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SU

CITTÀ CHE SI ADATTANO?

ADAPTIVE CITIES?

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a cura di
edited by

Rosa Tamborrino

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CITTÀ CHE SI ADATTANO? ADAPTIVE CITIES?

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**ADATTABILITÀ O INCAPACITÀ ADATTIVA
DI FRONTE AL CAMBIAMENTO**

**ADAPTABILITY OR ADAPTIVE INABILITY
IN THE FACE OF CHANGE**

a cura di
edited by

Cristina Cuneo

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THE CHALLENGES OF ADAPTABILITY AMID CRISIS AND MAJOR POST-TRAUMATIC CHANGES

CRISTINA CUNEO

Il tema dell'adattabilità ai cambiamenti in corso, mutuata come concetto recente dal dibattito scientifico sviluppato intorno e in risposta al cambiamento climatico, agli studi ambientali ad esso collegati [Corona, Neri Serneri 2007; Corona 2017] e ai temi di ambiente, territorio e paesaggio le cui interazioni sono centrali nel guidare i nuovi modelli economici e sociali, risulta essere ormai la necessaria declinazione per gli studi urbani e per l'ampio spettro di discipline che si muovono intorno alle questioni urbane [Tamborrino 2023].

In questo quadro i grandi cambiamenti che seguono crisi o eventi fuori dalla norma rappresentano importanti chiavi di lettura che permettono di analizzare, misurare e capire il grado di adattabilità delle città e dei territori: in ogni epoca, profondi mutamenti di ordine politico-economico, sociale o tecnologico hanno influenzato lo sviluppo delle città, così come la percezione collettiva e, nel quadro storico-critico, il punto di vista della storiografia urbana.

La sfida dei saggi raccolti nel presente volume è quella di leggere, a scale differenti, con cronologie ampie e interrelate e da diverse prospettive disciplinari e transdisciplinari, gli effetti di cambiamenti dirompenti avvenuti

The theme of adaptability to ongoing changes, sourced as a recent concept from the scientific debate developed around and in response to climate change, environmental studies related to it [Corona, Neri Serneri 2007; Corona 2017] and the themes of environment, territory and landscape, whose interactions are central in guiding new economic and social models, is now the necessary declination for urban studies and the wide spectrum of disciplines that revolve around urban issues [Tamborrino 2023].

In this context, the major changes that follow crises or extraordinary events represent important interpretative keys that allow us to analyze, measure and understand the degree of adaptability of cities and territories: in every age, profound changes of political-economic, social or technological order have influenced the development of cities, as well as the collective perception and, within the historical-critical framework, the perspective of urban historiography.

The challenge of the essays collected in this volume is to interpret, at different scales, with broad and interrelated chronologies and from various disciplinary and transdisciplinary perspectives, the effects of disruptive changes that have occurred throughout history (in both abstract and theoretical terms, and through the

nel corso della storia (in termini sia astratti e teorici, sia attraverso lo studio di singoli casi) fino a tempi recenti, sulla base delle logiche comparative e inclusive che caratterizzano gli studi urbani; ma anche di provare a identificare quei casi e quei luoghi nei quali il cambiamento non è avvenuto e, anzi, l'immobilità e l'incapacità di adattarsi hanno generato nuovi scenari leggibili sia in termini di tracce fisiche, di edifici o di parti di città, sia in termini politici e sociali.

Nella storia urbana ricorrono, infatti, casi di adattabilità e nuove rinascite e all'opposto esempi di inadattività, a seguito di profonde e drammatiche trasformazioni dovute a guerre, rivoluzioni, drastici mutamenti politici e commerciali, catastrofi, sia naturali sia di natura antropica, sulla cui riflessione si soffermano le risposte dei vari saggi riuniti come esito di un complesso lavoro di ragionamenti, rivisitazioni e riletture di alcuni dei contributi presentati al X Congresso AISU *Adaptive Cities through the Post Pandemic Lens. Ripensare tempi e sfide della città flessibile nella storia urbana / Times and Challenges in Urban History*, Torino 2022, già oggetto, nella loro forma basilare e sintetica, di pubblicazione nella Collana *Insights Proceedings* [Tamborrino, Cuneo, Longhi 2023].

Il *focus* è posto sui diversi modi che generano il cambiamento guidati dai differenti attori coinvolti, con le istanze politiche e sociali di cui sono portatori, dai molteplici fattori che li accompagnano e sulla base dei valori che ne hanno influenzato lo sviluppo: ne emergono percorsi inediti e trasversali che mettono in evidenza come le prospettive complesse, sistematizzate in raccolte di dati e letture critiche comparative, siano in grado di spiegare i processi e gli sviluppi urbani mettendo in luce permanenze e discontinuità. Anche l'ampliamento dell'orizzonte geopolitico caratterizza diversi punti di vista, cercando di superare la visione eurocentrica, per studiare, confrontare, legare Oriente e Occidente con riferimento allo sviluppo delle istituzioni, alla rete

study of individual cases) up to recent times. This is based on the comparative and inclusive logics that characterize urban studies; but also to try to identify those cases and places where change has not occurred and, on the contrary, immobility and inability to adapt have generated new scenarios that can be read both in terms of physical traces, buildings, or parts of cities, and in political and social terms.

