

**THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE HERO:  
A MEMORY POLITICS OF THE EVERYDAY  
IN BERLIN AND BUDAPEST**

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## STATEMENT

I hereby state that this dissertation contains no materials accepted for any other degrees in any other institutions. The thesis contains no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

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## ABSTRACT

Although after the period of the Second World War the death of the hero was loudly announced (Münkler 2006), in recent years, the academic interest in heroes has been reemerging. Authors not only established a critical understanding of the hero who came to be defined as an end-product of a careful construction (e.g., Todorova 1999, Giesen 2004a), but “new heroes” also made their mass appearance (Jones 2010). Yet, in contrast to the majority of these analyses that either concentrate on one particular hero (e.g., Verdery 1999) or on one specific period (e.g., Lundt 2010), I discuss the conceptual and aesthetic transformation of the hero. Focusing on the genre of public works of art in Berlin and Budapest from 1945 up to the present time, I study various processes of the transfiguration of the hero. Besides the linguistic and cultural connections between Berlin and Budapest beginning from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, I assumed that the two cities can represent many of the dual arguments of memory studies. On the one hand, the memory politics of the so-called capitalist and socialist system is generally differentiated on the basis of the former’s disconnection and the latter’s connection to heroic traditions. On the other hand, the post-1989 memory politics of Berlin and Budapest seemingly also represent the opposite end of the scale: while in Germany, parallel to the strengthening of a perpetrator discourse, heroes became “cultural taboos”, in Hungary, along with the intensification of self-victimization narratives, the need for historical role models grew.

The point of departure of my dissertation is a comprehensive database that I have compiled during my field work and that lists public works of art installed between 1945 and 2012 in Berlin and Budapest. Utilizing these records as a basis of my theses, I apply the multidisciplinary approach of a sociological aesthetics (Simmel 1968a) in order to discuss the abstract and visual transfiguration of the hero. Throughout the dissertation, I not only diminish the sharp opposition between the socialist and capitalist system, but I also show that in Berlin heroes are reemerging, whereas in Budapest heroic narratives are undergoing a crisis. I argue that in both cases there is an unambiguous trend towards reinventing the concept and form of the hero through the notion of everyday man and everydayness. However, currently everyday heroes seem to occupy different registers in the two cities. In Berlin, the memory of the so-called “silent heroes” – who as everyday men helped people persecuted during the Second World War – appeared as an unofficial memory that meanwhile has also been institutionalized. In Budapest, the official memory of 56 revolutionaries – who

are primarily represented as everyday men – disintegrated that brought about the emergence of various unofficial projects. Therefore, I argue that while in Berlin everyday heroes overtake the official function of traditional heroes as historical, social and cultural models for future societies, in Budapest they resurface in the field of alternative art projects.



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## INTRODUCTION

After 1945 the heroic imagination of Europe was radically shaken. While traditionally heroes functioned as historical, social and cultural models for a particular society, following the period of the Second World War they began to appear problematic, to say the least. Authors extensively elaborated on the crises of the hero that, from the 70s, also entailed a shift in scholarly focus towards victims and perpetrators (e.g., Dimsdale 1980, Giesen 2004a, Giesen and Schneider 2004, Assmann 2006, Rosenthal 2010, Ungváry 2014). The conventional definition of the hero as the main embodiment of the nation was disputed to such an extent that in 2006 the political scientist Herfried Münkler announced that now we live in an era of a “post-heroic” society. Echoing various “endings” in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as the presumed demise of ideology (Bell 1960), philosophy (Heidegger 1973), liberalism (Lowi 1979), art (Belting 1987), history (Fukuyama 1992), politics (Dillow 2007) or even the author (Barthes 1968), everything seemed to indicate that the category of the hero would be done away with too.

Parallel to the discourse of the death of the hero, however, another, less dominant, tendency also emerged. Various analyses appeared that, instead of revitalizing the notion of the hero, tried to reinvent it from two perspectives. Conceptually, scholars established a critical understanding of the hero who came to be defined as an end-product of a careful construction. Examining the processes of making or deconstructing a hero, authors turned their attention to different time periods and locations. Paul Freedman (1988) investigates numerous practices of how heroic narratives were manipulated in the Renaissance Catalonia. Katherine Verdery (1999) looks into the political resurrection of dead bodies following the end of Communist Party rule. Maria Todorova (1999) focuses on the creation of Bulgaria’s national hero Vasil Levski. Guntis Šmidchens (2007) shows how 19<sup>th</sup>-century literary heroes were (re-)defined in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in three Baltic countries. Venita Datta (2011) reveals the role of the boulevard theater and mass press in artificially glorifying historical and contemporary figures in fin-de-siècle France. Along with the conceptual renewal of heroes, phenomenologically, “new heroes” also made their mass appearance. As Hoff et al. (2015) summarize, there is an increasing number of studies discussing the presence of atypical heroes in various periods, dominantly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Christopher P. Jones (2010) examines new, human heroes in the antiquity. Bea Lundt (2010) investigates the heroic image of medieval knights from a gender theoretical perspective. Jesko Reiling and Carsten Rohde

(2011) study the embourgeoisement of aristocratic heroes in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century German literature. Christine MacLeod (2007) elaborates on British inventors as heroes between 1750 and 1914. Gerd Reichardt (2009) explores heroes of art in Germany and Austria during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Besides reinterpreting the heroic imagination of previous times, another trend of the literature is pre-occupied with contemporary developments. The majority of these works are dedicated to the analysis of the current fashion of “pop heroes” (Hoff et al. 2015), such as superheroes, stars or celebrities (e.g., Hopkins 2002, Friedrich and Rauscher 2007, Kainz 2009, Povedák 2009, Shimpach 2010, Mohr 2010), but representatives of “civil courage” (Lau et al. 2009), such as peace activists, civil right fighters, whistleblowers, firefighters, lifesavers or political freedom fighters are likewise reflected on (Becker and Eagle 2004, Goren 2007, Neiman 2008, Zimbardo 2011).

While I clearly position myself in the field that propagates the prevailing presence of heroes today, my focus is also different from the above outlined authors. In contrast to the majority of the works that either concentrate on one particular hero or on one specific period, I elaborate on the yet underdeveloped aspect of the conceptual and aesthetic transformation of the hero. Even though this interest in the process of change is not entirely absent in literature, the few existing examples seem to offer only a montage-like picture. Both Nikolas Immer’s *Aesthetic Heroism: Conceptual and Figurative Paradigms of Heroes*<sup>1</sup> (2013), as well as the ongoing research project of the University of Freiburg *Heroes – Heroizations – Heroisms* (2012–) are based on a collaborative work of various authors, each studying one type of hero in one given time period. The result is a puzzle whose pieces not only represent separate spatial and temporal frameworks (from the antiquity until today), but also different media (such as history, literature, art, film, television or cyber culture). Changes are investigated from a decidedly broader perspective. Throughout the research, I discuss the question of how heroes transfigured after their loudly announced death in 1945, focusing on the genre of public works of art in Berlin and Budapest.

The motivation behind discussing heroes depicted in public works of art is underlined by their historical interdependence. Throughout history the primary form of memorialization manifested itself in the process of heroization: classical memory narratives were greatly determined by the recollection of the figure of the hero. Within this process of inscribing the exemplarity of heroes into collective memory, symbolic representations typically and customarily played an essential role. Rausch (2006), MacLead (2007), Jaworski and Stachel

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<sup>1</sup> Original title: *Ästhetischer Heroismus: konzeptionelle und figurative Paradigmen des Helden*.

(2007), Gerd (2009) or Wulff (2009) all emphasize the fact that the practice of erecting public statues was a primary channel of creating, as well as displaying the desired vision of a hero. Yet, connecting the body of the hero to its image not only offers itself as an obvious decision, it also allows inspecting changes in the concept and form of the hero. Referring to the transformation of the genre of public statues itself, I also decided to replace the classical term with the much broader notion of “public works of art” that, besides traditional examples, also incorporates contemporary urban interventions and experimental memory projects. Responsible organs in Berlin and Budapest – the Berlin Monument Authority (Landesdenkmalamt Berlin), the cultural offices at the 12 districts in Berlin, as well as the Budapest Gallery (Budapest Galéria) – likewise refer either to “art in public space” (Kunst im öffentlichen Raum), “public art” (köztéri képzőművészet) or “public works of art” (köztéri műalkotások).

In the vast field of public works of art, Berlin and Budapest emerge as a special case study pair. First of all, both cities belong to a historical region described either as Central or East-Central Europe. As John Neubauer (2003) shows in his paper on *What's In a Name? Mitteleuropa, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, East-Central Europe*, the original concept of “Mitteleuropa” goes back to Friedrich Naumann’s 1915 book, in which he anticipated the establishment of a post-war Middle Europe uniting Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Even though the idea of a German political, economic and, not least, military domination was harshly criticized after the WWII, also discrediting the notion of “Mitteleuropa”, following the regime change in 1989, the concept reemerged as Central Europe or, most recently, as East-Central Europe. In spite of the fact that these terms appear as geographically vaguer, sometimes and then not incorporating the region of Baltic countries and the “Balkans”, they both aim to break with undesirable historical connotations. Focusing on the commemorative practices of this area, in memory studies there are a number of analyses that compare various places in Central or East-Central Europe, including Germany and Hungary. Richard S. Esbenschade (1995), Michal Kopecek (2008), Matthew Rampley (2012), Stefan Troebst (2013), Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (2013), or Dariusz Gafijczuk and Derek Sayer (2013) are all cases in point. Not only does my dissertation fit into the scope of these examinations, but, focusing on the transfiguration of heroes in Berlin and Budapest, I further contribute to the understanding of the changing historical self-images, or, if you like, “selfies” of Central and East-Central Europe.

Second, Germany is widely regarded as a paradigmatic case of memory politics. Jeffrey K. Olick (2003) argues that Germany established the theoretical basis of a memory

policy, as well as developed its basic ethical and symbolical tools. Alon Confino (2006) similarly interprets Germany as the par excellence culture of remembrance. In the same way, Sharon Macdonald (2009) notes that the texts and debates, as well as the museums, monuments and art works in Germany can serve as an exemplary model for other cities struggling with difficult heritage. Comparative analyses, therefore, often include Germany as a case study, and discussions of a particular city likewise frequently reference Berlin. Among these works entire books are dedicated to the comparison of Germany to countries, such as Japan (Buruma 1994), France (Carrier 2005), Austria (2006), or Poland (Langenbacher 2006), and Berlin is also explicitly matched up with cities, such as Washington (Daum and Mauch 2005), Buenos Aires (Huysen 2003, Sion 2015), New York (Huysen 2003 and 2009), or New Belfast (Neill 2014). Therefore, comparing a city with Berlin always appears legitimate. Yet, in contrast to the argument that takes the adaptability of German memory politics into other contexts for granted, I do not construct a hierarchy between the commemorative practices of Berlin and Budapest. Alike to Zsolt K. Horváth (2004) who critically discusses the Hungarian relevance of Pierre Nora's "lieu de mémoire", I interpret the German way of mastering the past, the so-called "Vergangenheitsbewältigung", on an equal level with the Hungarian memory politics.

Third, I chose Berlin and Budapest as my case studies primarily because I assumed that the two cities can represent many of the dual statements of memory studies. While beginning from the 19<sup>th</sup> century Hungary came to be strongly oriented towards Germany in a linguistic and cultural sense<sup>2</sup>, during the period of the Cold War, as well as after the regime change Berlin and Budapest seemed to follow two distinct paths in terms of their memory politics. On the one hand, focusing on the memory politics of the so-called capitalist and socialist system, authors largely differentiate between the two on the basis of the former's disconnection and the latter's connection to heroic traditions (e.g., Ladd 1997, Winter and Mosse cited in Fowkes 2002a). On the other hand, comparing the general directions of the post-1989 memory politics of the two cities, Berlin and Budapest again appear at the opposite end of the scale. In Germany, parallel to the strengthening of a perpetrator discourse (Giesen and Schneider 2004), the celebration of national heroes came to an end and heroes became "cultural taboos" (Yair et al. 2014). In Hungary, along with the intensification of self-victimization narratives (Seewann and Kovács 2006), the need for historical role models

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<sup>2</sup> The extent to which Budapest was Germanized can be illustrated alone by the fact that in 1812 the largest German-speaking theater in the world opened in Pest. As Alice Freifeld (1999:148) notes, the theater contained between 3000 or 3600 seats in a city of 33000.

grew (L. Simon cited in S.N. 2012b). While Germany was reported to censor heroes, Hungary appeared to embrace them. However, in spite of the fact that the point of departure of selecting Berlin and Budapest as a spatial framework of the dissertation is indeed underlined by the above outlined factors, during my field work I also realized that these hypotheses cannot be entirely upheld. In the course of the dissertation I reveal that heroic imaginations of the two cities do converge. Examining the conceptual and aesthetic transfiguration of the hero in Berlin and Budapest, I not only diminish the sharp opposition between the socialist and capitalist system, but I also show that in Berlin heroes are reemerging, whereas in Budapest heroic narratives are undergoing a crisis. I argue that in both cases there is an unambiguous trend towards reinventing the concept and form of the hero through the notion of everyday man and everydayness.

My dual focus on the conceptual and aesthetic (re-)construction of heroes is also supported by my theoretical and methodological approach that combines the disciplines of sociology and aesthetics. The basis of a “sociological aesthetics” was originally laid down by the German sociologist Georg Simmel who in 1896 published a paper with a similar title (Simmel 1968a). As several scholars emphasize (Tanner 2003, Fuente 2008, Frisby 2010), Simmel’s simultaneous interest in sociology and aesthetics reveals itself both in his discussions of the social principles within art, as well as in his analyses of the aesthetic dimensions of social world. As for the former, Simmel wrote several art historical essays, in which he did not only elaborate on artists, such as Rodin (Simmel 1923), Michelangelo (Simmel 1989) or Rembrandt (Simmel 2005), but also studied questions of style (Simmel 1997a), aesthetic quantity (1968b) or art exhibitions (Simmel 1870). In these analyses, the work of art is defined as the embodiment of the relationship between fragment and totality, or, as he emphasizes, a “unity out of individual elements” (Simmel 1922:46). Consequently, this understanding, through which the individual traits of Rembrandt’s portraits ultimately also appear as typical, essentially determines my understanding of the representations of the figure of the hero. Besides functioning as individual portraits, I argue that they also serve as portraits of a particular society. Similarly to Simmel’s examinations of the social code of art, his discussions of the aesthetic logic of social organization are also structured around the interplay between the particular and the universal. Examining the philosophy of money (Simmel 1978), metropolis and mental life (Simmel 1950a) or the figure of the stranger (Simmel 1950b), Simmel (1895:52) argues that society consists of the totality of individual social interactions. According to him, these interactions have specific forms, which all can be described through a particular “geometry of social life” (Simmel 1950c), such as cooperation,



competition or conflict. From the perspective of my research, these social forms certainly outline the basic modus operandi of heroic imaginations. From acknowledging through ignoring to refusing heroes, there are various strategies present, on which I all reflect in the course of the dissertation.

Connecting these two positions – the sociology of art and the art of sociology – with each other, in his *Sociological Aesthetics*, Simmel (1968a) further deepens his dialectical thinking. In his essay, the essence of a sociological aesthetics “lies in the fact that the typical is to be found in what is unique, the law-like in what is fortuitous, the essence and significance of things in the superficial and transitory” (Simmel 1968a:69). Focusing on fragments and the microscopic, the primary aim of Simmel is to reveal the general and the macroscopic. Therefore, Simmel’s emphasis on the “unique”, in which he finds the “typical”, denotes first and foremost how the fleeting moment of the transitory can capture the essence of modernity. What is the implication, then, of adapting Simmel’s sociological aesthetics for my case? Discussing the transformation of the concept and form of the hero, I try to capture moments of change. As a consequence, in the course of the dissertation I concentrate on various heroic imaginations that initially appear as unique trying to force open traditional frameworks, and that later become standards to be problematized by other, more distinctive, models. Within this pulsation of the transfiguration of the hero, I dedicate a special attention to the often transitory phenomena of temporary urban interventions or hackings, such as installations, performances, graffiti or vandalism.

While Simmel’s sociological aesthetics appeared a unique theory in his time, he found several followers later. The Institute of Social Research was established in 1924 in Frankfurt, whose director, Max Horkheimer introduced the idea of a “critical theory” in 1937. Among the members of the Frankfurt School, which was decidedly interdisciplinary encompassing the fields of economics, sociology, law, politics, psychology, aesthetics and philosophy, several scholars investigated how sociological and aesthetic perspectives interweave. Yet, instead of interpreting the two aspects as a reflection of each other, representatives of the critical theory believed that art is able to overcome prevailing social order. Theodor W. Adorno’s emphasis on the free variation in music (1976), Walter Benjamin’s notion of the “flaneur”<sup>3</sup> (1968), Herbert Marcuse’s outburst against affirmative culture (2009), and Bertold Brecht’s concept of estrangement or “Verfremdung” (1961) all propagate a radical innovation of artistic form, which, in turn, would bring about the transformation of the social world.

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<sup>3</sup> The notion of “flaneur” originally appeared in the poetry of Baudelaire.

Critical theory, as Murphy (1983:283) argues, unites the concept of aesthetics with praxis. Following the direction of this philosophy, my analysis of the transfiguration of the hero also becomes a discussion of how new heroic concepts and forms overcome previous narratives and images, and ultimately, a statement of how new imaginations challenge the dominant order. The application of critical theory, therefore, provides a background both for my examinations of the “aesthetics of politics” and the “politics of aesthetics”, introduced by Walter Benjamin<sup>4</sup> (1979), and widely discussed in recent studies elaborating on public art and socially engaged art (Lacy 1995 and 2010, Deutsche 1996, Kwon 2002, Bishop 2006, Kester 2011).

In compliance with my sociological aesthetic approach, I utilize a number of sociological and art historical methods. The basis of the dissertation is a comprehensive database that I have compiled during my field work, as well as the images of particular commemorative signs. Listing and visualizing public works of art installed between 1945 and 2012 in Berlin and Budapest, I was relying on primary and secondary sources found in the archives of the two cities, as well as in various German and Hungarian catalogues. The database indicates the year of inauguration, name of the sculptor, title, whereabouts, initiator(s) of the work, and additional notes. Yet, throughout the research there were huge divergences in the availability of data on German and Hungarian public works of art. In Berlin, there are no central databases, and the Berlin Monument Authority (Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)<sup>5</sup>, along with the cultural offices at the 12 districts<sup>6</sup>, has only partial information on “art in public spaces”. Even though I was compelled to supplement my list from other sources, such as catalogues (Endlich and Wurlitzer 1990, Burg 1994, Endlich and Lutz 1995, Endlich 2007) and an online database (<http://www.bildhauerei-in-berlin.de/>), it is fair to assume that my database on the public works of art in Berlin has become as complete as possible. In Budapest documentational attempts are much more present both on the level of city management and on the level of civil society. The Budapest Gallery carefully gathers information on public works of art, which, complemented by catalogues (Hadházy et

<sup>4</sup> In his essay on *Theories of German Fascism*, Benjamin (1979) explains the characterization of German fascism as the aestheticization of politics. According to Benjamin, the politicization of aesthetics would identify and resist the various ways art is exploited, also revealing its revolutionary potential.

<sup>5</sup> The Berlin Monument Authority has files on the following neighborhoods and time periods: Neukölln up to 2012, Steglitz up to 2009, Zehlendorf up to 2004/05, Tempelhof up to 2004, Treptow up to 2011, Friedrichshain up to 2010, Kreuzberg up to 2005/06, and Wilmersdorf up to 2008/09.

<sup>6</sup> Public works of art are documented in Treptow-Köpenick up to 2012, in Charlottenburg-Wilmersburg up to 2010, in Pankow up to 2012, in Marzahn-Hellersdorf up to 2012. An illustrative example for the differences between accessible data is the case of two Berlin districts: while in the peripheral district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf there is even a publication on public art (Goldberg et al. 2008), in the district of Mitte, most surprisingly, there is no documentation available at all.

al. 1985, Rajna 1989, Szöllősy and Boros 1998) and the online database of a Hungarian community web page (<http://www.kozterkep.hu/>), gives a trustworthy image of the post-1945 memorial landscape of Budapest. Nevertheless, archival work is far from being the only method used throughout my research. While content analysis is simultaneously applied with aesthetic analysis in the dissertation, some of the chapters have a specific methodological focus, too. Critically examining the exemplarity of Berlin from the perspective of Budapest, in Chapter 1, I utilize discourse analysis in order to interpret numerous statements from prominent daily newspapers and weeklies of the Hungarian left-liberal and right-wing press. Comparing the after-life of socialist heritage and the number of erected public works of art after 1989, I use statistical methods both in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Finally, investigating the reception of various memorial institutions, in Chapter 6, I rely on audience research. My sociological aesthetic approach, alongside these methods, all contribute to a better understanding of how the concept and form of heroes change in the urban spaces of Berlin and Budapest after 1945 up to the present.

The dissertation consists of seven chapters and six appendices<sup>7</sup>. Although traditionally appendices function as supplementary notes to the main corpus, here they form an integral part of the thesis. The databases that provide a comprehensive list of public works of art installed between 1945 and 2012 in Berlin and Budapest (*Appendix 2-6*), as well as the images (*Appendix 1*) already inform a great deal about the conceptual and aesthetic transformation of heroic imaginations. In this sense, beginning the reading from the end also appears a legitimate decision. Yet, even if not following this postmodern strategy, a close reading between the chapters and appendices is recommended. Both the appendices, as well as the chapters are structured along a temporal logic. Similarly to the database, in which public works of art are sorted by the year of their installation, the seven chapters primarily follow a chronological order in order to grasp the process of the transfiguration of heroes. After introducing the locations of Berlin and Budapest from the period of modernity in the first chapter, I concentrate on the years from 1945 up to the present. Yet, in contrast to the historical significance of the years of 1945 and 1989, in the various chapters I show that neither the end of the Second World War, nor the date of the regime change appears as a definite turning point of heroic narratives: I reveal two radical shifts from the 70/80s, as well as after the year of 2000s.

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<sup>7</sup> Throughout the dissertation, besides English, there are several Hungarian and German sources quoted. All verbatim quotes from non-English language sources are quoted in my translation, unless otherwise indicated.

I open the dissertation with a chapter that examines *Berlin as a(n Anti-)Model for Budapest*. Referring to the general interpretation of Berlin as a paradigmatic case of memory politics, my primary aim is to identify, as well as to historicize and contextualize aspects of knowledge transfer between the two cities. I show that during their metropolitan development, Berlin already had an effect on the urban history and architecture of Budapest: Berlin emerged as a European model for Budapest as a national capital. At the same time, similarly to Berlin's clear-cut influence on the modernization of Budapest, I also reveal that the German city was frequently mentioned in Hungarian public discussions during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. Analyzing various Berlin experiences of Hungarian intellectuals, I argue that the German city concurrently signifies different – positive and negative – images that not only are dependent on left-liberal or conservative political views, but on various professions too. Using these two aspects as a grounding of Berlin's role as a model and anti-model for Budapest, I finally discuss the Hungarian reception of the German memory politics after 1989. I conclude that while leftist public figures primarily praise the exemplary nature of German memory politics with regard to Nazism, right wingers see it, if at all, as a model for communism.

After clarifying the ambiguities of the relationship between Berlin and Budapest, in the second chapter I present the theoretical focus of the dissertation. In *Heroes Across Disciplines* I offer an interdisciplinary analysis of the hero, in which I compare the categories of the “great man”, the “protagonist”, and the “superman”. The reason behind selecting these notions is not only underlined by the semantic broadening of the hero understood as an exemplary historical figure, a literary character, and, lately, as a media image of the popular culture, but by their connection to memory political debates, too. The notion of great man determined 19<sup>th</sup> century visions of a national hero. Adorno's dictum to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric was also applied to the genre of memorials. Stalin's cult of personality was described along the concept of superman. Examining the changes of the basic analytical frameworks of the great man, the protagonist and the superman, I argue that after the Holocaust these concepts were challenged in various ways, primarily through the notion of everydayness. Thus, within the chapter I move from theorizing heroes towards the conceptualization of the everyday man.

Meditating on the question whether the year of 1945 functions as a turning point in commemorative practices, in the third chapter, I discuss the changing concept and forms of heroic narratives in memory politics after 1945. Even though I acknowledge that the end of WWII brought about divergent models that by and large distanced themselves from previous

understandings of the hero, I dispute the general argument of the literature that emphasizes essential differences between the commemorative practices of the socialist and capitalist system. In *The (Un)Heroic Memoryscape of Berlin and Budapest between 1945 and 1989*, I argue that divergences only signify general attitudes behind which a multitude of – analogous – features can be uncovered. While I reveal the inner tensions of the (super)hero cult in East Berlin and Budapest, I also problematize the victim paradigm in West Berlin. Analyzing the gradual transformation of public works of art in the two blocs, I show that it was only in the seventies and eighties when a more radical redefinition of commemorative practices was introduced, which at both sides hinted at the deheroization and demonumentalization of public works of art. Within this framework of moderating the contrast between the monolithic categories of “socialism” and “capitalism”, I also uncover that a memory politics of the everyday already emerged between 1945 and 1989 in East Berlin and Budapest. The two cities were not only experimenting with the heroic portrayal of typical socialist figures, but also with the everyday representation of the great man.

Studying the afterlife of “socialist” public works of art in the post-1989 period, in the fourth chapter, I analyze processes of re-framing the past. Focusing on the dynamics between “political” and “expert” opinions in the process of decision making in the two cities, I compare the resolutions of the German and Hungarian committees, as well as its antecedents and critiques. In *Whatever Happened to the Man of Yesterday: Re-Framing the Socialist Heritage in Berlin and Budapest after 1989*, I show that while the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin decided to preserve most of the socialist statues at its place, the general assembly of the Budapest Municipality decreed their removal to a designated Statue Park in an outer district of Budapest. I argue that the two cities’ approach towards its socialist past has finally come to differ to a great extent because of the German political elite mobilizing and the Hungarian authorities dismissing expert knowledge. Even though the issue of socialist public works of art still constitutes the subject of heated debates in both cities, at present, in Berlin historical arguments seem to prevail over political considerations, whereas in Budapest there is a radicalization of an anticommunist narrative primarily embedded in a project of party politics.

In *Heroes in a New Guise after 1993 in Berlin and Budapest*, I present yet another transfiguration of the hero in the period after the regime change. Utilizing the postmodern concepts of “absence” and “excess”, I reveal a number of differences between the heroic imagination of Berlin and Budapest. First of all, I state that while the traumatic memory of the Shoah became the negative founding myth of Germany, the heroic memory of the 1956

Revolution emerged as a positive defining element of the Hungarian memory politics. In Berlin historical self-understandings came to be dominated by the figure of the perpetrator. In Budapest it was the everyday hero of the 56 revolutionary that determined memory narratives. Second, investigating the physical lack or presence of public works of art, I show that after the political decisions on the future of socialist statuary, in 1993 the number of public works of art in both cities increased. I argue that in Berlin this rising tendency indicates the growing presence of the conceptually and aesthetically experimental genre of counter-monuments, the par excellence manifestations of memorials of “absence”, whereas in Budapest it reflects the emergence of multiple and competing commemorative practices, being associated with the notion of “excess”. Third, revealing a turn from the 2000s, I also show that while in Berlin the number of installations of public works of art started to diminish, in Budapest the yearly number of works was still steadily growing. However, within these trends Berlin rediscovered its own heroes in the form of silent heroes, whereas in Budapest there was a sensible crisis of heroic narratives developing.

With heroes surfacing in Berlin, and heroes going under (the) ground in Budapest, in the sixth and seventh chapters I present two case studies focusing on the present status of everyday heroes in the two cities. In *Shaping the Everyday Hero in Berlin: The Official Memory of Silent Heroes in Spandauer Vorstadt*, I focus on the institutionalization of commemorating the so-called silent heroes in Berlin, who, as everyday man, helped people persecuted during WWII. Discussing the historical development of Spandauer Vorstadt along with the processes of memorialization within the area, I explicitly link changes in the urban structure to changes of cultural and memory production in the public space. At the same time, while I examine the interplay between permanent and temporary memory projects, I also I provide the in-depth analysis of the commemoration of silent heroes, who do not only stand for the cautious reintroduction and reinterpretation of the heroic narrative in Berlin, but, as the discussion of the Schwarzenberg House, Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind and Silent Heroes Memorial Center underlines, also appear within a renewed aesthetic context. In *Shaping the Everyday Hero in Budapest: The Unofficial Memory of Alternative Heroes on the Heroes’ Square*, I analyze six existing Heroes’ Squares in the center and periphery of Budapest, together with the 2012 alternative art project *Place of the Heroes*. Studying a number of official and unofficial urban interventions of and about the everyday man that disrupt and reinterpret existing narrative frameworks, I argue that the traditional genre of Heroes’ Square first becomes a playful, then an abstract, and finally a self-reflexive entity. While in Berlin everyday heroes seem to overtake the official role of traditional heroes as

historical, social and cultural models for future societies, in Budapest they seem to be reborn in the unofficial register of alternative art projects.

## CHAPTER 1.

### BERLIN AS A(N ANTI-)MODEL FOR BUDAPEST

Berlin is widely regarded as a paradigmatic case of memory politics. As Jeffrey K. Olick (2003:278) or Sharon Macdonald (2009:8) notes, the memorial debates and commemorative practices of Berlin have the potential to function as an exemplary model for other cities. Comparative analyses in memory and heritage studies, therefore, often include Berlin as a case study, and discussions of a particular city likewise frequently reference Berlin (e.g., Buruma 1994, Carrier 2005, Daum and Mauch 2005, Art 2006, Langenbacher 2008, Huyssen 2009, Neill 2014, Sion 2015). In contrast to the majority of these works that repeatedly take the transnational circuit of a “know-how” for granted, I open the dissertation with a chapter that critically engages with Berlin’s influence on Budapest. In this sense, my primary aim is to identify, as well as to historicize and contextualize aspects of knowledge transfer between the two cities.

Even though the temporal framework of the dissertation stretches from 1945 to the present time, the first section of the chapter goes back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Through examining various linkages and breaks in the metropolitan development of both Berlin and Budapest, moreover contrasting the events of the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* and the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* in 1896 with each other, I reveal several examples of Berlin’s effect on the urban history and architecture of Budapest. In the second part of the chapter I gradually move forward in time and I analyze the cultural relationship of the two cities from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I elaborate on Berlin’s various positive and negative images constructed by Hungarian intellectuals, most importantly writers and journalists. Using these two parts of the chapter as a grounding of Berlin’s role as a model or anti-model for Budapest, in the third part I exclusively focus on the Hungarian reception of the German memory politics after 1989. Here, methodologically speaking, I heavily rely on numerous statements from prominent daily newspapers and weeklies of the Hungarian left-liberal and right-wing press. Various articles between 1989 and 2012 apropos of Berlin are considered in *Népszabadság* (biggest left-liberal daily newspaper founded in 1956 by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party), *Élet és Irodalom* (left-liberal weekly established in 1957) *Magyar Narancs* (liberal weekly founded in 1989) and *HVG* (liberal weekly established in 1979) on the one hand; and in *Magyar Nemzet* (most significant conservative daily newspaper founded in 1938) and *Heti Válasz* (moderate right weekly established in 2001) on the other. The



apparent imbalance between the two sets of selected weeklies, even if unfortunate, is inevitable. The most decisive criterion of choosing these particular newspapers was determined along their importance and popularity in the field, but several obstacles emerged in the case of conservative journalism. Quite a few options had to be discarded either because there was a significant ideological shift in the history of the particular paper (like in the case of *Szabad Föld*<sup>8</sup>), or because the journal functions as an explicit medium of extreme rightist ideologies (like e.g., *Magyar Demokrata*<sup>9</sup>). While the former would complicate and confuse the data to a relatively great extent, the latter would distort the records. My goal is not to offer a thorough analysis of Hungarian press history; I only want to point out the diversity of judgments on Berlin, and German memory politics in particular.

### **1.1. Metropolitan Development of Berlin and Budapest**

Although the morphology of Berlin and Budapest is greatly determined by their positions around the River Spree and the River Danube, there are several factors suggesting profound differences between the shapes of the two cities. With its 12 boroughs Berlin currently covers an area of 891 square kilometers and has a population of ca. 3,5 million. Budapest, in contrast, incorporates 23 districts and consists of 525 square kilometers with ca. 1,7 million inhabitants. Berlin appears almost twice as big as Budapest. Besides their divergent geographical dimensions and population statistics, the two cities also have a very distinct historical base. While Berlin was founded only in the Middle Ages built on the grounds of the double-city of Berlin-Cölln, the first settlements on the territory of Budapest (later called Aquincum by the Romans) were established in the antiquity by the Celts. Both the present and initial images of Berlin and Budapest are characterized by dissimilar structural features. Nevertheless, on a very basic level the urban history of Berlin and Budapest still connects.

During the period around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the forms of both urban settlements was heavily shaken. Berlin became the capital of the 1871 proclaimed German Empire. Budapest (first Buda) was appointed as the second capital of the 1867 established Dual Monarchy. Even though Alt-Berlin, Charlottenburg, Köpenick, Lichtenberg, Neukölln, Schöneberg, Spandau, Wilmersdorf, 59 rural communities and 27 estate districts from the surrounding districts of Niederbarnim, Osthavelland, Teltow, moreover territories of the Berliner Stadtschloss were merged only in 1920 as Greater Berlin, after 1871 Berlin started to

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<sup>8</sup> *Szabad Föld* is a weekly of the Hungarian countryside established in 1944. In the 2000s it got taken out from the interest of the left wing and was pouched by the right wing.

<sup>9</sup> *Magyar Demokrata* is a national conservative Christian weekly initially founded as *Pesti Hírlap* in 1989/1990, renamed as *Új Demokrata* in 1994, as *Demokrata* in 1995, and *Magyar Demokrata* in 1997.

expand with a high speed. Buda, Óbuda and Pest also got united in 1872 as Budapest. In this sense, both cities fitted into the general tendency of emerging “greater cities”<sup>10</sup> where urban growth is defined as a process incorporating surrounding settlements.

The point of departure of the metropolitan development of Berlin and Budapest, however, appears as reasonably different from each other. The responsibly body of urban planning in Berlin was the so-called Police Board that, in contrast to the municipal authority of other Prussian towns, belonged directly under the state. At the beginning of the 1850s the idea of a new building plan already came up within the board, but it was only in 1858 when James Hobrecht was assigned with the drawing of a Berlin plan that got finalized in 1862. Being a hydraulic and civil engineer, Hobrecht had no experience of urban development issues at all, which, as Hall (1997:219) argues, shows that the task was regarded neither complicated, nor important. Similarly to Berlin, in Budapest (then Pest) the government appeared as the dominant organ of city planning. Following the suggestion of Prime Minister Gyula Andrassy, in 1870 the former Embellishment Committee was recreated as the city’s General Board of Works that became directly modeled on the Metropolitan Board of Works in London. Although both the town and government were represented on it, the latter had a clear majority. According to Andrassy (cited in Ságvári 1980:116), the Board needed to be established in order “to develop the capital, Budapest (...) into a true city (...) with a place among the capitals of the civilized western world worthy of the prestige of the Hungarian state and its 15 million inhabitants”. With the ambiguous aim of “civilizing” Budapest, a competition was held in 1871, after which Lajos Lechner’s master plan for the building development of Budapest was relatively quickly completed in 1872. Lechner, who was a chief engineer of the Ministry of Works and Traffic and, later, the director of the General Board of Works, was considered as a real professional.

Besides the two cities’ distinct attitudes towards the task of urban planning, Berlin and Budapest also diverged in their relationship to Paris. Even though Hall (1997:397) notes on the general influence of Haussmann’s plan on modern cities, including Berlin and Budapest, he also states that Paris had a much greater impact on Budapest (Hall 1997:400). A primary difference between Paris and Berlin manifested itself in the fact that, in contrast to Haussmann’s extensive urban development activities, the Hobrecht-Plan did not have an all-embracing concept: it consisted of fourteen sub-plans engaging with different areas and districts of Berlin. Within this framework, Hobrecht’s project first and foremost considered

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<sup>10</sup> See e.g., the creation of Greater Vienna in 1890, or Greater New York in 1898.

the development of blocks of flats on the yet undeveloped areas of the city. As Hall (1997:221) emphasizes,

Hobrecht's task differed in almost every way from Haussmann's. In Paris it was primarily a case of redeveloping and clearing existing buildings by constructing new streets; in Berlin, on the other hand, it was entirely a question of making plans for new building. In Paris one of the fundamental goals was to create an efficient street system through the center; in Berlin the center was not directly involved. Here, due to earlier efforts the circumstances were more favourable than in Paris, at least in the western part of the central city, the Friedrichstadt. Haussmann wanted to create a city worthy of an empire. Hobrecht certainly had no such ambitions, despite the monumental squares he included. Moreover, the desire for magnificence was well catered for in the center of the town. And while for Haussmann the emphasis was on the execution of the plan, Hobrecht's planning was intended primarily to indicate guidelines for future expansion in private hands.

This strong focus on densely built urban city blocks later resulted in blaming Hobrecht for the rise of the housing type of the so-called Mietskaserne (rental barracks), which became an icon of the misery of the industrial working-class in Berlin. Simultaneously, even though Hobrecht's attention was indeed very much directed towards local conditions, larger systems were created, too. While housing blocks joined in a belt referred to as Wilhelmine Ring, part of the Ringbahn was completed in 1877 around the outer districts of the city. These structures, nevertheless, did not become part of the imaginaries of Berlin (Frisby 2008:44).

In contrast to Berlin, in Budapest urban planning ideas were much more comprehensive. With the construction of a new diagonal road linking the inner city to the City Park, and with the completion of a ring road encircling most of the then built-up area of Pest, also leading to bridges over the Danube, the plan established the present layout of the city. Thus, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Budapest was simultaneously shaped by the 1871-1876 creation of the Andássi Avenue and the 1872-1906 building of the Ring Road. In both cases, rather than Vienna, Paris appeared as the prototypical model. Emphasizing these sites' exceptional similarity to Haussmann's design plan, Hall (1997:400) argues that

(...) few if any of the capital city streets that were actually built outside France appear to correspond so closely to Haussmann's ideals in both location and design as the "Radial Road" in Budapest, the Andrassy út of today. Admittedly the great visual marker, the Millennium Monument, was not envisaged from the start, but some kind of building as a background to the street was presumably intended. Further, the ring road—the Nagykörút—corresponds fairly closely in both function and design to the inner boulevard ring in Paris, even though it has not been systematically completed on the west side of the Danube. As in Paris an outer

ring, the Hungária körút, was also planned, together with several radial streets. In the old urban core a number of street-widening projects were considered, parts of which required extensive demolitions. Planning and implementation in Budapest would most likely have won Haussmann's approval.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the metropolitanization of Budapest, the Hungarian city regarded rather London and Paris as examples to be followed.

In spite of these divergences, there is one definite angle, from which Berlin and Budapest still shared some similarities, especially compared to their surrounding cities. Discussing the metropolitan development of Berlin and Budapest in relation to other cities, such as Vienna or New York, both Frisby (2008) and Bender and Schorske (1994) emphasize how the urban profile and progress of Berlin and Budapest resembled and competed with certain American cities. While Berlin, with its straight and broad streets, was called the “Chicago am Spree” (Frisby 2008:45), the outer parts of Budapest's Elisabethtown, with its grid system, was similarly nicknamed in the Pest slang as “Csikágó”<sup>11</sup> (Ungár 1998). Parallel to visual correspondences, associations with Chicago were further strengthened by the fact that Berlin's population showed an almost 350 percent increase between 1850 and 1900<sup>12</sup>. The number of inhabitants rose from 170.000 in 1800 to 420.000 in 1850 and to ca. 1.900.000 in 1900 (Hall 1997:216). As Frisby (2008:39) notes,

The rapidity of Berlin's expansion after 1871 led many to draw a comparison, not with other major European cities, whose growth rates had slowed by the end of the nineteenth century, but with American cities such as Chicago.

Similarly, in Budapest there was an almost 160 percent grow in the size of its population between 1869 and 1900. From 280.000 in 1869 the number of residents rose to 733.000 in 1900 (Hall 1997:282). Referring to the unexpected speed by which Budapest graded itself up into the league of leading cities, Bender and Schorske (1994:2-3) likewise talk about an “American pattern of growth”.

Budapest, growing twice as fast as Vienna and three times as fast as Paris and London, dramatically changed its position in the European urban hierarchy in the fifty years following the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. Europe's seventeenth largest city in 1869, Budapest had risen to its seventh in 1910. This extraordinary rate of growth prompted a German

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<sup>11</sup> Csikágó covered the area between Damjanich street – Aréna (Dózsa György) road – Csömöri (Thököly) road – Rottenbiller street.

<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, Hitler in a 1938 speech also referred to Berlin as the former German Chicago, however he simultaneously also broke with the metaphor: “This is no longer the American tempo; it has become the German tempo” (cited in Ladd 1997:129).

geographer writing in the 1920s to remark that Budapest was unique in Europe, exhibiting an “American pattern” of growth.

The rhythm of the modernization of Berlin and Budapest uniquely stood out from other cities in the region.

Besides this shared uniqueness in the urban development of Berlin and Budapest, Berlin gradually also emerged as an important and trend-setter partner of Budapest. In a volume dedicated to the discussion of the metropolitanization of Berlin and its connection to other European capitals, Ágnes Ságvári (1992) published a chapter on *Budapest as a Hungarian National Capital and Berlin as a “European” Model*. Even though Ságvári (1992:458) also begins her analysis by emphasizing that Budapest originally used London and Paris as orientations, she argues that in the course of time Berlin also “provided important stimuli with its experimentations” for Budapest. These stimuli partly came from the direct examination of the processes of urban planning in Berlin.

(...) Budapest undertook great efforts to make use of the advancements of European urban development, in which Berlin served as one, but not a sole, model. In order to keep the connection of Budapest to Western European models, experts in Budapest organized study tours and participated in major events dedicated to the comparative survey of European urban development before the First World War (Ságvári 1992:459).

While Hungarian urban planners repeatedly traveled to Berlin in order to consult the Association of German Cities (the broadest organization of cities at that time), the Hungarian journal *Városi Szemle* regularly gave account of reports of the municipal authorities of Berlin and the Association of German Cities. Not only were Berlin’s green parks praised or its double-decker buses equipped with toilets, but an article of *Városi Szemle* in 1929 considered the self-management-system of Berlin as the most excellent (Dr. Franz Gallinas cited in Ságvári 1992:467). Parallel to Budapest’s fascination with Berlin’s various urban planning solutions, the exemplarity of the German capital also became expressed in the technical-industrial and architectural partnership of the two cities. This relationship is very well illustrated by the symbolic event of the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* in 1896, however, comparing the exposition with the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* also sheds light on Ságvári’s interpretation of Budapest as a national and Berlin as a European capital.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a growing precedent of cities arranging world fairs. Regarding these expositions as the par excellence manifestations of the modernist experience (see e.g., Rydell et al. 1994 or Harvey 1996), contemporary and present-day authors all emphasize various aspects of modernity. For Simmel (1997b:256) world fairs simultaneously

signify the unity of the “richness of different impressions” and the “lack of relatedness”, therefore appear as the illustration of the fragmented condition of modern urban life. Walter Benjamin explains world expositions as “places of pilgrimage to the fetish Commodity” (Benjamin 1999:17). For Ben Highmore (2002a:14) the exhibitions, which partly also showcased the everyday life of “others”, function as the display of the modernist understanding of the notion of everyday as familiar and mysterious. Besides these evidences of a modern experience, world fairs also praised the development of cities, reinforcing their elevation into great cities. Thus, when in 1896, almost in the same time period<sup>13</sup>, both Berlin and Budapest hosted an exhibition, it immediately became related to the phenomenon of world exhibitions. Even though neither the *Berlin Trade Exhibition*, nor the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* was labeled as a world fair, the logic behind both of them very much resembled one. As a matter of fact, the absence of this status can also be understood as an unfortunate coincidence of certain factors. In the case of Berlin, the exhibition was initially clearly intended as a world fair; however neither the newly founded empire, nor the city of Berlin found the appropriate means to finance such an event. Industrialists and investors had to take the initiative themselves, and decided to organize the exhibition on a seemingly smaller scale. Yet, as members of the Association of Merchants and Industrialists in the official catalogue of *Berlin Trade Exhibition* declare (cited in Kopf 2008:116), the fact that the event had to be rescaled did not necessarily entail a decrease in its significance.

[W]e would rather see a German exhibit than a Berlin exhibit (...). By ourselves we can only invite Berlin industry and Berlin businesses, but in this the frame can be stretched so far that also every firm that is somehow represented in Berlin will find room. Anything beyond that is not possible without the cooperation of the Imperial government. Yet we believe that the Berlin Trade Exposition on the basis we have given will hardly be distinguishable from a German exposition in anything but its name.

Similarly, Dorothy Barenscott (2010:573) argues for technical difficulties that prevented, or, much rather, unsettled, the position of the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* as a world exposition.

(...) I have found conflicting accounts concerning whether the official sanctioning body of world’s fairs, the Bureau International des Expositions (or BIE), has recognized the Budapest exhibition of 1896 as a registered “Universal Exhibition”. Much of this confusion relates to Hungary’s status as a dual partner in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (...). Significantly, the

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<sup>13</sup> While the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* took place between May 1 and October 15, the *Budapest Millennial Exhibition* was held between May 2 and October 31. It is worth noting that during the same year exhibitions were organized in Nürnberg, Stuttgart, Dresden, Kiel, Nishni-Nowgorod, and in Geneva, too.

BIE was established by an international diplomatic convention, signed in Paris in 1928, with the stated function of establishing rules and defining the characteristics of world's fairs and with the intent to control the frequency and quality of exhibitions. Since Budapest's 1896 exhibition occurred before clear categorizations were imposed, the status of the event remains unclear.

According to their original purposes, both the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* and the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* wanted to imitate and even outdo the success of earlier expositions. Berlin yearned for a world fair in order to show off to the hereditary enemy Paris that already had its *Exposition Universelle* in 1889<sup>14</sup>. Budapest, in contrast, regarded the exhibition as a unique opportunity to surpass the rival city of Vienna and to outshine its *World Exhibition* from 1873.

At the same time, there were several additional factors suggesting that the Berlin, as well as the Budapest show had the unambiguous goal to exceed the boundaries of a localized exhibition. First of all, both events were planned and executed on the size of a world exposition. While the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* was staged in the Treptower Park comprising ca. 1.000.000 square meters, the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* was organized in the city's then largest, ca. 600.000-square-meter City Park. Second, the exhibitions operated for almost six months typical of a world fair (Barenscoff 2010:574)<sup>15</sup>. Third, all of the predictable features of a nineteenth-century world exposition were present in Berlin, as well as in Budapest. Both locations were divided into a web of pavilions within which visitors could navigate with the help of a detailed map of the scene (Picture 1 and 2). In accordance with the standard infrastructure of world fairs, the various sections of the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* and the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* celebrated cutting edge technologies related to modern industrialization, transportation and communication, which all contributed to the wide range of amusements and spectacles offered at each show<sup>16</sup>. The

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<sup>14</sup> Interestingly enough, when Berliners made the proposition that Berlin should outdo the successful world exposition of Paris, Emperor Wilhelm II reacted with a strong opposition: "The fame of Paris makes the Berliners fall short of sleep. Berlin is a major city and as such it must have an exhibition. This is completely false. Paris is simply what Berlin should hopefully never become, the biggest whorehouse in the world" (Emperor Wilhelm II cited in Geppert 2000).

<sup>15</sup> According to Barenscoff (2010:574), the general length of a national exhibition was 3 months.

<sup>16</sup> The Berlin exhibition had the following 23 sections: 1. textile industry, 2. garment industry, 3. construction and engineering, 4. wood industry, 5. porcelain, fireclay and glass industry, 6. haberdashery and fancy goods, 7. metal industry, 8. graphics, arts and typography, 9. chemical industry, 10. food and beverage, 11. industrial sciences, 12. music industry, 13. mechanical engineering, 14. shipbuilding and transportation, electrical devices, 15. leather and rubber industry, 16. paper industry, 17. photography, 18. welfare organizations, 19. education and formation, 20. fishery, 21. sports, 22. horticulture, 23. German colonial exhibition. Partly overlapping with these themes, the Budapest exhibition had the following 19 sections: 1. arts, fine arts and performing arts, 2. cultural education, 3. education, 4. public health and education of children, 5. trade, finance and credit, 6. agriculture, fruits, horticulture, oenology, apiculture, stock-farming, silk farm, animal products, animal health 7.

newly built Treptow railway station in Berlin and the new subways system in Budapest; the electric lighting system around the Neuen See in Berlin and the extensive interior and exterior electrical lighting of the freshly constructed Parliament in Budapest; the increase of the telephone and telegraph networks in both cities are all cases in point. Closely examining these examples, one realizes that Berlin unambiguously left its mark on a number of sites in Budapest. On the one hand, the trend of German historicism became implemented on various illustrious buildings of the Millennial Exhibition. While the Hungarian architects Antal Szkalnitzky and Emil Unger were working on the construction of several neo-renaissance buildings of the Andrassy Avenue, Alajos Hauszmann submitted a design plan for the Hungarian Parliament that clearly evoked Ludwig Bohnstedt's or Paul Wallot's Reichstag plan (Gábor György Papp 2006). On the other hand, the German company Siemens contributed to numerous technological innovations in Budapest. Not only did they develop the first tram running along the Ring in 1887, but they also built the first public power plant in 1893, moreover the first subway on the European continent under the Andrassy Avenue in 1896 (Picture 3). As Ságvári (1992:459) notes, its name "földalatti" is the exact translation of the German expression "Untergrundbahn". As a further parallelism to world fairs, each exhibition dedicated a special attention to the divergent cultures of certain groups related to the German and Austro-Hungarian Empire. While Berlin presented a so-called Colonial Village along with the scenery town of Cairo<sup>17</sup>, Budapest showcased a nationality street focusing primarily on the Empire's minority groups<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, as Simmel argues (1997b:256), the diverse supply of both exhibitions already in itself placed the two events in the category of world expositions.

It is a particular attraction of world fairs that they form a momentary center of world civilization, assembling the products of the entire world in a confined space as if in a single picture. Put the other way round, a single city has broadened into the totality of cultural production. No important product is missing, and though much of the material and samples have been brought together from the whole world they have attained a conclusive form and become part of a single whole. Thus it becomes clear what is meant by a "world city" (...).

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forestry, hunt, 8. mining, metallurgy, iron and metal industry, 9. engineering industry, instruments and scientific tools, 10. transportation, shipping, navy, 11. construction, 12. wood industry, furniture, decorative industry, interior design, 13. pottery and glass industry, 14. leather and textile industry, clothing, 15. paper industry, manifold industries, 16. gold and silver products, fancy-goods, small products, 17. military affairs, 18. chemical industry, 19. ethnographic exhibition.

<sup>17</sup> According to Kopf (2008:118), approximately 100 contract workers from the German colonies of East Africa, Southwest Africa, Togo, Cameroon, and Papua New Guinea performed in the so-called Colonial Village.

<sup>18</sup> The focus lied on Croatian, Serbian and Romanian minority groups; however, a small-scale replica of the Old Buda Castle (as it was imagined under the Turkish occupation between 1541 and 1699) was also exhibited.



That is, a single city to which the whole world sends its products and where all the important styles of the present cultural world are put on display.

In this sense, along with their rise into a modern metropolis, the exhibitions likewise indicated the transformation of Berlin and Budapest into a city with a regional importance.

At the same time, appraisements of metropolitanization were in both cases coupled with (re)articulations of the two cities' identity. The *Berlin Trade Exhibition*, as well as the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* marked a turning point in the self-representation of Berlin and Budapest. The above discussed international framework of the events would suggest that the exhibitions solely and primarily mediated the establishment of a metropolitan identity. Yet, they as much constructed a strong national consciousness, which was also underlined by the symbolic significance of the choice of the year of 1896. While the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* celebrated in 1896 the 25th anniversary of Berlin as the capital of the Reich, the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* honored the thousand-year-old Hungary. In both cases, the thematization of these anniversaries has been realized with rather different accents and emphases. The *Berlin Trade Exhibition* propagated a discourse that defined the German national identity *with respect* to colonial and Islamic "others". As Kopf argues (2008:113), the exposition, and especially the display of the Colonial Village and Cairo, constructed Berlin as the capital of an empire, the colonized natives as subjects of that empire, and the near Orient as the constitutive outside to the imperial project. As opposed to the *Berlin Trade Exhibition*, the main effort of the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* was to conceptualize Budapest *in contrast* to the "others" residing within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, solely as a Hungarian capital<sup>19</sup>. The construction of a Millennial Memorial stressing the founding myths of Magyars together with the establishment of a parliament building in a state that did not exist as an independent statehood all tried to strengthen a Hungarian national identity that repeatedly had to be legitimized as opposed to the Habsburg rule (Gerő 1995:204). These different manifestations of the German and Hungarian identities were likewise underlined by the official posters of the two events. The placard of the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* depicted a strong arm raising a hammer almost threateningly above the city that not only seemed to break through the boundaries of Berlin, but also expressed an effort striving for higher ambitions (Picture 4). In contrast, the poster of the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* was overwhelmed with national symbols, such as the memorial of the Hungarian Conquest, the

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<sup>19</sup> According to Ságvári (1992:449), in 1880 58 percent of city dwellers in Budapest were Hungarian, 34 percent of inhabitants was German and 7 percent Slovakian. This composition of Budapest's population was gradually overwritten by processes of Magyarization, and by 1925 the number of non-Hungarians decreased to only 3,5 percent.

mythical Hungarian bird of the Turul, and the crown jewels of the first Hungarian King that all together constituted an imaginary Hungarian state (Picture 5). Within this framework, Berlin indeed became a European model for the national Budapest.

Around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century transformations in the urban structure of Berlin and Budapest closely linked the two cities to each other. Even though the *Berlin Trade Exhibition* and the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* also showed essential differences between the “European” and “national” aspirations of Berlin and Budapest, the exemplarity of Berlin partly manifested itself within this very difference. The metropolitan development of Berlin and Budapest, therefore, functioned as an important basis of knowledge transfer between the two cities, which symbolically also revealed itself in 1928 when Hungarian inventor and engineer Dénes Mihály for the first time managed to transmit a motion picture on electronic television between Berlin and Budapest.

## **1.2. Hungarian Intellectuals’ Berlin Experience**

As a continuation of the two cities’ close relationship during their metropolitan development, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Berlin conquered the Hungarian cultural life with an unprecedented speed. According to Gantner (2011:9-10),

The period between 1919 and 1930 in Berlin seems to be inseparable from the myth of the “Golden Twenties”. This myth is constructed on the following, mainly culture-related, concepts: experimentation, Americanization, mass culture, crisis, modernity. (...) Strangers also belong to this image. (...) The picture of the “metropolis of Berlin” was beamed first and foremost at East-Central Europe and Southern Europe, but it also revealed itself on the side of east-central European emigrants living in Berlin.

Among east-central European emigrants in Berlin, Hungarians, as Gantner (2011) extensively analyzes, formed one of the biggest group. Hungarian intellectuals got spell-bound by the German city, which in 1923 also got explicitly articulated by the Hungarian poet and literary scholar Aladár Komlós (cited in Török 2007:9):

Among the various classes of “foreign countries” there is always one that signifies the “West” for Hungarians. The West: the remote and beautiful light and the ferment leaven. (...) For Ady Paris was the West. For us, today, Berlin is our Paris: a city, which, so far, hasn’t played any role in the Hungarian cultural history. The Spree is our Seine. I wonder whether this river will likewise fertilize the Hungarian fields.

Echoing Ságvári’s interpretation of Berlin as a “European” capital, Komlós identified Berlin with the “West”. Certainly, this amazement with Berlin was not specific to Hungary.

Discussing the wide-ranging impact of Berlin, Nobel Prize winner Imre Kertész argues that “the journey of East-European writers into other languages, into the world literature leads mostly through Berlin” (Kertész 2007:11). Yet, in the case of Hungary, Komlós’ question turned into a definite statement, and from the 1920s Berlin became unavoidable for the development of a modern Hungarian culture. A growing number of writers, poets, critics, artists, actors and philosophers visited Berlin, whose number by 1925 reached 6000 (Gantner 2007:87)<sup>20</sup>. They saw the German city as a place of leftist and revolutionary thoughts, moreover as a center of the European avant-garde movements (Gantner 2007, Bacsó 2007). Berlin functioned as an intellectual laboratory for Hungarians, who, coming back to Hungary, turned these new impulses into part of their own cultural practices. Rephrasing Endre Ady’s famous poem *Paris, my Bakony* in 1906, and fulfilling Komlós’ above cited 1923 prophecy, Berlin indeed tuned into the new Bakony of Hungary<sup>21</sup>. The metaphor got firmly established in the Hungarian public life, and in 2007, when the Petőfi Literary Museum organized an exhibition about the Berlin-experiences of modern writers, they also chose the title *Today Berlin is our Paris* (Török 2007).

At the same time, beginning from the end of the 1960s the influential role of Berlin returned with a new élan. The German city became again, for a second time, the Bakony of Hungarian intellectuals, in which the foundation of the German Academic Exchange Service’s (DAAD) Artists-in-Residence program undoubtedly played a significant role. Since 1967 forty-six Hungarians, among them writers, directors, visual artists and musicians<sup>22</sup>, have spent a year in West Berlin, and, after 1989, in the united Berlin with a DAAD fellowship. “Recharging, European appearance, and first of all: free breath, which was needed by the Hungarian intellectuals not only before 89 – this is what Berlin offered, and still offers

<sup>20</sup> Hungarians who visited Berlin at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century included e.g., Jenő Rejtő, Andor Német, Sándor Márai, Lajos Hatvany, Róbert Gragger, Ignó, Oszkár Beregi, László Moholy-Nagy, Aurél Bernáth, Lajos Tihanyi, Sári Fedák, Mór Jókai, Frigyes Karinthy, Lajos Kassák, Ferenc Molnár, Sándor Bródy, Tibor Déry.

<sup>21</sup> Endre Ady (1877-1919) was a modern Hungarian poet in whose life Paris played a central role. Paris was a second home for him that is also expressed in the metaphor, in which the French city becomes equal to the Hungarian mountain Bakony.

<sup>22</sup> Zoltán Peskó (1967), György Ligeti (1969), Rudolf Maros (1971), George Tabori (1971), György Kurtág (1971), Endre Bálint (1972), László Lakner (1974), Miklós Mészöly (1974), György Konrád (1977), István Szabó (1977), Endre Tót (1978), Miklós Haraszti (1978), György Jovánovics (1980), Péter Esterházy (1980), Péter Nádas (1981), Gábor Bódy (1982), László Dubrovay (1983), István Eörsi (1983), László Beke (1983), András Szöllösy (1983), György Dalos (1984), György Petri (1986), László Krasznahorkai (1987), István Haraszty (1987), László Földényi (1988), György Galántai (1988), Zoltán Jeney (1988), Gyula Kurucz (1988), Béla Tarr (1989), Imre Oravec (1989), Miklós Györffy (1990), Imre Kertész (1993), Ákos Birkás (1995), Endre Kukorelly (1995), László Garaczi (1996), Ádám Bodor (1998), László Márton (1998), Zsófia Balla (1999), László Darvasi (2000), Lajos Parti Nagy (2001), Ferenc Szijj (2003), Ottó Tolnai (2004), Ildikó Enyedi (2005), István Vörös (2006), István Kemény (2010), and Bence Fliegauf (2014).

today”. József Tamás Reményi’s (2007) interpretation of the program unambiguously shows how strong the “European” image of Berlin was.

This sensation of longing for the German city got another impetus after the regime change, when living (at least) temporarily in Berlin became almost self-evident in the life of a Hungarian intellectual. As art critic József Mélyi (2007) argues,

If today we read into a contemporary literary anthology, or we talk to our visual artists, it immediately turns out that from the 90s Hungarian artists long for Berlin. They head or would head for Berlin – for inspiration, for success. While “the world is bad here”, the things are happening there: out of every chink of Berlin there is a new gallery growing, and the artist – if (s)he is working, fighting, and if (s)he is in the right place at a right time – will necessarily get into the spotlight. If someone waggles a wheel there, others will rotate it further: stimulus-thresholds will sink, opportunities will arise. Although the artists living there could tell a lot about how difficult is to set the wheel into motion, from the perspective of Budapest – where the cogwheels do not even meet – Berlin appears a real shelter.

“We are all Berliners”, wrote the correspondent of the Hungarian Radio at the end of the first decade of the 2000s (cited in S.N. 2012a). Berlin stronger and stronger intervened in the formation of the Hungarian culture, and by today the German capital turned once more into an indispensable place for contemporary literary and artistic life. The fact that “a Hungarian author writes a book about Berlin, from Berlin, for Berlin” (Forgách 2004), or that an artist visually recycles the German city became almost a cliché<sup>23</sup>. Parallel to these tendencies, mutual projects also came to life. While *Bipolar* (2006-2008) functioned as a series of joint German and Hungarian projects in the field of visual art, theater, music, literature and education<sup>24</sup>, the *Berlin-Budapest Saloon* (2008-2011) served as a forum for discussing joint issues of Berlin and Budapest<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> The following books explicitly reflect the Berlin experiences of the author: e.g., Szilárd Borbély: *Berlin – Hamlet* (2003), György Konrád: *Az író és a város* (2004), Zsolt Láng: *Berlinév* (2005), László Földényi F.: *Berlin sűrűjében* (2006), Attila Sausic: *Berlin utcáin – köztéri sétairkák* (2009). Also see Éva Köves’ Berlin paintings, or Zsófi Barabás’ Berlin series.

<sup>24</sup> For further details see <http://www.projekt-bipolar.net/>

<sup>25</sup> The BBLU series, organized primarily by Eszter Gantner, Ágnes Pákozdi and Mátyás Kovács, elaborated on the following issues: the Hungarian and German Capital in the 80s, and in the Mirror of Literature (October 29, 2008, Budapest, KÉK), Berlin-Myths (December 30, 2008, Budapest, Építészpince), Bauhaus (February 25, 2009, Budapest, AKKU), The Role of Subcultures in City Marketing (April 29, 2009, Budapest, Tűzraktér), City-Art-Space (June 20, 2009, Budapest, Olof Palme sétány 3.), Memorial/Wall – Gedenk/Mauer (September 16, 2009, Budapest, Tűzraktér), InBBetween (November 19, 2009, Berlin, Artitude), City/Art/Space (December 16, 2009, Budapest, Tűzraktér), Housing Projects (April 28, 2010, Budapest, Tűzraktér), Kino/Cinema (May 5, 2010, Berlin, Artitude), Virtual Architecture (July 8, 2010, Berlin, Artitude), Female City, the City of Females (December 2, 2010, Budapest, Tűzraktér), Berlin Budapest Experience of Art (May 14-15, 2011, Berlin, Artitude).

Berlin re-emerged as a fascinating city, and the Ady paraphrase – formulated first by the above mentioned Aladár Komlós in 1923 – likewise returned. In 2009 László Darvasi recited the comparison on the columns of *Élet és Irodalom*.

Let's talk about the so-called Berlin-nostalgia, about the adoration besieging the city, which for a couple of decades has been pervading the generations of Hungarian literature. Berlin also became the “Bakony” of the Hungarian writer, Bakony and Athens at the bank of the River Spree, and, at its Eastern part, rather Sparta. To be sure, it has been written by many, they narrated it, they announced it. (...) Certainly, Berlin is needed so much because Hungary is as it is. And how is it? Diverse and awfully uncomfortable. Certainly, Berlin is also needed because being here is always a present, a prize, a distinction, and not only Friedrich's lonely priest watching the sea, but the döner kebabs, à la Péter Esterházy, namely that Thomas Mann, in certain special situations, eats it as well. Certainly, the city is needed because here the particular Hungarian writer can play the role of the exotic, respectable stranger. And, certainly, because Berlin also has several smaller secrets besides its many monumental parades.

The same metaphor also appeared in 2011 in the diary notes of Imre Kertész (2011:103) documenting his migration to the German city.

Berlin. For the first time, I live in one of the metropolises of Western civilization. For the first time, I live in my own world. I made up my mind rather late. An Ady-paraphrase: Berlin is my Paris.

These authors in their works delineate an image of Berlin, in which the city appears as open, accessible, tolerant, receptive, and, last but not least, livable. “Many people speak here in different accents, and like in New York, no one asks where you came from” (Kertész 2007:25). Berlin is liberal and liberating. Péter Nádas (1995) states that “[Berlin is] the only place where one feels that reason still has a significance”. László Földényi F. (2007:25) remarks that “Berlin continuously surpasses itself”. Konrád (2007:103) argues that “We cluster round Berlin because rather here can something substantial to be felt”. György Petri (2007:145) writes to Szabolcs Várady that “The city as such is – very good. It is very good to *live* here”. Mediating on the attractiveness of “this basically ugly city”, Attila Sausic (2009:7) notes that “even if it won't become beautiful in its whole, even if it falls apart, its particulars are amazing. It reserves surprises, it produces tension, it remains exciting all the time. Body and soul never retires”. These writers are deeply and almost vitally fascinated by the German capital. Many of them played or still play a crucial role in Berlin's cultural life, too: György

Konrád was the director of the Akademie der Künste between 1997 and 2003<sup>26</sup>, Henrik Nánási was appointed as the chief music director of the Komische Oper in August 2012, Iván Fischer became the leading conductor of the Konzerthausorchester since the 2012/13 season, and Imre Kertész also spent 13 years, between 2000 and 2013, in Berlin<sup>27</sup>. At the same time, as the above cited paragraphs and lines already imply, these intellectuals tend to have a critical attitude towards Hungary. While they frequently comment on the negative phenomena of recent Hungarian political and public life in German journals, they also position Budapest in a striking contrast to Berlin. At this point, the judgment of Berlin sharply divides as Hungarian conservative and right-wing journals outline a completely different picture of the German capital.

In 2004 Enikő Marton published an article in *Magyar Nemzet*, in which she summarized her research studying how Hungarian writers affect the German public. Through examining the appearance of Hungarians on the columns of the conservative newspaper *Die Welt* between 1998 and 2002, she demonstrates the domination of left-wing and liberal Hungarian intellectuals in the German press, and accuses these same authors of soiling Hungary's good reputation and distinguished position.

It is worth taking attention to the analysis of Hungary's image outlined by the statements and judgments of Hungarian contemporary writers also because our writers appeared on the columns of *Die Welt* between 1998 and 2002 more often than the most important characters of the Hungarian political life. (...) All together 124 articles mention Hungarian writers. (...) We can assume with good reason that they had (and still have) a leading role in the formation of Germans' image about Hungarian public life, and, through this, about Hungary. Above all, this can be the reason behind the fact that by 2002 the Hungary-image of the newspaper perfectly coincided with the values of the liberal, left-wing Hungarian authors who frequently appeared on the columns of the daily, although in 1998 the newspaper showed confidence and sympathy for the civic government and for Hungarian conservatives.

It is of no doubt that the Hungarian right wing has the duty to counterweight these tendencies. On the one hand, it has to be enabled that conservative Hungarian artists, writers and intellectuals with international acknowledgement can effectively make statements in the Western press. On the other hand, and this may be even more urgent, we should operate a foreign language press office, which – with the help of reactions, critiques, remarks, statements and corrections published in Western journals – could compensate the

<sup>26</sup> Among members of the Academy are e.g., Péter Esterházy, Péter Nádas, István Szabó or György Kurtág.

<sup>27</sup> In November 2012 Imre Kertész also entrusted his oeuvre collected in the Kertész Archive to the Berlin Academy of Arts.

consequences of the autocracy of the left-wing–liberal media hegemony spanning across our borders.

Simultaneously, conservative and right-wing journalists passionately try to counterbalance these reports also within the borders of Hungary. Columnists of *Magyar Nemzet* and *Heti Válasz* do not only cover the German statements of Hungarian authors in a harsh tone of voice (e.g. Anikó Fázsy, Zsuzsanna Körmendy, András Stumpf), but criticism towards Hungary is often interpreted simply as an act of treason (see e.g. Zsuzsanna Körmendy's 2012 article *Rat-ology*). Behind these strong words there is over and over again a sensible irritation with Berlin expressed. As Fázsy (2010:32) notes,

I don't know what it could be in Berlin, maybe it's the climate, the icy northerly wind driving dark clouds, the fusty cellars of old houses; maybe the many concretes are distressing, the former cadaverous smell that has imbibed forever into the soils under the new buildings, but it is a fact that something forces the authors – who exiled themselves there and who appear as victims of a strange refraction – to refuse their home countries left behind.

What appears as a paradise for Hungarian left-liberal intellectuals is repeatedly repulsive for the other side. While historian and director of the *House of Terror* Mária Schmidt talks about the “ravage of left-liberal intellectual terror brigades in Berlin” (cited in Martin 2012), its openness – even if admitted – becomes held against the city. According to the contradictory portrayal of Stumpf (2007b) the open-mindedness of Berlin simultaneously makes the city disappear and chaotic.

Berlin fills up with content. Indeed, it is an open city – to such an extent that the city is nearly non-existent. It is hard to say what Berlin is. It is not only chaotic in terms of its architecture, but the city with its three and a half million population is inhabited by completely different people than at the time of the destruction of the Wall. Since 1990 more than half of the dwellers have changed. It is not known where they left to; it is much better known where they came from: there are countless Russians, and of course Turks.

Another returning charge blames Berlin because of its anti-nationalistic tendencies. In 2010, on the columns of *Heti Válasz*, Péter Tchet shockingly gave account on the fact that Germany tends to refuse to put on view national flags even at the time of important football matches (like the European League or the World Cup). Tchet's outcry was even more underlined by the fact that German communist parties organized an event when German flags could be exchanged into Soviet ones. “Berlin is not nice. Not in the sense of Paris, Prague or Budapest: for earthly mortals it would never occur to call the German capital as a jewel box”, – wrote András Stumpf (2007a) in another article in *Heti Válasz*. Conservative and right wing

journalism explicitly articulate Berlin's unattractiveness; although it can be suspected that these criticisms are partly also reactions to Berlin being a model for the left-liberals.

At the same time, this divided image of Berlin likewise manifests itself on the level of urban policy making. On the one hand, within left-liberal professional circles, Berlin is held exemplary because of its conscious, small-scale and transparent urban development plans (György 2011b, Kádár 2012).

Although Berlin is a bigger city – and Germany is likewise bigger –, in its scale and concerning its problems they are related. Berlin is in debts, it tried to take a big step, but it failed. It switched over to smaller steps, and they were quite right about it. Since Berlin has money problems, it develops much more in an innovative and human-centered way. Today everyone goes to Berlin, who besides cheap prizes yearns for creativity. I think Budapest should take a similar step towards the same direction, and if Berlin gets more expensive, it could become evident to move on to Budapest. Although in Berlin there is a bigger willingness to receive „newcomers”, this tradition also existed in Budapest and it again could be raised (Kádár 2012).

On the other hand, while leftist intellectuals also praise Berlin for being well-organized and ordered, this aspect gains a special emphasis in the arguments of the conservative leadership of Budapest. As Budapest mayor István Tarlós emphasizes (cited in MTI 2011), rules and regulations in Berlin are efficient and effective.

(...) Berlin authorities never forget about being organized, and about securing the order. Lack of organization and disorder cannot be part of a functioning urban policy, because it can lead into chaos. Concerning the realization of this urban policy, Berlin is an example to be followed.

Berlin concurrently signifies completely different images that not only are dependent on left-liberal or conservative political views, but also on various professions. Berlin seems to appear as one city with thousand faces in Hungary.

### **1.3. German Memory Politics in Hungary**

Similarly to earlier considerations, the concept and practices of German memory politics sharply divide the Hungarian public, too. The incidence of the word “Vergangenheitsbewältigung”, which refers to the German way of mastering the past and that does not have a generally established equivalent in Hungarian, is already a line of division. While left-liberal newspapers often and extensively make references to the notion (e.g., Kovács 2003, Berger 2007, Sonnevend 2008, Kovács 2011, Langer 2012), I could not find any mentioning of it in the case of right wing journalism. Mediations about the lessons of



“Vergangenheitsbewältigung” became a returning issue on the left-liberal side: besides publishing reviews of books elaborating the German memory politics (Terray 1992, Tamás 1994, Tamás 1996), several articles in *Magyar Narancs*, *Élet és Irodalom* and *Népszabadság* give account of the various stages of the German memory politics in depth (e.g., Inotai 2004, Vásárhelyi 2009, Kovács 2011).

However hard it was, by today the whole world has learnt the German word *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, which simultaneously means the conscious, critical examination of the historical past and the successful tackling of the burden of the past. It is a publicistic cliché that the German “mastering of the past” is a unique European success story, and it is a model to be followed for countries floundering on exams of facing the past (Kovács 2011).

Within the columns of these instances the concept of “Vergangenheitsbewältigung” in many regards appears as an exemplar to be followed.

Similarly to left-liberal writers, these articles often articulate the critical contrasting of the German memory politics with the (absence of the) Hungarian one. After the regime change, in the beginning of the 1990s, there were already voices pushing Hungarian politics into the direction of the German way of mastering the past. As Sükösd (1992) in *Magyar Narancs* insisted,

Why do we have to talk about these nightmares? Hungary cannot spare the discussion between the generations that is happening since decades in (West) Germany about the role of the generation of fathers in the Nazi period. This discussion now continues in the Eastern territories with the opening of the Stasi files about personal responsibilities in the recent past of communism.

The message was unmistakable. Similarly to Germany, the post-1989 phase has to confront the legacies of difficult pasts in Hungary. Yet, while Sükösd (1992) unambiguously propagated the introduction and integration of both the ruptured memories of the Holocaust and socialism into the Hungarian public discourse, in the beginning of the 1990s left-liberal newspapers were dominated by discussions that referenced the (West) German model from the perspective of the Hungarian socialist heritage. Remonstrating upon the plans of removing socialist statues to a designated Statue Park, Sinkó (1990) in a poetical article evoked “Lady Memory” who, just like in the case of Germany, should overcome “Lady Amnesia” reigning in Hungary.

We, Hungarians, are well-known in Europe for our statue-demolitions. (...) [W]hat is that they wish to push into a collective oblivion with demolishing a statue? The era itself? Or their forced presence in a former political system? I wonder whether the ritual demolition of a statue substitutes now – as so many times – a democratic struggle. (...) Is it not Lady Memory

who we should lift to the throne? (...) [In West Germany] they don't want to forget the sad periods of iconoclasm and of other political rites.

When will the historical memory, Lady Memory have here a rank like this?

While during the immediate period after the regime change Germany was also struggling with its own socialist heritage, Sinkó (1990) applied the experiences of mastering the National-Socialist past of Germany to the (post-)socialist context of Hungary.

Meanwhile in Germany, following the attack against the Stasi headquarters in 1990, in 1992 the German government decided to declassify the Stasi files. The foundation of the Gauck Institute<sup>28</sup> and the measure of opening the files to the public became almost instantly an exemplar for Hungarian left-liberals (and later also for the right wing, which I will further detail below). In spite of several initiations, the files are still largely inaccessible in Hungary<sup>29</sup>, which again and again appears on the columns of left-liberal newspapers as a criticism. Trying to understand the reasons behind the delay of opening the files in Hungary, in 1998 Rudolf Ungváry argued that in contrast to Germany where people unambiguously expressed their rights to the information in 1990, “Hungary was not yet at the stage where Germany in 1989-90”. By the 2000s articles became more and more impatient. This restlessness was clearly articulated e.g., in one of the statements of the former liberal mayor of Budapest who in 2006 published an article that not only mentioned the long-standing Gauck Institute, but also argued with annoyance in his tone for settling the issue finally (Demszky 2006:16).

While articles still emphasized the complete lack of historical self-reflection in Hungary, discussions of “Vergangenheitsbewältigung” more and more elaborated on the German commemorative practices of the Holocaust. When in 2000 Imre Kertész decided to leave Budapest for Berlin, partly, he also explained his decision on the basis of Berlin and Budapest's different relation to the Holocaust. As Kertész several times emphasized, his emigration was in a close connection to the fact that for him Hungary equals an “imperial-royal”, “Christian” and “national” community (Kertész 2011:92) that is “sickly afraid of the self-examination, even though facing the past could release huge energies” (Kertész cited in Inotai 2003, ). Kertész found his home in Berlin because it already went through a historical debate and self-torment (S.N. 2004). For him, “Berlin is life, Budapest is exile” (Kertész 2011:149). Parallel to the leaving of Kertész, references to the German way of dealing with

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<sup>28</sup> Joachim Gauck was the Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Archives until 2000 when he was succeeded by Marianne Birthler.

<sup>29</sup> Not declassifying the files in Hungary is also due to the fact that opening these files presumably would reveal the connection of several representatives from both sides to the previous system.

the Holocaust further proliferated. Inspired primarily by the 2001 opening of the Jewish Museum Berlin, the 2005 inauguration of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, moreover the planned realization of the Topography of Terror<sup>30</sup>, several articles praised Berlin for undertaking the difficult memory of Holocaust (e.g., Bojár 2002, S.N. 2005). In another body of writings, these institutions also served as counter-examples to the 2002 and 2004 establishment of the *House of Terror* and the *Holocaust Memorial Center* in Budapest. Hungarian aesthete and media critic Péter György, who became one of the most important propagator of following the model of German memory politics in Hungary<sup>31</sup>, repeatedly made this comparison.

If someone looks at Berlin, (s)he will immediately understand how the political leadership uses the symbolic representation of urban spaces for social integration, and how little it is transmitted to the avantgarde of the extreme right. (...) In Budapest the only architectural intervention of memory politics was the Statue Park, which is built on the decontextualization of the objects of memory, moreover the House of Terror, which, in spite of its undeniable museological and architectural spectacularism, gave rise to serious – partly still unresolved – historical-philosophical debates (György 2007b).

Accusations got stronger and stronger, and in 2010 charges were still about the inability of the Hungarian governments', both left-liberal and right wing, to take even the first steps in facing its own historical past.

Facing the historical past is not for itself. (...) This process of mastering the past has a decisive importance in the fact that Germany became one of the most stable democracies of Europe, in which the society has the required immunity towards racism, elimination, hatred. (...) Hungary – similarly to the majority of countries of the Central and Eastern European region – (...) haven't even made the first steps to face its 20<sup>th</sup> century history and the responsibility it had in the formation of history (Vásárhelyi 2009).

