



Public Remembrance from 1945 to the Present

What role do memorials, commemorative sites and commemorative plaques play in Munich's approach to its National Socialist legacy? How has the city made its history as a scene of propaganda, terror, persecution and other Nazi crimes publicly visible? Which and whose stories are told, and which aspects have been ignored? Even today, more than sixty years after the end of the Second World War and the collapse of the Nazi regime, these questions have lost none of their relevance, and the issue of how the city should commemorate its Nazi past in public places continues to trigger heated political debate. Signs of remembrance created with hindsight reflect the state of a society at a given point in time and reveal much about its attitude towards the past.

Munich is more closely associated with the early history, rise and self-glorification of National Socialism than any other German city. It was here that the Nazi Party (National Socialist German Workers' Party) was founded after the



First World War; and it was here that Hitler and other prominent members of the Nazi regime began their political careers with the support of influential citizens. After the Nazis seized power, Hitler proclaimed the city the “Capital of German Art” and “Capital of the Movement”, using it as a centre to carry out his policy of promoting “pure” German art and as a backdrop for the cult of Nazism. It was also from Munich that Heinrich Himmler had the first concentration camp built at Dachau in March 1933.

Since the end of the war, Munich, like many other cities, has established memorials and monuments intended to commemorate the events of its Nazi past. It began by re-naming streets and squares after members of the resistance and other victims of Nazi persecution. The Munich City Council decided as early as February 1946 to rename the western and eastern forecourts of the university Geschwister-Scholl-Platz and Professor-Huber-Platz, respectively, to honour the memory of the members of the White Rose resistance group. Harthausenplatz, the former home of another member of the group, Alexander Schmorell, was likewise renamed Schmorellplatz. The history of the Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus (Square of the Victims of National Socialism) on Brienner Straße as the central commemorative site began in March of the same year. Memorials to the soldiers and civilians killed in the war were also accorded a special place in the post-war culture of public remembrance. Yet questions of blame and the extent to which ordinary Germans shared responsibility for what had happened were largely ignored.

The commemoration of places and institutions connected with Munich’s primary role in the history of National Socialism – places in the middle of the city where Nazi crimes were planned and subsequently expedited by servile bureaucrats – was neglected for decades. Only in the 1980s – not least as a result of citizens’ initiatives – was the public gradually made aware of the history and significance of the places associated with those responsible for Nazi crimes. A plaque put up in 1984 to mark the site of the former Gestapo headquarters in Brienner Straße became the first in Munich to draw public attention to one of the key institutions of Nazi tyranny and terror.

Many more monuments, memorials and commemorative plaques have appeared since then, all of them testifying to the city’s intensive efforts to address the history of National Socialism more comprehensively. Particularly since the 1990s, a number of artists have staged “actions” and created temporary installations for public spaces that take issue with the city’s past and its remembrance policy. One recent example of a permanent memorial of this kind is the art installation by Silke Wagner dedicated to the long-forgotten resistance fighter Georg Elser, which was unveiled on 8 November 2009 – the seventieth anniversary of Elser’s assassination attempt on Hitler – on Georg-Elser-Platz in the Maxvorstadt district.

This thematic history trail can present only some of the sites the city has commemorated. Using selected examples it guides the visitor to important places of remembrance and commemoration associated with the city’s Nazi past and briefly describes their historical background, how they became commemorative sites and how they have changed over the years.



- 1 **Memorial to the victims of National Socialism**
Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus
- 2 **Memorial to the murdered Sinti and Roma**
Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus
- 3 **Plaque commemorating the former Wittelsbacher Palais**
Intersection of Briennerstraße and Türkenstraße

Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus – Brienner Straße 18–20



The Memorial on Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus

The tour begins at Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, the central commemorative site for those persecuted and murdered by the Nazi regime.

In March 1946, scarcely ten months after the end of the Second World War and the collapse of the Third Reich, Munich's Mayor Karl Scharnagl marked the "Day of the Victims of Fascism" with an announcement that the area between Brienner Straße and Maximiliansplatz would be renamed "Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus". This site, to use Scharnagl's words, "seemed particularly appropriate as a memorial" not only because of its central location but "above all because it carries the monument to the great German writer Friedrich von Schiller,

Memorial dedicated to the victims of the Nazi reign of terror on Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus (photo 2010).

who celebrated freedom and human dignity in his works". Political groups persecuted under the Nazis put forward an alternative – and really far more fitting – proposal. They suggested re-naming Brienner Straße or Königsplatz (the locations of the Nazi Party headquarters and Nazi parading ground, respectively) in memory of the numerous victims of racist and political persecution and erecting a memorial there. This idea was supported only by the Social Democrats on the Munich City Council, however, and a majority voted against it. In the 1960s new plans emerged to erect a "House for Public Education" together with a central memorial to the victims of Nazi persecution on the site of the Wittelsbacher Palais, the former Munich headquarters of the Gestapo on the opposite side of Brienner Straße. A cultural centre was eventually built in 1985, but on a completely different site (Gasteig) and without a memorial. The Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus thus for a long time remained a place plagued by traffic that received little public attention.



A two-and-a-half-metre-high stone made of Flossenbürg granite, designed by Karl Oppenrieder and bearing the inscription "To the Victims of National Socialism" was erected in 1965, initially as a temporary measure.

In 1983, after objections to this interim solution had become steadily more vocal, the city council announced a competition for a new memorial. This second memorial – the one still standing today – was unveiled on 8 November 1985 ¹. Standing six metres tall and consisting of an Eternal Flame burning behind prison bars, the monument designed by Andreas Sobeck symbolises not just the totalitarian character of the Nazi regime, but also hope and the longing for freedom.

Less than three weeks later, however, the memorial was deprived of its symbolic power when the city council decided first that the Eternal Flame would be allowed to burn only on special commemorative days and then that it should burn only at night. This "economy measure" was revoked again in November 1986.



How Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus has changed over time.

Left: With the monument to Schiller, c. 1946. The monument, unveiled in 1863, was moved to the northeastern end of Maximiliansplatz for traffic reasons in 1959.

Right: With the temporary memorial, 1965. After Andreas Sobeck's memorial had been erected in 1985 the granite stone was given a new inscription and moved to Platz der Freiheit (Freedom Square) in the district of Neuhausen, where it serves as a memorial to the members of the resistance who fell victim to the Nazi regime.



Artist's impression of the new design for Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus (March 2010)

Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus remains unsatisfactory as Munich's central memorial site. In December 2008 the all-party committee of the Munich City Council voted unanimously to change the memorial site to make it more dignified. It was agreed that the square should remain the central memorial site. A concept presented in March 2010 would create a single area that would allow visitors to linger and contemplate the memorial undisturbed. In the new concept the memorial would stand at the centre of an almost square space. Inscriptions would be added in commemoration of all groups of victims and attention would be drawn to the site's proximity to the former Gestapo headquarters and the future Documentation Centre. The all-party committee welcomed the concept and recommended that the city's Building Department be charged with planning and realising the project.

Memorial to the Murdered Sinti and Roma

Just a few metres away from Andreas Sobeck's basalt column, a metal plate framed by stone and set in the grass ² commemorates Munich's murdered Sinti and Roma. Designed by Toni Preis, this memorial was installed on the application of Holocaust survivor Hugo Höllenreiner and unveiled to the public on 20 December 1995. The Sinti and Roma were originally to have been commemorated at nos. 64 and 79 Deisenhofenerstraße in the district of Giesing where several Sinti and Roma families lived until their deportation. However, plans to put up a commemorative plaque were abandoned after they met with resistance from the inhabitants of the two houses. It also proved impossible to erect a memorial stone at the intersection of Neuhauserstraße and Ettstraße in the immediate vicinity of the police headquarters where the Sinti and Roma had once been registered and detained, because the Bavarian Interior Ministry did not approve the site.

