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Dachau: The Political Aesthetics of Holocaust Memorials

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COMMEMORATING HISTORICAL EVENTS IS NOT A SIMPLE ENDEAVOR, ESpecially when an event as complex as "the Holocaust" is the object of commemoration.[1] For analytical purposes we can distinguish between two basic types of actualizing past events in the present. First, at the individual level, there is the act of *remembering,* rhe recalling to mind of actual experiences or acquired information. And second, on the group level, there is the social process of gathering togerher lived and learned experiences and sharing them with other members of a collectivity, a process we can denote *recollection. Commemoration* is thus part of the second category: it is the ritual and usually public recollection of past events. *Collective memory* (or *historical consciousness*) can denote the knowledge about the past that is shared by members of a group.[2] Collective memories develop when individual memories of lived experiences are shared within groups. This process is mediated by the public dissemination of historical information through films, novels, scholarly works, formal instruction, commemorative ceremonies, and the like. If a group considers these collective images of the past to be an important part of its public identity, it will seek to represent them in the public sphere. Here, at the intersection of private interest and public politics, is where the political aesthetics of monuments and memorials come into play.

To write about the political aesthetics of holocaust memorials is to examine which groups have selected which aspects of the past to represent, and how each group represented those aspects it chose, and why. Dachau, a former Nazi concentration camp located on the outskirts of a town about six miles from the center of Munich, is an ideal site for the exploration of these questions. For more than fifty

years it has been subject to the competing and conflicting recollective agendas of the local populace, of regional (Bavarian), national (German), and international politicians, and of survivors' organizations from nearly a dozen countries. Associated with the Dachau concentration camp today are more than a dozen memorial sculptures and buildings; several more were planned but never constructed, or existed only temporarily (see appendix).[3] The conceptions behind these memorials are worth studying. Additionally, the appearance of the memorial site as a whole reveals a great deal about the political aesthetics of holocaust commemoration.

Visitors today enter the former Dachau prisoners' compound through a gap in the southeast corner of the camp wall, roughly opposite the historical entry gate with its inscription "Arbeit macht frei" ("Work liberates") (fig. 1). They file past a large billboard with a plan of the memorial site around to the front of the former service building. The service building once housed the camp kitchen, showers, and a storeroom for the prisoners' civilian clothing but now contains a library, archive, museum, and discussion rooms. At the corner of this building the view opens across the expanse of the former roll-call square to the entry gate in the distance. On the right are two reconstructed barracks; on the left, in the courtyard enclosed on three sides by the museum/service building, stands the large international memorial: a broad bronze sculpture of emaciated bodies interwoven to form a barbed wire fence.

Most visits begin with a walk through the museum, which occupies the long central tract of the former service building. Visitors exit behind the international memorial (fig. 17), then proceed down the central camp street, bordered left and right hy poplar saplings and low cement curbs outlining the former barrack foundations. A lone billboard stands to one side, displaying an aerial view of the street teeming with prisoners in the late 1930s. Straight ahead, 800 yards down the axial street, rises the cylindrical form of a Catholic memorial chapel, flanked by the low outlines of Protestant and Jewish memorial buildings (figs. 20–22). The crematorium lies out of sighr off to the left at the end of the camp street, in a separate enclosure beyond the compound wall. After traversing a bridge and passing a Russian Orthodox chapel outside the wall on the left, visitors enter the parklike area around the crematorium. Just beyond the wall an inscription on a stone proclaims: "Remember how we died here." A

bit further stands a small statue of a concentration camp inmate on a high pedestal. Ahead to the right stretches the "new" part of the crematorium, built in 1942, with its disinfection chambers, undressing room, gas chamber, morgue, furnaces, and towering rectangular chimney. Hidden behind bushes and trees on the left is the simple hut of the "old," two-oven crematorium built in 1940. Paths through the nicely landscaped park lead past benches and trilingually inscribed stones marking various historical sites: "Execution Range," "Blood Ditch," "Ash Grave." A small marker with a star of David is among them.

When visitors leave this park again, they sometimes visit the religious memorial buildings at the back of the camp; but after several hours in the museum and about a mile of walking, most people opt to go directly to the memorial site exit, crossing the gravel-strewn expanse of the former camp. Visitors who do not choose to tour the museum at the beginning of their visit often start by walking through the one reconstructed barrack that is furnished with bunks recreating interiors from three different periods of the historical camp. If you are one of these visitors, you are more likely to explore the religious memorials after visiting the crematorium. You may even find your way behind the Catholic chapel to a gate cut through one of the watchtowers. It leads into the courtyard of a cloister of Carmelite nuns, where several relics from the concentration camp are displayed, including a monstrance fashioned by inmates, and a Madonna that adorned the chapel in the German priests' barrack.

With time permitting, a very few people, usually repeat visitors or individuals with a personal connection to the site, will drive the mile or so to the Leiten cemetery and the Hebertshausen shooting range, two camp-related memorials indicated on a map at the entrance to the Dachau camp memorial site itself. The road there passes the unmarked greenhouses and research buildings of the former camp plantation, a large agricultural complex that is now used as public housing and by the town's park department.

At the Leiten a steep hill climbs past carved stone stations of the Cross and a small chapel modeled after the Roman Pantheon to a gently forested cemetery. In a clearing within a low stone wall stands a tall cross emblazoned with bronze reliefs of the apostles. A low stone star of David, several individual plaques, and a poetically inscribed monolith are nestled in the greenery along the paths. On the

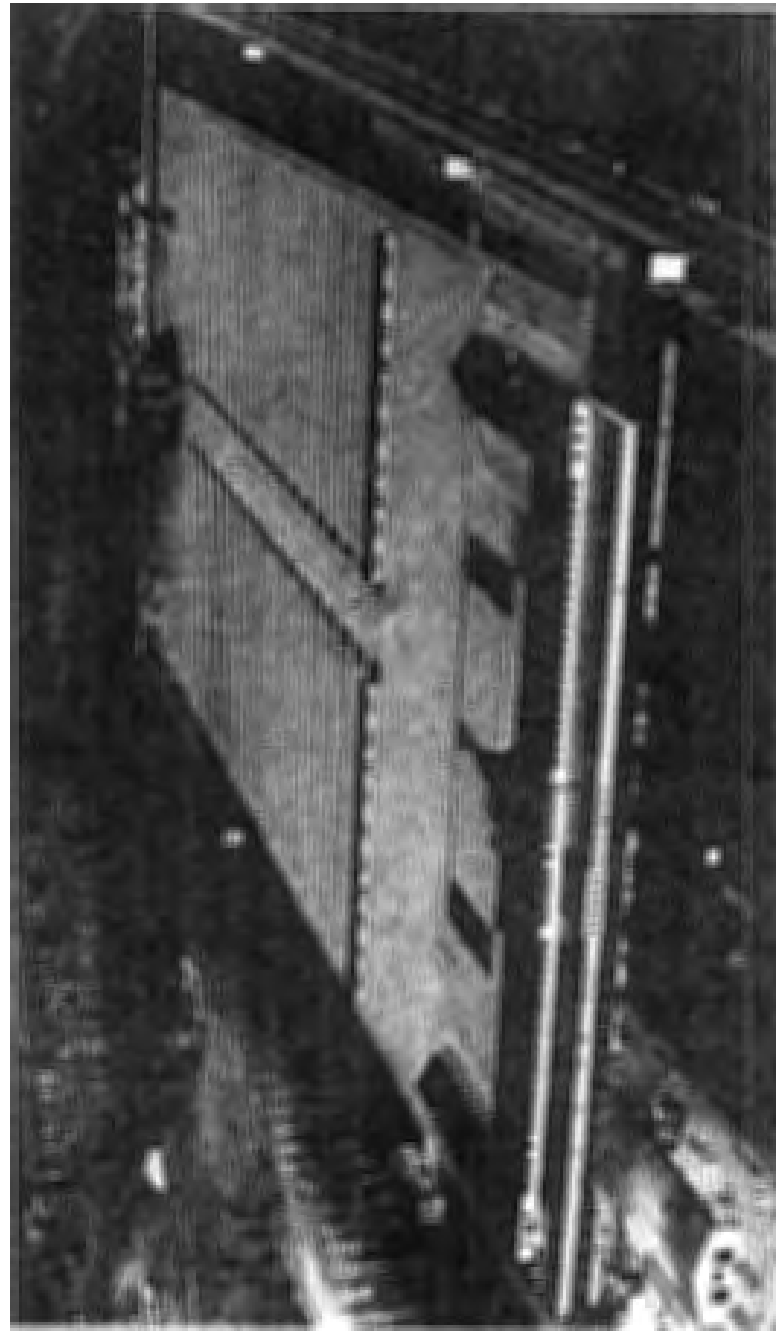

Figure 1. Aerial view of the Dachau concentration camp memorial site around 1970, after the dedication of the international memorial. The entrance to the memorial site is at the bottom right; the three religious memorials and the convent outside the northern wall of the camp are visible at the top. (Dachau Archive)

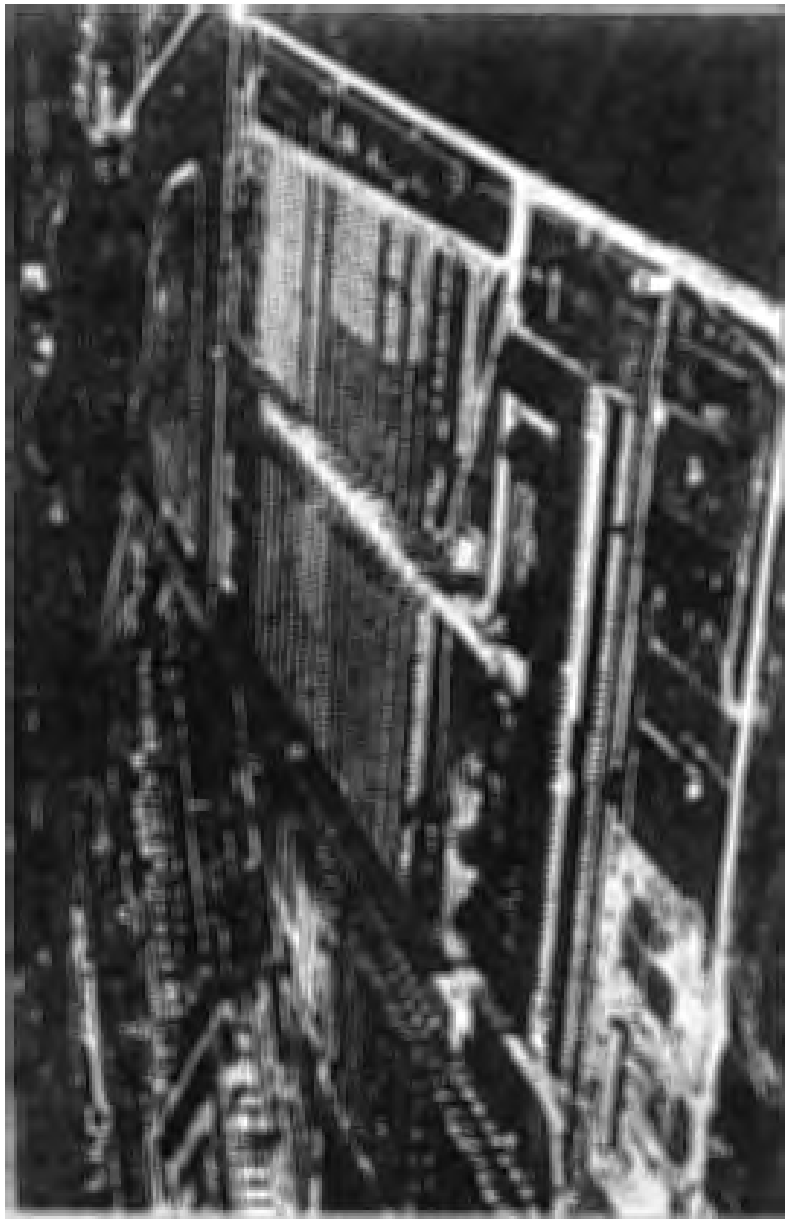

Figure 2. Aerial view of the former Dachau concentration camp in 1956, when it was a residential settlement for around two thousand people. Note the factories on the former roll-call square and the camp-era buildings at the north end of the camp (top). The crowded barracks contrast markedly with the clean memorial site created a decade later. (Dachau Archive)