This disillusionment was further deepened by the formation of the second Orbán-government in 2010 that not only enacted a new Constitution in 2012 explicitly removing 45 years from the Hungarian history<sup>32</sup>, but also introduced radical memory political measures. Authors massively protested against the renovation of Kossuth Square back to its pre-1944 view (e.g., Gerő 2011). They objected the erasure of socialist street names (e.g., Legát 2011). They

<sup>30</sup> The documentation center opened in 2010.

<sup>31</sup> See his books: *Néma hagyomány. Kollektív felejtés és a kései múltértelmezés 1956-1989-ben* (2000), *Kádár köpönyege* (2005), *A hely szelleme* (2007a), *Apám helyett* (2011a), *Állatkert Kolozsváron - Képzelt Erdély* (2013).

<sup>32</sup> The Preamble states (Magyarország új alaptörvénye 2012): "Our country lost its national self-determination on March 19 1944, and it was restored only with the advent of the first democratic elections that took place on May 2 1990. That is the day we accept as the beginning of the country's new democratic constitutional [legal] order".

disputed the general obsession with heroic representation (e.g., Mérő 2012). They campaigned against the planned erection of the German Occupation Memorial at Szabadság Square and against shifting the responsibility over the Holocaust onto Germans (Bencsik et al. 2014). And they often did so through referencing the German case, and the fact how the urban spaces of Berlin reflect a principle according to which the past is an integral part of German history: “in Berlin not only historical personalities find their place in the presence (thus, in the future as well), but they also treat history differently as in here [in Hungary]” (Lipovecz 2012).

A plethora of articles were published arguing for finally taking the German example as a model. In 2010 Csepeli and Vági had the following, rather modest, statement in *Magyar Narancs*.

We can regard the German Nazi past as smellier than our own laundry, however, considering the way how they mastered the past we certainly could learn something from them.

Most of the articles I have found from this time period, however, were written in a much harsher tone. Langer in his 2012 article *Without Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, published in *Élet és Irodalom*, cynically noted that

The German language has an excellent word, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*: perhaps it could be translated as “facing the past” in Hungarian. Alas, this is the thing missing from the Hungarian public life.

The same sarcasm also appeared in Sándor’s statement, likewise published in 2012 on the columns of *Élet és Irodalom*.

According to Jan Assmann, there are “cold” and “hot” memories. The former freezes the history through resisting the elaboration of the past, of the consequences of changes, the latter tries to go beyond this through facing the history. Here [in Hungary] the past is not only a frozen world extending into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but a presence melted from the “ice cubes” of times that were pushing the country into catastrophes.

The persistent dissatisfaction with the Hungarian situation clearly signifies that for left-liberal intellectuals the Hungarian mastering of the past, with a strong emphasis on the Holocaust, is going into a completely different direction than the German model would dictate.

There are, however, left-liberal voices that, although acknowledge the efforts Germany has taken, also articulate criticism of the German memory politics. These articles primarily concern the balance between national self-hatred and national consciousness, between collective sense of responsibility and national self-respect (e.g., Földényi 1991, Inotai 2004, S. Varga 2010). As S. Varga (2010:3) claimed, “Berlin teaches Europe that

memorials confessing to crimes, visible on public spaces, can open up ways to forgiveness and reconciliation between European nations. Europe, however, teaches Berlin that without national consciousness a country's collective mind is not well". Related to this comment is the likewise occurring argument, according to which the scope of German memory politics should be broadened. According to Kovács (2011),

There are a number of sociological studies signifying that personal attitudes did not change to the extent as it could have been expected from the efforts directed towards changing the collective memory. (...) Several members of the generation born in the 70s and the 80s willingly accept the frames established by the collective memory politics – however they place the history of their own families outside of these. (...)

(...) [C]ollective memory should be built not only from the perspective of the victims of Nazism, since many are unable to find their own history within this. Instead, within the collective memory there should be also included the “history of German suffering”, which was drove out from the public, but which is, after seven decades, still lively within family memories. (...)

The German example underlines that the legal settling and the compensation of victims belong to the task of the governmental memory politics. It is also natural that political systems – but not the changing governments – designate traditions with symbolic identity-political gestures that can be regarded as their own, moreover (...) traditions that announced unacceptable. (...) Today there is a consensus in Europe: European democracies, as expressed many times, articulate their identities against systems symbolized by Auschwitz and the Gulag. Within this consensual space, then, there should be an opening towards the development of diverse and often conflicting memory narratives.

How does conservative journalism relate to these statements and criticisms?

As already noted in the beginning of this section, conservative articles reference the German case to a much lesser extent; the German way of mastering the past appears primarily as an object of refusal. Similarly to the critical voices on the left-liberal side, one of the central criticisms of conservative journalism calls the attention to the dangers of a “compulsive” self-examination.

(...) [T]he German examples also underline how dangerous it is to force people to a constant self-examination and compunction. Especially if it concerns persons who were born later than the Holocaust. The social compunction that is constantly on the agenda in Germany resulted in the fact that the majority of the population became already dull, they do not want to hear about the atrocities anymore, and they immediately change the channel if the television investigates the issue (Keresztes in Megyeri 2003:4).

Together with these arguments also comes the charge, according to which “the crimes committed by the Nazi regime did not make the German consciousness more sensitive towards the evil acts of other regimes, but on the contrary: it blinded them, and they do not want to notice those” (Keresztes 2006:6). Conservative authors again and again demand an explanation of the different judgment of the two dictatorships. As Stefán (2008) writes it on the columns of *Magyar Nemzet*, “the double standard is a concrete phenomenon”. At the same time, while one of the most intense criticisms is directed towards the fact that in contrast to Nazi criminals, agents of the Stasi are protected by law (Stefán 2008), several articles (e.g., Stefán 2005, Lovas 2007, Techet 2009) express their indignation that symbolic socialist objects – “icons of fear” (Stefán 2005) – further live on in the territory of the former GDR. While these authors talk about a “communism still living with us” (Techet 2009), and about a “new spectre” haunting Central and Eastern Europe (Lovas 2007), they also argue for the complete removal of the remains of the recent past.

The Brandenburg Gate, emblem of the city, functions still as a symbol of decades of German dividedness. Seeing this it appears inconceivable that in the united Federal Republic (...) there are objects evoking the past that, after 15 years passed, a long time ago should have been thrown into a lumber-room. It is a well-known fact that after the world war historians, sociologists, jurists, and politicians of the FRG managed to master the period of National Socialism only with difficulties. It appears that liquidating the remains of the communist system built on force and following Hitler’s dictatorship is even more difficult (Stefán 2005). Accordingly, while the German way of mastering the WWII is unattractive because of the “obsessed” showcasing of its memory, conservatives also disapprove any material survivors of the memory of socialism.

There is one perspective, however, from which Germany is clearly considered as a model to be followed. Alongside with the right wing government’s increasing emphasis on anticommunism, from the 2000s there are a growing number of articles that propagate the folding up of the surveillance system operated during the period of socialism (e.g., Megyeri 2005, Lovas 2007)<sup>33</sup>. According to these writings, the files, similarly to Germany’s Gauck Institute, have to be unclassified, otherwise our historical and political clarity becomes obscure (Megyeri 2005), and we will be stuck forever in the former regime (Lovas 2007). “If the German nation could face his own history that nearly liquidated other nations, why cannot

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<sup>33</sup> The same arguments frequently occur also on the columns of extreme rightist journalism, some of them published in the beginning of the 90s (e.g., Bodnár 1994, Mónus 1994). Furthermore, on the columns of the extreme rightist journal *Magyar Demokrata*, the vocabulary of the German way of mastering the WWII occasionally becomes also applied to the unsettled political status of the memory of Trianon. In one instance Trianon is referred to as the “Hungarian Holocaust” (Stoffán 1994).

we settle any of the pasts of the whole set of communist leaders?” – asked Megyeri in 2005. In this sense, even though the reception of German memory politics seems to manifest itself primarily in a clash between left-liberal and conservative journalism, in certain aspects – especially in the question of opening the secret police files – the two sides do connect. Nevertheless, while leftist public figures primarily praise the exemplary nature of German memory politics with regard to Nazism, right wingers see it rather, if at all, as a model for communism.

In accordance with all these, while Berlin had a clear-cut influence on the modernization of Budapest, the German city was also frequently mentioned in Hungarian public discussions. Within these debates Berlin emerged as a positive or negative point of reference that highly varied in accordance with different political views and professions. Therefore, Berlin, along with the German memory politics, simultaneously functions as a model and an anti-model for Budapest. Yet, while I have shed light on arguments and counter-arguments of implementing the German commemorative practices into the Hungarian situation from both the sides of left-liberal and conservative journalism, the adaptability of the German memory politics into other contexts still remains an open question.

## CHAPTER 2.

### HEROES ACROSS DISCIPLINES

Imagine an ordinary room with four walls, in which there are several items, pictures and objects that function as a mirror of one's own identity. In the wardrobe there is a T-shirt with the image of a significant historical personality. On the wall there is a poster of a literary character. On the shelf there is an action figure of a superhero. Che-Guevara can get on perfectly well with Harry Potter and Superman; they are all someone's personal heroes.

Offering an interdisciplinary analysis of the hero, in this chapter I compare the categories of the "great man", the "protagonist", and the "superman", which first of all hint at the different connotations of the term "hero". According to the *Etymology Dictionary* (Etymonline n.d), the word "hero" comes from the Greek "heros" (demigod) originally signifying defender or protector in a military situation (Etymonline n.d). Its first appearance in English<sup>34</sup> can be traced back to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, but, while in the beginning "hero" first and foremost referred to male characters, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the term "heroines" was introduced too (Etymonline n.d.). By this time, besides martial courage, the word also came to connote physical or moral courage at a more general level, embracing political, intellectual and religious greatness as well. As the records show, from the very end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the meaning of "hero" again got extended. The word defined as protagonist appeared in the field of literature (Etymonline n.d.), and lately it also entered popular culture.

The reason behind selecting these notions, however, is not only underlined by the semantic broadening of the hero described as an exemplary historical figure, a literary character, and as an icon of the popular culture, but by their connection to memory politics, too. Thomas Carlyle's theory of the great man determined 19<sup>th</sup>-century visions of a national hero. Theodor W. Adorno's well-known statement that considered any literary production after Auschwitz as barbaric was applied to the genre of memorials, too. Nikita Khrushchev interpreted Stalin's cult of personality as a cult of superman. While these aspects will be extensively discussed at different points in the dissertation, here I only stress that the concepts of the "great man", the "protagonist", and the "superman" itself went through radical changes, through which they all became interdisciplinary.

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<sup>34</sup> Semantic changes of the German word "Held", as well as the Hungarian version "hős" are similar to the English word "hero".



Using this chapter as a theoretical background of the examination of the actual changes in the heroic imagination of Berlin and Budapest, I reveal various transformations of the hero within and across disciplines, and I show how the basic analytical frameworks of the great man, the protagonist and the superman were all challenged after 1945 through the notion of the everyday man.

### **2.1. Conceptual Framework of the Everyday**

In 1990 Ferenc Kovács, an everyday man with an unexceptional name, decided to install his own memorial plaque at the facade of his apartment building in Budapest. Perfectly resembling an official memorial sign, he commissioned the realization of a white marble plaque that included his own portrait relief, as well as a relatively long inscription. “Here lives Ferenc Kovács”, began the text, but then this personal statement seemed to be overwritten by the much more general emphasis of the struggles of the common man<sup>35</sup>. Realized at his own expense, Kovács commemorated himself, as well as the everyday man. In the same year, approximately 900 km away from Budapest various artists painted a 1.3 km long section of the eastern side of the Berlin Wall. Among the several iconic images of the *East Side Gallery*, one piece also put the ordinary man into spotlight. Quoting an African wisdom, the graffiti advertised that “many small people who in small places do many small things can alter the face of the world”. Ordinary men<sup>36</sup> suddenly were everywhere.

On the next day of Kovács installing his memorial sign in Budapest the plaque got stolen. The status of the *East Side Gallery* in Berlin is also far from secured<sup>37</sup>. Yet, even though both illegal and spontaneous projects vanished or are endangered by disappearance, in the new millennium the memory of the everyday man continued to haunt the urban spaces of cities. As Hungarian art historian Géza Boros (2001:139) recalls, the Department of Public Art belonging to the non-profit gallery of the Municipality of Budapest proposed an unusual project plan for the years of 2000 and 2001. According to the argument of the Budapest Gallery, during the past decades the initiators and addressees of public works of art became extremely alienated from each other. Resolving this issue, they came up with a suggestion

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<sup>35</sup> As the subsequent lines revealed, the plaque was dedicated to “those citizens who can provide for their own families, while they have also provided and still provide for those who have only promised and still promise them the welfare they enjoy, and who live comfortably with fat purses ‘up there’, switching positions between themselves and exploiting our community work.”

<sup>36</sup> Even though the term “ordinary” can also denote “inferiority”, “mediocrity”, or even “vulgarity”, here I refer to “ordinary man” as a “common man” with all its class connotations.

<sup>37</sup> In 2013 one section of the wall was removed to make room for a luxury building project and for the reconstruction of the pre-war Brommy bridge. However, further demolitions were brought to a standstill by the protest of thousands of Berlin residents; by everyday men.

that contained the random selection of three Budapest residents, as well as the realization of a sculptural ensemble of these three people. In this way, inhabitants could erect a public work of art about themselves and for themselves. At around the same time, statues of *Ordinary People* started to flood the public spaces of Germany, including Berlin. German artist Christel Lechner organized various temporary exhibitions of her colourful life-size concrete sculptures that depicted ordinary people as they partake in simple everyday activities. Her rather kitschy figures wait for a bus, hang out the laundry, work at a construction site, clean the street, sit at the hairdressers, take a picture, look at the stars, sunbath, have a family reunion, drink a beer, read a book, walk a dog, prepare for travel, or take a shower. In almost all cases, the statues got implemented in the actual circulation of cities, becoming hardly distinguishable from flesh and blood citizens.

But then again, the Cultural Committee of the General Assembly of Budapest rejected the strange plan of the Budapest Gallery and went on with the erection of more traditional statues. Similarly, Lechner's *Ordinary People* were present only for a fleeting moment in Berlin. Yet, the everyday dimension of cities is surfacing in various memory projects again and again. In 2014 Budapest witnessed the appearance of a number of illegal memorial plaques that were all dedicated to a variety of everyday experiences in the 7<sup>th</sup> district known as a center of parties and ruin bars. Within the framework of their *Memento Budapest* project, the "It was not us" (Nem mi voltunk) crew commemorated "people who used to live here", "J. S.'s graffiti on the opposite wall", "people wearing Groucho glasses", "the place where the greatest Hungarian poet of the 21<sup>st</sup> century urinated", or a "British vomit of uncertain origin" (Brückner 2014). While *Memento Budapest* reflected everyday phenomena that were noticeably present in the neighborhood, the French artist JR's international project *The Wrinkles of the City* drew attention to the invisibles. Realized in 2013 in Berlin, JR – who usually flyposts huge black-and-white photographic images in public locations – took photos of older men and women in Berlin, which then became showcased on the entire facade of several buildings throughout the city. According to the official description of the project (S.N. 2013), JR wanted to make the oldest generation visible and noticed again in the city. As these few – realized/unrealized, official/unofficial, legal/illegal – cases illustrate, cities and citizens experiment more and more with how to re-present the common man in urban space. Has, then, the everyday man overthrown the hero? Or, on the contrary, has the common man also begun to function as a hero? Is there an interrelationship between the two figures?

When elaborating on the concept of the everyday, several scholars begin their analysis with the period of modernity (see e.g., Ross 1995, Highmore 2002a, Randall 2011, or Ruda et

al.'s 2012 conference). According to their argument, modernity not only challenged the traditional structure and function of everyday life, but ultimately it also changed the very definition of it. With the appearance of standard time, factory production and bureaucratization – that Schivelbusch (2014) simply calls the “industrialization of time and space” – everyday life got associated with monotony and repetitiveness. Modern technological production methods, however, not only brought about a one-way transformation in how people lead their everyday lives: the notion of the everyday as much was interpreted as a realm of strangeness and oddness. In his book on the establishment of the railroad system and on the perception of railway journey, Wolfgang Schivelbusch (2014) identifies a double process. While he indeed describes the “radical foregrounding of machinery and of mechanical apparatus within everyday life” as one of the most important features of modernity (2014:xv), Schivelbusch also provides ample examples of the disorientation and loss travelers experienced by the new travel technology. This historical definition of everyday modernity as routine and mystery surfaced in literature, too. Illustrated by the fictional character of Sherlock Holmes who appeared in various novels of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle between 1887 and 1927, Ben Highmore (2002a) elaborates on an understanding of the everyday that is built on the notion of ambiguity. On the one hand, Sherlock Holmes, often getting bored, has a passionate love for all that is bizarre. On the other hand, however much Holmes feels attracted to strangeness, his mission is precisely to “puncture” the mysteries of life (Highmore 2002a:3). The extraordinary abilities of Holmes, which are truly exceptional, not only turn out to be only a matter of doing careful observations, but mysterious crimes, which indeed seem to be inexplicable, often also get resolved as ordinary misdeeds. Similarly, in the field of popular culture the first daguerreotypes and films simultaneously appeared as science and magic. According to the urban legend, in 1896, when Auguste and Louis Lumiere presented their short black-and-white silent documentary film *The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station*, the audience was so overwhelmed by the moving image of a life-sized train heading directly towards them that they ran to the back of the room in their search for a shelter. Thus, the emergence of modernity resulted in the reinterpretation of the everyday along the lines of contradictory notions: it became to signal both the familiar and unfamiliar, boredom and excitement, and the ordinary and extraordinary.

This dichotomous understanding of the everyday did not, however, remain exclusively connected to the period of modernity. In 2002 Ben Highmore published two books (2002a and 2002b), in which he considered a number of analyses dealing with the everyday. While in *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory* Highmore presents various models in

a chronological order, in *Everyday Life Reader* he uses the thematic sections of “Situating the everyday”, “Everyday life and national culture”, “Ethnography near and far”, “Reclamation work” and “Everyday things”. In both volumes, theories not only are embedded in the above identified approach interpreting the concept of everyday as an inherently paradoxical notion, but they also serve as a basis of establishing the future field of everyday life studies as decidedly interdisciplinary. The various authors Highmore presents unambiguously positioned the everyday in a location amidst historical (e.g., Fernand Braudel), literary (e.g., Georges Perec), popular (e.g., Lynn Spigel), as well as philosophical (e.g., Walter Benjamin), psychological (e.g., Sigmund Freud), sociological (e.g., Pierre Bourdieu) and anthropological (e.g., Bronislaw Malinowski) approaches. Among the multiplicity of these voices, I focus on the theories and practices of Georg Simmel, the social research organization of Mass Observation, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau; each appearing at the intersection of various disciplines.

Simmel, the Mass-Observation, Lefebvre or Michel de Certeau all regarded the urban as a primary location of capturing and comprehending the everyday. As the French writer Maurice Blanchot (1987:17) also argues, “the everyday is not at home in our dwelling-places, it is not in offices or churches, any more than in libraries or museums. It is in the street – if it is anywhere”. A further similarity between these authors and groups manifests itself in their explicit connection to particular aesthetic traditions. Analysing *how* Simmel, the Mass Observation, Lefebvre or Michel de Certeau discussed their findings, Highmore (2002a) reveals several possible forms of (re-)presenting the everyday. Simmel’s fragmented sociology got associated with the artistic trend of impressionism (see also Frisby 1992). The surprising juxtapositions of Mass-Observation reportedly evoked the technique of montage supplied by Surrealism (see also Clifford 1988:142–3). Lefebvre’s concept of moments had a direct relationship with the situationist’s theory of constructing situations (see also Ross 1997). Michel de Certeau allegedly used an avant-garde poetic language (see also Watkin 2001). In the understanding of Highmore (2002a:22), this intertexture of sociology, anthropology and the avant-garde gives rise to an avant-garde sociology, which not only utilizes the avant-garde’s strategy of making the familiar unfamiliar, but ultimately also provides an aesthetics of the everyday. Yet, while these authors indeed had a common ground and aesthetic interest in the everyday, Georg Simmel, the social research organization of Mass Observation, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau also illustrate gradual shifts in the modern and contemporary understanding of the everyday.

The German sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel radically turned the everyday into a defining element of a general scholarly interest. In a 1909 letter (sent to the lawyer Georg Jellinek) he argued that “I actually consider it a cultural task not unworthy of a philosopher to present to the broadest possible public a certain intellectual opinion on and absorption in precisely the most superficial and everyday phenomena” (Simmel quoted in Highmore 2002a:33). Instead of focusing on great events and large social structures, Simmel called for focusing on the everyday as the most suitable concept for approaching society. Within the framework of what he called “microscopic investigation” (1907:1025), Simmel extensively examined the banal in daily life, such as the sociology of meal, bridges and doors, the philosophy of fashion, adventure, or prostitution (Frisby and Featherstone 2000). Yet, as Highmore (2002a:37) argues, “what is most significant about Simmel’s attention to the everyday is that it is in the everyday that he also finds the macroscopic. (...) For Simmel the everyday must be made to reverberate with the interactions, networks and force of social life. The everyday must be made to register vividly the social totality from within”. The everyday became symptomatic of something bigger, such as urban modernity.

What Simmel tried to achieve in sociological thought was most essentially represented in the field of anthropology by the English organization Mass-Observation. Founded in 1937 primarily by the anthropologist Tom Harrisson, by the poet and reporter Charles Madge, by the writer and documentary film-maker Humphrey Jennings, Mass-Observation tried to develop a “science of ourselves” and an “anthropology at home” (Madge 1937, and Harrisson et al 1937). In an initial statement, Harrisson, Madge and Jennings (1937:155) provided a list with suggested research focuses that, absurd as they are, also reflect a Simmelian logic. Data was to be collected on topics, such as “Behaviour at war memorials”, “Shouts and gestures of motorists”, “The aspidistra cult”, “Anthropology of football pools”, “Bathroom behavior”, “Beards, armpits, eyebrows”, “Anti-semitism”, “Distribution, diffusion and significance of the dirty joke”, “Funerals and undertakers”, “Female taboos about eating”, or “The private lives of midwives”. Although the list clearly underlines the organization’s interest in the mystery of everyday life, the particular moment Mass-Observation was set up fundamentally influenced the direction it took. The year of 1936 signaled a constitutional crisis in the British Empire, which was caused by King-Emperor Edward VIII’s proposal to marry the two times divorced Wallis Simpson, and which finally led to the king’s abdication. The private life of the ruler suddenly became the subject of extensive media representation. Angered by the simplified and homogenous image of public opinion transmitted by the mass media, Mass-Observation came up with an idea to

elaborate on the heterogeneity of British people. They announced the principle of “observation by everyone of everyone, including themselves” (Madge and Harrison 1937:10). While full-time observers were supposed to act as objective eye- and earwitnesses spending most of their time watching and listening to others, part-time observers were asked to submit subjective reports about themselves and their direct social context. Nevertheless, according to a frequent and partly certainly justified criticism, the organization could not keep itself to this code: they were accused of continuing a nineteenth century tradition, in which, instead of far-away cultures, Mass-Observation directed its colonial gaze at the poor and marginalized who has been treated as the local “others” (see e.g., the accounts of Highmore 2002a, Hinton 2013 or Stewart 2013). However, as Highmore extensively shows (2002a:75-113), the emblematic projects of the organization, such as *May the Twelfth* (1937), *Britain* (1939), or the *Pub and The People* (1943) did aim for a nuanced ethnographic account, even if to a different extent and different levels of success. Thus, in contrast to Simmel, Mass-Observation introduced a much more political definition of the everyday. Resembling a social movement (Summerfield 1985), the organization tried to alter the realm of everydayness through revealing a certain kind of diversity.

Following Mass-Observation’s critical take on the everyday, the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre further elaborated on a critical understanding of the everyday. Yet, while in the case of Mass-Observation it was the homogenizing effect of the mass media that provoked the establishment of the English organization, Lefebvre was concerned with the harmful nature of the capitalist system. Initially published in 1947, 1961 and 1981, Lefebvre completed a three-volume-study on the *Critique of Everyday Life*, in which he defined the everyday as a place of all related activities. As he emphasized (1991:97), it is a site where “the sum total of relation which make the human (...) a whole takes its shape and its form. In it are expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real, albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete”. According to his criticism, the realm of the everyday – that encompasses every aspect of life – became unambiguously colonized by the system of capitalism. Capitalism increased the homogeneity of everyday life, as well as deepened social differences. At the same time, using the example of the medieval carnival that carries the temporary promise to live otherwise, Lefebvre also developed a “theory of moments”, in which the logic of commodification and capital can be overcome. Thus, in his understanding, the transformation of the everyday is possible, albeit only when la fête “stops being a ‘vision’ and a ‘conception’: once it penetrates life”

(Lefebvre 1991:251). Then, the central control will decrease and the right to the city will emerge (Lefebvre 1992).

In contrast to Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau – whose work combined history, psychoanalysis, philosophy and sociology – argued that daily life can never fully be colonized. Differentiating between the key concepts of strategies and tactics, de Certeau maintained that alternative operations are always present within the dominant order. As he described in his 1980 book on *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988:xix),

I call a ‘strategy’ the calculus of force relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (...) can be isolated from an ‘environment’. A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (...) and thus serve as a basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (...). Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model. I call a ‘tactic’, on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a ‘proper’ (...). Many everyday practices (...) are tactical in character. And so are, more generally, many ‘ways of operating’: victories of the ‘weak’ over the ‘strong’ (...), clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, ‘hunter’s cunning’, manoeuvres, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries poetic as well as warlike.

While strategies are connected to larger power structures, practices of everyday life elude the system. Due to an always present creative inventiveness, the everyday became equal to a site of resistance. Following this definition of the everyday as a general provocation of existing frameworks, the question yet again emerges: what is the relationship between the everyday man and the hero? In what sense does the everyday man challenge, if at all, the figure of the hero? Focusing on the basic categories of the great man, the protagonist and the superman, in the following sections I do not only elaborate on the gradual transformation of the various understandings of the hero, but on the changes of its connection to the everyday man, too.

## **2.2. The Great Man, the Protagonist and the Superman**

Although meditations over the influence of key figures on the course of history have already been present since antiquity (Grinin 2010), the perception of heroes considerably changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the phenomenon of hero-worship got deeply interwoven with a project of nation-states. Similarly to Smith (1999) who identifies the hero as the cornerstone of myths and symbols associated with the nation, Stynen (2013) argues that the understanding of nationalist movements and histories are primarily determined by the notion of the hero. Historian Maria Todorova (1999:487) likewise describes a route, through which “the romantic enterprise first recovered a host of ‘authentic’ folk heroes, and encouraged the

exalted group identity located in the nation” and then it “underwrote the romantic political vision of the powerful and passionate individual, the voluntaristic leader, the glorious sculptor of human destinies, the Great Man of history”. At the same time, parallel to the emergence of a literary and historical interest in the hero, the 19<sup>th</sup> century also signified the appearance of the first theories associated with the hero. While in 1840 the Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle (1993) delivered six public lectures *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, in 1863 the English anthropologist Edward Tylor (1958) studied the main characteristics of the archetypical hero of world mythologies. The former came to be referred to as the foundation of the so-called great man theory in history. The latter laid down the basis of a so-called hero pattern research in literature. With the appearance of the genre of superhero comics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that pop culture writer Richard Reynolds (1994), as well as comics scholar Peter Coogan (2007) interpret as a body of contemporary mythology, the idea of a hero pattern research was applied to superhero narratives, too. The image of the great man, the protagonist and the superman, outlined by these theories, bore a number of similarities.

The great man theory, as well as the hero pattern research organized the definition of the hero primarily around the notion of action. Even though several scholars emphasize that Carlyle’s theory was more essayistic and biographical than scientific or systematic (e.g., Cassirer 1946:191 or Todorova 1999:188), his incoherent methodology did reveal the basic analytical frameworks of the great man. Each of Carlyle’s lectures was dedicated to the discussion of one type of hero: the six addresses distinguished between the hero as divinity (exemplified by Odin and other figures of Scandinavian mythology), the hero as prophet (Mohammed), the hero as poet (Dante, Shakespeare), the hero as priest (Luther, Knox), the hero as a man of letters (Johnson, Rousseau, Burns), and the hero as king (Cromwell, Napoleon). While Carlyle’s approach appeared fully masculine, he also detached the understanding of the hero from a military context and expanded it to a more generally defined religious, intellectual and political greatness. Advancing the modern concept of political leadership (Cassirer 1946:216), Carlyle depicted a society, in which good for nothing masses, the “valets”, are deemed to passively obey exemplary leaders who, in contrast, dynamically act. The often quoted line, “The history of the world is but the biography of great men” (Carlyle 1993:26) unambiguously articulated the idea that history is shaped by the active performance of heroes.

Similarly, the various theoretical models of hero pattern research were also centered on actions performed by the hero. As Dundes (1990:179-223) and Todorova (1999:477)



extensively outline, Johann Georg von Hahn (*The Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula*, 1876), Adolf Bauer (*Die Kyros-Sage Und Verwandtes*<sup>38</sup>, 1882), Heinrich Lessmann (*Die Kyros-Sage in Europa*<sup>39</sup>, 1906), Emmanuel Cosquin (*Le Lait de la Méré et Le Coffre Flottant*<sup>40</sup> 1908), Otto Rank (*The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, 1909), Karl Schmeing (*Flucht- und Werbungssagen in Legende*<sup>41</sup> 1911), Paul Franklin Baum (*The Mediaval Legend of Judas Iscariot*, 1916), Eugene McCartney (*Greek and Roman Lore of Animal-Nursed Infants*, 1925), Vladimir Propp (*Morphology of the Folktales*, 1928) or Alexander Krappe (*La naissance de Moise*<sup>42</sup>, 1933) all followed Tylor's original idea about a uniform plot of hero myths, however, it was Lord Raglan's *The Hero* in 1936 and Joseph Campbell *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* in 1956 that topped off the groundbreaking works on a universal hero. Although both Raglan and Campbell organized the life of a hero around three principal rites of passage, there were a number of differences between the triplets of "birth, initiation, death" (Raglan 2011) and "departure, initiation and return" (Campbell 2004). While Raglan's hero profile articulated the unusual circumstances of the hero's birth determining also his fate that must end in a mysterious death, Campbell designated the starting point of the journey of the hero in an everyday setting, in which, after leaving it for a world of strange events and risks, the hero tries to return. Raglan continuously linked the hero to the extraordinary. Campbell emphasized the crossing of borders between the everyday, the unusual and the everyday. This approach of framing the beginning and end of the life of a hero with the everyday also brings to mind a plethora of classical stories that describe the transfiguration of a nobody into somebody. Conversion stories, or the traditional genre of Bildungsroman itself, all narrate the moral and psychological growth of a protagonist who as an everyday man finally fulfils his/her own fate as a hero. In this sense, Campbell introduces a certain kind of interrelatedness between the hero and the everyday man. Nevertheless, both in Raglan's mythotype<sup>43</sup>, as well as in Campbell's monomyth<sup>44</sup>, it was the extraordinary and unusual world, in which the hero undertook his/her actions.

Unsurprisingly, when Richard Reynolds (1994) and Peter Coogan (2007) adopted the design of the hero pattern research in the field of superhero comics, they both elaborated on a

<sup>38</sup> *The Cyrus Saga and Related Materials.*

<sup>39</sup> *The Cyrus Saga in Europe.*

<sup>40</sup> *Mother's Milk and Floating Chest.*

<sup>41</sup> *Exile- and Marriage Proposal Sagas in Legends.*

<sup>42</sup> *Birth of Moses.*

<sup>43</sup> Based on the narrative patterns proposed by Rank in 1909, Lord Raglan identifies 22 characteristics of the hero archetype in Indo-European cultures.

<sup>44</sup> The notion of monomyth refers to the basic narrative pattern of hero myths and was borrowed from James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*.

system of characteristics, in which action played a significant role. The fact that in 1938 the first superhero comics, Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster's *Superman*, appeared in *Action Comics* #1 is already telling in itself, but the notion of the action figure also reflects an essential relationship between superheroes and action. Yet, in contrast to Raglan or Campbell's heroes who had connection to the ordinary world at best in the beginning and end of their lives, superheroes repeatedly jumped in and out of the different registers of the mundane and unusual world. Superman and Clark Kent both had an active life as a superhero and as a journalist; the double identity of superheroes further radicalized the existence of a "passage" between the hero and everyday man. Therefore, while the understanding, according to which "the hero is solely action and action makes him heroic" (Blanchot 1993:369) emerged as a commonly shared denominator of the great man, the protagonist and the superman, their relationship to the everyday appeared differed. While in the case of Carlyle, the duality of the ordinary and extraordinary manifested itself in the opposition of ordinary and extraordinary men, Raglan (2011) and Campbell (2004), as well as Reynolds (1994) and Coogan (2007) defined heroes and superheroes on the basis of their (dis-)connection to the ordinary and extraordinary world.

Besides the active role of heroes in various disciplines, there was another shared characteristic of these figures. Carlyle believed that "[a] Hero is a Hero at all points; in the soul and thoughts of him first of all" (Carlyle 1993:25) indicating that for him the heroic is immanent to the hero (Todorova 1999:187), as well as that heroism is genuine and sincere. As Carlyle underlined (1993:39), "I should say sincerity, a deep, great, genuine sincerity, is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic". This linkage between the hero and a certain kind of truthfulness also resurfaced in the "moral character" of traditional literary heroes (Tymieniecka 2005), but the famous catchphrase of Superman "Truth, justice and the American way" likewise underlined this relationship. Furthermore, as German philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1946:217) also argues, what Carlyle most admired in his heroes was not only sincerity but also "insight".

A Hero, as I repeat, has this first distinction, which indeed we may call first and last, the Alpha and Omega of his whole Heroism, That he looks through the shows of things into things" (Carlyle 1993:48).

Correspondingly to cultural theorist Mieke Bal's (1999:132) definition of classical protagonists who were able to "unmask traitors", Superman with his ability to emit solar energy from his eyes could actually "look through things". What happened, however, with these heroes described along the lines of activity, sincerity and insight?

The traditional understanding of the great man, the protagonist, as well as the superman has already been challenged during the time of their conception. In contrast to Carlyle's perception of the hero as an active driver of historical development, deterministic theories regarded heroes as puppets without real power. Following Hegel's interpretation of "World-Historical persons" as "agents of the World-Spirit" (Hegel 2007:31) and Tolstoy's definition of great individuals as "history's slaves" (Tolstoy 1931:565), evolutionists, such as Herbert Spencer, as well as classical Marxists, such as Plekhanov or Trotsky, regarded heroes as instruments subordinated to some external forces. While the former argued that great men were to be defined as merely the products of a social organism (Spencer 1896:30-31), the latter emphasized the importance of social and economic forces in the realization of historical law (Plekhanov 1956 and Trotsky 2008). Even though by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the controversy gradually lost its sharpness, William James' approach (2005) of positioning himself between the two tendencies did only become mainstream in modern theories<sup>45</sup>. When American philosopher Sidney Hook published his book *The Hero in History. A Study in Limitation and Possibility* in 1943, it not only signaled the spreading of a mixed understanding of the theories of the great man and determinism, but women – almost for the first time – have also been considered by a historical analysis of heroes. The belief in the omnipotence of heroic action by historical personalities, however, was not re-articulated; not at this time, and not in later decades.

The active role of fictional heroes got equally questioned. In opposition to the hero pattern research that outlined vigorous and courageous figures, more and more heroes appeared as "weak, ineffectual, pale, humiliated, self-doubting, inept, occasionally abject characters" who also "cast doubt on values that have been taken for granted, or were assumed to be unshakable" (Brombert 1999:2). Similarly to Ziolkowski (2004) who identifies various "hesitant heroes" in the ancient literature (Ziolkowski 2004), Miller (2000) and Kadiroglu (2013) argues that satirized or mocked heroes were always present in the periods of different literary movements. Parodies of chivalric heroes in the Middle Ages, or the genre of picaresque fictions, such as e.g., Cervantes' Don Quixote are all cases in point. Within these processes, a major change in the image of protagonists was brought about in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when "reversed heroes" (Miller 2000:12) made their mass appearance, too. Although Raymond Giraud argues that the "unheroic heroes" of Stendhal, Balzac and

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<sup>45</sup> William James (2005) argues that there is a mutual relationship between the environment and individuals, and that the influence of an individual will depend on its conformity with the social environment, which he calls the "receptivities of the moment".

Flaubert are the prototypes of Proust's and Joyce's "heroes of inaction", the trend of "antiheroism" culminated by all means in the Russian literature. The notion of "antihero" got introduced in 1864 by Dostoyevsky in his novel *Notes from Underground*, and it has been fully exploited in the various writings of Chekhov. An analogous trend also appeared in the field of superhero comics where parodies appeared relatively early, only two years after the 1938 publishing of *Superman*, in 1940. As Coogan (2007:23) recalls, in Sheldon Mayer's series about Scribby the Boy Cartoonist in *All-American Comics* No. 20, Red Tornado, or, in her civil identity Abigail Mathilda "Ma" Hunkel was depicted as a middle-aged working mother of two, whose costume already revealed the irony: it consisted of longjohns and a cooking pot on her head. Heroes without their own will, heroes without strength, and heroes without gravity; – heroes no longer were heroic in a traditional sense, they much more started to resemble the characteristics of an everyday man.

Although in the 19<sup>th</sup> century previous conceptual frameworks already began to be problematized, the radical turning point of heroic narratives and imaginations is usually identified in the year of 1945. While in 1943 Sidney Hook (1965:229) already cautioned that a democratic community must be eternally on guard against heroic leaders because in such a society political leadership cannot arrogate to itself heroic power, after WWII the question was not simply about adjusting the accents of heroism, as Hook (1965) suggested<sup>46</sup>, but about the future legitimacy of the concept itself. Skeptical voices emerged all over the disciplines. In history, following the year of 1945, the traditional concept of the hero was almost completely discredited, and for several years the notion simply disappeared from theoretical considerations. Heroes were increasingly pushed into the background, and the scholarly interest turned towards figures of perpetrators and victims (e.g., Dimsdale 1980, Giesen 2004a, Giesen and Schneider 2004, Assmann 2006, Rosenthal 2010, Ungváry 2014). Differentiating between two distinct approaches of imagining history, German sociologist Bernhard Giesen (2004a) introduced a model, in which the past is either regarded as triumphant or traumatic. In the case of the former, historical imagination is defined by triumphant and tragic heroes, whereas in the latter, the past is considered as traumatic focusing on perpetrators and victims. According to his argument, "the myth of a revolutionary uprising of the people has lost much of its appeal and fascination" (Giesen 2004a:106), and memories of triumphant heroism are increasingly replaced by public remembrances of collective trauma. Similarly to Giesen (2004a), Aleida Assman (2006:115-

<sup>46</sup> Hook (1965: 237) argues that "heroes in democracy should be the great figures in the Pantheon of thought, the men of ideas, of social vision, of scientific achievement and artistic power".

116), founder of cultural memory, also argued for a shift, in which, instead of a political model, history is determined along the lines of a moral paradigm:

We are witnessing this global change in the constructions of national memories now for a decade. Honor, triumphant or hurt, which had mastered the grammar of the national memory for thousands of years, is no longer the sole criterion for selection. (...) [The] public and official confessions of guilt are also connected to a new awareness of the long-term consequences of transgenerational traumatic historical experience, which created for both the victims and perpetrators new conditions of organizing national memory. (...) Henceforth, the shrinkages of national memory constructions influenced by heroic self-images have to let critical questions arise from the outside regarding the harmful consequences of their historical images for mutual national and intercultural relations. In a globalizing world of media and transnational union nations can no longer maintain their mythicizing self-images and memory constructions without self-criticism, but above all, they cannot afford to forget the victims of their own history.

Accordingly, heroes not only underwent a crisis after WWII, but seemingly they also have been succeeded by the figure of the victim and perpetrator. As Herfried Münkler announced in 2006, now we live in an era of “post-heroic” society.

This process of deheroization also emerged in the discipline of literature, with related accents to history. Corresponding to Theodor W. Adorno’s 1951 proclamation of “No poetry after Auschwitz” (1997:34) that considered any literary production after the Second World War as barbaric, writings after WWII clearly took another shape. As Kadiroglu (2013:1) argues,

In every century, there are heroes peculiar to their time; meanwhile, antiheroes continue to live as well, though not as abundant as heroes in number. The gap between them in terms of their personality, moral code and value judgements is very obvious in their early presentation; however, the closer we come to our age, the vaguer this difference becomes. In contemporary literature, antiheroes have begun to outnumber heroes as a result of historical, political and sociological facts such as wars, and literary pieces have tended to present themes of failure, inaction, uncertainty and despair rather than heroism and valour. (...) [The] Second World War has (...) crucial impact on the development of the notion of modern antihero. As a consequence of the war, “hero” as the symbol of valour, adventure, change and action in the legends and epic poems has been transformed into “antihero” of failure and despair, especially in realist, absurdist and existentialist works written during/after the Second World War.

The concept of antiheroism no longer appeared as a separate trend within literary texts; it became the standard. Works, such as Camus’ *The Plague* (1947) or Bertold Brecht’s *Life of*

*Galileo* (1947) unambiguously expressed an ultimate disillusionment in the heroic thought. “Well, personally, I’ve seen enough of people who die for an idea. I don’t believe in heroism; I know it’s easy and I’ve learned that it can be murderous”, noted Raymond Rambert in *The Plague*. Brecht repeated the same idea in the discussion between Andrea and Galileo: “ANDREA: Unhappy the land that has no heroes! / GALILEO: No, unhappy the land that needs heroes”. Yet, besides these explicit verbalizations of a negative heroism, the position of protagonists likewise broke up that in 1969 Maurice Blanchot (1993:368-379) summarized as *The End of the Hero*. Heroes of literary works simply dissolved in time and space (e.g., Marcel Proust, Maurice Blanchot), “in the communion with what is outside and beyond” (Naremore 1972 interpreting Virginia Woolf), or in language (e.g. James Joyce, Boris Vian). As Hungarian literary scholar Zsolt Farkas (1996) described the literary works of the postmodern Hungarian writer Endre Kukorelly, “a hős el van vetve”. While the line directly cites Attila József 1929 poem *Arany*, it refers to various postmodern strategies of language games. “A hős el van vetve” simultaneously denotes that “The hero is discarded”, “The hero is sowed”, or “The hero is cast” (rephrasing the saying “the dice is cast”). The protagonist seemed to pass away.

Similarly, in the immediate post-war period the popularity of superhero comics drastically diminished, partly as a consequence of Dr. Fredric Wertham’s 1954 publication of the *Seduction of the Innocent*. Besides criticizing the covert depictions of violence, sex and drug use, Wertham drew a parallel between Superman and the Nazi ideology of *übermensch* arguing for the harmful effects of comics on the juvenile. When the comics industry restarted in the 1960s, the appearance of *The Justice League of America* (1960), together with the publication of *The Fantastic Four* (1961), *Hulk* (1962), *Spider-Man* (1962), and *X-Men* (1963), already signified a new trend within the genre of comic books. The four individuals of The Fantastic Four were always in fight with each other, they had money problems and relationship dilemmas. Spiderman also appeared a normal teenager who not only was a little shy and nerdy, but his conscience also gnawed him of having inadvertently caused his uncle’s death. Superheroes with all their private problems, doubts and neuroses became more human, and Spider-Man’s idiom “With great power comes great responsibility” was turned into the new creed of comics. Over the course of the following years this tendency intensified to such an extent that expressions of uncertainties were gradually transformed into articulations of disillusionment. The comics industry underwent yet another revolution, and the 1986 publication of Frank Miller’s *The Dark Knight Returns* and Alan Moore’s *Watchmen* both marked a new beginning in the history of comics. In their works, the pursuit of the “American

dream”, represented also by the early figure of Superman, reached a definite end. While in *The Dark Knight Returns* Batman wrapped a general’s dead body in an American flag, in *Watchmen* Nite Owl mediated on the question of “What’s happened to America? What’s happened to the American dream?”, to which The Comedian replied, “It came true. You’re lookin’ at it”. Similarly, in the 332nd episode of *Captain America* (1987) the superhero, i.e., Captain America who traditionally appeared as the ultimate figure of patriotism, returned his costume that bore the motif of an American flag.

More importantly, however, both Miller’s and Moore’s comics called into question the legitimacy of the “superhero nation” (Brian McKenzie n.d.). On the one hand, the very first sentence of the introduction in *Dark Knight Returns* stated that “Heroes are starting to become rather a problem” (Moore 1986a). On the other hand, *Watchmen* illustrated a world that began to despise superheroes whose actions were more and more ambiguous.

Despite its restrained aesthetics of nine panels a page and its scheme of primary colors, both of which are strongly reminiscent of the classical superhero comics, *Watchmen* marks a clear and thorough break with the traditional image of the superhero. *Watchmen* (...) questions the justification of superheroes to take the destiny of society into their own hands. “Who Watches the Watchmen?” is one of the central questions of the comic. What are the checks and balances for superheroes? And what happens when society rejects its champions? *Watchmen* answers: Then superheroes have to accept that they do not act on behalf of others but rather to live out their own fantasies and neuroses and to please their own vanities. *Watchmen*, and this is the main point here, questions the mythological status of superheroes (Kukkonen, Karin and Anja Müller-Wood 2010:154).

This estrangement from traditional representations was also expressed in Moore’s attempt of deconstructing the classical features of the figure of the superhero. Not only was the mission of superheroes deeply problematized, who, as Thomson (2005:108) notes, decided to become heroes only “to please their mothers, because of traumatic childhoods, repressed homoerotic urges, naively absolutist worldviews, fetishes for costumes, equipment, night-patrols”, but their double identity also got ridiculed. The character of Dollar Bill loses his life because his costume gets caught in somewhere. Heroes ultimately also became undistinguishable from villains and at the end of the book Adrian Veidt prevents nuclear conflict at the cost of 4 million dead in New York. The question whether the world would be better off without superheroes gained an ultimate expression in the comic book story *Whatever Happened to the Man of Tomorrow?*, published in 1986, that appeared as a complete conclusion to the mythology of superheroes. While Louis Lane recalls the end of Superman, the city

commemorates his deeds with the erection of a statue. With the view of an American city in the background and people living their everyday lives in the foreground, the inscription of the monumental memorial of Superman read in great letters: “In Memoriam” (Picture 6). In Memoriam of Superman. The Great Man, the Protagonist, as well as the Superman have all been issued with a death certificate.

### **2.3. *Everyday Heroes after the End of the Heroic***

In 2012, I was working on my dissertation in Budapest, when for a (not so) fleeting moment key words, which I was occupied with on a daily basis, started to be echoed from various corners of the city. While in the very beginning of the year Budapest was covered with posters advertising the exhibition *Heroes, Kings, Saints: Images and Documents from the History of Hungary* (Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest), the summer of 2012 brought about another poster campaign referring to the likewise hero-centered exhibition *The Hero, the Heroine and the Author* (Ludwig Museum, Budapest). The same theme, although from a very different perspective, also appeared in Berlin. The Jewish Museum Berlin hosted the exhibition *Heroes, Freaks and Super-Rabbis: The Jewish Dimension of Comic Art* in 2010. In contrast to the various arguments about the end of the heroic, both Budapest and Berlin seemed to be extensively imbued with heroes. Yet, the three exhibitions not only evidence the presence of heroes still today, but they also illustrate new theoretical considerations across disciplines.

Parallel to the discourse of the death of the hero, from the 70s several analyses appeared through which heroes, being neither the stimuli, nor the dummies of historical events, reemerged in a new costume. Authors extensively elaborated on a critical understanding of the hero who, similarly to nations (Anderson 2006), came to be defined as an end-product of a careful construction (e.g., Freedman 1988, Verdery 1999, Todorova 1999, Šmidchens 2007 or Datta 2011). Within this framework, the very existence of heroes did not only become dependent on social, political and cultural contexts, but, as Grinin (2010:116-117) notes, on pure lack, too.

(...) [O]wing to his or her personal features, or to a chance, or to his or her social standing, or to the peculiarity of the epoch, an individual by the very fact of his or her existence, by his or her ideas or actions (or inaction) directly or indirectly, during his or her lifetime or after his or her death may have such an influence upon his own or another society which can be recognized significant as they left a noticeable mark (positive, negative or unambiguous) in history and in the further development of society.



The Hungarian exhibition *Heroes, Kings, Saints: Images and Documents from the History of Hungary* likewise underlined this approach. On January 2, 2012 the exhibition was officially opened by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán whose his speech unambiguously contextualized the event within the larger happenings of current political events.

After 20 troubled years following the overthrow of communism and the expelling of the Soviets we established a basis, strong as granite, for the future. (...) When you walk around the exhibition, you can see heroes who dedicated their lives, talents and strength to the service of Christianity and of national independence. (...) We hold them, our heroes, as a shield in front of us against cynicism; we look at them when we want to strengthen our soul; and they are our conscience in case we would weaken in the fight. The reason why Hungary exists, why we can be here today, and why we can greet our new constitution together today is that there always had been Hungarians who made the most important decisions in difficult and serious situations. They made the often difficult decisions of upholding, loyalty and freedom. Now we are likewise in such a moment; in the moment of re-foundation that renews the community, which we call the Hungarian nation. (Orbán 2012)

Celebrating the 2012 enactment of the New Hungarian Constitution<sup>47</sup>, the exhibition displayed 15 images that illustrated the Decorative Edition of the Fundamental Law, as well as put on view historical paintings together with important documents and symbolic objects of the Hungarian state (Picture 7). According to the logic of the exhibition, the former intended to represent key-episodes of modern Hungarian history<sup>48</sup>, whereas the latter recalled “positive” and “negative” historical events mainly up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>49</sup>. The exhibition, thus, not only re-narrated the history of Hungary, but the curatorial practice of selecting and reorganizing historical images and artifacts unmistakably revealed a constructivist attitude behind the practice of hero-worship.

Simultaneously, besides highlighting the constructed nature of heroes, the academic emphasis was also shifted to a certain kind of interrelatedness where heroes became representative and, nevertheless, constitutive of a community. Similarly to Todorova (1999:477-478) who argues that “heroes can be defined as individuals (...) who (...) have come to represent (...) the values, ideals and aspirations of a social group, as well as the

<sup>47</sup> The previous constitution was enacted in 1949. It was significantly modified in 1989.

<sup>48</sup> The following 15 events were identified as “key-episodes”: Dualism, WWI, Trianon, Age of Miklós Horthy, WWII, Holocaust, Hungarian Republic of Councils, Age of Mátyás Rákosi, 1956 Revolution, Reburial of Imre Nagy, National Theater, 2006 Cavalry Charge, 2010 Red Mud Catastrophe, 2012 Birth of the New Constitution and Future of Hungary. The image of the latter was drawn by the winner of a drawing contest for kids.

<sup>49</sup> The exhibition showcased paintings depicting the Hungarian Conquest (Mihály Munkácsy: *The Magyar Conquest*, 1893), the era of Hunyadis (e.g., Gyula Benczúr: *László Hunyadi's Farewell*, 1866; *Study of the King Matthias Series*, 1919), the Turkish wars (e.g., Bertalan Székely: *Zrínyi's Sally*, 1879-1885), and personalities from the Reform Era (e.g., Friedrich Amerling-György Vastagh: *Count István Széchenyi*, 1836).

protection and legitimacy of this group’s political and/or territorial position”, Bernhard Giesen (2004a:22) interprets the triumph of the hero as “the self-constitution of the subject mastering his fate”, and as a mark of the “birth of a community”. Thus, *Heroes, Kings, Saints* not only highlighted the constructed nature of history; the exhibition constructed history in a certain kind of way. As Orbán (2012) also emphasized in his speech, the event reinforced the “moment of re-foundation” strengthening the new historical self-image mediated by the constitution, which came to be based on the key words of “Christianity” and “national independence”.

However, the constructivist approach of heroes also suggested that the existence of the hero came to be largely dependent on the storytellers and audience of a particular community who, conversely, all could easily deconstruct the heroic position of these figures. In the case of the exhibition this clash of different voices manifested itself to a great extent. Even though circumstances suggested that *Heroes, Kings, Saints* represented an official standpoint (the exhibition, patrolled by President of the Republic, Pál Schmitt, was opened by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, moreover the 15 illustrations were financed from public money and were created directly through a ministerial commission), the event was regarded as highly problematic by many. Besides the numerous protests<sup>50</sup> and public outcry<sup>51</sup>, the museum’s internal team also organized three temporal exhibitions, which carefully questioned the assertions mediated through the main show.

During the long operation of the exhibition, the staff of the National Gallery – bearing in mind that during the 20<sup>th</sup> century the events and people depicted were interpreted according to a different approach that creates a different image of the nation and homeland – occasionally extends the show by implementing other works. (...) The latest artistic interpretations of historical events are as much part of our overlapping cultural traditions as works of our classical historical paintings. This diverse and multi-layered cultural tradition is itself a subject of reflection. The main goal of the Hungarian National Gallery Extras’ *Side-Notes* is to let visitors experience the dialogue created between works of art that have different ideological stances and styles. (...) There is no such thing as single history, and this often needs to be expressed with the means of playfulness and irony, with questioning and

<sup>50</sup> While both Index (Földes 2011) and Fabric Gallery (Visszakézből 2011) showcased counter-images that reinterpreted the 15 illustrations of the constitution, on January 3, protesters simply walked into the exhibition offering alternative interpretations of the images.

<sup>51</sup> Several devastating critiques appeared in the media: art and media critic Péter György (György 2011) wrote about the radicalization of the political dominance over cultural spaces, art historian András Rényi (Rádai 2011) mocked the illustrations as parodies of the renaissance court art, whereas activist Márton Gulyás (Gulyás 2012) called them as the true reflections of the cheap romanticism of Hungarian national public thought.

reinterpreting symbols thought to be inviolable. (Széljegyzetek a Hősök, királyok, szentek kiállításához 2012)

Organizers implemented various images within the body of *Heroes, Kings, Saints*, through which, even if momentarily, they managed to display and generate the critical comments of the main exhibition that otherwise did not allow room for different points of views (Picture 8). *Side-Notes* not only drew attention to the question of *how* to narrate Hungarian history, but also provoked discussion on *who* the heroes of this story can be. In contrast to the dominance of large historical paintings, images of *Side-Notes* consisted primarily of woodcuts, linocuts, etchings, lithographs, offsets or posters that repeatedly tried to lighten the humorless weight of the original exhibition. Similarly, the monumental overtones of *Heroes, Kings, Saints* were also counterbalanced through an emphasis on the subjective historical memories of the everyday man, which very much corresponded to the shifting tendencies of the discipline of historiography itself. The emergence of a new social history movement can be linked to the French journal *Annales*, founded in 1929, that also triggered the appearance of a new historical sensibility in the 1960s. The various trends of social history, such as mentality- and micro-history, as well as historical anthropology all emphasized that the consideration of the everyday man is essential to the understanding of history. As Júlia Vajda (2015) argues, according to these approaches one must “discover” the everyday man hit by macro historical events to comprehend society and the social processes that back up historical events. One must try to get to know him/her and to grasp his/her experiences. Trying to identify the effects of (social) historical processes on his/her life, moreover the way how his/her reactions to these processes have influenced society as a whole is also inevitable. Echoing this concept of a “history from below” (Thompson 1966), the exhibition, thus, ultimately also turned its attention from heroes towards the everyday man.

In contrast to the point of departure of *Heroes, Kings, Saints* that almost naively embraced the concept of heroism, the organizing logic behind the exhibitions *The Hero, the Heroine and the Author* (Ludwig Museum, Budapest, Picture 9) and *Heroes, Freaks, and Super-Rabbis: The Jewish Dimension of Comic Art* (Jewish Museum, Berlin, Picture 10) was based on a more radical attitude. The text in the leaflet of the Hungarian exhibition articulated the premise according to which heroes by today have vanished (Timár 2012).

Where have all the heroes gone? Where are the heroes that we came to know so well from the 19th-century novels? The heroes of romantic narratives, who persevere and even triumph under dire circumstances and in the midst of tribulations. They may (as well) be the soldiers of Pete Seeger’s lyrics from the early 1960s, who end their heroic lives in the graveyard. The

word “hero” is outdated; even when discussing literature, we tend to speak of characters instead of heroes. In this regard, one may be amazed at the nearly nostalgic tone of one of the lyrics by the Hungarian underground rock band, Európa Kiadó, which suggests that real heroes can still be found in movies. It may not be a mere coincidence that heroes are said to appear in this very place, as a hero’s existence presupposes the presence of a story in the traditional sense. Today, such stories can be found in movies, rather than in novels.

While curator Katalin Timár identified the present location of heroes, instead of the field of literature, in the domain of popular culture, the welcome image of the German exhibition suggested that heroes came a cropper here, too. Organizers set a sculpture outside the Jewish Museum Berlin, which not only advertised that *Even Superheroes Have Bad Days*, but they depicted Superman fallen headlong into the pavement (Picture 11).

At the same time, surpassing the general arguments about the end of the heroic, both events demonstrated the emergence of new kinds of heroes. While Timár selected different works from the emblematic, less-known and recently acquired pieces of the collection of Ludwig Museum in order to problematize the relationship between heroes/heroines and the author, she did show various reinterpretations of the hero beyond the era of the heroic. Introducing a range of visual experimentations, the exhibition complicated the traditional position of the model and modeler (e.g., Andy Warhol’s *Single Elvis*, 1964; Nat Finkelstein: *Andy I-IV*, 1995), as well as presented works showing how artists – including women – became both the creators and protagonists of their own works of art (e.g., Ion Grigorescu: *Washing*, 1976; Kriszta Nagy: *I Am a Contemporary Artist*, 1998, Hajnal Németh– Balázs Beöthy: *Near Hajnal, Beside Balázs*, 1997-1999). As Timár (2012) notes, from the 70s onwards, the traditional image of women radically changed in literature, and, instead of their previous supporting role of male characters, they became central figures in their own rights. Corresponding to the emergence of female historical figures in the already mentioned work of Sidney Hook in 1943, women also stepped into the foreground in literature. Accordingly, besides the blurring boundaries between authors and heroes, the exhibition also reflected the changes in the social position of women.

Following the logic of a literary approach, Timár implemented various interpretative texts among the different pieces presented. In certain cases the art historian outlined the context of the artwork (e.g., Katalin Ladik: *Poemim*, 1978/2010), the author read him/herself (e.g., Lourdes Castro: *Beige and Beige*, 1966), or a literary/biographical text was attached to the work (e.g., Pablo Picasso: *Bullfight on Eight Plates*, 1959; Joseph Beuys: *Sealed Letter*, 1967). Since the texts themselves functioned as active components of the works, *The Hero*,

*the Heroine and the Author* also hid the line between presentations and interpretations, both of which appeared, nevertheless, as personal. Accordingly, even though the hero did die along with the author (Barthes 1990), the exhibition presented the emergence of various male and female artists who appeared the heroes of their own works of art, often reflecting on themselves in an everyday situation as an everyday human being.

Similarly to *The Hero, the Heroine and the Author*, the Berlin exhibition *Heroes, Freaks, and Super-Rabbis* radically broke down the wall between the author and (super)hero. Realized in a close cooperation with the Museum of Art and History of Judaism in Paris and the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam, the primary aim of the exhibition was to trace the roots of comics and to demonstrate its fundamental intertwining with a particular reading of Jewish history<sup>52</sup>. Among the ample evidence of this interrelatedness (Weinstein 2006), one of the most interesting facts is that many of the best known and most successful heroes like Superman, Batman, Captain America or Spider-Man were created by Jewish authors or drawers. Several Jewish writers and illustrators entered the comic-book field<sup>53</sup> because, as American cartoonist Will Eisner (cited in Kaplan 2008:29) recalls, “this business was brand new. It was the bottom of the social ladder, and it was wide open to anybody”.

One of the reasons for this Jewish dominance in the comics industry is due in large part to the occupational opportunities, or lack thereof, in the first half of the twentieth century. (...) [M]ost of the prominent and “respectable” fields where artists and writers could express their creativity – such as magazines, newspaper strips, and advertising – were closed to Jews at the time, or at least difficult to enter, due to antisemitism, both overt and subtle. So those with backgrounds and training in the illustrative arts were limited to the less desirable, and more lowly regarded, jobs where there was no discrimination, such as in pulp magazines and comic books (Derek Parker Royal 2011:3-4).

Within the framework of the exhibition, superheroes were interpreted as embodiments of a “Jewish” experience. One fundamental manifestation of this linkage is the connection of the superhero narrative to the Jewish folklore<sup>54</sup>, but superhero stories are also full of references to biblical stories, which partly got projected to the historical and social reality of the Second World War.

[Superman] is a child survivor named Kal-El (in Hebrew, “All that is God”) from the planet Krypton, whose population, a race of brilliant scientists, is decimated. His parents send him to

<sup>52</sup> In 2008 a similar exhibition was also organized in Frankfurt: *Superman and Golem. Jewish Memory in Comics*.

<sup>53</sup> Weinstein (2006:13) refers to them as People of the (Comic) Book.

<sup>54</sup> As several authors note (e.g., Gross and Riedel 2008, Kaplan 2008), superheroes are the eventual successors of the animated anthropomorphic figure of the Golem who is magically created from inanimate matter.

Earth in a tiny rocket ship, reminiscent of how baby Moses survived Pharaoh's decree to kill all Jewish newborn sons. In the context of the 1930s, the story also reflects the saga of the *Kindertransports* – the evacuation to safety of hundreds of Jewish children, without their parents, from Austria, Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to Great Britain (Kaplan n.d.).

Superman became understood as the manifestation of the ultimate immigrant (Fingeroth 2008:9, Kaplan 2008:13, Meinrenken 2010:35), who, similarly to several comics artists being children of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, decided to keep his true identity hidden<sup>55</sup>.

At the same time, besides the re-interpretation of the notion of superman as a social historical category, and the comics as a medium of recollection of historical events, the German exhibition also reflected on the transfiguration of the figure of the superhero. Parallel to the process, though which superheroes transformed into human beings, as e.g., the character of Magneto (*X-Men*) who is deeply affected by his Holocaust trauma, from the 70s underground and alternative comic books increasingly entered the scene. These publications, as Laurence Roth (2010:3) points out, were “predicated on the rejection or reinterpretation of superhero narratives, genre conventions, and ideologies”. Auto-biographical writers, such as Harvey Pekar (2003), Art Spiegelman (1991), Eddie Campbell (2009), Robert Crumb (2013), Marjane Satrapi (2003), Craig Thompson (2003), Miriam Katin (2006), Aline Kominsky-Crumb (2007) along with comics journalists, such as Joe Sacco (2001), Guy Delisle (2008), or Matt Bors (2012) introduced a decidedly informal voice in the genre. Documenting a family narrative of the Holocaust, reporting on the everyday life of an artist, or describing one's own position within a political and social system; the personal experiences of the everyday man came to the front in comics, too.

Beginning the chapter with the discussion of the conceptual framework of the everyday, I have revealed that, parallel to a crisis of heroic narratives, the traditional understandings of the great man, the protagonist and the superman were all challenged by the notion of the everyday. The emergence of a critical history with a bottom-up approach in the 60s, the appearance of fictional characters with everyday problems and dilemmas after WWII, as well as the introduction of autobiographical and personal graphic novels in the 70s, radically pushed the everyday man into the foreground. The hero transfigured as an everyday man. How can, thus, this shift from the hero to the everyday man be grasped? As the above-outlined theories of Simmel, the Mass Observation, Lefebvre and de Certeau illustrate, the concept of everyday gradually transformed into a realm of challenging hegemonic orders.

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<sup>55</sup> As Fingeroth (2008) notes, Jacob Kurtzberg changed his name to Jack Kirby (creator of *Captain America*, *The Fantastic Four*, *Hulk*, etc.), Stanley Martin Lieber to Stan Lee (creator of *X-Men*, *Thor*, *Silver Surfer*, etc.), Robert Kahn to Bob Kane (creator of *Batman*), and Abraham Jaffee to Al Jaffee.

According to Highmore (2002b:1), “to invoke everyday life can be to invoke precisely those practices and lives that have traditionally been left out of historical accounts, swept aside by the onslaught of events instigated by elites. It becomes shorthand for voices from ‘below’”. In this sense, the transfiguration of the hero into an everyday man does not only suggest the reinvention of the figure of the hero, but also the reorganization of power relationships on more democratic grounds.

### CHAPTER 3.

## THE (UN-)HEROIC MEMORYSCAPE OF BERLIN AND BUDAPEST BETWEEN 1945 AND 1989

Marked with the symbolic dates of May 8<sup>56</sup> and April 4<sup>57</sup>, both in Germany and Hungary the period of the WWII ended. Did these dates signify a new beginning? In the intermediate years after 1945 the Allied military governments in Germany introduced the myth of the so-called Zero Hour (Stunde Null) suggesting that nothing from the Nazi past would continue to exist after 1945. Parallel to the processes of denazification (Entnazifizierung) in Germany, the Hungarian people's courts pronounced sentences over more than twenty thousand persons accused of war crimes. Did the dates of May 8 and April 4 function as a Zero Hour then? Or was there no Zero Hour at all, as President of West Germany Richard von Weizsäcker stated in his well-known speech in 1985 (Weizsäcker 1985)? When discussing the concept of the Zero Hour, most scholarly works focus on the political or social perspectives of the question (see e.g., Kraiker 1986). What happened, however, in the field of public statuary that embodies social and political change usually with a slower temporality? How do public works of art installed between 1945 and 1989 relate to the pre-1945 period? Are there any continuities? Or, did the erection of these memorials imply a caesura with the Nazi past? Did the events of WWII entail a critical reinterpretation of the genre? Does it ultimately become possible to regard the year of 1945 as a turning point?

Based on my comprehensive database that lists public works of art installed between 1945 and 1989 in Berlin and Budapest<sup>58</sup>, I discuss the changing concept and forms of heroic imaginations in memory politics after 1945. I begin with the examination of East Berlin and Budapest, and then I continue with the analysis of West Berlin. In both cases, I am interested in the gradual emergence of a renewed set of theoretical, ethical and symbolical tools. Therefore, I do not undertake the task to examine the memory politics of this period in depths; my emphasis is put on the process of change. Yet, through revealing various

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<sup>56</sup> It was on May 8 when the high command of Nazi forces capitulated in Germany. Yet, the significance of May 8 widely divided Germany after 1945: while in West Germany the day of May 8 originally did not occupy a distinguished place within the memory calendar and was regarded as the date marking the end of war, in East Germany it was celebrated as a Day of Liberation. After 1985 West Germany also reinterpreted the day as a Day of Liberation (see e.g., Krisch 1999 or Hurrelbrink 2005).

<sup>57</sup> According to Soviet war reports it was on April 4 when the last German troops left Hungary. During the socialist period the day of April 4 was celebrated as the Day of Liberation. After 1989 April 4 was no longer commemorated in Hungary.

<sup>58</sup> See Appendix 2, 3 and 4 of the dissertation. For the description of the database see the *Introduction*.



similarities and differences between the transformations of the public works of art of the Eastern and Western bloc, I will ultimately also join in the debates on the connection between the so-called socialist and capitalist urban space. In this sense, the historical analysis of the memory politics of East Berlin and Budapest, as well as of West Berlin largely contributes to the moderation of the monolith categories of socialism and capitalism.

### **3.1. (Super)Hero Cult in East Berlin and Budapest**

In 1945 Greater Berlin got divided into four sectors by the Allies that were initially governed by a Four Power Allied Control Council with a leadership that rotated monthly<sup>59</sup>. In the same year parliamentary elections were held in Budapest, and even though the Smallholders Party (Független Kisgazdapárt) gained an absolute majority preceding the communists and social democrats, the Soviets obtained the creation of a coalition government by force. In this sense, in the very early years following the end of WWII there was a relative pluralism of political authorities present both in Berlin and Budapest. Yet, in spite of this multi-pillar system that also entailed a certain kind of stylistic pluralism of public works of art, public spaces of both cities became strongly imbued with the hallmarks of the Soviets. Even before the culmination of the political transformation, in 1945 the Soviets arranged the erection of two *Soviet War Memorials* in Berlin and two *Soviet Heroic Memorials* in Budapest. By the time West Germany, East Germany and the People's Republic of Hungary were officially formed in 1949, this number had already increased to six in both cities. While the domination of these memorials clearly expressed the Soviets' growing control over the public space in Eastern Europe, this control simultaneously also meant the introduction of an ideological and aesthetic doctrine that can be summed up with the notion of socialist realism.

The institution of socialist realism was declared as the official style of Soviet culture during the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934<sup>60</sup>; however, after 1949 it got judicially enforced in countries under Soviet occupation as well. Represented by the early years of Walter Ulbricht's presidency after 1950 in East Germany, and by Mátyás Rákosi's leadership in Hungary between 1949 and 1956, both East Berlin and Budapest started to follow a Stalinist policy introducing the doctrine of socialist realism. While in a certain sense the application of socialist realism indeed signified the emergence of a renewed ideological and visual tradition, its relation to the previous period's artistic policy proves to be more complicated. Besides arguing that Soviet art – together with Nazi artistic production –

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<sup>59</sup> On 20 March 1948 the Soviets left the Council.

<sup>60</sup> The speeches are also available online: Soviet Writers' Congress 1934.

belonged to the general phenomenon of “totalitarian art”, most often socialist realism has been interpreted as the continuation and exaggeration of the nineteenth-century tradition of figurative sculpture, and as the discontinuation of the modern tendencies of the avant-garde (Fowkes 2002a:3). However, similarly to the phenomenon of Nazi art, and Nazi architecture in particular, it is possible and desirable to reinscribe the trend of socialist realism within a more broadly defined history of modernity<sup>61</sup>. Reuben Fowkes (2002a:3) convincingly shows in his dissertation on *Monumental Sculpture on Post-War Eastern Europe: 1945-1960* that socialist realism has various links to the modern and even postmodern period. Citing German art historian Boris Groys who connected the phenomenon of socialist realism to the aesthetic philosophy of the Russian avant-garde, and Hungarian aesthete Ákos Szilágyi who considered the adaptation of Stalinist culture into the East European context as an early example of unintentional postmodern parodies, Fowkes (2002a:3) calls for the reinclusion of socialist realism into the general history of art.

Examining the status of public works of art produced by the institution of socialist realism also offers a diverse image that is partly based on continuities, partly on discontinuities. As Robin Walz (2013:71) outlines, socialist realism can be specified along the lines of five principles.

The first was *narodnost* (art “of the people”), an imperative to portray common Soviet workers with dignity as understood by popular sentiment. The second was *klassovost* (“class consciousness”), which conveyed the historic role of the working class in leading the Communist revolution worldwide. Third, *partiynost* (“party adherence”) required that art conform to officially established Soviet standards. The fourth principle, *ideynost* (“ideologically correct”), meant that any new forms or attitudes in art had to be approved by the Party. Finally, *tipichnost* (“typicality”) stipulated that iconic socialist figures such as industrial workers and farm labourers should be portrayed heroically in familiar settings.

The aim of heroic representation unambiguously shows that the year of 1945 did not bring about the fall of heroic narratives in the socialist countries. Yet, neither did this mean the continuation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century genre of statues focusing on the Great Man.

A decisive difference between the practices of socialist realism and the representation of the Great Man can be seen in the fact that statues of socialist realism, instead of dwelling

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<sup>61</sup> Hsiu-Ling Kuo (2013:212-213) similarly shows that “(...) National Socialist architecture has commonly been excluded in the history of modern architecture. Critics and historians of German Studies (...) regarded National Socialist architecture and Nazism as a historical aberration, a mutation totally outside the development of modernity.” In *Monumentality and Modernity in Hitler’s Berlin*, Kuo studies the complex relationship between modernism and National Socialism through their architecture, and argues for the re-inclusion of National Socialist planning into the broader history of architecture.

on a national history, were directed towards the future. This future-orientedness also implied that the Soviet kind of display of heroes went beyond the single object of offering possible role models to the public: heroes of the socialist system were meant to play almost a hypnotizing role in the lives of the inhabitants. Even though a certain kind of educational function has always been attached to public works of art, the architectural utilization of the expressive idea of Marxism, according to which “matter determines consciousness”, already hints at how seriously the “monumental effect” (Fowkes 2002b:79) of memorials was taken. As David Crowley and Susan E. Reid (2002:11) notice, during socialism the planning of urban space got associated with a social-transformative role almost in a utopian scale. The Soviet plans for changes were embedded in the literary tradition of utopia highlighting especially Tommaso Campanella’s vision of the *City of the Sun* (see Gilison 1975). The idea of a metropolis whose built structure determines the ideal organization of the society gained special attention in the Soviet project of configuring the material surroundings of their citizen. Public spaces, and, particularly, public statues were considered as targets of ideological interventions: they served the purpose to change people’s minds and view of history, and ultimately to produce a new social order. Accordingly, within the framework of the theory of socialist realism, sculptors of public statues became the “engineers of souls” (Stalin cited in Czepczynski 2008:91) who through evoking a hero strived for the creation of “an entirely new type of human being” (Lenin cited in Czepczynski 2008:91). These new individuals, as it was hoped, would embody The New Soviet Man, and, later, The New Soviet Woman<sup>62</sup>. As Trotsky (1957:207) in 1925 noted,

Man will make it his purpose to master his own feelings, to raise his instincts to the heights of consciousness, to make them transparent, to extend the wires of his will into hidden recesses, and thereby to raise himself to a new plane, to create a higher social biologic type, or, if you please, a superman.

Bearing much resemblance to the superheroes of the comic books, Trotsky described the transfiguration of the ordinary citizen into a superman. This comparison was further underlined when Trotsky (1957) referred to the New Soviet Man as the “Man of Future” that soon after Trotsky’s writing got also echoed in the nickname of Superman: “The Man of Tomorrow”<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> For more details see Attwood 1999.

<sup>63</sup> During the Nazi Germany, the vision of a superman (Übermensch) and the attempt of reorganizing the space in a utopian fashion got connected (see Germania). Yet, while the notion of Übermensch referred to the idea of a biologically superior Aryan race, the New Soviet Man appeared as an archetype of a person with certain qualities that could be achieved.

But then again, studying the various representations of the New Soviet (Wo)Man reveals further differences to the concept of the Great Man. Going back to Vera Mukhina's *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman* (1937) as the prototypical portrayal of the New Soviet (Wo)Man, both in East Berlin and Budapest several statues have been dedicated to the depiction of this socialist utopia. Idealised topics, such as the socialist family (e.g., Hans-Detlef Henning: *Family*, 1965; or Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: *Gratitude*, 1950), industrial worker (e.g., Fritz Gertrud Claasen: *Construction Helper*, 1952; or Béla Kucs: *Miner*, 1954), reading worker (e.g., Werner Stötzer: *Questions of a Reading Worker*, 1961; or András Beck: *Reading Worker*, 1951), female worker (e.g., Walter Arnold: *Girl*, 1950; or László Garami: *Grape Harvesters*, 1954), peasants (e.g., Christian Rost: *Girl Collecting Herbs*, 1952; or Árpád Somogyi: *Agronomist Girl*, 1954), enthusiasm for sport (e.g., Karl Lemke: *Swimmer*, 1952; or the statues at Népstadion in Budapest) or the new intelligentsia (e.g., Theo Balden: *Scientist*, 1952; or Dezső Györi: *Young Engineers*, 1952) have all been subjects of sculptural illustration<sup>64</sup>. While the form of these public works of art maintained and even exaggerated a conservative and (super)heroic aesthetic tradition, the social content changed and with their focus on the working class they partly appeared as progressive. In this sense, the principle of “tipichnost” – that prescribed the heroic depiction of common men in an everyday setting – rather points at an inner tension of the hero cult in socialist realism.

At the same time, a certain kind of tension also manifested itself in a difference between East Berlin and Budapest. The Stalinist system elaborated on an artistic policy that was superheroic in various senses. The creation of all-powerful ministries of culture, the reform and political subjugation of artists' unions, the cultural activities of Soviet friendship societies, the creation of a subservient art press, the use of the institution of annual national exhibitions and prizes to control artistic production, moreover the reform of the national art academies on Soviet lines, as Fowkes (2002a:23-84) discusses, all contributed to the establishment of an omnipresent system that, alike to Superman who fought for the truth, justice and the American way, stood out for the truth, justice and the Soviet way. No wonder during the Stalinist era statues were almost exclusively commissioned and erected through the actions of the state. Even in the case of an exception when the Wallenberg Committee received permission to the erection of a statue dedicated to Wallenberg in Budapest in 1949,

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<sup>64</sup> Interestingly, even though at the time of their erection these public works of art were highly ideological, they often appeared as decorative statues that also protected them from demolition after 1989.

the morning before the planned inauguration council workers removed the statue secretly<sup>65</sup>. Yet, although both cities followed a similar pattern in the radicalization of regulations related to the process of producing an artwork, there were important differences between the imposition of socialist realism on East Germany and Hungary. As Fowkes argues (2020a:29), in East Germany “the campaign to gain full control of the East German art began later than elsewhere”<sup>66</sup>, and “the degree of compliance with the artistic norms of socialist realism and its duration in East Germany was also much less than in Hungary”<sup>67</sup>.

The tightening up of artistic policy also entailed the creation of rigorous visual guidelines that primarily affected the stylistic characteristics of public works of art. However, here there were again significant differences in the application of these directives in the two cities. While in the immediate period after WWII the domestic and international political situation resulted in a more cautious adoption of monumental hero-cults in East Berlin, in Budapest the concept of monumentality made an appearance on the public space with a stunning speed. Illustrative examples for this difference in the monumental scale of memorials are the statues dedicated to Stalin (Picture 12 and 13). Grigori Postnikow’s memorial erected in 1951 at Stalinallee (later Karl-Marx-Allee) in East Berlin was 4,80-metre-high standing on a 3-metre high base, whereas Sándor Mikus’ Stalin from the same year erected on the Felvonulási tér (later Ötvenhatosok tere) in Budapest was 8-metre-high that was heightened by 10 meters by its pedestal. The ca. 8-metre-high Stalin statue in East Berlin indeed appeared only modestly monumental compared to its ca. 18-metre-high counterpart in Budapest. Simultaneously, the East Berlin case also hints at a certain kind of hesitancy in embracing the cult of Stalin, whereas Mikus’ memorial portrayed Stalin literally as a Great Man elevating him into a giant superman.

After Stalin’s death in 1953, however, the position of both, moderately and excessively monumental figures became rather unstable. During the 1953 uprising in East Germany the statue of Stalin was pelted with stones to be finally removed in 1961 together with other memorial signs of Stalin; most importantly the street name of Stalinallee in East

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<sup>65</sup> The reason behind the secret removal is connected to the fact that the memorialization of Wallenberg – who in 1945 was abducted and by all probability later murdered by the Soviets – became uncomfortable for the Soviet authorities. For more details see e.g., Fowkes 2002b:73.