In urban history, there are recurring cases of adaptability and new rebirths, as well as, conversely, examples of in-adaptivity, following profound and dramatic transformations due to wars, revolutions, drastic political and commercial changes, catastrophes, both natural and anthropogenic. The reflections on these phenomena are the focus of the various essays gathered as the result of a complex work of reasoning, revisitations and reinterpretations of some of the contributions presented at the 10th AISU Congress *Adaptive Cities through the Post Pandemic Lens dwell. Rethinking times and challenges of the flexible city in urban history / Times and Challenges in Urban History*, Torino 2022, already published, in their basic and synthetic form, in the *Insights Proceedings Series* [Tamborrino, Cuneo, Longhi 2023].

The focus is on the different ways that generate change, guided by the different actors involved, carrying political and social demands, influenced by multiple accompanying factors, and based on the values that have influenced their development. This reveals new and cross-cutting paths that highlight how complex perspectives, systematized in data collections and comparative critical readings, are able to explain urban processes and developments by highlighting continuities and discontinuities. The broadening of the geopolitical horizon also characterizes different points of view, seeking to overcome Eurocentric vision-by studying, comparing, and connecting East and West. This includes references to the development of institutions, the maritime network of new geographies of exchange, migration, urbanization processes with the construction of public spaces,

marittima delle nuove geografie di scambi, alle migrazioni, ai processi di urbanizzazione con la costruzione di spazi pubblici, con la generazione di modelli culturali rinnovati e nuovi modelli costruttivi. All'analisi dell'architettura è riservato un posto speciale come catalizzatore ed espressione di cambiamenti, sensore capace di esprimere diversi indirizzi culturali. Esempio l'analisi comparata dei casi delle città porto adriatiche di Venezia, Trieste e Fiume, che in quel frammento temporale a cavallo tra XIX e XX secolo che segue all'apertura del Canale di Suez, dimostrano come, al di là dei più consolidati e studiati aspetti economici, il richiamo del vicino Oriente le porti a elaborare, pur negli esiti differenti ancorati alla tradizione e alla risposta al cambiamento, inedite forme espressive e specifici caratteri formali (Zucconi, in questo volume).

Gli affondi che i vari saggi propongono non si fermano a letture su consolidate analisi storiografiche, ma ne evidenziano di nuove e inedite, alcune ancora da verificare con ulteriori riflessioni che le focalizzino maggiormente, riuscendo a comprendere quelle fasi di continuità, adattabilità e cambiamento dei modelli di città, così come le identità politiche e sociali che ne vengono rappresentate (Fava e Zollinger, in questo volume). È il caso della tematica del *difficult heritage* legata alle trasformazioni urbane, che viene affrontata in ampie discussioni collettive (raccolte da Oteri e Sulfaro, in questo volume) come chiave di lettura di esempi legati alle eredità difficili della storia, tra memoria e oblio, per i quali si propongono interpretazioni che tentano di sciogliere, tra vicende e valenze simboliche, nodi complessi attraverso la rilettura di fonti e un confronto serrato con i processi di costruzione e/o perdita di identità.

Una sezione densa del volume è quella dei capitoli legati alle diverse discussioni sui fenomeni sismici, esempi traumatici per antonomasia, in cui l'evento di una crisi imprevedibile rivela in modo esplicito problemi e rischi di un territorio, precedenti e successivi alla crisi (Antista

with the generation of renewed cultural and new construction models. Architecture analysis has a special place as a catalyst and expression of change, a sensor capable of expressing different cultural directions. A notable example is the comparative analysis of the Adriatic port cities of Venice, Trieste and Rijeka, during the late 19th and 20th centuries, following the opening of the Suez Canal. This analysis demonstrates how, beyond the well-established and studied economic aspects, the call of the Near East led these cities to develop, new expressive forms and distinctive formal characteristics, albeit with different outcomes rooted in tradition and responses to change (Zucconi, in this volume).

The insights proposed by the various essays go beyond readings on consolidated historiographical analyses, but highlight new and unpublished ones, some still to be verified with further reflections that focus them more. These insights aim to comprehend phases of continuity, adaptability, and change in urban models, as well as the political and social identities they represent (Fava and Zollinger, in this volume). This is the case of the theme of difficult heritage linked to urban transformations, which is addressed in extensive collective debates (collected by Oteri and Sulfaro, in this volume) as a key to reading examples related to the difficult legacies of history, navigating between memory and oblivion. The interpretations proposed aim to unravel complex knots of events and symbolic meanings through a reinterpretation of sources and a close examination of the processes of identity construction and/or loss.