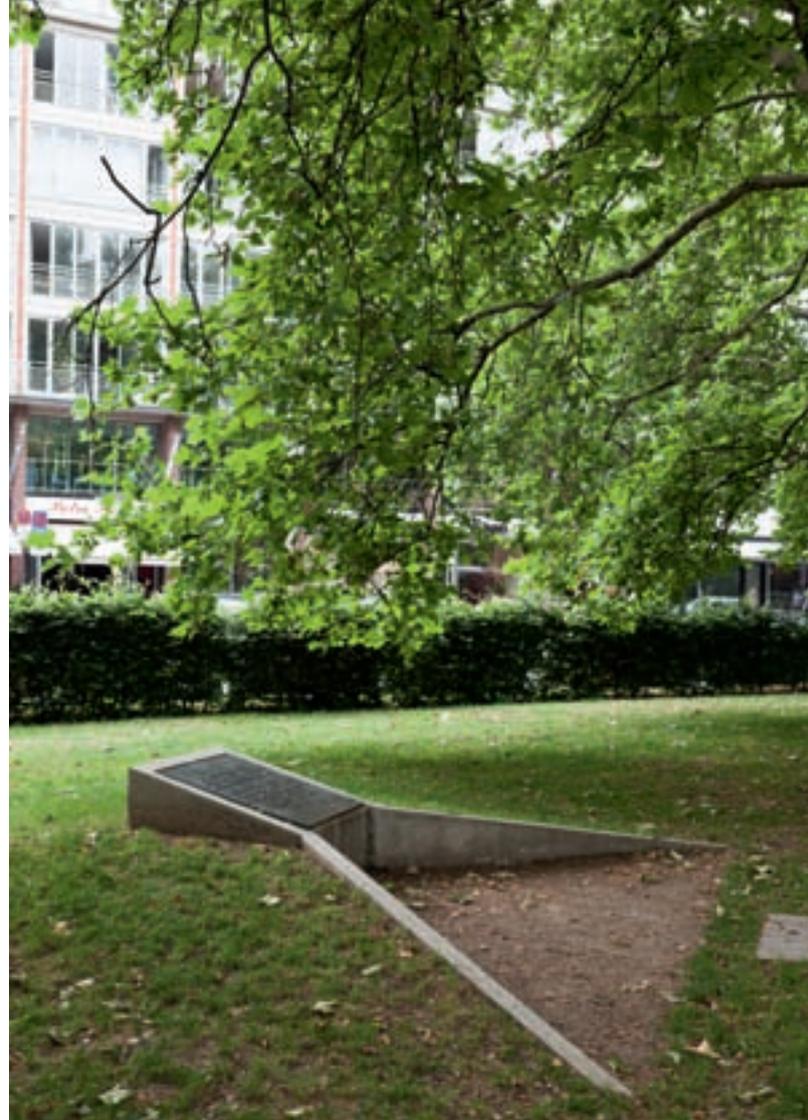
Half a million European Sinti and Roma were murdered in mass shootings, Nazi gas chambers and labour camps and in medical experiments conducted by the Nazi regime. In Munich a total of 141 men, women and children were taken to the police headquarters on Ettstraße on 13 March 1943 and deported a week later to the death camp in Auschwitz. Only a few survived.





It was not until the 1970s that Sinti and Roma organisations gradually succeeded in drawing attention to their fate. In Munich it took a long time before the story of how the Sinti and Roma had been discriminated against, stripped of their rights and finally exterminated was addressed and the notorious role the “Capital of the Movement” had played in this was acknowledged. After Hitler came to power the “Central Police Office for Gypsies” was established in Munich. This had the task of registering and persecuting Sinti and Roma throughout the Reich and after being transferred to Berlin in 1938 became the main office of the new “Reich Central Office for Combating the Gypsy Plague”. After the Second World War, the Munich office was renamed the “Central Office for Vagrants” and until 1965 continued to serve as part of the Bavarian Criminal Investigation Office using information obtained from Nazi files.

Memorial to Munich's murdered Sinti und Roma (photo 2010).



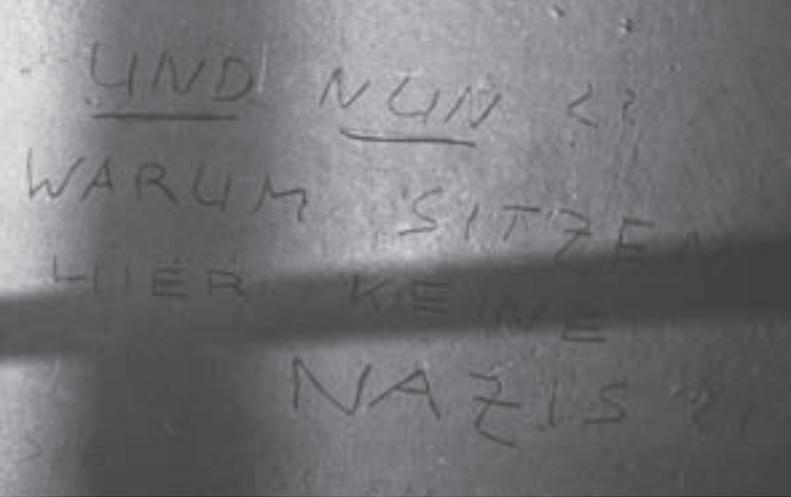
The Site of the Former Wittelsbacher Palais



Bronze plaque on the Bayerische Landesbank building at the intersection of Brienner Straße and Türkenstraße (photo 2010).

The Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus was chosen as a memorial site on account of its proximity to the place where the Wittelsbacher Palais once stood in Brienner Straße. From autumn 1933 onwards this building served as the headquarters of the Bavarian Political Police, which later became part of the Gestapo. During the Nazi era the Neo-Gothic building soon became a synonym for bureaucratic tyranny and physical violence. It was here that resistance fighters like Georg Elser, the Jesuit priest Rupert Mayer and the members of the White Rose group were detained and interrogated and where numerous others who fell into the clutches of the Gestapo and its henchmen were maltreated and tortured. At the end of 1933 Reinhard Heydrich, head of the Bavarian Political Police, applied for a "prisoners' house" to be built in the rear section of the grounds, and in mid-1944 an annexe of Dachau concentration camp was set up in the basement of the Palais. The fifty prisoners incarcerated there were made to clear rubble and defuse bombs. The Gestapo





“And now? Why are there no Nazis imprisoned here?” Graffito on the wall of the former Gestapo prison in the Wittelsbacher Palais, October 1946. The prison was demolished in 1964.

officials were also responsible for issuing orders to compile deportation and death lists.

Nothing remains of this building today. Parts of it were severely damaged in the war, and the ruins were demolished in 1950, thus erasing any visible trace of the building’s Nazi past. The Bayerische Landesbank (Bank of Bavaria) purchased the site in the 1970s and in 1982 erected a modern glass complex where the palace had once stood. The only visible reminder of the Wittelsbacher Palais and its history today is a small, inconspicuously

placed bronze plaque ³ at the intersection of Briener Straße and Türkenstraße. The placement of this plaque was the outcome of a motion tabled by the Maxvorstadt District Committee which met with much resistance before it was finally approved in 1984. This was the first time that a site in Munich was publicly marked as having once housed the apparatus of Nazi tyranny and terror. Yet the text of the inscription contains no more than a very brief reference to the former Gestapo headquarters and can easily be missed by passers-by.



Sign resembling a wayside shrine on a tree in the Wittelsbacher Palais park, 1946. It commemorates seven Polish and Russian prisoners who were tortured by Gestapo officials and executed in the park in December 1944.



Wittelsbacher Palais,
c. 1940

Original and copy: Only one of the two lions created by the sculptor Johann Halbig in 1848 for the entrance to the Wittelsbacher Palais survived the Second World War intact (left, photo c. 1945). It has stood in front of the Catholic Academy at Mandlstraße 23 since 1970 and in 1994 became a memorial to the Catholic journalist Fritz Gehrlich, who was murdered in the Dachau concentration camp.

The stone lion in front of the northern entrance to the Bayerische Landesbank in Gabelsberger Straße (right) is a copy. It was put there in 1980 with the inscription: "Copy of the lion destroyed when the Wittelsbacher Palais was bombed in AD 1944." "A clear example of the postmodern scorn towards artistic authenticity", the historian Gavriel D. Rosenfeld writes, "this monument seems to have been meant to prevent any further commemoration at the site which might have addressed its Nazi past."





**Brienner Straße – Arcisstraße –
Katharina-von-Bora-Straße – Königsplatz**



The Former Party Quarter

In the mid-1990s steps were finally taken to make the public more aware of the history of the former Nazi Party quarter of the city.

Between 1933 and 1935 Königsplatz was redeveloped as a parading ground and as the focal point of the Nazi cult according to plans by Hitler's favourite architect Paul Ludwig Troost. Here the NSDAP staged annual events to celebrate the myth of its founding and to commemorate the "martyrs" of the failed Hitler putsch of 1923 whose remains were interred in the purpose-built "Temples of Honour" in 1935. In addition many Nazi organisations were housed in buildings in the area between Karolinenplatz and Königsplatz.

- 4** Information board on the former party centre of the NSDAP
Intersection of Arcisstraße and Brienner Straße
- 5** "Stolpersteine"
University of Music and the Performing Arts, Arcisstraße 12
Open Monday to Friday 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., Saturday 9 a.m. to 8 p.m.
- 6** Pedestals of the former "Temples of Honour"
Intersection of Arcis/Katharina-von-Bora-Straße and Brienner Straße
- 7** Site of the future Documentation Centre for the History of
National Socialism
Brienner Straße

One of the key events that triggered a growing interest in the shadowy past of this district was an exhibition called “Bürokratie und Kult” (Bureaucracy and Cult) put on at the end of 1995 in the inner courtyard of the former Party Administration Building by the Central Institute for History of Art (which now occupies that building). Another was a series of photos published a year earlier in the colour supplement to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* newspaper showing the air raid shelter and underground passages connecting the former Party buildings. In 1996 the architects Piero Steinle and Julian Rosefeldt put up an information board ⁴ at the intersection of Brienner Straße and Arcisstraße. Originally tied to the aforementioned exhibition and hence a temporary measure, this information board recalling in both German and English the history and topography of this central site of the Nazi movement became a permanent public fixture in 2002.