<sup>66</sup> While in Hungary the communist party took measures already in 1949 to transform the art world, in East Germany the institution of socialist realism was established only in 1952. Fowkes (2002a:30) argues that this difference is due to the Nazi art policy of Germany that labelled the works of several artists as “degenerate”. Therefore, in the immediate post-war years, the communist party in Germany welcomed all “anti-fascist, democratic forces” and did not make an issue out of artistic style.

<sup>67</sup> Fowkes (2002a:43) argues that until the erection of the Berlin Wall artists could easily immigrate to West Germany that functioned as a strong brake in the extreme radicalisation of artistic policy in East Germany.

Berlin. During the 1956 Revolution in Hungary people de facto destructed the monument of Stalin leaving only Stalin's boots at its place, in which they even planted a Hungarian flag. Both events signaled the final days of the Stalin cult, as well as the end of politics introduced along orthodox Stalinist lines. The episodes of the 1953 Uprising and the 1956 Revolution also reflected fundamental turns in the Soviet politics. During a closed session of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress, on 25 February 1956 the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev delivered a secret speech *On Overcoming the Cult of Personality and its Consequences* that harshly repudiated Stalin's cult of personality (cited in Blaisdell 2011:102).

Comrades! In the report of the Central Committee of the party at the twentieth congress, and in a number of speeches by delegates to the Congress, as also formerly during plenary CC/CPSU [Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] sessions, quite a lot has been said about the cult of the individual and about its harmful consequences.

After Stalin's death the Central Committee of the party began to implement a policy of explaining concisely and consistently that it is impermissible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing supernatural characteristics, akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behaviour.

Khrushchev called for the end of superheroization of individuals. Besides his request to overcome the cult of personality Khrushchev's speech also contributed to the relaxation of artistic policy, and, ultimately, it gave rise to a period of liberalisation known as the "Khrushchev Thaw"<sup>68</sup>. Parallel to these transformations, in East Berlin Ulbricht managed to survive the political storm of de-Stalinization, however after the disastrous construction of the Berlin Wall the opposition against him gradually grew and in 1971 he was forced to resign. He got replaced by Erich Honecker who became the General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party, and therefore the new leader of the German Democratic Republic. In Hungary, after the 1956 Revolution Mátyás Rákosi was forced into retirement and János Kádár was appointed as the new General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Both Honecker and Kádár remained in their offices almost until the very end of the socialist period<sup>69</sup>.

Amidst the ascendant modernisation during the Thaw, by the end of the fifties the new course became apparent also in the politics and aesthetics of public works of art realized

<sup>68</sup> For a detailed analysis of the relaxation of artistic policy in East Germany and Hungary see Fowkes 2002a.

<sup>69</sup> Honecker was released from the post of General Secretary in October 1989, and Egon Krenz was elected as his successor. In contrast, Kádár retired as Secretary-General of the party in 1988 due to his declining health. He was officially replaced by Károly Grósz, but in early 1989 Grósz was also sidelined by reformers.

in East Berlin and Budapest. Both Reuben Fowkes (2002a:278) and Péter Kovács (1992:45) identify the year of 1958 as the beginning of a transition that from the sixties resulted in the introduction of (re)new(ed) ideological and stylistic approaches. While in the early years of the fifties the figure of the Soviet war hero clearly dominated national heroes who, if at all, were appropriated by the communists for their own purposes<sup>70</sup>, after the process of de-Stalinization local war heroes, national martyrs and partisans increasingly became visible in the public memory.

Besides the gradual return of a national and local past, the utopian overtones of the Soviet project were also retuned. This process is best exemplified through the changing status of the New Soviet (Wo)Man. After 1958 the New Soviet (Wo)Man, whose representation slowly decreased, became depicted in a new format that is described by Fowkes (2002a) as the “return of realism”. This move from an idealized representation towards a more realistic portrayal is accurately illustrated by József Somogyi’s two public works of art. In contrast to Somogyi’s *Construction Laborer* (Budapest, 1955) that shows a heroic worker with his spade in his hand, his 1965 statue in Hódmezővásárhely depicts János Szántó Kovács – a construction worker and a leading figure of agricultural socialism at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – without any kind of accessory, barefooted with a ripped pant and his shirt-sleeves rolled up (Picture 14). The disconcerting form of the *Statue of János Szántó Kovács*, the statue’s range of expression, as well as the proportion of abstraction and realism provoked one of the largest public debates in this period<sup>71</sup>. Somogyi’s expressive statue demonstrates the loosening of stylistic demands. Both Fowkes (2002a:278) and Péter Kovács (1992:57-85) argue that after 1958 modernist elements got (re-)introduced in the genre of public sculpture. Fowkes elaborates on the shift away from the representation of the literal events of the war towards abstract (e.g., Ferenc Laborcz: *Soviet Heroic Memorial*, 1970), allegorical (e.g., Lajos Ungvári: *Soviet Heroic Memorial*, 1962) and metaphorical (e.g., Viktor Kalló: *Liberation Monument*, 1965) means of expressing the idea of liberation. Péter Kovács identifies the various trends of the sixties and seventies as expressive realism (see e.g., the statues of Jenő Kerényi, József Somogyi or Makrisz Agamemnon), modernised socialism (see e.g., the sculptures of István Kiss) and sensitive monumentality (see e.g., the statues of

<sup>70</sup> See e.g., the depiction of peasant and bourgeois leaders in East Germany and Hungary who, in according with the Marxist ideology, represented the most progressive forces in pre-industrial society.

<sup>71</sup> The debate also got referred to in Boris Zsigmond’s 1965 documentary *A Statue Has Been Unveiled* (*Lelepleztek egy szobrot*), in which the archival footage shows the discontent of the town’s inhabitants, as well as responses of the mayor and the sculptor himself. In 2004 the statue became the subject of yet another discussion when the Hungarian artist group *Little Warsaw* removed the monument and exhibited it on the show *Monument contra Cathedral* in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.

Tamás Vigh or András Nagy). Did these tendencies, then, also implicate the critical reinterpretation of monumentality?

In 1961 at the 22<sup>nd</sup> Party Congress Khrushchev repeated his denunciation of Stalin's cult of personality publicly; however, statues dedicated to Stalin were increasingly replaced with Lenin. Although this shift from Stalin to Lenin might suggest a certain kind of continuation of the cult of personality, the return to a cult of Lenin showed a return to the safest common denominator of socialist ideology and as such can be understood as a critique of Stalinism. Both the function and the iconography of the cult of Lenin displayed a number of differences to the cult of Stalin. As Fowkes (2002a) outlines, statues dedicated to Lenin by and large did not function as instruments of mass mobilization, furthermore "stylistically, more latitude was allowed to sculptors in how to model Lenin, and the trend was towards a more human and less monumental treatment of the subject" (Fowkes 2002a:223). True enough; in Budapest Pál Pátzay's Lenin (1965), which replaced the former statue of Stalin on the Felvonulási Square, indeed had a more human scale (Picture 15). With a 15-metre-high concrete block in the background, the four-metre-high bronze sculpture depicted Lenin in his raincoat as an everyday man. Yet, the East Berlin case cautions us against the too rapid judgment that the Lenin cult unambiguously fitted into a movement that gradually distanced itself from monumentality. Although in the late 1960s East German artists, including one of the leading sculptors of the period, Fitz Cremer, openly called for the use of a more human scale in the genre of public statues in order "to prevent certain megalomaniacal tendencies and realizations" (Cremer cited in Brian Ladd 2002:94), Honecker still seemed to be enthusiastic about massive vertical monuments. This partiality also surfaced in the case of Nikolai Tomski's Lenin (1970) that rose above the Leninsquare (later United Nations Square) with its 19-metre height standing on a 26-metre diameter base (Picture 16). Thus, as Brian Ladd (2002:92) argues, instead of the end of monumentality, from the 60s remnants of the monumentality characteristic of the Stalinist policy coexisted, even if uneasily, with a revived modernism often entailing serious clashes between modernist artistic visions and the expectations of politics.

The production of smaller scale public works of art that reflected the everyday life of people more and more proved to be a powerful alternative to grandiose monumental projects. While from the seventies the installation of many nonfigurative, decorative and apolitical subjects in East Berlin and Budapest also hints at this direction, the culmination of this tendency was by all means a turn, through which statues in a large number came down to, or near to, the ground level. Drawing parallels with the pop art movement of that time, Kovács



(1992:78-83) discusses a number of statues under the label of “down from the pedestal”. Similarly to the avant-garde art movement that presented a challenge to the classical understanding of fine art through redefining the elements of everyday culture as art, various statues were erected in a popular, unambiguous and easily comprehensible form. They became accessible to wandering pedestrians and they were materialized as being one of us. In East Berlin, Heinrich Drake’s *Statue of Heinrich Zille* (1975) represented the German illustrator and photographer Zille with a cigar in his mouth working on a drawing. Fritz Cremer depicted the politician and writer Johannes Becher (1976) with his hand in his pockets as taking a step forward. In Budapest, Imre Varga’s *Statue of Mihály Károlyi* (1975) represented the first President of Hungary with one of his hands in his pocket, and with the other leaning on a stick. In all of these cases the pedestal was only symbolically present, and the figures appeared as life-sized, flesh and blood people.

These processes of deheroization and demonumentalization also enabled the surfacing of public statues that decisively called into question the principles of the socialist project. Ludwig Engelhardt’s *Marx-Engels Memorial* (1986) in East Berlin or Imre Varga’s *Béla Kun Memorial* (1986) in Budapest are specific examples to be considered in this regard. At first sight, the concept of both Engelhardt’s work and Varga’s memorial was devoid of any striking elements that would turn the traditional socialist artistic policy upside down. On the contrary, the symbolism of the two statues very much seemed to echo a classical socialist ideology. The *Marx-Engels Memorial* consisted of four sculptural parts, which all had symbolic positions within the area of a double circle (Picture 17). Playing with the direction of west and east, the configuration of the multi-element memorial began on the western side with Werner Stötzer’s marble relief depicting a scene of writhing human figures who suffered from the condition of capitalism. Leading through a group of experimental stelae<sup>72</sup>, designed by Arno Voigt and Peter Fischer, which illustrated the history of socialist movement, on the opposite side Margret Middell’s bronze sculptural reliefs showed the socialist paradise. This was the context, in which the statues of Marx and Engels were gazing eastward, towards the history of socialist movement, as well as towards the socialist paradise (Picture 18). The ensemble implicated the successful implementation of Marx and Engels’ theories. Similarly to the *Marx-Engels Memorial*, Imre Varga’s *Béla Kun Memorial* operated with the vision of fulfilling socialism (Picture 19). The composition began on the left side under the candelabrum of the modernized Budapest depicting bourgeois men and women with their

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<sup>72</sup> Voigt and Fischer were using a newly developed electronic process to transfer photographs onto steel.

hats and umbrellas. In the middle, figures of the armed working class represented the proletarians of the Hungarian Soviet Republic who, then, lead through to the dynamic group of soldiers of the Red Army on the right side. The figure of Béla Kun<sup>73</sup>, delivering a speech on the occasion of the 1919 military campaign of the Hungarian Red Army, rose above the composition. The scene, thus, not only narrated how Kun commanded his soldiers to the Eastern front line, but it also represented the socialist theory of a historical progress. Yet, as both Brian Ladd (2002) and András Rényi (n.d.a) outline, there were several factors, practical and stylistic, which disturbed and put in quotation marks the symbolic message of these statues.

Among the number of similarities between Ludwig Engelhardt's *Marx-Engels Memorial* and Imre Varga's *Béla Kun Memorial*, one certainly was the complicated process of choosing the location of the memorials. In the case of *Marx and Engels* the memorial was planned to stand on the Marx-Engels-Platz, on the square of the Palace of the Republic. After the opening ceremony of the new people's palace in 1976, however, it became clear that the presence of the palace left too little space for a ritual role of the square, which was gradually shifted to the use of a parking lot. The political decision shifted the location of the statue in a vacant land, behind the Palace of the Republic and on the other side of the Spree. Even though the place has been landscaped as a park and got the name Marx-Engels-Forum suggesting a connection to the Marx-Engels-Platz, the fact, that the statue, in order to remain true to the symbolic concept of Engelhardt, had to turn its back to the rear part of the Palace of the Republic and the Marx-Engels-Platz, remained rather disturbing. In the same vein, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party initially proposed to place the *Béla Kun Memorial* at the site of a housing estate in Csepel, however on the pressure of the daughter of Kun, it finally got erected at the much more central location of Vérmező in Budapest<sup>74</sup>. Since Hungarian Jacobins were executed on Vérmező in 1795, this decision also carried the promise of connecting the memory of Kun to a revolutionary and plebeian tradition. Yet, instead of creating a historical link, the *Béla Kun Memorial* got caught in an in-between position by its physical surroundings: while its front-view has rarely been visited by pedestrians in the abandoned corner of the park Vérmező, its back has been seen by thousands of people waiting in a car at a red lamp on the neighboring highway.

<sup>73</sup> Béla Kun was a Hungarian revolutionary who led the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. At the same time, as Rényi (n.d.a) extensively analyses, the decision to commemorate Béla Kun was already doubtful as Kun "never had a myth as a folk hero, he did not have any indisputable historical deeds as a leader, he could not be commemorated as a communist martyr as partly he himself was responsible for the red terror, partly, even though he died as a victim of Stalinist cleansing, he certainly did not die as a democratic resistance fighter."

<sup>74</sup> For more details see Boros 1999.

The absurdity of these locations was further strengthened by the aesthetics of both Engelhardt's *Marx-Engels Memorial* and Imre Varga's *Béla Kun Memorial*. The 4-metre-high memorial depicted Marx sitting, next to a standing Engels. The bronze, chrome steel and sheet tin figures of the 5-metre-high and 12-metre-wide *Béla Kun Memorial* appeared as floating with their carefully elaborated feet barely touching the pavement. Even though the East German Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann argued that the Marx-Engels monument serves as a precedent of artistic progress sidelining the nineteenth centurial style of portrayal (cited in Ladd 2002:98-99), and Hungarian official art experts of the party also praised the design plan of Varga (cited in Boros 1999), there was a sensible uneasiness felt towards these statues. This discomfort has explicitly been articulated in the case of Engelhardt's *Marx-Engels Memorial*. As Ladd (2002) recalls, during the first display of the memorial on a public exhibition in 1983, several visitors criticized both the location and the form of the statue.

One Berliner wrote that for him Marx-Engels-Platz is "the square of the capital. It is the red heart of our land. And now? A parking lot. A monument to the greatest revolutionaries, thinkers and human beings now is being set apart from the center of life." The models of Engelhardt's Marx and Engels figures attracted the most criticism: they appeared "static", "stiff", "tired", "dead", "meaningless". "My first impression", wrote one unhappy citizen, was "here sit two defendants in the dock!" Many viewers also disliked the lack of any interaction between the two figures and the fact that they seemed to be staring into a void. A visitor from Erfurt compared this design unfavourably to Kerbel's proposed Thälmann statue: the latter moved him because it portrayed the heroic fighter that he knew well. (...) But Engelhardt's Marx and Engels were not the figures he knew: "Where in this forum is the strength they radiated to the workers, where is the love and goodness to those near them?" A similar estrangement may have prompted another letter-writer's more formal criticism that the circular arrangement of objects would lead visitors around, rather than to the memorial (Ladd 2002:101-102).

Engelhardt's *Marx-Engels Memorial*, together with Imre Varga's *Béla Kun Memorial* became the parodies of the heroic and monumental representation. The unheroic and nonmonumental status of the two works was irrevocably underlined during the political transition of 1989. While the statue of Marx and Engels was temporarily left with the spray message "We are innocent" and "Next time everything will be better" (Picture 20), Béla Kun for a short time was turned into a ghost with a fool's cap added to his head (Picture 21).

### 3.2. *Victim Paradigm in West Berlin*

In 1949 the Christian Democrat Konrad Adenauer was elected as the Chancellor of West Germany that radically defined the direction West Germany took after the division in 1949. From the very beginning of his leadership Adenauer, who himself was a follower of the German Sonderweg theory<sup>75</sup>, worked hard on reintegrating and re-embedding West Germany into the so-called Western civilization. Adenauer, therefore, was keen on putting an end to the presumed German divergence and on a return to the West. Yet, this endeavour not only resulted in fighting the Cold War and in relentlessly maintaining the German division, but also in the establishment of a memory politics that by every intention was supposed to counteract the Soviet-style cultural policy in East Berlin and Budapest. After 1949, thus, there was a certain kind of polarization emerging between the memory politics of the Western and Socialist Bloc.

As both art historians Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper (2000:10) and Stefanie Endlich (1999:33) show, the case of the neighboring West and East Berlin accurately illustrates how the two blocs tried to define themselves as fundamentally different with respect to each other. Examining the memorial landscape of the two halves of Berlin, Dolff-Bonekämper (2000:10) even argues that instead of dialectical variances, West Berlin and East Berlin have been structured along a dialogical rationale. This conversational relationship entailed the surfacing of various, mutually exclusive forms of historical images. Even though the discussion of the memory calendars of Berlin and Budapest does not closely belong to the focus of the dissertation, the list of commemorative days in West Germany and East Germany already reveals the basic principle behind practices of remembrance propagated by the two states. The most decisive difference between the two memory calendars manifested itself in the divergent interpretation of May 8: while in East Germany it was celebrated as a day of liberating Germany from the Nazi forces, in West Germany it was regarded as a date symbolizing the end of War<sup>76</sup>. Besides the dual definition of a particular date, however, there was a more dynamic effect mechanism emerging as well: as a reaction to the 1953 uprising in the German Democratic Republic, in 1954 the Federal Republic of Germany included June

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<sup>75</sup> As Jürgen Kocka (1999) analyses in detail, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century the term Sonderweg (Special Path) initially referred to Germany's favourable difference from the history of Western and Eastern Europe. However, after the WWII a more critical variant of the Sonderweg thesis emerged that elaborated why Germany turned to fascist ideologies. The theory has also been widely criticized mainly on the account that the idea behind the thesis assumes a "normal" path, moreover that it sees fascism as an exclusively German phenomenon.

<sup>76</sup> It was only in 1985 when President of West Germany Richard von Weizsäcker reinterpreted May 8 as the Day of Liberation. On the complicated status of May 8 see e.g., Kirsch 1999 or Hurrelbrink 2005.

17 as a Day of German Unity into its own memory calendar that also reflected the back-and-forth influence between the western and eastern side.

Similarly to the memory calendars of West and East Germany, public works of art in West and East Berlin had multiple references to each other. This referentiality is best illustrated by the fact that after 1949 the erection of a memorial at one side was often followed by the installation of a counter-memorial at the other side. As Endlich recalls (1999:33), in contrast to East Berlin where *Soviet Heroic Memorials* praising the deeds of the Soviets in large numbers appeared in the public space, the first significant public memorial erected in West Berlin was Eduard Ludwig's *Airlift Monument* at the Platz der Luftbrücke in 1951. The monument commemorated the victims of the 1948-1949 Soviet Blockade in Berlin, as well as the Berlin airlift that was organized during this period to carry supplies to the people in West Berlin. Later, memorials similarly reflected this logic. On the side of East Berlin various monuments were dedicated to the victims of fascism who not only were interpreted as heroic resistance fighters, but as figures fulfilling the socialist project, too<sup>77</sup>. In contrast, in West Berlin memorials to the victims of National Socialism were several times simultaneously erected with statues remembering the victims of Stalinism or socialism. Public works of art at the Sterndamm/Heuberger Weg (Artist unknown: *Memorial to the Victims of Fascism*, 1949), the Kolmarer Strasse/Knaackstrassein (Artist unknown: *Memorial Stone to the Victims of Fascisms*, 1950) or Herbert Baum Strasse (Artist unknown: *Memorial to the Victims of National Socialism*, 1950) in East Berlin were counteracted by double memorials, such as the one at Steinplatz (Artist unknown: *Memorial Stone to the Victims of Stalinism*, 1951; Künstler unbekannt: *Memorial Stone to the Victims of National Socialism*, 1953) or Schloßstrasse (Gisela Boeckh von Tzschoppe: *The Bound – Memorial to the Victims of the NS-Regime*, 1960; Dieter Popielaty: *Suffering at the Wall*, 1965) in West Berlin. Even when in 1953 West Berlin's mayor Ernst Reuter unveiled Richard Scheibe's *Monument to the Victims of July 20 1944* at Stauffenbergstraße 13-14 (Picture 22), he made a double reference to the assassination attempt on Hitler in 1944 and to the uprising against the German Democratic Republic on June 17, 1953. As he noted (Reuter 1953),

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<sup>77</sup> In East Berlin victims of fascism were often portrayed as identical with communist resistance fighters. An illustrative example is the 1955 memorial stone commemorating the "Köpenick Week of Blood". The stone named five people (Johann Schmaus, Paul von Essen, Anton Schmaus, Erich Janitzky, Johannes Stelling) died in 1933 during the Köpenick Week of Blood, and it suggested that they were all communists. In reality, however, only one of them was a member of the communist party. This association between the victims and socialism was further strengthened by the inscription: "What they fought and died for, is today the reality of the GDR".

The arch from July 20, 1944 spans today, whether we like it or not, to the big day of June 17, 1953, to the day on which the anguished and tormented people rose up in revolt against their oppressor and harasser showing the world the firm intention that we Germans demand freedom and that we want to raise our heads to the sky as free people. We know that this June 17, similarly to the date of July 20, was only a beginning. But I think it is good, it is right that on this day we also take the arch from July 20 as a reference to the events that move us inside today.

These dialogical features of the memory landscapes of West Berlin and East Berlin were further strengthened with the 1961 installation of the Berlin Wall that in a certain sense also functioned as an axis of differently interpreted historical events and figures. This role of the Berlin Wall got explicitly reflected in the mutually exclusive evaluation of death at the two sides of the Wall. While the Eastern part of the city memorialized killed border guards, in West Berlin several memorials commemorated people who unsuccessfully tried to flee from East Berlin. Dietmar Kuntzsch' *Memorial of East German Border Troops*<sup>78</sup> (Schützenstrasse/Jerusalmer Strasse, 1973) almost seemed to enter a conversation with memorial places, such as the *Memorial sign of Peter Fechtner* (Zimmerstrasse, 1962), the *Memorial of Günter Litfin* (Friedrich List Ufer, 1962), the *White Crosses*<sup>79</sup> (Reichstagsufer, 1971) or the *Memorial Stone to the Victims of the Berlin Wall*<sup>80</sup> (Swindemünder Strasse, 1982).

At the same time, the above discussed public works of art also hint at another essential dissimilarity between the Western and Eastern bloc. On the one side authorities erected Soviet heroic memorials, they connected the image of the victims of fascism to the figure of heroic fighters against fascism, and heroicized dead border guards. On the other side the city commemorated the victims of Stalinism, the victims of National Socialism and the victims of the Wall. As Brian Ladd (1997:206) summarizes, while East Germany seemed to function as a land of heroes, West Germany appeared as a land of victims. This differentiation was true to such an extent that in the immediate period after 1945 both sides articulated the concept of heroes and victims with extremist overtones. East Germany, as I have shown in the previous section, cultivated a self-image built on superheroes. West

<sup>78</sup> The memorial was dedicated to the memory of the following border guards who had been shot: Jürgen Schmidtchen, Reinhold Huhn, Siegfried Widera, Egon Schultz and Rolf Henniger.

<sup>79</sup> The memorial *White Crosses* was dedicated to Günter Litfin, Ingo Krüger, Hans Räwel, Klaus Schröter, Heinz Sokolowski, Marinetta Jirkowsky, Udo Düllick, Werner Probst, Philipp Held, Axel Hannemann, Lutz Haberland, Wolf-Olaf Muszinski, and Chris Gueffroy. The “unknown victims of the Wall” were also honoured.

<sup>80</sup> The memorial stone commemorated Ida Siekman, Hans Dieter Wesa, Rudolf Urban, Olga Segler, Bernd Lünser, Ernst Mundt, Otfried Reck, Dietmar Schulz, Dieter Brandes, and Michael Horst Schmidt. The “unknown victims of the Wall” were also mentioned.

Germany, in contrast, promoted the idea of an overly broadened notion of victimhood: while the National Socialist regime was depicted as being only a small criminal gang with barbarian and demonic Nazi rulers, such as Hitler, German people were represented as being deceived by these leaders, therefore, as essentially innocent<sup>81</sup>. The history of the Third Reich was, thus, primarily a story of German victimization. Even in the case of commemorating the attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944, which functioned as a counterpoint to the narrative of communist resistance in the East and that might have appeared as a source of pride, in the 50s the memory of the resistance of the Stauffenberg circle was almost entirely detached from the concept of heroism. Richard Scheibe's 1953 memorial that depicted a naked young man with handcuffs was not only entitled as *Monument to the Victims of July 20, 1944*, but, as Bill Niven and Chloe Paver (2010:3) note, the statue was also "modest to say the least". In accordance with all these, several authors oppose the heroic ideology and aesthetic of the memorials in the Eastern Bloc with the negation of heroism in the Western side. As Fowkes (2002a:13) outlines,

In the aftermath of World War II, people initially looked to the memorialisation that had followed World War I for commemorative models. It is often argued that in Western Europe there was no wish to repeat the heroic forms of traditional war memorials, instead there was a search for new monumental forms to represent collective suffering. As Jay Winter has put it, (...) the Second World War (...) helped to put an end to "the rich set of traditional languages of commemoration and mourning which flourished after the Great War. The situation was visibly different in Eastern Europe; (...) Soviet memorials (...), George Mosse concluded (...) "fulfilled their traditional functions." The survival of "traditional liturgical forms" in the East is contrasted with the situation in Western Europe, where there was a break with "the traditional cult of war dead, abolishing war memorials and seeking to memorialize the dead in a more pragmatic and functional manner."

"Anachronistic memorials" and the "triumphant and heroic staging of official state monuments" in the Eastern side were set up against statues in the Western Bloc that questioned national narratives, as well as "refused the cult of personality and the heroic pathos" (Trimborn 1997:28).

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<sup>81</sup> See Adenauer's statement to the West German Parliament on 27 September 1951: "The federal government together with the great majority of the German people, are aware of the immeasurable suffering that was brought upon the Jews in Germany and in the occupied territories in the time of National Socialism. The vast majority of the German people rejected the crimes which were committed against the Jews and did not participate in them (...) But in the name of the German people (Volk) unspeakable crimes were committed, which impose upon us the duty of moral and material compensation" (Adenauer cited in Fulbrook 1999:66).

This sharp contrast between the two blocs, however, has been eased by several factors. In the same way as memorials celebrating the glory of Soviet communism in East Berlin and Budapest cannot be taken as expressions of nationalism, in West Berlin there was a certain kind of continuation of nationalistic traditions. Illustrated by the post-1945 history of the so-called People's Day of Mourning (Volkstrauertag), West Berlin indeed did not entirely break with traditional national narratives. The official introduction of the People's Day of Mourning goes back to the period after 1918, and initially it served as a commemoration day of the German soldiers killed in the First World War. The first ceremony was held on March 5, 1922, and, then, on a yearly basis six or, from 1926 on, five weeks before Easter. As Alexandra Kaiser (2010b:16) argues, this date suggested "an image of the fallen as 'heroes' who had sacrificed their lives for Germany's better future". The People's Day of Mourning, as Kaiser (2010a and 2010b) thoroughly discusses, was then also adopted by the Nazi regime in 1934. Besides transforming the ceremony into a national holiday of the Memorial Day of Heroes (Heldengedenktage), from the 1940s commemorations also began referencing the fallen heroes of WWII. After 1945 East Berlin dropped the tradition, whereas West Berlin restored the original name of the day without questioning its concept and function. It was only in the 50s and 60s when some changes were proposed. While from the 50s the day was moved to autumn emphasizing grieving for the dead<sup>82</sup> (instead of sacrifice), from the 60s People's Day of Mourning was reconceptualized as a commemoration day "for all victims of war and violence". Yet, similarly to the Eastern Bloc where Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and the victims of Euthanasia program were largely excluded from the notion of "victims of fascism" until the 80s, the idea of "all victims" in the Western side did not contain references to homosexuals, disabled or handicapped people, the so-called "asocials", or to those people who were killed on the grounds of being Sinti or Roma. This not-so-inclusive-nature of the day, however, did not free it from unwanted associations. Although the inclusion of some of those who were persecuted under the Nazi rule into the People's Day of Mourning did loosen its ties to a military and even national socialist tradition, its connection to a national narrative remained strikingly visible and palpable.

Another element in approaching the Eastern and Western Bloc to each other is their only seemingly straightforward relationship to the concept of heroes and victims. As in East

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<sup>82</sup> The official day of celebration took place on a November Sunday two weeks before the beginning of the Advent.



Berlin and Budapest victims did not completely vanish from socialist ideology<sup>83</sup> (not to mention the inner tensions of heroism itself), in West Berlin the “all-victims-together paradigm” (Niven cited in Kaiser 2010a:367) did not mean that references to heroism were entirely lacking. The above discussed *Monument to the Victims of July 20, 1944* explicitly reveals hidden relations to aspects of heroization. Even though Scheibe indeed refrained from figuring his memorial along a monumental and heroic aesthetics, the idea of the hero was sneaked back during the inauguration ceremony in 1953. The presence of the Berlin police’s military band at the event was in itself telling; however their performance of the *Song of the Good Comrade (Lied vom guten Kameraden)* unambiguously attached the monument to another, more militaristic and heroic, interpretative framework. Telling the sudden and arbitrary death of a soldier, the song became the most essential and popular symbol of WWI, as well as of the mark of the already mentioned People’s Day of Mourning and then of the Memorial Day of Heroes. These associations were further strengthened by a section of Reuter’s inauguration speech (1953), in which he compared the memorial and its location to

(...) a national sanctuary (...), a holy place, in which every German understands that from blood and tears, from necessity and misery something new arouse that is stronger than any force: the power of free hearts that defeats the tyranny from its own firm will, it bursts the gates of slavery and causes the collapse of buildings (...). Once, the whole of Germany will gather here in Berlin, and the whole of Germany will inherit this site as a national sanctuary from us.

The “victims” of July 20, 1944 simultaneously got portrayed as heroes who then also were elevated by Reuter to the level of saints. Thus, even in the case of the Western Bloc one has to be cautious not to overstate the significance of 1945. As Bill Niven (2010:3) argues, although “the cracks in the tradition of heroic memorialization were already clear in 1945” in West Berlin, the actual rethinking of the concept and aesthetics of memorials emerged only in the middle of the 1970s and 1980s.

The theoretical, ethical and visual reinterpretation of public works of art was brought about by the combination of several factors. On the one hand, in 1969 the coalition government of Social Democrats and Liberals took over the power from the Christian Democratic Union, and elected Willy Brandt as a Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. As Chancellor, Brandt radically broke with Adenauer’s policy fighting the Cold War. He introduced the so-called Eastern Policy (*Ostpolitik*) trying to achieve reconciliation

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<sup>83</sup> See the various already mentioned memorials dedicated to the victims of fascism in East Berlin, or József Somogyi’s *Memorial of the Victims of Fascism* in Budapest.

between West Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe. On the other hand, in this period there were a number of events through which West Germany increasingly started to confront its National Socialist past. This kind of awareness was significantly raised by a series of war crime trials, such as the Eichmann's trial in 1961-1962, the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials in 1963-1965<sup>84</sup>, the Krumei-Hunsche trial in 1964-1965<sup>85</sup>, the Calssen trial in 1967-1968, the Belzec trials in 1963-65, the first Treblinka trial in 1964-1965, the second Treblinka trial in 1970 and the Majdanek trial in 1975 and 1981. During these years, several books appeared that likewise problematized both the pre-WWII ambitions, as well as the post-WWII role of Germany (see e.g., Fritz Fischer's *Germany's Aims in the First World War* in 1961<sup>86</sup>, or Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich's *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behaviour* in 1967). The growing public representation of the Holocaust similarly played an important role in embracing the difficult heritage of the Nazi past (see e.g., the 14-part TV series *The Third Reich* in 1960-1961, or the 1964 photo exhibition *Auschwitz – Images and Documents* in Frankfurt). In the same vein, the movement of 1968 and a generational shift<sup>87</sup> also contributed to this change. The attempts of opening towards the Eastern Bloc and towards the Nazi past were symbolically also merged in December 1970 when Brandt, during his visit in the Communist People's Republic of Poland, spontaneously and unexpectedly knelt down at the monument to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in Warsaw. The act of Brandt's Warsaw Genuflection (*Warschauer Kniefall*) now is commemorated by Wiktoria Czechowska-Antoniewska's and Piotr Drachal's *Willy Brandt Monument* (2000) at the Willy Brandt Square in Warsaw. Beginning from the seventies, thus, there was a gradual increase in projects that, along with the active engagement of survivors, aimed for the memorialization of historical sites connected to Nazi crimes. Both the National Socialist past and the painful memory of the Holocaust became more and more powerfully present in public memories that, instead of an all encompassing German victimhood, articulated the role of Germany and Germans as perpetrators.

This emerging visibility was turned into a dominant presence during the 1980s, which was also enhanced by the changing regulation of public works of art. In accordance with a

<sup>84</sup> The trial represented a paradigm shift in the prosecution of Nazi crimes because the prosecution was almost entirely built on the testimony of witnesses.

<sup>85</sup> Hermann Krumei and Otto Hunsche were two colleagues of Eichmann. This was the first trial accusing not perpetrators, but collaborators.

<sup>86</sup> While Fischer argues that Germany consciously started WWI in an attempt of becoming world power, he also propagates a thesis of continuity in German war politics. His book brought about the first large historical debate after 1945 known as the Fischer controversy.

<sup>87</sup> Giesen (2004b) extensively analyzes the various generations and their attitude towards Germany's National Socialist past.

reform in 1979, West Berlin established a central fund to support the creation of *Art in the Urban Space* (*Kunst im Stadtraum*). In contrast to the long-standing percent-for-art-scheme (*Kunst-am-Bau-Mitteln*)<sup>88</sup>, this program encouraged artistic production on the basis of content-related criteria and priority programmes. Revealing traces connected to National Socialist crimes, and the Holocaust in particular, became the cornerstone of projects realized within the framework of *Art in the Urban Space*. Furthermore, the polemic nature of the 1982 elected conservative Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Bitburg Affair<sup>89</sup> and President Richard von Weizsäcker's speech<sup>90</sup> in 1985, moreover the "Historikerstreit"<sup>91</sup> itself all contributed to a growing attention to the Holocaust. Michael Blaumeister and Fritz Bürki's *Memorial of the Satellite Camp Lichtenrade* (1987), Volkmar Haase's *Memorial of Deportations* (1987), Cornelia Lengfeld's *Memorial Stone of the Destroyed Synagogue in Kreuzberg* (1988), Peter Herbrich's *Memorial of Deportations* (1988) or Ruth Golan and Kay Zareh's *Memorial of the Destroyed Synagogue in Spandau* (1989) all hinted towards an increasing attempt to reveal traces of a difficult past. Besides the fact that the majority of these memorial signs was rather "aesthetically unadventurous" (Niven 2013:79), as illustrated e.g., by the simple design of Cornelia Lengfeld's memorial stone, some started to experiment with new visual appearances. Commemorating the deportation of Berlin's Jews from the Pruditz railway station, Volkmar Haase's work elaborated on the idea of emptiness (Picture 23). As Niven (2002:202) describes, the memorial "resembles a crushed accordion, the melody stopped in mid-note (...). As a staircase leading to nothingness, it stresses (...) that the sequence of events leading to annihilation began in Berlin, not Auschwitz". Ruth Golan and Kay Zareh's memorial similarly reflected the notion of absence (Picture 24). Combining the material of concrete with the immaterial substance of the light, Golan and Zareh emphasized the emptiness that the killings of Jewish people left behind. Both the simplicity and experimental

<sup>88</sup> The percent-for-art-scheme goes back to 1919 and refers to an obligation according to which a certain amount (usually 1 or 2 percent) of the cost of any publicly funded building development has to be allocated to the commissioning of a work of art.

<sup>89</sup> The Bitburg Controversy refers to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and US President Ronald Reagan's visit to the Kolmeshöhe military cemetery in 1985 that also contained the graves of 49 members of the Waffen SS. While the visit aimed to demonstrate the normalization of the relationship between the two countries on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the WWII, it also demonstrated Kohl's endeavor to rehabilitate as many Germans as possible who had served the Third Reich.

<sup>90</sup> In 1985 Weizsäcker gave a speech on the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of WWII, in which he unambiguously articulated the responsibility of Germany and Germans for the crimes of Nazism. He also redefined 8 May as a day of liberation.

<sup>91</sup> Historians' Quarrel was a debate about the crimes of Nazi Germany and its comparability with the crimes of the Soviet Union. While left-wing intellectuals (e.g., Jürgen Habermas) largely argued for the incomparability of the Holocaust, right-wing thinkers (e.g., Ernst Nolte) promoted a comparative approach to totalitarian states. According to Eric Langenbacher (2003:56) the historians' quarrel was about a conflict between narrations of Holocaust- and German-centered memory.

aesthetics of these public works of art reveal a sensible unease of how to adapt the genre of public statues to reflect the memory of Holocaust. This uneasiness ultimately also led to questioning the legitimacy of memorials as such.

The dilemma “to figure, or not to figure” (Saltzman 1999) culminated in 1989 when Ekkehard Mai and Gisela Schmirber published an edited volume on *Memorial – Sign – Monument. Sculpture and Public Space Today*<sup>92</sup>, in which several authors articulated the crisis of public memorialization. The traditional features of a monumental art have all been questioned. Wolfgang Eberl (1989:37) expressed the suspiciousness of national monuments and the dubiousness of state initiatives, Peter Steiner (1989:34) wrote about the unsustainability of structural elements, such as pedestals, associated with the monumental scale, Kurt Düvell (1989:29) argued for the breakdown of figural representations, Peter Springer (1989:92-103) communicated the inappropriateness of the permanency of monuments, and Jochen Spielmann (1989:113) emphasized the importance of the process of memorialization instead of focusing on its result. Parallel to this rising skepticism, several scholarly works (discussing the memory politics of West Germany) also started to adopt Adorno’s verdict “No poetry after Auschwitz” (1997[1951]:34) to the genre of public works of art. While authors, such as Jay Winter only implicitly evoked Adorno’s argument through saying that after Hiroshima and Auschwitz “the earlier commemorative effort simply could not be duplicated” (Winter cited in Fowkes 2002a:13), other researchers, such as Thomas Lenk (1989:172) or Jürgen Trimborn (1997:29), explicitly referred to Adorno. Thus, West Germany embraced the regime change at the zenith of the legitimacy crisis of public works of art. Although in some parts of West Germany examples for the so-called “counter-monuments” (Young 1992) and “combimemorials” (Niven 2013) already popped up in the 80s<sup>93</sup> as possible ways out from this crisis, in Berlin it was only after 1989 when memorials, which Peter Springer (1989:100) described as “Gegendenkmal”, “Denk-Mal”, “Anti-Denkmal”, “Frage-Mal”, “Gag-Mal” or “Lach-Mal”, made their mass appearance.

### **3.3. Socialist and Capitalist Public Space**

Referring to Langdon Winner’s much celebrated essay *Do artifacts have politics?*, David Crowley and Susan E. Reid (2002:2) pose the questions: “Do spaces have politics?”, or “Do politics have spaces?”. The endeavor of establishing the connection between Western

<sup>92</sup> Original title: *Denkmal – Zeichen – Monument. Skulptur und öffentliche Raum heute.*

<sup>93</sup> See e.g., Horst Hoheisel’s *Aschrott Fountain* (1985) in Kassel, or Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz’s *Monument Against War and Fascism* (1986) in Harburg.

capitalism and East-Central European socialism, and particularly between Western capitalist and East-Central European socialist cities was, and in a certain sense still is, of high concern in the urban studies literature. Whether to distinguish or, quite the contrary, approximate the two city-forms from or to each other, dozens of articles have tried to define the two systems' organizational principles. As Judit Bodnár (2001) outlines, we can differentiate between three major types of approaches: (1) emphasizing the distinctive nature of the Soviet model (see the Marxist critical urban analysis of the 1970s), (2) identifying it as simply quantitatively different from universal patterns of development (e.g., Enyedi 1996) and (3) embedding socialist urban phenomena in a historical continuity but discussing it as qualitatively different from the Western experience (e.g., Pietz 1988). While the first, dichotomized, understanding argues that "capitalist" and "socialist" cities both shape and are shaped by their respective forms of socio-political-economic-spatial organization (multi-party system vs. system of one-party rule, capitalist mode of production vs. socialist mode of production, socialist social structure vs. capitalist social structure), the second, unified, approach stresses that there are universally applicable stages of socioeconomic development reducing the alleged differences between the "capitalist" and "socialist" urban development to a simple temporal delay (western progress vs. eastern backwardness). As a mix of the former two standpoints, the third understanding simultaneously maintains the assumption of a historical continuity, and argues for the peculiarities of the "socialist" phenomena. However, as Bodnár (2001:14) repeatedly underlines, these arguments are "ideal-typical intellectual traps" not least because formerly socialist countries vary among themselves to a relatively great extent. Even in the case of comparing the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, differences are unambiguously clear. As I have showed, the imposition of socialist realism on East Germany was considerably milder than in Hungary, but the characterization of the Hungarian People's Republic from the 1960s as Goulash Communism or Frigidaire Socialism is also telling. Putting these countries and the Federal Republic of Germany side by side equally shows that no single approach can be adapted to the understanding of their relationship. Therefore, as Bodnár (2001) also argues, revealing the connection between the so-called capitalist and socialist urban space is only possible through mobilizing the combination of the above listed attitudes.

When discussing the various public works of art in the socialist and capitalist bloc, most interpretations emphasize the differences between the two sides. Focusing on the public statuary in the immediate period after 1945 in East Berlin and Budapest, moreover in West Berlin, I have also revealed a certain kind of opposition. While the formers, even if to a

different extent, were characterized by a strong focus on heroes and monumentality, the latter concentrated on victims in a rather non-monumental form. A certain kind of differentiation was even consciously constructed and maintained between East Berlin and West Berlin. However, I have argued that these divergences only signified general attitudes behind which a multitude of features have been uncovered that appeared in many cases to be similar. Besides revealing the inner tensions of the (super)hero cult in socialism, I have also problematized the victim paradigm in the West. Furthermore, as I have showed, both the idea of “victims of fascism” – primarily understood as heroes of communist resistance – in East Berlin and Budapest, and the notion of “all victims” – mainly defined as Jews – in West Berlin operated along a line that largely excluded other groups being persecuted during the WWII. Embracing these “others” happened in both sides only from the 1980s.

Looking at the gradual transformation of public works of art in East Berlin and Budapest, as well as in West Berlin, I have argued that specific tendencies appear to be in synchrony. Even though in the Eastern Bloc the Khrushchev speech in 1956 already signified an important turning point, it was in the 70s and 80s when new forms of public works of art increasingly started to emerge (see the embracement of modern and abstract art, along with the gradual process of distancing from heroization and monumentalization). Similarly, following an increasing awareness of the National Socialist past, in West Berlin, artists began experimenting with the aesthetics of public works of art in the seventies and eighties (see the thematization of topics, such as emptiness and absence, moreover the growing critical attitude towards the genre of public statues). While in East Berlin and Budapest this experimentation was illustrated with the erection of Engelhardt’s *Marx-Engels Memorial*, and Imre Varga’s *Béla Kun Memorial* in 1986, in West Berlin I have used Volkmar Haase’s *Memorial of Deportations* (1987) and Ruth Golan and Kay Zareh’s *Memorial of the Destroyed Synagogue in Spandau* (1989) to demonstrate new trends. If we take into account that the winners of the first major memorial competitions held in East Berlin and Budapest were Karl Biedermann’s *The Deserted Room*<sup>94</sup> in 1988 (Picture 25), and György Jovánovics’ *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution*<sup>95</sup> in 1989 (Picture 26), the presence of a progressive movement in the Eastern side becomes even clearer. Although the highly unconventional form of Biedermann’s work at that time resulted in the East-Berlin municipality’s backing out of the

<sup>94</sup> See the detailed discussion of the memorial in *Chapter 6*.

<sup>95</sup> See the detailed discussion of the memorial in *Chapter 5*.

accomplishment of the project<sup>96</sup>, and Jovánovics' memorial got realized only in 1992, the fact that these design plans came out as winners accurately illustrates how in East Berlin and Budapest there were also fore-runners of the genre of the so-called “counter-monuments”.

Does it then ultimately become possible to interpret the year of 1945 as a turning point? The post-1945 period certainly introduced new perspectives in the memory politics of both sides. While the establishment of the institution of socialist realism in East Berlin and Budapest signified a certain kind of break with nationalization (see their focus on the future) and with the traditional notion of the Great Man (see the notion of *tipichnost*), West Berlin increasingly regarded the tendencies of nationalization, monumentalization and heroization as suspicious. Yet, in both sides it was only in the seventies and eighties when a more radical redefinition of the concept and aesthetics of public works of art were introduced. Within the framework of these reinterpretations, a radical deheroization and demonumentalization of public memorials began in East Berlin and Budapest. Similarly, West Berlin more and more loudly questioned the legitimacy of the genre of public works of art.

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<sup>96</sup> Due to interventions by local organizations and individuals, the united Berlin took up the issue again, and the Senate Department for Urban Development – in the framework of its program *Kunst in Stadtraum* – realized Biedermann's work in 1996.

## CHAPTER 4.

### WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE MAN OF YESTERDAY<sup>97</sup>: RE-FRAMING THE SOCIALIST HERITAGE IN BERLIN AND BUDAPEST AFTER 1989

During the period between 1945 and 1989 the institutional framework of the erection and installation of public works of art was undergoing essential changes. In East Berlin the role of governmental committees was taken over in the 70s by the Advisory Council on Urban Design (Beirat für Stadtgestaltung), established within the cultural administration of the municipality. In Budapest, following a process of decentralization in the 80s, the Fine Arts Fund (Képzőművészeti Alap Lektorátusi Osztálya), later Institute of Culture and Art (Képző- és Iparművészeti Lektorátus) got divided. While the Institute was assigned to supervise project plans in the provinces of Hungary, the Budapest Gallery emerged as the responsible organ for Budapest. In West Berlin the local or regional monopolies of particular artists and contractors were overwritten in 1979 by the foundation of the program *Art within Architecture and in the Urban Space* (*Kunst am Bau und im Stadtraum*) that also entailed the creation of various advisory boards, such as the Advisory Board Art (Beratungsausschuss Kunst), a number of district committees for art in public space<sup>98</sup>, or The Bureau for Art in Public Space (Das Büro für Kunst im Öffentlichen Raum). With the exception of the East Berlin advisory council that got incorporated by the West Berlin system, these institutions remained in operation even after 1989<sup>99</sup>. Simultaneously to, and as a consequence of these transformations, there was a gradual appearance of a stratum known as experts. The emergence of committees whose composition, instead of political taste, corresponds to professional qualities was interpreted by art historian and sociologist Martin Schönfeld (2007:25) as an initial and essential step towards the democratization of the field of public works of art. In this sense, Schönfeld contrasted political decision making with expert knowledge. Yet, as several literatures emphasize (e.g., Mitchell 2002, Boswell 2009, Oanca n.d.), the relationship between “political” and “expert” is more often ambiguous than not, the

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<sup>97</sup> The title refers to Alan Moore’s and Curt Swan’s 1986 comic book story *Whatever Happened to the Man of Tomorrow?*, in which they tell the final story of Superman.

<sup>98</sup> As of 2012 the following districts have their own committees for art in the public space in Berlin: Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Lichtenberg, Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Mitte, Pankow, Tempelhof-Schöneberg, Treptow-Köpenick.

<sup>99</sup> The Institute of Culture and Art (Képző- és Iparművészeti Lektorátus) was reorganized as Hungarian Institute for Culture (Magyar Művelődési Intézet) in 2007, which again got transformed as The National Institute for Community Culture and Public Collection (Nemzeti Művelődési Intézet) in 2012.



latter often being imbued or exploited by the former. Discussing the process of reframing the socialist heritage in Berlin and Budapest after 1989, I focus on the dynamics between “political” and “expert” decisions in the two cities.

Similarly to the third chapter, an integral part of *Whatever Happened to the Man of Yesterday* is my comprehensive database that lists public works of art installed between 1945 and 1989 in East Berlin and Budapest<sup>100</sup>. In contrast to the previous chapter, in which I have considered the installation of public works of art, here I elaborate on the afterlife of these memorials. In the various sections, I analyze, first, the antecedents, second, the process, and third, the critiques of the committee’s decision on the future of socialist statuary in Berlin and Budapest. While I conclude that the two cities’ approach towards its socialist past has finally come to differ to a great extent, I also show how the dispute on the present status of socialist statuary is still an on-going process in both cities.

#### **4.1. Historical vs. Aesthetic Perspectives**

The understanding of public works of art is not possible without recognizing, apart from the physical shape, the political, social and cultural importance of spatial representations. As Levinson (1998:39) emphasizes, “art placed within those [public] spaces is almost always the product of some instrumental purpose outside the domain of pure aesthetics, and one’s analysis (...) to such art will inevitably be influenced by knowledge about its topical subject and the political resonance that surrounds it”. Within this framework public statues are manifestations of at least two time periods: besides evoking the past, they create memory in accordance with contemporary political, social and cultural needs, which also turns them into representations of the present (see e.g., Connerton 1989, Hutton 1993, James 2005, Rév 2005, Nadkarni 2006). What happens, however, during and after times of transitions, when the communication of the past becomes reframed?

While the practice of erecting monuments equals the inclusion of a well-defined group of events, persons and achievements into the official memory-agenda, there are several strategies of reacting upon the calendar of a past regime. One of the earliest and most radical policies was introduced in the ancient times by the Roman society whose custom enabled the literal damnation of memory. The ritual of the so-called “damnatio memoriae” entailed the erasure of any dishonored individuals from history. The name and other distinguishing marks of the particular person could be condemned to be obliterated, whereas his statues to be

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<sup>100</sup> See *Appendix 2* and *4* of the dissertation. For the description of the database see the *Introduction*.

demolished<sup>101</sup>. This strategy later was adopted e.g., by the Egyptian pharaohs<sup>102</sup>, but the essence of modern iconoclasm also has its root in it. Embedded in this tradition, but slightly distanced from it is an episode of the French Revolution that simultaneously shattered and preserved the icons of the former regime. Based on a decree of June 19, 1790, royal symbols had to be destroyed, but pedestals remained in their place in order to remind the nation of the defeat of the old political system. In a similar vein, the building of the Bastille was destructed in 1789, but its pieces were sold as souvenirs. Yet another guideline emerged during the October Revolution in Russia that, probably for the first time in history, considered the preservation of memorials as material witnesses of a vanishing ideology. As Lenin (2008:203) ordered in his declaration published on April 12, 1918,

The monuments erected in honour of tsars and their minions and which have no historical or artistic value are to be removed from the squares and streets and stored up or used for utilitarian purposes.

This strong belief in historical and aesthetic value prevented several public statues from complete demolition. The preservation, however, did not mean the uncritical adoption of these public works of art. According to another point articulated in *On Monuments of the Republic*, protected monuments were partially and temporarily to be estranged and changed through modern art installations, as well as to be criticized through new inscriptions (see Mittig 1990). Thus, the so-called repolitization of a city – be it the total erasure, partial removal, commodification, reinterpretation, or preservation of public statues – is not unique in the sense that some form(s) of it did happen almost after every major turnover of the power. As Sinkó (1992) illustrates in her book *Political Rituals: The Raising and Demolition of Monuments*, it is indeed possible to narrate the history of monuments through the cyclic ambition of political rituals. What strategy did then Berlin and Budapest follow in the aftermath of the 1989 regime change?

During the dawn of the post-1989 period, the meaning of socialist memorials was dramatically shifting. All of a sudden, the symbolic artifacts of socialism found themselves in another political context that relegated these works from a present reality into the realm of history. Public works of art got out-of-balance. The once firm status of socialist objects was further questioned through various spontaneous actions: both in Germany and Hungary several attacks took place against the relics of the past system. Two consecutive events of the regime change already shed light on the quickly changing status of memorials. The

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<sup>101</sup> For more details see Varner 2004.

<sup>102</sup> Egyptian pharaohs were especially fond of wiping out their predecessors' name from any memorial signs.

symbolically overloaded actions on 27 June 1989 (when the foreign minister of Austria and Hungary cut through the Iron Curtain), and on 9 November 1989 (when the Berlin Wall fell) accurately illustrate the initial formation of a renewed memorial landscape. From geographical conditions both the remaining pieces of the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall were turned into unintentional (ungewollten) monuments<sup>103</sup>, which, finally overwriting the socialist logic behind them, also got sold as mementos to the interested public (Picture 27).

Further examples of spontaneous reinterpretations entail the vandalization of existing memorials. An extreme variation of this is the complete or partial destruction of a particular work. In 1990 one of the first items destroyed in Berlin was a memorial plaque in the underpass at the station of Friedrichstrasse commemorating two Soviet soldiers murdered in the last days of the war in 1945<sup>104</sup>. In the same year, in Budapest, the legs of István Kiss' statue of Ferenc Münnich got sawed off at the Honvéd Square. Another version of redefining memories is the forceful addition of a commentary. In 1990 Berlin witnessed the pop up of various statements: while Lew Jefimowitsch Kerbel's gigantic bust of Thälmann was covered with the sarcastic graffiti "Didn't it come in a larger size?", Ludwig Engelhardt's statue of Marx and Engels was left with a spray message "We are innocent" and "Next time everything will be better" (Picture 20). Similarly, urban interventions happened in Budapest, too: while in 1991 Imre Varga's statue of Béla Kun was turned into a ghost with a fool's cap added to the head of it (Picture 21), around 1992 the woman figure of Ferenc Laborcz's Liberation Monument was completed with a light-blue bikini and a punk hair-style.

Parallel to these grassroots actions, debates arouse also on the level of official memory politics. In Berlin, discussions emerged after the order of removing any memorial plaques celebrating the East German leader Erich Honecker<sup>105</sup> or the SED<sup>106</sup>, and even more so after the disclosure of the intent of demolishing Nikolai Tomski's monstrous monument of Lenin<sup>107</sup>. In Budapest, alternative suggestions surfaced subsequent to the early plan of

<sup>103</sup> According to Riegl (1903), the notion of monument comprises both intentional and unintentional artifacts as long as they reveal history. In this context, intentional and unintentional monuments differentiate between items that were erected with or without the purpose of commemorating something.

<sup>104</sup> In Berlin – with the exception of the Berlin Wall – usually only memorial plaques got victims of a spontaneous destruction. Many of these plaques were, however, later replaced by the Active Museum (Verein Aktives Museum).

<sup>105</sup> Within this framework, inscriptions mentioning the name of Honecker were removed e.g., from the bust of Thälmann on 11 June 1990.

<sup>106</sup> Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

<sup>107</sup> Debates around the removal of the statue of Lenin are widely discussed in the literature: see e.g., Kramer 1992, Rüger 1992, Ladd 1997, Lee 2010. See also contemporary journal articles: Lettau 1990, Abc 1991a, Abc 1991b, Kd 1991, Plu 1991a, Plu 1991b, S.N. 1991a, S.N. 1991b, Weiland 1991a, Weiland 1991b.

“quarantining” socialist statues<sup>108</sup>. At the same time, between the two extremities of suppressing or adopting socialist statuary, several, artistic and ironic ideas came to light in both cities. The proposals, which I summarize in a comprehensive table below, show numerous links between the visions of Berlin and Budapest.

BERLIN		BUDAPEST	
<i>Proposer</i>	<i>Proposal</i>	<i>Proposer</i>	<i>Proposal</i>
"Initiative Politische Denkmäler der DDR" Active Museum of Fascism and Resistance Daniel Liebeskind (architect)	preserving socialist statuary	Participants of the "Memorials in Hungary" Conference in 1990	preserving most of the socialist statues
Civil Initiative Lenin-Denkmal Büro für Ungewöhnliche Massnahmen	preserving the statue of Lenin		
Christine Hoh-Slodczyk (art historian)	preserving socialist statues together with the graffitis		
Alfred Hrdlicka (artist)	exchanging the monuments of East and West Germany		
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	replacing the head of Lenin with the head of a prominent international figure in every ten years	János Fajó (artist)	replacing the head of socialist statues with other heads
Abc (Taz)	reinterpreting the statue of Lenin through an art installation every year		
Walter Momper (SPD)	commissioning Christo to wrap socialist statues		
Senator Wolfgang Nagel (Construction and Housing) Manfred Butzmann (artist)	turning the former Lenin Square into a green space overgrown with shrubs planting ivy and wild grapevines at the base of the statue of Lenin	Tibor Wehner (art historian)	leaving existing socialist statues in the hand of nature (weed)
Christoph Stölzl (head of the German Historical Museum)	preserving only a few significant statues		
Ulrich Roloff-Momin (Kultursenator)	removing the statue of Lenin, but preserving and reutilizing the base	Fidesz (Békéscsaba)	creating an outdoor museum (skanzen) for statues of Lenin, but preserving the bases as mementos

<sup>108</sup> On the development of the plan see e.g., Boros 1993 or Szücs 1994.

Senator Wolfgang Nagel (SPD, Construction and Housing)	throwing the statue of Lenin into the Müggelsee up to its neck		
Peter Grzan (artist)	creating a home for unloved works of art or an avenue composed of monuments to Marx		
Jozef Kurz (businessman)	creating a collection of socialist statues	László Szörényi (literary historian)	creating a "Lenin Garden" in Csepel
Uwe Lehmann-Brauns (CDU)	creating a panopticon	Recski Szövetség	creating a "Socialism Park" in the work camp of Recsk
Rainer Süß and Joachim Scheel (art historians)	creating a "Monster Cabinet" or a "Cabinet of Curiosities"		
Radio 100.6			
Eberhard Diepgen (mayor of Berlin)	destroying the statue of Lenin		
Joachim John (artist)		Association of Hungarian Political Captives	
Klaus-Rüdiger Landowsky (CDU)		56 Organization	
Dietrich Mahlo (CDU)	demolishing socialist statuary	Péter Boross (MDF minister for internal affairs)	demolishing socialist statuary
Volker Hassemer (CDU, City Development Senator)			
Wolf Jobst Siedler (writer)			

Table 1. *Proposals for dealing with the socialist heritage in Berlin and Budapest*

Interestingly enough, at the beginning of the 1990s, memory political considerations were fairly alike both in Berlin and Budapest. While the German government (CDU, CSU, FDP) aimed to rather support the scheme of demolishing the socialist heritage, the Hungarian government (MDF, KDNP, FKGP) seemed to be more receptive towards the idea of forming a park for socialist statues. Nevertheless both conceptions were part of possible scenarios in the two cities. Notices like “Away with the false monuments” (Berlin mayor Diepgen cited in Lee 2010:312), “The Stalinist monuments must go” (CDU Chairperson Klaus-Rüdiger Landowsky cited in Lee 2010:312), or Hungarian Minister of the Interior Péter Boross’ demand to remove every single socialist statue from Budapest (cited in Kovács 2001:77) all

belong to the same cast of thought. Ruling political parties of the two cities sympathized primarily with the plan of erasing the socialist layer of the city-text.

Simultaneously with the political elite's preparation to disintegrate the heritage of the previous period, both Berlin and Budapest experienced the almost parallel emergence of opposing powers. In 1990 art history students of the Humboldt University, Free University and Technical University of Berlin formed an initiative of political monuments of the GDR (Initiative Politische Denkmäler der DDR), who then, joined by the Active Museum of Fascism and Resistance, promoted the public discussion of the future of GDR's monuments. Within this framework, in 1990, they organized an exhibition<sup>109</sup> that not only documented the diversity of East-Berlin monuments, but also argued for the preservation of socialist statues as "witnesses of history".

Witnesses of history cannot be destroyed again as it happened after 1945, as removal and suppression leave a gap that disables historical analysis and enables dangerous myths. (...) Monuments have already turned into history; they stand for the official historical understanding of the GDR. The monuments presented here were deliberately created with the purpose of commemoration; they are forms of self-expression of the GDR and represent the social context of their creation. Many of the motifs, symbols and references give information about state ideology, but also about everyday life in the GDR. Precisely because of this, the monuments are worth preserving (Elfert et al. 1990:7).

Similarly to the exhibition *Preserving – Demolishing – Altering?*, the Déry Museum of Debrecen gave place to a conference on *Monuments in Hungary* on 29 March 1990. In spite of the fact that the event was held only in the second largest city of Hungary, which may suggest a(n un)conscious estrangement from front-line happenings, the statement of the participants of the conference signify an important episode within the processes of the Hungarian regime change<sup>110</sup>. Signers of the declaration clearly formed the principal opposition of the political power. Just like their Berlin colleagues, several Hungarian historians and art historians echoed the argument that (most) socialist statues should be preserved as "historical documents".

Participants of the Conference "Memorials in Hungary" turn to the public of the country with an appeal, against the unjustified demolition of memorials that were erected in the last decades and that are historical documents. Irrespective of their artistic value, we find it

<sup>109</sup> The exhibition (*Preserving – Demolishing – Altering? Monuments of the GDR in East-Berlin. A Documentational Exhibition*) took place between 11 August and 7 September 1990. See the exhibition catalogue Elfert et al. 1990.

<sup>110</sup> Participants included István Orosz, György Sümegi, Tamás Katona, Katalin Sz. Kürti, Márta Kovalovszky, Tibor Wehner.

important to preserve them as documents of a historical period in a place and form accessible to the public. We recommend that local governments are the ones who should decide on the preservation or removal of public statues of the former period, with the help of an independent expert committee (S.N. 1990:24-25).

The definition of socialist statuary as material witnesses of socialism did not, however, entail the uncritical acceptance of socialist heritage. It enabled various alterations and transmutations that, according to Lee (2010:313), “could reflect changing historical and political conditions, encouraging critical as well as playful interaction between past and present”. As organizers of the German exhibition *Preserving – Demolishing – Altering?* articulated,

Besides demolition or preservation of statues there is also the possibility of altering them. The monuments also could be meaningfully completed with counter-monuments, with explanatory inscriptions etc (Elfert et al. 1990:7).

In a similar vein, Tibor Wehner (1990:110), one of the participants of the conference *Monuments in Hungary* – alike to Senator Wolfgang Nagel and Manfred Butzmann in Berlin – suggested that the fate of socialist landscape should be put in the hands of natural phenomena.

Instead of the strong, murderous lies these monuments suddenly turned into kind liars. We would need, thus, a compromise: besides professionally placing, or relocating the works that are standing in the city center and that are indeed strangers to their environment, most of the statues should be left in their place; dust shall cover them, weed shall overgrow them, they – abandoned, lost of their original function, but at their original place – should preserve the memory of a period producing false art-substitutes.

Besides these reports, there were also several individual recommendations that acknowledged the possibility of intervening into the structure of monuments. The proposals comprised ideas that promoted tolerance and understanding between different political systems (see Alfred Hrdlicka’s plan of exchanging the statues of East and West Germany), suggestions that exposed the substitutability of monuments (see the idea of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, and the recommendation of János Fajó who wanted to replace the head of socialist statues), initiatives that propagated the inclusion of citizen’s voices into statues of a dictatorship (see Christine Hoh-Slodczyk’s plan to preserve socialist statuary with the spontaneous messages left on them), and concepts that aimed to reinterpret monuments through an art installation (see Walter Momper’s proposal of commissioning Christo in order to wrap socialist statues).

Looking through the above presented various standpoints from demolition to preservation, two radically different principles reveal themselves behind the positions taken.

This clash was especially palpable in the German case: while propagators of destruction and removal repeatedly referred to the artistic worthlessness of statues, defenders of the monuments tended to utilize historical arguments that regarded socialist statues as historical documents. When art historian Joachim Scheel labeled socialist statues as “non-arts” and “horrid” items (cited in Schönefeld 1991:39), Wolfgang Nagel, Senator of Construction and Housing, pointed out that the idea of “removal was the least intelligent approach to history” (cited in Lee 2010:312). In the same way, while artist Joachim John considered the demolition of statues as a practice of “necessary hygiene” (cited in Schönefeld 1991:39), Christoph Stölzl, head of the German Historical Museum, emphasized that “the transport into a depot is not an aesthetic act, but only a gesture of helplessness” (cited in Schwerk 1991:15). Participants of the conference on *Monuments in Hungary* similarly reinforced this clash between artistic and historical arguments when they emphasized that “irrespective of their artistic value, we find it important to preserve them [socialist statues] as documents of a historical period (...)”. Aesthetic and historical perspectives, thus, many times conflicted in the disputes.

#### **4.2. Expert vs. Political Opinions**

Amidst the dumping of these statements, in 1991 the German and Hungarian governments were still thinking along the line of getting rid of the statues of the previous regime. In Berlin, on 18 September the local government of Friedrichshain decided with 40 votes for and 33 against, to recommend the Senate removing Nikolai Tomski’s monument of Lenin. At the end of September the Berlin Senate gave green light to the demolition, and by 13 November 1991, in spite of unexpected complications and notwithstanding massive demonstrations<sup>111</sup>, the head of Lenin was gone (Picture 28). Meanwhile, in Budapest, first in January, then repeatedly in April, the municipality of Budapest requested the local governments to resolve the issue of socialist statues. By the end of the year a proposal was completed, and on 17 December 1991 the Hungarian journal *HVG* published the suggestion of the district governments, as well as that of the Cultural Committee of the municipality of Budapest (Tömöry 1991). As Table 2 shows, even though political authorities in traditional worker’s district, such as in the 10<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> district, were much more open towards the idea of preserving socialist public works of art, the majority of statues were to be removed from their original places.

<sup>111</sup> The concrete core of the statue proved to be unexpectedly strong, the demolition dragged on and costs were dramatically rising. See also footnote 106.



Address	Work of Art	Suggestion of the Local Government	Suggestion of the Municipality of Budapest
<b>District I.</b>			
Vérmező	I. Varga: Kun Béla Memorial	relocation	relocation
Díztér	Memorial Stone of Liberation	relocation	relocation
Lánchíd és Alagút	Coat of Arms of the Hungarian People's Republic	relocation	competence of the OMF
Szentháromság u. 2.	Memorial Plaque of Workers' and Soldiers' Council	relocation	relocation
<b>District II.</b>			
Budakeszi út 5.	Gy. Baksa Sós: Bust of Endre Ságvári	<u>relocation</u>	preservation
Pasaréti út 195.	Memorial of the Hungarian Soviet Republic	relocation	relocation
Hűvösvölgyi út-Tárogató u.	Mihály Mészáros: Memorial of the Buda Volunteer Regiment	relocation	relocation
Hűvösvölgy	I Kiss: Memorial of the Working Class Movement	<u>relocation</u>	preservation
Szépjuhászné	B. Kucs: Worker with a Child	relocation	<u>preservation</u>
<b>District III.</b>			
Vasútsor	I. Szabó Jr.: Liberation Memorial ( <u>demolition</u> )	relocation	relocation

Address	Work of Art	Suggestion of the Local Government	Suggestion of the Municipality of Budapest
<b>District IV.</b>			
Váci út-Árpád út	T. Gyenes: Red Soldier ( <u>removing inscriptions</u> )	none	preservation
Rezi Károly sétány	A. Farkas: Memorial of Károly Rezi ( <u>demolition</u> )	none	relocation
Gellért u.	I. Varga: Partisan	none	<u>preservation</u>
<b>District V.</b>			
Szabadság tér	Soviet Heroic Memorial	<u>demolition of one of them</u>	relocation
Vigadó tér	Memorial of Soviet Airmen		
Jászai Mari tér	Gy. Segesdi: Statue of Marx and Engels	none	<u>relocation</u>
Fővám tér	V. Sztarcsev: Dimitrov	none	<u>relocation</u>
Városháza-udvar	Statue of Ságvári	none	<u>relocation</u>
<b>District VI.</b>			
Eötvös u. 3.	F. Gyurcsok: Memorial Plaque of the 50 Years of the Hungarian Communist Youth Movement	relocation	relocation

Address	Work of Art	Suggestion of the Local Government	Suggestion of the Municipality of Budapest
<b>District VIII.</b>			
Köztársaság tér	V. Kalló: Martyr Memorial	none	<u>relocation</u>
Köztársaság tér	Kalló V.: Memorial Place of the Heroes of People's Power	none	<u>relocation</u>
Ludovika	I. Kiss: Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1919 Counter-Revolutionary Revolt ( <b>demolition</b> )	none	relocation
Nagyvárad tér	I. J. Nagy: Memorial Plaque of János Asztalos	none	<u>relocation</u>
Orczy kert	A. Kiss Nagy: Memorial Plaque of Róbert Kreuz	none	preservation
Rezső tér	P. László: Memorial Stone of Éva Braun	none	<u>preservation</u>
<b>District IX.</b>			
memorial plaques	Kató Hámán	relocation	relocation
	Róbert Kreuz	relocation	relocation
	Kálmán Turner	relocation	relocation
	KNP-Print	relocation	relocation
	Ferencváros Organization of KNP	relocation	relocation
Tompa u. 14.	Antifascist Memorial Plaque	alteration	alteration

Address	Work of Art	Suggestion of the Local Government	Suggestion of the Municipality of Budapest
<b>District X.</b>			
Kőbánya-Óhegy	J. Konyorcsik: Bust of Malinovsky ( <b>demolition</b> )	preservation	relocation
Kőbánya-Óhegy	Barna Búza: Memorial of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship	preservation	<u>relocation</u>
Zalka M. tér	Gy. Meszes Tóth: Bust of Máté Zalka	preservation	preservation
Szent László tér	I. Rózsa: Bust of István Pataki	preservation	preservation
<b>District XI.</b>			
Gellért tér	Soviet Heroic Memorial	relocation	relocation
Gellért-hegy	Zs. Kisfaludy Strobl: Liberation Memorial	alteration	alteration
Budaörsi út 4.	J. Kerényi: Statue of Ostapenko	<u>relocation</u>	preservation
Hanoi park	A. Farkas: Ho Si Minh	relocation	relocation
Etele u.	L. Márton: Statue of Szakasits	none	<u>relocation</u>
<b>District XII.</b>			
Széchenyi hegy, Rege park	P. László: Liberation Memorial	none	<u>relocation</u>
Csörsz utcai park	Gy. Kiss Kovács: Liberation Memorial ( <b>alteration</b> )	none	preservation
Gesztenyés kert	J. Somogyi: Memorial of the Victims of Fascism	none	<u>preservation</u>

Address	Work of Art	Suggestion of the Local Government	Suggestion of the Municipality of Budapest	Address	Work of Art	Suggestion of the Local Government	Suggestion of the Municipality of Budapest
<b>District XIII.</b>				<b>District XVIII.</b>			
Béke tér	V. Kalló: Liberation Memorial	preservation	<u>relocation</u>	Vöröshadsereg útja	S. Mikus: Captain Steinmetz ( <b>relocation</b> )	none	preservation
Viza u., Duna-part	A. Makrisz: Memorial of Mauthausen	preservation	preservation	Vasút u.	Soviet Heroic Memorial ( <b>demolition</b> )	none	preservation
Szent István park	F. Kovács: Partisan Memorial of the Group SZIR	preservation	preservation	Kossuth tér	Barna Búza: Liberation Memorial ( <b>alteration</b> )	none	preservation
<b>District XIV.</b>				<b>District XIX.</b>			
Dózsa György út	I. Kiss: Memorial of the Hungarian Soviet Republic	none	<u>relocation</u>	Lenin tér	I. Tar: Soviet Heroic Memorial ( <b>alteration</b> )	none	preservation
Thököly út 141.	I. Kiss: Liberation Memorial	none	<u>relocation</u>	<b>District XX.</b>			
<b>District XVI.</b>				Soroksár Hősök tere	Soviet Heroic Memorial ( <b>demolition</b> )	relocation	relocation
Jókai u. 4.	S. Konyorcsik: Worker Sitting	relocation	<u>preservation</u>	Emlékezések tere	T. Vilt: Soviet Heroic Memorial	none	<u>relocation</u>
<b>District XVII.</b>				Vörösmarty u. 35.	K. Herczeg: Memorial Plaque of Ilona Bagi ( <b>removal</b> )	none	preservation
Rákoskeresztúr, Ferihegyi út	F. Laborcz: Liberation Memorial	alteration	alteration	<b>District XXII.</b>			
Rákoskeresztúr, Bakancsos u.	F. Laborcz: Liberation Memorial	alteration	alteration	Varga Jenő tér	L. Ungvári: Liberation Memorial ( <b>alteration</b> )	preservation	preservation
Rákoskert	Soviet Heroic Memorial	alteration	<u>relocation</u>				
Rákoshegy, Tessedik tér	Soviet Heroic Memorial	relocation	relocation				

Table 2. Recommendation of the local governments, and the Municipality of Budapest, 1991.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> In cases of disagreements, the final outcome is underlined.

Before the year was over, the recommendation of the two Hungarian authorities were discussed during the general assembly of the Budapest Municipality – which I will come back to later in this section together with the report of the Berlin team – that not only determined that the reorganization of the memorial landscape has to be carried out latest by 31 December 1992<sup>113</sup>, but also initiated the establishment of a statue park. At this point, Hungary seemed to be more efficient in clearing the public spaces from unwanted icons, and Joachim Scheel's earlier outburst (1990:5) became more and more relevant for many propagators of demolition in Berlin.

The daily and public taste corruption of this high-pedestal non-art must be finished in the foreseeable future. In this regard, Hungary is much more advanced.

Berlin, as well as Budapest entered the year of 1992, thus, ready to act: while in February 1992 the statue of Lenin was definitively demolished and buried in 129 pieces in Seddin Heath at Köpenick, at the beginning of the year Hungarian authorities announced a call for artists for conceptualizing an open-air museum housing socialist statuary. As a reaction, antagonistic voices got stronger and stronger in both cities. While in March 1992, due to public pressure Berlin decided to create an independent committee to study political monuments in East Berlin, in September 1992 the Hungarian Median<sup>114</sup> conducted an opinion poll that got published on 16 October in the daily newspaper of *Népszabadság*. Interestingly, albeit the General Assembly of Budapest emphasized how the idea of a statue park was the outcome of a democratic public debate (S.N. 1992), the result of the opinion poll showed that the public opinion is much more balanced, and in many instances the opposite (see Table 3.).

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<sup>113</sup> This deadline later was changed to 23 October; however removals, which started on 14 September, were already finished by 8 October.

<sup>114</sup> Median was founded in 1989, and became one of the biggest public opinion poll institutes.

Items of the questionnaire	Distribution of answers as a percentage of respondents			
	Demolition	Relocation to a closed warehouse	Relocation to the Statue Park	Preservation
Lenin statues	9	12	46	33
Soviet heroic monuments	7	9	42	42
Marx-Engels statues	6	12	40	42
Monuments to the Council Republic [of 1919]	4	9	38	49
Monuments to communist victims of the period before the II. World War	4	10	37	49
Monuments to communist victims of the communists	4	8	37	51
Monuments of communist victims of 1956	4	8	34	54
Monuments of non-communist leftwing politicians	2	7	33	58
Monuments of anti-fascist resistance fighters	3	6	31	60
The Ostapenko statue	4	7	29	60

*Table 3. Result of the Hungarian public opinion poll on the future of socialist statues, 1992.*

True enough; compared to their elites, people usually tend to have more conservative attitudes in questions of changing their physical environment, which is especially true to public works of art that often became important landmarks of people's daily lives. Yet, respondents in almost all cases preferred the preservation of statues to their relocation to the Statue Park. Even Soviet heroic monuments got equal votes regarding their preservation or relocation, and transportation to a statue park was unmistakably favored only in the case of memorials dedicated to Lenin. Measuring preservation against all other possibilities also reveals that in most cases nearly half of the respondents, often a vast majority, voted for preserving the particular socialist statue. A survey of this volume has not been carried out in Berlin<sup>115</sup>, however by 15 February 1993 the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin published its report (Kommission 1993) that by and large also supported the protection of socialist heritage (see Table 4).

<sup>115</sup> In Berlin, there were only smaller surveys done as e.g., the unofficial opinion poll of the journal PAN (Lettau 1990:46). Within the framework of this study, the journal asked people around the statue of Marx and Engels about their opinion: while 68 percentage of respondents wanted to preserve the statue, only 23 percentage voted for its immediate removal.

Address	Work of art	Suggestion of the Committee
all districts	Antifaschisten Widerstand, Opfer der NS-Herrschaft und des Krieges	Preservation (in certain cases commentation through memorial plaques)
Weisenseer Park	Antifaschistischer Widerstandskämpfer ( <u>commented</u> )	Critical examination by the district
Am Roten Rathaus	Aufbauhelfer und Trümmerfrau	Preservation
Karl-Liebknecht-Strasse	Bauarbeiter	Preservation
Rathaus-Passagen	Bauarbeiter	Preservation
Lustgarten	Herbert Baum Gedenkstein	Preservation with a renewed text
Friedrichshain	Deutsch-Polnisches Denkmal ( <u>refunctioned</u> )	Preservation
Treskowallee, Lichtenberg	Duncker-Denkmal	Preservation
Friedrichshain	Ehrenfriedhof	Preservation and commentation
Bürgerpark Pankow	Julius Fucik Denkmal ( <u>preserved</u> )	Critical examination by Czech experts
Gudrunstrasse	Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten	Preservation and commentation
various places	Grenzsoldaten	Demolition
Friedrichshain	Interbrigadisten-Denkmal	Preservation and commentation
Platz des 23. April	Köpenicker Blutwoche ( <u>commented</u> )	Preservation
Köpenicker Forst	Lenin-Segmente	No reconstruction
Prenzlauer Allee	Liebknecht-Gedenkstein	Preservation
Marx-Engels-Forum	Marx-Engels-Denkmal	Preservation
Alt-Stralau	Marx-Gedenkstätte	Preservation
am Neuen Marstall	Novemberrevolution (reliefs)	Demolition and installation of a memorial plaque
Allee der Kosmonauten	Richtkrone-Denkmal	Preservation and commentation
Chausseestrasse	Spartakus-Denkmal	Demolition
Greifswalder Strasse	Thälmann-Denkmal ( <u>preserved</u> )	Demolition
Am Roten Rathaus	Trümmerfrau	Preservation

Table 4. Decision of the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin, 1993<sup>116</sup>.

Nevertheless, at this point, Berlin's and Budapest's endeavors of memory politics sharply divide. While the political elite of Berlin acknowledged the Committee's recommendation, the Hungarian government went on with the project of the statue park whose official opening ceremony took place on 27 August 1993 (Picture 29).