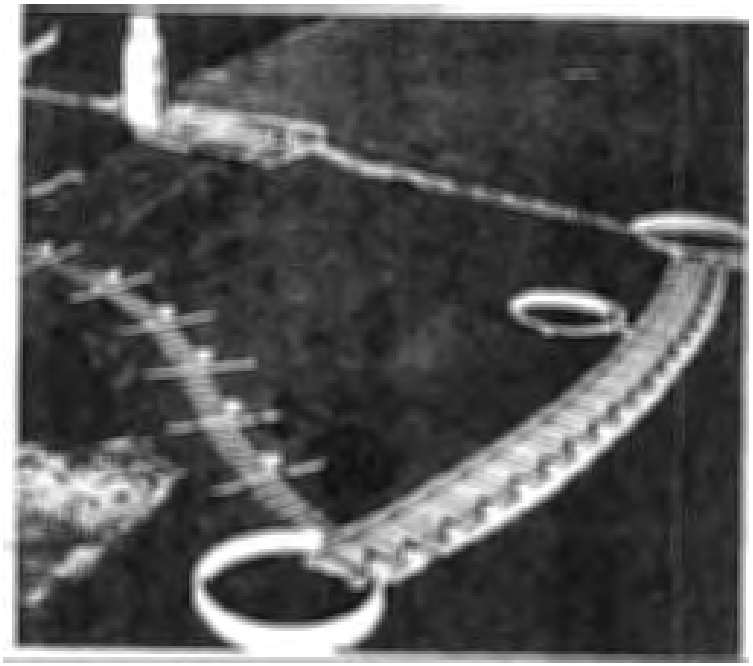

Figure 3. Aerial view of the Buchenwald memorial site near Weimar, 1954–57. This memorial is located at a mass grave site some distance from the concentration camp. (Volker Frank, 1970)

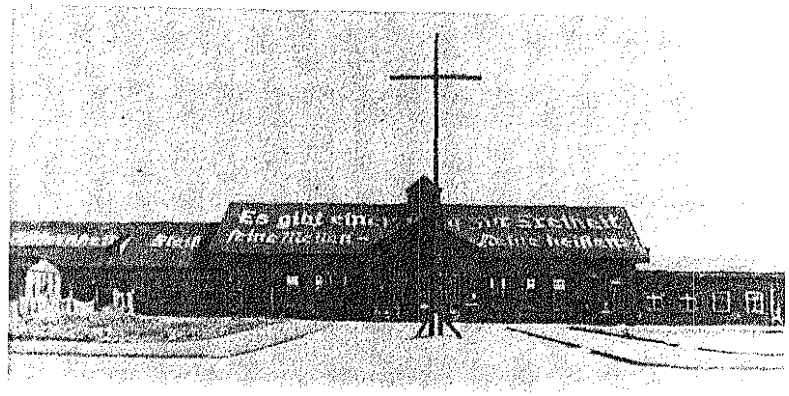

Figure 4. Camp kitchen, shower, and storage building behind the roll-call square, 1946. The cross in the foreground was erected by liberated Polish inmates. Note the Nazi-era inscription on the roof: "There is only one path to freedom. Its milestones are obedience, industriousness, honesty, orderliness, cleanliness, sobriety, truthfulness, self-sacrifice, and love of the Fatherland." (Dachau Archive)

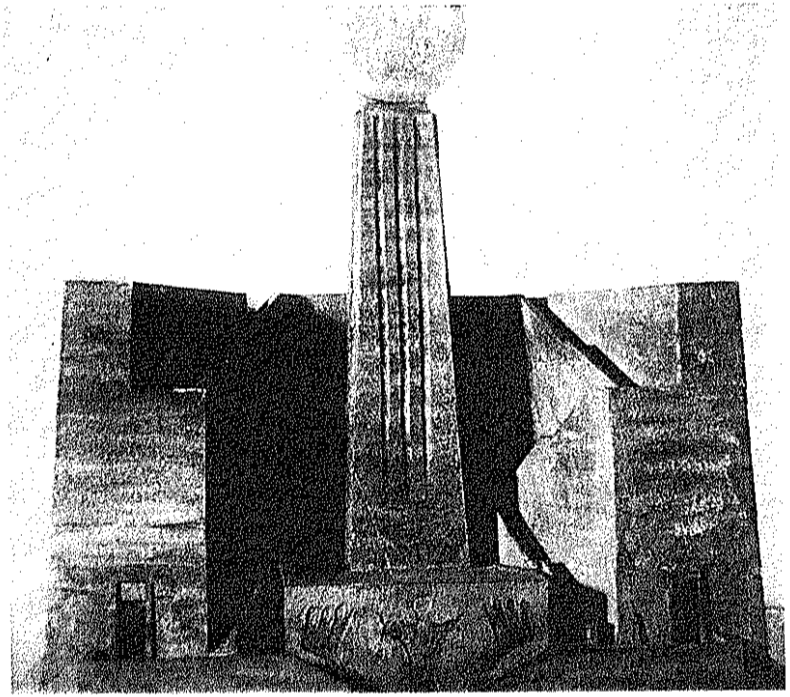

Figure 5. Karl Knappe's proposed *Temple of Liberation* for Leiten grave site, November 1945. This monumental building was to be thirty-five meters wide, and the disk atop the thirty-five-meter-tall pylon was to be covered with gold mosaic tiles. (Landratsamt, Dachau)

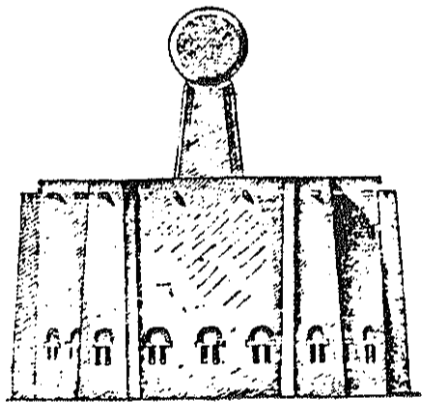

Figure 6. Sketch of *Temple of Liberation,* rear view. The semicircular rear wall of the memorial resembled German national monuments erected since the late nineteenth century. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung,* October 26, 1945)

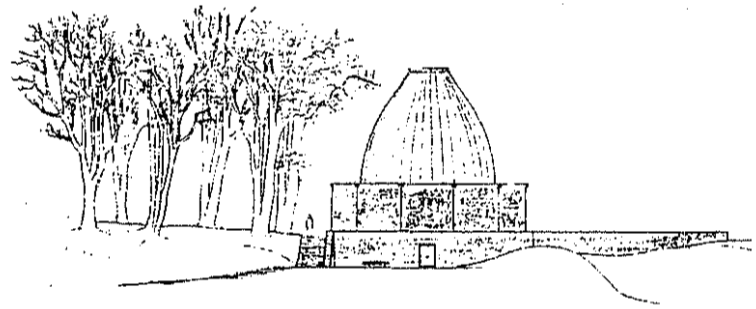

Figure 7. Third-place entry in the 1950 Leiten competition, by Roth and Hiller. A simplified version of this design, without the arching cupola, was later constructed. (*Baumeister,* January 1951, p. 23)

Figure 8. The 10.5-meter-tall memorial hall actually erected on Leiten hill in 1951–52. (Dachau Memorial Site)

Figure 10. Statue of an "unknown concentration camp inmate" (1.4 meters), by Fritz Koelle, dedicated April 1950. (Author)

Figure 9. Prisoner *pietà* by Fritz Koelle, 1946. This was the first design selected in 1948 by State Commissioner Auerbach for a memorial at the crematorium. (Dachau Archive)

Figure 11. World War I memorial in Rot on the Rot. (Photograph by the author)

Figure 12. Poster of Dachau Information Office, 1946. The text reads: "Their sacrifice, our guilt. Make it good again!" (*Concentration Camp Dachau: Album*, around 1946)

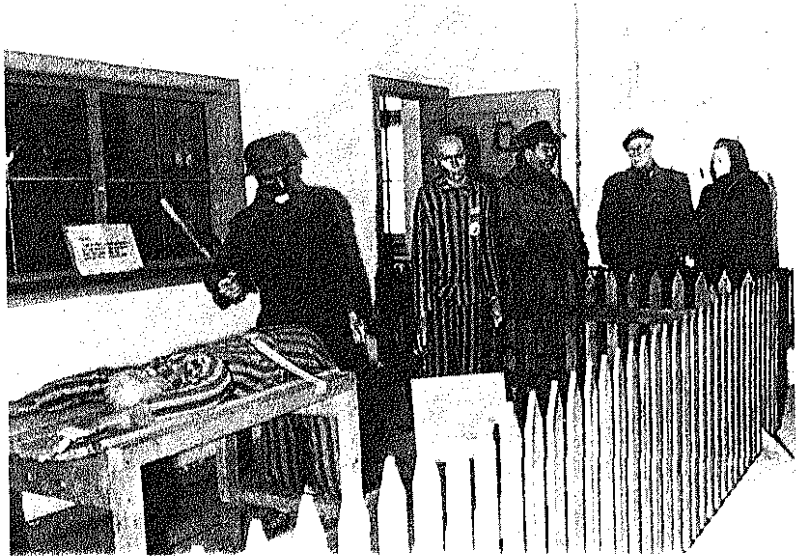

Figure 13. Visitors viewing mannequins in the first crematorium exhibition, 1945–49. (Dachau Archive)

Figure 14. Second exhibition in the crematorium, 1950–53. This exhibition tried to strike a less vivid, more objective tone. Note the whipping horse in front of the window. (Preuss, *Remember That,* p. 53)

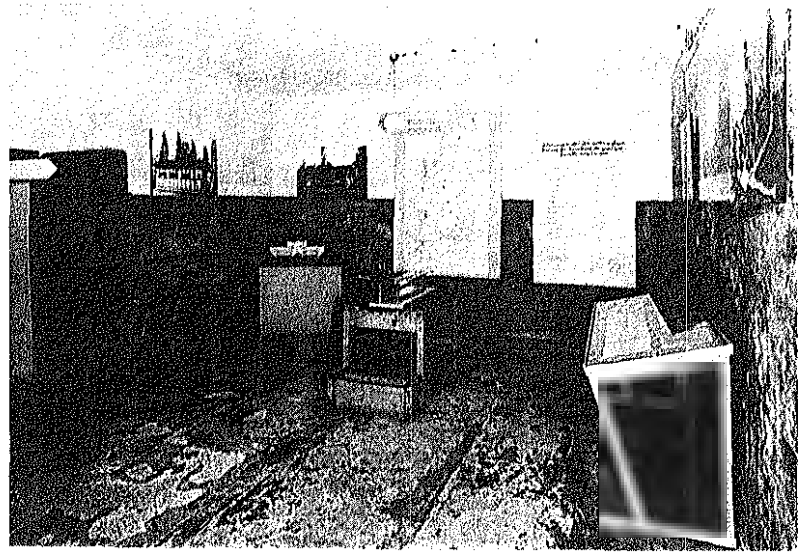

Figure 15. Third exhibition in the crematorium, 1960–64, in its provisional state in 1960. Note how the whipping horse is displayed. (Dachau Archive)

Figure 16. Third exhibition in the crematorium, 1960–64, after the 1961 renovation. Note the sign "Brausebad" (showers) with the erroneous explanation that the gas chamber was never functional. (Dachau Archive)

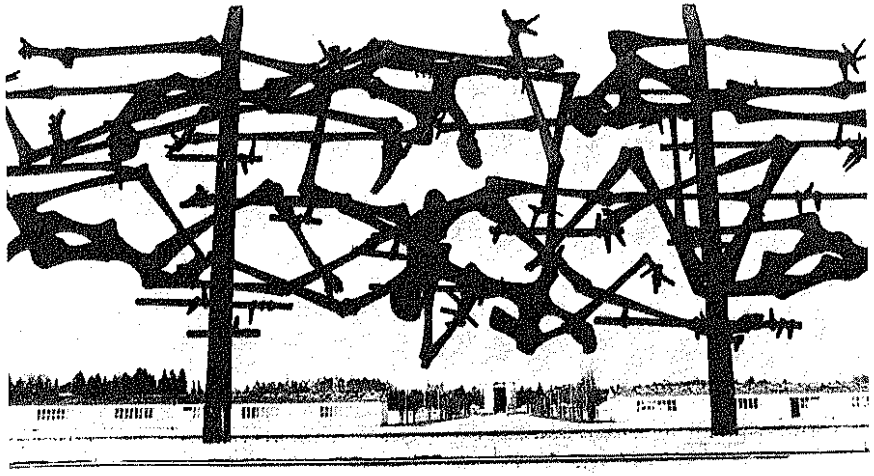

Figure 17. View through the international memorial (dedicated 1968) down the camp street to the Catholic chapel. The emaciated, twisted limbs entwined like barbed wire symbolize the suffering of the inmates. (Author)

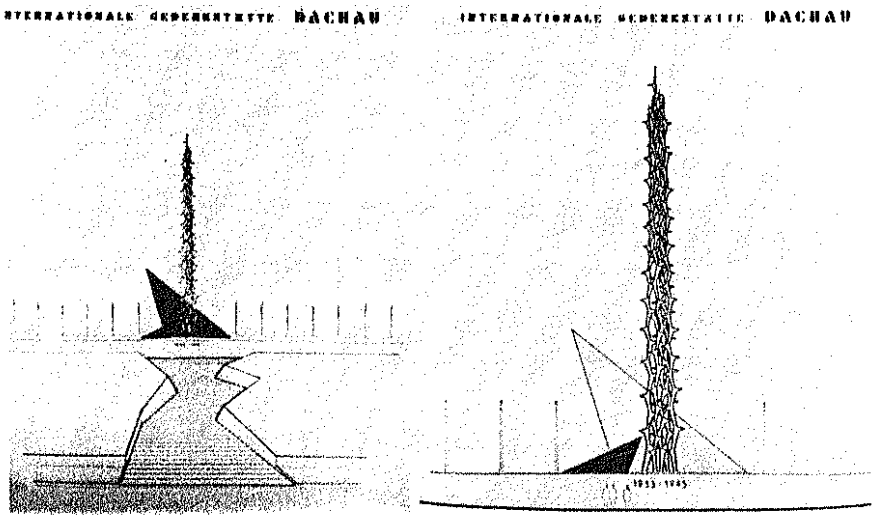

Figure 18. Design for the international memorial favored by German survivors, 1959. The rising and towering forms (thirty-five meters tall) represent the resistance of the camp inmates. (Dachau Archive)