A significant section of the volume pertains to chapters discussing various phenomena related to seismic events, quintessential traumatic examples where the occurrence of an unpredictable crisis explicitly reveals the problems and risks of a territory, both before and after the crisis (Antista and Nuccio; Benetti, Filippini and Ferrari, in this volume). Even 'spectacularisation', since its emergence linked to the destruction of eighteenth-century Lisbon, takes on a decisive role in these discussions [Savettieri, 2023]. The

e Nuccio; Benetti, Filipponi e Ferrari, in questo volume) in cui anche la 'spettacolarizzazione', fin dal suo emergere legato alla distruzione della Lisbona settecentesca, assume un ruolo determinante [Savettieri, 2023]. Il tema della fragilità e vulnerabilità territoriale, specie là dove è presente la combinazione di più rischi (idrogeologico, vulcanico, franoso, di incendi etc.) che deve essere monitorata e valutata, fa emergere le potenzialità della ricerca storica che, avendo come oggetto di studio eredità culturali e risorse nel lungo periodo, è capace di mettere in relazione i diversi approcci disciplinari favorendo le condizioni per un processo che, in risposta ai bisogni, si faccia progetto collettivo [Longhi, Voghera 2023].

Nella storia urbana ricorrono casi in cui l'incapacità o impossibilità delle città ad adattarsi ai cambiamenti ha portato al loro declino, se non addirittura al loro annullamento: immobilità, isolamento, incapacità adattiva in termini fisici, sociali e urbani sono i temi chiave di quelle crisi che hanno prodotto sconfitte, sfide perse o opportunità che non sempre sono state colte. Narrate in continui allargamenti e restringimenti di prospettiva, calamità e sciagure possono essere interpretate come opportunità di rinascita, ma ci sono casi in cui queste producono immobilità e conflitti: è il caso in cui i sistemi istituzionali di città e stati rispondono con grande inadeguatezza, accelerando il declino, violando e smarrendo il senso identitario (De Falco, Fiadino, Serafini; Salza; in questo volume).

Le crisi di qualunque natura siano, hanno avuto come effetto anche limiti di mobilità, stati di fermo, obblighi di isolamento e chiusura; partendo dall'ampio dibattito culturale emerso in relazione alla recente esperienza pandemica da SARS-CoV-2, dilatandolo alle ricerche in corso sul patrimonio pubblico dismesso o in abbandono, sono stati presi in esame quei luoghi che Michel Foucault annovera tra le 'eterotopie di deviazione' con vocazione sociale, sanitaria e a carattere religioso. Carceri, manicomii, ospedali, orfanotrofi, ospizi, alberghi

theme of territorial fragility and vulnerability, especially where there is the combination of multiple risks (hydrogeological, volcanic, landslide, fire, etc.) that must be monitored and evaluated, brings out the potential of historical research that, having cultural heritage and long-term resources as its object of study, is able to relate the different disciplinary approaches favoring the conditions for a process that, in response to needs, is a collective project [Longhi, Voghera 2023].

In urban history, there are instances where the inability or impossibility of cities to adapt to change has led to their decline, or even their cancellation: immobility, isolation, adaptive incapacity in physical, social and urban terms are the key themes of those crises that have produced defeats, lost challenges or opportunities that have not always been seized. Narrated in continuous enlargements and narrowing of perspective, calamities and misfortunes can be interpreted as opportunities for rebirth, but there are cases in which these produce immobility and conflict: this is the case when city and state institutional systems respond with great inadequacy, accelerating the decline, undermining and losing the sense of identity (De Falco, Fiadino, Serafini; Salza; in this volume).

Crises of any nature have also resulted in mobility restrictions, stopping, isolating and closing down. Starting from the broad cultural debate that emerged in relation to the recent pandemic experience of SARS-CoV-2, and expanding it to the ongoing research on disused or abandoned public heritage, those places that Michel Foucault counts among the 'diversion heterotopias' with a social, health and religious vocation were examined. Prisons, asylums, hospitals, orphanages, hospices, hotels of the poor, lazzaretti, convents, colleges: openly 'other' spaces [Foucault 1984 and 2004] and always in the balance, designed to control who are 'inside' that set in space the principles of segregation, cohabitation, control and therapy (Cocco, Giannattasio; Martorano, Quattrocchi, in this volume). In parallel, methodologically

dei poveri, lazzaretti, conventi, collegi: spazi dichiaratamente 'altri' [Foucault 1984 e 2004] e sempre in bilico, concepiti per controllare chi è 'dentro' che fissano nello spazio i principi di segregazione, coabitazione, controllo e terapia (Cocco, Giannattasio; Martorano, Quattrocchi, in questo volume). In parallelo, metodologicamente legata e a tratti sovrapposta, una selezione attentamente mirata offre unicità di esempi e dettagli che sviluppano un percorso attraverso le analisi di ex-ospedali psichiatrici in Italia innescate da studi e ricerche consolidate [Scotti 1984]; questa categoria di beni pone al centro una questione fondamentale legata al ruolo avuto ai margini della città e alle nuove funzioni che ora tentano, non senza contraddizioni, di assumere nella città contemporanea (Sorbo, in questo volume). La sezione affronta alcuni tra gli strumenti che il progetto di architettura e di conservazione può mettere in campo, declinando gli spunti di riflessione tra osservazioni teoriche e il riconoscimento di buone pratiche per una valorizzazione e conservazione attiva di eredità materiali e immateriali.