The fact that in the end the two cities decided to adopt two different strategies towards public memories of the past, is, however, also reflected in the dissimilarities between the processes of decision making. Comparing the statement of the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin (Kommission 1993) and the minutes of the 1992 general assembly held in Budapest (S.N. 1992) reveals fundamental differences between the form and methods of the two groups. First of all, while in the case of Berlin the committee consisted of

<sup>116</sup> In cases of changing the suggestion of the committee, the final outcome is indicated in brackets and underlined.

members both from West and East Germany who had their professional background mostly in history, art history and heritage protection<sup>117</sup>, the Budapest team included primarily politicians<sup>118</sup>. This clash between experts and politicians, or, more precisely, one's presence and one's absence in Berlin and Budapest, fundamentally determined decisions in both cities. Second, even though both sides claimed that their decision was (also) influenced by suggestions of several civil initiatives and other experts, the fact of collaboration remained unsupported in the Hungarian case. While the report of the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin (Kommission 1993:4) entailed a long list of consultant organs<sup>119</sup>, one of the representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party, Dr. Judit Csiha (S.N. 1992:175) expressed her doubts during the Budapest session whether responsible institutions indeed negotiated with any of the organizations or professionals concerned. This uncertainty was further strengthened by the fact that the general assembly was supposed to discuss the future of socialist monuments on the basis of the recommendations of the cultural committees of local governments and that of the Municipality of Budapest (see Table 2), however, as the minutes reveal (S.N. 1992:176), several districts failed to submit their reports, and even in the case of available statements suggestions often reflected only the private opinion of district mayors. Another important dissimilarity between the German and Hungarian process was the grounding of decisions. While the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin issued a thorough guideline that summarized both the theoretical and practical standpoints of the committee, the general principle behind the decisions of the Hungarian committees was much vaguer. A public statue, as the Berlin Committee articulated (Kommission 1993:5), is "a form of public engagement with history". Depending on the political context, they continued, a public work of art becomes realized either through a top down or a bottom up process, and it mediates either an exclusive or a pluralistic historical understanding. While

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<sup>117</sup> Siegmur Faust (writer), Dr. Hubert Staroste (heritage protection), Dr. Gudrun Hahn (art historian), Gerd Hannemann (City Council of Architecture and Living), Dr. Rainer Hildebrandt (leader of the House at Checkpoint Charlie), Dr. Christine Hoh-Slodczyk (heritage protection), Ingeborg Hunzinger (artist), Prof. Dr. Reinhard Rürup (historian), Christine Steer (head of the Local History Collections of Lichtenberg), Barbara Teuber (City Council of Education and Culture)

<sup>118</sup> The first reports were issued by the cultural committees of the various local governments of Budapest, and by the cultural committee of the Municipality of Budapest. The general assembly discussed the recommendation of these committees. Chairman of the general assembly was Dr. László Baán, head of the Cultural Committee of the Municipality of Budapest. Present was also Attila Zsigmond, head of the Budapest Gallery.

<sup>119</sup> District office of Mitte (Culture Committee/Renaming of streets, Committee of Political Memorials Mitte), District office of Friedrichshain (Workgroup of Memorials and Plastics, Garden Office), Initiative of Political Monuments of the GDR, Kurt Schumacher Circle, Persecutees of the Nazi Regimes (VdN), VdN-Initiative Memorials of Köpenick, Civil Initiative Lenindenkmal, Initiative for the Preservation of Socialist Memorials, Prof. Dr. Laurenz Demps (historian), Prof. Dr. Ingo Materna (historian), Dr. Thomas Flierl (art historian), Dr. Gabi Dolf-Bonekämper (art historian), Klaus-Peter Heinicke (landscape engineer), Mr. Winthuis (Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment).

Germany's recent memory political traditions were clearly associated with democratic values, political statues of the SED-regime became referred to within the framework of the first category. At the same time, because of the estrangement of current processes of memorialization from earlier principles, the Committee regarded socialist statues as being deprived of their heroic auras, and defined them as harmless. Accordingly, they supported the preservation of the majority of statues along the following lines:

9. The opinion (...), according to which all political monuments should be preserved as "historical documents", is (...) not convincing. Every society has the right to express its own ideas of history. The non-adoption of political monuments is legitimate and does not mean the flattening of history, nor the denial of a critical engagement with it.

10. The opposite idea, according to which all political monuments created during the SED-period should be removed from the urban landscape, however, is not compelling either. It is not advisable to make this part of our history invisible, or to keep its witnesses accessible only in a "park for unwanted monuments". In the entire memorial landscape of Berlin, the eastern districts together with their specific history should remain recognizable just like the western districts. Important traditions of our democratic society were articulated more strongly in the eastern districts and these – after overcoming their political instrumentalization by the SED – should remain visible there also in the future.

11. Dealing with political monuments is not about the simple alternative of "demolition" or "preservation". Even if a monument is considered as no longer acceptable or as unworthy of preservation, it should be decided in a further step – also considering the scarce budget – how urgent its removal is. (...) [In the recommendation] most often we will go for a both/and [sowohl-als-auch] decision, i.e., both for preservation and partial change, both for preservation and critical commentary, or both for preservation and a simultaneous change of the environment. (...)

12. The belief in the power and effect of monuments has become weak in our society. When it is about the mediation of historical and political examples, other media are much more effective. The 19<sup>th</sup> century's faith in monuments, which was revitalized once again in the communist states of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, no longer exists today. In democratic societies political monuments of an earlier pre-democratic period have been "defused" usually through their historicization, just like it happened in the old Federal Republic with monuments of the Empire, and with some of the war memorials. No doubt, these monuments no longer threaten the democratic constitution of our society. This experience should encourage us to make a sober decision about political monuments of the SED-time (Kommission 1993:9).

In contrast to this detailed reasoning, the various cultural committees in Budapest made recommendations along a one-sentence criterion according to which "those statues are to be



removed whose political content is no longer acceptable” (S.N. 1992:171). Aesthetic, as well as historical arguments were at once pushed into the background by a political perspective. The ambiguity of this principle obviously manifested itself in the divergent suggestions of the local governments and that of the municipality of Budapest (see Table 2), but a certain kind of confusion also comes through in the disputes of the general assembly of Budapest. Representatives quarreled on the fate of the statue of Ostapenko and Steinmetz<sup>120</sup> intensively (S.N. 1992), and Kálmán Kovács (representative of the Alliance of the Free Democrats) even raised the question whether the general assembly is the appropriate organ to take decisions.

Kálmán Kovács (SZDSZ) believes that in public spaces one “normally” installs public works of art only in the format and at times when they are needed and liked by the particular public. He sees the problem in the fact that the monuments in question were placed there not on the basis of the demand of the community, however meanwhile 40 years has passed, and these people worked out a more realistic assessment, maybe in the meantime they even became attached to these works. Public works of art have been erected with an aesthetic and political purpose, which he believes is natural, but perhaps it is worth considering how it functions when such a work is forced on the community, as people who live there have a different opinion from those not living nearby. Settling the question can be examined from different angles and on different levels, and therefore he is not sure whether it should be decided by the general assembly of the Municipality, although he knows that it should and it must. His recommendation is that the general assembly should try to realize the situation through considering these problems, since it is a multidimensional question (S.N. 1992:175).

This multidimensional question was, finally, put to a simple vote. In contrast to Berlin where the decision of the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin was even loosened in the case of the statue of Thälmann because of the protest of civil initiatives (Picture 30), in Budapest resolutions got in many instances stricter than the initial recommendations (see Table 2 and 4). As Figure 1 summarizes, socialist statues undergoing politically motivated changes in Berlin were for the most part completed solely with interpretative comments, and only in a small percentage were they demolished (e.g., Nikolai Tomski’s *Statue of Lenin*), or refunctioned (e.g., the *Neue Wache* as a *Memorial to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism* became rededicated as a *Central Memorial for the Victims*

<sup>120</sup> While the majority of SZDSZ, FIDESZ and MSZP representatives argued for the preservation of these statues (e.g., Mihály Ráday [SZDSZ], Márton Varga [SZDSZ], Pál Beluszky [SZDSZ], Tibor Szeszlér [FIDESZ], Géza Sáska [FIDESZ], Lajos Mátyás Szabó [MSZP]), MDF and KDNP politicians expressed their wish for removal (e.g., László Király [MDF], György Rubovszky [KDNP]). Within these arguments there was a disagreement whether these statues are political symbols or became signifiers of *something* different, like e.g., in the case of the statue of Ostapenko that started to function as a symbol of the city border and as an indicator of the route towards the popular tourist destination of Lake Balaton.

of War and Dictatorship). In Budapest, affected public works of art were predominantly relocated; however the percentage of demolition (e.g., Károly Antal’s *Soviet Heroic Memorial*) and refunctioning (e.g., the *Liberation Monument* at the top of the Gellért Hill functions on as a *Liberty Statue*) was also much higher than in the case of Berlin (Picture 31).

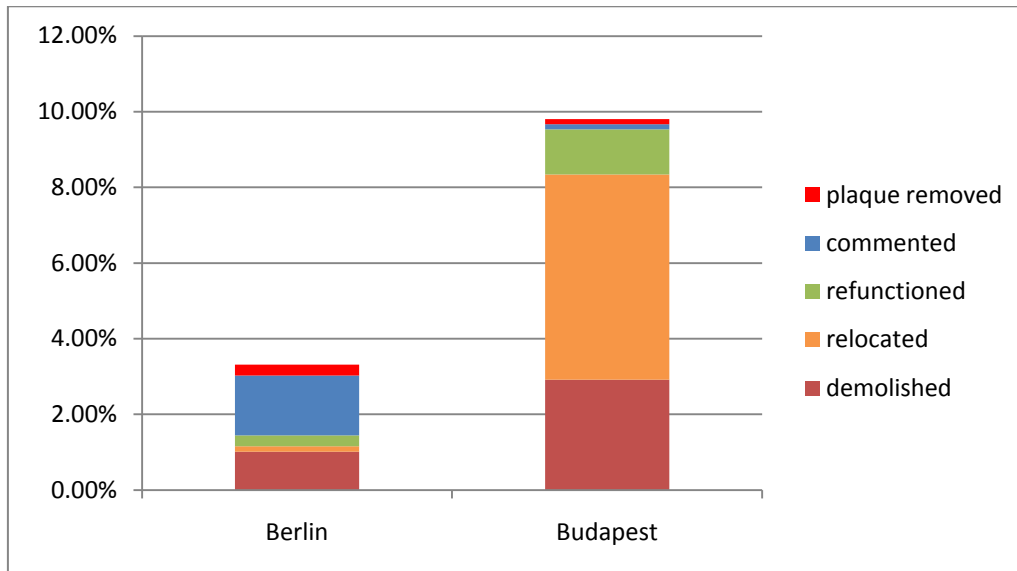


Figure 1. Socialist statues undergoing politically motivated changes after the regime change

The percentage of socialist statues being demolished, relocated, refunctioned or commented – even in Budapest – might look insignificant in the light of the totality of socialist statuary. At the same time, considering the huge number of non-political and ornamental socialist public works of art, this ratio mirrors the two cities’ strategies of dealing with the “problematic” side of socialist heritage. Looking at the actions taken on those socialist statues that have been discussed by the respective committees of Berlin and Budapest more closely reveals the essence of this policy<sup>121</sup> (see Figure 2).

<sup>121</sup> The number of socialist statues discussed by the two cities’ committees was, of course, smaller than the number of statues actually affected by politically motivated changes. Both committees – especially the Berlin one – regarded their decisions as “guidelines” in respect to other socialist statues regarded as problematic. At the same time, please note that while the Berlin committee considered certain categories of socialist statues (e.g., statues commemorating antifascist resistance) along with specific socialist public works of art, but all together 21 items, the Budapest committee discussed 49 specific statues.

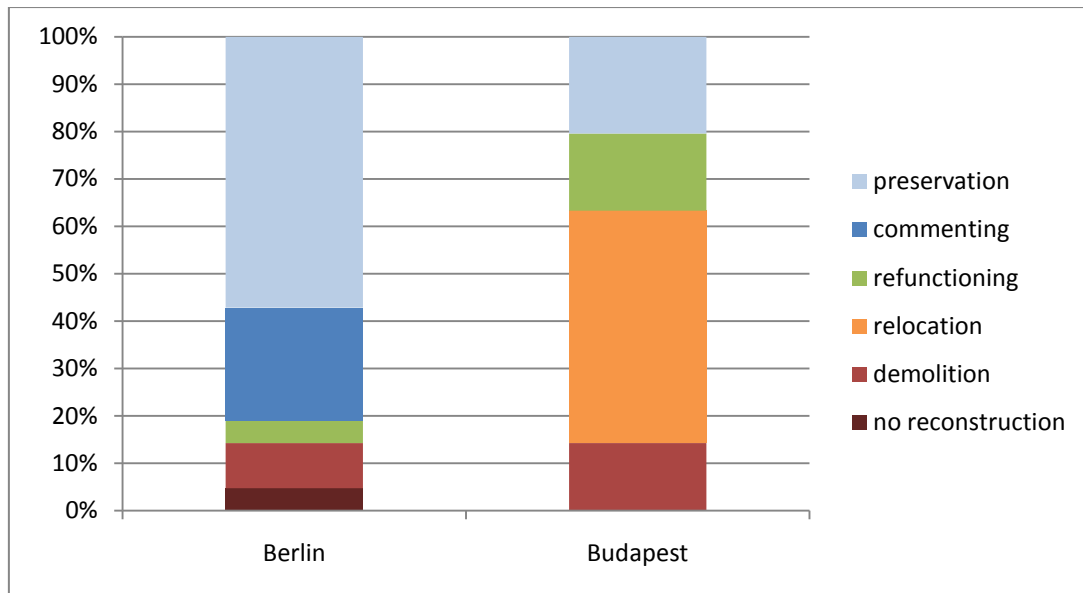


Figure 2. After-life of socialist statues discussed by the committees of Berlin and Budapest

The history of socialism seemed to remain incorporated in the urban structure of Berlin. Budapest, however, sent the majority of socialist memorials into exile, outside of the city.

#### 4.3. Unsettled Memories of Socialism

The dispute on the present status of socialist statuary within the urban culture of Berlin and Budapest did not come to an end with the political decisions taken after the regime change. Some of the critical voices remained active even after the resolutions of the German and Hungarian government, and heated debates still can easily arise in connection to particular socialist memorials.

Following the reunification of West and East Berlin in 1990, the German public discourse often discussed the issue of what to do with socialist public works of art in connection to the dilemma of what Berlin will become<sup>122</sup>. Clearly, out of the opposition of Berlin as a western and eastern city, it was primarily the western political and infrastructural system that has been applied to the unified city. Yet, the question still remained whether to oppress or cultivate a separate East German identity (see Ladd 1997:197). This problem was unambiguously reflected in the Berlin architecture debate during the 90s (Hertweck 2010), in which a fundamental disagreement rose between propagators and opponents of the so-called critical reconstruction. While the former called for an architectural continuity with a pre-1914 national past, largely ignoring the history of architecture afterwards (e.g., the city's director of building between 1991 and 1996, Hans Stimmann,), the latter considered the erasure of

<sup>122</sup> See the official ad campaign of the city in 1996: "Berlin wird" (Huysen 1997).

Berlin's diverse architectural signs, such as the architecture of the GDR, unacceptable (e.g., the architect Daniel Libeskind). The same issue returned after the establishment of the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin, and in spite of its careful judgment, the working method of the Committee was not left without criticism. As Elfert notes (1992:58), the memorial products of West and East Berlin form a "unique web of historical witnesses that document the meeting of two different political systems in one city". This coexistence, and, in a certain sense, codependence of statues realized between 1945 and 1989 raised the question of why the Committee only focused on East Berlin monuments, and why it did not incorporate Western statues into the scope of its investigation.

Besides the argument of Western dominance in the determination of the future of socialist heritage, critics of the German decision either claim that the verdict was too permissive, or, on the contrary, they contended for the restoration of some of the socialist objects demolished. Thus, while Lew Kerbel's statue of Thälmann again and again becomes a site for protests against the existence of the monument<sup>123</sup>, the Active Museum of Fascism and Resistance gradually reinstalls the substitutes of particular memorial plaques destroyed after 1989<sup>124</sup>. At the same time, this co-presence of dual aims also manifests itself in the recurring case of the statue of Lenin. In spite of the fact that the 2000s were also loud from disputes over the German government's controversial plan of reconstructing the Berlin City Palace in the place of the Palace of the Republic, formerly demolished socialist statues, including Nikolai Tomski's Lenin, also returned to the center of attention. At the beginning of the 2000s, on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of demolishing the monument, the Berliner Zeitung re-interviewed the once responsible authorities, who, (un)surprisingly, backed out from their previous opinions.

Nowadays, no one would decide to demolish the [Lenin] monument, - says Birkner. Certainly, the decision would be different today, says also Petra Reetz from the Senate Department for Urban Development. But one should not forget that at that time Berlin was in an extraordinary situation. With the distance of ten years, also Helios Mendiburu developed a different view on Lenin, at least, considering its parking lot. As a district mayor, the politician of the Social Democratic Party of Germany advocated the demolition of the monument in

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<sup>123</sup> The latest protest took place in 2013 when Young Liberals (JuLis) of Berlin demanded the demolition of the monument with immediate effect. The redevelopment of the area was also put on agenda several times; however, political authorities – so far – seem to rather support the preservation of the monument. Representative of the City Council for Urban Development in the district of Pankow, Jens-Holger Kirchner even proposed the idea to reinstall the original stele of Erich Honecker back to the monument. For more details see Strauss 2014a.

<sup>124</sup> See <http://www.aktives-museum.de/gedenktafeln/>.

1991, which he then described as “a representation of the arrogance of power”. “Today”, says Mendiburu, “I might say: Keep your Lenin” (Strauss 2001)!

These thoughts were similarly echoed in Wolfgang Knapp’s ironic remark<sup>125</sup>, according to whom under present circumstances even the Berlin Wall would be spared from demolition.

Within the framework of this memory political climate, in July 2009 the Spandau Citadel<sup>126</sup> announced its plan to organize a permanent exhibition (*Unveiled – Berlin and its Monuments / Enthüllt – Berlin und seine Denkmale*) to showcase Berlin’s removed or archived monuments from the 19<sup>th</sup> century on. Besides the figures of Frederick William III of Prussia, Duchess Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, or the statues of the former Siegesallee, one of the biggest “hits” of the exhibition would have been the excavated head of Tomski’s Lenin. Yet, even though the exhibition clearly wanted to embed the question of socialist statuary into a historical context, political considerations complicated the process of realizing *Unveiled – Berlin and its Monuments* to a great extent. In August 2014 the Berlin Senate withdrew its approval, and decided not to unearth the pieces of Lenin. As Strauss (2014b:15) argues, the official explanation addressed the problem of lacking technical and financial resources, however the changing attitude of the Senate could be ascribed most probably also to the fact that heritage protection authorities seemed to support the re-piecing of the entire monument of Lenin. In September 2014 the Berlin Senate again placed the issue of the excavation on agenda, which finally resulted in a decision of backing up the project. One year later the head of Lenin – missing only one of his ears – safely arrived at the Citadel to be exhibited in 2016. Still, these turns did not only (re)activate the debate on the position of socialist heritage in the city, but also hinted at how fragile the balance is between historical and political perspectives.

Similarly to Germany, the unresolved position of the icons of the past regime in Hungary reveals itself in the duality of conflicting arguments about the decision of the Municipality of Budapest. While one group of the critiques – that also made its way into the international press – regards the uprooting of socialist statues problematic, another set of comments expresses an annoyance with the still visible memories of socialism. The former argues against the spatial separation of people from their own history, the latter fights for the total removal of representations of the former era’s undesirable politics. Accordingly, in the understanding of Esbenshade (1995), James (2005) or Palonen (2006) the main purpose behind the foundation of the Statue Park was not the aim of protecting socialist statuary as it

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<sup>125</sup> Wolfgang Knapp is a professor at the University of the Arts in Berlin. Personal communication in 2012.

<sup>126</sup> The Spandau Citadel is a renaissance military fortress utilized as a museum.

was officially stated, but, on the contrary, to displace memory to a field located on the outskirts of Budapest, far away from the inhabitants of the city. For these authors the museum is seen as a repository, a prison, or a quarantine (James 2005:23, 32), or else, as a zoo and a cemetery (Palonen 2006). Furthermore, they find worrisome not only the relocation of socialist icons to the 22<sup>nd</sup> district of Budapest (which is indeed difficult to reach), but also the conceptualization of Memento Park as a commercial theme park<sup>127</sup>. Quite the opposite is the concern of the group protesting against the continuous presence of particular public works of art, most importantly the *Soviet Heroic Memorial* at the Liberty Square<sup>128</sup>. Similarly to the monumental bust of Thälmann in Berlin, the *Soviet Heroic Memorial* was, and still is, the site of several and frequent demonstrations in Budapest. Besides various instances of its vandalization, skinheads wanted to blow it up in 1992, the Movement of Revisionists demanded its demolition in 2002, and the World Federation of Hungarians put up a tent in 2007 next to the statue, intending to stay until Károly Antal's memorial would be removed. While the tent was gone, the tension remained.

Along with the enduring disputes over socialist heritage, in 2010 the major national-conservative party of Fidesz<sup>129</sup> entered the Hungarian political stage with a growing “anticommunist” rhetoric<sup>130</sup>. As a culmination of this fight against “communists” (meaning the past regime, as well as the social-democratic party), the Fidesz government enacted a new Constitution in 2012 that carefully removed 45 years from the “Hungarian” history. As the Preamble states (Magyarország új alaptörvénye 2012),

Our country lost its national self-determination on March 19 1944, and it was restored only with the advent of the first democratic elections that took place on May 2 1990. That is the day we accept as the beginning of the country's new democratic constitutional [legal] order.

The ideological removal, however, also manifested itself in the government's definite measures that erased these 45 years' remaining traces from the public spaces. Kossuth square

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<sup>127</sup> Following the opening of the statue park, Ákos Réthly, who himself is a businessman and who had been appointed as the head of the institution, announced his aim to make a capitalist profit out of communist icons without any kind of hesitation.

<sup>128</sup> After the regime change, the Soviet Heroic Memorial was left in its place at the Liberty Square primarily because of the *Hungarian-Russian War Grave Treaty* (decree 104/1996) according to which “the two parties mutually ensure the protection of memorials and other funerary establishments, moreover the right for their preservation for an unlimited time”. The treaty also determined that in case of relocation, the two parties have an obligation for consultation. A similar treaty was also undersigned in 1990 in Germany (see the *Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Partnership and Cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic*).

<sup>129</sup> Fidesz was founded in 1988 originally as a liberal party. Yet, following the disappointing results in the 1994 elections it was repositioned from a liberal to a conservative center right political party with nationalistic overtones.

<sup>130</sup> On the prevalence of anti-communist rhetoric in a post-socialist context see e.g., Poenaru 2013.

whose most important landmark is the building of the Parliament was decided to be renovated in accordance with its form before 1944. The law 2012/CLXVII regulated the renaming of all streets and squares, such as e.g., Moszkva tér, that could be connected to any of the 20<sup>th</sup> century dictatorships (MTA 2013). Even though the Hungarian Academy of Science appeared as a consulting body of local governments in these renamings, its expert suggestions were very much imbued with the political standpoints of the ruling party. In 2012, thus, Budapest faced a second wave of massive reconstruction of symbolic spaces and of large-scale plans of renaming streets, which buried even deeper the socialist layer of the city.

Truth be told, important landmarks of the socialist architecture have been demolished in Berlin too. Yet, in the field of socialist statuary the city largely undertook its socialist heritage that is partly certainly due to the emerging changes (deheroization and demonumentalization) in the genre of public works of art. At present, historical arguments seem to prevail over political considerations. Budapest, in contrast, gradually has been deprived from socialist icons. The city experiences a radicalization of an anticommunist narrative that is primarily embedded in a project of party politics. These different statuses of expert knowledge also primarily affect the post-1989 memory politics of Berlin and Budapest.

## CHAPTER 5.

### HEROES IN A NEW GUISE AFTER 1993 IN BERLIN AND BUDAPEST

Following the year of 1993 when the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin published its report, and when the official opening ceremony of the Statue Park was held in Budapest, the previous memoryscape of Berlin and Budapest considerably changed; partly remaining visible, partly disappearing. At the same time, while the coming and going of particular public works of art belong to the general experiences of cities, “presence” and “absence” also came to symbolize the essential characteristics of the memory politics of Berlin and Budapest after 1993.

For a relatively long time, the understanding of the concept of presence and absence was determined along the lines of a binary distinction. In classical philosophy the two terms appeared in a sharp contrast with each other: while Plato’s allegory of the cave associated presence with a true being, absence got connected to the illusion of an appearance (Plato 2000). Presence as an absolute truth stood in opposition with absence as an imitation. Yet, reevaluating this antagonism, later both notions emerged in their own rights, which even broadened their interpretations towards extreme poles. On the one side, between 1927 and 1939 Georges Bataille (1985) developed a theory of excess. Contrasting the “closed economy” of the capitalist system with a “general economy” of natural forces, Bataille argued that while capitalist economy is based on utility and rationality, all systems produce excesses of energy that shifts the focus on practices of losing, destroying and wasting. Evoking the baroque phenomena of overrepresentation, Bataille analyzed visions of excesses. On the other side, between 1953 and 1970 Jacques Lacan gave various lectures on the ontological status of the notion of lack (1977). In his seminars, Lacan did not only argue that subjects come into being from lack, but that lack continues to constitute subjects causing one’s essential and irreversible incompleteness. Lacan articulated a radical lack of being. At the same time, besides these separate works dedicated either to the concept of excess or lack, the two terms also got united. In the writings of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1978), the binaried relationship between excess and absence changed into a mutual independence. Examining several forms of mediation, such as language, representation or image, Derrida argued that the production of a textual or visual meaning happens in the “excess of everything, the essential nothing” and in “the absence of everything in which all presence is announced” (Derrida 1978:8). While absence came to be thought of as a kind of



excess, excess was turned into a kind of absence. Utilizing the individual and reciprocal understandings of the postmodern concepts of absence and excess, in this chapter I focus on a number of absences and excesses in the heroic imagination of Berlin and Budapest after 1989. I analyze both the physical void and overpresence of public works of art, as well as the aesthetic forms of emptiness and eclecticism. Firstly, based on my comprehensive database that lists public works of art installed between 1989 and 2012 in Berlin and Budapest<sup>131</sup>, I draw a line chart, through which I investigate the number of erected public works of art per annum. Secondly, even though according to Fulcher and Scott (2011:98) the primary benefit of using a line chart is the possibility to reveal trends and patterns over time, I also shed light on the ambiguities of the graph. The aesthetic examination of public works of art shows that while similar tendencies can hint at diverse phenomena, divergent figures can be indicative of analogous trends. In a Derridaian sense, excesses can implicate absences, and vice versa. Therefore, I do not only combine statistical and art-historical approaches, but I also reflect on the various, sociological and aesthetic implications of the concept of absence and excess, which ultimately reveal yet another transfiguration of the hero in the period after 1993.

### **5.1. Absences and Excesses**

In the immediate years before the end of the Cold War, the yearly number of erecting public works of art in West Berlin, as well as in East Berlin and Budapest radically started to diminish. While during the 80s this number could even reach 50, it has dropped to ca. 20 by 1989. Following the period of the regime change the crises of the genre of public works of art was further underlined by various statements in both cities. In Germany the sigh “Let’s finally stop this art – in Berlin we have already more than enough around!” was more and more often heard (Rainer Höynck 1990:xi). In 1993 the Committee to Study Political Monuments in East Berlin declared that “the belief in the power and effect of monuments has become weak in our society” (Kommission 1993). In the same year literary critic Gert Mattenklott (1993:31) also stated that “Everything would thus seem to indicate that the monument be done away with – not this or that one, but the entire genre”. Similarly, in Hungary, serious doubts considering the future legitimacy of memorials also emerged. Even though during the 80s art historian Lajos Németh (cited in Mélyi 2008) already suggested giving up the practice of erecting public statues, the idea could gain a real articulation only at the dawn of the regime change. In 1989 art historian Tibor Wehner published a paper in the

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<sup>131</sup> See *Appendix 5* and *6* of the dissertation. For the description of the database see the *Introduction*.

journal *Folyam*, in which he verbalized a powerful manifesto for the new political period. In *Memorials of Absence (A hiány emlékművei)*, he argued (Wehner 1989) that

Instead of repetition, this period could create its own self-image and it could leave traces for posterity if it did not erect statues and memorials. It could produce an appropriate image of its time through the display of emptiness and through the production of tracelessness. Referring to the so-called progressive traditions through the artificially (...) created pure nothing (...) it would build the modest memorial of the absence. (...) Its spaces could expand and clarify.

Wehner, thus, proposed to use the notion of absence as a basis of the new political era's memory politics. But how is it to be understood? Is Wehner calling for the non-erection of memorials?

As Figure 3 shows, in the immediate period after the regime change the number of public works of art installed in Berlin and Budapest indeed continued to decrease.

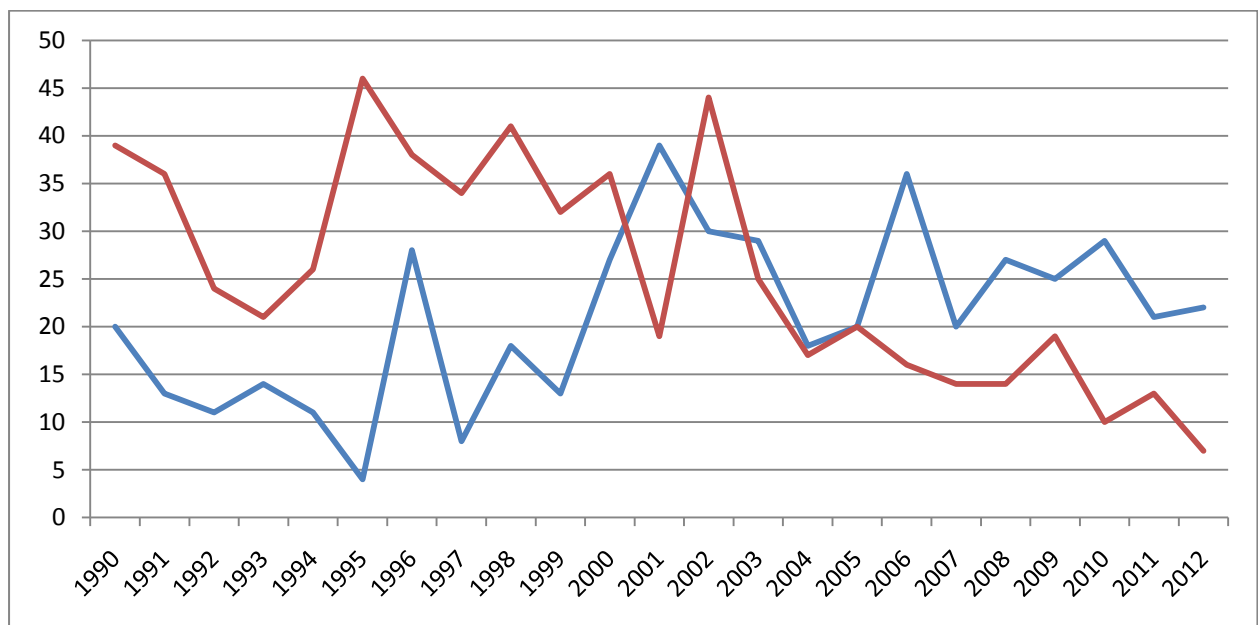


Figure 3. The yearly erection of public works of art in *Berlin* and *Budapest* after 1989<sup>132</sup>

Although the early – and analogously – low-keyed installation of public works of art in Berlin and Budapest is telling in itself, this can partly be put down to the two cities' preoccupation with finding and defining the status of their own socialist heritage. What happened, however, after 1993? Interestingly enough, after the first years of the regime change the number of public works of art in both cases started to increase. Yet, the fact that Berlin and Budapest chose to adopt two different strategies of dealing with their much

<sup>132</sup> Since collecting these data took place in 2012 under the circumstances I have described in the introduction, it is possible that the data about public works of art installed in Berlin after 2010 is less complete. However, even if we disregard the data after 2010, the same tendencies can be observed.

debated socialist statuary cautions us against the overly hurried celebration of similarities. As I have uncovered in the previous chapter, socialist statues of East Berlin were largely considered as witnesses of history that also explains the final decision of the city of Berlin in favor of the protection and critical commentary of its own socialist statuary. In Budapest political authorities still seemed to fear the political implications of the statues of the former period that resulted in the relocation of most memorials to the Statue Park. Accordingly, instead of emphasizing the likeness of the growing tendency of installing public works of art after 1993 in Berlin and Budapest, I argue that there are essential differences in the reason behind these figures hinting at the divergent aesthetic positions of “absence” and “excess” in the two cities.

At a first sight, the concept of absence occupied a distinguished role in the public imaginations of Berlin, as well as of Budapest. Similarly to Andreas Huyssen who introduced the notion of void both as a structural and metaphorical condition of the unified Berlin (Huyssen 1997), it is also possible to read Wehner’s above cited 1989 text – *Memorials of Absence* – as an invitation for the conscious thematisation of the concept of absence. Yet, even though the aesthetic program of absence was present in both cities, its translation into practice points to a dissimilarity between the two cities. As several authors emphasize, “void” and “absence” became indeed key-motifs in the renewed memorial landscape of the new German capital (e.g., Young 2000 and Loeb 2009). Christian Boltanski’s 1990 project *The Missing House* at the Grosshamburger Strasse that reveals and documents the former inhabitants of a house destroyed during WWII (Picture 32), Horst Hoheisel’s 1995 idea to blow up the Brandenburger Tor as a commemoration of Europe’s murdered Jews (Picture 33), or Micha Ullman’s 1995 underground library on Bebelplatz where vacant bookshelves signify the Nazi book burnings (Picture 34) are all cases in point. These examples do not only shed light on the continuity with those works that already in the 80s elaborated on the notion of emptiness in West Berlin<sup>133</sup>, but they also illustrate the culmination of a conceptual and aesthetic experimentation. As art historian Stefanie Endlich repeatedly underlines (1995:97, 1999:34, 2007:32), post-1989 Holocaust “memorial-works” in Berlin have almost nothing in common with the traditional understanding of public statues. This specificity got explicitly echoed in James E. Young’s 1992 influential paper that termed these second-generation post-war pieces as “counter-monuments”. According to Young (1992:277),

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<sup>133</sup> See the discussion of Volkmar Haase’s *Memorial of Deportations* (1987) and Ruth Golan and Kay Zareh’s *Memorial of the Destroyed Synagogue in Spandau* (1989) in the previous chapter.

With audacious simplicity, the counter-monument thus flouts any number of cherished memorial conventions: its aim is not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by its passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desecration; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet.

Instead of permanence, monologicity, immobility and materiality, counter-monuments are described through notions, such as temporality, dialogue, mobility and immateriality. As Niven (2013:76) underlines, even if counter-monuments “retain materiality or visibility, they do so with an emphasis on interstices and voids”. In this sense, the genre of counter-monuments can be understood as the par excellence manifestation of the notion of absence.

At the same time, according to the prediction of Niven (2013), as time goes by counter-monuments will also disappear from the urban spaces of the various cities to be surpassed by other and, as he argues, more radical models. In his provocative article on questioning the groundbreaking characteristics of counter-monuments<sup>134</sup>, Niven (2013) introduces the so-called combimemorials as the truly reinvented forms of the traditional genre of public statues. The idea of combimemorials is by all means in a close connection with the concept of “memorial sites” (Gedenkstätte) that the Germany's Federal Strategy for Memorial Sites (Gedenkstättenkonzeption) declared in 1999 as the “special basis of democratic memorial culture in the Federal Republic of Germany” (Deutscher Bundestag 1999:616). However, while a Gedenkstätte functions as an “extended Denkmal” (Neumann 2000:11) denoting authentic places of the Nazi or socialist dictatorships that have been also completed with, or transformed into documentation or education centers<sup>135</sup>, combimemorials more drastically play with the mixture of different genres. Integrating the elements of a memorial, an archive and an exhibition, moreover deliberately removing the boundaries between the artist, the art work and the audience, combimemorials put the emphasis on the process of research and documentation.

(...) if countermonuments began to dissolve the boundaries between traditional memorial aesthetics and the more playful, abstract, and imaginative forms of public art, combimemorials begin to dissolve the traditional boundaries between memorials on the one

<sup>134</sup> Although Niven acknowledges the aesthetic innovation of counter-monuments, moreover their attempt to create a dialogue with the viewer, he problematizes their exceptional status. On the one hand, he argues that post-1945 memorials in West Berlin partly already detached themselves from traditional understandings of public statues. On the other hand, he emphasizes that counter-monuments still have the traditional function of enjoining us to remember; moreover, paradoxically, they even restored some of the links to a nationalist attitude: they became the “new form of nationalized identity on the basis of anti-nationalism” (Niven 2013:83).

<sup>135</sup> Typical examples of a Gedenkstätte include e.g., the various concentration camps that simultaneously function as memorials and museums.

hand, and archives and exhibitions on the other. A further combinational aspect of these newer memorials can be found in their genesis: they result from the collaboration between artist and public, who provide the research for and in some cases contribute to the physical construction of the memorial. In this sense, the combimemorial is public art in a truly interactive sense (Niven 2013:84).

Accordingly, while experimental forms and materials of counter-monuments, such as conceptual art (see e.g., Renate Stih, Frieder Schnock: *Reminding and Remembering in the Bavarian Square*, 1993), light projections (see e.g., Norbert Radermacher: *Memorial of the Satellite Camp at Sonnenalle in Neukölln*, 1994), video art (see e.g., Elmgreen und Dragset: *Memorial of Homosexuals Persecuted during National Socialism*, 2008), sound art (see e.g., the virtual concert app for Peter Eisenmann's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*), installations (see e.g., Karla Sachse: *Rabbit Field*, 1999), or elements of everyday life aesthetics (see e.g., Patricia Pisani: *Memorial-Signs of Commemorating the Victims of Nazi Military Justice*, 2002) can indeed be found in the memory landscape of Berlin after 1989, public works of art between memorials, archives and exhibits also increasingly occupy the urban spaces of the German capital (see e.g., Boltanski's background project to the *The Missing House*, the so-called *The Museum*, 1990). Thus, it is the growing presence of the conceptually and aesthetically experimental genres of the counter-monuments and combimemorials that is indicated in the figure showing the increasing number of installation of public works of art in Berlin after 1993.

In contrast to Berlin, in Budapest the rising tendency of erecting public statues reflected a certain kind of political impotence, which in turn resulted in the excessive emergence of multiple and fragmented memory narratives. While the united Berlin easily adopted the theoretical, symbolic and ethical tools of the so-called "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" whose elaboration already started before the regime change in West Germany, after 1989 political authorities in Hungary remained puzzled over how to react to the challenges and potentials of the new era. This uneasiness got explicitly articulated in 1994 when the Prime Minister candidate of the coalition government of the socialist and liberal party tried to sweep the whole question of remembrance under the carpet with one fling. In his inaugural address, Gyula Horn (cited in Hegedűs 1996:8) declared that

The past is the task of social scientists. Although the lessons of the past are indispensable for the present and future, we think that considering the life and prosperity of our citizens the future does not rest on the past but on the present. Thus, our government aims to turn not to the past, but to the practical questions of the present.

The political elite's attempt to turn away from the past, however, did not entail the disappearance of memories from the urban space. On the contrary, it gave rise to a conceptual and stylistic cacophony of memorials. This process of dissolving memory narratives and diverging aesthetics ad absurdum affected mostly those works of art that commemorated the 1956 Revolution, – the revolution, which was a nationwide uprising against the Soviet occupation and rule of Hungary between 23 October and 10 November, and which came to symbolize the par excellence moment of national unity. Even though during the Kádár era, the revolt was initially defined as a counter-revolution surrounded by reprisals and silence, in 1989 its interpretation radically changed. Not only was the third Hungarian Republic proclaimed on 23 October 1989, but since 1990 the day of 23 October, now with its double implications, also came to be declared as a national holiday.

In the immediate period after the regime change there were already visible signs of the overrepresentation of 1956. In June 1992 the National Association of Hungarians (Magyarok Nemzeti Szövetsége) and the Committee of Justice for Martyrs (Mártírok Igazságtevő Bizottsága) erected a so-called Székely gate only a couple of meters away from György Jovánovics' *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution* in the New Public Cemetery, inaugurated by the Committee for Historical Justice (Történelmi Igazságtétel Bizottság) a few days later (Picture 35 and Picture 26). The initial location of the Székely gate was an area between plots 300 and 301, however, shortly after being erected, its place has been shifted to a spot in front of plot 298 under political pressure. With the relocation of the Székely gate, the *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution* could embrace without disturbance the 5300 m<sup>2</sup> area of plot 300 where several hundreds of the victims of the suppressed revolution were buried in nameless graves, placed face down with bound hands. Yet, the two works still remained connected; primarily through their contradictory relationship. While the Székely gate (a carved, ornamental wooden gate characteristic of rural Transylvania) fitted into the tradition of folk architecture, the *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution* appeared in the form of a highly innovative aesthetics typical of counter-monuments. The former, through its inscription<sup>136</sup>, evoked the idea of a “National(ized) Pantheon”. The latter, decidedly distanced itself from a 19<sup>th</sup>-century tradition. The point of departure for Jovánovics was that the genre of public works of art is suspicious. As he argued (Jovánovics 1994), it “is full of a range of conservative, 19<sup>th</sup> century, outdated artistic elements, it is built on false demands, moreover its expectations are mediocre and poor, too”.

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<sup>136</sup> The inscription says: “National Pantheon”, moreover “Only with a Hungarian soul can you enter this gate”.

Coming from the avant-garde scene, Jovánovics, therefore, consciously went against this practice and created a conceptual piece. The *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution* consist of three symbolic elements: (1) an open grave with a black pillar exactly 1956 millimeters high that is sank below the ground, (2) a path leading to a white altar-like structure, and (3) a great rustic stone behind it. While aesthete László Földényi F. (1992) interprets this structure simultaneously as a metaphor of the journey of the human body<sup>137</sup> and as a representation of the history of plastic art<sup>138</sup>, art historian András Rényi (n.d.b) argues that the various parts of the memorial are all plastic simulacra<sup>139</sup>. In both readings Jovánovics plays with the notions of materiality and immateriality, and with the concepts of presence and absence.

At the same time, it was not only the form of the Székely gate and Jovánovics' memorial that differed to a great extent. The historical narratives mediated through the two works radically diverged, too. In the case of the Székely gate the initiators (who were close to far right ideologies), as well as the rustic design (native to Transylvania<sup>140</sup>) suggested a continuity between the revisionist nationalism of the inter-war years and the revolution of 1956 (György 2000:312, K. Horváth 2008:260). In contrast, Jovánovics (1994) strongly emphasized that the *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution* was not a political work of art, but an artistic elaboration of the notion of death, or, as Földényi (1992) refers to it, a “thanato-plastic”.

Similarly to the parallel narratives and forms of the memory of the 1956 Revolution in the New Public Cemetery, Kossuth Square also accommodated multiple works of art commemorating the Uprising. In 1991 the World Association of 56er Hungarians placed László Gömbös and Imre Makovecz's *Memorial of the Victims of the Firing Squad on October 25, 1956* illegally on the south lawn of the Kossuth Square (Picture 36). In 1996, on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the events of 1956, the Institute of the History of 1956 and the 1956 Memorial Committee erected Mária Lugossy's *The Flame of the Revolution* north of the entrance to the Hungarian Parliament (Picture 37). In the same year, the Imre Nagy Memorial

<sup>137</sup> See the different levels of the open grave below the ground, the rustic stones on the ground, and the altar directed towards the sky.

<sup>138</sup> In the understanding of Földényi (1992), the black – almost cosmic – stone stands for the beginning of the sculpture, the rustic stone symbolizes the raw material, whereas the white plastic represents the future when the stone begins to float.

<sup>139</sup> According to the interpretation of Rényi (n.d.b), all three elements go against the logic of sculpture: while the open grave appears as a glass, the rustic stone is crude, and the altar is almost floating.

<sup>140</sup> Transylvania belonged to the territory of Kingdom of Hungary until the Treaty of Trianon.

Foundation, together with Andrew Sarlos<sup>141</sup>, Sándor Demján<sup>142</sup> and Béla W. Fejér<sup>143</sup>, inaugurated Tamás Varga's *Statue of Imre Nagy* in a visible distance from the Kossuth Square (Picture 38). In 2002 the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development installed József Kampfl and Ferenc Callmeyer's *Memorial of the Victims Died in the Volley on October 25, 1956* on the wall of the Ministry opposite the building of the Parliament (Picture 39). All four memorials operated with extremely different visual languages. Gömbös and Makovecz's *Memorial of the Victims of the Firing Squad on October 25, 1956* appeared as a symbolic grave with a repeatedly changing informational table that – now lightly<sup>144</sup>, then harshly<sup>145</sup> – repeatedly articulated a strong anti-communist message. József Kampfl and Ferenc Callmeyer commemorated the same event in a memorial sign that revealed the wounds of the building of the Ministry through marking the place of the bullets with bronze bullet-like balls. Although these two memorials already in themselves illustrate the aesthetic diversity of the square, both *The Flame of the Revolution* and the *Statue of Imre Nagy* introduced further stylistic traditions. Lugossy's abstract representation created a clear contrast to Varga's figural representation of Nagy: while the former was a black granite block through which there was an eternal flame burning, Varga depicted the 1956 Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary in a romantic setting, standing on a bridge. 19<sup>th</sup> century traditional configurations, experimental forms, abstract elaborations, and genre statues<sup>146</sup>; the memory of the 1956 Revolution was irreversibly falling apart. This disintegration, however, reached its zenith in 2006.

Surpassing the objects of the annual celebrations, in 2006, on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, the socialist government undertook the mission to create a new commemorative space, to design the central 1956 Memorial. Although the whole program was carried out under the slogan "1956 is our common history", its main aim to give a collective framework to memories concerning 1956, failed miserably. Referring to aesthetical, ideological, and after all political disapprovals, the Prime Minister's Office's winning entry became boycotted by the Association of Freedom

<sup>141</sup> Sarlos was a Hungarian-born Canadian investor who left Hungary after 1956. During the 90s he was one of the most important economic actors in Hungary.

<sup>142</sup> Sándor Demján is a Hungarian real estate entrepreneur and chairman of the TriGranit Development Corp.

<sup>143</sup> Béla W. Fejér was born in Hungary, and immigrated to Canada in 1956. Fejér works in the field of construction, land development and financing.

<sup>144</sup> "The system of communism has failed in every sense. However itt [sic!] will be very hard to get rid of communists, for there is nobody as dangerous as the usurper of a failed system, who abandons the system but guards his loot, and power-position". The text is a citation from Hungarian writer Sándor Márai.

<sup>145</sup> "The killers and their successors are still among us".

<sup>146</sup> Genre statues can be understood as the direct successors of the popular representations of the socialist period. They have an easily understandable form and are brought down to the level of the ground.



Fighters 1956. Former revolutionaries did not only articulate their discontent with the I-Epsilon Group's design plan, but also expressed their disagreement with the location of the envisioned memorial on a square where statues of Stalin and Lenin were standing, and where there was (and still is) a parking lot functioning. The organization, then, also got backed up by right wing political parties and the clash turned into a conflict of political authorities. Given the incompatible demands of the two sides, the debate resulted in the parallel erection of two memorials. Even though both monuments intend to symbolize an increasing mass of revolutionaries, their forms stand in a sharp contrast to each other (Picture 40 and 41). While the winning entry – standing at Ötvenhatosok tere – has an abstract form and resembles a wedge, the other memorial – erected on Múegyetem rakpart – is a more classical, figural representation and recalls the 19<sup>th</sup> century, romantic composition of Delacroix's *Freedom Guiding the People*. The simultaneous existence of two “central” monuments does not only shed light on the competing presence of contradictory memory narratives and forms, but it also reveals the polarization of the urban space in Budapest along the lines of left-wing and right-wing party preferences<sup>147</sup>. In this sense, in Budapest the growing tendency of erecting public works of art after 1993 illustrates the existence of a multi-narrative and multi-aesthetic approach.

Within these trends of Berlin cultivating the notion of absence and Budapest promoting the excess of aesthetic and political visions, in the 2000s there was an unambiguous turn. On the one hand, from the beginning of the 2000s the appearance of new works definitely slowed down in Berlin. According to Loeb (2009:23), the reason behind this decrease is partly due to the “much-curtailed funding as a result of municipal budgetary constraints”<sup>148</sup>, but, as my visits to the various district offices underlined, installations of public works of art are also increasingly replaced by the establishments of the already mentioned “Gedenkstätte”-s, as well as by the organizations of temporary projects and short-term urban interventions. On the other hand, after the year of 2000 the number of works per annum was still steadily growing in Budapest. Nevertheless, while in Berlin the diminishing

<sup>147</sup> Although the detailed discussion of the phenomenon of polarization would burst the frames of this dissertation, it is important to note its further consequences. As Seewann and Kovács (2006) discuss in detail, in Hungary the process of polarization also entailed the fact that the memory of the WWII and of socialism are pitted against each other. From this respect see how the legal establishment of the Holocaust Memorial Day was approved only on the precondition that a Day for the Victims of Communism is included in the “liturgy”. Furthermore, also consider the almost-parallel decision on the establishment of *House of Terror*, and *Holocaust Memorial Center* in Budapest.

<sup>148</sup> Berlin's catastrophic financial situation and their turn to small scale, alternative project is well illustrated in Klaus Wowereit's now famous statement in 2004: “Berlin is poor, but sexy” (Berlin is arm, aber sexy).

tendency of the installations of public works of art got coupled with the visible broadening of memory narratives, in Budapest the increasing numbers can be linked to a noticeable crisis.

## **5.2. The Surfacing of Heroes / Berlin**

While in the immediate period after 1989 the debate around the re-functioning of the *Neue Wache*<sup>149</sup> still signalled the presence of attempts that tried to revive a nineteenth-century nationalist image in Berlin, after the historians' quarrel advocates of the image of the German victim – and the German hero too – have been widely accused of trying to relativize the German guilt and the memory of Holocaust. The traumatic memory of the Shoah unambiguously became the negative founding myth of the new political era emphasizing a self-understanding built on the image of the perpetrator. Yet, this shift from “triumphal” to “traumatic” remembrances (Assmann 2006, Giesen 2004a and 2004b) did not mean the solidification of German memory politics, nor a definitive and irreversible farewell to concepts such as Germans as victims or Germans as heroes.

As Langenbacher (2003), Giesen (2004b), Klundt (2004), Michael (2005), Niven (2006) or Assmann (2010a) emphasize, after the new millennium the topic of German suffering increasingly attracted public attention. The memories on the carpet bombing of German cities by the Allies, the mass rape of German women by members of the Red Army, and the expulsion and forced migration of Germans from Eastern Germany and Eastern Europe, as both Langenbacher (2003) and Niven (2006) argue, were never completely abandoned. Yet, after the 2000s the nature of these discourses radically changed. On the one hand, instead of promoting an absolute German victimhood, these memory narratives acknowledged German guilt, too. On the other hand, as Langenbacher (2003) thoroughly discussed in his paper, while the subject of German suffering was largely monopolized by the right wing before, now left wing intellectuals and politicians also embraced the topic. As he (Langenbacher 2003:63) argues, the

(...) leftist representation of the memory is actually a reappropriation so that it can be reinterpreted and harnessed for more progressive ends. They aim to defang and contest the lessons that the right has tried to connect to these memories and use it for positive, prodemocratic, and pacifistic ends.

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<sup>149</sup> As Ladd (1997) analyzes in details, the building of the *Neue Wache* was completed in 1818 and served to house the soldiers assigned to guard the king. However, while in 1918 it was refunctioned as a memorial to the dead of the WWI, in 1960 it was transformed into a memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism. After the regime change, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's decision to redesign the memorial as a *Central Memorial to the Victims of War and Tyranny* was met with a loud disagreement.

And indeed, leftist thinkers, such as W. G. Sebald's lecture on *Air War and Literature* in 1997, Günter Grass' novel *Crabwalk* in 2002, Jörg Friedrich's publication *The Fire* in 2002, moreover the various special issues of the right-liberal journal *Spiegel* in 2002 and 2003<sup>150</sup> all contributed to the surfacing and recognition of these memories. Besides the slogan "Never again Auschwitz", the increasing focus on German suffering introduced the saying "Never again Dresden"<sup>151</sup>. Was it this condition that also fostered the Bundestag's decree in 2007 to erect a memorial commemorating the country's peaceful reunification in 1990, moreover its earlier 18<sup>th</sup>-, 19<sup>th</sup>-, and 20<sup>th</sup>-century unification movements? While the visual plans were about a 50-meter-long bowl-like construction that would seesaw when visitors climb onto it, the sculpturization of the idea "citizens in motion" had various links to the concept of nationalism, too (Picture 42). The subject of the memorial already indicated nationalist overtones, however these voices were further strengthened and reinforced by the location and inscription of the monument. While the site of the memorial has been assigned at the place of the former national Kaiser Wilhelm Monument, the area next to the to-be-reconstructed City Palace Berlin, the line "unity and justice and freedom" from the German national anthem was also to be inscribed on the outside of the bowl. At present, Milla & Partner's *Monument to Freedom and Unity* is facing several financial and practical difficulties<sup>152</sup>, which has also resulted in postponing its planned realization for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall to a yet unspecified date. It might also happen that its completion will never take place. Yet, in spite of the sensible dilemmas around the idea of the memorial, the vision that combines an innovative aesthetics with a nationalist tradition is in itself a significant turn in the memory politics of Berlin.

At the same time, together with the emergence of a "German-centered memory" there was another topic that resurfaced alongside the "Holocaust-centered memory" (Langenbacher 2003) after the 2000s. Narrations about "unsung heroes", or "silent heroes" who tried to help those persecuted by the Nazi regime during WWII appeared in the public remembrance with a growing emphasis. Similarly to the subject of German suffering, the topic of "unsung" and "silent" German heroism also had its precedents long before the 2000s. While in the

<sup>150</sup> See "*Die Flucht der Deutschen: Die Spiegel-Serie über die Vertreibung aus dem Osten*" in 2002, moreover "*Als Feuer vom Himmel Fiel: Spiegel Serie: Der Bombenkrieg gegen die Deutschen*" in 2003.

<sup>151</sup> In his paper, Andreas Huyssen (2006) shows how both German crime and suffering became a reference point for memory-based protests against various forms of political violence in the present.

<sup>152</sup> As Berg and Winter (2014) note, besides some funding tussles, "the authorities in charge have some tricky structural questions to answer: how can the monument be made accessible to people with disabilities? How can its surface be weather-proofed to withstand the cold Berlin winter?"

immediate period after 1945 survivors<sup>153</sup>, as well as helpers<sup>154</sup> published a number of autobiographic recollections, journalist Kurt Grossmann also came up with the idea to systematize and collect these stories. Although in 1951 Grossmann already had a series of articles that introduced the notion of “unsung heroes”, it was only in 1957 when, after putting advertisements in various journals and receiving more than one hundred replies, he published his book *Unsung Heroes (Unbesungene Helden)*. As Dennis Riffel (2007:40) recalls, Grossmann’s aim was to establish a new concept of the hero.

(...) the choice of the title of the book makes clear that Grossman’s primary aim was not a scientific analysis of a particular phenomenon during the National Socialist period, but to establish a new concept of the hero. In 1962 Grossman himself explained in an article about his book that he tried to add a better and more dignified content to the concept of heroism. (...) [He gave] a more humanistic content to the concept of the hero through which he also detached it from the image of the war heroes that in Germany was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and reached its peak during the Nazi period. Grossmann cuts off “his” philanthropic hero not only from the war hero, but also from the politically motivated resistance fighters. (...) His book (...) narrated about “selfless” people who helped through “the commitment of their whole personality and often through risking their own lives”.

Grossmann’s take on his subject made it unambiguously clear that, as Wolfgang Benz (2003:22) later also emphasizes, both the history of those who were rescued and their rescuers is a history of individual people. In this sense, the term “unsung heroes” simultaneously reflected a de-heroic approach and a move towards the everyday hero.

The reception of Grossmann’s book varied to a great extent from general appraisal to criticism questioning the trustworthiness of his publication. Riffel (2007:42) quotes a letter from Kurt Manz to Grossmann, in which the Chairman of the United Restitution Organization stated that “in Germany one hardly finds a man who does not refer with fraudulent pride to the help (s)he provided to Jewish families”. The book, along with unsung heroes was also met with a loud suspicion. Yet, in spite of these divergent opinions, the book also brought about various measures recognizing and appreciating “unsung heroes”. In 1958 the Berlin Jewish Community established a foundation dedicated to “Unsung Heroes”. In the

<sup>153</sup> See e.g., Else R. Behrend-Rosenfeld: *Ich stand nicht allein* (1949), Max Krakauer: *Lichter im Dunkel* (1947), Lotte Paepcke: *Unter einem fremden Stern* (1952), and later Inge Deutschkron: *Sie blieben im Schatten: ein Denkmal für “stille Helden”* (1996), Michael Degen: *Nicht alle waren Mörder* (1999), Cioma Schönhaus: *Der Passfälscher* (2004).

<sup>154</sup> See e.g., Ruth Andreas-Friedrich: *Der Schattenmann*, (1947), Heinrich Grüber: *An der Stechbahn* (1951), Helene Jacobs: *Illegalität aus Verantwortung*, in: *Unterwegs* 1, Heft 3 (1947), and later Harald Poelchau: *Die Ordnung der Bedrängten* (1963), Maria Gräfin von Maltzan: *Schlage die Trommel und fürchte dich nicht* (1986), Karin Friedrich: *Zeitfunken* (2000), Karin Friedrich: *Er ist gemein zu unseren Freunden*, in: Wolfgang Benz: *Überleben im Dritten Reich* (2003)

same year, West Berlin Senator for Internal Affairs Joachim Lipschitz also introduced an initiative that from 1958 to 1966 honoured 760 “unsung heroes”. Yet, as Dennis Riffel (2007) argues, these projects were primarily carried out with the aim of compensation (Wiedergutmachung), or, as Lipschitz (cited in Riffel 2007:57) himself stated, restoration (Wiederherstellung). After the end of Lipschitz’s program in 1966 the issue of unsung heroes was largely silenced in Berlin. While in the US there was a growing scientific interest emerging primarily in the field of psychology<sup>155</sup> and gender studies<sup>156</sup>, in Germany it was only after the regime change when historian Wolfgang Benz’s comprehensive research project at the Center for Research on Antisemitism (Technical University Berlin) brought the subject back to the surface. Benz and his team published a seven volume series with regional studies on *Solidarity and Help (Solidarität und Hilfe)* in 1996-2004. Similarly, based on a continuously expanding database on *Rescue of Jews during the National Socialist Germany (Rettung von Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland)* Benz also wrote on *Survival in the Third Reich (Überleben im Dritten Reich)* in 2003. “Unsung heroes” increasingly became defined as active resistance fighters (Benz 1994) whose memory, in contrast to earlier fears of trying to whitewash the German guilt, served as a proof that even during the National Socialist period there were existing alternatives. As Schneider (2000) summarizes,

(...) the argument that the rescuers’ stories could be misused to neutralize German guilt doesn’t hold up, and never did. In reality, the example set by these few makes the guilt of the collaborators and bystanders greater. It contradicts the self-justifying myth that the Nazi terror machine was so finely tuned that obedience was the only option, unless you were willing to risk your life. Whole libraries have been written about Hitler’s would-be assassins, particularly the military men whose revolt failed on July 20, 1944. A German holiday has been declared in their memory, probably because their fate seemed to explain the collapse of German civil society: whoever protested or resisted was hanged or stood up against a wall!

The legacy of the little unacknowledged heroes who hid and saved Jews is different. Their example shows that the supposed choice between unquestioning obedience and death-defying resistance is much too crude: you could resist without automatically risking your life.

In this sense, the phenomenon of “unsung heroes” has been also embedded within the dominant discourse of German guilt, which then enabled the safe utilization of a radically redefined concept of heroism. The fact that heroes found their way back to German memory narratives was definitively underlined in 2008 when mayor of Berlin Klaus Wowereit,

<sup>155</sup> Several studies tried to identify the general motives of helpers and to systemize the various “types” of rescuers. See e.g., Leonard Berkowitz and Jacqueline Macaulay: *Altruism and Helping Behaviour* (1970) or Pearl M. Oliner and Samuel P. Oliner: *The Altruistic Personality*, 1988.

<sup>156</sup> See e.g., Marion Kaplan: *Between Dignity and Despair* (1998), Barbara Distel: *Frauen im Holocaust* (2001).

together with Minister of State and Representative of the Federal Government for Culture Bernd Neumann, inaugurated the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* (Gedenkstätte Stille Helden) in Berlin. Instead of Grossmann's "unsung heroes", the Gedenkstätte utilized the journalist and survivor Inge Deutschkron's (2003) notion of "silent heroes" that further highlighted the change of the interpretative framework of heroism.

### **5.3. Heroes Go Under (the) Ground / Budapest**

In contrast to Berlin where the painful memory of Holocaust came to be identified as the negative basis of the new political era, in Budapest it was the memory of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 that emerged as a positive defining element of the Hungarian memory politics after the regime change. Berlin appeared primarily as a capital of a nation of perpetrators. Budapest became open towards a new wave of heroicization: the Hungarian freedom fighter, who has also been appointed as the "Man of the Year" by the *Time Magazine* in 1957, signaled the emergence of a memory narrative, in which the figure of the hero mostly appeared as an everyday man. Yet, while in Berlin the disappearance of the hero got coupled with the arrival of a radically new aesthetics, the memory of the 56 Revolution became fragmented and polarized, which ultimately prevented the notion of the hero from a conceptual transformation. With the gradual change of these processes from the 2000s, Berlin rediscovered its own heroes in the form of silent heroism, whereas in Budapest there was a sensible crisis of heroic narratives emerging. While in Berlin the notion of resistance came to the front, in Budapest the memory of the revolution started to be pushed into the background.

In 2006 the *House of Terror*<sup>157</sup> organized a permanent exhibition on the facade of its building that displayed the portrait of 228 people executed in 1956 (Picture 43). At a first sight, the *Wall of Heroes*, designed by Attila Kovács F., offered a traditional heroic interpretation of the revolution. The oval form, the material of porcelain and the black framing of the pictures did not only evoke the aesthetics of graveyards, but the glorification-like background of persons also transformed the freedom fighters into saints<sup>158</sup>. Yet, as Boros

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<sup>157</sup> The *House of Terror* was founded in 2002 with historian Mária Schmidt as a head. From the very beginning of its establishment the museum has been largely criticized: as several authors argue (e.g., Seewann and Kovács 2006, Ungváry 2006), the exhibition of the *House of Terror* suggests that the Hungarian nation has been the victim of two dictatorships denying any responsibilities of Hungary; moreover through pushing the traumatic events of the Shoah in the background and emphasizing the crime of communists it also relativizes and trivializes the Holocaust.

<sup>158</sup> Interestingly, the *Wall of Heroes* was also reinterpreted in János Brückner's 2013 work *The Martyrs of the Future*. Resembling the *Wall of Heroes*, Brückner exhibited the portraits of art historians and artists on the wall of the *Studio of Young Artist's Association* that later has been spread about the whole Budapest. For more details see <http://www.brucknerjanos.hu/a-jovo-martirjai/>.

(2007) notes, this reading has been strongly disturbed by another strategy. According to the concept of Kovács F. the portraits were supposed to include the name and profession of the particular revolutionaries, too. Yet, in the case of Imre Nagy, Miklós Gimes and Géza Losonczy, who have all been ceremonially rehabilitated and reburied in 1989 on the Heroes' Square, there was an attribute put aside to their professions. As their inscriptions reported, they have been "communist politicians". And being a communist, especially in the context of the *House of Terror*, is in itself a swear-word. Thus, this insertion did not only aim to diminish the martyrdom of Nagy, Gimes and Losonczy, but also revealed that some aspects of the memory of the 56 Revolution started to become overly uncomfortable for the right wing whose political creed has been placed more and more openly on a strong anti-communist rhetoric.

After 2010 when Fidesz – originally a liberal party that has been repositioned after 1994 as a conservative center right political party – won the two-third majority of the elections, the principle of anti-communism has also been codified. According to the new Constitution enacted in 2012, the German occupation in 1944 signaled the loss of self-determination of Hungary, which was only restored with the collapse of socialism in 1990. Besides repeating the *House of Terror's* message of Hungary being the victim of two dictatorships, the Preamble had a double implication. On the one hand, it suggested the refusal of any responsibility over the deportation of Hungarian Jews<sup>159</sup>. On the other hand, it carefully removed the 45 years of socialism from the official "Hungarian" history. However, if the period between 19 March 1944 and 2 May 1990 becomes erased, what happens to the memory of 1956? Even though the Preamble also declares that "We agree with the Members of the first free National Assembly, which proclaimed as its first decision that our current liberty was born of our 1956 Revolution", there was a sensible unease growing considering the current position of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in collective memory, as well as in the urban space. This discomfort was further strengthened when in 2011 the Hungarian government, as a material consequence of the Constitution, instructed the renovation of Kossuth Square in accordance with its pre-1944 appearance.

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<sup>159</sup> Although the first mass deportations – with the active participation of Hungarian authorities and society – started on May 15, 1944, in Hungary already before 1944 several anti-Jewish legislations were introduced, moreover there were a number of instances when Jews got killed. In contrast to Germany where the historical self-image was connected to the notion of perpetrator, the Fidesz government shifted the responsibility on to the Nazi Germany and suggested that Hungary in its entirety became the victim of Germany. This standpoint got also articulated in 2014 when the government erected Péter Párkányi Raab's *Memorial to the Victims of German Occupation* at the Liberty Square. See more details in Kunt et al. 2016.

From the very beginning of the announcement of the “Program Imre Steindl” in 2011, the planned reconstruction of Kossuth Square became subject to heated debates. While many agreed with the necessity to restructure the square itself, the government’s plan to replace all the statues that have been erected after 1944 with their predecessors from before 1944 was interpreted as an attempt to rewrite history (e.g., Gerő 2011). Zsigmond Kisfaludy Stróbl, András Kocsis and Lajos Ungvári’s *Kossuth Memorial* (1952), Imre Varga’s *Statue of Mihály Károlyi* (1975), László Marton’s *Statue of Attila József* (1980), Sándor Klígl’s *Statue of Béla Kovács* (2002) moreover the various, already outlined, 56 memorials were to be exchanged by György Zala’s *Statue of Gyula Andrásy* (1906), János Horvay’s *Kossuth Memorial* (1927) and György Zala and Antal Orbán’s *Statue of István Tisza* (1934). It is as if the memory of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 had no longer a place on the new “Main Square of the Nation”. While due to the pressure of businessman Sándor Demján<sup>160</sup> Tamás Varga’s *Statue of Imre Nagy* (1996) finally was not removed, moreover József Kampfl and Ferenc Callmeyer’s *Memorial of the Victims Died in the Volley on October 25, 1956* (2002) was also left on the wall of the Ministry, it is important to emphasize that these memorials were not standing in the immediate proximity of the Parliament, but on the other side of the streets limiting the square. In contrast, both László Gömbös and Imre Makovecz’s *Memorial of the Victims of the Firing Squad on October 25, 1956* (1991) and Mária Lugossy’s *The Flame of the Revolution* (1996) vanished from the surface of the Kossuth Square because of the renovation. Did then, as Júlia Sonnevend (2013) argues, the heroic figure of the freedom fighter become a “homeless” in his own country? Was it definitively shut out from the heroic narratives that it so dominantly and proudly occupied after the regime change?

This sensible crises was also tangible when, on the occasion of a *Turul Ceremony* that was held around a memorial commemorating the first triumphant battle of Rákóczi’s War of Independence in Tiszaújlak, Secretary of State for Culture László L. Simon (cited in S.N. 2012b) made a statement.

We live in an era when more and more people aim to deprive Hungarians from their heroes. There is an attempt of deheroization going on, through which they want to make us believe that we do not need historical role models who then we could present to the future Hungarian youth. (...) We have to oppose this tendency (...). In spite of the heroism of Hungarian soldiers acknowledged also by other nations, Hungarians could win only a limited number of battles. Therefore winning battles are worth valuing. (...) Instead of dethroning our heroes and

<sup>160</sup> Demján is one of the most influential businessmen in Hungary who also supported financially the 1996 erection of Tamás Varga’s *Statue of Imre Nagy*.



diminishing our history, we need to strengthen our identity based on a realistic evaluation of the situation. (...) Be proud of being Hungarian, but do not flaunt it. (...) The practice of the communist dictatorship being active in the previous four decades and aiming for destroying national consciousness has to be stopped.

In spite of the careful comparison of the unnamed “others” and the “communists” who – according to L. Simon – all put a stop to the emergence of national pride, it appears as if the right wing itself remained without points of references. Discussing the *Fatal Traditions in Hungary’s Memory Culture*, Krisztián Ungváry (2011) unambiguously reveals how most of the political and literary figures of the 20th century Hungary, such as István Bibó, István Bethlen, Pál Teleki, Miklós Horthy or Sándor Márai, are unsuitable as role models for contemporary memory politics. This hiatus was further reinforced when on October 25, 2014 the former Prime Minister Péter Boross inaugurated a memorial place to the victims of the 25 October 1956 massacre below Kossuth Square, in the southern ventilation tunnel (Picture 44). Even though the memorial accommodated the formerly relocated grave-simulacrum of László Gömbös and Imre Makovecz, the location of the memorial place crowned the process through which the memory of the revolution of 1956 went – literally – under the ground. No wonder that it was the underground art scene that took up the issue: on his tumblr page Solaitid (2013) compared the memorial to a space rocket launching site (Picture 45).

#### **5.4. *Everyday Heroes as Contemporary Models of German and Hungarian Pupils***

In 2008 the Federal President of Germany announced a history competition, whose topic was specified as *Heroes: Adored – Misunderstood – Forgotten*. In 2014, based on the initiative of the Hungarian Ministry of Human Capacities’ Secretariat of State for Culture, the National Institute for Community Culture and Public Collection also launched a program called *Our Ingenious Heroes*. The previous parts of the chapter would suggest that the logic behind the two projects initiated by the German and Hungarian political authorities would differ to a great extent. In a certain sense, the titles also seemed to be in line with this suspicion: while *Heroes: Adored – Misunderstood – Forgotten* indicated a more multi-faceted and critical take on the concept of heroism, *Our Ingenious Heroes* gave the impression of articulating a straightforward and uncritical attitude towards the notion of hero. Yet, even though these differentiations were partly present too, the focus and elements of the texts of the two calls were surprisingly close and alike to each other. As Federal President of Germany Horst Köhler (2008) wrote,

Heroes are symbolic figures who, with their attitudes and actions, can give guidance. And at the same time they are also reflections of the time which has made them heroes. No doubt, in Germany there were individuals in every period who campaigned with great bravery for freedom and democracy, who as scientists or cultural workers achieved something extraordinary, or who through risking their lives saved others from dangerous situations. However, many heroes go unrecognized. Let us only consider those upright people who followed the voice of their conscience during the period of National Socialism and who saved e.g., Jewish citizens from persecution and death. Or those oppositionists who despite personal disadvantages bravely campaigned for freedom in East Germany. Many of them were able to act only in secret. And many were not only persecuted by their opponents, but also their memory has been hushed. On the contrary, there are also those who at certain times were hailed as heroes and who from our present vantage point are far from being models worth celebrating. The critical analysis of historical heroic figures and the search for individuals whose exemplary behaviour so far has not come into the spotlight of history can sharpen our eyes to see what really counts in the personal and community life: civil courage, bravery, selfless action. It is worthwhile to follow the footsteps of those people and to tell their stories. At the same time, tracking their traces will – I am convinced – encourage us to reflect on our values and living together in our society, moreover to develop standards for our own actions.

Through elaborating on the opposition between recognized and unrecognized heroes, Köhler explicitly propagated not to take heroism for granted and to articulate the ambiguities inherent in the concept. In contrast to this, the call of the National Institute for Community Culture and Public Collection in Hungary was indeed not so outspoken. As they (National Institute for Community Culture and Public Collection in Hungary 2014) stated,

The aim of the program is to encourage communities of young people to act, and to make their strength visible to the settlements. Ingenious Heroes in the title of the program refer to those persons who are regarded as “heroes” mostly by a narrow circle. Now, thanks to the students participating in the program, others can get to know these wonderful men too! Every settlement has its own heroes who devoted their talents, inventiveness for the benefit of the community: craftsmen, smallholders, teachers, artists and others who produced values and who set an example. The primary aim of the program is that communities who join could gain knowledge with which later (...) they will be able to initiate various actions for the sake of the development of their place of living. A person who became a role model for the particular community can serve as a link between past and future. A further aim of the program is that using the example of the hero of the local community students could conceive and realize a project.

Yet, in spite of the less radical tone of the call, the Hungarian program's focus on everyday men who have been considered heroes only "by a narrow circle" unambiguously signaled an attempt that tried to reinterpret the modalities of heroic narratives that by 2014 gradually came to a crisis in Hungary. From this perspective, *Our Ingenious Heroes* also transmitted a message that promoted the rethinking of the analytical framework of the category of heroism.

What responses did, then, these calls get? Even though both projects addressed primarily young people<sup>161</sup>, they revealed and exposed the general public perception of heroes in Germany and Hungary, too. Interestingly, before the official beginning of the German history competition, several teachers, historians, archivists and other actors of educational policy made objections against the idea of the Federal President of Germany to employ the concept of heroism. As Tetzlaff (2009:813) recalls, for many the category of the hero was still largely associated with the totalitarian experience of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and felt that with the utilization of this particular word "there would be an elitist concept propagated that is not suitable for sensitizing young people with democratic intent for exemplary behaviors in a community, in which values, such as equality and solidarity should apply". Instead of the expression "hero" – that they also thought to be dominated by male discourses – protesters suggested using the notion of "civil courage". While both *Heroes: Adored – Misunderstood – Forgotten* and *Our Ingenious Heroes* explicitly aimed to serve the purpose of reflecting the values and potentials of community life, German intellectuals argued that a focus on the hero will put an obstacle in the way of any legitimate propositions. The subject of the original call remained, and the German competition, as well as the Hungarian program received several hundreds of responses<sup>162</sup>.

In Germany, maybe also because of the debate preceding the project, participants intensively offered meta-reflections on the topic. Considering the medium of the call as a starting point, a number of essays discussed how various media strategies produce, present and represent heroes and stars as such. Many articulated their suspicions about these mechanisms that, as they argued, were directed by the principles of the market. Parallel to the articulation of these doubts, an overwhelming percentage of the competitors identified the everyday man as an appropriate image of a "social, helping and supporting hero". As a group from Plauen argued (cited in Tetzlaff 2009:816-817),

<sup>161</sup> While in Germany the competition was open for those who were born after September 1, 1987, in Hungary students of various primary and high schools were eligible to take part in the program.

<sup>162</sup> Based on the data of Tetzlaff (2009), 6600 children and students participated in the German competition. According to the homepage of the Hungarian program (National Institute for Community Culture and Public Collection 2014), they got 906 replies.

We have read a lot of definitions (...). But all describe superheroes who, we think, are really rare in everyday life, and who frequently adhere to heroic poetry. The hero that we look for should not be an “übermensch”. He must be natural, one has to be able to understand and respect him.

Among these essays focusing on “natural” and approachable heroes, “silent heroes” appeared as a definite thematic priority<sup>163</sup>. The responses of the competitors, thus, were very much in line with the state of art of German memory politics considering the issue of heroism.

In the case of Ingenious Heroes meta-approaches were absent in the reactions of Hungarian participants. Yet, besides identifying the role models of the particular community, students also had to reflect on the question of how to commemorate or memorialize, if at all, these people.

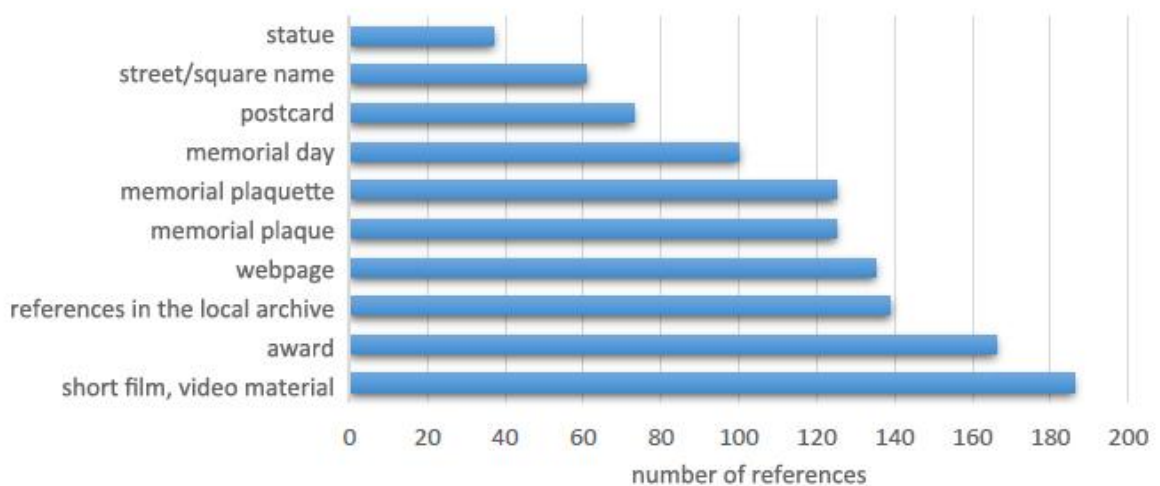


Figure 4. The distribution of opinions on how to commemorate “ingenious heroes”. Source: [lelemenyesoseink.hu](http://lelemenyesoseink.hu)

While most of the students reported on “ingenious heroes” who were active on the field of artistic production and teaching, applicants did not feel the urge to dedicate statues to their memory at all (see Figure 4). In a country where the number of erecting public works of art is still increasing per annum, this is quite a surprising result. Will, then, the role of public statues also be surpassed by alternative media in Hungary?

<sup>163</sup> According to Tetzlaff (2009), more than 670 projects investigated the period of National Socialism. Among these, ca. 400 essays were about resistance fighters, including silent heroes.