Figure 19. Chain sculpture with triangle badges at the base of the international memorial. (Photograph by the author)

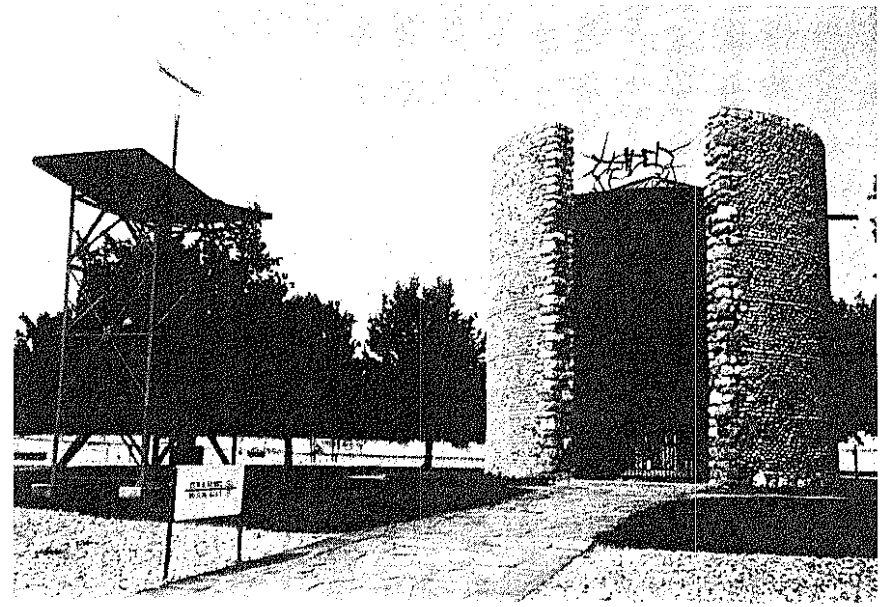

Figure 20. Catholic Chapel of the Mortal Agony of Christ, by Josef Wiedemann, 1960. The bell tower was added in 1961. (Author)

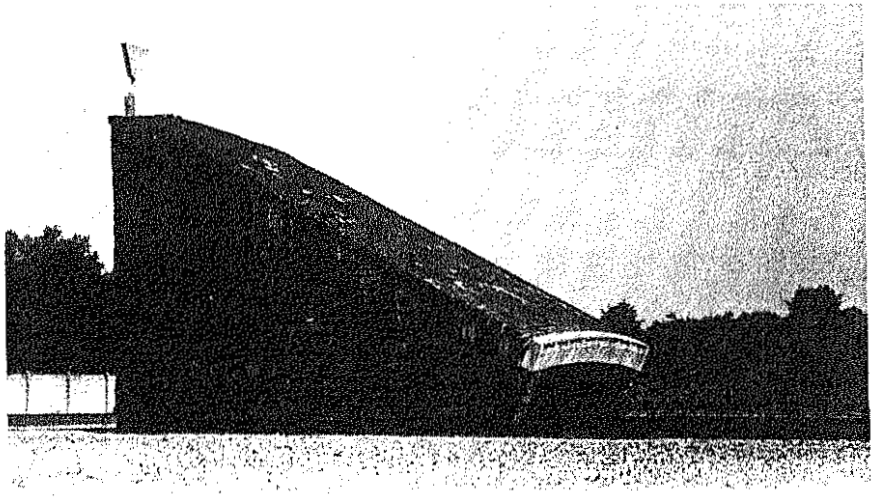

Figure 21. Jewish memorial building in Dachau, by Hermann Guttmann, built 1964–67. (Author)

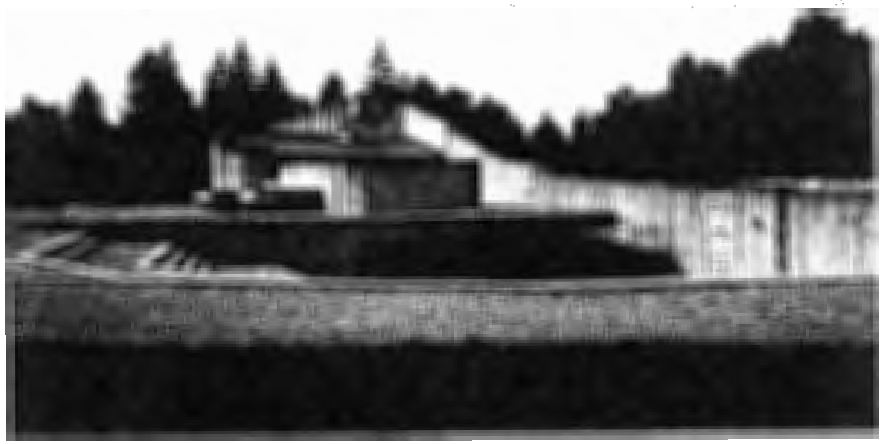

Figure 22. Protestant Church of Reconciliation, by Helmut Striffler, built 1964–67. (Author)

back side of the hill, outside the cemetery wall, a dark, eight-sided hall looms among the high trees (fig. 8). If the heavy bronze doors are open, visitors find a bronze basin resembling a baptismal font, bronze torch-holders in the corners, and painted coats-of-arms adorning the interior. From this enigmatic building, near a boarded-up wooden concession stand, another path leads back down to the parking lot.

At Hebertshausen, a short way down the road to the east, a short gravel drive leads past a small explanatory sign to a massive concrete billboard whose German inscription reads: "Thousands of PRISONERS OF WAR were MURDERED here by the SS." Curious visitors may wander back through the high grass and nettles to the bullet-pocked garagelike shooting range backdrops, into which Soviet prisoners of war were herded before being gunned down. From Hebertshausen it is several miles back past the Leiten Hill and through the town of 30,000 inhabitants to the public cemetery, where several thousand more concentration camp inmates are buried and a few more commemorative markers stand. In Dachau town itself, only a small, weathered plaque on a bank opposite the city hall and a small square named "Square of Resistance" (*Widerstandplatz*) recall events associated with the concentration camp.

When examining holocaust memorials such as those in Dachau, it is important to realize that, among different groups and at different points in time, there have been radically different conceptions of the underlying event to be recollected. A survey of memorials in Dachau yields a typology of eight different "holocausts" that have been recollected over the years by as many groups. Each of the eight recollections is fairly specific, focusing on selected aspects of a complex phenomenon, and each one is highly dependent on the shared experiences, beliefs, and characteristics that bind together the recollecting group (i.e. its identity).[4]

The most tenacious recollected image in West Germany since 1945 has been of what I call the *"clean" concentration camps*, that is, the image of the concentration camps as educational work camps, which Nazi propaganda disseminated in the official media of the day.[5] Never very close to the historical reality of the camps, this image was recollected by a "quiet majority" of the West German populace primarily during the 1950s and 1960s; it has figured in the liter-

ature of "Holocaust deniers" since its emergence in the 1950s.[6] Although this "clean" image was never publicly accepted by scholars or mainstream politicians, it has, as I will show, been realized in Dachau and several other West German memorial sites conceived in the 1950s and 1960s.

Other recollected images correspond to different phases in the Nazi-era history of the camps. Historically, the first of these commemorated aspects was the system of punitive *political prison camps* set up by the Nazi government in 1933 to neutralize and liquidate real or perceived opponents.[7] Not surprisingly, this "holocaust" is recollected by survivors from that period, primarily by members of the past and present German Communist parties, but also by some conservatives, Social Democrats, and Jews.

In a third type of recollection, the camps are conceived of as *extermination centers* and factories of annihilation as they were experienced especially by Jews.[8] This conception of the Nazi camps is most tangible in the memoir literature by survivors of camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka or Sobibor, although of course there were no survivors of the "quintessential" experience: gassing immediately upon arrival at the extermination center. A fourth image derives from the experience of foreign prisoners after 1943: *huge, barbaric slave labor complexes.*[9] Since this experience was eclipsed by the dissolution of the camp system at the end of the war, and because this memory group has never wielded much political power, this idea of the camp has rarely been publicly recollected. A fifth image of the concentration camps has figured prominently in the recollective activities of Britain and the United States, whose publics first learned about the camps primarily at liberation: the chaotic and pestilent *"death camps"* that emerged during the final phase of the war in 1945.[10]

Other groups, similar to the political prisoners who were specifically targeted during the first phase of the camps, have positioned the Nazi concentration camps within their own system of understanding. Religious Catholics, for example, especially those who were themselves imprisoned by the Nazis, tend to envision the camps as *part of a divine plan.*[11] Many Protestants, on the other hand, have viewed the holocaust as *a burden for which atonement is due.*[12]

Finally, we can distinguish an eighth recollected image of the Nazi camps that one might call *historical:* a multifaceted reality encompassing several of the images described above. This historicized view (to use a phrase whose utility was hotly debated in the mid-1980s) is, not surprisingly, held by interested members of younger generations who have no immediate personal connection to the camps or their survivors.[13]

The plethora of memorials representing these different holocausts at Dachau can be analyzed best if we subdivide the postwar decades into five periods: first, the first months after liberation in 1945; second, the years from 1946 to 1955, when a process of forgetting and then eradicating historical aspects of the Dachau camp took place; third, the years from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s, when political and religious groups established memorials enshrining the holocausts of their collective memories; fourth, a transitional decade during the 1970s; and fifth, the years since 1980, which have witnessed the gradual modification of the memorial site to present a more complex, historicized view of the holocaust.

The first memorials proposed for Dachau illustrate an important feature of all successful memorials: they draw on older, inherited symbolic and stylistic languages. In order to function in the recollective process, a memorial must make its message understood by its viewers. Therefore, most early holocaust memorials did not present aspects of the camps, which had never before been symbolically represented. Instead, they used traditional religious symbolism or a heroic monumental style. They referred not to any of the individual holocausts listed above but rather to the cessation of an unspecified historical calamity. They did not invoke a past that was still all too present in the minds of contemporaries but directed attention toward the future. Let us return to liberation day, at the end of April 1945, to examine the historical context of their origins.

When Allied soldiers entered Dachau, more than 2,000 corpses in various states of decomposition were strewn throughout the camp. To alleviate the sanitary crisis, they added these corpses to mass graves on a nearby hill that had been used by the SS since November 1944, when a lack of fuel curtailed the operation of the crematorium. Shortly after this first postwar burial, in which the corpses were transported through the town in open farm wagons, the U.S. military ordered local officials to construct a memorial at the gravesite. The first design considered by the town elders con-

sisted of two columns, one crowned by a cross, the other topped by a star of David.[14]

In June 1945 this design was proposed for the camp roll-call square and endorsed by the Archbishop of Munich, one of the few uncompromised figures of regional public life. The newly instated Dachau town leaders, representing a cross-section of the political spectrum (two Communists, two Social Democrats, two Bavarian Catholic party members, and two nonaligned) found it suitable as well, but it was abandoned only weeks later when it was discovered that its designer had been a member of the Nazi party. In July the town council decided to solicit alternative designs.

Although the two columns were never erected in that form, this first proposal had a long afterlife in the memorial history of Dachau. A large wooden cross erected shortly after liberation by Polish survivors did adorn the roll-call square for a year or more in 1945–46 (fig. 4).[15] And in 1949 a wooden cross and a star of David were erected at the mass grave on the Leiten Hill,[16] to be replaced in 1956 by the more permanent versions in bronze and stone that still stand today.[17] In 1960 they appeared in yet another project, when a suffragan bishop who had been imprisoned in the concentration camp, and who had just spearheaded the construction of a Catholic chapel at the end of the central camp street, suggested that such crowned columns flank his chapel to represent what he referred to as the "other two major world religions," Judaism and Protestantism.[18] The popularity of these ahistorical memorials reveals a continuing desire not to recollect any holocaust but instead to use the historical location to affirm a bond with the recollective community in the present.

Once most of the survivors of Dachau had been repatriated in the summer of 1945, the camp was used by the U.S. army as an internment center for German army officers and Nazi party officials. Commemorative markers in the camp were not accessible to the public, so by default the Leiten gravesite became the focal point of commemorative activity.

The next proposal for a Dachau memorial, unveiled on November 9, 1945, at an internationally broadcast commemorative ceremony in the castle of Dachau township, abandoned religious symbolism and drew upon a different memorial tradition: large structures in prominent natural settings, such as the national monuments of the nineteenth century and the Bismarck towers of the early twentieth.[19] This proposal, which I will refer to as a *Temple of Liberation,* was envisioned by Karl Knappe, a Munich artist who had sculpted war memorials during the Weimar and Nazi periods (such as the prone figure of a uniformed soldier in Munich's tomblike World War I memorial) (figs. 5 and 6).