In questa prospettiva, dunque, il volume che parte da una serie di riflessioni e un vivace confronto scientifico interdisciplinare è costruito intorno ad un metodo partecipato e condiviso: l'esito risulta essere, e si pone alla comunità scientifica, come luogo di discussione e di scambio di idee, frutto fissato ma non assoluto, che può rappresentare terreno fertile per ulteriori sollecitazioni e proposte in grado di lasciare una traccia culturale alle generazioni future, rispondendo alle tante domande attuali della collettività rispetto alla complessità generata dai cambiamenti.

linked and sometimes overlapping, a carefully targeted selection offers unique examples and details that develop a path through the analysis of former psychiatric hospitals in Italy triggered by consolidated studies and research [Scotti 1984]. This category of assets focuses on a fundamental question linked to the role played on the outskirts of the city and the new functions that now attempt, not without contradictions, to assume in the contemporary city (Sorbo, in this volume). The section deals with some of the tools that the architectural and conservation project can employ, declining the food for thought between theoretical observations and the recognition of good practices for an active enhancement and conservation of tangible and intangible heritage.

In this perspective, therefore, the volume that starts from a series of reflections and a lively interdisciplinary scientific comparison is built around a participatory and shared method. The outcome turns out to be, and poses itself to the scientific community, as a place for discussion and exchange of ideas. It is a fixed but not absolute fruit, which can represent fertile ground for further solicitations and proposals capable of leaving a cultural trace to future generations, responding to the many current questions of the community with respect to the complexity generated by the changes.

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**URBS E/O CIVITAS. CITTÀ E
CITTADINANZA ALLA PROVA
DEI CAMBIAMENTI TRAUMATICI**

**URBS AND/OR CIVITAS. CITIES AND
CITIZENSHIPS UNDER THE THREAT
OF TRAUMATIC CHANGES**

THE 'NORMALIZATION' OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE THIRD REICH IN MUNICH

RAFFAELE AMORE, CHIARA DE VUONO

Abstract

Il presente contributo si propone di esaminare criticamente – nel più ampio scenario della ricostruzione della città di Monaco di Baviera dopo la seconda guerra mondiale – le vicende di alcuni edifici costruiti nella capitale della Baviera per volere del Führer, sopravvissuti ai bombardamenti alleati. In particolare, saranno analizzati i casi riguardanti König Platz e gli edifici del Führerbau, del Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP e degli Ehrentempel, nonché le vicende della Haus der Kunst, edifici controversi, eredità di un problematico passato.

Keywords

Denazification, heritage, memory, World War II, Germany

Introduction

Being the birthplace and national headquarters of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (PNA), Munich was one of the favorite cities of the Third Reich. Hitler wanted to turn it into one of the five Führerstadt (Führer's city) and had a pharaonic project of urban transformation drawn up, which opportunely remained only on paper. Nevertheless, the Nazis managed to modify the urban landscape of the Bavarian capital by carrying out several important building projects. During the last years of the Second World War the city was repeatedly bombed by Allied aviation with consequent extensive damage to the historical architectural heritage [Lill 1948, Enss 2016, 98-114].

This contribution explores the events of the most representative architectural complexes built by the regime and survived the war, in the broader scenario of the problems of the reconstruction of the Bavarian city.

From fortified camp to capital of Bavaria

Founded in 1158 by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony as a fortified military camp, a decade later the city of Munich received city status. At the end of the twelfth century the entire Bavarian region was assigned by Frederick Barbarossa to Otto I of Wittelsbach, whose descendants ruled there with alternating events until 1918. With Maximilian I, who reigned for fifty-four years from 1598, the city of Munich was the focus of major

urban transformations. In the oldest medieval fabric of the city, two large building complexes were built: the monumental church of St. Michael with its cloister and a second ducal palace, the Herzog-Maxburg. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that, however, the city consolidated its political and economic power and the role of important cultural and artistic center. In 1806 it became the capital of the new Kingdom of Bavaria. Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell redesigned the Promenadeplatz and the parliament and archdiocese buildings of Munich and Freising were built. Twenty years later the University of Bavaria settled in the new city headquarters [Zucconi 2001, 86-87, Wanetschek 2005]. During the reigns of Ludwig I and Maximilian II, the medieval fortifications demolished, architects Leo von Klenze [De Seta 1999, Freitag 2013, Buttler 2014] and Friedrich von Gärtner [Maglio 2012], among others, designed important buildings and squares outside the perimeter of the Altstadt.

At the end of the nineteenth century, with the growth of the population and the administrative unification of many of the neighboring towns, it was necessary to define a new expansion plan of the city. To this end, a competition was launched in 1892 – the jury of which consisted, among others, of H. J. Stübben and C. Sitte – which, however, produced no effect. Meanwhile, the Stadterweiterungsbüro (Office of Urban Expansion) was established, headed by the architect T. Fischer. He directed the city's expansion policies for at least a decade and founded in 1902 the Bayerischer Heimatschutz, an association for the preservation of historical monuments and the protection and promotion of traditional costumes and vernacular architecture [Enss 2016].

After the First World War the events of the city are intertwined with the troubled political history of Germany in those years. From the urban point of view, after the important nineteenth-century transformations, in the years of the Weimar Republic the interest of the city administration was essentially directed to the construction of housing in the peripheral areas of the city.