## CHAPTER 6.

### SHAPING THE EVERYDAY HERO IN BERLIN: OFFICIAL MEMORY OF SILENT HEROES IN SPANDAUER VORSTADT

When we get off the S-Bahnhof at Hackescher Markt and take the direction towards the north, we will quickly find ourselves within the web of surprisingly narrow and zigzag streets. People, mostly tourists, literally fill this area; there is hardly another place in Berlin where the simple act of going and strolling takes such a huge effort. We flow with the crowd, go in and out the exemplarily renovated yards until we discover a strange house at Rosenthaler Strasse 39. Struck by its image, we try to resist the furious pace of others and come to a halt to observe. A classicist building, a graffiti courtyard with a monstrous winged frog sculpture, and memorial places of resistance to Nazism. We start to wonder at this strong and visible co-existence of alternative and official cultures: the graffiti depicting Anna Frank corresponds exactly to the image on the poster indicating the entrance of the *Anna Frank Center Berlin* (Picture 55). When we come across the message of “occupy”, we already suspect that rather than being just a hip reference to recent happenings, it is much more the organizational principle of the place. The house and courtyard of Rosenthaler Strasse 39 is indeed occupied: occupied by alternative and independent art (*Schwarzenberg House*, 1995) and by the memory of silent heroes who tried to rescue prosecuted people during WWII (*Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind*, 1999/2001/2006, *Anne Frank Center*, 2002, *Silent Heroes Memorial Center*, 2008).

In various senses, this chapter functions as a synthesis of the German case study. I begin the discussion with the analysis of the historical development of Spandauer Vorstadt that rhymes to the general examination of Berlin’s urban transformation presented in Chapter 1. Then, I investigate processes of memorialization within the area that mirror the general tendencies of German memory politics studied in Chapter 3, 4 and 5. Thus, I explicitly link changes in the urban structure to changes of cultural and memory production in public space. This link, however, also re-mobilizes Simmel’s theory of a sociological aesthetics (1986a): in small-scale urban interventions I find the trends of contemporary urban phenomena. Within the context of a plethora of permanent and temporary, conventional and alternative projects, I dedicate a special attention to the house and courtyard of Rosenthaler Strasse 39 in Spandauer Vorstadt, which in itself reflects on an interplay between official and unofficial art and memory projects. Providing the in-depth analysis of the institutionalization of

commemorating silent heroes, I argue, that silent heroes do not only stand for the cautious reintroduction and reinterpretation of heroic narratives in Berlin, but, as the discussions of *Schwarzenberg House*, *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind* and *Silent Heroes Memorial Centre* underlines, also appear within a renewed aesthetic context.

In order to grasp the everyday man in motion within the context of Rosenthaler Strasse 39, this chapter heavily relies on the analysis of museum visitor books. As Sharon Macdonald (2005:122) argues in her paper on *Accessing Audiences*, visitor books are “inscriptions of visitor interpretations and thus provide access to aspects of visitor meaning-construction”. Therefore, comments<sup>164</sup> in the visitor books of the *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind* and *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* will be understood as performative acts of shaping the interpretative framework of these sites, as well as articulations of different opinions on the public display of silent heroes.

### 6.1. *Between the Periphery and Center of Berlin*

Located in the Berlin district Mitte, Spandauer Vorstadt is generally understood as the territory north of the River Spree, bordered by Friedrichstrasse on the west, by Karl-Liebknecht-Strasse on the east and by Torstrasse on the north (see the “official homepage of the capital”, berlin.de). However, these coordinates are not unanimously agreed on: in terms of its location, there is a sensible unease in the literature. While Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (2003:135) expands the area of Spandauer Vorstadt and examines its development separately in “Inner Spandauer Vorstadt” and “Outer Spandauer Vorstadt” (that is otherwise also referred to as “Rosenthaler Vorstadt), most of the confusions come from discussing the precise delineations of Scheunenviertel within Spandauer Vorstadt (see Figure 5).

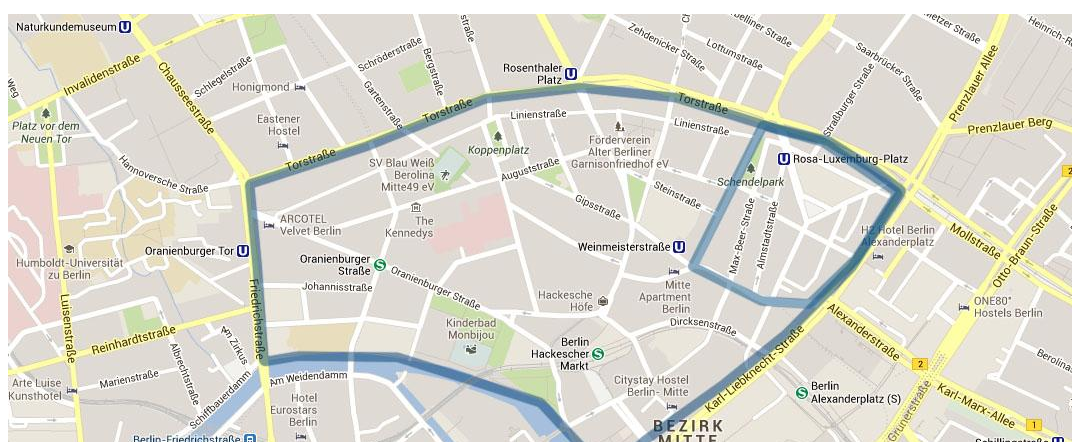


Figure 5. The location of Spandauer Vorstadt and Scheunenviertel within it

<sup>164</sup> In all cases, comments are referred to with only using the visitors' name initials.

After the regime change in the beginning of the 90s there was an active and lively debate around the exact history and designation of the two. As German-born critic and curator Christian Rattemeyer (cited in Muir 2010:15) recalls, “the Spandauer Vorstadt was the Jewish history that was actively mourned, whereas the Scheunenviertel was poorer, ranker, more specifically eastern European, and was considered less illustrious by some”. Since then this strong opposition has been reconciled<sup>165</sup>, and at present Scheunenviertel signifies the area between Alte Schönhauser Strasse, Torstrasse, Karl-Liebkecht Strasse and Münzstrasse. During this analysis, therefore, I will define Scheunenviertel along these lines, whereas Spandauer Vorstadt will be regarded as bordered by River Spree, Torstrasse, Friedrichstrasse and Karl-Liebkecht-Strasse.

Spandauer Vorstadt is a “mythos” (Hübner and Oehmig 2003:11), “a metaphysical place” (Flierl 2003:234), a “magic location” (Verein Stiftung Scheunenviertel 1994:back cover) full of “legends” (Weigert 1994:7). These attributes used by several authors in various texts refer to the fact that the area is in all probability one of the most multifaceted heritage sites in Berlin. Developed at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Spandauer Vorstadt belonged to the suburbs surrounding the medieval double-city of Berlin-Cölln, and as such it was located outside the Berlin city wall, north of the Spandau Gate. Initially a loosely structured settlement, it was utilized as a territory for gardening and farming, and only after 1668, when Electress Dorothea received the area as a gift on the occasion of her marriage with Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, did the place become parceled and divided into streets. Simultaneously, this was also the period when the streets and the area itself got named. While Steglich and Kratz (1994:6) emphasize that the first street names were given in 1699, Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin (2008:4) remarks that the area was named as Spandauer Vorstadt/Viertel only in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From this on, the image of the territory was constantly changing (the originally one- or two-storey buildings were completed with other storeys, additional buildings were erected on back yards), yet the street grid remained unaffected<sup>166</sup> (the irregular course of streets is still perceptible). The urban history of Spandauer Vorstadt, thus, also functions as a document of suburban development in Berlin.

A considerable transformation in the position of the neighborhood was caused by the installation of the Berlin Customs Wall in 1737 that – rewriting the boundaries set by the

<sup>165</sup> During the 2013 theme year “Diversity Destroyed”, Scheunenviertel was celebrated as one of the highlighted spots.

<sup>166</sup> According to Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin (2008:4), the only exception is the 1862 established Krausnickstraße.

original Berlin City Wall – has been placed northward to the line of Prenzlauer Tor – Schönhauser Tor – Rosenthaler Tor – Hamburger Tor – Oranienburger Tor and Unterbaum embracing the area of Spandauer Vorstadt, too. Within the pace of these developments, new quarters were founded: besides the newly-established Oranienburger and Rosenthaler Vorstadt, in 1828 Friedrich-Wilhelm-Stadt also became detached and independent from Spandauer Vorstadt. Between 1871 and 1905, the neighborhood reached its highest number of inhabitants with 70.000 people, however, by 1913 this figure, in contrast to the general trend present in other suburbs, decreased to 50.000 (Landesdenkmalamt Berlin 2003:136). The decline, following the argument of Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (2003:136), closely correlated with the metropolitan development of the area. Without losing its suburban characteristics completely, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the periphery and arterial roads of Spandauer Vorstadt already showed the visible signs of urbanization, which was set into a full operation at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Apartment buildings partially got replaced by commercial establishments (e.g., Friedrichstrasse-Passagen, Kaufhauskonzern Wertheim), which resulted in the decrease of habitable space. In 1920, at the time of the organization of “Greater Berlin”, the area got attached to the district Mitte crowning the process by which Spandauer Vorstadt – once a suburb – became one of the most central places in Berlin.

As several literatures note (e.g., Landesdenkmalamt Berlin 2003, Flierl 2003, Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008), the urban development of Spandauer Vorstadt was strongly connected to the history of Jewish community in Berlin (Picture 46). A close link between the two was already visible at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although after 1573 the Jewish population was expelled from Berlin, the Great Elector of Frederick William announced the politics of tolerance inviting fifty influential Jewish families banished from Vienna to settle in Berlin<sup>167</sup>. This process coincided with the formation of Spandauer Vorstadt (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008:5). Another step strengthening the concentration of Jews in the quarter was introduced in 1737 by Frederick William I of Prussia who ordered all Jews without any accommodation in Berlin to move to the eastern edge of Spandauer Vorstadt, to the so-called “Scheunenviertel”<sup>168</sup>. These two measures together with the regulation according to which Jews were only allowed to enter the city through the northern

<sup>167</sup> See the *Edict of Potsdam* in 1685.

<sup>168</sup> As Steglich and Kratz (1994:205) note, most of the inhabitants of Spandauer Vorstadt in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century possessed lands, gardens and barns. However, with the 1672 fire regulations these barns (Scheunen in German) had to be shifted towards the later Prenzlauer and Schönhauser Tor, in a convenient distance from the arable soil in the north. The high concentration of barns was not only referred to in the street names of the area (e.g., die Lange Scheunengasse, die Erste, Zweite, Dritte und Vierte Kleine Scheunengasse), but also, later, in the name of the whole quarter, Scheunenviertel (Quarter of Barns).



city gates of Rosenthaler and Prenzlauer Tor, all contributed to the strong Jewish presence in Spandauer Vorstadt. The significance of Jewish life within the area was also underlined by the several representational institutions established during this period, most importantly, by the 1866 construction of the New Synagogue in Oranienburger Strasse, as well as by the headquarters of the Jewish community and by a Jewish museum.

The early years after the unification of Germany in 1871, however, also brought about the stigmatization of the area of Scheunenviertel. As Dieter Weigert (1994:11) notes, “an unprecedented wave of immigrants reached the new capital of the Reich. From all the Prussian provinces masses of workers arrived to Berlin to work on major construction projects, but, likewise, maids and clerks, engineers, artisans, and many young entrepreneurs came with the instinct to make a quick buck”. Simultaneously, during the 1880s, after the pogroms of 1881/1882, Jews from the eastern territories of Germany and Poland increasingly fled to Berlin who again chose to settle where housing was cheap, and where Jewish institutions, synagogues, community centers and kosher shops were near at hand; in Scheunenviertel. According to the data of Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (2003:136), “the proportion of Jews within the inhabitants of Spandauer Vorstadt (...) rose from 11.7% in 1867 to 16.1% in 1880. In 1880 there was 20.1% of all Berlin Jews living here”. Geisel (1981), whose work *Im Scheunenviertel* is also regarded as the par excellence work on the “finistere medine”<sup>169</sup> characteristics of the area (Muir 2010:13), drew a dramatic picture emphasizing extreme residential density (being five times higher than in the city) and catastrophic sanitary conditions (less than half of the apartments had private toilets). Mocked as a “backyard of Berlin” or “poor people’s quarter”, Scheunenviertel also became to signify misery, fishiness, and crime (Geisel 1981:12, or Hübner and Oehmig 2003:11).

By 1900 the situation got intolerable to such an extent that the city council decided to rehabilitate the area<sup>170</sup>, however, because of World War I and the economic crisis, restorations were only finished in the middle of the 1920s<sup>171</sup>. As a response, the community’s residents who have been relocated from the area “proceeded to colonize the neighboring streets” (Muir 2010:13), and the attempt of rehabilitation, that we would rather call gentrification today, “remained isolated as a foreign body and has been regarded as an urban torso” (Krüger 1991). The infamous Scheunenviertel remained what it was, and after WWI it

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<sup>169</sup> Yiddish for dark district.

<sup>170</sup> One of the most important arrangements was the construction of the theater *Volksbühne* in 1914 planned by Hungarian architect Oskar Kaufman

<sup>171</sup> The target of this second wave of renewal was the zone around *Volksbühne*.

became again the destination of Jewish immigrants running away from Eastern Europe<sup>172</sup>. Abusing this image, “in the 1930s the Nazis succeeded in establishing signifying ideological links between the district’s well-known dubious reputation and the character and nature of the Jewish community itself; moreover, these stereotypical links were extended to encompass the Communist Party, which was ‘the recipient of the voting majority of the neighborhood’” (Muir 2010:13).

Battered by the mass killings of Holocaust and the extensive Allied bombing of the city, the area radically transformed after the Second World War. Spandauer Vorstadt, along with Scheunenviertel, looked like a deserted quarter that slowly fell into oblivion. With the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 – the third wall in the history of Spandauer Vorstadt – the area got attached to the Eastern part of Berlin. From the center of Berlin it slipped to the edge of East-Berlin, which unambiguously (re-)marginalized its position. Without economic growth and development, historical buildings were neglected for decades leading to vacancy and decay<sup>173</sup>. Spandauer Vorstadt got again in the center of attention only in the 1980s when the question emerged: Demolition or preservation? Tabula rasa or display of the complex historicity of the area?

While in 1989 the East German housing policy had the aim to provide the public with contemporary living spaces, thus demolishing and completely rebuilding the area, in 1991-1993 the German Federal Ministry of Building and the Berlin Senate redefined Spandauer Vorstadt as a historical monument and placed it under heritage protection in its entirety.

The July 1 decision of the City Council of Berlin was published on October 3, 1989, according to which there were 1053 blocks of apartments to be built and 566 to be demolished on an area of twelve acres. One year earlier the building of Alte Schönhauser Strasse/Steinstrasse became already blown up. Meanwhile the tenants from Mulackstraße 37 were evicted, the demolition was imminent, and blast holes were already drilled.

However, the resistance against the demolition was already about to form. The Berlin Wall fell. The increased pressure of the citizens’ initiative Spandauer Vorstadt, which called for the preservation of the district and which with its public resistance drew attention to itself, led to stop the demolition plans. This was the first great success of the civil initiative and also the turning point of urban renewal policies considering the Spandauer Vorstadt – from demolition to renewal on the basis of preservation. Mulackstraße 37, that time a ruin, uniquely

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<sup>172</sup> After World War I, one third of the inhabitants were Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008:5).

<sup>173</sup> As Krüger (1991) notes, there were two exceptions: the restoration of *Volksbühne*, and the rebuilding of *Karl Liebknecht House* (the headquarters of the party The Left).

symbolizes this paradigm shift. The initiative wrote an accusatory motto against the demolition on its façade: “What was spared by the war, does not survive socialism!” (...)

On February 6, 1990 the former House of Representatives of West Berlin decided to provide “extra funds for the support of urgent urban renewal in Berlin with an amount of 25 million DM”. The funds were to be used where the renewal of greatest need was and where the condition of old buildings the most worrying was. Spandauer Vorstadt became a focal point and the aim was – among others – to support the citizens’ initiative against demolition and their endeavors for democratic planning and participatory processes (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008:6-7).

With the strong input of the civil initiative *Spandauer Vorstadt*, on August 31, 1993 the Berlin Senate decided on the new principles for urban renewal in Berlin emphasizing that “the goal of the renovation is the preservation of existing architectural and urban structure”, moreover that “the altered urban function of the area has to be carefully developed from existing structures” (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008:8). On September 21, 1993 Spandauer Vorstadt was officially proclaimed as a redevelopment area<sup>174</sup>, and a total of approximately 205 million Euros was made available in order to redeem the goal of its urban rehabilitation. According to the data of Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin (2008:32), private proprietors invested more than five times of this amount, which determined the sum of the total investment in about 1.1 to 1.2 billion Euros. Finally, within the framework of the so-called Protection of Urban Architectural Heritage (Städtebaulicher Denkmalschutz), with the alleged participation of citizens<sup>175</sup>, 88% of older buildings became restored, 129 houses (with 1187 flats) got rebuilt, open spaces were created or redesigned, the social and cultural infrastructure of the area became strengthened, and the traffic was rethought, too (Picture 47). As a consequence of this process, first, many former tenants, together with small businesses, who could not afford the expenses of “modernization” were forced to move away from the area (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008:31) shedding light on the close link between rehabilitation and gentrification. Second, the composition of inhabitants clearly changed, which brought about a gradual increase in the number of residents in Spandauer Vorstadt. While in 1996 there were 7040 people living in the area, the data of Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung (n.d.) shows an almost 25% growth with 8771 inhabitants by the end of

<sup>174</sup> In 1992, 96.3% of the 67-acre Spandauer Vorstadt required restoration (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008:2).

<sup>175</sup> Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin dedicates a separate section (2008:26) for describing how civic engagement was promoted throughout the process of rehabilitation. Questionnaire, civil forums etc. about everyday experiences and unwanted developments were utilized from the very beginning of the project. These “unwanted developments” (the fear that those who want to stay in the quarter won’t be able to afford to live in Spandauer Vorstadt after the rehabilitation), however, could not be prevented.

2007. Third, the quarter got back – literally and symbolically as well – to the center of Berlin. With this (latest) shift of its position, Spandauer Vorstadt not simply regained its central status, it returned as a fashionable place to live in, “as a media spectacle, as a hot place for tourists, as a mysterious stage, which it stopped to be long ago, and as a projection surface of romantic ideals and nostalgic infatuations” (Steglich and Kratz 1994:208).

## **6.2. Urban Transformation Reflected in Art Projects**

Parallel to the urban redevelopment plans, there was a strong emphasis placed on the role of culture, too. The Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin (2008:31) argued that “wide cultural offer contributes as a positive factor to the good image and good address of a place”, suggesting that their support of cultural projects helped the renewal of the area<sup>176</sup>. Berlin’s former cultural senator Thomas Flierl (2003:234) went even further and claimed that “the discovery, architectural renovation and revaluation of Spandauer Vorstadt in the 1990s was first and foremost mediated through culture”. Spandauer Vorstadt as a “cultural action space” (Flierl 2003:234) indeed accommodated various temporal and permanent art projects around and after the regime change, which unambiguously hint at the political sphere’s attitude towards art as a potential cultural capital. The symbolic importance of culture in urban political economy, outlined most illustratively by Sharon Zukin (1989, 1995), leaves no doubt that encouraging artistic production within the area was (hoped to be) a form of urban redevelopment.

Describing the changing cultural identity of Spandauer Vorstadt and of Scheunenviertel within it, Muir (2010:14) cites the film historian and critic Marc Glöde.

[This was a moment, the 1990s,] when the Berlin art scene started to consolidate in Berlin Mitte around Auguststrasse. (...) it became chic to live in the old Jewish quarter. I think partially it has to do with more American artists starting to live and work in this part (...). But there was also a certain kind of hipness: young German artists living exactly there where Döblin’s Alexanderplatz was happening. Apart from that – it was just unbelievably cheap to live there. And finally: the WBM in Mitte (Wohnungsbaugesellschaft) had a fantastic person in charge of a lot of the available stores in Mitte. And Frau Weitz preferred to have young dynamic people in this part of the city instead of investment bankers, and because of that she was significantly responsible for fostering a lot of the young dynamics in Mitte.

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<sup>176</sup> In their brochure, Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin (2008:31) gives the examples of *Kunst-Werke, c/o Berlin*, *Clärchen’s Ballhouse* and the theaters in Hackesche Höfe. They also mention the *Centrum Judaicum*, the *Otto Weidt Museum* in *Schwarzenberg House*, and the memorial site at the Jewish Cemetery.

Besides Jutta Weitz's efforts from the Housing Association to temporarily reutilize abandoned spaces as spaces of artistic production, one of the most influential events of this period was the occupation of what later became known as Kunsthaus Tacheles<sup>177</sup> (Picture 48). The history of the by 2012 closed<sup>178</sup> collective art and event center in Oranienburger Strasse functions in itself as a mirror of the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of the quarter. Initially a shopping arcade (Friedrichstrasse-passagen), after 1928 the building was used as a show room of General Electric Company (Haus der Technik). In the 1930s it was taken over by the Nationalist Socialist Party and became the central office building of the SS, until in 1980, after various temporal usages in the DDR<sup>179</sup>, it was decided to be demolished because of its worsening condition. Nevertheless, the demolition was impeded, and two weeks before the planned detonation in 1990, the group *Künstlerinitiative Tacheles* moved into the building. The reason why I consider this episode so significant is twofold. While the group managed to register the place as a historic landmark, they also successfully turned alternative culture into an integral part of the cultural life of the quarter, and of Berlin, too. Tacheles and their positive international reputation almost certainly played an important role in embracing the genre of graffiti to such a large extent in the city<sup>180</sup>.

Glancing through the various urban interventions that took place in the aftermath of the 1989 regime change, there were two temporary artistic projects, which – in a Simmelian sense (1968a) – explicitly referred to the changing position of the area. Sabine Jank's media installation in 2000 literally reflected on the place around Hackescher Markt. She laid down mirror surfaces, in which passers-by not only saw their own images in their immediate surroundings, but also pictures, which were recorded in more distant areas and which were likewise cut into the scene. This play between different layers of reality (between the actually existing urban space, its mirror image, and the projected picture of a remote location) united in the figure of a non-existing, virtual place. Yet, the title of the project – *Illusion of a Metropolis* – prevents the work to be interpreted solely as a game of visual perception. It unambiguously questioned the process through which Hackescher Markt was about to regain

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<sup>177</sup> Yiddish for straight talking.

<sup>178</sup> On September 4, 2012, after 22 years, the owner (NSH Nordbank) evicted the building. Nevertheless, the metal sculpture garden still exists in the courtyard and continues fighting the measure. Its future, of course, is also uncertain.

<sup>179</sup> The building was utilized, among others, as an office space for the German Travel Agency, as an artists' school, as a technical school, as an office of the Rundfunk- und Fernmelde-Technik and as a movie theater (Camera, later Oranienburger Tor Lichtspiele).

<sup>180</sup> During my flights to and from Berlin in 2012-2013, I regularly met an advertisement in the EasyJet Magazine, which promoted Berlin as the "capital of graffiti culture" and recommended to explore the city through organized graffiti tours. In this sense, graffiti became also a brand.

its metropolitan characteristics. The structure of the public work of art was in a strikingly close relation to cubist paintings, but the method of juxtaposing different perspectives also evoked the visual representation of the modern metropolis by avant-garde artists. According to the title, however, Jank did not simply produce the image of the metropolis, but only the illusion of it. When Boyer (1996:31-70) discussed the various representational images of the traditional, modern and contemporary cities, she introduced the concepts of “city as a work of art”, “city as panorama” and “city as spectacle” describing three different aesthetic traditions of the three time periods. The move from cities as panoramas to cities as spectacles is precisely the route Jank took with her public work of art. While Boyer (1996) illustrates the notion of panorama through cubist paintings, she argues (Boyer 1996:45) that cities as spectacles are “based on the recomposition and recombination of borrowed imagery [that] appear[s] to make reality and representation equivalent references in infinitely mirrored reflections”. In this sense, *Illusion of a Metropolis* could be grasped as an object of simulation, whereas the area of Hackescher Markt became a “simulacra”<sup>181</sup>.

In contrast to Jank’s effort to react upon urban transformation as such, the Cologne artist HA Schult’s *Love Letters Building* in 2001 concentrated on the changing function of one particular building (Picture 49). In an in-between period when the former *Royal Post Office* in Oranienburger Strasse has already lost its role as a post office, but has not yet been refunctioned as the *c/o Gallery*, Schult together with the German Post announced a call, in which they asked for writing love letters. Evoking Christo and Jeanne-Claude’s project of wrapping the Reichstag in 1995, Schult finally covered the façade of the old Berlin post office with the magnified images of more than 35000 love letters. The action unambiguously signified the process of taking over the place from post officers by artists. Thus, both Jank’s and Schult’s actions can be interpreted as emphasizing the general trends of transformation: while the former exposed and problematized the process of reannexing the area of Spandauer Vorstadt into the “metropolitan” circulation, the latter exemplified how particular buildings became refunctioned, primarily as centers of artistic practice.

At the same time, while these temporal projects consciously put the procedure of change on display, the quarter also experienced the production of various public works of art, memorial plaques or stumbling stones that likewise reflected on the transformation of urban space. Looking through these works from 1945 underlines that from the 80s there was an increasing attempt of excavating the hidden layers of the city.

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<sup>181</sup> See Baudrillard’s *Simulacra and Simulation* (1994), or Deleuze’s *Difference and Repetition* (1994).



### ART IN PUBLIC SPACE

1. **Rosenthaler Strasse 39:** Gedenkstätte Stille Helden; Museum Blindenwerkstatt Otto Weidt; Anna Frank Zentrum
2. **Koppenplatz:** Karl Biedermann: Der verlassene Raum, 1995; Karl Lemke: Geschwister, 1968
3. **Oranienburger Strasse 30:** Centrum Judaicum
4. **Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz:** Hans Haacke: Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg, 2006.
5. **Grosse Hamburger Strasse 15-16:** Christian Boltanski: The Missing House, 1990
6. **Grosse Hamburger Strasse 27:** Will Lammert: Denkmal Jüdische Opfer des Faschismus, 1985.
7. **Hirtenstraße/Karl-Liebnecht-Straße:** Gerhard Thieme: Bauarbeiter, 1968.

### MEMORIAL PLAQUES

1. **Rosenthaler Straße 38:** Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, vor 1971
2. **Rosenthaler Strasse 39:** Otto Weidt, 1993/1999
3. **Rosenthaler Straße 40:** Abraham Geiger, 2010
4. **Rosenthaler Straße 40-41:** Jakob van Hoddis, 1994
5. **Rosenthaler Straße 50:** Michael Bittner, 2002
6. **Rosenthaler Straße 8:** Carl von Ossietzky, 1989 (removed in 1992)
7. **Rosenthaler Straße 1:** Philipp Fabisch, 2008
8. **Koppenplatz:** Christian Koppe, 1855; Ilse Goldschmidt, 2001
9. **Oranienburger Straße 67:** Alexander von Humboldt, 1901/1999
10. **Oranienburger Strasse 30:** Neue Synagoge, 1966/1988; Moses Mendelssohn, 1988; Wilhelm Krützfeld, 1995
11. **Oranienburger Straße 27:** Kunsthof

### Berlin

12. **Oranienburger Straße 20:** Büro Pfarrer Grüber, 2000
13. **Torstraße 90:** Wohnungübergabe zur 750-Jahr-Feier, 1987 (disappeared after 2001)
14. **Rosa-Luxemburg-Straße 2:** Albert Kayser / Otto Schmirgal, before 1974 (removed)
15. **Rosa-Luxemburg-Straße 30:** Hans Poelzig und das Kino "Babylon", 2000; Rudolf Lunau, 1980s
16. **Hackescher Markt:** Besuch von Queen Elisabeth II., 2000
17. **Auguststraße 11-13:** Alexander Beer, 2012
18. **Auguststraße 14-16:** Jüdisches Kinderheim "Ahawah", 1992
19. **Auguststraße 69:** Kunst-Werke-Berlin / Ehemalige Margarinefabrik
20. **Weinmeisterstrasse 16:** Franz Mett
21. **Burgstraße 25:** Israel Jacobson, 2010
22. **Burgstraße 28:** Judenreferat der Gestapo Berlin, 2009-2010
23. **Ziegelstraße 5-9:** Louis Lewin, 1996
24. **Ziegelstraße 12:** Luisenschule - Erste Städtische höhere Mädchenschule, 2005
25. **Ziegelstraße 30:** Zentraler Runder Tisch der DDR, 1989
26. **Johannisstraße 16:** Synagoge der Jüdischen Reformgemeinde, 2006
27. **Linienstraße 47:** Volksküche, 1997
28. **Linienstrasse 154a:** Margarete Kaufman, before 1974
29. **Linienstraße 163-165:** Hollmannsche-Wilhelminen-Amalien-Stiftung
30. **Tucholskystraße 9:** Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1988
31. **Tucholskystraße 40:** Israelitische Synagogengemeinde Adass Jisroel, 1986 (removed)
32. **Kleine Auguststraße 10:** Synagoge der Vereinigten Synagogenvereine Ahawas Scholaum und Mogen David, 2006

### 33. Gipsstrasse 3: Sala und Martin

- Kochmann, before 1974
34. **Gipsstraße 11:** Erste Blindenschule Deutschlands, 2001; Selmar Kaufmann
  35. **Gipsstraße 23a:** Robert Frenzel, 2001
  36. **Sophienstraße 12:** Franz Eberhard Marggraff, 1886
  37. **Sophienstraße 18/18a:** Handwerkervereinshaus, 1987
  38. **Sophienstraße 21:** Sophie-Gips-Höfe
  39. **Sophienstraße 28/29:** Jüdische Hausbewohner
  40. **Gormannstrasse 13:** Franz Mett, after 1974
  41. **Münzstraße:** Ernst Theodor Amandus Litfass, 2006
  42. **Münzstraße 7-11:** Karl Philipp Moritz, 1998
  43. **Münzstraße 23:** Carl Friedrich Zelter, after 1893
  44. **Kleine Alexanderstrasse 28:** Ernst Thälmann, 1952; Karl-Liebnecht-Haus
  45. **Große Hamburger Straße 26:** Zur Erinnerung an den ältesten Jüdischen Friedhof in Berlin und seiner Zerstörung durch die Gestapo 1943, 1948; Gedenkstein zur Erinnerung an die frühere Deportationsstätte im Jüdischen Altersheim, 1959/1985/1998; Model Riess, 1880er/2009
  46. **Grosse Hamburger Strasse 27:** Moses Mendelssohn, 1983
  47. **Große Hamburger Straße 29:** PAX
  48. **Große Hamburger Straße 29/30:** Martin Luther King, 2012
  49. **Große Hamburger Straße 30:** Leichengewölbe (Sophienkirche); Anna Luise Karsch
  50. **Große Hamburger Straße 31:** Carl Wilhelm Ramler
  51. **Große Hamburger Straße 36:** Günter Ammon, 1996
  52. **Kleine Rosenthaler Straße:** Heinrich Freiherr Menu von Minutoli, 1996
  53. **Friedrichstraße 115:** F. Albert



Schwartz, 2009

54. **Friedrichstraße 114:**

Märzrevolution 1848 - Tod des Studenten von Bojanowsky, 1998

55. **Alte Schönhauser Straße 9/10:**

Jüdische Kindervolksküche, 1993

56. **Alte Schönhauser Straße 23/24:**

Emilie Lehmus und Franziska Tiburtius, 2006

57. **Krausnickstrasse 12a:**

Märzrevolution/St.Hedwig-Krankenhaus, 2008

58. **Krausnickstrasse 6:** Regina Jonas, 2001

59. **Krausnickstrasse 2:** Wohnhaus

60. **Krausnickstrasse 3:** Wohnhaus

**STUMBLING STONES**

1. **Rosenthaler Str. 32:** Alex Jastrow,

Erna Jastrow, Thea Jastrow

2. **Rosenthaler Str. 39:** Ursula Salinger, Georg Salinger, Rosa Salinger, Gerd Salinger

3. **Rosenthaler Str. 40/41:** Anita Bukofzer, Paula Davidsohn, Ury Davidsohn, Hermann Schneebaum, Jenny Schneebaum, Thea Schneebaum, Victor Schneebaum

4. **Rosenthaler Str. 42:** Samuel Noah, Frieda Noah, Ruth Noah, Walter Noah, Tana Noah

5. **Rosenthaler Str. 48:** Ida Buntmann-Weinstein, Manja Buntmann-Weinstein

6. **Rosenthaler Str. 62:** Hermann Aron, Martha Sophie Aron

7. **Rosenthaler Str. 72:** Moritz Wolle

8. **Rosenthaler Str. 19:** Machle Dubinsky

9. **Oranienburger Str. 90:** Paul Gerhard Vogel, Isodor Vogel, Bertha Vogel

10. **Oranienburger Str. 64:** Lydia Malkus

11. **Oranienburger Str. 46/47:** Ernestine Jacoby, Liselotte Jacoby, Wolfgang Jacoby, Ernst Jacoby

12. **Oranienburger Str. 26:** Elise Beermann, Siegfried Beermann

13. **Oranienburger Str. 22:** Hannah (Minna Johanna) Karminski

14. **Oranienburger Str. 9:** Philipp Kozower, Gisela Kozower, Eva Rita Kozower, Alice Kozower, Uri Aron Kozower

15. **Oranienburger Str. 2-5:** Lotty Hollander, Gottfried Hollander

16. **Oranienburger Str. 1:** Julius Blumenthal

17. **Torstr. 148:** Leopold Jankel, Charlotte Löwenthal, Henriette Löwenthal, Ingeborg Löwenthal

18. **Torstr. 126:** Erwin Leo Buchwald, Elsa Guttentag, Kurt Guttentag

19. **Torstr. 112:** Meta Haitner, Erika Haitner

20. **Torstr. 95:** Eugen Fischer, Lina Kirsch

21. **Torstr. 70:** Berisch Czupper, Rudolf Machol, Jenny (Henny) Machol, Johanna Propper

22. **Friedrichstr. 105:** Max Kessler, Philipp Kessler, Rosalie Kessler, Johanna Schöneberg, Max Sommerfeld

23. **Karl Liebknecht Str. 9/11:** Thiene Feder

24. **Rosa-Luxemburg-Str. 18:** Jenny Glück, Jacob Joelsohn, Minna Joelsohn, Adolf Rosentreter, Klara Rosentreter, Hans Rosentreter, Jutta Ruth Rosentreter

25. **Rosa-Luxemburg-Str. 26:** Machla Haber, Frieda Haber

26. **Almstadtstr. 45-49:** Walter Löwenstein, Paula Löwenstein, Agathe Sochaczewer

27. **Almstadtstr. 24:** Frieda Baumann, Joseph Baumann

28. **Almstadtstr. 19:** Marja Witelson, Ingeborg Witelson, Isidor Witelson, Leo Witelson, Lilly Witelson, Rita Witelson

29. **Max-Beer-Str. 38:** Manfred Lewin

30. **Rückerstr. 7:** Moshe Leib Durst,

Esther Durst, Fanny Durst, Jenny Durst

31. **Rückerstr. 1:** Bertha Herbst,

Scheindel Monk, Chana Monk,

Zippa Monk

32. **Weinmeisterstr. 16/17:** Margarete Draeger

33. **Linienstr. 223:** Walter Boldt

34. **Linienstr. 66:** Herbert Kowalewski

35. **Linienstr. 53:** Hermann Wolff

36. **Linienstr. 45:** Maria Kessler, Adolf Kessler, Betti Kessler, Moritz Kessler

37. **Linienstr. 44:** Salomon Szydlo, Harri Szydlo, Paula Szydlo, Ester Szydlo

38. **Linienstr. 31:** Bernhard Bromberger

39. **Tucholskystr. 11:** Salomea Höxter

40. **Tucholskystr. 38:** Henriette

Aronhold

41. **Joachimstr. 2:** Johanna David

42. **Gipsstraße 3:** Erich Marcuse,

Johanna Marcuse, Peter Marcuse

43. **Gipsstr. 6:** Jenny Cohn

44. **Gipsstr. 9:** Jenny Hirsch, Friedrich Hirsch, Haimann Hirsch

45. **Gipsstr. 23:** Amalie Kopper, Irma Meyer, Hugo Meyer, Manfred Meyer,

Ellen Meyer, Felix Rowald

46. **Sophienstr. 32:** Fanja Schönhaus,

Boris Schönhaus

47. **Sophienstr. 22:** Max Metzger, Oskar Metzger

48. **Sophienstr. 5:** Karl Bukofzer, Alfred Koh

49. **Sophienstraße 6:** Felli (Feigel)

Bergoffen, Jakob Bergoffen

50. **Gormannstr. 12:** Abraham Weisskirch, Pepi Horn

51. **Münzstr. 22:** Hedwig Mieser

52. **Hirtenstr. / Karl Liebknecht Str:**

Helga Zamory, Else Zamory

53. **Kleine Alexanderstr. 12/13:** Johann Müller, Esther Müller, Micha (Mischa)

Müller, Kalman Müller

54. **Monbijouplatz 4:** Abraham Wasser,

Rosa Sofie Wasser, Margot Klara

Wasser, Ewald Wasser

55. **Große Hamburger Str. 15/16:**

Herbert Budzislowski

56. **Große Hamburger Str. 29:** Leo

Aronsbach, Flora Aronsbach, Emanuel

Fink, Regina Fink, Alice Rosenberg,

Gertrud Rosenberg, Eli Schneller, Rosa

Schneller

57. **Große Hamburger Str. 30:** Meta

Raesener, Max Raesener, Asta

Raesener, Wolf Segal, Max Sittner,

Melanie Sittner, Charlotte Wolff

58. **Große Hamburger Str. 31:** James

Deutsch, Johanna Klum

59. **Große Hamburger Str. 38:** Lothar

Schreiber

60. **Rochstr. 1:** Herbert Leo Holz,

Liselotte Holz, Willy Holz, Ernst

Siegfried Holz

61. **Zolastr. 1:** Max Fürst, Hans Achim

Litten, Fritz Sternberg

62. **Steinstrasse 2:** Elise Altona,

Leonhard Schaye, Martin Schaye,

Siegfried Schaye, Jenny Schaye, Afred

Altona

63. **Steinstrasse 5:** Julius Mansbach,

Selma Mansbach, Frieda Mansbach,

Bronka Mansbach

64. **Steinstrasse 12:** Mary (Marie)

Gruft, Any Gruft, Regina Gruft

65. **Steinstrasse 26:** Emma Hirsch

66. **Alte Schönhauser Str. 4:** Amalie

Lebzelter, Debora Lebzelter, Susanne

Lebzelter, Ignatz Lebzelter

67. **Alte Schönhauser Str. 23-24:** Aron

Jakob Horowitz, Kalman Bochner,

Bernhard Chodziesen, Pauline

Chodziesen, Lia Sternberg, Hannchen

Fleischmann, Bianka Wolff

68. **Alte Schönhauser Str. 58:** Rosa

Michaelis, Meta Kahn, Ludwig Kahn

69. **Neue Schönhauser Straße 10:**

Czarna Laufer, Rita Laufer, Margot

Laufer, Jüdel Laufer

70. **Neue Schönhauser Str. 12:** Karla

Rosenthal, Ellen Rosenthal, Irma

Rosenthal

71. **Neue Schönhauser Str. 15:** Gisela

Nieggho, Joseph Nieggho, Hanna Nieggho,

Elvira Nieggho

72. **Krausnickstrasse 8:** Berl Hirschfeld,

Ida Wielzynski, Alice Wielzynski

73. **Krausnickstr. 18:** Markus Milet



Figure 6. Memorial places in Spandauer Vorstadt after 1945<sup>182</sup>

Even though prototypical figures of socialism<sup>183</sup> still form an integral part of Spandauer Vorstadt, socialist memory politics, as Figure 6 suggests, primarily manifests itself in projects dealing with the Holocaust. As Stefanie Endlich (1999:31-32) notes,

The official memory politics of the eastern part of the city, which granted a high value to “antifascist heritage”, concentrated more and more on the communist resistance and simultaneously repressed the memory of a wide range of persecuted groups and opponents of the Nazi regime. While in the immediate post-war period, beside communists, several memorial plaques and memorial stones made a mention of members of other parties, independents and Jews, since the 50s the increasingly employed stereotypical term “antifascism” partly served the aim of generalization, partly of exclusion. (...) Only, in 1988, in correlation with political course corrections (...), became the genocide of Jews, similarly to the “rediscovery” and appreciation of non-communist resistance groups, a politically propagated distinct topic.

Accordingly, while in 1948 the Jewish Community managed to erect a memorial plaque at Grosse Hamburger Strasse 26<sup>184</sup> commemorating “the oldest burial ground of the Jewish Community of Berlin that (...) got destroyed in 1943 on the orders of the Gestapo”<sup>185</sup>, the following years experienced largely the silence around the Holocaust. Martin Schönfeld (1991:19) argues that the remembrance on Jewish victims and places of Jewish life (demolished by National Socialists) constituted only 10 percentage of East-Berlin memorial plaques inaugurated during this period. Even in the few cases of commemoration, the emphasis has rather been put on antifascism. The often utilized inscriptions, such as “Honor his Memory”, “Never Forget” and “The Dead Remind Us”, together with the abstract symbol of the red triangle all belonged to the antifascist rhetoric of the GDR. Thus, when in 1959 Rabbi Martin Riesenburger and GDR state secretary Werner Eggerath erected a memorial

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<sup>182</sup> I have compiled this list on the bases of my own database, as well as the online lists of <http://www.stolpersteine-berlin.de/en/finding-stolpersteine> and <http://www.gedenktafeln-in-berlin.de/>.

<sup>183</sup> See e.g., the sculpture of *Construction Worker* (Gerhard Thieme, 1968) on the corner of Hirtenstrasse and Karl-Liebknecht Strasse that is also mocked as “Golden Finger” because of the discolor of its index finger on the left hand. Moreover also see the various memorial plaques erected during socialism, such as the 1952 memorial plaque of *Ernst Thälmann* at Kleine Alexanderstrasse 28. From the period after the regime see the 2006 installation of Hans Haacke’s *Memorial Signs of Rosa Luxemburg*: more than 100 quotations from Luxemburg’s private letters and political writings have been engraved in copper and set into the pavement around the Rosa Luxemburg Platz.

<sup>184</sup> The Grosse Hamburger Strasse is often referred to as a Street of Tolerance (e.g., Herzogenrath et al. 1990:37): it was simultaneously the location of Lutheran (Sophienkirche), Catholic (St. Hedwigs-Krankenhaus) and Jewish (Boys’ School, Cemetary, Retirement Home) institutions.

<sup>185</sup> It was in 1948 when the Jewish community got back the Jewish cemetery.

stone in Grosse Hamburger Strasse (commemorating the first retirement home of the Jewish Community that was refunctioned as an assembly camp by the Gestapo) with the warning “Never Forget”, it had already a slightly different undertone than in the case of the memorial plaque mentioned before.

Apart from these examples, the deportation and mass-killing of Jews started to be commemorated with a stronger emphasis only beginning with the 80s. Besides the increasing number of memorial plaques in Spandauer Vorstadt<sup>186</sup>, there were three important developments in the second half of the 80s: the 1985 inauguration of Will Lammert’s *Memorial of Jewish Victims of Fascism*, the 1988 establishment of the *Foundation New Synagogue - Centrum Judaicum* committing itself primarily to the rebuilding of the New Synagogue in Oranienburger Strasse, and the 1988 competition for creating a public statue in remembrance of the *Contributions of Berlin’s Jewish citizens*. While the Foundation’s object of reconstructing the partly destroyed building of the synagogue explicitly sheds light on the connection between urban transformation and changing memory politics, the two public statues – and the differences between them – also illustrate the commencing modification of the aesthetic language of memorialization.

The discrepancy between the visual appearances of the two works can first of all be explained by the fact that while Will Lammert’s statue was already finished in 1957 (Picture 50), the 1988 winning application, Karl Biedermann’s *The Deserted Room* was only erected in 1996 (Picture 25). Lammert initially designed his *Memorial of Jewish Victims of Fascism* as a figure ensemble completing the bronze sculpture *Burdened Woman* in Ravensbrück, however, Lammert’s fifteen figures were left out from the final composition. These same (thirteen of fifteen) figures found their place only in the 1985 inaugurated public work of art that was among the first, more significant Berlin memorials dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, despite its relatively late erection and its rearrangement by Mark Lammert, the fact that the statue was originally designed as part of the Ravensbrück memorial unambiguously connected it to the principles of an earlier visual language. The *Ravensbrück National Memorial* – similarly to the GDR’s two other national memorials in Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen – operated along the lines of a monumental and heroic narrative. Fritz Cremer’s *Uprising of Prisoners* (Buchenwald), the *Memorial Obelisk* (Sachsenhausen), as well as Lammert’s *Burdened Woman* that has also been labeled as the *Pieta of Ravensbrück* all fitted in this tradition. True enough; the *Memorial of Jewish Victims*

<sup>186</sup> See e.g., Gerhard Thieme’s Moses Mendelssohn memorial plaque from 1983, or the 1986 memorial plaque commemorating the Jewish Synagogue Community Adass Jisroel.

of *Fascism* detached itself from these kinds of narratives not least because of its small scale. Nevertheless, it has not yet questioned the classical genre of public statues.

In contrast to Lammert's rather conventional figure-ensemble, Biedermann's *The Deserted Room* spoke already another language. Being the winner of the first major memorial competition held by the East Berlin municipality, Biedermann's work had a highly unconventional form, especially in comparison to GDR memorials (Endlich 1999:32). Even though this divergence also resulted in the municipality's backing out of the accomplishment of the project, the united Berlin took up the issue again. Due to interventions by local organizations and individuals, the Senate Department for Urban Development realized the public work of art in the framework of its program *Kunst in Stadtraum* in 1996. Biedermann's *Deserted Room* consists of a room without walls and a seemingly leather-covered table with two matching chairs on a coarse parquet floor. This realistic approach, however, not only becomes alienated by the material of bronze, the memorial gets out-of-balance in various senses. Both the arrangement (the second chair is set as overturned) and dimension (the size of the furniture is slightly bigger than real life) contributes to the feeling of uneasiness. This discomfort is further strengthened by the absence of any inscriptions; the only hint is offered by Nelly Sachs' poem *O the chimneys* framing the parquet floor:

O die Wohnungen des Todes (O dwellings of death) / Einladend hergerichtet (Set out so enticingly) / Für den Wirt des Hauses, der sonst Gast war – (For the host of the house, who used to be the guest -) / O ihr Finger (O you fingers) / Die Eingangsschwelle legend (Laying the stone of the threshold) / Wie ein Messer zwischen Leben und Tod – (Like a knife between life and death -) // O ihr Schornsteine (O you chimneys) / O ihr Finger (O you fingers,) / Und Israels Leib im Rauch durch die Luft! (And Israel's body dissolves in smoke through the air!)

Biedermann's metaphoric representation of violence and loss points towards the various innovative methods more commonly utilized after the 1990s.

In the aftermath of the 1989 regime change there were two installations, Christian Boltanski's *The Missing House* (1990) and Shimon Attie's *Writing on the Wall* (1991-1996), which were realized within this renewed aesthetic tradition in the area of Spandauer Vorstadt. *The Missing House*, as well as *Writing on the Wall* were part of wider exhibition projects: while Boltanski's project participated in the exhibition *The Finiteness of Freedom* engaging with the changing political situation in the east and west, Attie's *Writing on the Wall* formed one element in his installation-series *Sites Unseen* conducted between 1991 and 1996 in Berlin, Dresden, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Cologne and Krakow. Reflecting the medium of historical heritage as such (Flierl 2003:237), both events were planned as temporary

interventions, yet Boltanski's *The Missing House* remained at its place even after the finissage of the exhibition.

Based on the idea of Rebecca Horn, Jannis Kounellis and Heiner Müller, *The Finiteness of Freedom* invited Western and Eastern European artists, along with some of the American actors of the scene, in order to give a unique response to the recent upheavals and to realize two related works in the eastern and western part of Berlin<sup>187</sup>. These two locations, in the case of Boltanski, were set at Grosse Hamburger Strasse 15/16 (Mitte, eastern part of Berlin) and at the site of the former Glass Palace (Moabit, western part of Berlin). While the latter functioned as a documentation and research “center” that Boltanski called the *Museum*, the building in Mitte, more precisely the empty void of a building that was completely burnt down during WWII, served as his primary object of study (Picture 32). Yet Boltanski did not only investigate the vanished architectural structure, his main interest lay in its inhabitants. Indicating the names of former tenants, their professions and the time period of their residency, he placed white boards resembling street-plates on the firewall of the two adjacent houses. These plates explicitly showed that several tenants left the house between 1939 and 1943. Yet, as Aleida Assmann argues (2010b:377), “during this period there were no good reasons to move out from a Berlin tenement. That time forced emigration or deportation dissolved many Berlin residential communities”. Thus, while the inscriptions only hinted at the relationship between the origin of some of the tenants and the date of their moving out from the house, the Jewish background of inhabitants and their dispossessions became explicitly articulated in the files exhibited in the *Museum*. In accordance with all these, Boltanski's work signified a radical shift in memory politics in two senses. First, instead of concentrating on the Great Man, he pulled the individual out of anonymity and placed the everyday man into the center of attention. Second, Boltanski no longer strived for the representation of a historical event, his main aim was to mark, reveal and document a place of absence.

Similarly to Boltanski's goal, Attie wanted to show and preserve traces (Picture 51). *Writing on the Wall* – just like *The Missing House* – “focus[ed] on the processes of

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<sup>187</sup> Participants of the exhibition were: Giovanni Anselmo, Barbara Bloom, Christian Boltanski, Hans Haacke, Rebecca Horn, Ilya Kabakov, Jannis Kounellis, Via Lewandowsky, Mario Merz, Raffael Rheinsberg and Krzysztof Wodiczko. Apart from Boltanski, all other works remained temporary projects. At the same time, probably it is worth mentioning that two installations explicitly dealt with the material of public statues. While Via Lewandowsky exchanged the mosaics of Siegestsäule with the mosaics of Haus der Ministerien, Krzysztof Wodiczko made a light-installation where he transformed the statue of Lenin (Lenin Platz) into a shopper, who, wearing a striped shirt, moved to West-Berlin in order to pack his cart with department store bags and cardboard boxes. The latter also produced the disapproval of the residents of the Lenin Square. For further details see: Herzogenrath et al. 1990.

disintegration, transience and loss” (Muir 2010:82). Attie’s circa 26 temporary interventions in Scheunenviertel consisted of archival images of Berlin’s Jewish inhabitants photographed in the 1920s and 1930s, which were then projected upon the existing architectural structure of the area. As Muir recalls (2010:9), wherever possible, Attie attempted to utilize the exact locations where the photographs were originally taken. In this sense, *Writing on the Wall* functioned as a projection of ghost images.

Each of his images in the Scheunenviertel is both a tomb (a house of the dead) and a monument; each is a place of exception to remind us of absence, but because of their cognitive capacity relative to their confrontational aspect, they can also be understood as radical negatives – that is, as the non-tomb and the non-monument, they are, in short, active counter-monuments (Muir 2010:88).

This interpretation of Attie’s installation as a “counter-monument” (Young 2000), as a memorial challenging the very premise of the traditional form of a monument further shed light on the paradigm shift in German memory politics.

Parallel to these processes, one witnesses the spreading of stumbling stones in Berlin from 1995<sup>188</sup>. According to my research, alone in Spandauer Vorstadt there are more than 70 stumbling stones installed. Gunter Demnig’s idea of creating stumbling stones for commemorating individual victims of Nazism very much correlates with the above mentioned changing traditions. The stones reflect the trend of commemorating single persons within the framework of a renewed aesthetics. At the same time, stumbling stones also indicate how civilians become the main actor in memory politics and how memory politics can be connected to an entrepreneurial spirit: on the basis of their own research, citizens, neighbors, witnesses, school classes or communities can all initiate the installation of a stone that has the fix price of 120 Euros (data from 2012).

### **6.3. Institutionalization of Silent Heroes**

What is the position of the house and courtyard at Rosenthaler Strasse 39 within the above described processes? The building, located between the exemplarily renovated Hackeschen Höfe on the right and the Rosenhöfe on the left, was initially erected in 1769 by manufacturer Johann Gottfried Paul and got extended in 1831 with a side wing used as a cutler and

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<sup>188</sup> The first stumbling blocks were laid in Cologne (1992), but the idea became internationalized, and by today several countries install stumbling blocks within their cities. In Hungary the first stumbling blocks appeared in 2007, however not without any difficulties. On the one hand, the Jewish community only reluctantly approved the project: at the beginning, they interpreted it as stamping on the memories of the dead (see Cucu and Faye 2009). On the other hand, according to the Hungarian Wikipedia page “Botlatókövek Budapesten”, Budapest was the first place where a stumbling block was aggressively removed in front of the house at Greguss street 9.

dwelling for workers. Afterwards, the building went through a radical structural change. As a reaction to the growing industrial demands, the 1769 architecture was replaced by a late-classical building in 1864, and the side-wings were extended and increased to four floors. By 1907, the rear angled part of the lot was similarly built up with a five-storey commercial building. Both the unusual lay-out of the parcel and the combination of residential and commercial functions are typical for Spandauer Vorstadt (Picture 52). Yet, after coming to a standstill in structural terms there began a rapid alternation of owners. While in the 1920s the building was home to a linen factory whose logo is still visible on the façade<sup>189</sup>, in 1927 it was transferred – in the framework of a compulsory auction – to the ownership of Druckereihof AG whose main shareholder, Dr. Ernst Wachsner started to run a canteen for needy Jews. Yet, in 1940 the Nazis confiscated the building as an act of “aryanization” and the house was sold to Friedrich Christian Prinz zu Schaumburg-Lippe<sup>190</sup>. This was the period, during which, from 1940 to 1947/1952, the first floor of the side-wing gave place to Otto Weidt’s brush and broom factory classified as “important for the war effort”. Even though after the war there were several apartments available, the building was primarily utilized for commercial reasons, and it became the central office of the Association of Film and Television Workers in East Germany (DEFA). After 1989, the building, whose condition was already bad enough by that time, was left abandoned, and only in 1995 was it occupied by an artist group called *Dead Chickens*. For several years, the whole complex stood out from the neighboring houses as unrenovated. In spite of its partial renovation around 2005, this differentiation is still maintained to a certain extent<sup>191</sup>.

The moving in of the *Dead Chickens* (later Schwarzenberg Association) has a striking similarity to other examples of “squatting” – most importantly that of the *Tacheles* – in the area. As Schwarzenberg House recalls (Haus Schwarzenberg n.d.) on its homepage,

After the regime change the present Schwarzenberg House stood empty and by the time of the GDR it already deserved the Decline Prize. In 1995, the Dead Chickens, formerly residing in Kreuzberg, moved in. Their monstrous creatures still determine the image of the rear courts and of the Eschschloraque [cocktail bar]. Together with other artists and creative workers, they founded the Schwarzenberg Association, opened up the house and brought it into a usable condition<sup>192</sup>. At that time, they rented the house from the WBM, and by renewing the ceiling beams and freeing the walls from mold, they managed to save the entire side wing

<sup>189</sup> Wäsche Fabrik Gebr. Majanz.

<sup>190</sup> Former senior civil servant of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

<sup>191</sup> Mrozek (2003) talks about the sensations of passing through a time gate.

<sup>192</sup> In 1995, the architect Stefano Kollibay (and his atelier *aboutabout*) was one of the renters of the place, and he offered his help with the reconstruction works.

from collapsing. Initially there were only annual contracts with the WBM. The rents were cheap, but the association invested all together around 1 Million Euros – in the form of working hours and material costs – in the house. The association so far has never taken any public money on the account of their projects.

The post-1989 history of the house, thus, began with its artistic occupation that had the articulate aim of cultivating and supporting alternative and independent artistic production. This commitment was also echoed in the choice of the name of the Association: referring to Stefan Heym's novel *Schwarzenberg* (1984) it evoked the fate of an unoccupied area that existed for several weeks after the German capitulation in 1945. In the novel, Free Republic Schwarzenberg functioned as a utopian republic for 42 days, during which for unclear reasons neither Americans, nor the Soviet troops occupied the district Schwarzenberg in the Ore Mountains. Autonomy emerged as a keystone in the original aims of the association.

The eponym [of Schwarzenberg House] is the registered charitable organization Schwarzenberg Association, which is dedicated to promoting young independent art. The impressive 300 m<sup>2</sup> Neurotitan Gallery and its affiliated Artshop on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor of the rear building are run in this spirit. Providing affordable rental space in the house for creative workers, agencies and small firms is another part of the association's work. Schwarzenberg Association is economically self-sufficient and is financed solely from internal funds, donations and membership fees (Haus Schwarzenberg n.d.).

Moreover,

The active members of the Association have the aim to fill the emerging place of art, culture and civil courage – where creative and dedicated people come together from all over the world – constantly with new life. Even if you have the feeling that some of the places within the house evoke the 90s, the Association determines its aesthetic view primarily in the present and in the future. (...) Through networking with avant-garde artist collectives from around the world the Association campaigns for intercultural understanding, tolerance and productive cooperation in the Here and Now. Freedom and creativity, openness and diversity – these are the timeless values the Association identifies itself with – and with which the Association tries to be as fair as possible to the turbulent history of the house. Also the tenants are an important part of the Association and are to be understood as such. Not least because they are the ones who made to grow the Schwarzenberg House grow to a unique cultural microcosm that attracts a wide variety of people from all over the world today. The agencies and studios, galleries, club and tavern, as well as the award-winning Central cinema are all important parts of the larger whole. In this context, social responsibility plays also an important role in the life of the Association. Considering that the Schwarzenberg Association provides cheap rooms for its tenants, it secures numerous jobs. Currently, there are about 70 people who

work here. They come inter alia from Israel, Germany, Australia, Japan, Italy, Iran and Canada (Haus Schwarzenberg n.d.).

However, just like in the case of other subcultural projects in Spandauer Vorstadt, the initiative started to lose its assured position in the course of time, and Schwarzenberg Association faced several threats of auctioning the house. The difficulties started when in 1997-2000 the building was transferred back to the Jewish Community (particularly to the Wachsners), who in 2003 requested the liquidation of the house. This set into motion the first wave of the Association's campaign under the slogan "Action territory now! – Schwarzenberg House stays". On April 24, 2003 the auction took place, however there were no bids made<sup>193</sup>. At the same time, the district court of Mitte announced another date for a second round of auctioning the building, which again resulted in the protest of the Association: "For the future I see Schwarzenberg!". Unexpectedly, on November 4, 2003 the Housing Association (WBM) offered 2,5 million Euros for the house, through which the other three bidders were out of the game. Meanwhile the lawyer of the heirs made a claim for abating the auction, and the bid was not accepted. Even though WBM managed to purchase the building within the framework of the third auction on July 29, 2004, they were forced to pay the increased amount of 2,695 million Euros that got financed partly by the federal government and partly by the German Lottery Foundation Berlin. WBM guaranteed to keep the present function and physical appearance of the house, by which means the Schwarzenberg Association still can operate as a main actor in the place. Current conditions, however, are ensured only until 2015, when negotiations are to start again.

The fact that the building was not (yet) transmitted to the hands of an investor most probably is also connected to the historical significance of the place. The Schwarzenberg Association seemed to be very much aware of this historicity, and as co-founder and former spokesman Heinrich Dubel argues (cited in S.N. 2003),

For us, culture emerges from an awareness of our own history, and art – which wants to affect – can only come from a culture that has historical consciousness. These three words in this order – history, culture, art – this is it about. We try to integrate this into our work and to mediate this to people. (...) History should not disappear; one can touch it here, sometimes even sense it when the wind crumbles the plaster that slowly trickles from the façade.

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<sup>193</sup> The minimum bid was set in 1.531.217 Euros, which is about half of the market value of the building (3.38 Million).



Although in 1988 there was already a private initiative to erect a memorial plaque<sup>194</sup> commemorating Otto Weidt, the above mentioned “sensation” of history was turned into an explicit articulation only during the course of the next year. In March 1999 Museum Studies students from the University of Applied Sciences (Berlin) organized an exhibition in the back part of Otto Weidt’s former brush and broom factory, which was originally established in 1936 in the basement of Grosbeerenstrasse 92, and in 1940 relocated to Rosenthaler Strasse 39 (Picture 53). In the factory there were around 35 people employed; mainly Jews, most of them blind, some even deaf<sup>195</sup>. Elaborating the happenings between 1941 and 1943, the exhibition *Blind Trust* opened up three rooms of Weidt’s factory, which remained nearly untouched during the last decades. Based on witnesses’ recollections and focusing on the biographies of Inge Deutschkron, Alice Licht, Hans Israelowicz and the Horn Family, students documented the various modes of Otto Weidt’s effort to protect his employees and their families from deportation. As Deutschkron (2003:95) recalls,

Weidt did something that was incredible in that time; he treated us as human beings, he came towards us with respect, shared our concerns and needs, pondered with us about ways out and helped us to unbend.

This esteem was also echoed by Alice Licht in his poem *Hello, hello, Berlin calling* written on January 29, 1943:

Hello, hello, Berlin calling! / Please listen very carefully; / We’re switching over for an hour / To bring you a program packed with variety!! // Ladies and gentlemen, I’d like to tell you / There are certain stories around / That can’t simply be broadcast in public / And are better passed on in person. // It can’t be denied, / It’s an actual fact, / We live in the same Reich but build our own state. // Take President Weidt, for example / Whose name is known far and wide / For more than a year he has gathered around him / A pretty considerable bunch of Jews, / He shares their sorrow and their joy / Anxiously hoping for better times. // He may

<sup>194</sup> The memorial plaque was initiated by Inge Deutschkron, one of the former employees of Otto Weidt. As Deutschkron recalls (2003:118): “in 1988, I submitted a proposal to the Municipality of Berlin (GDR) with the request to commemorate this man somehow. I did not get an answer. Without doubt, this happened true to the policy of the GDR that left Jewish victims unnoticed and refused to honor their helpers”. The memorial plaque was inaugurated only after the regime change in 1993, with the support of the president of the Berlin House of Representatives, Hanna-Renate Laurien. The memorial plaque says: “In this house operated Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind. Several Jewish blind and deaf worked here between 1940 and 1943. Risking his own life, Weidt protected them and did everything to save them from certain death. Several people owe him their lives”. On September 4, 1999 the original plaque was removed and “for the sake of better visibility” it was replaced with a bronze memorial plaque put on the ground.

<sup>195</sup> Kurt Abraham, Werner Basch, Marianne Bernstein, Bernhard Bromberger, Inge Deutschkron, Fritz Engel, Leon Fischmann, Klaus Freund, Erich Frey, Chaim Horn, Max Horn, Hans Israelowicz, Markus Gersten, Siegbert Goldbarth, Leo Goldstein, Erna Haney, Rosa Katz, Gustave Kremmert, Willy Latter, Siegfried Lesh, Alfred Levy, Siegbert Lewin, Siegfried Lewin, Alice Licht, Augusta Rosenzweig, Frieda Schwarz, Alex Sommerfeld, Herbert Sommerfeld, Hans Steinitz, Kurt Sultan, Hugo Tuchler, Julius von der Wall, Simon Weiss, Kurt Wolf, Hermann Wolff

produce brushes and brooms, / But that was only the cover story. / As he says himself, / “I’m a revolutionary” / (...)

Otto Weidt, referred to as “president”, or sometimes even “pappi” by his employees, indeed created a separate world out of his factory where the “cover story” of producing brushes and brooms enabled him to maneuver. As Deutschkron describes (2003:91),

Of course I wanted to know very much how he [Otto Weidt] managed hiring me. He mumbled something about Wehrmacht orders. But I knew that there should be something else. In fact, he indeed had Wehrmacht orders. (...) Raw materials such as horsehair or synthetic fibers were allocated to him, and he also had the right to hire people. (...) Sometimes he carried out part of the Wehrmacht commissions, but usually only on the explicit pressure of the Wehrmacht bureaus. He used the material assigned to him for “other” businesses. Brooms and brushes were as scarce as any other goods during the war. They were outstandingly suitable as exchange objects. There was hardly a big department store in Berlin, with which Weidt did not have these kinds of businesses. Exchanging horsehair broom for perfumes, for sweaters, dresses, umbrellas or food.

At the same time, besides providing food and clothes for his workers, Weidt, who was also relying on an extended circle of helpers<sup>196</sup>, managed to outsmart or simply to bribe Gestapo officers for a relatively long time. While he created a sophisticated bell system through which workers were immediately made aware of “unwanted” visits and thus could hide in a recess under the stairs, Otto Weidt’s one of the most remarkable act was when in 1942 he made his already arrested workers released from a deportation assembly point at Grosse Hamburger Strasse by referring to the fact that “he cannot manufacture his products classified as important for the war effort without working force” (cited in Scheer 1984:65, Deutschkron 2003:98, Tuchel 2008:35).

They [the workers] still had their leather aprons on just like in the moment when they were brought from their workplace. They supported each other when walking. Jewish blinds were not allowed to wear armbands (...). And there was this train with Weidt going in the front, the winner who led his workers back from the assembly point to the court of the Rosenthaler Strasse 39 (Scheer 1984:65, authors’s translation).

During the time of massive deportations, Weidt also obtained false identities and organized hiding places. He actively helped Jews to go “underground”<sup>197</sup>, but even in those cases when

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<sup>196</sup> Hedwig Porschütz, Hans Rosenthal, Dr. Gustav Held, Theodor Görner, Karl Deibel and even police officers from Police Station 16 were all amongst the helpers.

<sup>197</sup> E.g., the Horn family used the windowless room at the rear part of Weidt’s workshop as a hiding place, which then was barricaded with a cupboard from the outside. However, in 1943 a Jewish informer (Rolf Isaakson) reported the Gestapo the hiding place, and the family was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where

deportation could not be prevented, he tried to ease the life of his friends in the camps<sup>198</sup>. Despite Weidt's efforts, only 7 of his Jewish employees (Inge Deutschkron, Erna Haney, Hans Israelowicz, Willy Latter, Alice Licht, Herbert Sommerfeld, Simon Weiss) survived the war<sup>199</sup>.

The spatial presence of the three rooms (especially the hiding room at the back of the workshop) and the (hi)story behind them proved to be such a strong experience that the number of visitors was beyond any beliefs and the exhibition originally scheduled to four weeks had to be extended. Leafing through the visitor book from 1999 suggests that the success was primarily due to the authenticity of the place. Comments like "Authenticity is impressive" (A. M.), "I want to praise the organizers who discovered this authentic place" (Unknown), "The exhibition impressed me a lot in this historically authentic place" (S. E.) are all returning remarks; and in fact authenticity still plays a central role in the enthusiasm around the site<sup>200</sup>. With the explicit claim that "this memorial site absolutely has to be preserved" (a remark from 2001), visitors clearly expressed their wish to transform the temporary exhibition into a memorial.

The idea of extending the run of the exhibition step by step was transformed into an idea of its long-term operation. While organizers being short in available resources entrusted the *Anne Frank Center Berlin* with the content-, personnel- and finance-wise supervision of the project until the end of 1999, the local government of the district Mitte, as well as the heritage departments of the Berlin Senate articulated their concern about the place with a

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they were murdered. Otto Weidt was likewise "interrogated by the Gestapo but escaped penalty, probably because he gave several bribes to Gestapo officers" (Tuchel 2008:153).

<sup>198</sup> During the period of 1943 and 1944 Weidt sent over 100 food parcels to his employees imprisoned in Theresienstadt. Moreover, when he learnt the fact that Alice Licht and his family were deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz-Birkenau, he decided to go to Auschwitz to offer his brushes for sale. Here he managed to get in contact with Alice who in 1945, with the help of Weidt, succeeded in escaping the camp.

<sup>199</sup> According to Benz (2003:37), Weidt altogether helped 56 Jews, from which 27 survived the war.

<sup>200</sup> E.g., "This is an essential exhibition on a historically authentic place. The walls, the floorboards, the furnaces, the court still mediate the feeling of narrowness and threat of that time. I have rarely experienced that the Nazi period (...) becomes as spontaneously present as here." (K. F., 7.3.2001), "Behind shabby facades noble spirit in this exhibition. Otherwise often reversed. An occasion to think." (Unknown. 3.4.2002), "This place with its authenticity in the heart of the new Berlin trying to obliterate the past holds the horrors of old times and makes its happenings come alive. It is very important to keep it as it is so that we can experience and learn how it really was. (...)" (I. P., 12.07.2004), "The grief, the whispers, the dust. The distant past lies between the bricks, the floorboards, the old walls. You have to touch them to be able to understand. The smell, the old windows. They say, who saves even one life, saves the entire world (...)" (I. F., Israel, 1.1.2005), "Beyond the great and famous and aesthetically designed museums, which are necessarily dedicated to the memory of a terrible period, these three rooms have the aura of the real and hide the history in the everyday world." (Unknown, 30.6.2005), "Moving, authentic – there are still good people." (N. H., H. H., Israel, 11.02.2007), "A Schindler-story. Authentic, stirring, worth of being continuously told." (T., August 2008), "The authenticity of this place is mediated with sensitive and vivid means. A very good exhibition. Thank you for this place." (Ch., Berlin, September 2011), "Our present time needs pause, needs memory – to recognize that people always have both: good and evil side by side. But the exhibition, the preserved rooms, the authenticity reinforces my conviction: the good will prevail" (B. H., 10.3.2012).

growing emphasis. While on 5 July 1999 the house got registered as a heritage site initiated by district council Thomas Flier, on 19 September 1999 the exhibition became a highlighted spot during the “Day of Contemporary History”, which was organized by the Senate Department of Science, Research and Culture. In the same year the German government’s Commissioner for Cultural and Media Affairs, Dr. Michael Naumann suggested the permanent preservation of the memorial place by linking it institutionally to one of Berlin’s memorials or museums. At this point, the process was irreversible. In 2000 organizers of *Blind Trust* founded the *Friend’s Association of Blind Trust* with Inge Deutschkron as a chair, and in 2001 the Gedenkstätte became connected to the *Jewish Museum of Berlin*. The memorial place was institutionally established.

Ensured now regarding its operation, *Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind* raised several questions. While the attempt of documenting and revealing the history of the workshop at an authentic site clearly fitted into the current trends of Holocaust memorials, its focus on a silent hero who actually tried to rescue those who were persecuted seemed to represent another perspective on the image of Germany as a nation of perpetrators. At the same time, comments from the visitor book of the exhibition not only gave evidence of the demand on this “other” side of the German history<sup>201</sup>, but also showed a growing interest in the issue of heroism<sup>202</sup>. In this sense, *Blind Trust* can also be understood as being constitutive and representative of the widening of Germany’s memory projects. Yet, on the level of politics there was a definite aim to embed this “other” side of the history into the well-

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<sup>201</sup> “(...) Very impressive & well done. Also it is important to show that individual Germans (Berliner) had the determination to try and save persecuted Jews.” (J. E. D., Anne Frank House, Amsterdam, 9.7.1999), “It is good to see and realize that it was possible to resist and to provide assistance. I think it’s very important to show these examples as a positive signal for civil courage that I also wish for our present times.” (Unknown, 9.9.2000), “It is astonishing that the few non-Jewish people who were willing to risk their own lives to save Jews, have experienced and still experience so little recognition in Germany. All the more remarkable and important the issue seems to me to be.” (Unknown, November 2002), “It is touching, important and noteworthy to find (...) such an authentic place of the history of German resistance that actually represents the “other Germany”. However, as Sigmund Freud said, the voice of reason is quiet, and likewise, the rooms are quiet, the walls only whisper to us. In comparison, the image of Berlin favoring again gigantomania appears as a bugbear. The Righteous among Nations, as Otto Weidt was one of them, really deserve no more publicity? Thanks to the commitment of the exhibition organizers, who rescued this history from oblivion.” (S. K., Vienna, 15.12.2002), “Why In Germany there is still no public or governmental memorial for these brave people? Why only in Israel? Civil courage is still worth nothing?” (Unknown, 13.2.2003), For me – as a child of the perpetrator generation – it is very important that there have been people such as Otto Weidt in the Nazi Germany.” (D. K., 21.10.2004).

<sup>202</sup> “On a barren and inconspicuous place there was a heroic rescue and assistance provided. Had there been only a few more like Weidt, then yes, the world would look different and perhaps also the face of humanity less ugly – just human. (...) (Ch. P., Jerusalem, 7.7.2002), “A wonderful story of a brave pacifists. Weidt is a human hero. (L. and Y. L., Haifa, August 2005), “Again and again, we admire the heroism of individuals” (two citizens of Jerusalem, 13.9.2005), “An incredible place with the heroic story of a dear man (...)” (R. and R. K., M. T., D. and G. B., Jerusalem, 6.4.2007), “(...) Good to know that real saints existed, there is still hope for the mankind!” (Family A., Haifa, Israel, 30.7.2007), “Otto Weidt, you were a hero!” (L. K., 23.11.2010), “The helper/rescuer were/are true heroes – models forever!” (R. W., 8.8.2012)

established semantics of trauma narratives. This endeavor clearly manifested itself in the decision of annexing *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind* to the Jewish Museum. Similarly, the Gedenkstätte also got connected to the Jewish history of Spandauer Vorstadt: the museum organizes various tours in the area and narrates the story of the workshop through the memorials and historical buildings located in the neighborhood and connected to the memory of Holocaust. The question of how to position the memory of silent heroes, especially in relationship to the Holocaust, also revealed itself in the 2001 speech of Federal President Johannes Rau. After making clear the high importance of remembering the Holocaust and the unacceptable attempts of its relativization, he argued (Rau 2001),

It seems to me that, just like earlier we were too little occupied with the crimes of the Third Reich, we are still too little concerned with those who positioned themselves in opposition to these crimes. Inge Deutschkron belongs to those who have experienced that in Germany's darkest times there were people who did not let their humanity and compassion be taken away. (...)

They were heroes, but not in the traditional sense. Maybe, we often have anyway a completely false image of heroes. Anyone who is concerned with the heroines and heroes of the Greek and Roman antiquity and early Christianity, whom we are especially familiar with, learns: They were not born to heroism. They had doubts and they also made mistakes. They had fear and sometimes they wanted to run away. They were not comic book heroes who were on duty for 24 hours a day and for 7 days a week. But in certain situations, they have overcome all their fears and doubts; they have acted decisively and thereby risking also their own lives. (...)

These women and men have behaved heroically. Most of them did not receive any recognition for his/her behavior, not even later. They were "silent heroes". That is attractive. But we should present them with the attention and we should show them the respect they deserve, because we have all the reasons to be proud of these men and women.

Certainly, they were much fewer than we would wish in retrospect. However, their number is bigger than we realized for a long time. (...) Drawing attention to these everyday heroes does not mean to relativize or gloss over the crimes of the Third Reich. It is also not about doing calculations on the number of helpers and the number of perpetrators. Commemorating "unsung heroes" (...) shows us that women and men even during the Nazi dictatorship had a room for maneuvering and had the possibility to make decisions. Their example shows that the excuse, there were nothing one could do, is not an excuse, but often just a plea.

(...) Many are currently involved in the rediscovery of the "silent heroes". (...)

In particular we owe the rediscovery of "silent heroes" to Inge Deutschkron (...). She has decisively contributed to the fact that "silent heroes" become more prominent in the public

consciousness, and this is why I advocate today the dedication of a central place to “silent heroes”. (...) Silent heroes deserve a wide public attention.

Rau’s claim to realize an extended commemorative place for silent heroes was met with a warm response, and, backed up by the 2004 purchase of the building in the framework of the above described auction, it was decided to expand the memorial site. Additional rooms within *Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind*, as well as an adjoining institution giving place to the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* were to be opened.

The position of commemorating silent heroes, however, still did not seem to be settled. In 2005, instead of the *Jewish Museum*, it was the *German Resistance Memorial Center* that was commissioned with the planning procedures. Even if there were also some kind of misunderstandings with the Jewish Museum in the background (as one of the historians of the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center*, Dr. Beate Kosmala told me on one occasion), this change in proprietors signified a change in the place of silent heroes within the memorial culture. Instead of being understood as solely a “Jewish” issue, silent heroes were incorporated into the wider category of German resistance fighters. This process also crowned the comprehensive research project *Rescuing Jews in Nazi Germany 1933-45*<sup>203</sup> that interpreted solidarity and help as forms of resistance. This was the framework within which the memorial place of *Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind* was reopened in 2006 with a revised and expanded exhibition, and within which the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* became realized in 2008.

In Berlin there are several authentic memorial sites, monuments and museums commemorating the time of Nazi terror. Of course, also in Berlin some facets of that time have not yet been sufficiently illuminated. That is why I am even more pleased that today we can close an important gap: from now on, in the heart of Berlin, the Gedenkstätte Stille Helden will commemorate brave women and men who have helped persecuted Jews during the Nazi era. With it, the federal government and Berlin created a central place that remembers this form of resistance against National Socialism (Speech by mayor of Berlin, Klaus Wowereit, on the occasion of the ceremony for the vernissage of the Gedenkstätte Stille Helden on 27 October 2008).

Compared to the numerous authentic places dedicated to the crime of Germans, of course, these institutions occupy only a small place within the city. As Dr. Beate Kosmala emphasized during our meeting, there was only a limited number of helpers, so “we have to be modest”. At the same time, funded now by the state of Berlin, by the Federal Government

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<sup>203</sup> The research project was led by Wolfgang Benz and his team at the *Center for Research on Antisemitism* (Technical University, Berlin, 1997-2002).

and by the EU (EFRE), *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind* and *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* became rooted in German memorial culture as places of resistance to Nazism. Although from a slightly different perspective, but this rootedness was also reinforced by the 2002 moving in of the *Anna Frank Center* into the *Schwarzenberg House*. Narrating the far too short life of Anna Frank together with the history of National Socialism not only reflects the issue of going underground, but the *Anna Frank Center* further exemplifies the process through which memories become more and more focused on individuals. *Schwarzenberg House*, incorporating *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind*, the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center*, moreover the *Anna Frank Center* became complete.

Entering again the courtyard of Rosenthaler Strasse 39, within the cacophony of spray messages and posters we will come across glass-cases attached to the walls. Elegantly framed, they call our attention to the historical significance of the place and display information on the memorials located here. Farther off, but still in the foreground, we find a door on the left leading up to the first floor to the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* where there are two levels dedicated to the rescue attempts in Germany and German-occupied territories<sup>204</sup> (Picture 54). A media table on the main floor, nine showcases and a computer terminal on the second floor. Based on the research findings of the *Center for Research on Antisemitism*, the exhibition is centered<sup>205</sup> on the various modalities of help<sup>205</sup>, on individual histories of helpers and of those who were rescued<sup>206</sup>, and on an accessible database for research. We pass through a seminar room jointly utilized by the *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind*, and by *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* where discussions about the notion of heroism (whether or not helpers were heroes), activities like making brushes, or meetings with Holocaust survivors all form part of the “educational” programs. Leaving the seminar room on the other side, we already find ourselves in *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind*. Here, the number of visitors is measurably more<sup>207</sup>, which is – as suggested by the comments

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<sup>204</sup> The institution is currently working on expanding the scope of the Gedenkstätte and on including cases from all over Europe as well.