The base of this rectangular building atop the Leiten Hill was to be 35 meters wide and 20 meters high, containing cavernous rooms with memorial plaques, paintings, and frescoes. A steep exterior staircase led to the roof, which offered a panoramic view of the former concentration camp in the foreground and the peaks of the Alps in the distance. From this base rose a 15-meter pylon consisting of an obelisk crowned by a large sunlike gold mosaic disk, which would have been visible from afar. The temple's "rugged mass" was to have, as the artist phrased it, an "elemental naturalness." His idea was

> to point to the gravity of the events only in the lower rooms, and then to guide the visitors of this memorial site up onto the walls, which were to be built out of the ruins of Munich. Visitors would have climbed onto these walls and found . . . a "liberating" view of the Alps. I think it would have been sufficient to allude to the horrors in the large lower rooms, and not eternally block the road to freedom and salvation with remembrance.[20]

The candid formulation of Knappe's concluding sentence concisely expresses the predominant antirecollective sentiments of the broader German populace at the end of the war, which was composed to a substantial extent of former followers and supporters of the National Socialist regime. However, in occupied Germany that silent majority was not in a position to express approval or dissent. Several progressive German architects publicly criticized the design, linking it to nationalistic and militaristic monuments of Germany's past. This prompted U.S. military and Bavarian authorities to withdraw their support for the project shortly after the November 1945 ceremony, and it was never built.[21]

This unrealized project is not the only example of a German holocaust monument drawing on this monumental tradition, however. At Buchenwald near Weimar, in what was communist East Germany, an expansive memorial site near the camp was designed in the mid-1950s and dedicated in September 1958 (fig. 3).[22] Its center-

piece is a 50-meter stone bell tower erected on the foundations of a Bismarck tower torn down to make room for it.[23] The ensemble features a massive entry gate, a series of large narrative bas-reliefs, huge pylons with flame basins, and funnel-shaped, concrete-lined circular graves, as well as a monumental sculptural group with figures almost twice life size. In contrast to the Leiten temple project, which would have been limited to unspecified allusions to camp life in the interior rooms, the narrative reliefs and sculptural group in Buchenwald are unequivocal representations of the "political" holocaust in the concentration camps of the early 1930s. Throughout the history of East Germany, that was the holocaust whose recollection was supported by the state apparatus.

In the years after 1945, two developments facilitated the break with older commemorative traditions in West Germany. On the one hand, Cold War politics and pressing problems in day-to-day life enabled many Germans to forget the hideous images of the concentration camps that had been forced into their consciousness at war's end. This led to a dearth of official commemorative activities relating to the holocaust during the late 1940s and early 1950s. On the other hand, after commemorative activities began to revive in the mid-1950s, artists and memorial makers found new forms and symbols that did more than mark the concentration camp sites as symbolic cemeteries. From 1945 to the early 1960s a whole iconography of the Nazi camps gradually evolved, including barbed wire, triangle badges, smokestacks, emaciated or skeletized bodies, coffins, chains, flames, walls, ramps, fences, railroad tracks, and cattle cars.[24] Two international artistic competitions also helped to break with the established tradition: the competition to design a memorial for the "Unknown Political Prisoner" in 1953, and that for a memorial for Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1956.[25]

One early example of this new language is a plaque erected by the Association of the Persecutees of the Nazi Regime (*Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes,* VVN), an organization of German survivors, on a bank in downtown Dachau in 1947. Dachau camp inmates and oppositional townsmen had attempted to wrest power from the town's Nazi leadership shortly before Allied troops arrived. The revolt was unsuccessful, however, and the corpses of insurgents were displayed as a public warning in front of a bank opposite city

hall. The 1947 plaque, which simply names the victims and the event, depicts a row of triangle badges, which had been used in the concentration camps to designate categories of prisoners according to the reason for their imprisonment. This badge of shame, which was unmistakably linked to the Nazi camps, was now used as a badge of honor.

The first figurative memorial proposed for Dachau, a smaller-than-life statue of a concentration camp inmate holding a naked and emaciated comrade with his left arm, shows how the traditional sculptural motif was adapted to present an old message with icons of these new events (fig. 9). Fritz Koelle, a well-known proletarian sculptor of the 1920s working in an expressionistic style, took the centuries-old motif of the *pietà* (the Virgin Mary with her dead son)—which represents mourning, sacrifice for the greater good, and a close bond between the two figures—and applied to it symbols of the camps: emaciation, a shorn head, pyjamalike uniform, and a sallow face with sunken eyes.[26] Koelle gave the pair an unsettling twist in that the clothed figure's right hand is raised and pointing at the emaciated comrade in an accusatory gesture.

The *pietà* motif is common in memorial sculpture and has been adapted to other situations as well: a World War I soldiers' monument in the German town of Rot on the Rot shows a statue of Jesus as the man of sorrows supporting a fully uniformed German soldier (fig. 11); in a poster printed by the Dachau survivors information office in 1946, a German civilian supports a clothed prisoner in striped garb (fig. 12); and Nathan Rapoport's bronze statue "The Liberator," dedicated in 1985 in New Jersey's Liberty Park, depicts a U.S. soldier carrying a withered concentration camp inmate.[27] In each case, the commissioners wanted to represent a bond between the two symbolic figures: the sacrifice of Jesus and that of the fallen German soldiers of World War I; German civilians and the sacrifice of concentration camp inmates; American GIs and liberated concentration camp prisoners.

The Dachau *pietà* was initially selected in 1948 for a memorial to be established in front of the Dachau crematorium by Phillip Auerbach, a Jewish German businessman who had survived the camps and returned to Munich to head the Bavarian Office of Restitution.[28] Auerbach, who was just completing his doctoral thesis on German resistance against the Third Reich, identified himself more

with the political resistance in Germany than with Jewish survivors per se, although as their Jewish advocate he clearly sympathized with the latter group as well.[29] A short time after he began a fund-raising drive for the figure, because of negative feedback he had received, Auerbach abandoned the prisoner-*pietà* and selected another sculpture by the same artist: a solitary, shorn inmate in the typical camp garb (fig. 10).[30]

The "unknown concentration camp inmate," as the subject of the sculpture has come to be known, wears an overcoat, pants, and clogs, so that only his gaunt face betrays emaciation. The accusatory right hand of the earlier group is now buried in the coat pocket; the knit brows and focused gaze have been raised in a dreamy, undirected look. This new design without the naked, emaciated second figure represents a dramatically different meaning from the one expressed in the first sculpture. The accusatory presentation of the inhumanity that reigned in the Nazi camps and the solidarity among the prisoners have been replaced by a detached, isolated, unimposing figure. The combined political and Jewish holocausts represented in the first statue vanish in favor of a vague and palatable representation of a victim of a relatively "clean" camp. It appears that Auerbach, in his desire to gain acceptance from the wider German populace, had chosen a statue with which that group could also identify.

This new monument was dedicated in September 1950 in front of the Dachau crematorium, where it still stands today. The transition from the graphic depiction of the earlier sculpture to the restrained mood of the second reflects the second development in the late 1940s and 1950s which facilitated the break from the older memorial tradition: the cessation of commemorative activities for the Nazi holocausts. During the 1950s the history of the Dachau camp itself, as well as the history of the Leiten gravesite and an exhibition in the crematorium/gas chamber building, illustrated the attempt to recast the former concentration camp as the "clean" camp that it had never been.

The first Nuremberg trial, one of whose purposes bad been to inform the German people about the atrocities committed under the Nazi regime, ended in October 1946. The United States conducted a subsequent series of trials at the internarional court there, while at

Dachau a U.S. military court tried Germans accused of crimes against Allied personnel until 1947.[31] By that time tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union had become increasingly manifest, and the emerging superpowers began to relax their hardline punitive stance toward occupied Germany.[32] In the spring and summer of 1948 the remaining Dachau internees received amnesty and were released in droves, a precursor of the "release" of images of the holocaust from West German collective memory.[33]

In 1949 West Germany became the semisovereign Federal Republic of Germany. This gave its national leaders more autonomy in setting the country's commemorative agenda. Until 1955, when Chancellor Adenauer concluded an agreement bringing home German prisoners of war from the Soviet Union, West German recollective activities focused on these absent men, and public officials avoided holocaust commemorations as much as possible.[34] To give just one example: from 1951 to 1955 a national "Week of the Prisoners of War" was celebrated with lavish support from government agencies.[35] Although this memorial week was first held in late October, it was moved in 1952 to the first week of May, when the anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps was usually celebrated.

In Dachau, as the internment camp emptied, Bavarian autborities speculated about uses for the complex once it reverted to German control. In January 1948 the Bavarian legislature unanimously passed a bill calling for the use of the Dachau camp complex as a work camp for the many "asocial elements" in pre–currency reform Germany. The language of the bill unselfconsciously echoed the official descriptions of purportedly "clean" concentration camps during the 1930s.[36] As the stream of refugees from the East mounted in the spring of 1948, however, the legislature decided instead to convert the concentration camp barracks into apartments and create a refugee settlement (fig. 2).[37] This plan was realized, in spite of more cost-effective alternative proposals having nothing to do with the former camp, whose Nazi-era history the printed reports and official correspondence regarding the decision studiously avoided.

The history of the Leiten gravesite after the rejection of the temple project offers another example of the passage of the holocaust into West German recollective oblivion in the late 1940s. When

Knappe's monumental temple project was officially abandoned in January 1946, a commission was formed by Bavarian prime minister Hoegner to find a new solution.[38] The commission's recommendation, released in March 1946, closely followed the suggestion proposed by Knappe's critics: "At the gravesite an architectonically framed sculptural group should be set in a memorial grove as a monument of remembrance and warning. Such a solution would have the advantages that it would be free of false and exaggerated pathos . . . , and would require only a very moderate quantity of material."[39] This recommendation was publicly announced in June 1946, and by September, twenty-one entries had been submitted. The jury deemed none of them acceptable, and decided to request new designs from the creators of the four most promising models.[40] They now specified more precisely that submitted projects should have "the character of a cemetery," so that they would "resemble neither a museum nor a place for an outing." A room for ritual acriviries and private commemorative markers was to be included, as was a "living and meaningful connection to the surroundings," such as a bell tower. These conditions were set exclusively by state officials; survivors of the camp had no input into the process. In the ensuing months the State Chancellery and the Ministry of Culture did not allocate the funds for the new competition, and the entire project was forgotten by the bureaucracy until 1949, when an international scandal catapulted it back on to the public agenda.

In the summer of that year, a steam shovel mining fine sand at the base of the Leiten Hill exposed several skeletons.[41] Although it was later determined that the skeletons predated the Nazi era, the disinterment spotlighted the negligence of state and local authorities in maintaining the gravesite atop the hill. When the story broke, no one could recall the precise location of the concentration camp graves, nor even the approximate number of corpses: the first estimates ranged wildly, from 2,000 to 20,000 (in reality there were about 5,600). Even the searing experience of seeing farm wagons laden with decomposing corpses being led through the town had not anchored the gravesite in collective memory. Local residents may have privately remembered the macabre processions, but even in the short span of four years, the lack of public recollection had helped to isolate these images from their historical context and strip them of their significance for the collectivity.

To rectify the impression of past neglect, the state mounted massive public relations efforts in 1949–50, including the final realization of the Leiten memorial project begun in 1945 and the renovation of the exhibirion in the crematorium which had been installed in 1945–46 during the first Dachau war crimes trial (fig. 13).[42] The descriptions of the new Leiten project reveal that little change had occurred in the ahistorical recollection typical of the immediate postwar period. In December 1949, the Dachau county governor declared that "a kind of interdenominational pantheon with several altars for the various religions" was to be erected.[43] In February 1950, when a new competition for it was officially initiated, the guidelines prescribed a design symbolizing "the religious and national idea of sacrifice on behalf of peace."[44] The text of the document sealed in the cornerstone of the Leiten Hall confirms the official wish to associate the commemorarion of the victims of the Nazis with self-sacrifice for high ideals:

> May this place, in memory of the dead of many nations and denominations who died for their belief in honor, freedom, and justice, become not only a site of reverence, but a sign of warning to all humanity.
>
> May this place of hatred become a place of love, serving to promote understanding and peace in the world![45]

According to the reasoning implicit in this text, since the Dachau deaths were meaningful, their commemoration would not renew old hatred against the Germans but promote Germany's integration into the international community. Such government-formulated conceptions excluded the suffering, barbarity, exploitation, and senselessness of the inmate experience in the Nazi camps. They also flew in the face of the popular image of the camps as "clean" correctional penal institutions for "asocial" inmates. As the seventy-four-year-old mayor of Dachau would tell a British journalist in late 1959: "Please don't make the mistake of thinking that only heroes died in Dachau. Many inmates were . . . there because they illegally opposed the regime of the day. . . . You have got to remember there were many criminals and homosexuals in Dachau. Do we want a memorial to such people?"[46] In the limelight of international attention a decade earlier, however, it was not expedient for German officials to recollect this image, so they limited their historical pronouncements to

vacuous generalities and proceeded to select artistic designs that would not offend local sensibilities.