Information board on the history and topography of the former NSDAP party centre on Königsplatz. In the background the overgrown pedestal of the northern “Temple of Honour” (photo 2010).



After 1945 the building in which several thousand officials had once provided in minute detail the bureaucratic underpinning for the inhuman policies of the Nazis was, without much ado, simply given a new function. While it remained a prominent city landmark, for a long time there was no reference to its historical significance. Not until much later did historians and the public begin to take notice of sites like these with their links to those responsible for Nazi crimes. Many of the buildings had been rented by public institutions, banks and companies since the 1950s. The Party Administration Building, for example, which once housed the card index of all nine million NSDAP members, in 1947 became home to the Central Institute for History of Art and other cultural institutes. After 1957 the “Führerbau” in Arcisstraße, where the Munich Agreement was concluded, became the Music Academy (later the University of Music and the Performing Arts). In August 2005 twenty-five “Stolpersteine” (stumbling blocks) were laid inside the entrance of this building in commemoration of people who were murdered, deported, forced to flee or driven to suicide under the Third Reich **5**. This project, conceived by the artist Gunter Demnig, remains controversial in Munich, however.

“Stolpersteine” in Munich’s University of Music and the Performing Arts. Installation by Peter Weismann (photo 2010).



Königsplatz during the celebrations on 9 November 1938. In the background the "Führerbau" (left) and the Party Administration building (right) with the "Temples of Honour". Behind the left "Temple of Honour" stands the "Brown House".

The "Temples of Honour" were the only Nazi site to stir public debate in the immediate post-war period. At issue was whether the painful memories evoked by these central sites of the Nazi cult could best be removed by demolishing or redeveloping them. In the end the American military government ordered the temples to be dynamited in 1947. In October 1956, after plans to redevelop the site had been abandoned and with the 800th anniversary of the city approaching, grass and bushes were planted on the remaining pedestals ⁶ and nature was left to cover up what few reminders of the temples were left. In 1990 the State of Bavaria held a competition for a new building to house part of the University of Music and the Performing Arts and the state art collections as a new architectural solution for the pedestals of the "Temples of Honour". The fact that none



Pilgrimage site of Nazi propaganda: visitors to one of the "Temples of Honour" standing in front of the coffins of the "martyrs" of the failed Hitler putsch, November 1936.



The “Temples of Honour” in summer 1945. The notice saying “The remains have been removed” refers to the coffins inside the “Temples of Honour”, which were removed on Eisenhower’s orders in July 1945 and melted down. The mortal remains of the putschists were moved to various different cemeteries. The corpse of Gauleiter Adolf Wagner, who had been buried east of the northern “Temple of Honour” in 1944, was also exhumed.



of the designs submitted was realised is a telling reflection of the architects’ uncertainty about how to tackle the building’s Nazi legacy and led to further controversial discussion. The pedestals of the “Temples of Honour” – by then completely overgrown – were declared historic monuments in 2001.

Children playing on the site of the dynamited northern “Temple of Honour”, 1955.

Königsplatz, too, was planted with grass, though only after a lengthy discussion that culminated in a decision by the city council in October 1986. When this was realised two years later, the square was restored almost to the appearance intended by its original creator Leo von Klenze. Every year since 1995 the artist Wolfram P. Kastner has sowed a patch of grass in front of the Antikensammlung (the building housing a collection of classical art) as a token of remembrance of the public book-burning organised by the German Students' Association on 10 May 1933, at which the works of Lion Feuchtwanger, Berthold Brecht, Heinrich Mann, Anna Seghers and many other writers abhorred by the Nazis were thrown into the flames. Kastner's symbolic action is accompanied each year by public readings from the "burnt books". The first reading – staged by Brecht's daughter, the actress Hanne Hiob, and pupils of the Luisengymnasium grammar school – took place in 1995 and is now a regular fixture in the city's culture of remembrance.



Greening the pedestals of the former "Temples of Honour" in October 1956.



In July 2007 a city council majority made up of Social Democrats, Greens, the Rosa Liste and the Party of Democratic Socialism voted to change the name of Meiserstraße, the southern section of Arcisstraße which had been renamed in honour of the Bishop of Bavaria Hans Meiser in 1957 following his death the previous year. After years of controversy over Meiser's anti-Semitic remarks, Meiserstraße became Katharina-von-Bora-Straße in May 2010. Meiser's contemporaries had for a long time revered him as a figurehead of resistance to the Nazis' attempts to bring the German Protestant Church into line, and his alleged anti-Semitism provoked a heated public debate involving both journalists and historians.

A subject of controversy: the renaming of Meiserstraße (photo July 2010).



The Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism

The planned Munich Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism ⑦ will in future play an important role in the city's approach to the history and long-term impact of National Socialism. Within the next few years, an education and information centre is to be erected on the site previously occupied by the "Brown House" (destroyed in 1943/45), where the NSDAP had its headquarters from 1931.

Memories of the Nazi era will thus be topographically anchored in a historically significant place. The first impetus for a documentation centre came from citizens' initiatives in the 1980s, but it was not until 2001 that the City of Munich took a final decision to realise the project. The Free State of Bavaria followed suit in 2002. After several years of intensive discussion, the City of Munich, the Free State of Bavaria and the German federal government finally agreed to finance the project jointly. A competition was held for the design of the new building, and the winning entry – a plain cube made of white concrete conceived as a stark contrast to the surrounding architecture – was submitted by the Berlin-based firm of architects Georg • Scheel • Wetzels. Construction is scheduled to begin in 2011.

The site of the planned Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism (photo 2010). In the background the former "Führerbau" (now the University of Music and the Performing Arts Munich).





Prielmayerstraße 7, Palace of Justice



Commemorative Plaques for Pater Rupert Mayer and the Members of the White Rose

After the Nazis came to power, the Palace of Justice in Prielmayerstraße became a palace of injustice. Between 1933 and 1945 innumerable judges and public prosecutors supported the Nazis' judicial system by ignoring their duty to protect the individual and violating civil liberties.

Two of the most notorious trials of the Nazi era were the proceedings against the Jesuit priest Pater Rupert Mayer and against the members of the White Rose student resistance group who had publicly called on the German population to resist the Nazi dictatorship. Two plaques **8 + 9** mounted in the foyer of the court building in 1988 and 1993 commemorate the two trials.

- 8** Commemorative plaque for Pater Rupert Mayer
- 9** Commemorative plaque for the members of the White Rose
- 10** Permanent exhibition "Tyranny 'In the Name of the German People'" (2nd floor, courtroom 253)
- 11** Commemorative plaque for Jewish lawyers persecuted by the Nazis

Palace of Justice, Prielmayerstraße 7

Open Monday to Friday 8.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.;

Permanent exhibition: Monday to Friday 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.;

closed from 10th April to 31st May and from 10th Oct. to 30th Nov.

Commemorative plaque for Pater Rupert Mayer in the Palace of Justice (photo 2010)



Both carry citations from the speeches for the defence and serve as an admonition to justice and a sense of responsibility.

On 23 July 1937 Pater Rupert Mayer was publicly put on trial before the Munich Special Tribunal on a charge of incitement against the Nazi Party and the state and of abusing the pulpit to do so. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. On 22 February 1943 the first show trial against the members of the White Rose took place. The presiding judge was President of the People's Court Roland Freisler, who sentenced thousands to execution by guillotine or hanging. Hans and Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst were executed in Munich's Stadelheim prison that same day.

The permanent exhibition "Tyranny 'In the Name of the German People'" ¹⁰ documenting the trials against the members of the White Rose opened in autumn 2007 in hall 253 of the Palace of Justice, where the death sentences for Professor Kurt Huber, Willi Graf and Alexander Schmorell

were pronounced on 19 April 1943. During the opening ceremony Munich's former Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel said the most important thing about this exhibition was not that it provided another memorial to the White Rose – ten years after the opening of the Denkstätte Weiße Rose (White Rose Commemorative Site) at Munich University – but rather "that it is being staged in this room". The documentation of the trial also signals an increasing willingness on the part of the German judiciary to critically examine its own past, including the fact that many members of the Nazi judiciary remained in their posts even after 1945.