With the promulgation of the law of 4 October 1937 for the Neugestaltung deutscher Städte (Redesign of German cities), the city was included in the list of five so-called Führerstädte (fuhrer-cities) and, therefore, the subject of a monumental transformation program. The project involved the construction of a large east-west axis flanked by commercial, cultural and party buildings which, in its original 1939 version, was to extend for about 2.4 kilometers from Karlsplatz, beyond the Denkmal der Bewegung (monument to the movement), to a new large railway station located to the northwest. In addition, it was planned to build multiple monumental buildings dedicated to the Nazi Party, as well as Hitler's mausoleum. Under the scheme, the transformation of the city into a Führerstädte was to be completed by 1950.

This program was never implemented, nevertheless between 1933 and 1937 the Nazis created imposing architectures with a strong symbolic value, which – survived unscathed from the Allied air raids – represented and represent a controversial urban legacy for the capital of Bavaria.

The architecture of the Third Reich

Königsplatz was obstructed in the early decades of the nineteenth century, during the reign of Ludwig I, to celebrate the cultural heritage of Greek antiquity. To the north and west of the square Leo von Klenze designed two buildings: The Glyptothek, a museum of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture built between 1816 and 1830, and the Propyläen, a monumental gate built between 1843 and 1862, to commemorate the close relations between Bavaria and Greece, whose rulers were of the same house as the Bavarian ones, the Wittelsbachs. Opposite the Glyptothek, on the south side of the square, Georg Friedrich Ziebland built an exhibition hall in those same years, the Kunst- und Industrieausstellungen – Gebäude, known as the Neue Staatsgalerie. These buildings, all clad in limestone, defined a large area with grassy areas with trees crossed by Briennerstrasse.

The square since the beginning of the twentieth century had been a meeting place and demonstrations of right-wing political groups. The Nazis chose it as the setting for their rallies and for the pseudo-religious worship of their comrades who died during the failed coup of 1923.

Starting in 1930 the organs of the National Socialist Party purchased more than fifty buildings in the adjacent areas of the square on the side of today's Karolinenplatz which were used partly as headquarters for the numerous offices of the organization, and partly demolished to allow the realization of the transformation project wanted by Hitler and commissioned to the architect Paul Ludwig Trost. This project involved the construction of two large twin buildings, the Führerbau, the Verwaltungsbau der



1: View of Königsplatz in Munich during the celebrations of the Bürgerbräu-Putsch, November 9, 1938. [From *München und der Nationalsozialismus* (2015), 202].



2: Munich. The main façade of the Verwaltunbshau der NSDAP, now home to the Kunstgeschichte Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte.

NSDAP at the intersection of Brienerstrasse and Arcistrasse, and two secular temples (Ehrentempel, Temples of Honor), two twin neoclassical peristyles, each composed of twenty-four fluted columns with a heavy architrave, designed to house cast-iron sarcophagi of the sixteen Nazis who died in the aforementioned 1923 putsch attempt at the Feldherrnhalle.

Hitler's radical urban intervention changed the appearance of Königsplatz, which became the emblem of Nazi power and the architectural ideas of the regime. In 1938 the Führer closed it to vehicular traffic and had it paved with twenty-two thousand square meters of granite stone slabs in order to equip the Hauptstadt der Bewegung (Capital of the movement, as the city was called during the Nazi dictatorship) with an area for rallies and marches.

The aerial bombardments damaged the buildings overlooking Königsplatz in a diversified way: the neoclassical ones of Klenze and Ziebland were directly hit and gutted by fire, those of Trost, vice versa did not suffer damage, despite the looting at the end of the war.

Safe and fire-resistant, the Führerbau and Verwaltunbshau der NSDAP in June 1945 were occupied and used as art deposits (Central Art Collecting Point) by officials of the Ministry of Economy and Finance charged with recovering precious European works of art looted by the Nazis. This choice favorably marked their fate, favoring their inclusion in the architectural heritage of the city, almost automatically, without there being any particular discussion on their origin and their meaning.



3: Munich. One of the side facades of the Führerbau today Hochschule für Musik und Theater München. On the left you can see the headquarters of the NS-Dokumentationszentrum.

On the other hand, the question of Ehrentempel was more articulate and debated. In July 1945, the new mayor of the city Karl Scharnagl proposed to melt the sixteen bronze sarcophagi and to make bells with the metal obtained, to be installed in the two temples to transform them into memorial places dedicated to peace and understanding between peoples. The officials of the U.S. military government, however, on the direct instructions of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, immediately decided that they had to be demolished, as a manifest sign of Nazi ideology. In this regard, Directive No. 30 of the Allied Control Council was explicit and provided for the demolition by January 1947 of those “monuments, memorials Which tends to preserve and keep alive the Germany military tradition, to revive militarism or to commemorate the Nazi Party» [Rosenfeld 2000, 79].