<sup>205</sup> The media table comprises eighteen subject areas: Faith and Civil Courage, With Forged Documents, A Network of Helpers, Ask for “Tegel”, European Union, From Parsonage to Parsonage, Destination: Switzerland, Help for an Escapee from Majdanek, A Rescuer in Uniform, Survival in Disguise – From Poland to Berlin, Nazi Victim Helping the Hunted, Help in the Factory, At the Site of Mass Murder, Spontaneous Assistance, Fled a Death Transport, Odyssey through Germany, Struggling Underground from Day to Day, Hidden in the Bread Car. For more details also see Tuchel 2010.

<sup>206</sup> The nine showcases exhibit documents, objects and photographs connected to Eva and Carl Hermann, Agnes Wendland, Eugen Herman-Friede, Alice Löwenthal, Maria Gräfin von Maltyan, Oskar and Emilie Schindler, Heinrich and Maria List, Cioma Schönhaus, Lili Michalski.

<sup>207</sup> The official number of visitors of the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* was 9000 in 2009, while 12400 in 2012. Considering the memorial place of *Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind*, this number rose from 16045 visitors in 2001 to 66707 in 2012.

in the visitor book – in all probability due to the fact that original appliances frame the histories of successful and failed rescue attempts of Otto Weidt. Going back to the courtyard, one continues to stroll between graffitis and explores the Anna Frank Center (Picture 55). We go upstairs, and while listening to the excerpts from *The Diary of Anne Frank*, we unintentionally look out of the window facing the rear part of the courtyard. We start to gaze at tourists going in and out from the Neurotitan alternative shop and gallery until we realize with excitement that the monstrous frog sculpture again started to flutter its wings.

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The area of Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte is composed of several layers of various historical ages: while its ground-plan evokes the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the architectural basis stems from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, carrying also the marks of negligence by the GDR politics. At present, it is considered to be a “cool” place within Berlin. At the same time, Spandauer Vorstadt is associated with the traces, as well as the strong absence of Jewish life. As I have showed, processes of memorializations strongly focused on the Holocaust. Yet, while in the second section of this chapter I have elaborated on the strong estrangement from heroic narratives, in the third part I have discussed its cautious reintroduction in the form of “silent heroes”. Even though the two imaginations represented two different perspectives within Germany history, this differentiation has been eased by several factors. On the one hand, the current conceptual and aesthetic structure of memorial sites remembering the Jewish victims, as well as silent heroes appeared alike. Highlighting the process of research, emphasizing the everyday man, and stressing the attempt of documentation all created a link between the two. On the other hand, silent heroes also became incorporated into German memory politics as resistance fighters against National Socialism.

Visitor’s comments, such as “This exhibition is worthier or tells me more than the discussions about a monument” (1999) or “No Holocaust Memorial can evoke the horror of the disastrous history of the Nazi era as much as these rooms with their real exhibits” (1999) suggests that the memorial place of *Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind*, as well as the *Silent Heroes Memorial Center* can still define itself differently from memorials dedicated to the Holocaust. However, the two – on a basic and inescapable level – become bound together through the life of Otto Weidt, who in 1947, probably for the first time in Germany, proposed the construction of a Holocaust memorial. The reaction to the silent heroes’ request was – at that time – silence.



What I intend to do now, and why I need the help of “Aufbau” [journal of Germans living in the US] or the friends of “Aufbau” is the following:

In Berlin on a public place, I take the example of the Bayerischer Viertel since it was named as the Jewish district. I would like to erect a memorial to the millions of Jewish victims. (...) Not a cenotaph [Ehrenmal] that is built in the silence of the outlying cemetery and that calls us to remember the dead honorifically, whom we do remember in any cases. But a memorial [Mahmal] that reminds the Aryan world, constantly reminds, that millions of racially persecuted people were burnt and tortured in the concentration camps. For 100.000 political refugees there is a memorial [Mahmal] in each city. For the racially persecuted this was forgotten, just like it will likely be gradually forgotten. To avoid this altogether, I will go ahead to erect this memorial [Mahmal] and I would like to ask all friends and all people beyond the great water,

To send one or two or more Dollars, depending on the economic situation, to the editorial board of the journal “Der Weg” and write on it “For the establishment of a memorial [Mahmal]” (Otto Weidt’s unpublished letter sent to the journal “Aufbau” in 1947, from the archive of Museum Otto Weidt’s Workshop for the Blind).

## CHAPTER 7.

### SHAPING THE EVERYDAY HERO IN BUDAPEST:

#### UNOFFICIAL MEMORY OF ALTERNATIVE HEROES ON THE HEROES' SQUARE

In all probability, there is not a single guide book on Budapest that does not recommend visiting the Heroes' Square in the 14<sup>th</sup> district, at the end of the Andrassy Avenue. Being part of a World Heritage site, the square appears to be extremely popular. These books, however, fail to point out that the idea of a Heroes' Square is not unique at all: throughout history it had and still has several namesakes in the area that now belongs to Budapest. Heroes' Squares have been established in today's 3<sup>rd</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> districts, too. While the majority of these squares were formed within the framework of modernization and urbanization of public spaces around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of them were (re)named as "Heroes' Square" following the Act VIII in 1917<sup>208</sup>. The decree ordered the proper remembrance of war heroes in every settlement, as well as the establishment of the so-called Heroes' Day. In this sense, the genre of the "Heroes' Square" was initially created to commemorate the military victims of WWI, which, later, was adjusted to various needs.

In the aftermath of the Second World War the national day disappeared from the memory calendar, which also entailed the renaming of some of the Heroes' Squares during the period of socialism<sup>209</sup>. After the regime change, the socialist instruction has been reconsidered and the first Orbán government reintroduced the law in 2001. According to the reformulated decree, the Memorial Day now celebrates Hungarian heroes of the past thousand years. Even though the number of Heroes' squares considerably decreased by today, the existing Heroes' Squares in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> districts show that heroes still have places on the squares of Budapest. Or do they?

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<sup>208</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> district the square was given the name Heroes' Square in 1927. In the 14<sup>th</sup> district the naming goes back to 1932. In the Rákosszentmihály part of the 16<sup>th</sup> district the former market square was renamed from Franz Joseph Square to Heroes' Square in the 1930s. The square in the Cinkota part of the same district was named as Heroes' Square in the 1920s. In the Rákosliget area of the 17<sup>th</sup> district Károly Fach Square was renamed as Heroes' Square after 1925. The Bulyovszky, then Wekerle Square in the Rákoshegy neighbourhood in the 17<sup>th</sup> district was renamed as Heroes' Square in the 1930s. In Pestszentimre (18<sup>th</sup> district) the naming happened in 1943. In Kispest (19<sup>th</sup> district) Templom Square was renamed as Heroes' Square in 1938. In Pesterzsébet-Erzsébetfalva (20<sup>th</sup> district) the square got its name Heroes' Square in 1933. In Soroksár (23<sup>rd</sup> district) the market square was named as Heroes' Square in 1920. See more info in Ráday 2004.

<sup>209</sup> In the area of Cinkota (16<sup>th</sup> district) Heroes' Square was renamed as Állomás Square. In the Rákoshegy neighbourhood (17<sup>th</sup> district) the square was renamed as Sámuel Tessedik Square in 1964. In Kispest (19<sup>th</sup> district) Heroes' Square was renamed as Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Square in 1945. After the regime change it got back its original name, Templom Square in 1992. In Pesterzsébet-Erzsébetfalva (20<sup>th</sup> district) the square was renamed as Emlékezés tere in 1965. In the case of Pestszentimre (18<sup>th</sup> district), even though Heroes' Square was renamed as Patika Square in 1950, its name Heroes' Square was restored in 1998. See more info in Ráday 2004.

Similarly to Chapter 6 that functions as a synthesis of the German case, this chapter brings together many of the previous sections' arguments. Yet, focusing on the various Heroes' Squares does not only allow to elaborate on changes in the notion of hero from the millennium up to the present time, but it also enables meditations upon the differences and similarities between practices of memorialization at the center and periphery of Budapest. This double emphasis on the mainstream and lesser known Heroes' Squares further reflects on Simmel's notions of the "typical" and "unique" (Simmel 1968a). Discussing various – permanent and temporary, official and unofficial – urban interventions, with a special regard to the 2012 art project *Place of the Heroes*, I argue that the conventional genre of Heroes' Square becomes radically reinvented in the field of alternative art; transforming it into a playful, abstract and, finally, a self-reflexive entity.

### 7.1. The Central Heroes' Square Then and Now

At the zenith of commemorating the dead of the First World War, there were ten Heroes' Squares functioning within the present borders of Budapest. If we also count other representative spaces whose name bore references to war heroes, such as the Grove of Heroes in today's 4<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> districts<sup>210</sup>, this number already rises to twelve. Yet, in spite of the vast number of these squares, their distribution appeared as uneven. As Figure 7 shows, with the exception of the third district, all Heroes' Squares were located on the Eastern side of the Danube.

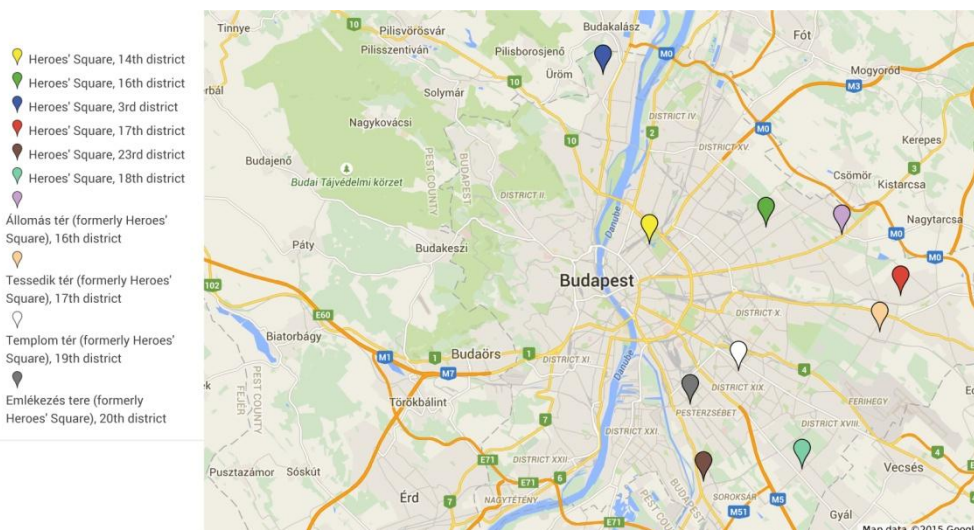


Figure 7. The various Heroes' Squares throughout Budapest

<sup>210</sup> Both Groves of Heroes were established in the thirties. In 1948, the one in the 4<sup>th</sup> district was renamed as Square of the Freedom Fighters, until in 1974 it disappeared because of urban spatial planning. In the 18<sup>th</sup> district the grove was united with the Kossuth Square. See more info in Ráday 2004.

At the same time, considering the fact that the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> districts initially functioned as separate locations that were attached to the administrative unit of Budapest only after 1950, the map simply underlines how general the custom was to set up Heroes' Squares in various settlements. When Great Budapest was created in 1950, several cities and large villages, together with their various Heroes' Squares, became part of Budapest. During that time practices of renaming already began, and by now the number of Heroes' Squares has been reduced to six in Budapest. Even though these squares had and still have a representative and ritual function within the limits of their particular districts, the Heroes' Square in the 14<sup>th</sup> district, and only that, managed to gain a local, as well as a national and worldwide importance.

The Heroes' Square in the 14<sup>th</sup> district lies at the north-eastern end of the 2,5 km long Andrassy Avenue next to the City Park (Picture 56). While its development is usually discussed within the framework of the much larger construction project of the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition*<sup>211</sup>, the establishment of the square itself goes back to a period before 1895. In 1868 mining engineer Vilmos Zsigmondy began a deep boring in the area that continued until 1877 when at a depth of 970 meters he found thermal water. In 1878 Zsigmondy built a plain wooden pavilion on the top of this finding, which got replaced in 1884 with an ornamental well designed by Miklós Ybl. Thus, in 1895, when Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle decided to initiate the building of a National Pantheon, it was the so-called Gloriette well that occupied and dominated the square. With the advancing of the preparation of the exhibition, in 1898 the well was moved to Mount Széchenyi in Buda that also enabled György Zala (sculptor) and Albert Schikedanz (architect) to begin their work on the *Millennial Monument*<sup>212</sup>. Celebrating the thousandth anniversary of the Magyar Conquest in 895, the plan of the sculptural installation included (1) a double quarter-circular colonnade at the back of the square<sup>213</sup>, (2) fourteen king-statues and reliefs depicting a significant accomplishment of each<sup>214</sup>, (3) four allegoric statues atop of the colonnade symbolizing War,

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<sup>211</sup> In Chapter 1 I discuss the exhibition in details.

<sup>212</sup> As Gerő (1990:6-8) recalls, there was another proposal existing that favoured locating the National Pantheon on the place of the Citadel. The Citadel was built after 1849 by the Habsburgs, and functioned as an obsolete fortress on the top of the Gellért Hill. Counterpointing the message mediated by the Citadel, the National Pantheon wanted to communicate national independence. At the same time, because of the foreseeable high costs of knocking down the Citadel, the government finally decided to erect the National Pantheon between the Andrassy Avenue and the City Park. As Gerő (1990:8) notes, "instead of being built on the site of the Bastille of the Gellért Hill, the statue was to be located on Hungary's Champs-Élysées".

<sup>213</sup> The colonnade was finished in 1901.

<sup>214</sup> Statues of Matthias Corvinus, Ferdinand I, Béla IV, Charles Robert and Leopold II were finished until 1905. Statues finished by 1906 included those of Coloman the Book-Lover and John Hunyadi. The statue of Franz Joseph I was completed by 1908. By 1911 the statues of St. Ladislaus, Saint Stephen and Maria Theresa were

Peace, Work and Welfare, Knowledge and Glory<sup>215</sup>, (4) a Millennial Column at the focal point of the square, moreover (5) a statue of Archangel Gabriel above, and (6) the statue of the Seven Chieftains of the Magyars below the column<sup>216</sup>. Even though the realization of the multi-element installation quickly began, the final inauguration took place only on May 26 in 1929, on the Memorial Day of Heroes. Soon after the official unveiling, the square also got its name Heroes' Square in 1932. During this period the *Millennial Monument* had already gone through several significant changes, yet neither did the year of 1929, nor 1932 signify the end of its structural and symbolic transformation.

As already discussed in Chapter 1, the idea of the *Hungarian Millennial Exhibition* had the unambiguous goal and potential to position Hungary both on a local and world stage. Addressing an audience within and outside the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to which Hungary belonged at that time, the exhibition expressed a national sentiment, as well as communicated the metropolitan values of Hungary. Similarly to the exhibition, the *Millennial Monument* had references to both of these. This duality was explicitly articulated through the enormous statue of Archangel Gabriel, who, standing on a solid globe on the top of the Millennial Column, almost rose into the sky. The figure of the archangel had a direct link to Hungary's history: according to the legend, Gabriel appeared in the dreams of the first Hungarian king asking him to convert his people to Christianity. The holy crown of the Hungarian kings, together with the apostolic cross in the hands of the statue, therefore, refers to this story. Yet, while linking the Hungarian past to the national symbol of the Holy Crown, the monument also suggested that the Hungarian statehood is embedded in a Christian and European tradition. As Rév (2005:30) underlines, “the Holy Crown (...) represents the country's Christian and European civilizing mission in the Carpathian Basin”.

Besides joining national and European dimensions in this sense, the sculptural installation narrated the greatness of Hungarian history on a local and global level, too. This interplay is best illustrated through the king-statues and reliefs of the colonnade. On the one hand, the 14 king-statues<sup>217</sup> and reliefs<sup>218</sup> showed the noteworthy deeds of 14 great men who

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also finished. In 1912 the statues of Andrew II and Charles III were also added to existing statues. Because of the outbreak of the war, the statue of Louis the Great was only finished in 1927.

<sup>215</sup> While the allegoric statues of War, Work and Welfare, Knowledge and Glory were finished in 1906, the symbolic figure of Peace got completed only in 1908.

<sup>216</sup> György Zala finished the figure of the angel by 1900 with which he even won the Grand Prize at the World Exhibition in Paris. The statue of the seven chieftains was only finished after WWI, in 1928.

<sup>217</sup> The *Millennial Monument* originally consisted of the following king-statues: on the left colonnade Saint Stephan, St. Ladislaus, Coloman the Book-Lover, Andrew II, Béla IV, Charles Robert, Louis the Great, and on the right colonnade John Hunyadi, Matthias Corvinus, Ferdinand I, Charles III, Maria Theresa, Leopold II, Franz Joseph I.

also had a major influence on world politics. On the other hand, in contrast to the majority of statues, where the relief directly elaborated an accomplishment of the particular figure, in a few cases this consonance has been disturbed. As Geró (1990:14-19) discusses it in detail, these statues and the apparently disconnected reliefs attached to them revealed a tension in Hungary's position within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The statue of Charles Robert (1308-1342) from the Capetian House of Anjou got coupled with a relief depicting the Battle of Marchfeld in 1278 where the Hungarian king Ladislaus IV allied with Rudolph Habsburg and together they defeated the Czech king Ottokar. While the dedication of the statue to Charles Robert implicated the acknowledgment of his historical significance, the relief suggested that Habsburgs have to thank their power to Hungarians. In a further example, the statue of Ferdinand I (1526-1564) – who was unable to defend the country from the Turkish invasion of Hungary – was attached to a scene that represented the victorious battle at Eger in 1552 when Hungarian troops successfully defended the castle from the Turkish attack. In yet another instance, the statue of Charles III (1711-1740) was linked to a relief that illustrated the victory against the Turkish forces at Zenta in 1697 marking the end of the 150-year-long history of Ottoman Hungary. Even though the king-statues did commemorate Habsburgs too, these reliefs repeatedly emphasized their dependence on and need of Hungary. In this sense, the *Millennial Monument* did not call into question the legitimacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but it did express and display the thousand-year-old, local and global significance of Hungary. This version of historical self-image, however, got radically challenged after WWI following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

After 1918 the various structural and symbolic changes of the monument quickly followed each other. In 1919, during the short period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the statues of the Habsburg rulers were removed. The figure of Franz Joseph I, who had still been in power at the beginning of the First World War, and who had directly been associated with the war itself, was even smashed into pieces. Definitively erasing the initial message of the *Millennial Monument*, on May 1, 1919 authorities of the first Hungarian Soviet Republic wrapped the entire sculptural installation in a red textile. Emphasizing a turn to the socialist ideology, they also erected the temporal statue of Marx at the basement of the Millennial Column that had been transformed into an obelisk. After the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet

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<sup>218</sup> The reliefs originally depicted the following scenes: St. Stephen receives the crown from an emissary of the Pope, St. Ladislaus slays the Cumanian abductor, Coloman annexes Croatia and Dalmatia to Hungary, Andrew leads a crusade, Béla rebuilds the country after the Mongol invasion, Ladislaus IV defeats Ottokar at the battle of Marchfeld, Louis the Great occupies Naples, John Hunyadi sieges Belgrade, Matthias with his scholars, The Defence of Eger in 1552, The Battle at Zenta, “Vitam et sanguinem pro rege nostro Maria Theresia”, The return of the Crown to Buda, The Crowning of Franz Joseph I.

Republic, however, the Habsburgs gained back their previous positions, at least in terms of their statues on the square: the monuments were brought back to their original places, and the figure of Franz Joseph I also got recast, although in a slightly changed form<sup>219</sup>. Yet, this return was far from restoring the original idea behind the *Millennial Monument*. When its inauguration took place in 1929, the *Millennial Monument* also got completed with a *Memorial to the National Heroes*. While the memorial functioned as a cenotaph of the unknown warrior of the WWI, its inscription ran as “For the thousand-year borders”. The *Millennial Monument* became strongly associated with the era’s popular Trianon memorials. These public works of art articulated a wish to restore the boundaries of Hungary that were radically cut in 1920 by the Treaty of Trianon. As Gerő (1990:28) puts it,

The original intent in designing the monument had been to (...) assert that Hungary had achieved its manifest destiny within the framework of the Dual Monarchy and that the assumption of this role marked the culmination of its natural historic path of 1000 years of development. But by the time the monument had been finished the Monarchy had collapsed, and with it the historical boundaries of Hungary. The conservative counter-revolutionary regime did not learn from these events that their former image of historical greatness had been a deceptive one; instead, they exclusively emphasized the injustice of the Treaty of Trianon and set as their unrealistic goal the restoration of the former boundaries. And while the original monument had been established to honour the present, by 1929 the monument had become the expression of the nation’s goals for the future (...).

This was the context in which the square also got the name Heroes’ Square in 1932.

The memorial, imbued with the trauma of Trianon, got yet again into the center of attention after the Second World War. Overwriting its revisionist message by a strong antirevisionist policy, the *Millennial Monument* was once again transformed. The statues of Habsburgs, together with their reliefs, were removed for a second time to be replaced with heroes fighting for the independence of Hungary<sup>220</sup>. The relief belonging to King Coloman the Book-Lover was also exchanged: instead of a scene depicting the territorial expansion of Hungary, the relief came to narrate how the king banned the burning of witches. The *Memorial to the National Heroes* was removed, too. When in 1956 it got replaced by Béla Gebhardt’s work, the memorial was not only deprived of references to Trianon, but it also commemorated the heroes who sacrificed their lives for the freedom and national

<sup>219</sup> Instead of a general’s uniform, the figure of Franz Joseph I was recast in a coronation cloak.

<sup>220</sup> The statues of Ferdinand I., Charles III., Maria Theresa, Leopold II. and Franz Joseph I. were replaced by the figures of István Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen, Imre Thököly, Francis II Rákóczi and Lajos Kossuth. Similarly, the new statues also got new reliefs: Hajdú soldiers defeat the imperial forces, Bethlen concludes a treaty with Bohemia, The battle of Szikszó, Rákóczi returns from Poland, Kossuth rallies the peasants of the Great Plain.

independence of the Hungarian people. Originally emphasizing the historical greatness of the thousand-year-old Hungary within and outside the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the *Millennial Monument* then got caught in the rhetoric of socialist, and, later, revisionist ideology. With the latest changes in the structure of the monument, this message has been shifted to the idea of national independence. When in 2001 the Heroes' Square was announced as a historical and national memorial place by the Hungarian government, the square and the statues only received a major clean-up without implementing essential changes in the form of the monument.

Coming to a standstill in a structural sense did not, however, mean that the symbolic value of Heroes' Square was not rewritten again and again. During the period of socialism the primary role of the square was to accommodate the yearly celebrations of the Day of the Red Army on April 4, and later the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on May 1. These events in themselves went against the message of national independence. Yet, from the 80s this political function has also been radically challenged. On the one hand, Heroes' Square repeatedly gave place to various national rock opera performances. As Éva Kovács (2001:71) emphasizes, these musicals, such as *Itt élned, halnod kell* directed by Gábor Koltay in 1985, aimed to recall the original symbols of the thousand-year-old statehood. On the other hand, on June 27, 1988 there was a torchlight demonstration held, which was the first well-organized and self-secured protest under the socialist regime mobilizing over sixty thousand individuals. Rallying against the village destruction program in Transylvania, people lit candles on the top of several symbolic graves, and they sang numerous Transylvanian folk songs including the Székely Anthem. The poem, which was written in 1921 by György Csanády and was set to music by Kálmán Mihalik, came into existence as a direct reaction to the Treaty of Trianon. The demonstration endeavoured to express solidarity with the trans-border Hungarian minority. In this sense, the events that chose the Heroes' Square as their venue between 1945 and 1989, evoked various aspects of the former functions of the *Millennial Monument*. How did, then, the reburial of Hungary's 1956 revolution Prime Minister Imre Nagy and his associates relate to these divergent ideologies of the Heroes' Square at the dawn of the regime change?

On February 14, 1989 the Committee for Historical Justice agreed with the Ministry of Justice on the reburial of Imre Nagy<sup>221</sup>, Miklós Gimes<sup>222</sup>, Géza Losonczy<sup>223</sup>, Pál Maléter<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Imre Nagy was a Hungarian communist politician who also became a Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary during the revolution of 1956 on a popular demand. After crushing the revolution he was arrested and then, in 1958, executed.



and József Szilágyi<sup>225</sup>, moreover the unknown martyrs executed after 1956. Since the actual reburial in the New Cemetery was decided to be accompanied by a mass demonstration on June 16, 1989, the backdrop of the event was set on the Heroes' Square. In retrospect, the reburial clearly appears as a decisive moment of the regime change. Does it, then, also suggest a new episode in the history of the square? Did the reburial function as an introduction of a new symbolic message? Or on the contrary, did it amplify an older meaning? As István Rév (2005:36-42) thoroughly discusses, there was a serious problem emerging of how to present the body of Imre Nagy at the reburial ceremony. The controversy in Nagy's reputation already reveals the complicated connection of the event to the previous period. The difficulty with Nagy was that while he believed in the reformability of the state-socialist system he did die as a communist who then also became an anti-communist hero. Accordingly, the last communists in power, the earlier leaders of the socialist regime, and also Nagy's fellow revolutionaries all appropriated Nagy's body differently, for their own purposes. The first group hoped that the "body of the reform-Communist prime minister could help them find a new historical and political legitimation" (Rév 2005:37). The second "brought a sense of deliverance and pardon into the present" (Rév 2005:37). The third group "wanted rehabilitation but were ready to forgive" (Rév 2005:37). For some, Imre Nagy represented the possibility of maintaining a reform communism, for others, he became an icon for anti-communism.

Similarly to this dual understanding of the "political life of the dead body" of Nagy (Verdery 1999), the exact location and aesthetics of the reburial simultaneously reinforced and negated a relation to the former period of socialism (Picture 57). The funerary setting, designed by the architect László Rajk, Jr.<sup>226</sup>, and Gábor Bachman<sup>227</sup>, originally was planned to be constructed in an area between the *Statue of the Seven Chieftains* and the *Memorial to the National Heroes*. As the catalogue of the event shows (Bachman et al 1990:44), the catafalque would have occupied the middle of the square. Yet, instead of repeating and adjusting to the general structure of the Heroes' Square, Rajk and Bachman finally decided to

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<sup>222</sup> Gimes worked as a journalist in various communist newspapers. During the revolution of 1956, he founded and edited revolutionary newspapers. He was executed along with Nagy, Maléter and Szilágyi in 1958 for treason.

<sup>223</sup> During the revolution in 1956, Losonczy joined the government of Nagy as a minister of press and propaganda affairs. After the revolution he was arrested and died while on a hunger strike in prison.

<sup>224</sup> Maléter was a military leader of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. He was executed along with Nagy, Gimes and Szilágyi in 1958 for treason.

<sup>225</sup> Szilágyi was a jurist active during the revolution in 1956. He was arrested and then executed along with Nagy, Gimes and Maléter in 1958 for treason.

<sup>226</sup> Son of the most known show trial victim László Rajk who died in 1949.

<sup>227</sup> Bachman is a Hungarian architect and designer who during the 80s followed the trend of deconstructivism.

tilt this balance. The ceremony of the reburial was positioned on the south-eastern side of the square, directly in front of the Hall of Art. Thus, the ceremony took place on the Heroes' Square, but not quite on the square.

At the same time, the funerary setting was created in 1989, which, according to Rajk (1994), “did not have an iconography”. Hungarian art historian Miklós Peternák (1996:71) likewise argued that this period marked a political and cultural vacuum that opened up a free, empty space and place for the artists. Within this void Rajk and Bachman came up with a plan that consisted of both traditional and innovative elements: conventional symbols were combined with features of a counter-monument. In accordance with the vision of Rajk and Bachman, the neoclassical style of the Hall of Art became temporary overwritten through a black and white neoconstructivist design. While the vertical wall of the Hall of Art was covered with a white sheet, its tympanum, columns and stairs became wrapped in a black textile. The colours of white and black appeared as the traditional symbols of solemnity and mourning. Yet, in contrast to the dichotomy of these conventional representations, the architectural construction extensively utilized the material of rusty iron, too. On the right side of the stairs there was a rusty iron pulpit that resembled a prow. Next to it a rusty iron traverse rose, upon which an abstract form of a white flag was hanging with its middle burnt out. On the left side of the stairs another rusty iron construction lay, in which there was fire burning throughout the whole ceremony. The rusted iron – that is about to disappear – introduced the notion of absence into the whole funerary setting. Corresponding to art historian Tibor Wehner’s idea of a “memorial of absence” (Wehner 1989)<sup>228</sup> and evoking the genre of counter-monuments<sup>229</sup>, the catafalque raised the concept of nothing into a central structural element of the construction. While the motif of the void returned in the empty middle of the white flag, the hiatus also got repeated in the emptiness of the sixth coffin of the unknown martyrs<sup>230</sup> in the middle of the stage. Within this black and white context playing with the notions of presence and absence, the six black coffins and the six white candelabra got positioned between the rusty structure of the eternal flame and the pulpit. The

<sup>228</sup> In 1989 Wehner proposed that the new political regime should distinguish itself from the previous periods through the erection of “memorials of absence”. For more details see Chapter 5.

<sup>229</sup> For the analysis of the appearance of the concept of absence in the memory works of Berlin and Budapest see Chapter 5. The notion of absence plays a significant role in the works of both Rajk and Bachman. When Gábor Bachman represented Hungary in the International Architecture Exhibition in Venice in 1996, his work run under the title *The Architecture of Nothing*. See Varga 1996.

<sup>230</sup> During the ceremony the unknown martyrs did not remain unknown: the names of 277 victims of the postrevolutionary trials were read out loudly further elaborating a play with the duality of presence and absence.

celebration reanimated the martyrs of the 1956 Revolution, as well as it offered a final farewell to them.

Further approaching the architectural installation to counter-monuments, the construction of the funerary setting did not end with Rajk and Bachman finishing the design of the catafalque. Similarly to the phenomenon of counter-monuments that put a huge emphasis on blurring the boundary between the artist and the audience, Rajk and Bachman left their installation open. As Rajk (1994) emphasizes,

(...) the finished design was further constructed. Namely people started to put flowers and wreaths on it. This finally became a collective work of art. It was because of this that we did not want to designate a place for flowers. We did argue a lot with people responsible for the security: they told us that people cannot put flowers in front of the coffins, because this way they would get too close to the guards of honour. And we told them that people must be allowed to go to the coffins, it is not enough that they pass in front of it. Thus, the scene continuously had been under construction, we only provided the base.

In the case of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 this method seemed to be extremely valid. On the one hand, the symbolic space of the revolution was itself shaped by the everyday man: the spontaneous action of cutting out the coat of arms of the Rákosi's regime from the center of the Hungarian tricolor made the hollow Hungarian flag a primary icon of 1956. The triangular flag in Rajk and Bachman's design also evoked this everydayness. In a certain sense, the material of rusted iron, as Rajk (1994) notes, also referred to the everyday aspect of 1956; it suggested that instead of super tanks and modern machine guns, it is possible to make a revolution with things knocked together. On the other hand, since the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 came to represent the par excellence moment of national unity, it only seemed appropriate to create a commemorative site together.

How was, then, the symbolic space of the Heroes' Square reinterpreted? What was the primary message the temporal architectural structure mediated? How did it relate to the previous site and sight of the square? As Rév (2005:38-39) argues,

The sight of the catafalque could not have been very comforting to those who wanted to purify the martyr's [Nagy's] Communist past. It was a neoconstructivist structure evoking, quoting, and – from a distance – referring to the style of Russian and Soviet revolutionary constructivism; it was designed in the spirit of Vladimir Tatlin and Aleksandr Rodchenko although the candelabra were rented out from the opera house, where they were being used for Verdi's Aida. It was not just an abstract scaffold of the revolution; rather it referred to a particular historical moment (...): the revolution of the East. In this way the ghost of the Bolshevik Revolution hovered above the steps of the Palace of Exhibitions, where the coffins

were laid on display. The scene evoked the revolution, and thus it served as a historical statement: 1956 was a revolution.

While the neoconstructivist design evoked the visual principles of Russian and Soviet art, the same aesthetics also called into question the official socialist narrative of the 1956 Revolution as a counter-revolution. Thus, similarly to the figure of Nagy and the location of the event, the design had an ambivalent relation to the former periods. It reappropriated some of the visual elements of socialism, but also turned the socialist rhetoric upside down. The Hungarian Revolution of 56 became the new foundation myth of the Heroes' Square, and, after all, the new political regime.

After June 16, 1989 – with the vanishing of Rajk and Bachman's temporal construction – the square became deprived of a radical visual gesture that not only introduced a new aesthetic language, but also redefined the square politically. Even though the event of the reburial unambiguously had a euphoric atmosphere, it seemed as if it could not entail a long-lasting effect on the Heroes' Square, and on the memory politics of Hungary. As I have shown in Chapter 5, the post-1989 memory politics, especially the memory of 1956, quickly fell apart and became polarized. The several hundred thousand people who attended the reburial also turned out to be only an illusion of a community. During the period after 1989, the square again and again became the location of divergent commemorative and even political events of the various parties who all mediated different messages in accordance with their party politics. Even the Hungarian Guard – a now dissolved far-right military movement – used regularly the Heroes' Square as a spot for their march. Probably with the intention of easing the hard-line political and military load of the square, from 2007 the popular event of the National Gallop celebrating Hungarian equestrian traditions also takes place on the Heroes' Square. Yet, through reviving the Hussar culture of Hungarian history it ultimately also contributes to rewinding time over the Heroes' Square.

After 1989, however, we not only witnessed a historical journey to the past on the square. In 2012 Imre Kerényi, the personal representative of the Prime Minister responsible for cultural matters, organized the exhibition *Heroes, Kings and Saints* in the National Gallery. Displaying the newly commissioned illustration for the rewritten Constitution of Hungary, the renowned status of the reburial was nowhere to be found. Although June 16, 1989 has been chosen as a significant historical moment to be commemorated, Tamás Galambos' naive painting offered another interpretation (Picture 58). As Puttkamer (2013:68) argues, the figure of the chameleon replacing the statue of Archangel Gabriel, moreover the various participants of the event who were portrayed with a watermelon-like head

sarcastically questioned the importance of the event, as well as the actual fact of the regime change. The Heroes' Square seemed to get out of history.

## **7.2. Heroes' Squares at the Periphery of Budapest**

Similarly to the Heroes' Square in the 14<sup>th</sup> district, the various currently existing Heroes' Squares in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> districts have all been appropriated by several political regimes. With the exception of the 16<sup>th</sup> district, the sculptural history of these Heroes' Squares began with the erection of a WWI memorial: in the 3<sup>rd</sup> district Gyula Jankovics' memorial was inaugurated in 1927, in the 17<sup>th</sup> district Lóránd Friedrich and Lajos Wandra's statue was constructed in 1925, in the 18<sup>th</sup> district a WWI memorial was created in 1943, and in the 23<sup>rd</sup> district István Szentgyörgyi' work was erected in 1927. Alike to the WWI memorial in the 18<sup>th</sup> district, in which the figure of a *turul*<sup>231</sup> also transformed the statue into a representation of the trauma of Trianon, in the 17<sup>th</sup> district there was a country flag set up in 1934, beside the WWI memorial. In accordance with the Country Flag Movement<sup>232</sup>, the memorial expressed the sorrow over the disannexed territories of Hungary with a flag set half-mast. Thus, in the immediate period after the establishment of these squares, heroic narratives were primarily dominated by commemorations of the First World War, and by the trauma of Trianon.

Corresponding to the pattern of the history of the central Heroes' Square, during the period of socialism the majority of these works of art also went through significant changes. While Gyula Jankovics's memorial was demolished and restored<sup>233</sup>, Lóránd Friedrich and Lajos Wandra's work became modified<sup>234</sup>. In the case of the WWI memorial in the 18<sup>th</sup> district, the statue even got involved in a complicated chain of events: first it was partially destroyed, then restored with modifications, replaced and reerected<sup>235</sup>. The *Country Flag* was likewise not left untouched. After its refunctioning as a centennial memorial in 1948<sup>236</sup>, it got demolished around 1950. Besides reframing the past through the reinterpretation of the

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<sup>231</sup> The *turul* is a mythical Hungarian bird, which was a symbol of Trianon, and lately, it has also been appropriated by far-right movements.

<sup>232</sup> The movement was initiated by Transylvanian politician Nándor Urmánczy in 1925.

<sup>233</sup> Gyula Jankovics' memorial was demolished in 1947 and restored in 1985.

<sup>234</sup> Jenő Körmendi Frim's relief on Lóránd Friedrich and Lajos Wandra's memorial was replaced with an inscription.

<sup>235</sup> In 1945 the communists demolished the *turul* bird belonging to the WWI memorial. In 1948 the Smallholders Party (Független Kisgazdapárt) restored the statue; moreover they also added a Kossuth Coat of Arms and a small table to the sculptural installation. In 1976 the statue was demolished once again and was replaced by a *Liberation Monument*. Shortly after the erection of the *Liberation Monument*, the obelisk – without the *turul*, the coat of arms and the table – was restored in the middle of the playground. In 1988 the predecessor of the Széky Association renovated the statue and relocated it to its original place.

<sup>236</sup> The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 was a war of independence from the Austrian Empire.

previous period's works of art, socialist authorities also actively contributed to the further shaping of the symbolic space of the Heroes' Squares. While in the 23<sup>rd</sup> district there was a centennial memorial erected in 1948 together with an identical WWII memorial, there were a number of instances that more directly functioned as representations of the socialist ideology. In the 16<sup>th</sup> district there was a *Soviet Heroic Memorial* erected in 1946, which was demolished in 1956, and then replaced by Sándor Mikus' *Soviet Heroic Memorial* in 1970. In the 17<sup>th</sup> district Ferenc Laborcz's *Sitting Worker* was constructed in 1980<sup>237</sup>. In the 18<sup>th</sup> district István Martsa's *Liberation Monument* was erected in 1976.

Following the general practice after the regime change in Budapest, the various statues of the Heroes' Squares were once again revised. Public works of art were either relocated to the Statue Park (see Sándor Mikus' *Soviet Heroic Memorial*), or got refunctioned (see István Martsa's *Liberation Monument* that from 1994 on functions as a *WWII Memorial*). Within the framework of a redefined memory politics, previous memorials got reerected, too: the 17<sup>th</sup> district reinstalled the previously demolished *Country Flag* in the middle of the 1990s and in 1990 another *Country Flag* appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> district. At the same time, while the new ethos of the post-1989 period in the 16<sup>th</sup> district entailed the erection of István Darázs' naïve wooden statues of the Seven Chieftains in 1996, the 17<sup>th</sup> district paid tribute to the novel times with the construction of two memorials. On the one hand the Circle of Alumni of Liget and Civic Circle of Rákosliget erected the *Memorial of the Foundation of Rákosliget* in 1997. The memorial had the simple form of a stone. On the other hand, the local government of Rákosmente, together with the Association for the 17th district set up László Domonkos' wooden headboard in 2011 that functioned as a *Memorial of the Heroes and Victims of WWII in Rákosliget*. In contrast to the central Heroes' Square in the 14<sup>th</sup> district, on these squares at the periphery of Budapest the memory of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 seemed to be absent. The newly erected sculptural works had references to the Hungarian conquest, Trianon and the Second World War. Yet, even in the case of the latter, one should note the absurdity of these memorials. While the WWII statue in the 18<sup>th</sup> district initially functioned as a liberation monument, the other WWII memorial in the 17<sup>th</sup> district commemorates both the heroes (perpetrators?) and the victims of the war. Further strengthening the peculiar image that these Heroes' Squares mediated, public works of art also lacked any kind of aesthetic innovation. The primary visual language utilized fits into a naïve, folklore tradition. Does it mean that the Heroes' Squares in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and

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<sup>237</sup> Shortly after its inauguration, the memorial was relocated within the district.

23<sup>rd</sup> districts were entirely and decisively devoid of experimenting with new narratives and forms?

In 2012 the Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art<sup>238</sup> (Magyar Művelődési Intézet és Képzőművészeti Lektorátus) announced a call for the realization of public art projects in smaller communities. The specific aim of *Our Little Village (A mi kis falunk)* was to stimulate the creation of site-specific and interactive works that reflect and relate to the problems and questions of the particular community. Among the several applications, the project of ASAPA Group<sup>239</sup> was chosen to be realized on a number of locations in the 18<sup>th</sup> district; including the Heroes' Square. Even though the subject of the twelve-day long event in March 2012 was the district in a broader sense, the four days these *Strange Visitors (Furcsa látogatók)* spent on the Heroes' Square weakened and intensified specific readings of the square<sup>240</sup>. The group came forward with a plan that was based on two surreal stories of the district: the building of a fake airport during WWII and the 1946 inauguration of a Calvinist church transported from Switzerland. As creators recalled (ASAPA Group 2012),

The simulated airport (...) was built in 1944, and later it disappeared without a trace. Based on the recollection of witnesses, it stood on an area between Kisfaludy utca - Kapocs utca - Határ út and Gyáli határ. The airport was put together from wood and paper in order to deceive the hostile bombers. By that time, Pestszentimre was completely evacuated. Those who came up with this idea hoped for protecting the real airport, which in the meantime, had also been disguised (presumably the runway and the airplanes parking there were painted in green), from bombings. For the creation of the simulated airport they used materials that were quickly to be found in the area, such as poles and tar papers from Pestszentimre.

(...) Similarly mysterious it is, how and why an 18<sup>th</sup> century wooden church travelled here from Switzerland. (...) Before the siege [WWII] defensive forces tried to demolish all places that because of their height could be used as a look-out tower by the enemy. This was the reason behind the sad event of (...) blowing up the towers of both churches in Pestszentimre on December 28, 1944. What is even more, the soldiers considerably miscalculated the amount of the explosives that resulted in the complete demolition of the two churches. (...) After blowing up the Calvinist church – built through public contributions and by the manual work of inhabitants in 1927 – people did not have any prospect for its reconstruction. This was the time when in 1947 a wooden church arrived from Switzerland. Besides the event itself, the form of the church was surreal, too. Even at first sight the architecture looked strange: it resembled a structure between a military barrack and an Icelandic wooden church.

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<sup>238</sup> Now, National Institute for Community Culture and Public Collection (Nemzeti Művelődési Intézet).

<sup>239</sup> Rita Koralevics, Eszter Varga, Gábor Balla, Gergely Hadházy, Balázs Mráv and József Németh.

<sup>240</sup> For the detailed analysis of the project see Székely 2012.

According to the idea of the ASAPA Group, the collective discussion of these absurdities would entail the (re)cognition of a long-forgotten segment of the 18<sup>th</sup> district's local history, as well as the restoration of the community life in the district.

As a precursor to their work, the ASAPA Group announced well in advance that *something* will happen in the 18<sup>th</sup> district. Trying to bruit about the possible arrival of “distant visitors”, “aliens” or an “international commando” (ASAPA Group 2012), the group had a twofold strategy: in the local newspapers and schools they made a call for amateur art pieces that deal with local events on the border of ordinariness and surrealism, moreover they also set up a blog<sup>241</sup> as a platform for communication and documentation. Yet, even though the group hoped to raise a certain kind of expectation, rumours did not start floating around as it was planned. Throughout the project the story of the airport and the church clearly remained in the background. At the same time, the appearance of a mysterious wooden vehicle with two wooden pigs harnessed in its front did strike a considerable attention (Picture 59). The primary profile of the ASAPA Group is to create unusual playgrounds, and in this sense the project certainly seemed to be successful. While the material and the form of the vehicle, moreover the utilization of found objects as structural elements of the “sledge” or “space sloop” (ASAPA Group 2012) unambiguously evoked the world of the simulated airport and the Swiss church, it has been interpreted first of all, as a toy. Children immediately took possession of the *Strange Visitors*. This understanding was even more underlined by the setting of the Heroes' Square itself, on which, besides the numerous public works of art, there was a playground located, too. The *Strange Visitors* appeared to be less than it wanted to be, but simultaneously it also added a radically new layer upon the square. Heroes' Square indeed became a square of play.

Further distancing from the politically and symbolically loaded space of the Heroes' Squares, in 2014 Philip Zimbardo's *Heroic Imagination Project* was introduced in Hungary with the name *Heroes' Square*. Zimbardo, who became known for his 1971 Stanford prison experiment and who also calls himself as a Hero Cultivator, founded *HIP* with the aim to promote heroism in everyday life. As the description of the Hungarian program runs (Hősök tere n.d.),

Many of us want to do good deeds, but often we don't know how to begin. Some have simply not enough confidence; they can hardly fight indifference, the pressure to live up to others' expectations or apathy. Some, who would be ready to change their world, often encounter intimidation or violence. It is proven that if someone regularly experiences that nothing

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<sup>241</sup> <http://www.furcsalatogatok.blogspot.com>



depends on him/her, that his/her deeds have no effect on his/her surroundings, (s)he becomes passive, (s)he won't take initiatives.

In Hungary we often hear, or even tell about ourselves that it is a pessimistic country. We are negative, we are anxious, and what is even worst, we are more and more indifferent in the public, as well as in the everyday life. It is a fact that here the confidence in politics and institutions is very low. 70% of the population has no political activity at all, and the 80% does not belong to any civil organizations. We are strongly characterized by individualism and the avoidance of uncertainties. The latter reflects how much we fear the new and the changes. (...)

We help everyday people to become everyday heroes. We want to achieve – with the help of scientifically proven, practical, experience-based programs – that people will have the ability to identify those situations in which they could help others.

Within this context, the Heroes' Square finally and decisively detached itself from the physicality of the square, as well as from the disputes of party politics. Instead, it became an abstract concept that encourages us to improve our political and social consciousness. The official logo of the Hungarian program similarly underlined this transformation: it depicts the sketchy figure of a superhero with the slogan "You are what you do". Thus, the various stone heroes of the Heroes' Squares have been overwritten by the potential superheroic characteristics of the flesh and blood everyday man (Picture 60).

### **7.3. A Re-Invented Location of Heroes in Urban Hackings**

After the above discussed transformation of the Heroes' Square from a political to a playful, and then to an abstract entity, the question arises whether heroes still have a place on the representative squares of Budapest. In 2014 Miklós Zsámboki and Bence György Pálinkás, two students of the Hungarian University of Fine Arts, organized a one-night event in the gallery *Higgs Field* with this question in mind. Even though the emphasis of the *Place of Heroes* was clearly placed on this broader problematic, the project also seemed timely: it had a direct link to then current renovation of Kossuth Square. As already elaborated in Chapter 5, the decision to reconstruct the square in accordance with its form in 1944 entailed the relocation and reerection of various public works of art. Yet, by the time of the official inauguration of the new *Main Square of the Nation* on March 15, 2014, the restoration of the statues of Gyula Andrassy, István Tisza and Lajos Kossuth were not completed<sup>242</sup>. While in the case of Andrassy and Tisza only the pedestals of the statues were standing, out of the

<sup>242</sup> While the statue of Gyula Andrassy was completed on May 5, 2015, the statue of István Tisza was inaugurated on June 9, 2014. The Kossuth memorial was finished on March 3, 2015.

nine-figure composition of the Kossuth memorial only the statue of Kossuth got finished. Reflecting this moment of the absence of “heroes”, Zsámboki and Pálinkás played with the thought that on the top of the pedestals of Andrásy and Tisza could go anything. Together with artists, historians, sociologists and aesthetes they came up with several ideas: the 21 participants of the *Place of Heroes* made numerous drawings on a transparent overhead projector paper<sup>243</sup>. Standing in front of the pedestals and holding these plans at eye level, the suggested works of art were not only symbolically put in their place, but they also hacked the public statuary of the Kossuth Square (Picture 65).

When discussing how existing public works of art become platforms of alternative expressions, one has to consider a number of practices. People participating in an official or spontaneous celebration, curious tourists taking a photograph, angry inhabitants leaving a note and, ad absurdum, illegal scrap metal traders<sup>244</sup> all can intervene in the structure of statues. Besides these everyday events, there is also a long-standing tradition of artistic engagements that consciously “hijack” and “disrupt” urban heritage (Markussen 2012), and that also can be described as “urban hacktivism”. Analysing the headway of the concept of hacking in the field of art, Mark Tribe and Reena Jana (2006) extensively show how the notion of “hacktivism” became a metaphor of various contemporary art tendencies.

In mainstream newspapers, Hollywood films, and other popular media, hackers are usually portrayed as computer whiz kids who break into others’ computers to steal information or simply to wreak havoc. But this notion is only partially correct. (...) According to computer scientist Brian Harvey, (...) a hacker is actually more like an artist than a criminal. Although some hackers use their skills maliciously, in the hacking community there is a widely recognized moral code, the “hacker ethic”, which holds that the sharing of information is an overriding good, and that hackers should contribute to the advancement of their field by writing open source software and enabling access to knowledge and computer resources.

In his 2004 book *A Hacker Manifesto*, McKenzie Wark extends the notion of hacking to other domains, including the realm of art, and likens it to innovation. He writes, “Whatever code we hack, be it programming language, poetic language, math or music, curves or colourings, we create the possibility of new things entering the world.... In art, in science, in philosophy and

<sup>243</sup> Ádám Albert, Erika Baglyas, Anna Balázs, Orsolya Barna, Judit Fischer, Gruppo Tökmag, Dávid Gutema, Tünde Horváth, Ádám Hörich, Réka Katona, Gábor Kristóf, Anna Lénárd, Miklós Mécs, Mózes Márton Murányi, PR Group, Klára Rudas, Dávid Smiló, Réaliste Sociétés, Anna Szász, Lajos Tihanyi and Hajnalka Tulisz.

<sup>244</sup> In Budapest public works of art occasionally fall victim to illegal scrap metal traders. E.g., in 2007 three figures of Nándor Wagner’s *Philosophical Garden* (2001) were stolen. Interestingly, while the local police assessed the damages at 30 million huf (ca. 96.000 EUR), they also offered one million HUF for information leading to the apprehension of the thieves (MTI 2007). Other sources (Halász 2009), talked about 10 million HUF.

culture, in any production of knowledge where data can be gathered, where information can be extracted from it, and where in that information new possibilities for the world are produced, there are hackers hacking the new out of the old.” (...) Artist and theorist Cornelia Sollfrank has written about hacking as a metaphor for cultural production, and cultural production as a form of hacking.

While in Berlin temporary artistic interventions indeed integrated into memory political practices, in Budapest projects, such as *Place of Heroes*, are rare. Nevertheless, the art history of hacking public works of art in Hungary begins also on the Heroes’ Square.

One of the most significant precedents of these urban hackings goes back to 1980 when avant-garde artists György Galántai and Júlia Klaniczay evoked Vera Muhina’s 1937 statue, the *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman*. Although the original work was not literally part of the public spaces of Budapest, the statue did function as a symbol of the former Soviet Union<sup>245</sup>. In this sense, Galántai and Klaniczay’s *Hommage to Vera Muhina* revived, as well as ridiculed a historical icon that was present. With the central Heroes’ Square in the background, Muhina’s statue stayed in a representative context, but Galántai and Klaniczay’s performance radically reinterpreted its message (Picture 61). On the one hand, they turned the iconic sickle and hammer into a book. On the other, the two workers became exchanged with the living and human bodies of the two artists whose clothes also carried the most important names of art history. The *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman* became the heroic statue of art history and artists<sup>246</sup>.

During the period of the Hungarian regime change, the various alternative suggestions of how to deal with the socialist heritage unambiguously showed that there is a growing interest in the artistic reinterpretation of public works of art<sup>247</sup>. Even though most of these proposals remained unrealized, after 1989 there were a few ideas that came to pass. Similarly to German projects, such as Ben Wargin and Reinhard Zabka’s action<sup>248</sup>, *The Finiteness of Freedom* exhibition<sup>249</sup>, or Sophie Calle’s *Detachment*<sup>250</sup>, in Budapest the primary subject of

<sup>245</sup> The image of Vera Muhina’s statue could also be seen at the beginning of every film of Mosfilm.

<sup>246</sup> In 2005 the Russian-American artist Alexander Kosolapov also reutilized Muhina’s statue: he exchanged the figures of the worker and kolkhoz woman by the Disney characters of Mickey Mouse and Minnie. West and East, capitalism and socialism clash in his work.

<sup>247</sup> In Chapter 4, I present several examples of these suggestions.

<sup>248</sup> In 1990 Ben Wargin and Reinhard Zabka surrounded Gerhard Rommel’s *Betriebskampfgruppenkmal* by scaffolding so that wine plants could climb up on the sculpture.

<sup>249</sup> Initiated by Rebecca Horn, Jannis Kounellis and Heiner Müller in 1990, *The Finiteness of Freedom* was a temporary exhibition of Western and Eastern European artists, each presenting two related works in the eastern and western part of Berlin. For more details see Chapter 6.

<sup>250</sup> In her 1996 project *Detachment*, Sophie Calle visited places where symbols of GDR history have been effaced. After asking passers-by and residents to describe the objects that once have been there, she

hackings in Budapest became the socialist statuary. Among these works of art, Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl's *Liberation Monument* – that meanwhile had been refunctioned as a *Liberty Statue* – got especially into the center of attention. In 1992 it was reinterpreted through the installation of Tamás St.Auby, but later Antoni Muntadas and Liane Lang likewise included it in their own photo series in 1998 and 2009. All three artists emphasized different aspects of Kisfaludi's work and the socialist heritage as such. Transforming the Liberation Monument and Liberty Statue into a *Statue of the Ghost of Liberty*, St.Auby shrouded the central figure of the memorial for a couple of days under a white sheet from which he cut out two holes for its eyes (Picture 62). This kind of redefinition of the statue as a half-present, half-absent ghost ironically reflected the post-1989 decision of preserving, as well as eliminating the particular elements of Kisfaludi's original work of art<sup>251</sup>. As Boros (2001:87) argues, the main endeavour of St.Auby's action was "to grasp the immaterial essence of the spirit of the place in a materialized way". While St.Auby's project was realized as a solo piece within the framework of the public art exhibition *Polyphony*, Muntadas' and Lang's photos were part of a bigger concept. Being interested in how media reports transform particular places, Antoni Muntadas displayed film documents along with his own photos taken. *Media Sites / Media Monuments* first of all raised questions about the notion of mediation (Picture 63). Quite the opposite was the point of departure for Liane Lang. Instead of examining the distance between objects and their images, Liane Lang explored socialist public works of art by direct contact (Picture 64). Mixing different (monumental and human) scales, moreover heterogeneous (bronze and plastic) materials, she integrated latex figures and body parts into the giant structure of socialist monuments<sup>252</sup>. Lang's figures get stuck, cling to a form, have a

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photographed the empty places of symbols and replaced the missing memorials with the memories of the interviewees.

<sup>251</sup> Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl's *Liberation Monument* was erected in 1947 in remembrance of the Soviet liberation of Hungary from Nazi forces. After the regime change, however, an altered composition took shape. Although the central figure remained in place, in 1992 the statue of the Soviet soldier was relocated to the Statue Park. The Soviet star, the reliefs and the inscription were removed. The latter ("Erected by the grateful Hungarian Nation in memory of the liberating Russian heroes") became even replaced with a new "identity card": "To the memory of all of those who sacrificed their lives for the independence, freedom, and success of Hungary".

<sup>252</sup> Although the primary location of Lang's project was the Statue Park, in two cases she shot photos also on the urban spaces of Budapest. Besides the *Liberty Statue*, she also used Szmrecsányi's much debated *Memorial of the WWII Victims of the 12<sup>th</sup> District of Budapest*. In the case of the latter, the project also entailed a long chain of events. At the very moment when Lang put an artificial arm into the beak of the figure of the turul, sympathizers of the far-right wing, along with several policemen, appeared on the spot. The project ended up in a courtroom, where the curator and the photographer were accused of breach of the peace. The charges were dropped, yet the tension remained. With the belief that Lang's project abused a national symbol, supporters of the extreme right felt the urge to 'hit back': a few days after Lang's project, actual pig legs appeared on Gyula Pauer's *Shoes on the Danube Promenade*.

rest or hide away. While being absurd, disturbing and provocative, *Monumental Misconceptions* also offered the critical reading of the concept of monumentality.

How does the *Place of Heroes* relate to these examples? Even though the various drawings also assigned a radically different political and aesthetic message to the renovated *Main Square of the Nation*, there was a considerable dissimilarity to the previously discussed interventions. In contrast to those cases that functioned as later reactions to long standing public works of art, the 2014 project was very much topical. After the official inauguration of the Kossuth Square, Zsámboki and Pálincás responded immediately to the situation and took action on the not yet finished statues. At the same time, the missing place of the statues of Tisza and Andrásy also resulted in a situation in which the drawings could be understood as imaginary blueprints of the monuments to be erected (Picture 65). As the two curators (Zsámboki and Pálincás 2014) note, the initial idea behind the *Place of Heroes* was partly based on an English project where public works of art have indeed been realized on an abandoned pedestal.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in each corner of the Trafalgar Square in London a representative public work of art was supposed to be erected. Yet, because of the lack of material sources, the equestrian statue of William IV was never finished. At the same time, its pedestal has been completed, which throughout 150 years – until 1999 – stood vacant. At this time began the project *Fourth Plinth* that – initially on the basis of invitations, then from 2005 on applications – displays the temporal works of particular artists on the otherwise empty pedestal. During these years the ideas of Mark Wallinger, Rachel Whiteread, Marc Quinn and Antony Gormley has been realized – at present the work of Katharina Fritsch stands on the pedestal, which in 2015 will be replaced by Hans Haacke's project.

Thus, similarly to the Trafalgar Square, the often referenced notion of void became a given condition on the Kossuth Square, too. Yet, in contrast to the *Fourth Plinth*, the various design plans of *Place of Heroes* remained unrealizedé they only toyed with the idea of “what if”.

Among the proposals of the *Place of Heroes*, there were a number of sketches that directly reflected the non-presence of Tisza and Andrásy. These reflections, however, also became a play with the structural elements of the genre of counter-monuments. Evoking Horst Hoheisel's 1986/1987 *Negative Form* in Kassel, Tünde Horváth drew *Negative Statues*. In another instance, Horváth and Tihanyi placed the negative forms of three memorials inside the base, upside down. Functioning as a *Statue-Selector*, they added a slot for coins upon the pedestal along with the models of the statues. According to their vision, the model, which first gets filled with money, would become realized. The same idea also returned in Lajos

Tihanyi's *Virtual Democracy*. Tihanyi positioned QR codes and Augmented Reality markers to each side of the pedestal; moreover he also set up an imaginary community web site. Reading the QR codes with a smart phone, the webpage would present the 3D models of several public works of art uploaded to the site. By choosing a favoured model, the marker then would visualise the image of the selected statue on the top of the picture of the pedestal.

Further elaborating the dual notions of absence and presence, there were several design plans that – sometimes in a close correspondence to Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz's *Monument against Fascism* – ironically exposed the concept of disappearance. While György Bence Pálincás designed a composition, in which statues are demolishing each other, the image of the fighting figures also appeared in Orsolya Barna and Bence György Pálincás' representation of the pedestal as a box ring. In other approaches, the notion of vanishing appeared in its literal meaning. In *Planned Amortization*, Lajos Tihanyi proposed to drill bore-holes in the pedestal so that rainwater could gradually rot the whole structure. In *The Erosion of Hero*, he put his stone figure of an idealized man under a continuous water-curtain that would slowly polish the memorial into a faceless, figureless statue. Judit Fischer drew a *Horseman sinking*. Dávid Smiló conceptualized a bronze statue of the universal man that is constantly burning on 1050 °C. As Smiló described, the statue would simultaneously function as a warming area for homeless people, and as a site protesting against the omission of the figure of women from the composition. These examples already reveal that participants of the *Place of Heroes* had a rather unheroic take on heroes. This attempt of deheroization got explicitly articulated in Erika Baglyas' *Statue of a Not At All Famous Man Sitting One Level Below*, Judit Fischer's *Militant Titbit*<sup>253</sup>, Miklós Mécs' *Memorial of the Remains of Famous Persons* and in the PR Group's *Statue Dedicated to the Invisibly Small*. Another group of design plans definitively ridiculed the imaginary heroic narratives of the project. Anna Balázs transformed one of the pedestals into a dimension gate, the other into an unbearable housing development. Judit Fischer reinterpreted the base as a magician's saw box. Gruppo Tökmag changed it into a cheese. Gábor Kristóf proposed to use its surface as a screen of the Andrassy Cinema. Mózes Murányi Márton reutilized the two pedestals as one of the levels of a computer game. Klári Rudas implemented a lightning rod upon the base. PR Group designed a garden, in which the highly allergen tanner's sumac and ragweed would grow. Furthermore, the Société Réaliste simply put a black blot upon the pedestal. This black spot

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<sup>253</sup> In Hungarian, finger sandwiches are called soldier sandwiches that further underline the ironic approach of traditional representations.

not only offered the ultimate summary of the emptiness left by the non-presence of the statues of Tisza and Andrásy, but also functioned as a representation of infinite possibilities.

As Zsámboki and Pálincás (2014) note, in a long term, the aim of the project *Place of Heroes* is to put together an educational material in order to stimulate students for critical thinking. With the crisis of heroic narratives, it seems as if the concept of heroism was reborn in the field of alternative art. After a long journey of being appropriated by party politics, will it then indeed arrive at a place in Hungary where it becomes political in the sense of being highly self-reflexive and critical?

## CONCLUSION

Focusing on the public works of art of Berlin and Budapest from 1945 up to the present time, I have discussed the conceptual and aesthetic transfiguration of the hero. Besides examining the urban spaces of two cities with the multidisciplinary approach of a sociological aesthetics, my analysis has been structured along the lines of various dualities. The point of departure of my research was already concerned with a contradiction in the field of memory studies. Although the year of 1945 was almost univocally interpreted as a turning point in the heroic imagination of Europe, some authors argued for the death of heroes, whereas others emphasized the arrival of new figures. Throughout the dissertation, I have not only revealed that heroic imagination still occupies an important place within processes of memorialization, but I have also elaborated on the process of the changing understandings and forms of heroes. I do not claim that traditional approaches, especially in Hungary, became extinct. Yet, I do argue that, besides conventional interpretations, now there are other, more innovative tendencies emerging that hint at the possibility of reinventing the category of the hero.

Similarly, Berlin and Budapest were chosen as cases of my comparative study primarily because I have assumed that they can represent many of the dual statements of memory studies. While authors generally differentiate between the capitalist and socialist system because of the former's disconnection from and the latter's connection to heroic traditions, after the regime change Berlin and Budapest is also reported to follow two distinct paths. Supposedly, in Germany the celebration of national heroes came to an end and heroes became cultural taboos. Hungary, in contrast, was said to long more and more for historical role models. However, in the dissertation I have partly deconstructed these hypotheses: while I have moderated the sharp contrast between the socialist and capitalist system, I have also shown that the post-1989 heroic imagination of the two cities did converge, in which the notion of the everyday man and everydayness played a leading role.

Even though my dissertation was decidedly embedded in a Central or East-Central European framework, a future research agenda should concern other post-conflict societies too, with a special attention to the Global South. Altering the historical and social location not only would tinge the mainstream "European" discourse, but it would also introduce new aspects in the (re-)interpretation of the hero. Possible changes in the spatial framework of the dissertation, however, should not stop here. In the course of my examinations, I have focused on the actual location of urban sites that did not allow the extensive analysis of the various



processes of memorialization that take place in the digital field. As Andrew Hoskins argues in his 2001 paper on *New Memory: Mediating History*, a new critical discourse on memory has emerged as a response to a media-saturated environment. Therefore, heroic imaginations are as much shaped by and reflected in online memories. This democratization of collective memory through crowd sourcing certainly calls for further attention.

As the end of the Second World War is generally understood as a decisive moment in memory studies, I have began my analysis with public works of art installed between 1945 and 1989 in East Berlin and Budapest, as well as in West Berlin. Within this section, divergent views have continued to appear. In contrast to the literature that usually describes the commemorative practices of the so-called socialist and capitalist systems along the lines of opposite notions, I have argued that these contrasts cannot be entirely upheld. Within the framework of the tradition of socialist realism conservative elements of the concept and form of the hero were indeed maintained, even extremized, however its social content changed and, with a focus on the working class, it partly appeared as progressive. Similarly, in the Western Bloc, the figure of the hero became certainly overshadowed by the victim, yet at times it got presented in a traditional heroic setting. In this sense, in the immediate period after the WWII both in East Berlin and Budapest, as well as in West Berlin there were already shifts emerging in heroic imaginations. Nevertheless, these tendencies, as I have argued, culminated only in the 1970s and 1980s when both sides introduced a more radical policy. While in East Berlin and Budapest renewed ideological and aesthetic approaches were already underfoot during the so-called “Khrushchev Thaw”, in West Berlin experimentations started after a growing confrontation with Germany’s National Socialist past. I have showed that on both sides, public works of art visibly changed from the 70s and 80s. In East Berlin and Budapest statues increasingly came down from pedestals, figures appeared as life-sized and they got depicted in an everyday setting as being one of us, which also entailed the surfacing of parodies of heroic and monumental representations. In West Berlin there was a sensible distancing from the traditional genre of public statues that advanced the mass appearance of counter-monuments. By the time of the regime change public works of art in East Berlin and Budapest, as well as in West Berlin similarly hinted at the deheroization and demonumentalization of memory narratives.

Examining the different routes Berlin and Budapest took after the regime change, I have relied on three aspects. Firstly, I have discussed the different statuses of political and expert opinions in the two cities’ divergent strategies of how to deal with their own socialist heritage. According to my argument, Berlin’s and Budapest’s heroic imagination came to

differ after 1989 partly because of the German political elite mobilizing and the Hungarian authorities dismissing expert knowledge. Secondly, utilizing the postmodern concepts of absence and excess, I have analyzed both the physical void and overrepresentation of public works of art, as well as the aesthetic forms of emptiness and eclecticism in the new political period. While I have showed that after the political decisions on the future of socialist statuary in 1993 the number of public works of art in both cities started to increase, I have revealed different reasons behind these figures. In Berlin historical self-understandings came to be dominated by the figure of the perpetrator, which entailed the growing presence of the conceptually and aesthetically experimental genre of counter-monuments, the par excellence manifestations of memorials of “absence”. In Budapest the everyday hero of the 56 revolutionary determined memory narratives that brought about the emergence of multiple and competing commemorative practices, described along the notion of “excess”. At the same time, I have also disclosed a turn from the 2000s. While the number of public works of art was still steadily growing in Budapest, this number started to diminish in Berlin. However, within these trends, Berlin rediscovered its own heroes in the form of silent heroes, whereas in Budapest there was a sensible crisis of heroic narratives developing. Absences and excesses continuously interwove in a Derridean sense (Derrida 1978). Thirdly, focusing on official and unofficial memories, I have finally argued that public representations of the everyday man came to occupy different registers in Berlin and Budapest. In Berlin, the memory of silent heroes appeared as an unofficial memory that meanwhile has also been institutionalized. The emergence of these kinds of heroes did not only reflect a post-heroic approach, but their public representation also fitted in the new trends of counter-monuments and combimemorials. In Budapest, the disintegration of the official memory of 56 revolutionaries resulted in the emergence of various alternative art projects of and about the everyday man that disrupted and reinterpreted existing narrative frameworks. While in Berlin everyday heroes overtook the official function of traditional heroes as historical, social and cultural exemplars for future societies, in Budapest they came to be relocated into the field of unofficial urban hackings.

Throughout the dissertation, thus, I have traced changes both in the concept and form of heroes. Following Simmel’s sociological aesthetics (Simmel 1968a) I have not only focused simultaneously on the abstract and visual appearance of heroic imaginations, but, besides long-term memory projects, I have also considered a number of temporary urban interventions. While these “transitory” examples were often indicative of general changes in the urban space and memory politics, alternative projects also suggested essential changes in

the genre of public statues, and particularly, changes in the production and reception of public works of art. Accordingly, another future research path, which the dissertation has opened, manifests itself in the fact that examinations of the transformation of the hero can also be pushed towards the problematization of the “politics of authorship” (Schumacher 1995) and the “politics of spectatorship” (Bishop 2012). The critical consideration of the classical triangle of the arts, artist and audience is already a cliché in aesthetic theories. Yet, the blurring boundaries between the author and audience, as well as the broadening of these notions, which is even more triggered by the emergence of digital memories, deserve a much more thorough analysis also in memory studies.

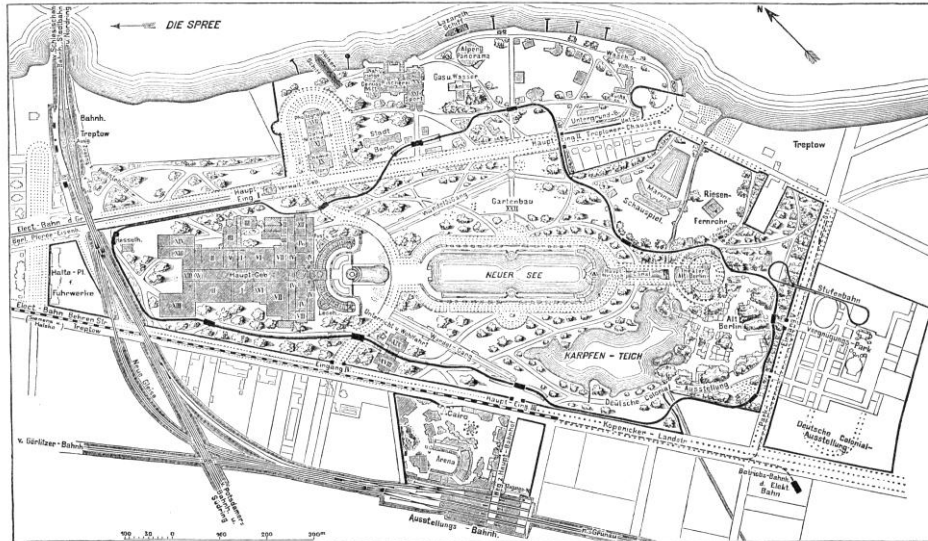
By the end of the dissertation, I have showed the figure of the everyday man as the driving force – even though on a different level, and to a different extent – behind the conceptual and formal renewal of the hero. Supported by the theories of Georg Simmel (1968a), the Mass Observation (Harrison et al. 1937), Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Michel de Certeau (1998), I have revealed various moments from 1945 when the public representation of the everyday man appeared as a provocation to the figure of the hero. Nevertheless, the everyday also appears as a provocation in a number of fields, other than memory studies. Within the history of avant-garde – as e.g., Ruhrberg et al. (2000) summarized – the movements of Dadaism, Surrealism or Pop Art all aimed to use images of everyday life as opposed to the prevailing elitist approaches of art. In their 1972 book on *Learning from Las Vegas*, Venturi et al. (1997) called for architects “to be more receptive to the tastes and values of common people and less immodest in their erections of heroic, self-aggrandizing monuments” (Venturi et al. 1997:back cover). Discussing the present phenomenon of urban interventions in various cities, Gantner et al. (2015) argued for a shift from vertical to horizontal planning. Or, in one of his recent lectures, Francois Penz (2015) propagated an approach in film studies, in which, instead of exceptional happenings, cinema is understood as an urban modeling of everyday life. The everyday appears a fashionable research direction in various disciplines that also suggests that its examination can and should be further extended to various fields.

Yet, again, what is the relationship between the hero and the everyday man? Is there an opposition between the two concepts, or does this seeming rivalry, finally, collapse? I believe that in the course of the dissertation I have showed that the everyday man did not signify a radical break with the hero. Instead, following Hannah Arendt’s 1963 concept of the “banality of evil”, public representations of the everyday man introduced the notion of the “banality of hero” (Zimbardo and Franco 2006, Hoff et al. 2015:17-18).

# APPENDICES

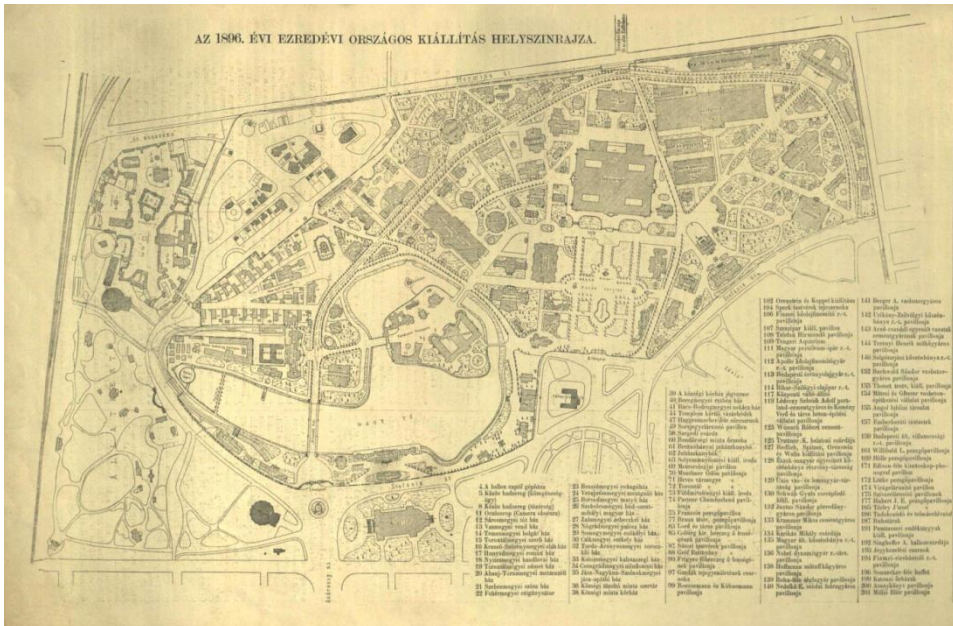
## Appendix 1. Pictures

### 1. Situation plan of the 1896 Berlin Trade Exhibition (Source: Wikipedia)



Die Gewerbeausstellung 1896 im Park von Treptow.  
 I. Webstoff-(Textil-)Gewerbe, II. Bekleidungs-gewerbe, III. Bau- und Ingenieurwesen, IV. Holzgewerbe, V. Porzellan-, Steingut-, Chamottewaren, VI. Kurz- und Galanteriewaren, VII. Metallgewerbe, VIII. Graphische und decorative Künste, Buchgewerbe, IX. Chemisches Gewerbe, X. Nahrungs- und Genußmittel, XI. Wissenschaftliche Instrumente, XII. Musikinstrumente, XIII. Maschinenbau, Schiffbau, Transportwesen, XIV. Elektrotechnik, XV. Leder- und Kautschukgewerbe, XVI. Papiergewerbe, XVII. Photographie, XVIII. Gesundheitspflege und Wohlfahrts-einrichtungen, XIX. Unterricht und Erziehung, XX. Fischerei, Schifffahrt und dazu gehöriger Sport, XXI. Fahr- und Reitsport, Schieß- und Jagdsport, Radfahr-, Ruder-, Segel-, Schwimmsport, Eislaut- und Spiel-sport, Wassersport, Luftschifffahrt, XXII. Gartenbau, XXIII. Deutsche Colonialausstellung.