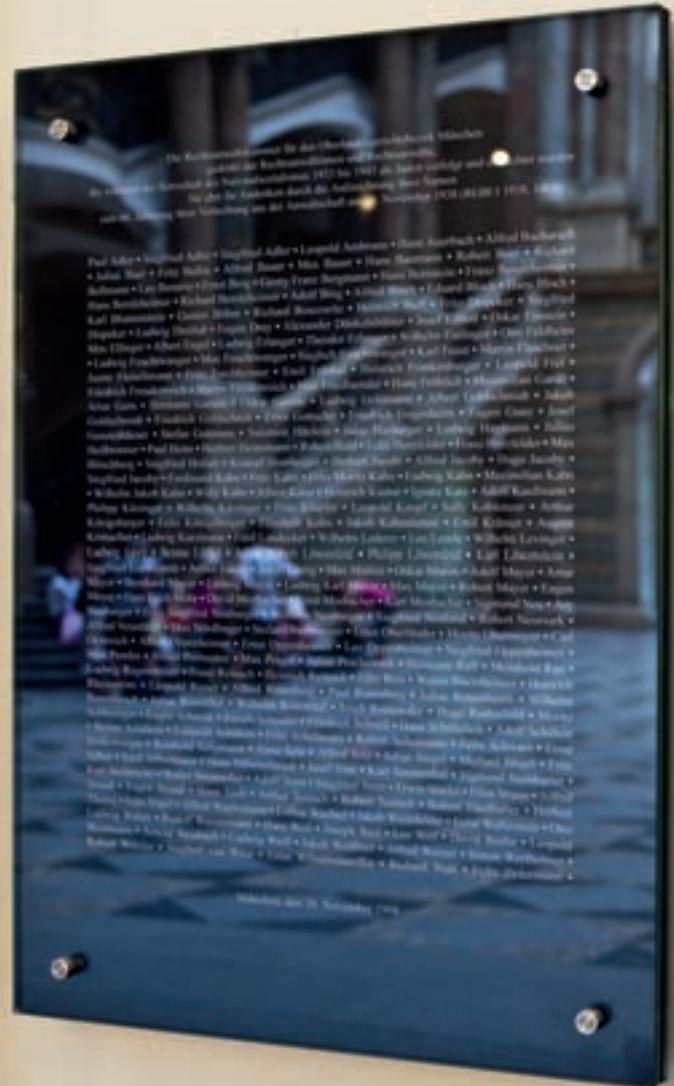
The permanent exhibition in the historic courtroom 216 (now 253) of the Palace of Justice with portraits of Willi Graf, Prof. Kurt Huber, Alexander Schmorell, Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst (from left to right).



Memorial Plaque for Jewish Lawyers Persecuted under the Nazis

Another memorial plaque **11** was unveiled inside the Palace of Justice on 30 November 1998. The unveiling marked the sixtieth anniversary of the day when Jewish lawyers were forbidden to practice their profession, thus excluding them from the legal profession and robbing them of their livelihood. A directive issued by the Bavarian Minister of Justice Hans Frank in April 1933 had already required Jewish lawyers to present a special pass to gain entry to the court building. The plaque, initiated by the Munich Chamber of Lawyers, commemorates by name those Munich lawyers who were persecuted, driven out and murdered on account of their Jewish origin.

Commemorative plaque in the Palace of Justice for Jewish lawyers persecuted by the Nazis (photo 2010).





Memorial Stone for the Destroyed Main Synagogue

A memorial stone located on Herzog-Max-Straße near Karlsplatz commemorates Munich's former main synagogue ¹², which fell victim to Nazi vandalism in June 1938 – several months before the pogrom of November 1938 known as the *Kristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass) or *Reichspogromnacht*. Inaugurated in 1969, the memorial was one of the first put up by the city to commemorate in the public arena the violent destruction of Jewish life.

Built in 1883/87 within sight of Munich's Cathedral of Our Dear Lady, the main synagogue for four decades symbolised the importance and esteem enjoyed by the Jewish community as part of Munich's social and political life. The spacious Neo-Romanesque building contained more than 1,800 prayer stools and was one of the largest Jewish

12 Memorial stone for the destroyed main synagogue
Herzog-Max-Straße

13 Bürgersaal Church / Pater Rupert Mayer Museum
Neuhauser Straße 14
Open Monday to Sunday 10 to 12 a.m. and 4 to 6.30 p.m.,
Thursday to 9 p.m.



places of worship in Europe. The demolition of the synagogue ordered by Hitler personally “for traffic reasons” was a portent of the events to come.

Degraded to a car park under the Nazi dictatorship, the site was returned to the Jewish Community in 1945. The Community then sold the property to the City of Munich on condition that part of the site would be redeveloped as a memorial. The city duly invited sculptors from Israel and Germany to submit designs and in late 1967 the first prize was awarded to the Munich sculptor Herbert Peters.

The solid form of the memorial is reminiscent of a cornerstone of the demolished synagogue and thus serves as a visual symbol of the building that once stood there. On the back of the memorial there are niches affording protection to certain key symbols of Judaism such as the seven-branched candelabra (Menora) signifying eternal light and life. The Hebrew inscriptions include quotations from Psalm 74, from the lament over the desecration of the shrine, and from the Ten Commandments.



The main synagogue, c. 1910.

Left: Memorial stone to Munich’s main synagogue destroyed in 1938 (photo 2010).

Since 1998 the memorial has been the scene of an impressive commemorative event that takes place every year on 9 November, the anniversary of the *Reichspogromnacht*. Under the motto "everyone has a name", young people, prominent cultural and social figures and ordinary citizens spend several hours reading out the names of Munich's deported and murdered Jews together with their age, the date they died or were deported and their place of death. The memory of the thousands of women, men and children murdered by the Nazis is thus kept alive. Of the 11,000 Jews who lived in Munich more than 4,500 did not survive the Nazi regime. To mark the seventieth anniversary of the *Reichspogromnacht* in 2008, the readings were for the first time held at several different locations all over the city.



The Bürgersaal Church

The Bürgersaal Church ¹³ in the middle of the pedestrian zone takes us back to the fate of Pater Rupert Mayer. The prayer and assembly hall of the Marian Men's Congregation was one of the places where Mayer preached and is also where he is buried. For many believers it has become a place of pilgrimage and remembrance.

After several trials and detention in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp the unyielding priest was held under arrest at the Ettal Monastery in Upper Bavaria until the end of the war. After the war he returned to Munich, where he died on All Saints' Day 1945 after suffering a stroke while giving a sermon. He was initially buried at the Jesuit Cemetery in Pullach, but three years later his mortal remains

were transferred to the crypt of the Bürgersaal Church in a ceremony attended by 120,000 people.

The museum at the back of the church documenting the life and work of the pastor, who was widely respected and became a symbol of Catholic resistance to the Nazi regime, was opened in 2008.

Permanent exhibition on the life and work of Pater Rupert Mayer in the museum of the Bürgersaal Church (photo 2010).



Marienplatz 8, New Town Hall – Marienplatz 15,
Old Town Hall – Rosental – Oberanger –
St.-Jakobs-Platz 18



Inscription Marking the Liberation of Munich on 30 April 1945

The Old Town Hall and the New Town Hall on Marienplatz are two of Munich's most famous landmarks.

Passing into the inner courtyard of the New Town Hall the visitor will notice an inscription commemorating the most important members of the U.S. armed forces "who liberated Munich from Nazi tyranny on 30 April 1945" ¹⁴. This was added in 1992, the year the U.S. forces left Munich, at the suggestion of then Mayor Georg Kronawitter as a gesture of thanks to the U.S. army.

- ¹⁴ Inscription marking the liberation of Munich on 30 April 1945
- ¹⁵ Plaque commemorating the first Jews of Munich to be deported
- ¹⁶ Memorial room (1st floor)
New Town Hall, Marienplatz 8
Open Monday to Thursday 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., Friday 8 a.m. to 1 p.m.
- ¹⁷ Memorial to Prisoners of War
- ¹⁸ Inscription commemorating the pogrom of 9 November 1938
Old Town Hall, Marienplatz 15
- ¹⁹ Plaque commemorating the destroyed Uhlfelder department store
Rosental 16
- ²⁰ Illuminated memorial sign for the destroyed Uhlfelder department store Oberanger (Munich City Museum)
"Codes of Remembrance – National Socialism in Munich"
Munich City Museum,
St.-Jakobs-Platz 1
Open Tuesday to Sunday
10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
- ²¹ "Passage of Remembrance"
The "Passage of Remembrance" can be viewed only as part of a tour of the synagogue. Information:
T: 089 202400100,
www.ikg-m.de

Plaque Commemorating the First Deportation of Jewish Citizens

Only a few steps away from the inscription, next to the staircase leading to the first floor, there is a plaque commemorating the Munich Jews who were murdered in Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1941 ¹⁵. Put up in November 2000, the plaque was intended to express the “sorrow and shame of Munich’s population as well as their horror at the silence that prevailed at the time”.