During 1946 no decision was taken, although there were proposals and alternative plans, such as that of the architect. Dieter Sattler, head of the Schönen Künste (fine arts) in the Staatsregierung des Freistaates Bayern (State Government of the Free State of Bavaria) who proposed turning them into two galleries for art exhibitions. Only at the end of the year did the Bavarian Ministry decide to follow the orders of the Allied military government and approve its demolition. However, the supporters of Sattler's proposal increased and an interesting debate was ignited in the city between those who wanted to demolish them, to distance themselves from the past regime, and those who imagined that a change of intended use could be enough to ‘forget’ the original symbolic and propagandistic value of the two architectures. In the end, the idea of their demolition

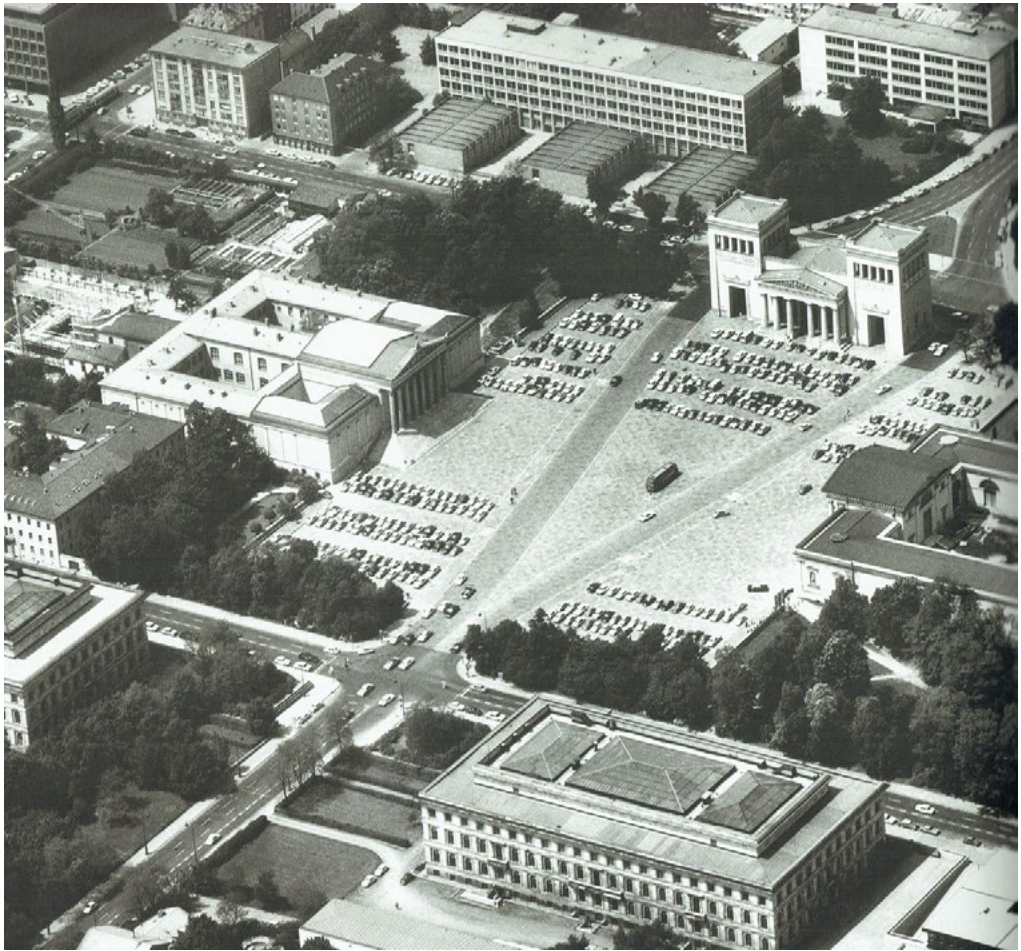
prevailed, which was carried out in January 1947. Due to technical-economic complications, however, the two-meter-high foundations of the temples (which covered underground bomb shelters) were not demolished. It soon became clear that the matter was far from settled. A competition of ideas was therefore held to incorporate the surviving structures into two new buildings, but the proposals received were not satisfactory. In the face of strong public pressure, the responsible authorities approved, among those presented, Karl Hocheder's proposal for the construction of two exhibition galleries. To appease the controversy had occurred as soon as the work began, it was decided to create on site the scale model of one of the buildings that, for its neoclassical references, was immediately labeled as neo-Nazi, attracting numerous criticisms. In January 1948 the test model was dismantled and in the absence of a shared proposal it was decided to leave the site as it was so as not to hinder any possible future choices, on the indication of the aforementioned arch. Sattler [Rosenfeld 2000, 84-91].

Although the military government found this conclusion politically unsatisfactory, financial considerations prevented the demolition of the foundations down to ground level. So it was that in the following months a wooden fence was built all around what had not yet been demolished, to remove it from view. In the winter of 1956 further parts of the foundations of the two temples were torn down. He then allowed shrubs and plants to cover the ruins of the two buildings, which still exist today.

As already pointed out, for the other two buildings built by Trost at Königsplatz the choices of city admiration were different. They were reused for purposes other than the original ones as early as 1945: their denazification was limited to the removal of signs and decorations typical of the Third Reich. The Führerbau is now home to the Hochschule für Musik und Theater München (University of Music and Performing Arts Munich), the Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (Central Institute of Art History).