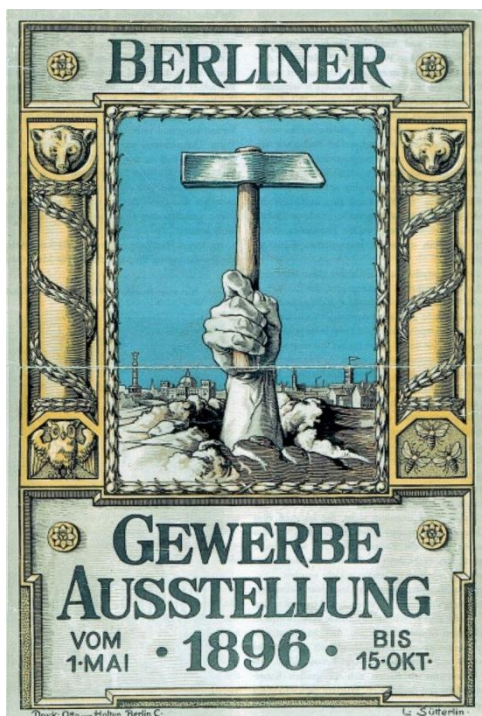
### 2. Situation plan of the 1896 Budapest Millennium Exhibition (Source: Wikipedia)



3. The first tram in Budapest (Source: Index.hu)



4. Ludwig Sütterlin's official poster of the 1896 Berlin Trade Exhibition (Source: Wikipedia)





5. Kálmán Gerster and Géza Mirkovszky's official poster of the 1896 *Budapest Millennial Exhibition* (Source: Wikipedia)



6. Closing panel of the 1986 comics *Whatever Happened to the Man of Tomorrow* (Source: Moore 1986b)



7. The 2012 exhibition *Heroes, Kings, Saints* (Source: Origo.hu)



8. *Side-Notes* within the exhibition *Heroes, Kings, Saints* (Source: Hungarian National Gallery)



9. The 2012 exhibition *The Hero, the Heroine and the Author* (Source: Ludwig Museum)

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**the hero the heroine and the author**

2012. július 5-én, csütörtökön 10 óráig • on Thursday, July 5, 2012, at 8 p.m.  
 Kiállítás • Curated by Szabolcs Készler, a gyűjteményi osztály vezetője • head of the collection department  
 A kiállítás megnyitja • Opening remarks by Keszler Zoltán, Ad • novelist  
 Kurátor • Curated by Tóth Katalin  
 Kiállítás • Research assistant: Barkóczi Péter, Újvári Krisztina

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10. The 2010 exhibition *Heroes, Freaks and Super-Rabbis*. (Source: katzkaiser.de)





11. Welcome image of the 2010 exhibition *Heroes, Freaks and Super-Rabbis. The Jewish Dimension of Comic Art* (Source: fotocommunity.de)



12. Grigori Postnikow's *Stalin* in Berlin (Source: Bundesarchiv)



13. Sándor Mikus' *Stalin* in Budapest (Source: kozterkep.hu)



14. József Somogyi's *Statue of János Szántó Kovács* in Hódmezővásárhely (Source: kozterkep.hu)



15. Pál Pátzay's *Lenin* in Budapest (Source: kozterkep.hu)



16. Nikolai Tomski's *Lenin* in Berlin (Source: Bundesarchiv)





17. Ludwig Engelhardt's *Marx-Engels Memorial* (Source: Bundesarchiv)



18. Ludwig Engelhardt's *Marx and Engels* (Source: Wikipedia)



19. Imre Varga's *Béla Kun Memorial* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



20. Graffiti on Ludwig Engelhardt's *Marx and Engels* (Source: Kramer 1992)







21. Wrapping Imre Varga's *Béla Kun Memorial* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



22. Richard Scheibe's *Monument to the Victims of July 20, 1944* (Source: Redslob 1955)



23. Volkmar Haase's *Memorial of Deportations* (Source: Wikipedia)





24. Ruth Golan and Kay Zareh's *Memorial of the Destroyed Synagogue in Spandau* (Source: Wikipedia)



25. Karl Biedermann's *The Deserted Room* (Source: Author's Photo)





26. György Jovánovics' *Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1956 Revolution* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



27. Original piece of the *Berlin Wall* (Source: berlintravel.de)



28. Dismantling Nikolai Tomski's *Lenin* (Source: Kramer 1992)



29. *Statue Park* Budapest (Source: Mementopark)



30. Lew Kerbel's *Statue of Thälmann* (Bundesarchiv)



31. Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl's *Liberation Monument* refunctioned as a *Liberty Statue* (Source: kozterkep. hu)

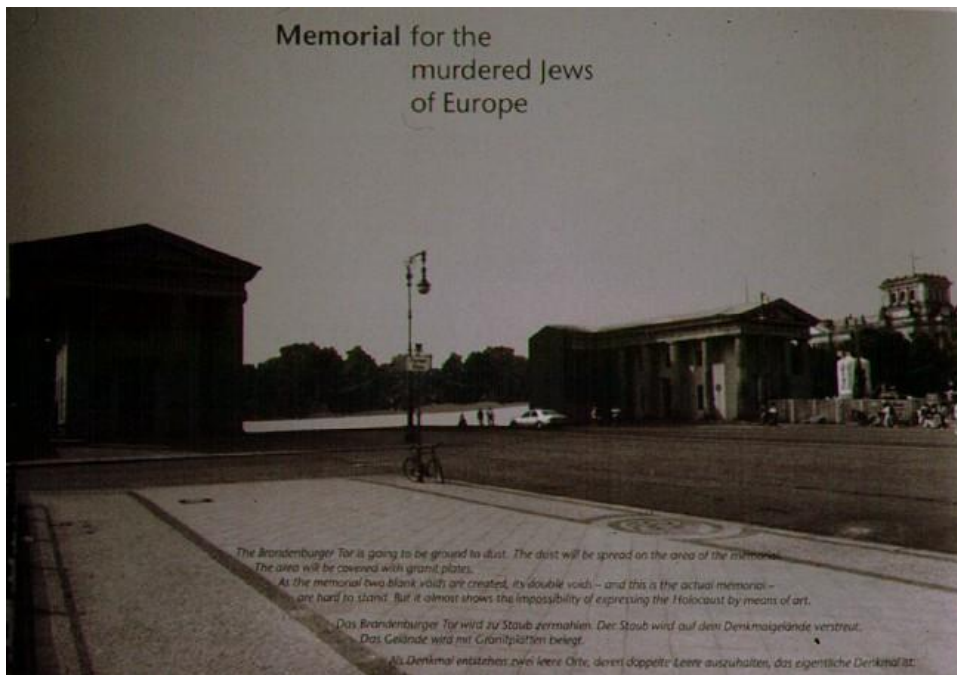




32. Christian Boltanski's *Missing House* and *The Museum* (Source: Herzogenrath et al. 1990)



33. Horst Hoheisel's design plan of the *Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe* (Source: [chgs.umn.edu/](http://chgs.umn.edu/))



34. Micha Ullman's *Book Burning Memorial* (Source: Wikipedia)





35. Székely Gate in the New Public Cemetery (Source: Wikipedia)



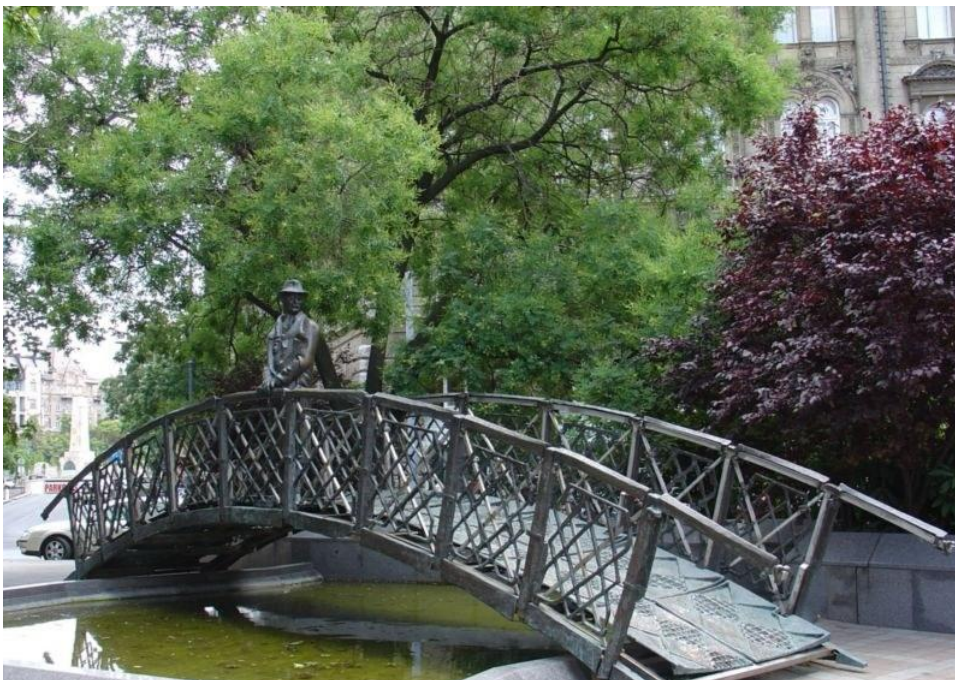
36. László Gömbös and Imre Makovecz's *Memorial of the Victims of the Firing Squad on October 25, 1956* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



37. Mária Lugossy's *Flame of the Revolution* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



38. Tamás Varga's *Statue of Imre Nagy* (Source: kozterkep.hu)





39. József Kampfl and Ferenc Callmeyer's *Memorial of the Victims Died in the Volley on October 25, 1956* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



40. I-Epsilon Group's *1956 Memorial* (Source: kozterkep.hu)





41. Róbert Csíkszentmihályi's *1956 Memorial* (Source: kozterkep.hu)



42. Milla & Partner's *Monument to Freedom and Unity* (Source: bundesregierung.de)



43. Attila Kovács F.'s *Wall of Heroes* (Source: panoramio.com)



44. *Memorial Place to the Victims of the 25 October 1956 Massacre* (Source: mandiner.hu)



45. Solaitid's design plan of a space rocket launching site (Source: Solaitid 2013)

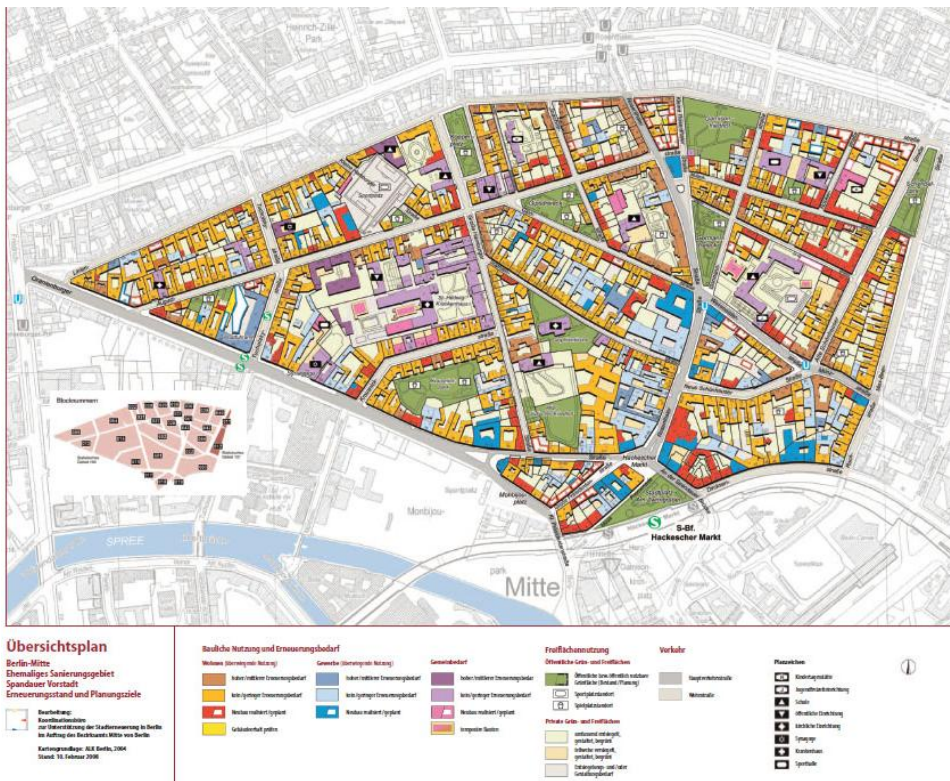


46. Abraham Pisarek's *Berlin Scheunenviertel* from 1930 (Source: akg-images.co.uk)





47. Redevelopment Area of the Spandauer Vorstadt (Source: Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008)



48. *Kunsthau Tacheles* (Source: german-architecture.info)





49. HA Schult's *Love Letters* (Source: haschult.de)



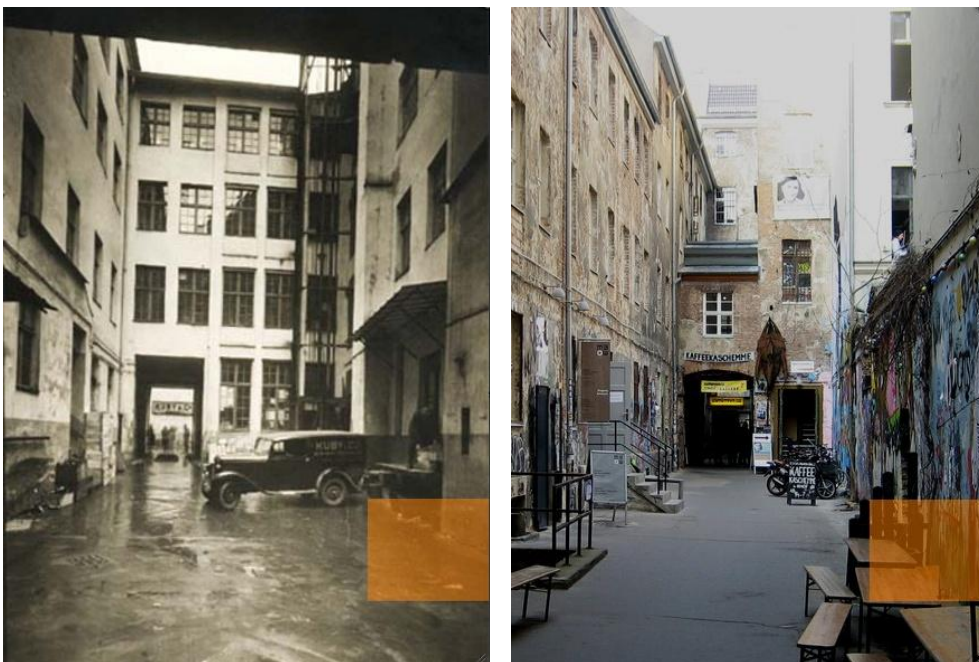
50. Will Lammert's *Memorial of Jewish Victims of Fascism* (Source: Wikipedia)



51. Shimon Attie's *Writing on the Wall* (Source: Muir 2010)



52. Rosenthaler Strasse 39 in 1920 and 2011 (Source: memorialmuseum.org)





53. *Blindenwerkstatt Otto Weidt* (Source: Author's Photo)



54. Gedenkstätte Stille Helden (Source: Author's Photo)



55. Anne Frank Zentrum (Source: Author's Photo)

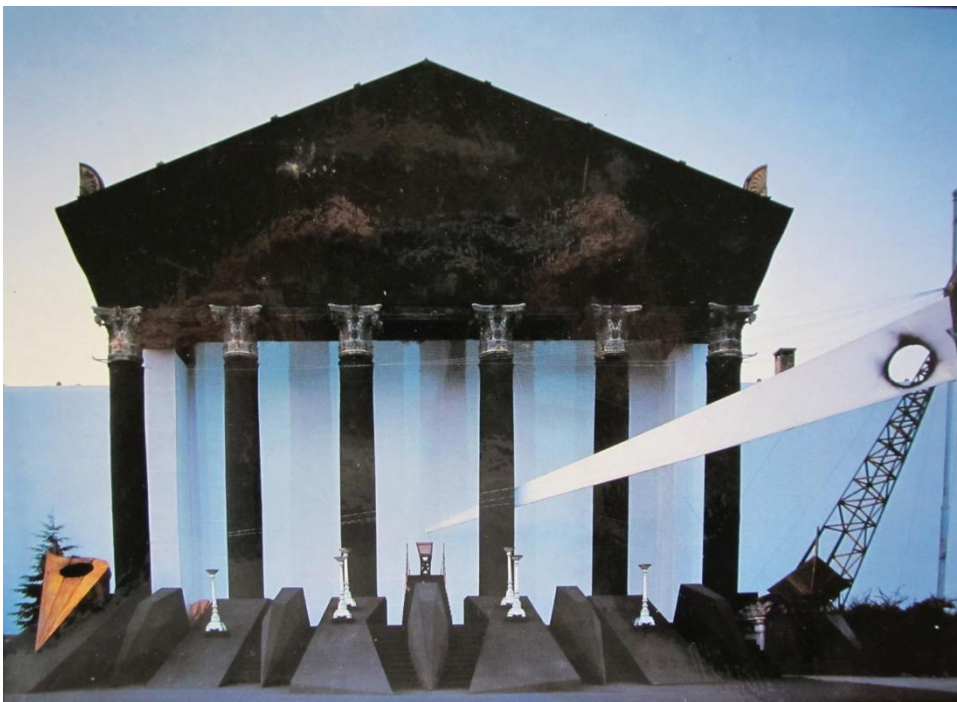




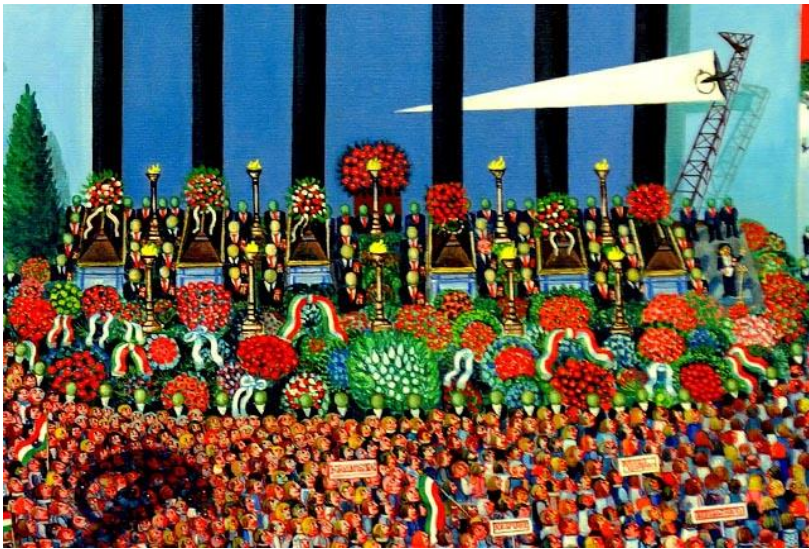
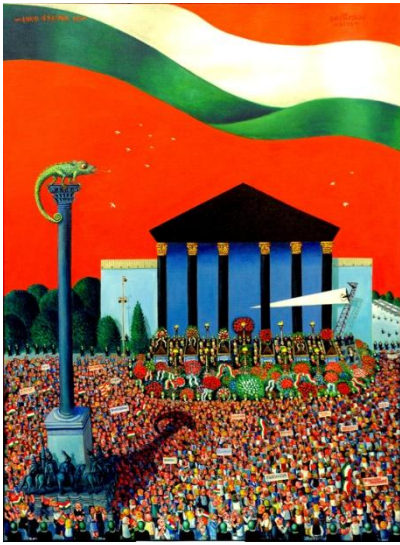
56. *Heroes' Square* in the 14<sup>th</sup> district of Budapest (Source: ingatlan.com)



57. László Rajk and Gábor Bachman's *Catafalque* (Source: Bachman et al. 1990)



58. Czimbál Gyula's *Reburial of Imre Nagy* (Source: index.hu)



59. ASAPA Group's *Strange Visitors* (Source: ASAPA Group)



60. Logo of Zimbardo's *Heroes' Square* project in front of the Heroes' Square (Source: Barbi Türkis on Facebook)





61. György Galántai and Júlia Klaniczay's *Hommage to Vera Muhina* (Source: artpool.hu)



62. Tamás St.Auby's *Statue of the Ghost of Liberty* (Source: Tamás St.Auby)



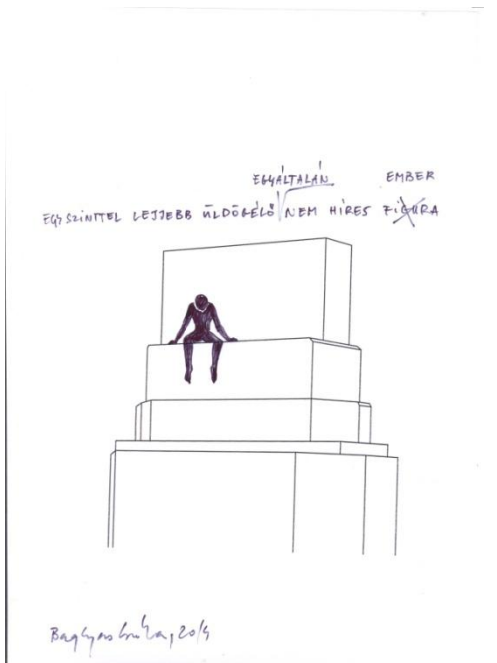
63. Antoni Muntadas' *Media Sites / Media Monuments* (Source: art-it.asia)



64. Liane Lang's *Monumental Misconceptions* (Source: Liane Lang)



65. Place of Heroes (Source: Miklós Zsámboki)



## Appendix 2. Public Works of Art in East Berlin between 1945 and 1989<sup>254</sup>

year	public work of art	address	notes
1945	Johann Tenne: Sowjetisches Ehrenmal (1945/46) Künstler unbekannt: Zwei Robben (nach 1945) Lew Jefimowitsch Kerbel: Sowjetisches Ehrenmal	Wiltbergstrasse (Pankow) Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg) Großer Tiergarten, Straße des 17. Juni (Tiergarten)	
1946	Jewgenij Wiktorowitsch Wutschetitsch (Vutschet): Sowjetisches Ehrenmal (1946/49) K. A. Solowjow, W. D. Karoljow und M. D. Belawenzew: Das Sowjetische Ehrenmal in der Schönholzer Heide Künstler unbekannt: Ehrenmal für gefallene Sowjetsoldaten Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für Albert Brust, Ruchar Neumann	Treptower Park (Treptow) Volkspark Schönholzer Heide (Pankow) Brodauer Strasse/Ecke Waplitzer Strasse (Hellersdorf) Falkenplatzes (Konradshöhe)	
1947	Fritz Cremer: Die Trauernde (1947/48) Iwan Gawrilowitsch Perschudtschew: Sowjetisches Ehrenmal (1947/49) Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für Erich Mühsam	Kiefholzstraße in Treptow (Treptow) Germanenstraße, Volkspark Schönholzer Heide (Pankow) Dörläuchtingstrasse 48 (Neukölln)	
1948	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für die Opfer des Faschismus Künstler unbekannt: Opfer des Faschismus (Widerstands-Denkmal)	Hauptstrasse (Pankow) Loeperplatz (Lichtenberg)	
1949	Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal für die Opfer des Faschismus	Sterndamm/Heuberger Weg (Treptow)	
1950	Erwin Koppert: Sitzendes Mädchen Fritz Ritter: Segelflieger (1950er Jahre) Gustav Seitz: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz Gustav Seitz: Porträt Heinrich Mann H. Weiss: Pinguine (um 1950) H. Weiss: Zwei Bärengruppen (um 1950) Künstler unbekannt: Entenpärchen (um 1950)	Zentralfriedhofs Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg) Syringenplatz (Prenzlauer Berg) Jägerstraße 22 (Mitte) Chausseestraße (Mitte) Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg) Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg) Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	

<sup>254</sup> The database also includes the most important museums and memory institutions.

	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für Albrecht Haushofer (50er Jahre)	Kurzebracker Weg 40 (Heiligensee)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für die Opfer des Faschismus	Kolmarer Strasse / Ecke Knaackstrasse (Prenzlauer Berg)	replaced with a memorial wall in 1981, complemented with a plaque (initiated by historian Irene Mayer) in 2005
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für die Opfer des Faschismus (50er Jahre)	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Mahnmal für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus	Herbert-Baum-Strasse 45 (Weissensee)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Drei Pinguine	Zentralfriedhofs Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Schildkröte (1950er Jahre)	Otto-Brahm-Straße 17-22 (Weissensee)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Trinkbrunnen (1950er Jahre)	Paul-Grasse-Straße 11 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Walter Arnold: Mädchen	Schlosspark Schönhausen (Pankow)	
1951	Erwin Kobbert: Denkmal für die Zwangsarbeiter	Wiesenburger Weg 10 (Marzahn)	
	G. Postnikow: Stalin-Denkmal	Karl-Marx-Allee (früher Stalinallee) (Friedrichshain)	demolished in 1961
	Grundstein eines Denkmals für Karl Liebknecht	Potsdamer Platz (Mitte)	demolished in 1995, reerected with a reinterpreted base in 2003
	Gustav Seitz: Heinrich Mann	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal Bombenopfer Zweiter Weltkrieg	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	
	Richard Jenner, Hans Mucke, Reinhold Lingner: Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten	Gudrunstrasse (Lichtenberg)	information tables added after 2005
1952	Christian Rost: Kräutersammlerin	Frankfurter Allee 25-27 (Friedrichshain)	
	Eberhard Bachmann: Schweinepflegerin	Frankfurter Allee 23 (Friedrichshain)	
	Gertrud Claasen: Aufbauhelferin	Ossietzkystraße, Ecke Am Schlosspark (Pankow)	
	Hein Sinken: Stehendes Knabenpaar (1952/56)	Ellernweg 20 (Treptow)	
	Heinz Werner: Agitator	Frankfurter Allee 23 (Friedrichshain)	
	Karl Lemke: Schwimmerin	Höchste Straße (Friedrichshain)	
	Karl-Heinz Schamal: Krankenschwester	Frankfurter Allee 25-27 (Friedrichshain)	
	René Graetz, Hockender	Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	René Graetz: Denkmal Nikos Beloyannis	Römerweg, Ecke Treskowallee (Lichtenberg)	



	Theo Balden: Wissenschaftler	Frankfurter Allee 23 (Friedrichshain)	
1953	Waldemar Grzimek: Heinrich Heine-Denkmal	Heinrich-Heine-Platz (Ludwigfelde bei Berlin)	
	Gedenkstein für Helmut Just	Helmut Just Strasse (Prenzlauer Berg)	removed
1954	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für sowjetische Zwangsarbeiter	Konrad-Wolf-Strasse 31-32 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Michael Glinka	Glinkastraße 9-11 (Mitte)	
	Waldemar Grzimek: Heinrich Heine-Denkmal (1954/56, oder 1968)	Weinbergspark, Veteranen-, Ecke Brunnenstraße (Mitte)	pendant of the 1953 statue. Another copy of the statue was erected in 2002 at Unter den Linden (Mitte) in the east wing of Humboldt University (financed by Kulturkaufhauses Dussmann).
1955	Künstler unbekannt: Ion Luca Caragiale	Mühlenstraße 24 (Pankow)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Köpenicker Blutwoche	Essenplatz 1 (Köpenick)	
	Lidy von Lüttwitz: Mahnmal der Gewalt, 1955	Am Rathauspark (Wittenau)	
	Maria Schoeckel-Rostowskaja: Carl von Ossietzky, 1955	Görschstraße 42-44 (Pankow)	
	Theo Balden: Friedrich Simon Archenhold	Alt-Treptow, Archenhold-Sternwarte im rückwärtigen Garten (Treptow)	
	Willy Ernst Schade: Fohlenpaar	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
1956	Eberhard Bachmann: Krankenschwester	Grünberger Strasse 43 (Friedrichshain)	
	Fritz Cremer: Aufbauhelfer und Trümmerfrau	Rathaus-, Ecke Spandauer Straße (Mitte)	
	Gerhard Bensch und Kollektiv: Puttengruppe	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Heinrich Drake: Fohlengruppe	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Theo Balden: Büste Robert Schumann	Friedrichshagener Straße 8P (Köpenick)	
	Ursula Schneider-Schulz: Ballspielendes Mädchen (1956/57)	Kanzowstraße, Spielplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Walter Lerche: Entenpaar	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Walter Lerche: Adam und Eva	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Walter Lerche: Bube mit Zickel	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	reerected in 1983 because of damage
	Walter Sutkowski: Zwei Gazellen	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
1957	Doris Pollatschek: Junges Paar	Hagedornstraße, Ecke Allmersweg (Treptow)	

1958	Hans Kies: Anton Saefkow (1957/58)	Anton-Saefkow-Park (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Heinrich Drake: Hochlandstier	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Klaus Tilke: Wisent	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	disappeared
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein Fritz und Albert Gast	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	
	Rudolf Oelzner: Krauskopfpelikan	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Waldemar Grzimek, Diskuswerfer	Marx-Engels-Platz (Mitte)	
	Waldemar Grzimek, Geschwister	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
	Elfriede Ducke: Biber	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Erich Oehme: Panther	vor dem Haupteingang am U-Bahnhof Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	relocated in 2007 to Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)
	Fritz Cremer: Aufbauhelfer	Rathaus-, Ecke Spandauer Straße (Mitte)	
Gerhard Liebold: Bär	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)		
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Mann mit Kind auf der Schulter (1958/72)	Müggelpark (Treptow)		
Johannes Milenz, Erwin Kobber: Ehrenmal für gefallene Sowjetsoldaten	Wiesenburger Weg (Marzahn)		
KRA/NOL/DA (Künstlergruppe): Knabe mit Fisch	Greifswalder, Ecke Anton-Saefkow-Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)		
Künstler unbekannt: Sowjetisches Ehrenmal und Ehrenhain	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)		
Otto Maerker: Marabu	Gürtelstraße 32 (Prenzlauer Berg)		
Otto Mercker: Karl Liebknecht (1958/59)	Prenzlauer Allee/Ecke Saarbrücker Strasse (Prenzlauer Berg)		
René Graetz: Sitzendes Mädchen	Treptower Park (Treptow)	stolen in 1990 and replaced with the 1971 statue "Upright Figure No. 8"	
Walter Sutkowski: Gazelle	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)		
Walter Sutkowski: Hechtbrunnen	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)		
1959	Heinrich Drake: Sheikhandpony	Springbornstraße 152 (Treptow)	
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Mutter mit Kindern	Weidenweg, Ecke Auerstraße (Friedrichshain)		
Vladimir Kostoval: Steinbock	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)		
Waldemar Grzimek: Schwimmerin (1959/60)	Sportforum Hohenschönhausen (Hohenschönhausen)		
1960	Fritz Cremer: Eva	Degenstraße (Hohenschönhausen)	deposed

Fritz Cremer: Knabe mit Essnapf

Gerhard Geyer: Anne Frank

Gerhard Rommel: Kleine Erntehelferin

Gerhard Thieme: Robert Rössle

Gustav Seitz: Käthe Kollwitz

Hans Kies: Roter Matrose

Joachim Liebscher: Blütenball

KRA/NOL/DA (Künstlergruppe): Spielende Bären

Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal für die von den Nationalsozialisten  
getöteten Angehörigen des Kabelwerks, 1960

Memorial to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism

Siegfried Krepp: Schwimmerin

Walter Sutkowski: Gazelle

1961 Eberhard Roszdeutscher: Flamingo

Erich Oehme: Riesenhirsch

Gerhard Rommel: Berliner Mädchen (1961/62)

Ingeborg Hunzinger: Paar

Künstler unbekannt: Sandmann auf Pferd

Ludwig Engelhardt: Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters (1961/63)

René Graetz: Pflanzlerin

Senta Baldamus: Brunnen

An der Wuhlheide, FEZ, nördl. Parkbereich  
(Köpenick)

Dusekestraße 14-22 (Pankow)

Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)

Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)

Käthe-Kollwitz-Platz (Prenzlauer Berg)

Volkspark Friedrichshain/Leninallee  
(Friedrichshain)

Storkower Straße 134 (Prenzlauer Berg)

Preußstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)

Wilhelminenhofstrasse 76/77 (Treptow-  
Köpenick)

marble plaques were removed after  
the regime change

Unter den Linden (Mitte)

after German reunification, in 1993,  
Neue Wache was rededicated as the  
"Central Memorial of the Federal  
Republic of Germany for the Victims  
of War and Dictatorship". At the  
personal suggestion of  
Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the GDR  
memorial piece was removed and  
replaced by an enlarged version  
of Käthe Kollwitz's sculpture "Mother  
with her Dead Son".

Danziger Straße (Friedrichshain)

removed

Regattastraße (Köpenick)

removed

Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)

Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)

Berliner Straße 32-34 (Pankow)

S-Bahnhof Plänterwald (Treptow)

Wattstraße 60-61 (Treptow)

Hänselstraße (Treptow)

Hänselstraße (Treptow)

Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)

1962	Siegfried Krepp: Turnende Kinder	Danziger Straße (Friedrichshain)	removed
	Theo Balden: Friedrich Simon Archenhold	Alt-Treptow, Archenhold-Sternwarte (Treptow)	
	Werner Stötzer: Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters	Unter den Linden 8 (Mitte)	
	Dietrich Rohde: Bisonstier	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Erwin Damerow: Ente	Dossestraße, Ecke Gürtelstraße (Friedrichshain)	
	Erwin Damerow: Fisch	Dossestraße, Ecke Gürtelstraße (Friedrichshain)	
	Erwin Damerow: Krankenschwester	Luisenstraße (Mitte)	
	Erwin Damerow: Polytechnischer Unterricht	Erwin-Hoernle-Straße (Köpenick)	
	Evelyn Nitzsche-Hartnick: Bauarbeiter (1962/65)	Mendelstraße, Ecke Stiftsweg (Pankow)	
	Hans Füssel: Johann Jacob Beyer	Alt-Müggelheim (Köpenick)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Mädchen	Kino Lunik (Pankow)	relocated to Dietzgenstraße (Pankow)
	Karl-Heinz Schamal: Gärtner (1962/66)	Hasselwerder Park, nahe Hasselwerder Straße (Treptow)	relocated to Rinkartstraße 13 (Treptow)
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für Peter Göring	Scharnhorst Strasse, Ecke Habersaathstrasse (Mitte)	demolished after 1993
	Otto Maerker: Stehende	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
1963	Eberhard Bachmann: Otto Brahm	Schumannstraße (Mitte)	in 1998 relocated to the other side of the street, in front of the Deutsches Theater
	Ernst Löber: Moschusochesenherde	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Fritz Cremer: Büste Johannes R. Becher (1963/64)	Majakowskiring 34 (Pankow)	
	Hedwig Jaenischen-Woermann: Gießer	Späthstraße 80-81 (Treptow)	
	Jean Ipousteguy: L'homme	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
	Klaus Tilke: Buckelziege	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Klaus Tilke: Riesenkanarienvogel	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Klaus Tilke: Zahnspinnerraupe	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Klaus Tilke: Zwei Kobaldmakis	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	in 1986 stolen and replaced with Margit Schötschel-Gabriel's copy
	Otto Maerker: Alfred Edmund Brehm	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	

	Wilfried Fitzenreiter: Max Reinhardt	Schumannstraße (Mitte)	in 1998 relocated to the other side of the street, in front of the Deutsches Theater
1964	Erwin Damerow: Känguruh	Dossestraße, Ecke Gürtelstraße (Friedrichshain)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Grosse Karyatide	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
	Hans Kies: Karl Marx Erinnerungsstätte	Strasse Alt-Stralau 25 (Friedrichshain)	
	Hans-Detlef Henning: Mundharmonikaspieler	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	removed
	Karl-Heinz Schamal: Büste Julian Marchlewski	Lincolnstraße 67 (Lichtenberg)	
	Maria Schockel-Rostowskaja: Walter Friedrich	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
	Senta Baldamus: Büste Peter Joseph Lenné	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Werner Stötzer: Mädchenakt	Lindenberger Weg 80 (Pankow)	
	Werner Stötzer: Stehende	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
1965	Birgit Horota: Bär (1965-66)	Humannplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Christa Sammler: Mädchen mit Ball (um 1965)	Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	
	Eberhard Bachmann: Kindergärtnerin	Oberspreestraße, Ecke Johanna Tesch-Straße (Treptow)	
	Eberhard Bachmann: Trümmerfrau (Aufbauhelferin) (1965/68)	Amalienstraße, Ecke Albertinenstraße (Weissensee)	
	Erich Oehme: Säbelzahnkatze	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Fritz Cremer: O Deutschland bleiche Mutter (Opfer des Nationalsozialismus) (1965/66)	Bodestraße (Mitte)	duplicate of the "Denkmal für das KZ Mauthausen"
	Fritz Kühn: Brunnen	Karl-Marx-Allee 34 (Mitte)	
	Hans-Detlef Henning: Liegende	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	removed
	Hans-Detlef Henning: Familie (um 1965)	S-Bahnhof Spindlersfeld (Köpenick)	
	Hans-Detlef Henning: Harmonikaspieler (1965/66)	Friedrichshagener Straße, Bellevuepark (Köpenick)	
	Harry Christlieb: Elchkalb	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Heinrich Drake: Denkmal Heinrich Zille	Köllnischer Park (Mitte)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Frau und liegender Mann	Chinesischer Garten (Mahrzahn)	
	Karl-Günter Möpert: Mädchen (um 1965)	Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Musizierende Kinder	Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	

	Künstler unbekannt: Pioniergruppe (um 1965)	Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	
	Margret Middell: Sportler	Storkower Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)	relocated to Prenzlauer Allee, Planetarium (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Maria Schockel-Rostowskaja: Stute mit Fohlen	Neltestraße, vor dem Haus Nr. 9 (Treptow)	
	Stefan Horota: Junger Fuchs	Volkspark Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer Berg)	disappeared in 2012
	Stefan Horota: Junger Fuchs	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	duplicate at the Maiglöckchenstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Stefan Horota: Junger Fuchs	Else Jahn Strasse 41 (Weissensee)	duplicate at the Maiglöckchenstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Theo Balden: Mutter und Kind	Klosterstraße (Mitte)	
	Walter Lerche: Akt	Möllhausenufer, Ecke Wendenschloss (Köpenick)	
	Walter Lerche: Junge mit Widder	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Walter Sutkowski: Mutter mit Kind (um 1965)	Stadtpark Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	
	Werner Richter: Schwimmerinnen	Weißenseer Weg (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Wieland Förster: Sich Sonnende	Unter den Linden 71, Ecke Wilhelmstraße (Mitte)	demolished after the regime change
1966	Fritz Ritter: Polytechnischer Unterricht (Zwei Kinder)	Gounodstraße 71 (Weissensee)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Jungbär	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Hellas	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
	Gertrud Claasen: Schwimmer	Kiefholzstraße, Ecke Hohenbirkerstraße (Treptow)	
	Hans Kies: Aus der Asche unserer Toten	An der Wuhlheide (Köpenick)	
	Hans Kies: Für die Kämpfer gegen den Kapp-Putsch (1966/70)	Friedländer Straße (Treptow)	
	Karl Lemke: Bremer Stadtmusikanten (Brunnenplastik)	Volkradstraße (Lichtenberg)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Große Liegende (1966/71)	Marx-Engels-Platz (Mitte)	
	Stefan Horota: Schimpansenkinder (1966/67)	Falkplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Walter Lerche: Mädchen mit Schimpanse	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Werner Richter: Rehkitz	Dregerhoffstraße, Ecke Köpenzeile (Köpenick)	

	Werner Richter: Rehkitz	Fritz-Lesch-Straße 35 (Hochenschönhausen)	other duplicates at Dregerhoffstraße (Köpenick) and at Lohmühlenstraße (Treptow)
	Werner Richter: Rehkitz	Lohmühlenstraße (Treptow)	other duplicates at the Werner-Seelenbinder-Schule (Hochenschönhausen) and at Dregerhoffstraße (Köpenick)
1967	Ernst Sauer: Giraffe	Dammweg, Ecke Kiefholzstraße (Treptow)	
	Fritz Cremer: Denkmal für die deutschen Interbrigadisten (Spanienkämpferdenkmal) (1967/68)	Friedenstrasse (Friedrichshain)	in 1990 the plaque got destroyed by extremists. Replaced with another plaque.
	Fritz Kühn: Schwebender Ring	Strausberger Platz (Friedrichshain)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Turnende Knaben	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)	a duplicate of the statue can be found in Köpenick, Grüne Trift 4, in front of the High School
	Gerhard Rommel: Turnende Knaben	Grüne Trift 169 (Köpenick)	a duplicate of the statue can be found in Bürgerpark Pankow
	Hans Kies: Speerwerfer	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Spielende Kinder	Bahnhofstraße (Köpenick)	
	Iwan Neschev: Komposition mit Rehen	Späthstraße 80-81 (Treptow)	
	Jefim Gendelmann: Im Feld (Russisches Mädchen)	Sterndamm 127/129 (Treptow)	
	Katharina Szelinski-Singer: Die Wartenden (1967/77)	Albertinenstr. 20-23 (Weissensee)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Drei sitzende Kinder	Schlosspark Niederschönhausen (Pankow)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Drei Sitzende Kinder	Fritz-Lesch-Straße 35 (Hochenschönhausen)	pendant of the work located in Schlosspark Niederschönhausen
	Maria Schoeckel-Rostowska: Melkerin mit Kalb	Am Stener Berg (Pankow)	
	Museum Berlin-Karlshorst	Zwieseler Strasse/Ecke Rheinestrasse (Lichtenberg)	commemorating the historic site of the surrender of the German Armed Forces on 8 May 1945 in Berlin-Karlshorst
	Senta Baldamus: Agitator	Anemonenstraße am Ende der Sackgasse (Köpenick)	

	Stefan Horota: Giraffengruppe (1967/69)	Karower Chaussee, Buch, Ernst-Ludwig-Heim-Straße (Pankow)	
	Stefan Horota: Giraffengruppe (1967/69)	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	duplicate of the "Giraffengruppe" at Ernst-Ludwig-Heim-Straße (Treptow)
	Stefann Horota: Kinder unterm Regenschirm (1967/68)	Fröbelplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	relocated to Danziger Str., Ecke Prenzlauer Allee (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Walter Lerche: Orang Utan-Familie	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Walter Lerche: Teenager mit Pelikan	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Werner Richter: Zwei Schwäne	Luisenhain, an der Langen Brücke (Köpenick)	relocated to Grünanlage Platz des 23. April (Köpenick)
	Walter Arnold: Clara Zetkin	Wittenberger Strasse (Marzahn)	stolen in the beginning of the 90s, replaced by Gerhard Thieme's "Zetkin" (1986)
1968	A. Wegwart: Büste Josef Orlopp	Josef-Orlopp-Straße 92 (Lichtenberg)	removed
	Ernst Löber: Moschusochesenherde	Park am Weißen See (Weissensee)	
	Erwin Damerow: Riesenhänguruh	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Mutter mit Kind	Wiltbergstraße (Pankow)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Lesender Knabe (1968/69)	Prenzlauer Allee, Ecke Ostseestraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Weiblicher Akt	Mahlsdorfer Straße, Ecke Gehsener Straße (Köpenick)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Der Mensch und die Strahlung	Fotochemisches Werk Köpenick (Köpenick)	
	Karl Lemke: Geschwister	Koppenplatz, Spielplatz (Mitte)	
	Margret Middell: Sportler	Fritz-Lesch-Straße 27 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Nikolai Wassiljewitsch Tomski: Lenindenkmal (1968/70)	Leninallee/Lichtenberger Strasse (Friedrichshain)	demolished in 1991
	Sabina Grzimek: Stehendes Paar	Gubitzstraße, Ecke Ostseestraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Reliefs am Denkmal für die deutschen Interbrigadisten (Spanienkämpferdenkmal)	Friedenstrasse (Friedrichshain)	
	Stefan Horota: Wolf und Storch	Lewaldstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	other duplicates at Konrad-Wolf-Straße, Ecke Manetstraße (Hohenschönhausen) and in



			Treptower Park.
	Walter Lerche: Böckchengruppe	Kurpark Friedrichshagen (Köpenick)	
	Walter Lerche: Knabe mit Esel	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Werner Stötzer: Sitzender Junge	Erich-Weinert-Straße, Ecke Hosemannstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Wieland Förster: Große Stehende auf einem Bein (1968/70)	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
1969	Baldur Schönfelder: Der Mensch fliegt	Rolandstraße 35 (Pankow)	
	Baldur Schönfelder: Weiblicher Akt	Galenusstraße 60, Krankenhausgelände, vor Haus 2	disappeared
	Christa Sammler: Kinder in Schule und Freizeit	Mendelstraße 54-62 (Pankow)	
	Eberhard Bachmann: Mutter und Kind	Römerweg 120 (Lichtenberg)	
	Erich John: Weltzeituhr	Alexanderplatz (Mitte)	
	Friedrich B. Henkel: Polytechnisches Wissen	Singerstraße 87 (Friedrichshain)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Aufbauhelferin	Sterndamm 128-134 (Treptow)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Lesender Jüngling	Springbornstraße 152 (Treptow)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Fischer	Luisenhain, nahe Alt-Köpenick, Ecke Lindenstraße (Köpenick)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Trauernde	Rudower Straße 23-25 (Köpenick)	
	Heinz Worner: Erfindung des Rades, 1969	Brixener Straße 40, Ecke Tiroler Straße (Pankow)	stolen
	Karl-Heinz Schamal: Sitzender Schwimmer	Wolfshagener Straße (Pankow)	
	Theo Balden: Kampf der deutschen Linken gegen Imperialismus und Krieg (1969/72)	Lustgarten (Mitte)	relocated to Marx-Engels-Platz (Mitte) in 2002 the district organized a call for the artistic reinterpretation of the monument
	Walter Sutkowski: Mahnmal Köpenicker Blutwoche	Platz des 23. April (Köpenick)	
	Werner Richter: Daedalos und Ikaros	Sulzfelder Straße, Ecke Else-Jahn-Straße (Weissensee)	
	Wieland Förster: Große Liegende	Andreasstraße, Ecke Singerstraße (Friedrichshain)	
1970	Erwin Damerow: Bär	Volkspark Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer	

	Erwin Damerow: Junge Sozialisten (Junges Paar)	Berg)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Bauarbeiter	Forckenbeckplatz (Friedrichshain)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Der Stahlwerker	Karl Liebknecht Strasse 31 (Mitte)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Kletternde Kinder (Tröpfelbrunnen) (1970/72)	An der Wuhlheide (Köpenick)	
		Berliner Straße, Ecke Breite Straße (Pankow)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Waffenbrüder	Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr auf dem Flugplatz Berlin-Gatow (Spandau)	
	Hans Eickworth: Vietnamesin (1970/74)	Schlossinsel Köpenick (Köpenick)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Wäscherin	Am Generalshof (Köpenick)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Lenin Monument	Hirschgarten (Köpenick)	
	Senta Baldamus: Lebensfreude (um 1970)	Unter den Linden 3 (Mitte)	
	Stefan Horota: Sieben Schwaben (1970/71)	Am Plänterwald (Treptow)	
	Stefan Horota: Vater und Sohn (1970/71)	Hohenschönhauser Straße, Ecke Maiglöckchenstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	disappeared in 2012
	Studenten der KHB-Weißensee: Kleiner Bär (1970 er Jahre)	Bühningstraße 23 (Weissensee)	
	Studenten der Kunsthochschule Weissensee: Denkmal der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer	Berliner Allee (Weissensee)	in 2003 new inscription, in 2004 a complementary plaque
	Walter Womacka: Brunnen der Völkerfreundschaft	Alexanderplatz (Mitte)	
	Werner Stötzer: Sitzende mit aufgestütztem Arm (1970/74)	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
1971	Birgit Horota: Aus der Geschichte des Bezirks Prenzlauer Berg	Volkspark Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Grenzsoldat mit Kind	Breite Straße, Bleichröderpark (Pankow)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Büste Felix Dzierzynski	Rudower Straße 7-8 (Treptow)	
	Lore Plietzsch: Mutter mit Kind	Pieskower Weg 41 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Pawel Weselow: Schwarzer Panther (1971/73)	Treptower Park, Spreeuferweg (Treptow)	
	René Graetz: Upright Figure No. 8	Treptower Park (Treptow)	after 1990 relocated to Treptower Park (Treptow)
	René Graetz: Upright Figure No. 9	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)	
	Rolf Winkler: Käthe Kollwitz	Dunckerstraße 65 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Wieland Förster: Große Badende	Fröbelstraße 17 (Prenzlauer Berg)	

	Wieland Förster: Große Neeberger Figur (1971/74)	Skulpturengarten der Neuen Nationalgalerie (Tiergarten)	demolished
1972	Erwin Damerow: Rodelnde Kinder	Volkspark Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Bauarbeiter-Denkmal	Rathausstraße, Alexanderplatz (Mitte)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Archimedes	Alt-Treptow 1 (Treptow)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Berliner Typen (Brunnenfiguren)	Rathausstraße (Mitte)	
	Hans Bernhardt: Pflanzlerin	Treptower Park (Treptow)	originally erected in 1957 in the garden of Weiße Flotte
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Die Erde	Mauerstraße 22 (Mitte)	relocated to Lustgarten, in 1991 to Monbijoupark (Mitte)
	Künstler unbekannt: Büste Georgi Dimitroff (vor 1972)	Florian-Geyer-Straße (Treptow)	
	Ludwig Engelhardt: Freundschaft	Karl-Liebnecht-Straße (Mitte)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Hühner	Palisadenstraße 30 (Friedrichshain)	
	Sabina Grzimek: Sinnende (1972/74)	Humboldt Universität Innenhof (Mitte)	
	Walter Lerche: Kinder mit Schildkröte	Schlossinsel Köpenick (Köpenick)	
	Zofia Wolska, Tadeusz Ladziana, Arnd Wittig, Günter Merkel: Denkmal des polnischen Soldaten und des deutschen Antifaschisten (1971/72)	Virchowstrasse/Am Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	since 1995 the memorial also commemorates non-communist resistance fighters
1973	Achim Kühn: Festivalblume	Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Achim Kühn: Wasserglocke	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Dietmar Kuntzsch: Grenztruppen Denkmal	Schützenstraße, Ecke Jerusalmstraße (Mitte)	damaged and in 1994 demolished
	Gerhard Rommel: Fritz Grosse	Erich-Weinert-Straße 105 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Markthallenbrunnen	Rosa-Luxemburg-Straße, Ecke Liebnechtstraße (Mitte)	
	Peter Fritzsche: Hasensäule (1973/76)	Berolinastraße 21 (Mitte)	
	René Graetz: Frau mit Vogel	Hönower Weg (Lichtenberg)	
	Rosemarie und Otto Schack: Porträt Hans Gummel	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
	Stefan Horota: Wolf und Storch	Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Wilfried Fitzenreiter: Ruhender Sportler	Conrad-Blenkle-Straße 34 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
1974	Ernst Löber: Büste Ernst Schneller	Fließenstraße 3-7 (Treptow)	disappeared

	Fritz Ritter: Sportler	Kissingenstraße, Ecke Karlstadter Straße (Pankow)	
	R. Hoffmann: Mädchen mit Apfel	Rüdiger Straße 76 (Lichtenberg)	
	Rudolf Kaiser: Keramikbrunnen	Frankfurter Allee 144 (Lichtenberg)	
	Senta Baldamus: Büste Karl Foerster	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Theo Balden: Geschwister	Müggelpark am Spreetunnel (Köpenick)	
	Werner Richter: Stehende Barbara	Späthstraße 80-81 (Treptow)	
	Zdenek Nemecek: Julius-Fucik-Denkmal	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)	
1975	Achim Kühn: Glockenstuhl	Albertinenstraße 20-23 (Weissensee)	
	Hans Kies: Gedenkmauer für Harro Schlulze-Boysen	Schulze-Boysen-Strasse 12 (Lichtenberg)	
	Hans-Peter Goettsche: Reiherbaum	Schlossinsel Köpenick im Park (Köpenick)	
	Heinrich Drake: Denkmal Heinrich Zille	Köllnischer Park (Mitte)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Die Sphinx	Berliner Dom (Mitte)	
	Iwan Gawrilowitsch Perschudtschew: Sowjetisches Ehrenmal	Küstriner Straße (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Jorges Iliopdus: Jugend	Puschkinallee, Ecke Bouchéstraße (Treptow)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Büste Karl Liebknecht	Cecilienstrasse 14 (Marzahn-Hellersdorf)	disappeared
	Nikolaus Bode: Russischer Ofen	Dolomitenstraße 94, Ecke Brixener Straße (Pankow)	
	Rolf Winkler: Junges Paar (um 1975)	Dolgenseestraße, verlängerte Mellenseestraße (Lichtenberg)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Gitarrenspieler und Sitzende	Traveplatz (Friedrichshain)	removed
	Stefan Horota: Wolf und Storch	Konrad-Wolf-Straße, Ecke Manetstraße (Hochenschönhausen)	removed
	Stefan Horota: Zwei Ziegen auf der Brücke	John-Sieg-Straße (Lichtenberg)	a duplicate of the statue can be found at Einsteinstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Werner Richter: Gedenkstele für die antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer	Koppenstraße, Ecke Singerstraße (Friedrichshain)	
	Wilfried Fitzenreiter: Spielende	Rudolfplatz (Friedrichshain)	
1976	Carin Kreuzberg: Sitzendes Liebespaar	Amalienpark, Breite Straße (Pankow)	
	Friedrich Schötschel: Brunnen mit Metallplastik	Bernhard-Bästlein-Straße 3 (Lichtenberg)	

	Fritz Cremer: Johannes R. Becher	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)	
	Johanna Jura: Gedenkwannd für Hochschulangehörige, die zu Opfern des NS-Regimes wurden	Innenhof der Humboldt-Universität (Mitte)	
	Jürgen Raue: Angela Davis	An der Wuhlheide (Köpenick)	
	Katarina Knebel: Artur Becker	Degnerstrasse (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Stefan Horota: RollerKinder (Drei Kinder mit Tretroller)	Hamburger Platz, Gustav-Adolf-Straße Ecke Pistoriusstraße (Weissensee)	
	Walter Howard: Denkmal Hermann Duncker	Treskowallee (früher Hermann-Duncker-Straße), Ecke Wandlitzstraße (Lichtenberg)	
1977	Alfred Bernau: Richtkrone (Denkmal des sozialistischen Aufbau)	Allee der Kosmonauten 68, Ecke Marchwitzstraße (Marzahn)	complementary plaque added after the regime change
	Christian Uhlig: Freizeit (1977/79)	Schmollerplatz (Treprow)	
	Dietrich Grünig: Spartakus	Chausseestrasse 121 (Mitte)	demolished after the regime change
	Günter Junge: Gedenkstele Rosa Luxemburg	Barnimstrasse/Weinstrasse (Friedrichshain)	
	Johanna Jura: Mädchen mit Katzen	Greifswalder Straße, hinter Nr. 88 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Jürgen Sanding: Strukturwand	Regattastraße (Köpenick)	
	Lothar Rechtacek: Tiersäule	Bahnhofstraße (Weißensee)	after 1990 relocated to Klausthaler Platz (Pankow)
	Nikolaus Bode: Früchte	Neumannstraße 70, vor der Kaufhalle (Pankow)	disappeared
	PERDIOS: Ponyreiter	Hermann-Hesse-Straße 48-52 (Pankow)	
	Peter Kern: Pablo Neruda	Mollstrasse 31 (Friedrichshain)	
	Peter Kern: Begegnung (1977/80)	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Stefan Horota: Sitzender Eisbär	Arnswalder Platz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Stefan Horota: Vater mit zwei Kindern	Gartenstraße, Else-Jahn-Straße (Weissensee)	
	Stefan Horota: Zwei Ziegen auf der Brücke	Hanns-Eisler-Straße, Ecke Kniprode-Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)	duplicate of the statue at John-Sieg-Straße (Lichtenberg)
	Werner Richter: Widerstands-Denkmal	Dörpfeldstrasse / Ecke Nipkowstrasse (Adlershof)	
	Werner Wörner: Jüdische Kinder	Wilhelm-Wolf-Straße 34 (Pankow)	

1978	Carin Kreuzberg: E.T.A. Hoffmann (1978/88)	Karl-Liebknecht-Straße; an der Spreepromenade (Mitte)	
	Carin Kreuzberg: Knabenakt (um 1978)	Breite Straße, Grünanlage (Pankow)	disappeared
	Christa Sammler: Heinrich Schliemann (1978/81)	Dunckerstraße 64 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Dietrich Grünig: Pferdegruppe	Hoffmannstraße 10 (Treptow)	
	Emerita Pansowová: Hockendes Mädchen	Humannplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	relocated to Kniprode Straße 62 (Prenzlauer Berg). Later damaged and replaced by Marguerite Blume-Cardenas
	Emilia Nikolova-Bayer: Kind mit Taube	Gürtelstraße 32 (Weissensee)	
	Emilia Nikolova-Bayer: Mutter mit Kindern (1978/80)	Ostendstraße 15 (Köpenick)	
	Friedrich-Wilhelm Fretwurst: Natur- und Tierbilder	Falkenberger Straße 30 (Weissensee)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Büste Sigmund Jähn	Puschkinallee, im Hain der Kosmonauten an der Archenhold-Sternwarte im Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Hans Klakow: Kinder mit Schildkröte	Südostallee 212 (Treptow)	
	Heinrich Apel: Franz Mehring (1978/81)	Franz-Mehring-Platz (Friedrichshain)	
	Jürgen Pansow: Pietà	Klosterstraße, neben der Ruine der Franziskaner-Klosterkirche (Mitte)	
	Jürgen Raue: Junges Paar	Fennpfuhl, nahe Anton-Saefkow-Platz (Lichtenberg)	
	Magda Gádor: Säule	Treptower Park, am Spreeufer (Treptow)	
	Manfred Salow: Brunnen säule mit Katzen und Vögeln	Breite Straße, Bleichröderpark (Pankow)	
	Manfred Salow: Sitzender (männlicher Akt)	Breite Straße (Mitte)	in 1998 relocated to Ossietzkystraße 26 (Pankow)
	Maria Cocoea: Kapitell	Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Mihai Buculei: Fenster	Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Nilpferdbrunnen	Wühlischplatz, Ecke Holteistraße (Friedrichshain)	stolen in 1991, reerected in 1996
	Renate Stötzer: Fichte-Gedenkstele	Eichbuschallee 30 (Treptow)	
	Rudolf Hilscher: Junges Paar	An der Wuhlheide, FEZ, nördl. Parkbereich (Köpenick)	
	Stefan Horota: Zwei Kinder mit Katze	Palisadenstraße 76 (Friedrichshain)	

	Werner Petrich: Ertrag des Meeres, der Erde, der Luft	Neumannstraße 7 (Pankow)	
	Werner Richter: Elefant	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
1979	Christian Uhl: Jahreszeiten	Heins-Graffunder-Park nahe Marchwizastraße / Eugen-Roth-Weg (Marzahn)	demolished in 2003, reerected in 2005
	Dietrich Grünig: Bärin mit Junges	Werlseestraße, Feierabendheim, Hof Haus 1 (Köpenick)	
	Emilia Nikolova-Bayer: Umarmung	Rosenthaler Platz, Ecke Torstrasse (Abgebaut) (Mitte)	disappeared
	Gerhard Thieme: Bärengruppe	Wisbyer Straße 37-40 (Pankow)	disappeared
	Günther Horn: Tulpenbaum	Karower Straße, vor med. Fachschule Buch (Pankow)	
	Hans-Detlef Henning, Giraffen (1979/80)	Schlossinsel Köpenick (Köpenick)	
	Jürgen Raue: Drei Brunnen (1979/80)	Thomas-Mann-, Ecke Hanns-Eisler-Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Karl-Heinz Schamal: Gärtner	Antonplatz (Weissensee)	
	Margit Lüdke: Brunnen	Antonplatz (Weissensee)	
	Margit Schötschel-Gabriel: Pfauenbrunnen	Holzmarktstraße (Tempelhof)	
	Reinhard Dietrich: Mecklenburgische Bäuerin	Ernst-Barlach-Straße 7 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Sommer	Park am Obersee (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Sonja Eschefeld: Junge Löwen	Bahnhofstraße 10-15 (Weissensee)	
	Stefan Horota: Till Eulenspiegel	Buschallee (Weissensee)	
	Werner Richter: Für die Opfer des Widerstandes	Diesterweg, Ecke Danziger Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Werner Richter: Schiefer (1979/82)	Sandinostraße, Ecke Altenhofer Straße, am Haus Nr. 40 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Wertonia Wysocka-Konczak: Werdendes	Treptower Park (Treptow)	
1980	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Erich Weinert	Prenzlauer Allee, Ecke Ostseestraße, Weinertpark (Prenzlauer Berg)	in 1995 a new base
	Astrid Dannegger: Apfelsinenbaum (um 1980)	Ketschendorfer Weg 33 (Marzahn)	
	Baldur Schönfelder: Vogelbrunnen	Judith-Auer-Straße 4-9 (Lichtenberg)	
	Dietrich Grünig: Spree und Havel-Brunnen	Erich-Kurz-Straße 11-13 (Lichtenberg)	

	Emerita Pansowová: Schreitende (1980/81)	Marchwizastraße 41 (Marzahn)	
	Emilia Nikolova-Bayer: Duschbrunnen (1980/81)	Arkonaplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	disappeared
	Emilia Nikolova-Bayer: Puppentheater (1980/81)	Metzerstrasse, Kindergarten (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Fritz Klimsch: Akt (Eva)	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Gedenkmauer an ermordete kommunistische Werksangehörige	Liebermannstrasse 30 (Weissensee)	in 2003 a new inscription, in 2004 a new plaque
	<b>Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche Juni 1933</b>	<b>Puchanstrasse 12 (Köpenick)</b>	<b>in 1993 the district reorganizing the exhibition</b>
	Gerhard Rommel: Angora-Ziegenbock (1980/81)	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Mutter mit Kind	Walter-Friedrich-Straße (Pankow)	
	Heinz Worner: Zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung - gewidmet Ernst Knaack und Sigismund Sredzki (1980/81)	Knaackstraße 53-67 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Denkende (Sinnende) (um 1980)	Schlosspark Biesdorf, Alt Biesdorf 55 (Marzahn)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Kniende Frauen	Marchwizastraße, vor der Kaufhalle (Marzahn)	
	Karl Lemke: Akt (vor 1980)	Volkradtstraße, am Ende der Passage (Lichtenberg)	
	Ludwig Engelhardt: Kugelstoßerin	Hartriegelstraße 92 (Treptow)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Gänsegruppe	Franz-Schmidt-Straße, Grünanlage gegenüber Haus 6 (Pankow)	
	Stefan Horota: Orang-Utan-Kinder	Solonplatz, Ecke Lindenallee (Weissensee)	
	Werner Stötzer: Saale und Werra	Waldmeisterstraße 10-20 (Wilmerdorf)	
1981	Angela Schneider: Schäfer	Landsberger Allee 227 (Hochenschönhausen)	removed
	Dietrich Rohde: Büste Salvador Allende	Pablo-Neruda-Straße 6 (Köpenick)	
	E. C. Lenk: Mantelpavian	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Emilia Nikolova-Bayer: Drei wegbegleitende Plastiken (Kniende, Liegende und Sitzende)	Märkische Allee, zwischen den Häusern 148-154 und Murtzaner Ring Nr. 57-63 (Marzahn)	two parts disappeared
	Fritz Ritter: Junger Sportler	Neue Krugallee, vor der Schwimmhalle (gestohlen) (Treptow)	after 2010 disappeared



	Gerhard Rommel: Büste Juri Gagarin	Puschkinallee, im Hain der Kosmonauten an der Archenhold-Sternwarte im Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Revolutionäre Kämpfer	Kiefholzstraße (Treptow)	
	Hugo Namslauer: Gedenkstein für die Opfer des Gestapo-Lagers Wuhlheide	Am Tierpark 39-47 (Lichtenberg)	
	Jürgen Raue: Herbert-Baum-Gruppe	Lustgarten (Marx-Engels-Forum) (Mitte)	in 2001 a plexiglass was added to the composition. Initiated by the Memorial Plaque Commission Mitte.
	Nikolaus Bode: Elefantenmutter	Singerstraße 77 (Friedrichshain)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Pony	Palisadenstraße 30 (Friedrichshain)	
	Robert Riehl: Die Bewahrende	Johannisthaler Park (Treptow)	
	Sabina Grzimek: Liegendes Paar	Kastanienallee, Prater-Garten (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Sabina Grzimek: Männlicher Akt (Tomski)	Allee der Kosmonauten, am Eingang des Sportplatzes (Marzahn)	after 1990 relocated to Bürgerpark Marzahn (Marzahn)
	Sabina Grzimek: Mutter mit Kind	Rüdigerstrasse, Ecke Freiaplatz (Lichtenberg)	
	Senta Baldamus: Arbeitergespräch	Segelfliegerdamm (Treptow)	after 1990 relocated to Holzhauser Straße 165 (Reinickendorf)
	Stefan Horota: Akrobaten	Auerpark (Friedrichshain)	
	Werner Richter: Heinzelmännchen	Bulgarische Straße (Treptow)	
	Zygrfryd Korpalski: Er und Sie	Insel der Jugend (Treptow)	
1982	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Die Steinalte	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Fritz als Baby	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Grosses Paar	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Mensch und Tod	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Taufstein	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)	
	Emerita Pansowová: Tischlein deck dich	Marchwizastraße, Ecke Allee der Kosmonauten (Marzahn)	
	Fritz Cremer: Auferstehender (1982/83)	Klosterstraße, vor der Ruine der Franziskaner-Klosterkirche (Mitte)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Denkmal für Opfer des Faschismus	Leonhard-Frank-Strasse (Pankow)	

	Hans-Detlef Henning: Fontanebrunnen	Erich Kurz-Straße 7-9 (Lichtenberg)	
	Hans-Helmuth Müller: Springbrunnen	Alt-Buch 48-50 (Pankow)	
	Karl Blümel: Drei Plastiken (Hockende auf Kugel, Mutter-Kind-Gruppe und Vogeltränke)	Murtzaner Ring, zwischen den Häusern Nr. 10 und dem Haus Nr. 137 der Allee der Kosmonauten (Marzahn)	
	Karl-Günter Möpert: Wäscherin	Müggelheimer Straße, Grünanlage Frauentrog (Köpenick)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Büste Erich Steinfurth	Lassaner Strasse (Marzahn-Hellersdorf)	since 1994 in the deposit of the Senate
	Manfred Ebeling: Kugelbrunnen	Dolgenseestraße 11-11a, Ecke Mellenseestraße (Lichtenberg)	
	Marguerite Blume-Cárdenas: Hermes	Alt-Friedrichsfelde 106 (Lichtenberg)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Koggebrunnen	Alt-Friedrichsfelde 69/71 (Lichtenberg)	
	Peter Kern: Bedrohte	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Senta Baldamus: Weltjugend	Römerweg, Ecke Treskowallee (Lichtenberg)	
	Sonja Eschefeld: Schafe (1982/83)	Dorfstraße 9 (Hochenschönhausen)	duplicate of the work can be found at Normannenstraße (Treptow)
	Stefan Horota: Paar in der Badewanne	Schönhauser Allee, Ecke Torstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	after 1995 relocated to Metzger Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Werner Rosenthal: Mandrella-Gedenkstein	Mandrella-Platz (Köpenick)	
1983	Achim Kühn: Baum der Lebensfreude	Georgenstraße, Ecke Reichstagsufer (Mitte)	
	Baldur Schönfelder: Drei Grazien	Hanns-Eisler-Straße nahe der Kniprodestraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Birgit Horota: Turnübung	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Christa Sammler: Theaterstele	Schumannstraße, Grünanlage gegenüber dem Deutschen Theater (Mitte)	
	Dietrich Grünig: Mutter mit Kind	Wollinerstraße 64-65 (Mitte)	
	Erwin Damerow: Sitzender Junge	Storkower Str., Ecke Landsberger Allee (Prenzlauer Berg)	in 2006 relocated to Volkspark Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer Berg), then disappeared

	Gerhard Rommel: Büste Waleri Bykowski	Puschkinallee, im Hain der Kosmonauten an der Archenhold-Sternwarte im Treptower Park (Treptow)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Kampfgruppendenkmal	Hohenschönhauser Straße, am Rande des Volksparks Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer Berg)	in 1991 relocated to the Deutsches Historisches Museum
	Gerhard Thieme, Günter Stahn: Erinnerungsmal an das Revolutionsdenkmal von 1926	Gudrunstraße 20 (Lichtenberg)	
	Gertrud Claasen: Lesender Knabe	Pistoriusstraße (Weissensee)	
	Ingrid Puhleemann: Büste Dr. Emil von Behring	Puschkinallee 8 (Treptow)	
	Karl-Günter Möpert und Christa Sammler: Musik	Falkenberger Straße 183 (Weissensee)	
	Karl-Günter Möpert: Quellbrunnen	Robert-Uhrig-Straße, Ecke Massower Straße (Lichtenberg)	
	Lew Jefimowitsch Kerbel: Ernst-Thälmann-Denkmal (1983/86)	Greifswalder Strasse (Prenzlauer Berg)	in 1990 two inscriptions were removed by the district
	Lothar Rechtacek: Bär	Ossietzkystraße (Pankow)	disappeared
	Rolf Szymanski: Anabase	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)	
	Rolf Winkler: Sitzbrunnen	Märkische Allee 40, Ecke Marchwitzastraße 1/2 (Marzahn)	
	Rolf Winkler: Solidarität	Krugstege in Blankenburg, im Hof der Oberschule (Weissensee)	removed
	Sabina Grzimek: Stehender Knabe (1983/84)	Thälmannpark (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Lesender Knabe	Pistoriusstraße, Ecke Woelckpromenade (Weissensee)	
	Stefan Horota: Shetlandpony mit Fohlen	Park am Weißen See, Ecke Berliner Allee, Spielplatz (Weissensee)	
	Will Lammert: Karl Marx	Strausberger Platz, Ecke Karl-Marx-Allee (Friedrichshain)	
1984	Achim Kühn: Elektronenmodell	Karower Strasse 11 (Pankow)	
	Adrian Popovici: Poet und Muse	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
	Anatol Erdmann: Tisch mit Gemüse, Obst und drei Kürbissen	Oderberger Straße 15 (Prenzlauer Berg)	

Astrid Dannegger: Ponygruppe	Franz-Schmidt-Straße (Pankow)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Barbara und Sliwa Zambrzyck: Familie	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Bojidar Kozarev: Orpheus und Euridike	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Cornelia Schleime: Fisch	Oderberger Straße 15 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Cornelia Schleime: k.A.	Oderberger Straße 15 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Cornelia Schleime: Tote Katze	Oderberger Straße 15 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Eberhard Bachmann: Hockende	Park am Obersee (Hochenschönhausen)	
Emerita Pansowová: Generationen	Breiter Weg, Ecke Oststraße (Treptow)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Gyula Meszes-Toth: Mutter und Kind	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Hans-Jürgen Scheib: Hirsch	Oderberger Straße 15 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Hans-Peter Goettsche: Victor Jara	Alfred-Randt-Straße 54-56 (Köpenick)	
Ingrid Puhlemann: Stehende	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Jürgen Pansow: Erwachende	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
Karl Blümel: Weltall, Erde, Mensch	Allee der Kosmonauten, hinter der Gaststätte Am Anger, am Flohteich, Schragenfeldstraße (Marzahn)	
Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal Herbert Tschäpe	Allee der Kosmonauten 29 (Marzahn)	disappeared in 2008

	Ladislav Chachole: Frühling	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life". Destroyed.
	Marguerite Blume-Cárdenas: Schlafende Marguerite Blume-Cárdenas: Träumende	Späthstraße 80-81 (Treptow) Kniprodestrasse 62 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Matti Varik: Familie	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
	Robert Rehfeld und Wolfgang Weber: Phantastische Welt Sabine Teubner: Mutter mit Kind Siegfried Wehrmeister: Sehnsucht (1984/86)	Murtzaner Ring (Marzahn) Leonhard-Frank-Strasse (Pankow) Krankenhaus Friedrichshain vor den Häusern 11-15 (Friedrichshain)	
	Sonja Eschefeld: Liegende	Springpfuhl (Marzahn)	realized within the framework of the 1. International Sculpture-symposium in East-Berlin on the issue of "Poetry of life"
	Sylvia Hagen: Drei Akte (Plastikgruppe Mann 2 Frauen)	Märkischen Allee vor dem S-Bahnhof Mehrower Allee (Marzahn) Zechliner Straße, in der Grünanlage gegenüber dem Haus Nr. 1-5 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Sylvia Hagen: Liegende	Alt-Friedrichsfelde 23 (Lichtenberg)	
	Thüre: Tränkebrunnen Werner Richter: Viehzüchterin	Richterstraße 10 (Treptow) Pekrunstraße, Ecke Fichtelbergstraße (Marzahn)	
	Wolfgang Weber: Tanz der Jugend (Brunnen)	Puschkinallee, Vorplatz der Weißen Flotte am S-Bahnhof Treptow (Treptow)	
1985	Achim Kühn: Klingende Blume	Schmöckwitzer Damm (Köpenick)	
	Achim Kühn: Wasservogel	Prenzlauer Promenade 3 Brotfabrik (Weissensee)	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Großer Knabe	Merseburger Strasse 15-17 (Marzahn)	
	Antje Scharfe: Hofzeichen (1985/91) Antje Scharfe: Hofzeichen (1985/91)	Köthener Strasse 22-24 (Marzahn)	

	Dieter Duschek: Kuh und Reiter	Lion-Feuchtwanger-Straße gegenüber Nr. 7/9 (Hellersdorf)	
	Emerita Pansowová: Grosser Sitzender	Marx-Engels-Platz (Mitte)	
	Heinz Hoyer: Junger Stier	Andreasstr (Friedrichshain)	
	Heinz Hoyer: Krokodil	Andreasstr (Friedrichshain)	
	Jan Skuin: Fliegender Amboß	Sterndamm, Ecke Groß-Berliner Damm (Treptow)	
	Jürgen Pansow: Stehender	Mehrower Allee 36 (Marzahn)	
	Karl-Günter Möpert: Aus der Geschichte der Landwirtschaft	Landsberger Allee (Hohenschönhausen)	removed
	Ludwig Engelhardt: Marx-Engels-Denkmal (1985/86)	Marx-Engels-Forum (Mitte)	
	M. Büttner: Schützen was des Volkes Hände schaffen	Märkische Allee, Ecke Dahmeweg (Marzahn)	
	Manfred Hübner: Drei sitzende Frauen	Marzahner Chaussee 194 (Marzahn)	
	Margret Middell: Die Würde und Schönheit freier Menschen (1985/86)	Marx-Engels-Forum (Mitte)	
	Michael Klein: Mädchen mit Spielelementen - gewidmet Fröbel	Fröbelplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Peter Schubring: Monumentalbrunnen	Anton-Saefkow-Platz 3-4 (Lichtenberg)	demolished
	Rolf Winkler: Kauernde	Hermann-Hesse-Straße, Ecke Güllweg (Pankow)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Liegende	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	
	Sonja Eschefeld: Schafe	Normannenstraße, vor dem Feierabendhaus (Treptow)	duplicate of the statue at Dorfstr. (Hohenschönhausen)
	Werner Rosenthal: Gedenkstele Werner Sylten	Müggelbergplatz (Köpenick)	
	Werner Stötzer: Alte Welt (1985/86)	Marx-Engels-Forum (Mitte)	
	Will Lammert: Denkmal Jüdische Opfer des Faschismus	Grosse Hamburger Strasse 27. (Mitte)	the statue was originally designed in 1957
	Wolfgang Weber: Säule	Clara-Zetkin-Park (Marzahn)	
1986	Achim Kühn: Mühlenradbrunnen	Am Mühlengrund, Ecke Rotkamp 2 (Hohenschönhausen)	
	Achim Kühn: Windspiel	Judith-Auer-Straße 8 (Lichtenberg)	
	Alfons Losowski: Fischerin	Fennstraße, am Spreeufer in der Nähe der Britzer Straße (Treptow)	relocated to Hasselwerder Park, Hasselwerder Straße (Treptow)
	Dietrich Grünig: Mutter mit Kind	Münsterlandplatz (Lichtenberg)	

Frank Seidel: o.T.	Prenzlauer Promenade 3 (Weissensee)	
Georg Seibert: Mahnmal „Erinnerung“ für die ermordeten Mitglieder der jüdischen Gemeinde „Adass Jisroel“	Siegmunds Hof (Mitte)	
Gerhard Thieme: Clara Zetkin	Wustrower Straße (Hellersdorf)	after 1990 relocated to Wittenberger Strasse (Marzahn)
Günter Schütz: Denkmal für Antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf und Befreiung	Schönhauser Allee, S-Bahnhof (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Jan Skuin: Dynamischer Körper	Allee der Kosmonauten 25 (Lichtenberg)	
Joachim Liebscher: Sonnenuhr	Prenzlauer Allee, Planetarium (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Johannes Habort: Bierfahrer	Thälmannpark (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Jürgen Raue, Götz Dorl: Gedenkensemble für Sinti und Roma	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	in 1990 a new memorial sheet, in 1991 a new memorial plaque
Jürgen Rehtacek: Figurenstele	Raoul Wallenberg Straße 40 (Marzahn)	
Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal für die von den Nationalsozialisten ermordeten Mitglieder der Gemeinde	Wittlicher Strasse (Weissensee)	
Lutz Holland: Mädchen mit Stier	Landsberger Allee (Hochenschönhausen)	
Lutz Holland: Pferd mit Reiter	Landsberger Allee (Hochenschönhausen)	disappeared
Manfred Strehlau: Mutter mit Kind	Robert-Uhrig-Straße, Ecke Massower Straße (Lichtenberg)	
Marguerite Blume-Cárdenas: Liegende	Glambecker Ring 80/82 (Marzahn)	
Rüdiger Roehl und Jan Skuin: Seerosenbrunnen	Friedenstraße 68, Ecke Palisadenstraße (Friedrichshain)	
Rudolf Hilscher: Radschlagender Pfau	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
Sabina Grzimek: Stehende und liegende Gruppe	Lustgarten (Mitte)	after 1990 relocated to Lützowplatz (Tiergarten). Initiated by the Gallery Poll.
Siegfried Wehrmeister: Ernst-Ludwig Heim	Helene Weigel-Platz (Marzahn)	
Stefan Horota: Storchpaar	Dorfstraße, zwischen den Häusern Nr. 31 und 32 (Hochenschönhausen)	
Stephanie Bluhm: Astronautenspielplatz	Thälmannpark (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Ulrich Jörke: Relief Roman Chwalek	Adlergestell 141 (Treptow)	

	Werner Richter: Einsame Pappel - zum Gedenken an die rev. Ereignisse von 1848 (1986/88) Werner Richter: Reh	Topsstrasse (Prenzlauer Berg) Lohmühlenstraße 22-23 (Treptow)	
1987	Anton Ratin: Poetische Stimmung	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
	Anu Matilainen: Poesie der Großstadt	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
	Claus-Lutz Gaedicke: Impressionen	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
	Dieter Duschek: Tierfabeln Emerita Pansowová: Erben der Spartakuskämpfer	Charlottenstraße, Nordspitze (Lichtenberg) Rathausplatz (Lichtenberg)	two parts disappeared
	Georgi Filin: Löwe	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis". Relocated to the Anton-Saefkow-Platz (Lichtenberg).
	Gerhard Thieme: Berliner Originale (Nante) Gerhard Thieme: Leierkastenmann Gerhard Thieme: Stadtsiegel Goetz Dorl: Mahnmal Opfer des Polizeipräsidiums	Am Nußbaum (Nikolaiviertel) (Mitte) Poststraße (Mitte) Nikolaikirchplatz (Mitte) Alexanderstrasse (Mitte)	
	Gorch Wenske: Märchenszene	Eisenacher Strasse 99 (Marzahn)	other statues, as part of the group, were erected in 1994, 2005, 2006 and 2007
	Hans Ticha: Figuren (Sitzlandschaft)	Franz-Stenzer-Straße, zwischen den Häusern Nr. 37 und 39 (Marzahn)	
	Heinz Hoyer: Fisch	Palisadenstraße (Friedrichshain)	



Horst Scholz und Hannes Warscycek: Brunnen mit Sandsteinplastik	Schlossachse zwischen Köpitzer Straße, Alfred-Kowalke-Straße und Charlottenstraße (Lichtenberg)	
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Der Jüngling	Schragenfeldstraße (Marzahn)	
J. Seregi: Felicitas	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
Jili Sinkewitsch: Dem Leben gewidmet (Die Vögel von Tschernobyl)	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
Juraj Gavula: Refrain	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
Jürgen Pansow: Zwiesprache	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"
Karl Blümel: Drei Frauen	Dorfplatz in Bohnsdorf (Treptow)	
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein mit Tafel für Arthur Weisbrodt	Hummelstrasse, Kuhnaustrasse (Marzahn- Hellersdorf)	after 1997 the plaque disappeared. In 2010 reinstalled. The new plaque commemorates Arthur Weisbrodt, Johann Przybilla, Karl Vesper.
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für das als Deportationssammelstelle missbrauchte Altersheim der Jüdischen Gemeinde	Grossen Hamburger Strasse 26 (Mitte)	
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein Sowjetische Soldaten Hellersdorf	Kleingartenanlage Alt-Hellersdorf (Hellersdorf)	
M. Ali: Zwei	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis"