On 20 November 1941 one thousand men, women and children were deported from Munich to Kaunas and five days later murdered by firing squad. The deportations to Kaunas marked the beginning of the systematic annihilation of Munich’s remaining Jews. Between then and February 1945 at least forty-three deportations of Jews were transported to Kaunas, Piaski, Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. Numerous people and institutions, including employees of the city, were involved in organising and carrying out the deportations.

The memorial plaque, designed by Beate Passow, was put up on the initiative of the Munich City Archive. Parallel to this the City of Munich also donated a sign of remembrance to the memorial site in Kaunas, which Beate Passow used as a model for its Munich counterpart. The artist describes her work thus: “The pane of glass shows a photo of the memorial plaque in Kowno [Kaunas] together with portraits of Jewish citizens of Munich who were deported. The crime committed in Kowno is thus given an appropriate presence in Munich as well.”



Commemorative plaque in the New Town Hall for the Jewish citizens of Munich who were deported to Kaunas and murdered in 1941 (photo 2010). The photographs were taken from the identity cards marked with a red “J” that Jewish citizens were obliged to carry with them from 1939. In many cases these photos were the last visible traces of their owners.



Memorial Room in the New Town Hall

In 1951 members of the Munich City Council belonging to the Christian Social Union, the Social Democrats and the Bavarian Party tabled a joint motion to have a plaque put up in the town hall to commemorate those members of the city administration who had fallen victim to the Third Reich or died in the two world wars. A hexagonal, chapel-like room ¹⁶ on the first floor of the wing facing Marienplatz was proposed as a suitable location for the plaque. During the 1920s this room had already been turned into a memorial to the city officials, teachers and white- and blue-collar workers killed in the First World War, but it was destroyed by bombing in 1944. The newly refurbished room was opened to the public again in 1958 when the city celebrated its 800th anniversary. In the centre of the room there is an altar-like stone table on which lies a leather-bound book listing the names of those who died in the two world wars. Inscriptions on the walls commemorate both the war dead and those who suffered political persecution under the Nazi dictatorship. A stone slab in the floor is dedicated to the “employees [of the city] who died in service”.

The sacral atmosphere of the memorial room and the many dedications is typical of the style used for memorials in the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany. Those who fell in the two world wars were placed on a par with the victims of the Nazi regime, having supposedly suffered a similar “fate”. Questions about the circumstances in which they died or of political and moral responsibility were ignored.

Memorial room on the first floor of the New Town Hall (photo 2010).



Memorial to prisoners of war in the Old Town Hall (photo 2010).



Memorial to Prisoners of War

The fate of German prisoners of war was one of the most pressing issues for ordinary Germans immediately after the war. In 1954 a monument dedicated to those citizens of Munich who were still being held prisoner was unveiled in the arch underneath the Old Town Hall 17. At that time 12,500 citizens of Munich were still registered as missing, many in the Soviet Union.

The deliberately restrained stone relief by Franz Mikorey reflects the view of prisoners of war then prevailing in post-war Germany. It shows three grieving women awaiting the return of prisoners of war (as the inscription tells us), whose sufferings should never be forgotten. The location was chosen on account of the central position of the Old Town Hall on Munich's busy central square Marienplatz, which ensured that many people would see it.

Plaque Commemorating the Reichspogromnacht of 9 November 1938

By contrast, it was not until almost fifty years after the war that this location's Nazi past was marked and drawn to public attention. The go-ahead for the *Reichskristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass), as the *Reichspogromnacht* was also known, was given by Joseph Goebbels in a speech in the ballroom of the Old Town Hall on the evening of 9 November 1938. It provided the impetus for the systematic persecution of German Jews and for the stripping of their rights that would eventually culminate in the murder of six million Jews after the outbreak of the Second World War.

During the night of 9/10 November members of the SS, the SA and the Hitler Youth publicly set fire to synagogues all over Germany, plundered and wrecked numerous Jewish businesses and abused Jewish citizens. In Munich alone one thousand Jewish men were arrested and taken to the Dachau concentration camp.

t The commemorative plaque ¹⁸ which draws attention to the pivotal role played by the meeting in the Old Town Hall in the preparations for these crimes was put up on the initiative of Munich's former Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel and unveiled in the foyer of the building in November 2000. Since this room is only open to the public on certain occasions, a replica of the plaque was mounted on the facade at the entrance to the building in May 2009.



Ballroom in the Old Town Hall, 1936.



Inscription commemorating the place where the go-ahead was given for the November pogrom (photo 2010).



Commemorative Plaque and Light Installation for the Destroyed Uhlfelder Department Store

Not far from the Old Town Hall, on the corner of the covered entrance at Rosental 16, a small stone plaque ¹⁹ commemorates the Uhlfelder department store which stood here until 1938. The plaque was put up by the city in 1964 in keeping with the last will and testament of Max Uhlfelder who had died in Munich six years earlier at the age of seventy-two. Probably few of those alive today can still recall the history of the department store and its owner. It was the fate typically suffered by Jewish businesses and their owners, almost all of whom fell victim to the anti-Semitic and racist policies of the Nazis.

Founded in 1878, the household and haberdashery store became one of Munich's most modern and most popular shops during the 1920s. Among the sensations of the time was the installation of an escalator taking customers up through the three floors of the department store as well the social provisions Max Uhlfelder made for his some 550 staff.

Commemorative plaque for the Uhlfelder department store destroyed in 1938 at Rosental 16 (photo 2010).



The Uhlfelder department store after 9 November 1938.



Illuminated memorial sign put up at the historic site in 2003 (photo 2010).



Like all shops officially declared Jewish by the Nazi state, Uhlfelder's, which had already suffered several Nazi attacks since 1933, was plundered, almost totally demolished and set on fire during the *Reichspogromnacht*. At the beginning of December 1938 the business was liquidated and its stocks sold off at ridiculously low prices. The land was given to Löwenbräu AG in 1942 in compensation for the brewery's Bürgerbräukeller, which it had been forced to sell to the NSDAP.

Max Uhlfelder was detained together with his son in the Dachau concentration camp. After the pogrom he was able to emigrate with his family, initially to India in 1939, and later to the United States. His sister Grete Mayer, her husband Josef and their son Alfred were among the first group of Jews to be deported to Kaunas on 20 November 1941, where they were murdered.

After the war Max Uhlfelder returned to Munich, where he fought to get his property back in more than 100 court cases. The department store had been destroyed by bombs in 1944 and after his plans to rebuild it failed, he sold the land to the city.

Today an extension of the Munich City Museum is located on the site. It houses a permanent exhibition entitled "National Socialism in Munich – Codes of Remembrance" which opened in mid-2003. As part of this exhibition another memorial was put up to the Uhlfelder department store: the name "Uhlfelder" in blue illuminated lettering ²⁰ mounted on the facade of the museum facing onto Oberanger as a reminder of the history of the site and the former owners of the store.



The “Passage of Remembrance”

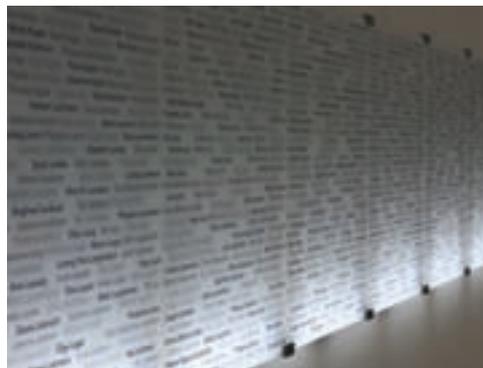
The Jewish Museum is part of the architectural ensemble on St.-Jakobs-Platz. It connects the Jewish Community Centre and the synagogue (photo 2007).

Oberanger leads directly to the Jewish Centre on St.-Jakobs-Platz. The festive inauguration of the new main synagogue Ohel Jakob and of the Jewish Community Centre on 9 November 2006 marked the return of Jewish life to the centre of Munich. The architectural ensemble – which also includes the Jewish museum opened in 2007 – symbolises homecoming and the future. But it is also a place of grieving dedicated to the memory of the dead.

As a reflection of this the thirty-two-metre-long underground passage joining the synagogue and the community centre ²¹ was made into a memorial. The names of Munich Jews deported and murdered under the Nazis are inscribed on glass plates mounted along the passage, making it rather like a walk-in memorial book. Illuminated white areas behind the glass make the inscriptions stand out brightly, at the same time freeing them of their anonymity. The light also directs the visitor’s gaze to the two series of words on the opposite wall: “remember – grieve – commemorate – admonish” and “learn – make peace – speak – live.” These words forge a link between history, tradition and faith on one side and the present day on the other. At the centre is a Star of David commemorating the six million murdered Jews.