When the artistic competition concluded two months later, a newspaper reviewer summarized his impression of the 175 entries as follows:

> There are not only modified churches of every age, Roman forts, Gothic citadels, and neo-German colonial castles [*Ordensburgen*], but especially shows of strength in homeland-style [*Heimatstil*] and transparent industrial halls, and even idyllic Biedermeier garden pavilions, constructions reminiscent of the monument to the Battle of Nations [*Völkerschlachtdenkmal* in Leipzig, 1898–1913], and neoclassical theaters and halls of fame.[47]

This roster indicates the powerful hold these older commemorative traditions still had on the artistic community—and not only on them. When the jury met to examine the entries, it found the following characteristics most appealing because they were "rooted in the local tradition" (*heimatverbunden*): octagonal ground plan, stained glass windows, and careful landscaping.[48]

Considerations of cost—the original projection of 1–2 million marks had been reduced to 600,000 for both landscaping and construction—dictated a relatively simple memorial. Ultimately the third-place entry by architect Harald Roth and sculptor Anton Hiller, subject to some alterations, was selected (fig. 7).[49] Construction was delayed until spring 1951 because funds had not been budgeted,[50] another example of the bureaucratic foot-dragging that characterized the treatment of the Dachau project from 1946 to 1949.

The memorial hall ultimately constructed on the Leiten in 1951–52 has some telling similarities to the monumental tradition of its 1945 predecessor, the 35-meter-tall *Temple of Liberation* (figs. 5 and 8). The eight-sided hall of rough-hewn basalt is only 10.5 meters high and 9 meters in diameter, but its bronze doors, torch mounts, and thirty-three national coats of arms are reminiscent of both the 1945 Knappe project and more traditional heroic monuments such as the eight-sided Tannenberg (1924–27) and Annaberg (1938) monuments, and the German soldiers' memorial erected at El Alamain in Egypt at roughly the same time.[51] Today the Leiten's pseudo-Germanic hall is concealed by trees, hidden from public attention like the graves of the camp victims themselves. When the octagonal hall was completed in 1952, no public ceremony marked the event.

Another element of the public relations effort in the wake of the Leiten scandal was the renovation of an exhibition installed in the rooms of the crematorium building by survivors in late 1945. The original display included mannequins re-creating scenes of torture, and graphic pictures, including a series of photographs of prisoners reenacting the cremation procedure with real corpses after liberation (fig. 13).[52] A major redesign in 1950 removed the mannequins and replaced most of those pictures by charts, statistics, and photographs of postwar commemoration (fig. 14). This exhibition did not last long, however. In 1951 Phillip Auerbach, who had been the only Bavarian state official advocating commemoration in Dachau, was accused of embezzlement, arrested, and put on trial. After he was convicted of several unrelated minor offenses, he committed suicide in August 1952. Responsibility for the Dachau memorial site was transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and at the next opportunity, right after the eighth anniversary of liberation in 1953, Bavarian authorities removed the exhibition.[53] Subsequently, plans were floated to close and tear down the crematorium building, and demolition of the watchtowers actually began.[54]

In the late 1940s and early 1950s the recollective programs of two groups coincided: some survivors, such as Auerbach, who saw the camps as places of senseless death and wanted to turn them into quiet parks to honor the victims; and those Germans represented by the Bavarian Ministry of Finance (which owned the site) and the local county governor's office (which worked to end public access), both of whom professed to remember the camps as "clean" institutions for the retraining of the "work-shy" and wanted to remove evidence to the contrary. The neat landscaping in the crematorium area and on the Leiten Hill in Dachau today date from this period.

The West German attempt to recollect the "clean" camps did not end with the creation of the memorial parks, however. It also affected the overall appearance of the memorial site in the former concentration camp itself (compare figs. 1 and 2). By 1955 the marginalization of organizations of former political prisoners and the eradicatory measures of the early 1950s had prompted survivors to take action and lobby for the creation of a historically concrete me-

morial site. However, time and again the Bavarian government forced them to modify their plans in such a way as to reduce historical concreteness.[55] Although the survivors planned to retain some or all of the barracks in the memorial site, for instance, state officials argued that because of dilapidation and subsequent modifications, all wooden structures on the site would have to be demolished. From 1962 to 1964 all of the prisoner barracks were torn down, as were the rabbit hutches, kennels, greenhouses, infirmary, canteen, library, disinfection building, chapel, brothel, and the many other buildings that had made up camp life. As a compromise, the two barrack buildings immediately adjacent to the roll-call square—the infirmary and canteen—were reconstructed as sleeping barracks, but with cement floors, locking doors, and tightly fitting windows. One reconstruction remained empty. The other was fitted with typical furnishings from three periods in the camp's history. Still missing was the relatively comfortable quarters where the barrack elder slept; only one set of toilets and lavatories was reconstructed.

By 1965 this compromise between Dachau survivors and Bavarian authorities had yielded a minimalist solution, a reduction of "Dachau" to the barest designators of the "Holocaust" in the narrow sense: an enclosed compound with an entry gate, watch towers, some barbed-wire fencing, two barracks, a gas chamber, and a crematorium.[56] The rest of the camp was strewn with light-colored pebbles, and the locations of the other thirty-two barracks marked by low concrete curbs. These remain today. Thus the memorial site symbolically reincarnates the propaganda image of the "clean" camp, with a few icons of the early political camps and the later extermination centers superimposed upon it. There is no indication that some barracks had been enclosed by barbed wire fences; that Czechs lived in one barrack, Frenchmen in another, Polish priests in a third, German priests in a fourth with a chapel; that two others housed the so-called punishment company, or that medical experiments were conducted in yet another. Attentive visitors to the memorial site might notice that only thirty of the thirty-four barrack outlines have numbers. Nothing indicates that the remaining four housed the infirmary, canteen, and prison library, which had held thousands of books. The complexities of the universe of the Nazi camps were erased from Dachau's memorial topography.

While this historical neutralization may be difficult to understand in retrospect, it may have been a necessary didactic step at the time. First the holocaust in its most general meaning had to be reestablished as a historical fact in the face of repression and denial; only then could its complexity, internal contradictions, and nonlinearity be explored and represented. There are other examples of this "flattening" of history as well. Originally, large letters on the roof of the service building (which had housed storerooms, the camp kitchen, and showers, and now contains the museum, offices, and archive) mockingly proclaimed virtues such as obedience, sobriety, cleanliness, and industry as the "milestones to freedom" to the prisoners standing at attention twice daily in the roll-call square below (fig. 4).[57] But this inscription, a cynical outgrowth of the Nazi-era "clean" camp ideology, was never reconstructed. Another example of didactic simplification was a sign put up at the entrance to the gas chamber in 1960, explaining the word *Brausebad* (showers) stenciled over the door (fig. 16): "This room would have been used as an undressing and waiting room if the gas chamber had worked. The sign 'showers' served to deceive the prisoners." However, the gas chamber had indeed worked: it was tested with Zyklon B gas and possibly combat gasses as well.[58] But it had never been used for the systematic murder of prisoners; perhaps because by the time it was completed, deaths due to mistreatment, malnutrition, and disease already surpassed the capacity of the crematorium. The explanation offered was probably an overly sensitive reaction to claims that no one was ever gassed at Dachau.[59] Such pseudoacademically argued denials highlighted the need for definitive research about the Nazi holocaust. As this literature gradually accumulated in the 1960s and 70s, a number of groups worked to enshrine their images of the holocaust in memorials.

The commemorative buildings erected by various groups in Dachau in the 1960s illustrate a fundamental principle about the political aesthetics of holocaust memorials: they have more to do with the politics and worldview of the recollecting group than with the historical events they purport to represent. The first of these monuments in Dachau (coincidentally one of the last to be completed) was an international memorial initiated with a symbolic corner-

stone-laying in 1956 by the International Dachau Survivors' Committee (Comité International de Dachau), the umbrella organization of Dachau survivors.[60] Most of the group's members had been imprisoned for political reasons; but the German and non-German organizations held widely disparate views of the concentration camps. While most of the German members of the committee had been political opponents of the Nazi regime, arrested in the early 1930s and treated preferentially by the SS, the other foreign groups had experienced the camps during the exacerbated conditions of the war years and had endured much harsher treatment. Thus, while the German survivors saw the camps as places where heroic resisters had struggled valiantly against overwhelmingly powerful opponents, the foreigners tended to see them as places of barbarous cruelty and senseless death.

As the project moved slowly toward realization—the 2,000 individuals and families living in the former camp first had to be relocated—the differences between these two collective memories began to surface. In 1959 an international competition brought in sixty-three entries from eighteen countries.[61] The Belgian and French national committees, which had dominated the leadership of the Comité International de Dachau since its reestablishment in 1955 (it had existed as a secret resistance organization during the final months of the camp), favored a sculpture by Yugoslavian artist Glid Nandor in which stylized emaciated bodies with barblike hands were interwoven to resemble a barbed-wire fence (fig. 17). The West German committee, in contrast, liked a model by a German architect in which a slender, 35-meter column of jagged, interconnected strands towered over a large and a smaller stone triangle thrusting in opposite directions (fig. 18).[62] These designs reflect the collective memories of each group. The dynamic, vertical German design would have honored stalwart resistance under adverse conditions, as symbolized by the hunched, thrusting triangles. The jagged tower, in addition to the importance expressed by its height, connoted the deadly, essentially insurmountable ascent to victory over the Nazis. The Yugoslavian design, which was the one ultimately erected, expressed the inhuman treatment of human beings, the nameless, faceless mass death of people penned up in enclosures like worthless animals.

As a compromise between the two groups, before the memorial was completed in 1968 a second sculpture was added within the

ramplike base of Nandor's design to symbolize the international solidarity of the prisoners within the camp. This bas-relief consists of three huge links of a symbolic chain. Adorning the links are triangles glazed in the colors of the badges identifying various groups in the concentration camp (fig. 19). However, several of the colors used in the camps are omitted: the green of the "professional criminals," the black of the "asocial elements," and the pink of the homosexuals. Whereas the absence of the first follows a reasonable logic, the lack of the other two colors reveals the prejudices and limits of solidarity of the more politically oriented survivors. The black badge was sometimes assigned by the SS as an additional humiliation, and homosexuals, with their pink badges, were victims as innocent as Jews, whose yellow double triangles are amply represented in the sculpture.

If the chain insignia represents the groups assembled in the Comité International, not the concentration camp, it still refers explicitly to the historical experience. In contrast, Christian religious commemoration at Dachau draws on traditions much older than, and often completely unrelated to, the Nazi holocaust. Constructed in less than six months and dedicated in August 1960, the Catholic Chapel of the Mortal Agony of Christ was the first religious building to be built within the camp perimeter for specifically commemorative purposes (figs. 17 and 21). This cylindrical structure, 15 meters tall and 15 meters in diameter, is located on the central axis of the camp, at the end opposite the roll-call square. A wide opening from top to bottom of the side visible from the camp reveals a raised altar, above which hangs an abstract crucifix. Suspended under the inset conical roof is a huge abstract crown of thorns woven from iron rails reminiscent of the heat-twisted girders and truck chassis used as grates for burning corpses. A ring of lawn and a circle of oak trees surround the chapel (fig. 1). This greenery is a last remnant of suffragan bishop Neuhäusler's 1960 plan for the entire memorial site: a grove of trees without any remnants of the camp.[63] Neuhäusler was allowed to realize his plan only in the immediate vicinity of the Catholic chapel because of protests from the German survivors, who by that time were more interested in historically concrete commemoration than Auerbach had been in the early fifties.

The Mortal Agony chapel illustrates the Catholic recollection of the holocaust, within the Christian system of belief, as an element of a divine plan. The celebration of Mass and the crown of thorns

linking Jesus to a concentration camp victim turn the commemorative ritual into a religious affirmation. If the chapel had been located elsewhere, hardly anything would indicate its specific commemorative significance. This is only slightly less true for the other Catholic commemorative building in the camp, a convent just behind the chapel.

The convent, Sacred Blood of the Carmelite order, built in 1963–64, is entered through a gate broken into the base of a watchtower (fig. 1, at top). Plans to construct a cloister at Dachau go back to the weeks immediately after liberation, when freed priests tried to win U.S. general Patton to their plan to construct a church around and over the crematorium, which would have become a kind of crypt in this religious edifice.[64] The situation at the time precluded the immediate carrying our of the plan, which was forgotten in the flurry of West German reconstruction. However, after the completion of the Mortal Agony chapel in 1960, the plan was revived. As the prioress of a Carmelite convent near Bonn wrote to the Archbishop of Munich in 1962:

> The name Dachau will always be connected with man's most terrible cruelties. The site of such ill deeds, where so many human beings bore unspeakable pain, should not be lowered to become a neutral memorial site, or, worse, just a tourist attraction. Rather, at Dachau surrogate penance [*stellvertretende Sühne*] should be performed through the sacrifice of Our Lord Jesus Christ and, in connection with that, through the sacrifice and atonement of human beings who follow the suffering and atoning Lord in love and obedience. The Carmelite order is, in a special manner, appointed to prayer, sacrifice, and atonement.[65]

This is a clear formulation of how the holocaust was to be made part of this group's identity: as part of a path to salvation in which liturgical practice mirrors divine sacrifice without tangible links to the holocaust, thus reinforcing religious identity, not historical consciousness.