A similar normalization process also took place for the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, which was obstructed by direct order of Hitler again on a project by Paul Ludwig Troost to replace the Glaspalast, a nineteenth-century iron and glass building built by August von Voit and destroyed by fire. Inaugurated on July 18, 1937, it was the first major monumental architecture of the Third Reich built in Munich. The annual *Großen Deutschen Kunstausstellungen* (Great German Art Exhibitions) that took place there were considered the most important exhibition and sales events of German art and, therefore, an extraordinary means of propaganda of the artistic ideas that the Nazi power wanted to impose. Not surprisingly, at the same time as the inauguration of the museum building, an exhibition entitled *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) was set up in the nearby Hofgarten gallery, where works of contemporary art and avant-garde art seized by the Nazis were presented – with clear disparaging intent.

The building was not damaged during the course of the war and was immediately occupied by American troops who used it to house a club for soldiers with a restaurant, a ballroom and several shops: the Ehrenhalle (hall of honor), the large double-height hall on the ground floor, was temporarily used as a basketball court. Beginning in 1946, U.S. military government officials – who left the building permanently only in 1955 – invited



4: Munich. Aerial view of Königsplatz in 1972 [From *München und der Nationalsozialismus* (2015), 374].

groups of artists and local cultural associations to use the architectural complex for art exhibitions and other cultural activities.

From 1946 to the end of 1948, a Bavarian Export Show was held in the east wing, while in the west area some works of art from Leo Von Klenze's destroyed Munich Picture Gallery were exhibited. Meanwhile, Peter A. Ade, who became temporary manager and then director of the Museum for many years, decided to change its name from Haus der Deutschen Kunst to Haus der Kunst and to remove any symbolic reference to National Socialism from the facades of the building and from the logo of the museum. It was the first step of a process that will develop throughout the fifties of construction of a new identity for the museum institution, albeit in continuity of use, compared to the uncomfortable legacy of being a museum wanted by Hitler with clear propaganda intentions. In July 1946 the Jugendbuch exhibition was organized, exhibiting over 4,000 children's and youth books published in 14 countries, the first international event in post-war

Germany. The following year, on the initiative of the American military government, the exhibition *Französische Malerei vom Impressionismus bis zur Gegenwart* took place with the support of the Direction de l'Éducation Publique French, which presented international contemporary art on German soil for the first time. It was, however, the exhibition organized in 1949 by Ludwig Grote entitled *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider), with works by artists banned by the regime such as Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc and Paul Klee, among others, to mark the turning point in the process of normalization of the Museum. Hosting within those walls works by artists that the regime had so much opposed was a real catharsis for the museum institution that, counting a sort of penalty to counterbalance the opposite, had earned the right to be considered for what it had become and not for what it had been. This path of normalization was further strengthened with the retrospective dedicated to Picasso in 1955 commissioned by the aforementioned director Peter A. Ade, in which - for the first time in Germany - *Guernica*, an icon of anti-fascist and modern art, was exhibited.

Conclusions

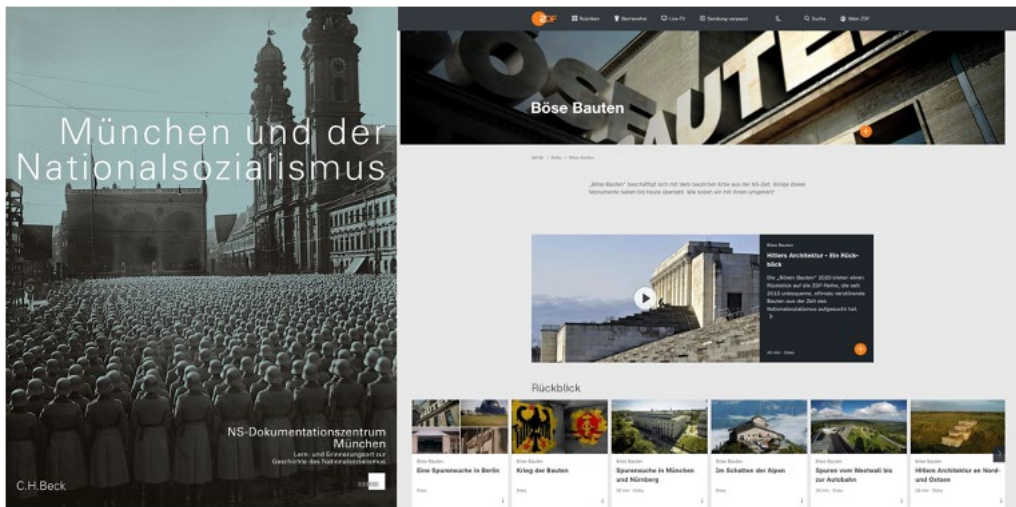
The operating methods and the cultural and political choices with which German cities were rebuilt after the Second World War were complex and articulated. Without wishing to enter into the merits of a discussion that goes beyond the perimeter of this contribution, but which – it is easy to guess – is the background, and which concerns the complex process with which post-war German society was confronted with the legacy of National Socialism. It is clear that among the many themes that had to be addressed in the *Wiederaufbau* (reconstruction) there was also that relating to the representative buildings of the regime and survivors of the bombs and that of the symbols of power characterized the German urban landscape designed by Hitler's architects [Rosenfeld 2000].