The “Passage of Remembrance” conceived by Georg Soanca-Pollak is one of the most powerful of the works recently created to commemorate the victims of the Shoah. The memorial can only be viewed as part of the guided tours of the synagogue offered regularly by the Jewish Community.



The “Passage of Remembrance” in Munich’s Jewish Centre (photo 2010).



Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße

Pavement Memorial for Kurt Eisner

A metal plate ²² set in the pavement at Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße portrays the outline of a man lying on the ground.

It was at this spot on 21 February 1919 that Bavaria's first prime minister Kurt Eisner was murdered by the right-wing officer Anton Graf von Arco-Valley. The assassination of Eisner, who had been on his way to submit his resignation to the Bavarian parliament, triggered the events leading up to the proclamation of the short-lived republic of soldiers' and workers' councils (*Räterepublik*), which was brutally put down by anti-republican units. It was also one of several events that led to a radical polarisation of German politics and ultimately to the emergence and rise of Nazism in Munich.



Kurt Eisner memorial, Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße (photo 2010).

On the evening of 7 November 1918, when Germany was in the throes of a nationwide revolution, Kurt Eisner, who had been leader of the independent Social Democrats since 1917, called for an end to the monarchy and proclaimed the Free State of Bavaria, thus paving the way for democracy. During his term in office, which lasted only 100 days, he introduced female suffrage – which did not exist anywhere else in Germany – as well as the eight-hour working day and unemployment insurance. As a Jew, an intellectual and a left-wing politician whose ideas were close to those of the *Räterepublik*, Eisner fitted practically all the clichés that prompted public hostility at that time. This view of Eisner continued to predominate even after the end of the Third Reich.

Even today Eisner remains one of the most controversial figures in Bavarian history. A project initiated by the Social Democrats on the city council in the 1970s to have a memorial to Eisner erected at the spot where he had been assassinated therefore became a politically sensitive issue. Not until 1989, following protracted and heated debate among city councillors and in the press, was the memorial inaugurated.

Since the owner of the Palais Montgelas had refused to have a memorial plaque put up back in 1976, the sculptress Erika Lanke designed a pavement memorial inspired by police photos and gravestones set in the pavement. The inscription caused a further controversy at the town hall



After Kurt Eisner was assassinated on 21 February 1919 a temporary memorial was erected to mark the place where the attack took place.



Commemorative plaque for Kurt Eisner on Promenadeplatz. After the owners of the Palais Montgelas had refused to have the plaque mounted on the building, a “compromise solution” was found and in 1976 the plaque was set in the strip of grass on Promenadeplatz. The plaque had to be removed again in 2005 to make way for a monument to Maximilian Josef von Montgelas. It is now in the holdings of the Munich City Museum.

when the conservative Christian Social Union (CSU) put up fierce opposition to calling Kurt Eisner “Prime Minister of the Free State of Bavaria”. The CSU councillors only agreed to the memorial after the wording on the memorial plate had been changed from “Free State” to “People’s State”.

Almost twenty years after the controversy over the pavement memorial the city council decided in June 2008 to put up another monument to Kurt Eisner in recognition of his charismatic personality and his historical role. The following year a competition for a sculpture was held and the winning entry by the Munich artist Rotraut Fischer was a three-and-a-half-metres tall walk-in glass sculpture with a quotation from Kurt Eisner at its centre. The sculpture is to be erected on the newly developed area of Oberanger probably by mid-2011.



A mock-up of the monument to Kurt Eisner on Oberanger. The quotation on the outer sheet of glass is from Eisner’s appeal “To the people of Munich!” with which he proclaimed the Free State of Bavaria on the night of 8 November 1918.



23 Pavement memorial to the policemen who died putting down the Hitler Putsch in 1923
Feldherrnhalle, Odeonsplatz
(replaced by a commemorative plaque on the facade of the Residenz in November 2010)

24 "Bronze Trail"
Viscardigasse

Odeonsplatz – Viscardigasse

Feldherrnhalle

One of the buildings most closely associated with National Socialism after the collapse of the Third Reich was the Feldherrnhalle, the scene of Hitler's attempted putsch of 9 November 1923, which was put down by the Bavarian police.

After Hitler came to power, Nazi propaganda reinterpreted the failed putsch as a "March on the Feldherrnhalle" analogous with Mussolini's "March on Rome", and the Feldherrnhalle became a kind of Nazi shrine to those who had died during the "national uprising". On 9 November 1933 Adolf Hitler had a "cenotaph" unveiled on the east side of the Feldherrnhalle facing Residenzstraße, where two SS guards kept a round-the-clock vigil. Citizens passing the memorial were expected to raise their arms and give the Hitler salute.





Cenotaph for the fallen putschists of 9 November 1923 on the eastern side of the Feldherrnhalle, 1930s.

Perhaps fittingly, it was the Feldherrnhalle that became the focus of the differing views expressed during the post-war era about the Germans' guilt for Nazi crimes. Even before the "cenotaph for the fallen of 9 November 1923" was removed spontaneously by Munich citizens on 3 June 1945, an anonymous author wrote on the building: "Concentration camps Dachau – Velden – Buchenwald – I am ashamed to be a German." A short time later, however, another inscription appeared reading: "Goethe, Diesel, Haydn, Rob. Koch. I am proud to be a German!" On 14 September 1947 a memorial service

was held at the Feldherrnhalle to commemorate the victims of fascism. This symbolic act was to endow the building with a new meaning in support of anti-fascism and democracy. Even today, the Feldherrnhalle is the scene of many demonstrations against neo-Nazism, racism and right-wing violence, as well as being a venue for cultural events and a well-known tourist attraction.

The cenotaph in June 1945. After being dismantled by the American military government the memorial was removed and melted down to be used for the restoration of the Residenz.





In spring 1990 the Munich artists Rudolf Herz and Thomas Lehnerer mounted an enamel plate at the place where Hitler had honoured the dead putschists. The plate installed on their own initiative read: “Jews of the world, please return if you wish to.” It was removed by the police in less than two hours. However, this more proactive form of remembrance, intended not only as a reminder of National Socialism’s Munich origins but also as a message for the future, led to a proposal to install a permanent memorial at the Feldherrnhalle. Following a major controversy, the proposal was eventually rejected on the grounds that the Feldherrnhalle was a protected monument.

This was also the reason given by the Bavarian state (the legal owner of the Feldherrnhalle) when it rejected a proposal brought before the city council in 1993. The Munich lawyer Otto Gritschneider had wanted to put up a commemorative plaque ²³ for the Bavarian policemen who had died putting down the 1923 putsch. Instead, the city had a plate bearing the names of the four policemen who had died set in the pavement on Odeonsplatz in front of the Feldherrnhalle in 1994.

Sign put up on the Feldherrnhalle by Rudolf Herz and Thomas Lehnerer in spring 1990.

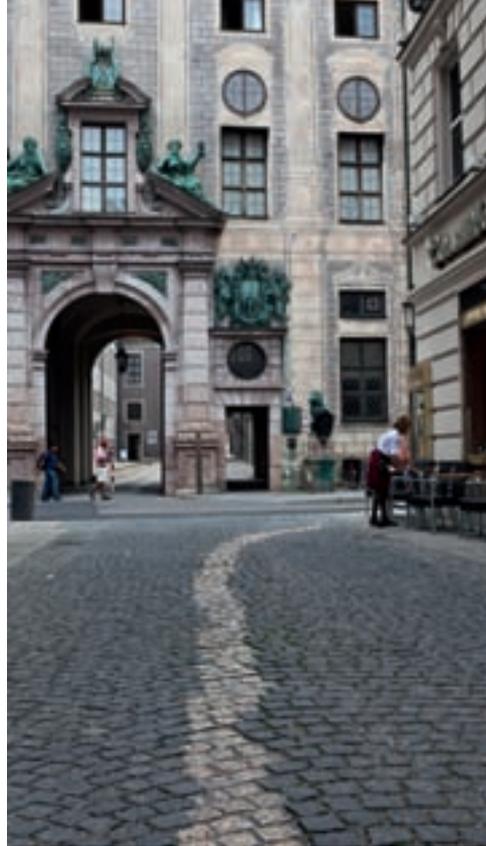


On 9 November 2010 Bavarian Interior Minister Joachim Herrmann and Munich's Mayor Christian Ude unveiled a commemorative plaque at the Kaiserhof entrance to the Residenz. The pavement memorial was then removed and given to the historical collection of the City Museum.

The “Bronze Trail”

By contrast the “Bronze Trail” ²⁴ by the Munich sculptor and brass founder Bruno Wank was deliberately designed as a pavement memorial. Cobblestones made of bronze now mark the narrow path through Viscardigasse, known popularly as “Drückebergergasse” (Dodger’s Alley), that many Munich citizens used in order to avoid going past the Feldherrnhalle and being forced to give the Hitler salute. Initially installed as a temporary project, this memorial to the silent resistance of Munich’s citizens has been a permanent fixture in the city’s architecture since 1996. Unfortunately, there is currently no public notice explaining the significance of the bronze trail and the role of the Viscardigasse during the Nazi era.