Yet another Catholic chapel was erected by Italian survivors of Dachau in the early 1960s on the slope of the Leiten Hill.[66] Fundraising for the votive chapel "Maria Pacis" (Mary, Queen of Peace), modeled after the Roman Pantheon by Italian architect Ehea Ronca,

began in 1955. Ground was broken in August 1960, when Bishop Neuhäusler's Mortal Agony chapel was dedicated. The Italian chapel was finished in September 1962 and dedicated after the completion of stone stations of the cross along the path leading up to it a few weeks later. It, too, contains no references to the history of Dachau or the concentration camps but serves solely as a place of worship for Catholic pilgrims. These purely religious stations contrast sharply with the purely secular stations of the induction into concentration camp life that mark the descending path in the memorial at Buchenwald (fig. 3).

After the completion of the Mortal Agony chapel in the memorial site in 1960, considerations of religious equity prompted Bishop Neuhäusler to call for rhe construction of Jewish and Protestant memorials as well. When he first invited the Organization of Bavarian Jews and the German Protestant Church to erect memorials of their own, he suggested simple columns with a cross and a star of David, but both groups ultimately decided on more elaborate memorials.[67]

For the Jews, Dachau was a dead place, and they did not want to erect a house of God there.[68] After initially acquiescing to a simple star of David, they decided that a nonliturgical memorial building would be more suitable. The Jewish architect Hermann Gutmann, who had designed postwar synagogues in Düsseldorf and Hannover, was commissioned to design the project, for which a cornerstone was laid in June 1964.

The Jewish memorial in Dachau is wedge-shaped in the horizontal and vertical planes, a kind of trapezoid with a parabolic perimeter (fig. 21). The entrance to the building is on the open side of the parabola; an 18-meter ramp leads from ground level downward to the interior 2 meters below. The roof of the building, which begins above the bottom of the ramp, slopes upward toward the rear. The ramp, bordered above ground on both sides with pickets of stylized barbed wire, ends at a gate of barbed bars in the 10-meter-wide opening of the building. A vertical strip of light marble set in the apex of the parabola extends through a small round hole at the highest point of the roof, where it is crowned by a menorah. The column of light entering from the hole in the roof symbolizes nor only the chimney that was the sole exit for Jews who descended the ramps of the gas chambers, but also hope, salvation, and freedom. The marble

strip was hewn at Peki'in in Israel, a place where at least one Jew is supposed to have been living at all times in biblical history. It thus symbolizes the continuity of Judaism and its connection with Israel. The menorah represents the salvation that is the goal of the continual Jewish hope, in contrast to the unbounded hopelessness Jews experienced in the concentration and extermination camps, the ghettos and mass shootings. The Jewish memorial in Dachau emphasizes aspects of contemporary relevance with little historical justification, although it does include unmistakable icons of the extermination camps: the barbed-wite enclosure, the ramp, the underground gas chamber, the chimney.

The German Protestant Church initially responded negatively to Bishop Neuhäusler's call to erect a Protestant chapel in the Dachau memorial site.[69] Since the Catholic chapel had no explicitly denominational attributes, Protestant Church leaders first thought it would suffice if they donated an item to help furnish that chapel. When in 1961 Dutch survivors requested a specifically Protestant place of commemoration of the concentration camp victims in Germany, German Protestant leaders saw Bergen-Belsen, located in a predominantly Protestant area of West Germany (in contrast to Catholic Bavaria), as a more suitable location for such a project. If Bergen-Belsen was too isolated, they suggested, the chapel might be located in Frankfurt, a hub of foreign traffic to Germany. Finally, after the Dutch suggested that a former concentration camp would be a more appropriate location than a commercial center, and after Jewish groups protested against the Belsen site because so many Jews were buried there, Dachau was chosen as the location.

A cornerstone was laid on November 9, 1963, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1938 anti-Jewish pogrom. This date was found convenient because a high Church official could announce it during his trip to Israel in late October. In his consecration speech, Church Council president Kurt Scharf emphasized the role that the Dachau church was to play in the group identity of contemporary German Protestants:

> With the construction of this church we want not only to honor the sacrifice of our Protestant brothers and sisters, but also ro attest to our solidarity with all victims of the National Socialist regime of violence. Here, where people were scorned, insulted, humiliated, and tortured, and where life was exterminated, [the words of] Jesus Christ shall be preached, He who is the brother of the miserable and the persecuted, and He who calls upon us to show solidarity with them. He exhorts us to change our ways and offers us forgiveness for all of our guilt; He gives us His peace and shows us the way to reconciliation among ourselves, and to deeds of peace among other peoples.[70]

Scharf's speech makes clear that the recollection of the past was to affirm a Protestant agenda in the present.

The naming of the planned church, too, shows the close link between commemoration and group identity. The original suggestion, Church of Atonement (*Sühnekirche*), was rejected, because it excluded the participation of foreign Protestants and camp survivors in the project but also because it was misleading: "because the crimes were so horrible that no expiation is possible," as one church leader put it.[71] The name Church of Christ's Expiation (*Sühne Christi-Kirche*), which was used in the official announcement of the project in November 1963, was later deemed unsatisfactory because it too closely resembled the name of the Catholic chapel, Church of the Mortal Agony of Christ (*Todesangst-Christi Kapelle*), and because non-German Protestant survivors saw their sufferings in the following of Christ's, so that they did not need His expiation.[72] The troubling implications of the holocausr for the non-camp-survivor collective German subconscious are manifest in other suggested names: Church of Penance and Supplication (*Buss- und Bittkirche*) and Church of Judgment and Mercy (*Gericht- und Gnadekirche*). The potential awkwardness of these names was recognized, however, and by the time the building was dedicated in May 1967, the name Church of Reconciliation (*Versöhnungskirche*) had been chosen.

This Protestant church is by far the most complex religious memorial in the Dachau memorial site (fig. 22). Its design was found through a limited competition in which seven architects were invited to submit plans.[73] The winning entry by Mannheim architect Helmut Striffler, published in the summer of 1965, sought to break the orthogonal symmetry of the camp with a curving outer wall of unfinished concrete, which was also intended to link the church, a parsons' quarters, a meeting room, and a central courtyard into one enclosed, protected space.[74] Unlike the tall Catholic chapel, which was built amid a number of other buildings in a camp full of barracks, the Versöhnungskirche, designed after the barracks had been torn

down in 1964, had a low-lying, varying contour, "in complete contrast to the pathetic flatness of the camp," as the architect put it. Thus, its architectural form already reflected the sanitized memorial site around it.

About two-thirds of the building is below ground level. A broad, open stairway narrows as it leads down from street level to the enclosed courtyard with the meeting room on the left and the austere chapel straight ahead. All surfaces except the carpeted floor of the meeting room and the glass window are unfinished concrete, creating an impression of barrenness. The building can be exited through the sanctuary, on an ascending ramp leading from the glass doors separating the courtyard from the sanctuary to a heavy bronze portal at the rear. Visitors coming from the crematorium, a short distance away, read a multilingual inscription on the outside of the massive door: "Refuge is in the shadow of Your wings."[75] This biblical quotation reflects the architect's conception, which was to "afford a short breathing space, a gesture of help, to visitors to the camp as they make their way through it."[76]

Not only the architecture and naming of the building suggest that the German Protestant Church conceives of the holocaust as a legacy that calls for active atonement. The activities that take place in the building also confirm this impression. The meeting room, or "community room," is not merely another means by which "breathing space" is provided; its primary purpose is to "anticipate the impartial questioning of the young" and make available information about the activities of the Protestant Church during the Nazi era. A clergyman residing full time in the Church of Reconciliation was to support this educational mission.[77] Since 1979, volunteers from the Protestant youth group Aktion Sühnezeichen (Operation Sign of Atonement, now renamed Operation Sign of Atonement/Services for Peace) have been doing year-long internships at the memorial site. They organize exhibitions, discussions, and lectures, and guide tour groups through the site.

Since this younger generation began taking an active role in holocaust commemoration in the 1970s, the nature of recollection in Dachau has changed. This generation gap in collective memory was eloquently formulated by Ludger Bült, one of the first group of Operation Sign of Atonement resident volunteers in Dachau in 1979–

80. In a speech he gave on the tenth anniversary of the youth group's continuous work in Dachau in 1989, Bült criticized official Church commemoration for emphasizing self-referential themes such as "sadness," "hurt," and "deep inner shock," because they used the concentration camp experience for religious ends.[78] Instead of these "metaphors of pain," he called for "education about the causes and goals of National Socialism," and for the investigation of hitherto ignored dimensions of the holocaust, such as the use of prisoner labor by German firms and the fates of homosexuals in the camps.[79]

The effects of this generational shift are not immediately apparent in the outward appearance of the Dachau memorial site, but they have left some marks. In the 1970s, while no new memorials were established, more subtle changes were made: the exhibition was expanded to include the Jewish Holocaust, regular showings of a documentary film abour the concentration camp were instituted, and a catalog of the museum's exhibition was published.[80] The number of young people visiting the memorial site, most of them on organized school field trips, climbed sharply during thar period, so that by the 1980s a host of changes were necessary.[81]

A number of large maps and photographs on billboards were erected throughout the memorial site in an attempt to convey a visual impression of what life in the camp had been like. In the 1980s when the Dachau town administration continued the eradicatory work begun in the 1950s with the demolition of several structures—World War I factory buildings that had been part of the original camp in 1933,[82] the commandant's villa,[83] and railroad tracks leading from the town into the camp—several local groups mobilized to prevent the disappearance of this historic material. Although these groups succeeded in rescuing only one small section of the rail line, their public relations work did help to anchor the former concentration camp in public recollection.[84] Within this relatively secure enclave of local public memory other dimensions of the concentration camp experience are being explored and recollected, such as the existence of homosexuality and prostitution in the camps and inmate collaboration with the SS.[85] In earlier periods public discussion of these issues would have jeopardized public commemoration of the holocaust and exacerbated the marginal status of camp survivors.

Traces of this new multidimensional conception of the holocaust can be found in several places. In 1985 the Dachau memorial site

inaugurated an annual journal, the *Dachauer Hefte,* to publish new research and inaccessible source material. Its thematic issues have explored, for example, slave labor in the camps, women's experiences as prisoners, and medical experiments in the camps. In the memorial site itself, a kind of architectonic inertia set in with the dedication of the international memorial in September 1968, so that this new multidimensionality has not yet found arristic expression. A move in this direction, an attempt to erect a plaque commemorating the homosexual victims of the concentration camp, ended in 1985 in a standoff between the survivors in the Comité International and the young initiative group.[86] For a number of years the granite slab was displayed in the semiprivate space of the Protestant Church of Reconciliation's meeting room, until finally in 1995 it found a permanent home in the museum's hall of commemoration, where other private plaques and ribbons from commemorative wreaths are exhibited.

Also since 1989, a number of towns along the route of the deadly evacuation marches of April 1945 erected memorials to recollect their town's personal contact with the Dachau camp. In 1996, the same year that construction was begun on a youth hostel in the town, the Bavarian Minstry of Culture and the Comité International de Dachau decided that a complete overhaul and reconception of the thirty-year-old exhibition was necessary for it to adequately represent the evolving recollection of the holocaust. In Buchenwald, whose memorial site was also reconceived after the fall of East Germany in 1989–90, a monument has been erected to commemorate the systematic murder of the Sinti and Roma, a group that was hitherto ignored in all German memorial sites.[87]

Such memorials for marginalized groups and forgotten aspects of the holocaust have begun to enliven holocaust commemoration in Germany. Coupled with continuing efforts to eradicate remains, they reveal that public recollection is a dialectical process of remembering and forgetting, and collective memory a contested entity shaped by symbolic battles over the signification of events giving meaning to our lives.