It was, evidently, an uncomfortable and pervasive legacy, which had – although to varying degrees – affected almost all the large German cities. The brief notes made so far on the architectural complexes of Munich built at the express request of Hitler highlight the intervention strategies that the authorities in charge followed.

Destroying the architecture and physical signs of a civilization to erase its memory has always been a way in which the 'winners' treat the 'vanquished'. A way to write the present without caring about the past, to declare a season over and outline another without ties to the previous one. An operating mode, however, not alien to Nazism, which applied it repeatedly with tragic consequences.

The decision to proceed with a more or less partial destruction of the *Ehrentempel* in Königsplatz must be interpreted in this sense and could only take place, as it happened, immediately after the end of the conflict and at the request of the Allied Forces, as the last act of victory. The content of Directive No 30 is explicit to this regard.

The more time elapsed since the end of the war, however, the more difficult it became to carry out a systematic demolition of the surviving symbolic buildings of the Third



5: Left. Book cover *München und der Nationalsozialismus*. Right. Screenshot of the website of the German television ZDF dedicated to the documentary series entitled *Böse Bauten*.

Reich, and, more generally, it became necessary for German society to confront its own recent history.

These are very delicate issues that were addressed in a very complex national political framework, with as many as eight million Germans former members of the Nazi party, and an international scenario that would soon lead to the division of Germany.

Said that, it cannot fail to be pointed out that in particular in Munich, the questions concerning the urban role and the historical and cultural significance of the physical heritage constituted by the architecture of National Socialism for many decades have not been addressed to the end: very interesting in this respect is the interview with Winfried Nerdinger published in 2015 by the German architecture magazine *Bauwelt*¹. After the period of demolitions decreed by Directive no. 30 of the Allied Control Council, in fact, there was no real public debate or a clear position taken by the city authorities.

True to the motto of Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany from 1949 to 1963, “Das Land wieder aufbauen und die Wunden heilen lassen” (Rebuilding the country and healing wounds) in Munich it was time, oblivion, to soothe the architectural wounds constituted by the buildings of the Third Reich [*München und der Nationalsozialismus* 2015].

At Königsplatz, after the controversy of the early fifties concerning the base of the Times of Honor, it was decided simply to wait, letting plants and shrubs cover them until they were unrecognizable.

¹ <https://www.bauwelt.de/themen/interview/Die-umliegenden-Bauten-sind-unsere-Originale-Winfried-Nerdinger-NS-Dokumentationszentrum-Muenchen-2321462.html> (August 2022).

Similarly, during the sixties a band of trees was planted to hide Trost's twin buildings from view, and only more recently has Hitler's desired floor been removed. The same attitude was held for the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, along whose main façade sixteen maples were planted to 'hide' the colonnade designed by Trost.

A significant turning point in the relationship between the city and its past occurred only very recently with the creation of the Documentation Center of National Socialism (NS-Dokumentationszentrum), inaugurated on April 30, 2015. The Centre, whose first director was an architectural historian, Winfried Nerdinger (today directed by Mirjam Zadoff), is located in a modern building that partly incorporates the foundations and underground rooms of the infamous Brown house (destroyed in 1944), in Briener Straße 45, a few steps from the remains of the Ehrentempel.

The centre, among other things, offers exhibitions and events dedicated to the knowledge of the history of National Socialism, with special regard to architectural aspects, with the aim of involving the Bavarian population and students (München und der Nationalsozialismus). The paradigm shift in the city's cultural policy is evident. The architectural memories of Nazism should not be destroyed or forgotten, but known. Knowledge and understanding of historical facts allows you to confront your past, add new memories and meanings and, therefore, also come to terms with the uncomfortable legacies of your past.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of the NS-Dokumentationszentrum, the German television network ZDF produced a series of documentaries with the emblematic title *Böse Bauten*² (Evil Buildings), with the aim of making known the consistency of the architectural heritage of the Third Reich.

The recent artistic event *Schutt und Ehre* (debris and honor) held in spring 2022 on the walls of the basement of one of the Ehrentempel³ is further evidence of this change by the city's cultural institutions.

The controversy that aroused the restoration project of David Chipperfield's Haus der Deutschen Kunst in 2017, defined as "too Nazi" because it did not renounce to highlight the traces of the original decorations and the monumentality of the complex, highlight, however, that it is a cultural and political process still underway, not completely concluded and that a decisive role will be played precisely by the choices with which these buildings will be restored in the coming years.

² That dedicated to the architecture of Munich and Nuremberg entitled *Hitlers Architektur - Spurensuche in München und Nürnberg* can be viewed at the web page <https://www.zdf.de/dokumentation/zdfinfo-doku/boese-bauten-in-muenchen-und-nuernberg-106.html> (August 2022).

³ See in this regard the article dedicated to the event from the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, visible at the following web page <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/muenchen-nationalsozialismus-ehrentempel-koenigsplatz-sockel-installation-1.5553338> (August 2022).

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