The now removed pavement memorial to the policemen who died putting down the Hitler putsch in 1923 (photo July 2010).



The “Bronze Trail” in Viscardigasse (photo 2010).



War Memorial

The war memorial ²⁵ in front of the former Army Museum (now the Bavarian State Chancellery) in the Hofgarten was also used as a backdrop for nationalist and militaristic propaganda during the Nazi era. Annual remembrance days for war heroes were organised here by both the Wehrmacht and the Nazi party from 1934 onwards.

Erected in 1924/25 as the central memorial to the citizens of Munich who fell in the First World War, the war memorial modelled on a megalithic tomb was already one of the most visited war memorials in Germany even during the Weimar Republic. Its centrepiece is a crypt in which Bernhard Bleeker's idealised figure of the "dead soldier" is laid out. The "dead soldier" represented the 13,000 Munich soldiers who fell in the First World War and whose names were once engraved on the walls of a

25 War memorial
Hofgarten

26 Memorial to the German resistance
Hofgarten

27 "Degenerate art" / Galeriestraße

28 Historical documentation
at Haus der Kunst
Haus der Kunst, Prinzregentenstraße 1
Open Monday to Sunday 10 a.m.
to 8 p.m., Thursday to 10 p.m.

29 "Wounds of Memory"
Terrace of Haus der Kunst,
Prinzregentenstraße 1
Open access



further walkway that circumscribed the memorial.

Damaged during the Second World War, the war memorial was restored on the orders of the American military government, albeit without the names of the 13,000 dead. In the 1950s an inscription was added commemorating the fallen soldiers and civilian victims of the years 1939 to 1945. This dedication reflects the desire of the population to continue commemorating the war dead even after 1945, although its portrayal of both the city and its population exclusively as victims represents a very one-dimensional view. To this day military ceremonies in honour of the dead are still held regularly at the war memorial.

War memorial
in the Hofgarten
(photo 2010).



Remembrance Day
("Heldengedenktag"
at the war memorial,
12 March 1939.

Memorial to the German Resistance

Another memorial in the Hofgarten is that to the German resistance ²⁶ located at the entrance to the arcades leading to the Bavarian State Chancellery. The decision to erect the memorial was taken by the Free State of Bavaria in July 1994, the fiftieth anniversary of the failed assassination attempt on Hitler of 20 July 1944. The winning design was unveiled to the public two years later.

The granite cube designed by Leo Kornbrust is powerful in its simplicity. Two sides of the black polished stone carry texts by resistance fighters condemned to death by the Nazi People's Court and engraved in the artist's own hand. They include quotations from the fifth pamphlet published by the



White Rose and from the “Appeal for 20 July 1944” by Erwin von Witzleben. There is also an extract from the farewell letter of the Westphalian farmer Josef Hufnagel, who was executed on 5 June 1944 at Brandenburg-Görden prison for listening to enemy radio stations.

Although defined as the central Bavarian memorial for all the resistance fighters who fell victim to the Nazi regime, the memorial conveys an incomplete picture. It fails, for example, to mention the Social Democratic and Communist resistance fighters or individuals like Georg Elser. Since the 1990s the memories of these resistance fighters have been kept alive above all by citizens’ initiatives.

Memorial to the German resistance at the entrance to the arcades leading to the Bavarian State Chancellery (photo 2010).





“Degenerate Art”

Galeriestraße
(photo 2010).

The Hofgarten was also the venue for the exhibition to defame what the Nazis perceived as “degenerate art” that opened in the Hofgarten arcades at Galeriestraße 27 on 19 July 1937. At this show some 600 works of classical modernism, presented in a deliberately distorted manner and accompanied by wall-high diatribes, were paraded – along with their creators – as examples of “degeneracy”. Almost any artist whose work did not conform with Nazi ideology was branded as degenerate. This rigorously enforced cultural policy, the guidelines for which Adolf Hitler had laid down at the Nuremberg Party Congress in

September 1934, stripped Germany of almost the entire spectrum of modern art and excluded its creators from cultural and social life. According to official reports, the exhibition, which was shown in twelve other German cities, was visited by more than two million people in Munich alone.

The gallery was restored after the war and today houses the Munich Art Society and the German Theatre Museum. There is no sign indicating that the “degenerate art” exhibition was once held here.



Entrance to the defamatory exhibition of “degenerate art”, Galeriestraße 4, July 1937.



“Degenerate art”, the upper floor of the exhibition, July 1937.



Historical Documentation at Haus der Kunst

The Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German Art) located just a few metres away from the Hofgarten was inaugurated in the presence of the Nazi leadership and members of Munich's high society the day before the "degenerate art" exhibition opened. Designed by Hitler's favourite architect Paul Ludwig Troost and financed by donations from German business and industry, the Neo-Classical building on the north side of Prinzregentenstraße serves as a symbol set in stone of Munich's role as the "Capital of German Art" and key centre of Nazi propaganda. The exhibitions held here of works by contemporary artists favoured by the regime were intended to showcase "pure" German art, while modernist art was being ostracised and destroyed. The annual "Great German Art Exhibitions" held here until 1944 found acceptance among the broad masses and attracted several hundred thousand visitors every year.

Historical documentation in the corridor of the Haus der Kunst (photo 2010).



The “Hall of Honour”, 1938: Adolf Hitler choosing the paintings for the second “Great German Art Exhibition”.



After surviving the war largely intact, the building was re-named Haus der Kunst (House of Art) in 1946. Since the 1950s it has become a major venue for international art exhibitions, including large solo exhibitions of those same artists who were persecuted as “degenerate” and whose works were defamed under the Nazis. Until well into the 1990s the building’s tainted history was addressed largely via this form of “atonement”.

Not until 1996 was public attention drawn to the building’s largely suppressed past in any permanent way. Visitors to the gallery can now learn about the history of the building [28](#) in the corridor adjoining the entrance hall. In 2004 the holdings of the Historical Archives of the Haus der Kunst were made accessible to researchers for the first time.

As part of this effort Chris Dercon, who became director of the gallery in 2003, initiated a project of “critical reconstruction”. The building was declared “de-Nazified” after it began showing modernist art again in the 1950s. The interior was thereupon modified to cover up the traces of its unpleasant legacy. The former “Hall of Honour” at the centre of the building, the scene of Hitler’s tirades of hatred, was fitted with new walls and ceilings and the red marble cladding of the pillars painted white. After 2003 these alterations were successively reversed and the building was restored to its original state to permit more active reflection on the history of this room and on the function and significance of architecture in general.



The former “Hall of Honour” being temporarily used for a fashion show in the 1960s.



The “Wounds of Memory”

The sculpture “Wounds of Memory” ²⁹ mounted on a pillar at the back of the Haus der Kunst draws attention to a seemingly banal legacy of war and destruction. The work is part of a much larger European project by the artists Beate Passow and Andreas von Weizsäcker who in 1994/95 set out to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Second World War by drawing attention to the holes made by bombshells and grenades that are still visible on streets and squares, buildings and works of art in a total of seven European countries. Using a series of square panes of glass the artists subtly alert us to the wounds of war in our everyday environment that we would otherwise scarcely notice.

In Munich two further “Wounds of Memory” can be seen on the brick facade of the university building (formerly the bavarian salt works administration) at the intersection of Schellingstraße and Ludwigstraße ³² and on the bronze sculpture of the “horse tamer” alongside the Alte Pinakothek art gallery.



Left: Part of the Europe-wide “Wounds of Memory” project involving seven countries at the back of the Haus der Kunst (photo 2010).



“Wounds of Memory” at the intersection of Schellingstraße and Ludwigstraße.



Commemorative Plaque for the “Bavarian Freedom Campaign”

The history trail now leads from the Haus der Kunst via Von-der-Tann-Straße to the building that today houses the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture in Ludwigstraße.

This building, constructed as the “Central Ministry” between 1938 and 1942, was where the Central Office of the fanatical Gauleiter Paul Giesler was located. Only a few days before the war ended, Giesler ordered the members of the resistance group “Freiheitsaktion Bayern” (Bavarian Freedom Campaign) to be shot in the yard of the north wing of the building. A plaque commemorating this group ³⁰ can be found in the inner courtyard on the south side of the building.

³⁰ Plaque commemorating the “Bavarian Freedom Campaign”
Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture, Ludwigstraße 2
Open Monday to Friday 7.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m.