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF MEMORIALS AT DACHAU

1945	May	Two 15-meter columns crowned by a cross and a star of David are proposed for the roll-call square
	November	Karl Knappe's proposal for a 30-meter-tall *Temple of Liberation* is released to the public
		Around this time a first exhibition is opened in the larger crematorium building
1946	April	A grave marker for rhe Dachau uprising is dedicated at the city cemetery
	October	The prize committee receives twenty-one new proposals for the Leiten memorial
1947	September	A plaque for the "Dachau Uprising" sponsored by Dachau survivors is dedicated on the savings bank opposite city hall
1949	August	Phillip Auerbach proposes a prisoner "pietà" by Fritz Koelle as a memorial for Dachau
		A mining operation uncovers human hones at the base of Leiten Hill
	December	Provisional dedication of the restored Leiten cemetery takes place
1950	April	The second Koelle statue of the "unknown inmate" is unveiled near the crematorium
		Designs for the Leiten memorial hall are shown and the cornerstone laid
		The exhibition is renovated
	September	The shell of the memorial hall on Leiten Hill is dedicated
		Newspapers and magazines print criticism of the renovated exhibition
1953	May	The exhibition is removed from the crematorium shortly afrer survivors' commemoration
1955	May	On the tenth anniversary of liberation, a Belgian plaque is placed at the crematorium, the International Survivors' Committee (Comité International de Dachau) is reestablished, and Italians begin raising funds for a chapel
	July	The Bavarian parliament considers a motion to close and tear down the crematorium

continued

1956	September	The Comité International de Dachau dedicates the cornerstone for an international memorial
1957		Demolition of the watchtowers is halted at the last minute
1958	Seprember	A large international memorial, with a tower 50 meters high, is dedicated in Buchenwald
1959	January	The design competition for the Dachau international memorial elicits 63 entries from 18 countries; the design by Yugoslav sculptor Glid Nandor is selected
1960	July	The Comité International installs a temporary exhibition in the crematorium
	August	Fifty thousand people attend a commemoration in the camp during the Eucharistic World Congress
		The Catholic Chapel of the Mortal Agony of Christ is dedicated
1961	July	A memorial bell tower from Austrians is dedicated next to the Catholic chapel
1963	April	Ground is broken for a Carmelire cloister at the west end of the camp
	July	The Italian chapel (a miniature Pantheon) is dedicated on Leiten Hill; German president Lübke and Italian premier Segni attend
1964	April	A German survivors' organization dedicates a memorial to Soviet prisoners of war in Hebertshausen
		A Jewish memorial by Dieter Aldinger is dedicated in the city cemetery
		Demolition of camp-era barracks begins
	June	The cornerstone of a Jewish memorial building in the camp is dedicated
1965	May	A new museum in the former service building is opened and reconstructed barracks completed
		Cornerstone is laid for a Protestant church and meeting room
1966		Some 332,000 people visit the new museum
1967	May	The Jewish memorial building and Protestant Church of Reconciliation are dedicated
1968	September	An international memorial is dedicated on the roll-call square
1970	April	A Social Democratic youth group in Dachau proposes a commemorative agenda for the town

		Bavarian state police move into the former SS camp after the U.S. army moves out
1972	August	Commemorations are held during the Munich Olympic Games
1978	May	The museum publishes German- and English-language versions of its catalog; French follows in November 1979
1980	February	Volunteers from the Protestant group Operation Sign of Atonement start regular work
1981		Adult education courses about the Nazi era are offered in Dachau township
		State police use CS-gas and rubber bullets in the neighboring former SS camp
1983		The first summer youth camp is held, and the first three schoolteachers begin work
		Some 924,000 people visit the museum
1984	January	Museum begins closing Mondays
1985	April	Dachau is considered unsuitable for U.S. president Ronald Reagan to visit
		World War I–era buildings that were part of the camp in 1933 are torn down
1986	June	Social Democratic parliamentary proposal to establish a memorial in Dachau subcamps is rejected
1987	June	The Dachau camp commandants' villa from 1938 is torn down
		Local Christian Socialist Union party officials vow to "fight to the last drop of blood" to prevent a youth center
1988		A section of railroad track leading from town into the former camp is dedicated as a memorial
1989	April	Some towns along the route of the evacuation "death marches" dedicate memorials
1992	May	U.S. liberators of Dachau dedicate a plaque on the former gatehouse
1994	June	Departing Soviet soldiers build a Russian Orthodox chapel
1995	June	Plaque commemorating the persecution of homosexuals is moved from the Protestant chapel to the museum
1996	June	Plans for a $7.7 million renovation of the museum and memorial site are proposed

continued

1997	October	Bavarian parliament cuts funding for renovation by 40 percent
1998	May	International Youth Guest House is dedicated

52. Ibid., pp. 10, 11.
53. Bertha (Betty) Evelyn Beatrice Knoop, interview with the author, Naarden, The Netherlands, July 3, 1986, transcript p. 3.
54. Ibid., p. 4.
55. Ibid., pp. 5–6.
56. Interview with Gerry Mok, p. 35.
57. Ibid., p. 38.
58. Ibid., p. 39.
59. Interview with Max Arian, pp. 38, 39.
60. Ibid., p. 43.
61. Ibid., p. 49.
62. Ibid., pp. 46, 47, 52.
63. Ibid., p. 52.
64. Ibid., p. 53.
65. Interview with Betty Knoop, p. 4.
66. Ibid., p. 7.
67. Interview with Maurits Cohen, p. 13.
68. Ibid., p. 12.
69. Ibid., p. 13.

Harold Marcuse, "Dachau"

1. In this essay I use "holocaust" with a small *h* in a broad sense to designate atrocities committed in the National Socialist empire against any unarmed people, especially those in concentration camps, extermination centers, and prisoner-of-war camps. In common usage today the capitalized "Holocaust" means the Nazi program of extermination of Jews; specialists also include certain other groups targeted for extermination, such as Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) and homosexuals.

2. On the term "collective memory" it has become fashionable to cite the work of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who introduced it to modern academic discourse. Although Halbwachs's writings are indeed stimulating, his argument that all remembering is socially conditioned is not especially relevant to this analysis of commemoration. See also the discussion of the term in the December 1997 *AHR* special forum "History and Memory," especially Susan Crane, "Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory," *AHR* 102 (1997), 1372–85, 1376 ff.

3. The documentation of most of the memorials discussed here is scant and inaccessible. Existing published materials are cited in the notes below; beyond that, readers are referred to my dissertation: Harold Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes and Identity in West Germany: Collective Memories of the Dachau Concentration Camp, 1945–1990* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms #9308392, 1992), and my forthcoming monograph *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2000* (Cambridge University Press).

4. The present usage of the term "identity" can be traced back to the work of Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968). For a recent discussion of its utility, see Richard Handler, "Is 'Identity' a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?" in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 27–40. My own use of it is influenced by Jürgen Habermas, "Können komplexe Gesellschaften eine vernünftige Identität ausbilden?" in his *Zur Rekonstruktion des historischen Materialismus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976), pp. 92–126. Habermas cites literature on identity as it is used in psychoanalysis, sociology, and developmental psychology; see p. 121, n. 3.

5. See Harold Marcuse, "The Politics of Memory: Nazi Crimes and Identity in West Germany, 1945–1990," *Working Paper Series* 45, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1993, pp. 5 ff.

6. For a brief overview in English, see Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Plume, 1994), esp. pp. 49–64.

7. Johannes Tuchel has written the best scholarly analyses of this period: "Herrschaftssicherung und Terror: Zu Funktion und Wirkung nationalsozialistischer Konzentrationslager 1933 und 1934," *Occasional Papers*, FU Berlin Fachbereich Politikwissenschaft 7 (1983); and *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard: Harold Boldt, 1991) (Schriften des Bundesarchivs 39).

8. See Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*, to cite only one of the better known examples. The standard scholarly treatment is still Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961; rev. ed. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985).

9. Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1963); Hermann Kaienburg, *"Vernichtung durch Arbeit": Der Fall Neuengamme: Die Wirtschaftsbestrebungen der SS und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Existenzbedingungen der KZ-Gefangenen* (Bonn: Dietz, 1991).

10. See Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

11. See Johannes Neuhäusler, *What Was It Like in the Concentration Camp at Dachau?* (Munich: Manz, 1960; 10th ed., n.d.), esp. pp. 50–80.

12. See Karl-Klaus Rabe, *Umkehr in die Zukunft: Die Arbeit der Ak-*

tion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste (Bornheim-Merten: Lamuv, 1983); also Clemens Vollnhals, *Evangelische Kirche und Entnazifizierung, 1945–1949: Die Last der NS-Vergangenheit* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1989).

13. I am referring specifically to an exchange between Martin Broszat and Saul Friedländer in what has become known as the "historians' debate." See Martin Broszat and Saul Friedländer, "A Controversy about the Historicization of National Socialism," *New German Critique* 44 (Spring–Summer 1988): 85–126. See also Norbert Frei, "Farewell to the Era of Contemporaries: National Socialism and Its History en Route into History," in *Passing into History: Nazism and the Holocaust beyond Memory,* ed. Gulie Ne'eman Arad, *History and Memory* special issue 9 (Fall 1997), 59–79.

14. For a detailed discussion of the contradictory reports about these early projects, see Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 258 ff.

15. The cross can be seen in contemporary photographs and drawings, for instance in an ink sketch published in the Christmas 1947 issue of *Der Ausblick,* a magazine created by the Germans interned in the postwar Dachau camp.

16. Survivor Richard Titze told me that the yellow-painted star of David was fashioned from a swastika that the SS had erected on the site. A photograph of this temporary memorial was published in "Neues KZ-Massengrab entdeckt," *Neue Zeitung,* September 9, 1949.

17. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* p. 318.

18. A sketch of this design can be found in Josef Wiedemann's blueprint of the memorial site, November 16, 1960, Kohlhofer papers, Dachau Memorial Site Archive. See also Stefan Schwarz, memo about a meeting in the Finance Ministry, March 9, 1962, Landesentschädigungsamt Munich.

19. See Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 206 (1968): 539–85, esp. 578–81; and Volker Plagemann, "Bismarck-Denkmäler," in *Denkmäler im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutung und Kritik,* ed. Hans-Ernst Mittig and Thomas Nipperdey (Munich, 1972), pp. 217–52, illustrations pp. 417–42. New York City's Statue of Liberty (1876) is a non-German example of this tradition.

20. See Knappe to Schwalber, July 1960, Bavarian Main State Archive (henceforth BayHsta), Joseph Schwalber papers, no. 89. Excerpts from the letter were published in *Münchner Merkur/Dachauer Nachrichten,* July 30, 1960. Six- by eight-inch photographs of the model can be found in the Dachau county governor's office, Landratsamt file Dachau 064–2. In 1991 the model could no longer be located.

21. Union of Munich Architects (Ungelehrt, Döllgast, Haeusser),

"'Das Befreiungsmal von Dachau': Offener Brief an den Bürgermeister von Dachau," *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* November 13, 1945; "Das Dachauer Gedächtnis- und Befreiungsmal," *Der Baumeister* 1 (1946): 24.

22. Klaus Wegmann, *Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1969), pp. 1–31.

23. Heinz Koch, *Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald: Geschichte ihrer Entstehung* (Weimar: n.p., 1988), 9–11; Volkhard Knigge, "Zur Geschichte der KZ-Gedenkstätten in der DDR," in *Erinnerung: Zur Gegenwart des Holocaust in Deutschland West und Deutschland Ost* (Frankfurt: Haag and Herchen, 1993), 67–77, 69 ff; Knigge, "Vom Reden und Schweigen der Steine: Zu Denkmalen auf dem Gelände ehemaliger nationalsozialistischer Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager," in *Fünfzig Jahre danach: Zur Nachgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus,* ed. Sigrid Weigel and Birgit Erdle (Zurich: Hochschulverlag, 1996), pp. 193–235.

24. For collections of photographs of many such memorials, see Adolf Rieth, *Den Opfern der Gewalt: KZ-Opfermale der europäischen Völker* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1968); Harold Marcuse, Frank Schimmelfennig, and Jochen Spielmann, *Steine des Anstosses: Nationalsozialismus und Zweiter Weltkrieg in Denkmalen, 1945–1985* (Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1985); Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991); and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

25. On the Auschwitz competition, see Jochen Spielmann, *Entwürfe zur Sinngebung des Sinnlosen—Der Wettbewerb für ein Denkmal für Auschwitz* (Ph.D. dissertation, Free University Berlin, 1990), microfiche.

26. On Koelle, see the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg's *Dokumente zu Leben und Werk des Bildhauers Fritz Koelle (1895–1953),* no. 4, Sonderausstellung des Archivs für Bildende Kunst (exhibition catalog, n.p.p., n.d.). The 1.44-meter-high Dachau sculpture from 1946 is depicted on page E29. For biographical information, see Hans Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1956), vol. 3, p. 79.

27. The Rot statue is in the garden of the town's famed Baroque monastery; the 1946 Dachau poster was published in *Concentration Camp Dachau: Album* (n.p.p.: n.p., n.d. [1946]), copies held by archive of the Dachau Memorial Site. On the publication date see Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* p. 277, n. 88. Rapoport's sculpture is depicted and discussed in detail in Young, *Texture of Memory,* pp. 155–84.

28. A picture of the sculpture was printed on an invitation to a September 1949 commemorative ceremony and appeal for donations distrib-

uted by Auerbach's office. See Auerbach to Mayor Wimmer, August 30, 1949, Munich City Archive, BuR 2277, and Auerbach, printed Call for Donations, September 1, 1949, BayHsta, MSo 134.

29. For Auerbach's biography, see Constantin Goschler, "Der Fall Philipp Auerbach: Wiedergutmachung in Bayern," in *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* ed. Ludolf Herbst and Constantin Goschler (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1989).

30. Dachau survivor Hans Schwarz wrote to French survivors that the sculpture was "universally condemned" because it "immortalized the horrors." Letter from Schwarz to Noe Vilner and others, December 2, 1949, Institut für die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung (now in the Bundesarchiv, Potsdam), V 278/2/161.

31. See Robert Sigel, *Im Interesse der Gerechtigkeit: Die Dachauer Kriegsverbrecherprozesse, 1945–1948* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1992); also Frank Buscher, *The U.S. War Crimes Trial Program: 1946–1955* (New York and Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1989).

32. See John Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany: Politics and the Military, 1945–1949* (Stanford: Stanford Univetsity Ptess, 1968).

33. See Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 124–27; also Christa Schick, "Die bayerischen Internietungslager," in *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland,* ed. Martin Broszat, Klaus-Dietmar Henke, and Hans Woller (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988), pp. 301–25.

34. See Ulrich Brochhagen, *Nach Nürnberg: Vergangenheitsbewältigung und Westintegration in der Ära Adenauer* (Hamburg: Junius, 1994), pp. 240–50. Although these men were no longer officially prisoners of war, and although some of them had been arrested after the war, "prisoners of war" (*Kriegsgefangenen*) was the term used in popular and official West German parlance. See also Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (Munich: Beck, 1996), pp. 155, 158, 234.

35. See Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* 198 ff. Other examples include the generous reinstatement of former army officers and Nazi officials under the "131 law," and the concurrent practice of marginalizing survivors attempting to collect benefits under compensation and testitution programs.

36. Ibid., pp. 148–52.

37. Ibid., pp. 156–59.

38. Hoegner to Gen. Walter J. Muller, Director of the Office of Military Government for Bavaria, March 23, 1946, BayHsta Stk 113623.

39. The English translation is taken in part from Pfister to Steener/Fine Arts, April 15, 1946, BayHsta Stk 113623.

40. See "Ausschreibungsunterlagen zum Wettbewerb auf der Leiten,"

June 5, 1946, BayHsta Stk 113623; "Dachau bei München: Denkmal im Konzentrationslager," *Baumeister-Rundschau* 5 (1946): 62; "Denkmal im Konzentrationslager Dachau," *Neue Bauwelt* 17 (1946): 12.

41. For a detailed account of the "Leiten affair," see Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 169–84.

42. See Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 183 f, 279 f. This exhibition is very scantily documented.

43. "Staatsregietung und Landtag auf dem Leitenberg: Landrat Junker mit der Ausgestaltung betraut," *Münchner Merkur/Dachauer Nachrichten,* December 3–4, 1949.

44. Ehard to Land Commissioner Bolds, February 1, 1950, BayHsta Stk 113625. See also "Wettbewerbsausschreibung einer Gedächtnishalle," *Bayerischer Staatsanzeiger,* February 11, 1950, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* February 11, 1950.

45. "Urkunde zur Grundsteinlegung auf der Leiten bei Dachau," April 29, 1950, BayHsta Stk 113628. A photocopy of the documenr, which was published in the *Abendzeitung* of May 2, 1950, is held by the Dachau memotial site.

46. See Llew Gardner, "So Stark the Memories—But They Say 'Let's Forget,'" *Sunday Express* (London), Januaty 10, 1960; reprinted as "How Can Germany Forget?" *Washington Daily News,* Januaty 18, 1960, p. 14.

47. Wolfgang Petzet, "Das Ergebnis des Leitenberg-Wettbewerbs," *Münchner Merkur/Dachauer Nachrichten,* May 4, 1950.

48. Dieter Sattler, minutes of the first meeting of tbe jury for the Leiten competition, April 25, 1950, BayHsta Stk 113627. This document lists the artists and describes the nine best entries.

49. Dieter Sattler, report about the third meeting of tbe jury on May 19 and 20, 1950, and memo by Gummpenberg, June 14, 1950, BayHsta Stk 113627. The design by Roth and Hiller was a high, twelve-sided building crowned by a beehivelike cupola supported by twelve interior columns. Prismatic glass vaulting at the apex brightened rhe interior. A "solemn" bronze sculpture was positioned in the axis of the entrance, and plaques with the coats of arms of forty nations were mounted under bronze candleholdets in the colonnade. See H. Fischer, "Gedächtnishalle auf dem Leitenberg bei Dachau," *Die Bauzeitung* (Stuttgart), January 1951, pp. 17–23, in which plans and sketches of the other two winning entries are also published.

50. See Erich Preuss, report about the construction project on the Leiten, February 3, 1951, BayHsta Stk 113627, and Preuss/Landesentschädigungsamt, memo regarding the repositioning of the cornerstone, Febtuary 15, 1951, BayHsta Stk 113626. At that time the projected costs were about 630,000 Deutschmarks.

51. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 263–67; also Meinhold Lurz, "Die Heldenbaine und Totenburgen des Volksbundes deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge," *Arch+* 71 (October 1983): 66–70. Tannenberg was erected 1924–27 near Allenstein in what is now Poland; see *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Tannenberg-Denkmals am 18. September 1927* (Königsberg: n.p., 1927). The Annaberg (Austria) monument was built to commemorate the counterrevolutionary forces of 1919. Wilhelm Kreis, who had won a competition for a model Bismarck tower early in the century, designed even larger but formally similar structures for Warsaw and Stalingrad in the 1940s as well.

52. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 276–81. A number of pictures in the series are published in Ludo Vaneck, *Le Livre des Camps* (Leuven: Kritak, 1979), p. 63.

53. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 206–18.

54. Ibid., pp. 218–24. For a brief contemporary summary, see Gaston Coblentz, "Dachau Crematorium Is Kept as Memorial," *New York Herald Tribune,* March 8, 1954, p. 1.

55. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 291–308.

56. I have made this argument in greater detail in another essay: Harold Marcuse, "Die museale Darstellung des Holocaust an Orten der ehemaligen Konzentrationslager in der Bundesrepublik, 1945–1990," in Moltmann et al., eds., *Erinnerung: Zur Gegenwart des Holocaust,* pp. 79–98.

57. This inscription was removed at the latest by 1948, when the camp was converted into a settlement for refugees from the East. I have been unable to determine whether the inscription was visible while the Nazi suspects were interned in the camp by U.S. military authorities. Presumably it was removed or painted over in 1945; otherwise it would have been noted in contemporary descriptions.

58. Eugen Kogon et al., eds., *Nazi Mass Murder: A Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), chap. 8, section "Dachau."

59. For a sketch of Holocaust denial regarding Dachau, see Barbara Distel, "Dachau," in *Legenden, Lügen, Vorurteile: Ein Wörterbuch zur Zeitgeschichte,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1992), pp. 49–53.

60. The red granite cornerstone is still visible today, under plexiglass in front of the international memorial. Its inscription reads: "Primus lapis monumenti in victimarum nazismii memoriam errigendi quae in carcetibus dachauae intra annos 1933–1945 mortem subier positus est A.D. IV id Sept 1956." [This first stone of a monument to be erected in the memory of the victims of Nazism who died in the Dachau prisons in the years 1933–1945 was set here on September 4, 1956.]

61. For more details, see Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 308 ff.

62. The triangles are reminiscent of the monument in the Weimar city cemetery designed by Walter Gropius in 1923. It commemorated the trade unionists who fell in March 1919 defending the new German republic against counterrevolutionary forces. See Dietrich Schubert, "Das Denkmal der Märzgefallenen in Weimar," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 21 (1976): 199 ff.

63. A blueprint of this plan is held by the Bauamt in Dachau. I thank Prof. Detlef Hoffmann for sharing a copy of the plan.

64. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 316–18.

65. Neuhäsler, *What Was It Like,* inside back cover. I have modified the translation slightly to bring it closer to the original German.

66. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 323–27.

67. The archive of the Archbishopric of Munich denied me access to Neuhäusler's papers, and I have been unable to find the reasons for the modified suggestion in other sources. Presumably Neuhäusler's recognition that the Catholic chapel should not dominate to such an extent prompted the change.

68. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 342 ff., 348–54; Stefan Schwarz, *Die jüdische Gedenkstätte in Dachau* (Munich: Landesverband, 1972).

69. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 357–68.

70. For the full text of the call, see Kurt Scharf, "Spendenaufruf für den Bau einer Evangelischen Kirche in Dachau," Kirchenamt Hannover to all parishes, May 20, 1964, Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin (henceforth EZB), file 6172/8a.

71. The early discussion is summarized in Wilm to Scharf, April 19, 1963, EZB, file 6172/5.

72. See the draft of the protocol of the meeting of the working committee of the Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands, January 20, 1964, EZB, file 6172/9.

73. See the minutes of the working committee, January 20, 1964, EZB, file 6172/5. The architects were A. Zamstra (Amsterdam), Friedhelm Amslinger (Munich), Egon Eiermann (Karlsruhe), Johann Ludwig (Munich), Dieter Oesterlen (Hannover), Helmut Striffler (Mannheim), and Hans Christoph Müller (Berlin).

74. See D. Scharf, Dr. Luskey, A. L. Bouman, "Versöhnungskirche im Lager Dachau," four-page brochure (Berlin, 1965); and Helmut Striffler, "The Building," in Christian Reger, *Protestant Church of Reconciliation in the former Concentration Camp at Dachau* (n.p.p.: n.p., n.d. [ca. 1968]) [brochure available at the Protestant church in the Dachau memorial site].

75. The German reads: "Zuflucht ist unter dem Schatten Deiner Flügel."

76. Reger, *Protestant Church of Reconciliation.*

77. The living quarters were deemed too small, so no cleric ever actually lived in the memorial building.

78. Ludger Bült, "Dachau—15.10.89 / 10 Jahre ASF," eleven-page manuscript in Dachau Memorial Site Atchive. ASF volunteers already assisted during construction of the chapel in 1966, but not as part of a continuing program.

79. For the development of this position and the discussion of related issues, see the newsletter of the ASF, *Zeichen: Mitteilungen der Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste,* e.g. the special issue "Erinnern, nicht vergessen: Gedenkstätten in der Bundesrepublik," 11:3 (September 1983), passim. The *Gedenkstättenrundbrief* (Memorial Site Circular), which was sponsored from 1985 to 1993 by the ASF, has become the central journal for all German memorial sites. Through it the developments of the 1990s can best be traced.

80. The German and English editions of the catalog were published in May 1978. See *Mitteilungen der Lagergemeinschaft Dachau,* November 1978.

81. See Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes,* pp. 399, 413.

82. These buildings were torn down in 1985 by the Bavarian Riot Police, who were stationed in the former SS barracks after the U.S. Army moved out in 1971.

83. The villa was torn down without prior public notification in 1987, after being considered for housing an international youth center. See "Photo-report," *Süddeutsche Zeitung/Dachauer Neueste,* May 23, 1987; "Spuren wurden vernichtet" (joint letter to the editor), *Süddeutsche Zeitung/Dachauer Neueste,* June 3, 1987.

84. The importance of local grassroots support groups for the existence of West German concentration camp memorial sites was noted, for instance, in the national parliamentary hearing on the future of such sites after the unification of East and West Germany in 1989. See Deutscher Bundestag, Innenausschuss, "Stellungnahmen der Sachverständigen und Verbände zur öffentlichen Anhörung des Innenausschusses zu dem Thema 'Beteiligung des Bundes an Mahn- und Gedenkstätten,'" Bonn, Ausschussdrucksache 12/67 (February 22, 1994).

85. For examples of these discussions, see *Dachauer Hefte* 3 (1987), *Frauen: Verfolgung und Widerstand,* and 10 (1994), *Täter und Opfer.* Additionally, prior to the 1990s local historian Sybille Steinbacher would not have been able to access the most important source material for her pathbreaking study of relations between the town and the camp, *Dachau: Die Stadt und das Konzentrationslager in der NS-Zeit* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993).

86. The initiative, which began in 1977, is documented in a file in tbe Comité Intetnational de Dacbau papers given to the Dachau Archive in 1992.

87. See *Jahresbericht der Gedenkstätte Buchenwald,* 1994, pp. 48 ff.

Michael R. Marrus, "The Future of Auschwitz"

This essay has appeared in a similar form in the following: "The Future of Auschwitz: A Case for the Ruins," in *A User's Guide to German Studies,* ed. Scott Denham, Irene Kacandes, and Jonathan Petropoulos (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 357–66.

1. On questions of conflicting memories see Jonathan Webber, *The Future of Auschwitz: Some Personal Reflections,* Frank Green Lecture (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1992); James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), chap. 5; Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, "Reclaiming Auschwitz," in *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* ed. Geoffrey H. Hartman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 232–51.

2. The best historical orientation ro Auschwitz is Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1996). See also Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), and especially the articles by Jean-Claude Pressac and Robert Jan van Pelt. For a chronological account, drawn from archival sources, see Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989). For a bibliographic collection, see Opracowala Anna Malcowna, *Bibliographia KL Auschwitz za lata 1942–1980* (Oświęcim: Wydawnictwo Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu, 1991).

3. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, nomination of Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum to the World Heritage List, Warsaw, May 2, 1978. For important details see Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989). There is an excellent collection of photographs in the book by Theresa Swiebocka, with Jonathan Webber and Connie Wilsack, eds., *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

4. Franciszek Piper, "Estimating the Number of Deportees and Victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp," *Yad Vashem Studies* 21 (1991): 49–99. See also Wolfgang Benz, *Dimensions des Volkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991).