³¹ Walter-Klingenbeck-Weg

During the night of 28 April 1945 the resistance group led by Rupprecht Gerngroß, the captain of the interpreters company, succeeded in occupying the radio stations in the district of Freimann and the nearby town of Erding. From there Gerngroß called on the population of southern Bavaria to resist the Nazi regime, to refuse to obey orders to destroy bridges and industrial facilities and to prepare to surrender their cities and villages to American troops. The campaign collapsed on the afternoon of the next day, following the arrest of several members of the resistance movement. The first of the summarily passed death sentences was carried out in the courtyard of the Central Ministry that same evening.

The commemorative plaque was put up in 1984 on the initiative of the Maxvorstadt District Committee. The original application to have it mounted on the side of the building facing the street was vehemently rejected by the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture.



Another memorial to this group is “Münchner Freiheit” (Munich’s freedom), the name given to the former Feilitzschplatz in the district of Schwabing in December 1946.

The commemorative plaque put up there on the initiative of Mayor Karl Scharnagl was lost when Munich’s metro was built. Following a motion tabled by City Councillor Edith von Welser a new commemorative plaque was inaugurated in 1981.

Commemorative plaque for the “Bavarian Freedom Campaign” in the inner courtyard of the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture (photo 2010).



Walter-Klingenbeck-Weg

The street leading off Ludwigstraße next to the Bavarian State Library is called Walter-Klingenbeck-Weg ³¹ in memory of the young resistance fighter Walter Klingenbeck. He got together with a group of other young people in the late 1930s to listen to forbidden radio stations. They also experimented with their own radio station with the intention of broadcasting anti-fascist propaganda. The friends painted large V (for victory) signs on the walls of Munich houses to herald the approaching victory of the Allies.



In January 1942 eighteen-year-old Walter Klingenbeck was denounced to the Gestapo and sentenced to death for "helping the enemy and preparing to commit high treason". He was executed on 5 August 1943 in Munich's Stadelheim prison.

Commemorative board and street sign for Walter-Klingenbeck-Weg (photo 2010).

Again it was the Maxvorstadt District Committee that in 1998 initiated the renaming of the street, chosen because of its proximity to the Catholic church of St. Ludwig to which Klingenbeck belonged.



The memorial was conceived by the Berlin sculptor Robert Schmidt-Matt in 1988 as an entry for the third “RischArt Prize”, an art competition staged by a large Munich bakery. Originally intended as a temporary installation, in 1990 it was purchased by the City of Munich and the university thanks to the initiative of the Weiße Rose Stiftung e.V. (White Rose Foundation) and a petition started by the medical student Gregor van Scherpenberg and has remained on show to the public ever since.



The pavement memorial is not the only one keeping alive the memory of the White Rose near the main university building. As early as November 1945 and hence before the university forecourt on the western side of Ludwigstraße was renamed Geschwister-Scholl-Platz, the then Minister of Culture Franz Fendt announced the city’s intention to erect a memorial to the resistance group at this location. The plain plaque made of Jura marble and designed by Theodor Georgii was mounted the following year next to the entrance to the main assembly hall. The Latin inscription commemorates the seven members of the White Rose who were executed as martyrs and who had had to die an inhumane death because of their humanity. However, only the date reveals that they died under the Nazi regime. The text ends with a quotation from the “Epistulae

Pavement memorial to the White Rose in front of the main entrance to the university (photo 2010).



The first commemorative plaque to the White Rose unveiled in the university in 1946 (photo 2010).

morales” of the Roman philosopher Seneca: “It is only in this way that the true spirit can be tested, – the spirit that will never consent to come under the jurisdiction of things external to ourselves.” In 1957 the plaque ³⁴ was moved to the wall of the northern upper gallery – the place from which Hans and Sophie Scholl dropped their pamphlets into the inner courtyard and where another memorial was unveiled during the celebrations to mark the restoration of the courtyard the following year.

A bronze relief by Lothar Dietz ³⁵ on the western side of the courtyard shows the seven resistance fighters as stylised figures portrayed as a silent procession of sacrificial victims.



Bronze relief commemorating the White Rose in the inner courtyard of the university (photo 2010).

“The DenkStätte Weiße Rose” ³⁶ was opened in a room below the inner courtyard on 28 June 1997. The site documents in an impressive way the life and work of the resistance group as well as the intellectual environment in which it operated. The memorial site receives several thousand visitors every year, including many schoolchildren from Germany and abroad.



Bust of Sophie Scholl (photo 2010).

Very close to the site, in the northwestern corner of the courtyard, there is also a bronze bust of Sophie Scholl ³⁷ made by Nicolai Tregor. The bust was likewise initiated and financed by the Weiße Rose Stiftung e.V. and was unveiled on 22 February 2005, the anniversary of the execution of Hans and Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst. The unveiling was done by the actress Julia Jentsch, who played Sophie Scholl in Marc Rothemund’s prize-winning film *Sophie Scholl – Die letzten Tage* (*Sophie Scholl – The Final Days*).

The members of the White Rose, particularly Hans and Sophie Scholl, have become the most famous and most admired members of the German resistance. Munich alone now has almost thirty sites to keep their memory alive, whether in the form of memorials and street names or institutions named after them. Since 1980 the Bavarian branch of the German Booksellers’ and Publishers’ Association and the city’s Department of Art and Culture have awarded an annual “Geschwister-Scholl Prize” whose prize-giving ceremony is held in the main assembly hall of the Ludwig Maximilian University.

Entrance to the “DenkStätte Weiße Rose” (photo 2010).



To mark the seventieth anniversary of the assassination attempt in 2009, moreover, a permanent art installation ³⁸ mounted on the facade of the school building on Türkenstraße adjacent to the square was also dedicated to Georg Elser. The neon lettering reading "8 November 1939" by Silke Wagner was the winning entry in a competition held by the city's Department of Art and Culture. "Georg Elser," says Silke Wagner, "earned himself a place in the history of resistance to the Nazi dictatorship. The object of the memorial can only be to remind people of this. The work directs the viewer's gaze to the most important thing – the assassination attempt." Each day at exactly 9.20 p.m., the time of the explosion, the red neon tubes light up one after another, writing the historic date 8 November 1939 in lights. At exactly 9.21 p.m. the lights go out again and the work "disappears" from public view. The abstract monument thus confines itself to the central message and through this deliberate reduction interrupts our habitual view of the square, alerting us to that single moment when the history of the twentieth century might have taken a different course.

An earlier memorial to Georg Elser was installed in the pavement in front of the building housing the GEMA – the music performing rights and copyright authority – in 1989. Located in the district of Haidhausen, the GEMA now occupies the site of the former Bürgerbräukeller which was demolished in 1979.



Memorial to Georg Elser, seen by day (photo 2010).





Memory Loops 175 Audio Tracks on Sites of Nazi Terror in Munich, 1933–1945

In September 2010 the City of Munich created its first virtual memorial to the victims of National Socialism.

Memory Loops is an audio work of art by Michaela Melián comprising a virtual city network of audio tracks based on archive material and the testimony of those who witnessed the discrimination, persecution and exclusion perpetrated by the Nazi regime in Munich. These recollections are spoken by actors, while the texts of historical documents, such as official orders and newspaper reports, are read by children whose innocent voices form a revealing contrast to the brutality of the historical events described.

Memory Loops is a project by the Municipal Department of Arts and Culture, Munich/Freie Kunst im öffentlichen Raum in cooperation with the Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation/Radio Play and Media Art Dept.

Each of the 175 English and 300 German audio tracks can be accessed and downloaded free of charge from a virtual city map. Each track is a collage of voices and music thematically related to a specific place in the former “Capital of the Movement” that can still be pinpointed in today’s city.

With her *Memory Loops* concept Michaela Melián won the competition staged by the City of Munich in 2008 for works of art devoted to the theme of “Victims of National Socialism – New Forms of Remembrance and Commemoration”. The city decided on a competition after realising that finding appropriate ways to commemorate the victims of National Socialism today would require a new culture of remembrance. In addition to the website *memoryloops.net* there are also five one-hour radio plays that can be listened to on an mp3 player. These *Memory Loops* cover the entire city and are devoted to a number of different themes. The mp3 players can be borrowed free of charge from a number of Munich’s museums and other institutions:

- **Munich City Museum**, St.-Jakobs-Platz 1
- **Jewish Museum Munich**, St.-Jakobs-Platz 16
- **the Lenbachhaus museum shop** in the Ruffinihaus, Rindermarkt 10
- **Haus der Kunst**, Prinzregentenstraße 1
- **Villa Stuck**, Prinzregentenstraße 60

There are also information boards at sixty locations in the city giving telephone numbers that can be called to listen to an audio track relating to that location. These numbers can be called either from a mobile phone at the rate for local calls or from a landline.

Further information

The Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism on the Internet

For further information on the Documentation Centre project please visit our website:

www.ns-dokumentationszentrum-muenchen.de

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