M. Mohns: Große Frau	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis". Removed.
Margit Schötschel-Gabriel: Knabe	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde, im Karl-Foerster-Garten (Lichtenberg)	
Margit Schötschel-Gabriel: Zwei Koboldmakis	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	replacing Klaus Tilke's "Zwei Koboldmakis"
Martin Wilke: Sich Sonnende	Falkenberger Straße (Weissensee)	
Martin Wilke: Sich umarmendes Paar	Falkenberger Straße (Weissensee)	
Martin Wilke: Vor Dir ist Freude die Fülle	Wigandstaler Straße (Weissensee)	
Mieczyslaw Welter: Zwei Figuren	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	realized within the framework of the 2. International Sculpture-symposium on the issue of "Poetry of the Metropolis". Removed.
Nikolaus Bode: Bär	Warschauer Straße, Ecke Grünberger Straße (Friedrichshain)	
Philipp Harth: Tiger	Tierpark Berlin (Lichtenberg)	
Reinhard Jacob: Claire Waldoff	Friedrichstraße, vor der Kleinen Revue des Friedrichstadt-Palastes (Mitte)	
Reinhard Jacob: Uhu	Prenzlauer Promenade 3 Brotfabrik (Weissensee)	
Roland Rother: Naturelement Wasser; Teil 1: Höhlung	Park am Krumpfen Pfuhl (Hochenschönhausen)	
Roland Rother: Naturelement Wasser; Teil 2: Fluss	Park am Krumpfen Pfuhl (Hochenschönhausen)	
Roland Rother: Naturelement Wasser; Teil 3: Blatt	Park am Krumpfen Pfuhl (Hochenschönhausen)	
Roland Rother: Naturelement Wasser; Teil 4: Meeresboden	Park am Krumpfen Pfuhl (Hochenschönhausen)	
Roland Rother: Naturelement Wasser; Teil 5: Gefrorenes Wasser	Park am Krumpfen Pfuhl (Hochenschönhausen)	
Roland Rother: Ruhendes Paar	Park am Krumpfen Pfuhl (Hochenschönhausen)	
Rolf Biebl: Vinetamann	U-Bahnhof Vinetastraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	

	Rüdiger Roehl: Windspiel	Schönstraße 80, Krankenhaus-Park (Weissensee)	
	Siegfried Krepp: Denkmal Widerstandsgruppe Saefkow/Jakob/Bästlein (/89)	Anton-Saefkow-Platz (Lichtenberg)	
	Siegfried Wehrmeister: Werner Steinbrink	Mühlenbecker Weg (Marzahn)	
	Sonja Eschefeld: Junge Löwen	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Sonja Eschefeld: Kranichbrunnen	Ribnitzer Straße 24 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Stefan Reichmann: Stehende	Müggelschlößchenweg (Köpenick)	
1988	Alfred Bernau: Genesender	Müggelschlößchenweg (Köpenick)	
	Carin Kreuzberg: Janusz Korczak	Dolomitenstraße94, Ecke Brixener Straße (Pankow)	
	Dieter Duschek: Jugendtreff	Martha-Arendsee-Strasse / Ecke Paul- Schwenk-Strasse (Marzahn)	
	Fritz Cremer: Bertholt Brecht	Bertold Brecht Platz (Mitte)	
	Gerhard Rommel: Porträt Egon Erwin Kisch	Unter den Linden 60 (Mitte)	
	Gerhard Thieme: Sitzender Bär	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Gisbert Baarmann: Teufelskopf	Sophienstraße 1 (Mitte)	
	Günter Schütz: Familie	Waldstraße 17-19 (Köpenick)	
	Hans Kies: Schwimmerin	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	
	Harald Stephan: Familie	Schwarzburger Straße (Marzahn)	
	Horst Beutling: Wilhelm Florin	Singerstraße 8 (Mitte)	
	Horst Schulz: Stele Dr. Arno Philippsthal	Grabensprung 29 (Marzahn)	
	Joachim Donath: Notwasserbrunnen	Schwarzburger Straße (Marzahn)	
	Jörg Siegele: Figuren II	John-Sieg-Straße, Ecke	
	Karl Blümel: Märkische Dorfszenen	Mauritiuskirchstraße (Lichtenberg)	
	Karl Blümel: Mitwelt	Allee der Kosmonauten, Dorfanger (Marzahn)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Ehrenhain für Rudolf Axen, Fritz David, Helmuth Wagner, Erich Weinert	Alt-Buch 45 (Pankow)	
	Ludwig Engelhardt: Friedrich Wolf	Georg-Knorr-Str. 4. (Marzahn)	demolished in 1991
	Paul Brandenburg: Maria begegnet Elisabeth	Karl-Lade-Strasse (Lichtenberg)	
		Breite Stasse 46/47 (Pankow)	

	Peter Hoppe: Möwen	Karl-Liebknecht-Brücke (Mitte)	
	Peter Kern: Frau mit Lamm	Warnitzer Straße 18 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Peter Makolies: Mann mit Affe	Helene-Weigel-Platz 8 (Marzahn)	
	Robert Metzkes: Weiblicher Akt	Späthstraße 80-81 (Treptow)	
	Senta Baldamus: Freizeit und Lebensfreude	Neue Krugallee 142 (Treptow)	
	Stefan Horota: Eisbärenmutter (1988/90)	Prenzlauer Allee, Ecke Grellstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Stefan Horota: Spielende Bären	Helmholtzplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Theo Balden: Mutter und Kind	Ossietzkystraße 12 (Pankow)	
	Ulrike Truger: Große Liegende	Treptower Park Puschkinallee (Treptow)	
	Ursula Wolf: Aufwind	Schwarzwurzelstraße, Ecke Dessauer Straße (Marzahn)	
	Werner Richter: Büste Erich Lodemann	Erich-Lodemann-Straße, Grünanlage vor dem Haus Nr. 31 (Treptow)	
	Werner Richter: Naturelement Wind	Randowstraße 24 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Wilfried Fitzenreiter: Brunnenfiguren "Drei Mädchen und ein Knabe"	Karl Liebknecht Strasse, gegenüber dem Berliner Dom (Mitte)	
1989	Achim Kühn: Lok 2000	Ostbahnhof (Friedrichshain)	after 2006 relocated to Am Borsigturm (Reinickendorf)
	Frank Seidel: Ruhende	Wisbyer Straße, Grünanlage zwischen Baumbachstraße und Kurze Straße (Pankow)	
	Günter Maser: Der Traum vom Polydem	Warnemünder Straße 50 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Hans-Albert Schlegel: Mann und Kind	Syringenweg (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Jürgen Pansow: Große Laufende	Rheinsteinpark (Lichtenberg)	
	Jürgen von Woyski: Drei ruhende Frauen	Woldegker Straße 5 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Jürgen von Woyski: Vogelbaum	Woldegker Straße 21 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	K. Baudisch: Lichtobjekt	Anton-Saefkow-Platz (Lichtenberg)	
	Karl Blümel: Lebensfreuden	Salvador-Allende-Straße, Krankenhaus Köpenick, am alten Eingang (Köpenick)	

	Karl-Günter Möpert: Träumende	Pöhlbergstraße, hinter dem Haus Nr. 14. (Marzahn)	relocated to Parsteiner Ring an der Grünanlage Ahrensfelder Berg (Marzahn)
	Klaus Simon: Carl v. Ossietzky	Carl-von-Ossietzky-Strasse 28 (Pankow)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal für das KZ-Aussenlager der Deutschen Industrierwerke	Pichelswerderstrasse 9-11 (Spandau)	
	Marianne Traub, Allende-Ehrung	Müggelschlößchenweg (Köpenick)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Brunnen	Marzahner Promenade (Marzahn)	
	Nikolaus Bode: Postsäule	Marzahner Promenade, Ecke Märkische Allee (Marzahn)	
	Peter Westphal: Vogeltränke	Stavanger Straße 26 (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Reinhard Berkes: Mann und Frau	Gothaer Straße 4 (Hellersdorf)	
	Rolf Biebl: Ohne Titel	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Rolf Biebl: David und Goliath	Fennpfuhl (Lichtenberg)	
	Ruth Golan, Kay Zareh: Synagogen-Mahnmal Lindenufer	Lindenufer 12 (Spandau)	
	Stefan Horota: Froschkönig	Teutoburger Platz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Stefan Horota: Walrosse (1989/91)	Falkplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Wolf-Dieter Schulze, Peter Rossa: Bauarbeiter	Leninallee, im Gelände des Krankenhauses Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
	Wolf-Dieter Schulze: Zwei Torbögen (1989/90)	Brosepark (Pankow)	
	Wolfgang Walk: Dreiklang	Schönstraße 80 (Weissensee)	
Unknown	Christiane Wartenberg: Sitzender weiblicher Akt	Karower Straße (Pankow)	
	Eberhard Bachmann: Heinz Hilpert	Unknown	after 1998 relocated to Schumannstraße, in front of the Deutsches Theater (Mitte)
	Eberhard Bachmann: Wolfgang Langhoff	Unknown	after 1998 relocated to Schumannstraße, in front of the Deutsches Theater (Mitte)
	Erwin Damerow: Seerobbe	Möllhausenufer, Seebad Wendenschloss (Köpenick)	
	Evelyn Nietzsche-Hartnick: Kinder im Regen	Theodor-Brugsch-Straße (Pankow)	

Evelyn Nitzsche-Hartnick: Zille, Kollwitz und Nagel im Gespräch  
Florian Flierl: Frau  
Gedenkstein für Angehörige der Volkspolizei und der Grenztrouppen  
Gedenkstein für Herbert Baum und die Gruppe Baum  
Gerhard Rommel: Mädchen mit Korb  
Hans-Detlef Henning: Storchenpaar  
Hans-Peter Goettsche: Vietnamesische Mutter mit Kind  
Hans-Peter Goettsche: Brunnenfiguren  
Hans-Peter Goettsche: Möwen-Brunnen

Heinrich Drake: Panther

Helge Warme: Max Skladanowsky  
Jörg Steinert: Hoffnung  
Karin Gralki: Stehendes Mädchen  
Karsten E. W. Kunert: Windmobile

Künstler unbekannt: Bär

Künstler unbekannt: Bär

Künstler unbekannt: Bär

Künstler unbekannt: Doppelakt

Künstler unbekannt: Drei Kinder

Künstler unbekannt: Ernst-Busch-Stele

Künstler unbekannt: Eselgruppe

Künstler unbekannt: Frauenfigur

Künstler unbekannt: Frieden

Künstler unbekannt: Junge mit Ente

Künstler unbekannt: Lenin-Denkmal

Fröbelstraße 17 (Prenzlauer Berg)  
Prenzlauer Promenade 3 (Weissensee)  
Am Kupfergraben (Mitte)  
Jüdischer Friedhof Weissensee (Pankow)  
Lindenberger Weg 74 (Pankow)  
Monbijoupark (Mitte)  
Peter-Hille-Straße 7 (Köpenick)  
Clara-Zetkin-Park (Marzahn)  
Dammweg, Ecke Bergastraße (Treptow)

Unknown

Mühlenstraße (Pankow)  
Lindenberger Weg 74 (Pankow)  
Helmholtzplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)  
Helmholtzplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)  
Uderseestraße, Ecke Traberweg  
(Lichtenberg)  
Roßmählerstraße, Wäschetrockenplatz  
(Lichtenberg)  
Zeppelinstraße 99-103 (Köpenick)  
Hof des Wohnblocks Mollstraße, Ecke Otto-  
Braun-Straße und Wadzeckstraße  
Dolgenseestraße, Stadtpark Lichtenberg  
(Lichtenberg)  
Leonhard-Frank-Straße (Pankow)  
Wiltbergstraße (Pankow)  
Rosenfelder Ring 15 (Lichtenberg)  
Harnackstr. 17 (Lichtenberg)  
Berolinastraße 8 (Mitte)  
Brommystraße, auf dem Hof der Firma  
Zapf-Umzüge (Kreuzberg)

after 1993 relocated to Alt-Köpenick,  
Luisenhain, opposite to the Rathaus  
(Köpenick)

Künstler unbekannt: Luchsfamilie  
Künstler unbekannt: Mädchen mit Taube  
Künstler unbekannt: Mutter mit Kind  
Künstler unbekannt: Mutter mit Kind  
Künstler unbekannt: Robert Rössle  
Künstler unbekannt: Sitzende  
Künstler unbekannt: Sitzender Jüngling  
Künstler unbekannt: Wilhelm Griesinger  
Künstler unbekannt: Wilhelmine Amalie Hollmann  
Mohsin Zaidi: Kugeln  
Peter Metzler: Kletterpyramide  
Pitt Bohne: Mensch  
Senta Baldamus: Büste Charles Darwin  
Senta Baldamus: Büste Karl Foerster  
Stefan Horota: Eisbär  
Ulrich Skoddow: Kurt Tucholsky  
Walter Lerche: Badende  
Werner Stötzer: Freundinnen (Zwei sitzende Mädchen)

Römerweg, Ecke Treskowallee  
(Lichtenberg)  
Köpenick  
Weinbergspark (Mitte)  
Volkradtstraße, am Ende der Passage  
(Lichtenberg)  
Lindenberger Weg 80 (Pankow)  
Annenstraße Ecke Heinrich-Heine Straße  
(Mitte)  
Weinbergspark (Mitte)  
Schumannstraße, in der Charité, links vor  
der Nervenklinik (Mitte)  
Koppenplatz 11 (Mitte)  
Helmholtzplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)  
Seelower Straße 19 (Prenzlauer Berg)  
Dietzgenstraße (Pankow)  
Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)  
Falkplatz (Prenzlauerberg)  
Neumannstraße 11 (Pankow)  
Möllhausenufer, Seebad Wendenschloss  
(Köpenick)  
Weberwiese (Friedrichshain)

### Appendix 3. Public Works of Art in West Berlin between 1945 and 1989<sup>255</sup>

year	public work of art	address	notes
1945			
1946	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein Walter Rathenau	Königsallee, Ecke Erdener Straße (Wilmerdorf)	
1947	Hermann Joachim Pagels: Hochzeitsbrunnen (1947/48)	Tempelhofer Damm, Innenhof des Rathauses (Tempelhof)	
1948	Henri Laurens: Der Herbst	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Magdalena Müller-Martin: Stehender weiblicher Akt	Rathaus Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	disappeared
1949	Else Fraenkel-Brauer: Mantelpavian	Zoologischer Garten (Tiergarten)	
	Karl Wenke: Trinkbrunnen mit Bär (1949/50)	Park am Fichteberg, Spielplatz (Steglitz)	
1950	August Rhades: Bär (um 1950)	Gothaer Allee (Charlottenburg)	
	Bernhard Butzke: Familie (1950er Jahre)	Fritz-Reuter-Allee (Britz) vor der Kindertagesstätte (Neukölln)	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Max Planck, Denkmal Opfer des "Kalten Krieges"	vor dem Gebäude der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Zeuthen	in 2006 relocated to Unter den Linden, Ehrenhof der Humboldt-Universität (Mitte)
	Christian Theunert: Schildkrötenpanzer (1950er Jahre)	Corrensplatz (Zehlendorf)	
	Hans Bautz: Schlange (Spielplastik) (1950er Jahre)	Kinderspielplatz neben der Wielandstraße 42 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hans Bautz: Zwei Ringe (Durchdringende Kraft) (1950er Jahre)	Jungfernheideweg 32-48 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hans Hauße: Fuchs (1950er Jahre)	Konstanzer Straße 24 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Hildegard Leest: Sitzende Katze (1950er Jahre)	Schönwalder Straße, Ecke Kunkelstraße (Wedding)	disappeared
	Karl Trumpf: Porträtbüste Friedrich Ebert	Bosestraße, Grünanlage auf Friedrich-Ebert-Sportplatz (Tempelhof)	stolen
	Karl Wenke: Entenbrunnen	Konzer Platz (Reinickendorf)	
	Karl Wenke: Widder (1950er Jahre)	Orthstraße (Wedding)	

<sup>255</sup> The database also includes the most important museums and memory institutions.



	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein (1950er Jahre)	Onkel-Bräsig-Strasse (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für Friedrich Küter	Volkspark Mariendorf (Tempelhof)	
	Magdalena Müller-Martin: Zwei Bären (1950 er Jahre)	Gröbenufer 2 (Kreuzberg)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Sitzender Fuchs (1950er Jahre)	Heinestr, S-Bahnhof Hermsdorf (Reinickendorf)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Vogeltränke mit Ente (1950er Jahre)	Preußenpark (Wilmerdorf)	
1951	Eduard Ludwig: Luftbrückendenkmal	Platz der Luftbrücke (Tempelhof)	
	Karl Trumpf: Porträtstele Hans Böckler	Böcklerpark (Kreuzberg)	
	Karl Wenke: Kriegsoferzeichen	Friedhof Ruhleben (Charlottenburg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein	Munsterdamm/Prellerweg (Schöneberg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für die Opfer des Stalinismus	Steinplatz (Charlottenburg)	
	Siegfried Schmidt: Zwei Bären	Ungewitterweg, Ecke Finkenkruger Weg (Spandau)	
1952	Albert Kraemer: Zwei Bären (1952/53)	Mariendorfer Damm 115 (Tempelhof)	
	Alfred Trenkel: Erdkugel	Bäkestraße, Ecke Ostpreußendamm (Steglitz)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Sitzender Knabe	ehem. Vorplatz Jugenfreizeitstätte Böcklerpark (Kreuzberg)	disappeared after 1980
	Fritz Klimsch und Richard Scheibe, Emil-Fischer-Denkmal	Garystraße 32-34 (Zehlendorf)	copy of Fritz Klimsch's statue realized in 1921 and destroyed in WWII
	<b>Gedenkstätte Plötzensee</b>	<b>Hüttigpfad (Charlottenburg)</b>	
	Karl Trumpf: Ruhendes Mädchen	Teltower Damm, Ecke Kirchstraße (Zehlendorf)	
	Karl Wenke: Stele	Am Grossen Weg nahe der Rousseau-Insel (Tiergarten)	
	Karl Wenke: Gedenkstein als Dank für Baumspenden	Großer Tiergarten (Tiergarten)	
	Karl Wenke: Gedenkstein für Alexander von Humboldt	Humboldthain, nahe Himmelfahrtskirche (Wedding)	
	Karl Wenke: Wildschwein	Großer Tiergarten (Tiergarten)	
1953	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Portraitbüste Paul Lincke	Viktoriapark(Kreuzberg)	in 1963 relocated to Paul-Lincke-Ufer, after 1989 to Oranienstraße 64 (Kreuzberg).
	Hochschule für bildende Künste Berlin: Blindenhund-Denkmal	Dessauerstrasse 21-21 (Steglitz)	

	Karl Hartung: Kore (Torso)	Van't-Hoff-Straße (Zehlendorf)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus	Steinplatz (Charlottenburg)	initiated by the "Bund der Verfolgten des Naziregimes" and by victims
	Lidy von Lüttwitz: Mahnmal der Gewalt	Holzhauser Straße, Grünanlage am Rathaus (Reinickendorf)	
	Lidy von Lüttwitz: Stehender Jüngling (1953/54)	Eichborndamm 208 (Reinickendorf)	
	Philipp Harth: Pelikan	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)	
	Richard Scheibe: Denkmal für die Opfer des 20. Juli 1944, Männlicher Akt	Stauffenbergstraße 13-14 (Tiergarten)	originally designed in 1937
1954	Alfred Trenkel: Dreifigurengruppe	Goebelplatz, in Grünanlage (Charlottenburg)	
	Else Fraenkel-Brauer: Heinroth-Grabstein	Zoologischer Garten, Aquarium Nordseite (Tiergarten)	
	Else Fraenkel-Brauer: Seelöwengruppe	Zoologischer Garten, Springbrunnen (Tiergarten)	
	Friedrich Zuchantke: Flusspferd	Parkringanlage Tempelhof, Schreiberring Ecke Manfred-von-Richthofen-Straße (Tempelhof)	
	Friedrich Zuchantke: Schildkröte	Parkringanlage Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Trümmersäule (Zum Gedenken an den Wiederaufbau)	Max-Josef-Metzger-Platz (Wedding)	
	Günter Anlauf: Ziervase	Mexiko-Platz (Zehlendorf)	
	Hans Bautz: Bärengruppe	Schlosspark Charlottenburg, Kinderspielplatz (Charlottenburg)	
	Michael Kamprath: Stehender nackter Jüngling (1954/56)	Sömmeringstraße, Grünanlage (Charlottenburg)	
	Paul Kentsch: Lauernder Fuchs (1954/1988)	Sundgauer Straße 140, Ecke Bolchener Straße (Zehlendorf)	in 1988 damaged and replaced
	Richard Scheibe: Fontana (1954/57)	Schloss Charlottenburg, Turmkuppel (Charlottenburg)	duplicate of the Baroque statue destroyed in 1943
	Rose-Maria Stiller: Bär	Treitschkestraße, Grünanlage (Steglitz)	
	Rosemarie (Romy) Henning: Zwei Frösche (Brunnenplastik) (1954/55)	Treitschkestraße (Steglitz)	
1955	Alfred Trenkel: Denkmal "Den Notstandsarbeitern zum Dank"	Rathenower Straße (Tiergarten)	

Alfred Trenkel: Gedenkstein mit Kogge	Bremer Weg (Tiergarten)	
Bernhard Heiliger: Vegetative Plastik I	Altonaer Straße 15 (Tiergarten)	
Christian Theunert: Hockendes Kamel	Busseallee, Kinderspielplatz (Zehlendorf)	
Christian Theunert: Vogeltränke, zwei Eidechsen	Auf dem Grat, im Staudengarten (Zehlendorf)	
Else Fraenkel-Brauer: Bodinus-Büste	Zoologischer Garten, Dreisternenpromenade (Tiergarten)	
Else Fraenkel-Brauer: Ludwig-Heck-Büste	Zoologischer Garten, Dreisternenpromenade (Tiergarten)	
Erich F. Reuter: Pelikanbrunnen, Zwei Pelikane auf Becken	Unter den Eichen, vor dem Finanzamt (Steglitz)	the pelican was stolen in the 80s
Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Fischfiguren am "Ostsee-Brunnen" (1955/57)	Eichborndamm 215, Rathaus (Reinickendorf)	
Hans-Joachim Ihle: Handwerkerzeichen	Mehringdamm 112 (Kreuzberg)	
Joachim Blasé: Skulptur	Spandauer Brücke (Spandau)	
Karl Wenke: Denkmal für die Opfer des 17. Juni	Seestraße 92 (Wedding)	
Karl Wenke: Gedenkstein mit Kogge	Straße des 17. Juni, am Beginn des Bremer Weges im Park Tiergarten (Tiergarten)	
Katharina Szelinski-Singer: Trümmerfrau	Volkspark Hasenheide, Rixdorfer Höhe (Neukölln)	the flame was supposed to be on until the unification of Germany, however, even though the flame was extinguished after the fall of the Wall, from December 1990 it burns again symbolizing general human rights
Künstler unbekannt: Ewige Flamme	Theodor-Heuss-Platz (Charlottenburg)	
Lidy von Lüttwitz: Mahnmal der Gewalt	Holzhauser Straße, Grünanlage neben dem Rathaus Wittenau (Reinickendorf)	
Michael Kamprath: Schlange, Spielplastik (1955/56)	Volkspark Hasenheide, Lessinghöhe, Kinderspielplatz (Neukölln)	
Paul Kentsch: Zwei spielende Bären	Marienhöher Weg 10 (Tempelhof)	
Rosemarie (Romy) Henning: Zwei Seelöwen mit Vogeltränke	Lietzenseepark, am nördlichen Ufer (Charlottenburg)	
Rudolph Leptien: Schnecke und Seelöwe	Rixdorfer Straße 126 (Tempelhof)	

1956	Alfred Trenkel: Sgraffito	Seydlitzstraße 30 (Steglitz)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Choreut	Otto-Suhr-Allee 100 (Charlottenburg)	
	Fritz Becker: Zwei Reiher	Hartmannsweiler Weg 29 (Zehlendorf)	
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Schmuckbogen mit Wassersportmotiven	Borsig-Damm, Seeuferanlage am Tegeler See (Reinickendorf)	
	Harald Haacke: Portrait Ernst Reuter	Theodor-Heuss-Weg 11-14 (Wedding)	
	Heinrich Brockmeier: Büste Freiher vom und zum Stein	Steinplatz (Charlottenburg)	
	Joachim Dunkel: Porträtre relief Max Herrmann-Neisse	Kurfürstendamm 215 (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kurfürstendamm/Taentzien Str.
	Katharina Szelinski-Singer: Wasserträgerin (1956/57)	Buckower Damm, Brunnenanlage Parkfriedhof Neukölln (Neukölln)	
	Katharina Szelinski-Singer: Kauernde (Hockende)	Wartburgplatz (Schöneberg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Reiherbrunnen (1956/57)	Hüfnerweg 39, Parkfriedhof Neukölln (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Auerhahnbrunnen (1956/57)	Hüfnerweg 39 (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Bremer Stadtmusikanten	Rüdesheimer Straße, im Hof der Grundschule am Rüdesheimer Platz (Wilmsdorf)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Eulenbrunnen (1956/57)	Hüfnerweg 39, Parkfriedhof Neukölln (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Fischbrunnen (1956/57)	Hüfnerweg 39, Parkfriedhof Neukölln (Neukölln)	
1957	Alfred Trenkel: Bockspringer	Gritznerstraße 57 (Steglitz)	
	Alfred Trenkel: Heuschrecke (Trinkbrunnen)	Stadtpark Steglitz (Steglitz)	
	Berto Lardera: Morgendämmerung Nr. 1	Händelallee 9 (Tiergarten)	
	Christian Theunert: Schildkrötengruppe	Heinrich-Laehr-Park (Zehlendorf)	
	Christiane Volckmann: Fohlengruppe	Onkel-Bräsig-Straße (Neukölln)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Ontologia	Parchimer Allee 133 (Neukölln)	
	Felix Kupsch: Kriegerdenkmal	Bergstrasse 37 (Steglitz)	

Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Vase mit farbigem Mosaik (Asymmetrische Vase)	Kurfürstendamm 33, Ecke Uhlandstraße und Grolmanstraße (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kuddamm/Taentzien Str. The mosaics stem from the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche, symbolizing a willingness to rebuild the city.
Hans Bautz: Diskuswerfer	Malteser Straße, Am Gemeindepark Lankwitz (Steglitz)	
Hans Hauffe: Fisch, Brunnenfigur	Südpark (Spandau)	
Hans Hauffe: Schnecke, Spielplastik	Südpark, Spielplatz (Spandau)	
Hans Uhlmann: Freiplastik Hansaviertel (1957/58)	Hansaplatz (Tiergarten)	symbolizes the openness of Berlin
Hoffrichter: Bärenbrunnen	Sommerbad Wilmersdorf (Wilmersdorf)	
Horst Antes: Figur	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)	
Hubertus von Pilgrim: Die Windsbraut	Händelplatz, Grünanlage vor Arbeitsamt (Steglitz)	
Joachim-Fritz Schultze-Bansen: Bronzeskulptur	Seegefelder Straße 36-38 (Spandau)	
Karl Wenke: Brunnenfigur	Reuterplatz (Neukölln)	
Karl Wenke: Kriegsoffizierszeichen	Dohnagestell 4 (Wedding)	in commemoration of the dead of the WWII
Karl Wenke: Richtsteine	Volkspark Hasenheide (Neukölln)	
Paula Hansel-Pauly: Reliefbildnis Goethes	Goethepark, Senegalstraße, Ecke Ugandastraße (Wedding)	
Peter Steyer: Sitzende weibliche Figur	Sommerbad Wilmersdorf (Wilmersdorf)	
Renée Sintenis: Berliner Bär	Avus-Kleeblatt, auf dem Mittelstreifen der Autobahn, südlich des ehem. Kontrollpunkts Dreilinden (Zehlendorf)	
Renée Sintenis: Berliner Bär	Laurinsteig, vor der Reneé-Sintenis-Grundschule (Reinickendorf)	
Rosemarie (Romy) Henning: Entenpaar	Kurmärkische Straße, Grünanlage neben Kleinkinderfürsorgestelle (Schöneberg)	
Rosemarie (Romy) Henning: Schildkröte	Sommerbad Wilmersdorf (Wilmersdorf)	
Sabine Flir: Vogelflug	Krankenhaus Havelhöhe (Spandau)	removed
Ursula Hanke-Förster: Zwei Reiher	Dischingerbrücke (Spandau)	disappeared after 1977

1958	Alfred Trenkel: Rehe	Wilhelmsruher Damm (Reinickendorf)	
	Alfredo Ceschiatti: Liegende weibliche Figur	Altonaer Straße 4-14 (Tiergarten)	
	Anton Rückel: Bayerischer Löwe	Bayerischer Platz (Schöneberg)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Leier und Bogen	Am Jungfernheideweg 79 (Spandau)	disappeared in 2012
	Hans Bautz: Zwei Eulen	Schönwalder Straße (Wedding)	disappeared
	Knud Knudsen: Comenius-Maske (um 1958)	Brandenburgischen Straße, Nähe Gieseler Straße (Wilmerdorf)	
	Max Rose: Zwei Enten (1958/1985)	Rudolph-Wilde-Park (Schöneberg)	copy of Schmidt-Kestner' statue (1927). In 1985 damaged and renovated.
	Otto Douglas-Hill: Brunnenskulptur Lehrflug	Lessingstraße 5 (Tiergarten)	
	Renée Sintenis: Kilometerstein Zürich	Unter den Eichen, Mittelstreifen (Steglitz)	
	Richard Scheibe: Weiblicher Akt	Arnimallee 22 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Rose-Maria Stiller: Junger Bär	Spandauer Damm 205 (Charlottenburg)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Pinguine	Rixdorfer Straße 126 (Tempelhof)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Zwei Heidschnucken und ein Lauernder Fuchs	Volkspark Hasenheide (Neukölln)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Mädchen mit Buch	Schönwalder Straße (Wedding)	disappeared
1959	Demetros Anastasatos: Libellen	Alsenstraße, Kindertagesstätte (Zehlendorf)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Zellularien	Rubensstraße, Landesmedizinaluntersuchungsamt (Schöneberg)	
	Gerhard Marcks: Orpheus	Tiergartenstraße 1 (Tiergarten)	
	Hildegard Leest: Begegnung	Stadtpark Steglitz (Steglitz)	
	K. Pagel: Fliegende Vögel	Südekumzeile 5 (Spandau)	
	Karl Wenke: Eulenbrunnen	Gutschmidstraße, Ecke Fritz-Reuter-Allee (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein	Stadtpark Steglitz (Steglitz)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Mahnmal zur Erinnerung an den 17. Juni 1953	Osdorfer Strasse / Lichterfelder Ring (Steglitz)	
	Magdalena Müller-Martin: Friedrich-Paulsen-Büste	Ruth-Andreas-Friedrich-Park (Steglitz)	

	Otto Douglas-Hill: Brunnen	Müllerstraße, vor dem Arbeitsamt Wedding (Wedding)	destroyed
	Rudolph Leptien: Brunnen mit zwei Pinguinen	Wenckebachstraße 23 (Tempelhof)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Lauernder Fuchs (1959/78)	Alt-Wittenau 6 (Reinickendorf)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Laufender Hase (Spielplastik)	Am Nordgraben (Reinickendorf)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Bücher	Grunewaldstraße 3 (Steglitz)	disappeared
1960	Alfred Trenkel: Wassertier, Silberfisch	Großer Tiergarten (Tiergarten)	
	Ben Wargin: Skulpturen (1960er und 80er Jahre)	Joseph-Haydn-Strasse 1 (Tiergarten)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Wasservögel	Grimmstraße, Schule (Tempelhof)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Fliegende Kraniche	Gontermannstraße 5 (Tempelhof)	
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Globus	Guineastraße 17 (Wedding)	
	Gisela Boeckh von Tzschoppe: Der Gefesselte (Denkmal für die Opfer des NS-Regimes)	Schloßstraße 44 (Steglitz)	many times attacked and stolen
	Hans Uhlmann: Skulptur vor der Deutschen Oper (1960/61)	Bismarckstrasse 34-37 (Charlottenburg)	
	Joachim Blasé: Brunnenplastik mit Gedenktafel	Goldenes Horn, Ecke Bosphorusstraße (Tempelhof)	
	Johannes Dumanski: Flucht aus Ägypten (1960/63)	Heckerdamm 230 (Charlottenburg)	
	Jürgen Mattern: Kletterskulptur Känguru	Marconistraße, Kindertagesstätte (Tempelhof)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Drei gleiche, rechteckige Kunststein-Quade (Für die Opfer beider Weltkriege, Für die Opfer nationalsozialistischer Willkür, Für die Opfer kommunistischer Willkür) (1960/1981)	Fehrbelliner Platz (Wilmerisdorf)	“Für die Opfer beider Weltkriege” and “Für die Opfer nationalsozialistischer Willkür” in 1960, “Für die Opfer kommunistischer Willkür” in 1981
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein gegen antisemitische und neonazistische Vorfälle	Teltower Damm (Zehlendorf)	
	Lidy von Lüttwitz: Spirale	Courbièreplatz, Kinderspielplatz (Wedding)	
	Otto Herbert Hajek: Freialtar (1960/63)	Heckerdamm 230 (Charlottenburg)	
	Otto Herbert Hajek: Raumschichtung 60/20	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Otto Herbert Hajek: Skulptur	Varziner Straße (Schöneberg)	
	Rose-Maria Stiller: Pony (Spielplastik)	Taldorfer Weg, Ecke Techowpromenade (Reinickendorf)	
	Rosemarie (Romy) Henning: Trinkbrunnen	Gartenstraße, Grünanlage (Wedding)	

	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Bücher	Grunewaldstraße 3, Grünfläche vor Stadtbücherei Steglitz (Steglitz)	relocated to Beukestraße 1-3 (Zehlendorf)
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Mann mit Netzen (Netzwerfer)	Falkenseer Platz (Spandau)	
	Waldemar Otto: König David	Hof des Evangelischen Studentenwohnheims Eichkamp im Grunewald (Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf)	in 1984 relocated to Bachstrasse 1-2 (Tiergarten)
1961	Christiane Volckmann: Adler	Sigmaringer Straße 1 (Wilmersdorf)	
	Claus Peter Koch: Stein-Skulptur	Pirmasenser Strasse 23 (Spandau)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Reiher	Theodor-Haubach-Schule, Grimmstraße (Kreuzberg)	in 1973 relocated to Volkspark Mariendorf (Tempelhof)
	Erich Reischke: Steinskulptur	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Henry Moore: Liegende	Hanseatenweg 10, vor der Akademie der Künste (Tiergarten)	
	Herbert Baumann: Sonne (1961/62)	Brümmerstraße, Ecke Landoltweg (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Joachim-Fritz Schultze: Steinskulptur (1961/62)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Josef Wyss: Steinskulptur (1961/62)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Karl Prantl: Zwei Steinskulpturen	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Kuratorium Unteilbares Deutschland: Mauerdenkmal	Strasse des 17. Juni (Tiergarten)	
	Moshe Schwartz-Buky: Steinskulptur (1961/62)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Roland Goeschl: Steinskulptur (1961/62)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Rolf Szymanski: Schwarze Säule	Bundesallee 171 (Wilmersdorf)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Jungen mit Drachen	Am Gemeindepark 18-22 (Steglitz)	
	Walter Steiner: Steinskulptur (1961/62)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Yasuo Mitsui: Himmelschlüssel (1961/62)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
1962	A. Scherhag: Gedenkstein für Georg Hermann	Stubenrauchstrasse 6 (Schöneberg)	



	Brigitte Haacke-Stamm: Philippus und Nathanie	Stierstraße 17-19 (Schöneberg)	
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Afrika IV	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Demetros Anastasatos: Olympionike, stehender weiblicher Akt	Mecklenburgische Straße 76 (Wilmersdorf)	
	George-Moshe Dyens: Behauener Stein	Genter Straße 51-53 (Wedding)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Hildegard Leest: Wiedervereinigungsdenkmal	Chausseestraße, Ecke Liesenstraße (Wedding)	
	Karl Trumpf: Porträtstele Carl Legien	Legiendamm, gegenüber Hausnummer 34 (Kreuzberg)	in 1978 removed, in 1989 re-erected
	Karl Wenke: Flunderbrunnen (1962/63)	Am Straßenbahnhof 44 (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkzeichen (Peter Fechtner) (1962/63)	Zimmerstrasse (Kreuzberg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Mahnmal (Günter Litfin)	Friedrich-List-Ufer (Tiergarten)	
	Siegfried Schmidt: Drei Figuren	Ungarnstr. 75 (Wedding)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Pan I (Pan mit Doppelflöte)	Stargardtstraße 11-13 (Reinickendorf)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Pan II (Pan mit Doppelflöte)	Biesestraße 7 (Zehlendorf)	
	Volkmar Haase: Entfaltung	Alexandrinestraße 115-117 (Kreuzberg)	
	Wolfgang Gross-Mario: Steinskulptur	Moltkestrasse (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
1963	A. R.: Gedenkstein für Paul Hertz	Heckerdamm, Ecke Lichtenbergstrasse (Charlottenburg)	
	Alfred Trenkel: Schwingende Form	Hanstedter Weg 11 (Steglitz)	
	Barna von Sartory: Gedenkstein zum 17. Juni 1953	Berliner Straße zwischen Ernststraße und Borsig-Sportplatz (Reinickendorf)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Bernhard Heiliger: Die Flamme	Ernst-Reuter-Platz vor dem Gebäude der TU-Architektur-Fakultät (Charlottenburg)	
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Scientia	Fabeckstraße 34-36 (Zehlendorf)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Terpsichore	Einsteinufer 43-53 (Charlottenburg)	
	Eloul Kosso: Steinskulptur	Moltkestrasse (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium
	Erich Hauser: Stahl 4/63	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	

Ernst-Otto Eichwald: Pelikanpärchen	Karolingerplatz 1a (Charlottenburg)	
Ernst-Otto Eichwald: Pelikanpärchen	Ruhwaldpark (Charlottenburg)	
Gerhard Muchow: Schnecke, Spielplastik	Kinderspielplatz Karolingerplatz (Charlottenburg)	
Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Sternenglaskuppel	Humboldthain, an der Brunnenstraße (Wedding)	
Gerson Fehrenbach: Mahnmal für die ermordeten jüdischen Bürger	Münchener Straße (Schöneberg)	
Gerson Fehrenbach: Große Knospe III/63	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the second European Sculpture Symposium 1963
Gerson Fehrenbach: Plastik IV/63	Münchener Straße, Ecke Penzstraße (Schöneberg)	
Hans Steinbrenner: Steinskulptur	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
Hans-Joachim Ihle: Gepard	Götzstraße 20a (Tempelhof)	
Hans-Joachim Roszinski: Erdkugel mit Parabelform	Iranische Straße 5 (Wedding)	
Heinrich Brummack: Steinskulptur	Moltkestrasse (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium
Jean Ipoustéguy: L'Homme	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
Joachim Dunkel: Sonne, Mond und Sterne - Environment	Heilmannring (Charlottenburg)	
Joachim-Fritz Schultze: Steinskulptur	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
Karl Hartung: Wachsende Flügel (Kristalline Form)	Ernst-Reuter-Platz (Charlottenburg)	
Karl Heinz Krause: Artistinnen (1963/68)	Gimpelsteig 9 (Zehlendorf)	
Marino Marini: Der Schrei	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
Paul Brandenburg: Unseren Brieftauben (Erneuerung)	Falkenseer Chaussee / Flankenschanze / Roonstr. (Spandau)	copy of Georg Roch's memorial destroyed in 1942. Memorial for the carrier pigeons of the WWI.
Pierre Szekely: Contact, 1963(*)	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62. Removed.

	Richard Scheibe: Liegende	Königstraße (Zehlendorf)	
	Rolf Jörres: Steinskulptur	Moltkestrasse (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium
	Rüdiger-Utz Kampmann: Steinskulptur	Moltkestrasse (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium
	Rudolph Leptien: Zwei Delphine, Spielplastik	Leopoldplatz (Wedding)	
	Volkmar Haase: Die Gruppe (1963/64)	Schaperstraße 23-26 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Werner Mach: Ohne Titel	Platz der Republik (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium 1961/62
	Yasuo Mitsui: Der Schlüssel	Olivaer Platz (Wilmerdorf)	
	Yoshikuni Iida: Steinskulptur	Moltkestrasse (Tiergarten)	realized within the framework of the European Sculpture Symposium
1964	Alexander Gonda: Sakrale Form	Breitscheidplatz (Charlottenburg)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Relief Caritas	Lübecker Straße 6 (Tiergarten)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Mädchen von Yukatan	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Florian Breuer: Mahnmal zum Gedenken an Schreckensorte der menschlichen Geschichte	Toeplerstraße 3 (Charlottenburg)	
	Gerhard Marcks: Grabstele Richard Scheibe	Friedhof Alt-Schmargendorf (Wilmerdorf)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Große Karyatide III/64	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
	Gertrud Bergmann: Denkmal für die Verfolgten des Dritten Reiches	Augustenburger Platz (Wedding)	
	Gisela Boeckh von Tzschoppe: Gedenkstele der gefallenen Soldaten, der Opfer der Bombenangriffe und der Opfer der Konzentrationslager	Hauptstrasse 47 (Schöneberg)	
	Hans Bautz: Delphin (vor 1964)	Zoologischer Garten (Charlottenburg)	
	Henry Moore: Bogenschütze (Archer)	Kongreßhalle (Tiergarten)	in 1968 relocated to Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten). Belongs to the Nationalgalerie.
	Irma Langhinrichs: Arge	Botanischer Garten (Steglitz)	
	Justus Chrukin: Aufschwingende Gruppe	Blaschkoallee (Neukölln)	
	Karl Bobek: Großer Berliner Torso	Genter Straße (Wedding)	
	Künstlerin aus der DDR: Gedenkstein für Albert Schweitze	Am Kinderdorf/Ecke Weiter Blick (Spandau)	

1965	Waldemar Grzimek: Träumende	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Abstraktion	Am Regenweiher (Neukölln)	
	Dieter Popielaty: Leid an der Mauer	Schloßstraße 44 (Steglitz)	memorial protesting against the erection of the Berlin Wall
	Egon Stolterfoht: Eule	Theodor-Francke-Straße (Tempelhof)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Sich entfaltende Form II (1965/66)	Mecklenburgische Straße (Wilmerdorf)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Die Windsbraut	Hoepfnerstraße, Ecke Mohnickesteig (Tempelhof)	
	Erich Reischke: Stele	Prinzenstraße 34-37c (Tempelhof)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Torso II/65	Iranische Straße 6 (Wedding)	
	Harald Haacke: Sitzende Knabenfigur mit Schale	Herbartstraße 24 (Charlottenburg)	
	Heinrich Brummack: Freiplastik	Sömmeringstraße 9 (Charlottenburg)	
	Helmut Wolff: Architektonische Skulptur	Kluckstraße 3 (Tiergarten)	
	Herbert Press: Skulptur	Pichelsdorfer Straße 63-65 (Spandau)	
	Joachim Blasé: Brunnenplastik	Bruno-Taut-Ring (Neukölln)	
	Joachim Blasé: Brunnenplastik	Walldürnerweg 5 (Spandau)	
	Joachim Dunkel: Springendes Pferd	Moritzstraße 10 (Spandau)	
	Jürgen Mattern: Esel, Spielplastik	Rathausstraße 84-87 (Tempelhof)	
	1966	Justus Chrukin: Vegetative Plastik	Kreuznacher Straße, Ecke Marbacher Straße (Wilmerdorf)
Justus Chrukin: Brunnenskulptur		Bruno-Taut-Ring, Grünanlage (Neukölln)	
Justus Chrukin: Vegetative Plastik		Götzstraße 14-18 (Tempelhof)	
Künstler unbekannt: Ossietzky-Gedenkstein		Carl-von-Ossietzky-Park (Tiergarten)	
Max Rose: Löwenbrunnen		Schillerpark (Wedding)	
Max Rose: Biberbrunnen		Volkspark Rehberge (Wedding)	after 1980 relocated to Humboldthain (Wedding)
Rainer Kriester: Großes Sonnenzeichen I		Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
Reinhold Hommes: Skulpturenlandschaft		Tietzstraße 12 (Reinickendorf)	disappeared
Alexander Calder: Köpfe und Schwanz		Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
Alexander Gonda: Brunnenstele		Kurfürstenstraße 84, Ecke Burggrafenstraße (Tiergarten)	

	Bernhard Luginbühl: Punch	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Berthold Teske: Spielskulptur mit Rutschbahn	Schönstedtstraße (Wedding)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Kranich	Riemenschneiderweg 1-3, Grünanlage (Schöneberg)	
	Erich Reischke: Treppenbrüstung	Vorarlberger Damm 33 (Schöneberg)	
	Gerhard Marcks: Der Rufer	Großer Tiergarten, Straße des 17. Juni (Tiergarten)	
	Gerhard Marcks: Der Rufer	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Hellas VIII/66	Hellas-Wohnanlage (Tiergarten)	
	Hans Bautz: Bär, Spielplastik	Volkspark Mariendorf (Tempelhof)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Fischreier	Pankstraße 18 (Wedding)	stolen
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Verirrung	Alt-Moabit 12a (Tiergarten)	
	Hein Sinken: Windmühle, Aerokinetische Plastik	Wolfsburger Weg 13-18 (Tempelhof)	
	Heinz Spilker: Vier Reliefs	Rudi-Dutschke-Straße, Axel-Springer-Verlagshaus (Kreuzberg)	
	Hildebert Kliem: Zwei spielende Bären	Bernauer Straße, Ecke Gartenstraße (Wedding)	
	Hildegard Lutze: Weißer Stein	Alter Park, Alt-Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	
	Josef Henry Lonas: Brunnenplastik (1966/67)	Dreilindenstraße 81 (Zehlendorf)	
	Karl Wenke: Zwei Delphine	Gatower Straße 14 (Spandau)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Ehrenmal mit dem Silberkranz für die Toten der beiden Weltkriege	Lilienthalstrasse 7 (Neukölln)	
	Max Rose: Spielanlage	Büdnerring (Reinickendorf)	
	Otto Weber-Hartl: Peter Joseph Lenné	Luxemburger Straße 10 (Wedding)	
	Ursula Sax: Welle	Leonorenstraße 35 (Steglitz)	
	Volkmar Haase: Freiplastik mit Strahlungszentrum	Maltenserstraße 74 (Steglitz)	
1967	Arnold Schatz: Wiedervereinigung	Humboldthain, auf ehemaligem Bunker der Humboldthöhe (Wedding)	
	Barna von Sartory: Skulptur zum Durchschreiten	Osloer Straße 37, Ecke Tromsöer Straße (Wedding)	
	Brigitte Jonelat-Saebisch: Kämpfende Ziegen	Kottbusser Damm, Ecke Lachmannstraße, Grünanlage Hohenstufenplatz (Kreuzberg)	
	Erich Reischke: Spielhaus	Eichhorster Weg (Reinickendorf)	

	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Betonmauer	Seydlitzstraße 20 (Tiergarten)	
	Günther Ohlwein: Freiplastik (1967/68)	Wutzkyallee 68-78 (Neukölln)	
	Heinz Spilker: Skulptur	Seegefelder Straße 36-38 (Spandau)	
	Heinz Spilker: Steinbock (Geißbock)	Bocksfeldstraße (Spandau)	
	Herbert Press: Freiplastik	Sachsendamm 33 (Schöneberg)	
	Ivo Breuker: Gedenkstein für Felix Mendelssohn-Bartoldy	Köthener Strasse/Hafenplatz (Kreuzberg)	
	Josef Henry Lonas: Pony	Taldorfer Weg, Ecke Technowpromenade, Kinderspielplatz (Reinickendorf)	
	Josef Henry Lonas: Wasserskulptur (1967/68)	Theodor-Loos-Weg, Gropiusstadt (Neukölln)	disappeared
	Karl Wenke: Mundharmonikaspieler	Rackebüller Weg 70 (Tempelhof)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Skulptur (um 1967)	Wildhüterweg 5 (Neukölln)	
	Lily Voigt: Bär	Nennhauser Straße an der Stadtgrenze, ehemaliger Kontrollpunkt (Spandau)	
	Max Rose: Otto Suhr Gedenkstein	Oranienstrasse / Ecke Alexandrinenstrasse (Kreuzberg)	
	Max Rose: Brunnenstele	Humboldtstraße (Reinickendorf)	
	Susanne Riée: Huhn	Hanauer Straße, Ecke Spessartstraße (Wilmersdorf)	
	Yoshikuni Iida: Freiplastik	Nikolaus-Groß-Weg 13 (Charlottenburg)	
1968	Bernd Grimmek: Mahnmals-Wand	Hüttigpfad, Gedenkstätte Plötzensee (Charlottenburg)	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Drei Vertikale Motive	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Phönix	Bundesplatz (Wilmersdorf)	
	C. H.: Gedenkstein für Albrecht Haushofer	Kurzebracker Weg 40 (Reinickendorf)	
	Egon Stalterfoht: Brunnenskulptur	Griesinger Straße 27 (Spandau)	
	Erich Reischke: Säule	Giesebrechtstraße 15 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hans Bautz: Delphinbrunnen	Hohenzollernplatz (Wilmersdorf)	
	Hans Peter Fietz: Skulptur	Wildmeisterdamm 120 (Neukölln)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Gepard	Nikolassee, Raststätte (Zehlendorf)	after 2005 disappeared
	Hein Sinke: Windbewegtes Objekt	Straße des 17. Juni 135, Ecke Marchstraße 2-4 (Charlottenburg)	

	Heinrich Brummack: Spielskulptur	Zwickauer Damm (Neukölln)	
	Heinz Spilker: Zwei Delphine	Askaniering 60/63 (Spandau)	
	Joachim Dunkel: Große sitzende weibliche Figur (1968/71)	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Sensburger Allee, at Café K (Charlottenburg)
	Joannis Avramidis: Polis	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Josef Henry Lonas: Denkmal für Kurt Schumacher (1968/70)	Kurt-Schumacher-Platz, Ecke Kurt-Schumacher-Damm und Scharnweberstraße (Reinickendorf)	
	Max Rose: Brunnenstele	Cité Foch (Reinickendorf)	
	Max Rose: Freistehende Reliefwand	Fregestraße (Steglitz)	
	Michael Schoenholtz: Skulpturengruppe	Delbrückstraße 13 (Wilmerisdorf)	after 2009 removed
	Paul Pfarr: Wellenelement	Zabel-Krüger-Damm 40-48 (Reinickendorf)	
	Peter Johannes Hölzinger: Wasserskulptur	Rotraut-Richter-Platz, U-Bahnhof Wutzkyallee (Neukölln)	
	Susanne Riée: Das Ding (Keramiksäule)	Uhlandstraße, Ecke Straße am Schölerpark (Wilmerisdorf)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Im Fluge	John-Locke-Straße 1-17 (Tempelhof)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Skulptur	Marchstraße 2-4 (Charlottenburg)	
	Volkmar Haase: Vierteiliges Edelstahlensemble	Fasanenstraße 62 (Wilmerisdorf)	
	Volkmar Haase: Fruchtbarkeitsschrein (1968/70)	Argentinische Allee 87 (Zehlendorf)	
	Volkmar Haase: Schwingend	Clayallee 328-334, vor dem Stadtbad Zehlendorf (Zehlendorf)	after 2006 relocated to Ronnebypromenade (Wannsee)
	Waldemar Otto: Flucht aus Ägypten	Haselhorster Damm 54-58 (Spandau)	
	Wilhelm Loth: On the beach (1968/70)	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
1969	Alexander Gonda: Ensemble, Freiplastik	Thielallee 69-73 (Zehlendorf)	
	Barbara Hepworth: Two Forms (Divided Circle)	Holzhauser Straße 177 (Reinickendorf)	
	Egon Stalterfoht: Phoenix	Charlottenburger Chaussee 75 (Charlottenburg)	
	Erich Reischke: Gedenkstein	Hindenburgdamm 30, Grünanlage (Steglitz)	after 1989 renamed as Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand with a reorganized exhibition
	<b>Gedenk- und Bildungstätte Stauffenbergstrasse</b>	<b>Stauffenbergstrasse 13/14 (Tiergarten)</b>	
	George Rickey: Two Planes Gyrotory (1969/70)	Hindenburgdamm 30, Grünanlage (Steglitz)	
	George Rickey: Vier Vierecke im Geviert	Potsdamer Strasse 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie

	Gerson Fehrenbach: Vorplatzgestaltung	Tempelhofer Damm 165 (Tempelhof)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Wannseeplastik	Glienicker Straße 10 (Zehlendorf)	
	L. Voigt: Zwei Pferde	Jaczostraße (Spandau)	
	Michael Schoenholtz: Ballspieler	Onkel-Tom-Straße 58-60 (Zehlendorf)	
	Rolf Szymanski: Black Sun Press (1969/73)	Lindenstraße, Mittelstreifen (Kreuzberg)	
	Rolf Szymanski: Die Frauen von Messina, (1969/71)	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Rudolph Leptien: Sieben Tierskulpturen	Richardplatz/Karl-Marx-Platz 19-23 (Neukölln)	
	Susanne Riée: Keramiksäule	Leonorenstraße 39 (Steglitz)	
	Waldemar Otto: König David	Georgenkirchstraße, Innenhof des Konsistoriums der Ev. Kirche Berlin-Brandenburg-Schlesische Lausitz (Tiergarten)	
	Zeuner: Vier Müllergenerationen	Goldammer Straße Ecke Baumläuferweg (Neukölln)	
1970	Alfred Trenkel: Schwingende Form	Agnes-Straub-Weg, Ecke Horst-Caspar-Steig (Neukölln)	
	Alfred Trenkel: Sonnenuhr	Volkspark Wilmersdorf, Ecke Blissestraße (Wilmersdorf)	disappeared
	Alfred Trenkel: Vogelmotiv	Zwickauer Damm (Neukölln)	disappeared
	Amar Sehgal: Relief Angstschreie	Stülerstraße, Ecke Corneliusstraße (Tiergarten)	removed
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Großer Würfel	Koserstraße 20, vor dem FU-Institut für Veterinärmedizin (Zehlendorf)	
	Edzard Hobbing: Graefe-Denkmal	Händelallee, Grünanlage (Tiergarten)	
	Erich Reischke: Zwei Skulpturen	Wilhelm-Gericke-Straße 7-13 (Reinickendorf)	disappeared
	Erich Reischke: Stele	Alt-Britz, Rosengarten (Neukölln)	
	Erich Wiesner: Die Bäume (1970/71)	Feuchtwanger Weg/Zwickauer Damm (Neukölln)	
	Erich Wiesner: Konstellation	Planufer (Kreuzberg)	
	Friedrich Gräsel: Raumplastik	Straße des 17. Juni, vor TU-Institut für Technische Chemie (Charlottenburg)	
	Gertrud Bergmann: Gedenkstein für Friedrich Ebert	Afrikanische Straße (Wedding)	
	Günter Anlauf: Vier Attikafiguren (1970/73)	Schloss Charlottenburg (Charlottenburg)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Fohlen (1970er Jahre)	Celsiusstraße 4-8 (Steglitz)	



	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Rentier	Kulbeweg 25, Wohnanlage (Spandau)	
	Heinrich Brummack: Blumen (1970er Jahre)	Oranienburger Straße 285 (Reinickendorf)	
	Heinz Spilker: Flamingo-Gruppe	Paulsborner Straße, Viktoria-, Ecke Charlottenbrunner Straße (Wilmerdorf)	
	Karl Wenke: Ruhender	Westerwaldstraße 7 (Spandau)	
	Karl-Henning Seemann: Reineke Fuchs (1970/71)	Hermann-Piper Straße 1-15 (Reinickendorf)	
	Katharina Szelinski-Singer: Figuren am Märchenbrunnen ("Aschenputtel" und "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen")	Sonnenallee, Von der Schulenburg-Park (Neukölln)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Pan	Heinrich-Lassen-Park (Schöneberg)	
	Max Rose: Freistehende Reliefwand	Ahrensdorfer Straße, Ecke Tirschenreuther Ring (Tempelhof)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Sonnenlabyrinth	Neheimer Straße 4 (Reinickendorf)	
	Sergius Ruegenberger: Skulptur	Büchsenweg 23a (Reinickendorf)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster, Hinweis- und Orientierungsschilder: Freiplastik (um 1970)	Falkenseer Chaussee (Spandau)	
	Volkmar Haase: Gitterwand (1970/71)	Königin-Elisabeth-Straße 49 (Charlottenburg)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur	Britzer Garten, Mohriner Allee (Neukölln)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur (1970er Jahre)	Plivierstraße 3 (Spandau)	after 1990 removed by the artist
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur (1970er Jahre)	Hasenheger Weg (Neukölln)	
	Wolfgang Niedner: Eva Lotte und Rasmus (1970er Jahre)	Südekumzeile 5 (Spandau)	
1971	Annelies Rudolph: Taube, Denkmal für die erste deutsche Fliegerin, Melli Beese	Storkwinkel, Ecke Schwarzbacher Straße (Wilmerdorf)	
	Berliner Bürger Verein: Weisse Kreuze	Reichstagsufer (Mitte)	after the regime change the memorial was temporarily removed because of construction works along the river at Reichstagsufer. The installation, now seven white crosses, was brought back to the riverbank on 17 June 2003
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Spielskulptur	Wohnanlage Afrikanische Straße (Wedding)	

	Christian Roeckenschuß: Merkzeichen	Rathauspromenade 75, Ecke am Nordgraben vor der Peter-Witte-Grundschule (Reinickendorf)	disappeared
	Demetros Anastasatos: Brunnen	Anna-Nemtz-Weg (Neukölln)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Fontäne	Johannisthaler Chaussee (Neukölln)	disappeared
	Dietrich Schöning: Gedenkstein für Henri Dunant	Henri-Dunant-Platz (Spandau)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Kaskadenbrunnen (1971/72)	Rohrdamm 22 (Spandau)	demolished
	Gerd Engel: Kunststoff-Skulptur	Dannenwalder Weg 163 (Reinickendorf)	
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Brunnen	Reißbeckstraße 14 (Tempelhof)	
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Brunnenplastik	Alt-Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Brunnenskulptur	Königsweg, Lindenhof (Zehlendorf)	
	Gottfried Gruner: Betonlandschaft	Hallesches Ufer 60 (Kreuzberg)	
	Günther Ohlwein: Freiplastik	Wutzkyallee 68-78 (Neukölln)	
	Günther Ohlwein: Abstraktion	Am Teltowkanal, Rungiusstraße 46 (Neukölln)	
	Hans Klakow: Skulptur	Königstraße 5 (Zehlendorf)	
	Harald Haacke: Vier Attikafiguren (1971/72)	Schloss Charlottenburg (Charlottenburg)	
	James Reineking: Touching I (1971/78)	Potsdamer Strasse 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Paul Brandenburg: Vier-Elemente-Säule	Neheimer Straße, Wohnanlage (Reinickendorf)	
	Waldemar Grzimek: Schreitender Löwe	Zoologischer Garten (Tiergarten)	
	Wieland Förster: Grosse Neeberger Figur (1971/74)	Skulpturengarten der Neuen Nationalgalerie (Tiergarten)	
1972	Bernhard Wilhelmhelm Blank: Mauer-Environment	Ludwigsfelder Straße 43-47 (Zehlendorf)	
	Dietrich Ebert: Eisenskulptur	Wilhelmsruher Damm (Reinickendorf)	
	Fritz Becker: Sonnendolme	Heinz-Galinski-Straße 1 (Wedding)	
	Gottfried Gruner: Springbrunnen	Hallesches Ufer, Ecke Großbeerenstraße (Kreuzberg)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Affe	Forststraße 43 (Steglitz)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Gepard	Pestalozzistraße 91 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hein Sinken: Windobjekt 72	Reißbeckstraße 14 (Tempelhof)	
	Hubert Weber: Brunnen mit zwei Säulengruppen	Knobelsdorffstraße, Ecke Königin-Elisabeth-Straße (Charlottenburg)	

	Josef Erben: Kreisender Stab	Englische Strasse 20 (Charlottenburg)	
	Karlheinz Biederbick: Arbeiter mit Preßlufthammer	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Reinhold Hommes: Reliefstele zum Europatag	Fehrbelliner Platz 4, Ecke Barstraße (Wilmerdorf)	
	Vagelis Tsakirdis: Brunnenskulptur	Senftenberger Ring, Ecke Calauer Straße (Reinickendorf)	
1973	Alfred Trenkel: Sonnenuhr mit Kalendarium	Grunewaldstraße 8 (Spandau)	
	Barna von Sartory: Skulptur und Brunnen	Gropiusstadt (Neukölln)	
	Christian Roeckenschuss: Skulptur	Finsterwalder Strasse 56 (Reinickendorf)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Brunnenskulptur	Hakenfelder Straße 32 (Spandau)	
	Günther Ohlwein: Spielskulptur	Lessinghöhe, Spielplatz an der Thomasstraße (Neukölln)	
	Josef Henry Lonas: Hängende Skulptur (1973/75)	Blasewitzer Ring, Ecke Sandstraße (Spandau)	
	Karlheinz Biederbick: Fallschirmspringer (1973/83)	Habelschwerdter Allee (Zehlendorf)	
	Pablo Hannemann: Versöhnung	Fehrbelliner Platz 4 (Wilmerdorf)	in 1983 relocated to Koenigsallee 27, Uferweg zwischen Wissmannstraße
	Paul Brandenburg: Verschlungene Form	Wassertorstraße, Ecke Bergfriedstraße (Kreuzberg)	
	Ulrich Beier: Zwei sich wandelnde Vasen	Schlosspark Bellevue (Tiergarten)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur	Hartmannsweilerweg 47 (Zehlendorf)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur mit Kern Rot/Blau	Lietzenseepark (Charlottenburg)	
	Waldemar Grzimek: Höllenhund	U-Bahnhof Rathaus Steglitz (Steglitz)	
1974	Alessandro Carlini: Dreiteilige Skulptur	Senftenberger Ring 43-45 (Reinickendorf)	
	Alessandro Carlini: Environments ohne Wasserspiel	Königshorster Straße 10 (Reinickendorf)	
	Alfred Trenkel: Mädchengruppe (Tänzerinnen)	Seebadstraße 42 (Reinickendorf)	
	Barna von Sartory: Skulptur	Pankstraße 18 (Wedding)	
	Barna von Sartory: Stahlskulptur	Wiesenstraße 24/27 (Wedding)	
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Säule in der Brandung, "Adenauer-Brunnen" (1974/75)	Adenauerplatz, Kurfürstendamm, Ecke Wilmerdorfer Straße (Charlottenburg)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Imitationen (1974/75)	Magistratsweg (Spandau)	after 1990 removed

	Demetros Anastasatos: Totempfahl	General-Woyna-Straße (Reinickendorf)	disappeared in 2012
	Eduardo Paolozzi: Fuendetodos (1974/75)	Potsdamer Strasse 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Engelbert Kremser: Pavillonbrunnen	Neheimer Straße (Reinickendorf)	
	Fritjof Schliephacke: Röhrenskulptur	Schichauweg 56-65 (Tempelhof)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Moschusochse (1974/75)	Kruckenbergstraße 34-52 (Tempelhof)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Skulptur Pferd-Schaf-Bock	Heckerdamm 228 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Zwei Füllen	Dröpkeweg 6 (Neukölln)	
	Heinz Spilker: Porträtre Relief Nelly Sachs (1974/75)	Nollendorfplatz (Schöneberg)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Reliefs	Salzbrunner Straße (Wilmersdorf)	
	Lothar und Gisela Klute: Elastische Plastik	Bismarckstrasse 105 (Charlottenburg)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Guter Hirte	Maximilian-Kaller-Straße (Tempelhof)	
	Peter Berndt: Spiel-, Sitz- und Liegeskulptur	Gotthardstraße (Reinickendorf)	
	Ursula Sax: Brunnenplastik	Martin-Buber-Straße, Ecke Kirchstraße (Zehlendorf)	
1975	Barna von Sartory: Stahlskulptur	Senftenberger Ring, Ecke Wesendorfer Straße (Reinickendorf)	
	Dieter Binninger: Mengenlehre-Uhr	Kurfürstendamm, Mittelstreifen vor dem Maison de France (Charlottenburg)	in 1998 relocated to Budapest Street, in front of the Europa-Center (Charlottenburg)
	Heinrich Brummack: Wolkentor	Flughafen Tegel, Zufahrtbereich (Reinickendorf)	
	Heinz Spilker: Vier Reliefs von Wissenschaftlern (1975/76)	Unter den Eichen (Steglitz)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Hand mit Uhr	Altonaer Straße 26, Ecke Lessingstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Michael Kamprath: Skulptur	Tirschenreuther Ring, Ecke Waldsassener Straße (Tempelhof)	
	Nikolaus Haviland Ritter: Sonnenschirm Environment	Senftenberger Ring 46 (Reinickendorf)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Mann mit Doppelflöte	Prühsstraße 11 (Tempelhof)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Steinerne Pflanze	Heerstraße 445 (Spandau)	
	Peter Sedgley: Day and Night	Hermann-Ehlers-Platz (Steglitz)	
	Peter Sedgley: Lichtkinetisches Relief	Beskidenstraße (Zehlendorf)	

	Rainer Kriester: Schreitender	Friedrichstraße (Kreuzberg)	
	Rose-Maria Stiller: Zwei Seehunde	Stadtpark Steglitz (Steglitz)	
	Volkmar Haase: Altar	Gemeindezentrum Grünes Dreieck (Charlottenburg)	in 1987 relocated to Matthäikirchplatz (Tiergarten)
1976	Alfred Trenkel: Kugelsonnenuhr mit Bogen	Sonnenallee, Ecke Michael-Bohnen-Ring (Neukölln)	
	Barbara und Klaus Oldenburg: Elefant	Hohenzollerndamm 174 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Herkules	Reichpietschufer 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Engelbert Kremser: Bankskulpturen	Königin-Luise-Straße 80 (Zehlendorf)	destroyed
	Hans Wimmer: Pferdekopf	Potsdamer Straße 37 (Tiergarten)	
	Hans-Dieter Bolle: Giebelgestaltung	Savignyplatz, S-Bahnhof, Bleibtreustraße 7 (Charlottenburg)	
	Harald Haacke: Bildnisrelief Günter Neumann	Munsterdamm, Ecke Prellerweg (Schöneberg)	
	Hein Sinken: Windobjekt	Hänselstraße 6 (Neukölln)	
	Heinz Spilker: Porträtre Relief Lesser Ury	Nollendorfplatz (Schöneberg)	
	Josef Henry Lonas: Frischluftansauger	Malteser Straße, FU-Außenstelle (Steglitz)	
	Niko Schulz: Huhn	Hohenzollerndamm 174 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Nikolaus Ritter: Windobjekt	Nimrodstraße 4-14 (Reinickendorf)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Gespaltene Kugel	Waldshuter Zeile, Markt (Reinickendorf)	
	Rainer Kriester: Meditationsraum	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Große Kopf-Figuration	Obstallee 21 (Spandau)	
1977	Ansgar Nierhoff: Der Durchbruch	Nordufer 20 (Wedding)	
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Rohrsulptur	Ernst-Lemmer-Ring (Zehlendorf)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Orientierung	Einkaufszentrum Sonnenallee, Sonnenallee, Ecke H.-Schlusnus-Straße (Neukölln)	
	Hein Sinken: Windobjekt	Kurfürstendamm 234 (Charlottenburg)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Brunnen (1977/78)	Behmstraße, Ecke Bellermandstraße (Wedding)	
	Joseph Henry Lonas: DIN-Portal-Skulptur (1977/79)	Burggrafenstrasse 6 (Tiergarten)	
	Max Rose: Fünfteiliger Brunnen	Wilhelmsruher Damm (Reinickendorf)	
	Shinkichi Tajiri: Friendship Knot	Hardenbergstrasse 22 (Charlottenburg)	

	Volkmar Haase: Laokoon	Waldschulallee 95 (Charlottenburg)	
	Wolff Henri: Roland	Kolk 1, Hoher Steinweg (Spandau)	
1978	Alfred Trenkel: Protuberanzen	Rollbergstraße, Fußgängerpromenade zwischen Werbelinstraße und Kopfstraße (Neukölln)	
	Ansgar Nierhoff: Kreis und Ellipse	Nordufer 20 (Wedding)	
	Ansgar Nierhoff: Schranke	Kladower Damm 299 (Spandau)	after 1990 removed
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Begegnungen (1978/79)	Messedamm 11 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hans-Georg Damm: Sieben Schwaben	Hohenzollerndamm (Wilmerdorf)	
	Hein Sinken: Windobjekt	Barbarastraße 9 (Steglitz)	
	Joost von der Felden: Skulptur	Züllichauerstrasse 1-7 (Kreuzberg)	
	Michael Schoenholtz: Fußball	Bellermannstraße 64/65 (Wedding)	
	Michael Schoenholtz: Fußballspieler	Behmstraße 38-40 (Wedding)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Terrassenbrunnen	Dominicusstraße 37-43 (Schöneberg)	
	Richard Serra: Berlin Block Charlie Chaplin	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Susanne Riée: Theaterhäuschen	Ihnestraße 74 (Zehlendorf)	
	Ulrich Rückriem: Dolomit	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	
	Volkmar Haase: Erektion	Greenwichpromenade (Reinickendorf)	
1979	Arminius Hasemann: Affengruppe (vor 1979)	Zoologischer Garten, Tropenhaus (Tiergarten)	
	Brigitte Haacke-Stamm: Familiengruppe mit Elefant	Reinickendorfer Straße 61 (Wedding)	
	Eduardo Chillida: Gudari	Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Emanuel Scharfenberg: Extension	Erfurter Straße 7/8 (Schöneberg)	
	Erich Reusch: Ehrenmal 20. Juli 1944 (1979/80)	Stauffenbergstraße 13-14 (Tiergarten)	
	Erich Wiesner: Turm mit Geisterfänger	Invalidenstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Georg Seibert: Frühling - Sommer (1979/81)	Schlangenbader Straße 12-35 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Günter Anlauf: Thüster Nautiliden (1979/80)	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Günther Ohlwein: Betonstein-Wellenlandschaft	Rathenower Straße 16 (Tiergarten)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Offiziere vom 20. Juli 1944	Grossgörschenstrasse 12 (Schöneberg)	
	Michael Schoenholtz: Zwei Brunnenskulpturen	Durlacher Straße (Wilmerdorf)	

	Paul Brandenburg: Brunnen	Oranienburger Straße 285 (Reinickendorf)	
	Paul Pfarr: Der Rest	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rudolf-Virchow-Klinikum (Wedding)
	Rainer Mang: Drachen und Urmutter	Mehringdamm 112 (Kreuzberg)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Maternal II	Bienwaldring 31-35 (Neukölln)	
	Vadim Sidur: Treblinka	Amtsgerichtsplatz (Charlottenburg)	
	Volkmar Haase: Äskulap (Brunnenplastik)	Rathausstraße 27 (Tempelhof)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur	Scharfe Lanke, Uferpromenade (Spandau)	
	Wolfgang Thust: Marmor-Brunnen	Metzplatz (Tempelhof)	
1980	Alfred Trenkel: Freiplastik	Kruckenbergstr. 4-6 (Tempelhof)	
	Barna von Sartory: Stahl-Marmor-Skulptur	Lippstädter Straße 9-11 (Steglitz)	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Unter dem Schutzschild	Käuzchensteig 8 (Zehlendorf)	after 1995 relocated to Inselstraße 10, Aspen-Institut
	Chatziioannidis Fotis: Weiblicher Akt	Fehlerstraße 8 (Schöneberg)	
	Engelbert Kremser: Pergola (1980/81)	Seestraße 10 (Wedding)	
	Gerald Matzner: Taschenpyramide (1980/81)	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Gloria Priotti: Dynamische Figuren	Großbeerenstraße, Fußweg im Straßentunnel (Tempelhof)	
	Gloria Priotti: Endspiel	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Günter Anlauf: Thüster Nautiliden	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	
	Hajo Pogoda: Sportlergruppe	Halemweg 22 (Charlottenburg)	
	Harald Haacke: Die Kugelläuferin	Zeltinger Platz, Ecke Frohnauer Brücke (Reinickendorf)	
	Haus Rucker & Co.: Laubentore	Schlangebader Straße 12-35 (Wilmersdorf)	
	Hein Sinken: Balance	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Paulstraße 20 b (Tiergarten)
	Hein Sinken: Wasserwindobjekt	Stadtrandstraße (Spandau)	
	Henner Kuckuck: Zwei Stelen	Takustraße (Zehlendorf)	
	Jean Ipoustéguy: Der Mensch baut seine Stadt (Alexander vor Ekbatana)	Messedamm 19 (Charlottenburg)	after 2005 removed

	Joachim Wendler: Schäfer (1980er Jahre)	Auguste-Viktoria-Allee 9 (Reinickendorf)	
	Josef Henry Lonas: Skulptur (1980/81)	Am Juliusturm 61-63 (Spandau)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Skulptur (1980er Jahre)	Kissinger Strasse 54/63 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Otto Herbert Hajek: Stadtzeichen (Raumzeichen)	Fasanenstraße 87 (Charlottenburg)	
	Peter de Longueville: Kleiner Traumwald	Bauerwaldstrasse / Ecke Gneisenaustrasse (Kreuzberg)	
	Richard Heß: Schreiender	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Silvia Breitwieser: Steinwindel (1980/99)	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Waldemar Otto: Alte Frau im Sessel	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Wenckebackstraße 23 (Tempelhof)
1981	Achim Pahle: Skulptur	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	
	Achim Pahle: Ohne Titel	Landsberger Allee, Ecke Ernst-Zinna-Weg (Friedrichshain)	
	Barna von Sartory: Vier Würfel (1981/83)	Fabeckstraße, FU Silberlaube (Zehlendorf)	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Auge der Nemesis	Kurfürstendamm (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kuddamm/Taudentzen Str.
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Schneckenhaus	Invalidenstraße 56 (Tiergarten)	
	Christa Biederbick: Stehendes Mädchen	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Wenckebackstraße 23 (Tempelhof)
	Christian Hage: Pyramide	Oberstufenzentrum Danckelmannstraße 26 (Charlottenburg)	
	Dietrich Ebert: Garten der Erinnerung (1981/83)	Habelschwerdter Allee, Skulpturenhof FU Rostlaube (Zehlendorf)	FU-Gelände
	Douglas Abdell: Kraeff-Aekyad	Hardenbergstrasse 22 (Charlottenburg)	
	Eilat Hiltunin: Die Geburt der Flamme	Kurfürstenstraße 72-74 (Tiergarten)	
	Emanuel Scharfenberg: Elefantenbaum	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Ernst von Hopffgarten: Löwenbrunnen	Hohenzollerndamm 174 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Frank Badur: Stelen (1981/83)	Kühlweinstraße 5 (Reinickendorf)	
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Säule mit drehendem Kubus	Radelandstraße 21 (Spandau)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Panta Rhei (1981/82)	Gottlieb-Dunkel-Straße 26-27 (Tempelhof)	



Günter Anlauf: Vier Bären	Moabiter Brücke, Bartningallee, Ecke Kirchstraße (Tiergarten)	replacing the original statue from 1894
Joachim Schmettau: Vier Jahreszeiten	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
Josef Erben: Ein Stab, ein Seil (1981/83)	FU-Gelände, zwischen Forckenbeckstraße und Otto-von-Simson-Str. (Zehlendorf)	FU-Gelände
Karina Raeck: Versunkene Kultstätte	Messegelände (Charlottenburg)	
Klaus Duschat: Achill (1981/83)	FU-Gelände, zwischen Forckenbeckstraße und Otto-von-Simson-Str. (Zehlendorf)	FU-Gelände
Kurt Mühlenhaupt: Feuerwehrbrunnen	Mariannenplatz (Kreuzberg)	
Matthias Hollefreund: Time Line	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Parchimer Allee 109 (Neukölln)
Max Rose: Brunnenstele	Wilhelmsruher Damm (Reinickendorf)	
Paul Brandenburg: Drei-Säulen-Brunnen	Brunnenstraße 64-65 (Wedding)	
Rainer Kriester: Kopf	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	
Rob Krier: Torfigur	Ritterstrasse 63/64 (Kreuzberg)	
Rolf Szymanski: Wasserträgerin	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to the Sculpture Garden of Auguste-Viktoria-Krankenhauses (Schöneberg), then to Lindenstraße (Kreuzberg).
Rolf Szymanski: Wasserträgerin	Hanseatenweg, Akademie der Künste im Innenhof vor dem Clubsaal (Tiergarten)	
Rudi Pabel: Rotation	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
Silvia Kluge: Emmi eins	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
Ursula Sax: Brunnen	Klosterstraße 38 (Spandau)	
Volkmar Haase: Säule mit drehendem Kubus	Radelandstraße 31 (Spandau)	
Waldemar Grzimek: Brunnen der Generationen (1981/85)	Wittenbergplatz (Schöneberg)	
Waldemar Grzimek: Wasserjungfrau	Seestraße 131 (Wedding)	
Wigand Witting: Ligurische Köpfe	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	

1982	Alfred Trenkel: Springbrunnen	Dessauer Straße (Steglitz)	
	Ansgar Nierhoff: Die Bastion	Potsdamer Straße 33 vor der Staatsbibliothek (Tiergarten)	
	Brigitte Haacke-Stamm: Zeli-Brunnen (Märchenbrunnen)	Martin-Buber-Straße, Ecke Potsdamer Straße (Zehlendorf)	
	Demetros Anastasatos: Kristallisationen	Mannheimer Strasse 21 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Dietrich Arlt-Aeras: Skulptur	Goldbeckweg (Spandau)	disappeared
	Erich Wiesner: MiXmAL	Messedamm 22 (Charlottenburg)	after 1990 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Georg Seibert: Brunnenhausanlage Verbindung	Swinemünder Straße 48-54 (Wedding)	
	Gerald Matzner: Korinthische Säule (1982/83)	Fabeckstraße (Zehlendorf)	
	Gertrud Bergmann: Spreekieker	Arcostrasse/Spreeufer (Charlottenburg)	
	Gisela von Bruchhausen: Magnifizienz	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	removed
	Günther Ohlwein: Wassersäule und Brunnenrückrat	Am Markt (Spandau)	
	Haus Rucker & Co.: Pyramide	Straße des 17. Juni, TU-Nordgelände, Grünanlage (Charlottenburg)	
	Heinz Spilker: Erikabrunnen	Adam-Kuckhoff-Platz (Wilmerdorf)	copy of Emil Cauer's work, which was destroyed in 1943
	Hubertus von der Goltz: Der Mensch zwischen Himmel und Erde	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Erdkugelbrunnen (1982/84)	Breitscheidplatz/Budapester Strasse (Charlottenburg)	
	Klaus Duschat: Eisentirade	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für Opfer der Berliner Mauer	Swindemünder Strasse (Wedding)	
	Michael Schoenholtz: Sechs Skulpturen in der Heinrich-Zille-Siedlung	Claire-Waldoff-Promenade, Otto-Dix-Straße, Rathenower Straße, Invalidenstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Paul Brandenburg: Gestufte Säule	Prühsstraße 11 (Tempelhof)	
	Paul Pfarr: Prototyp (1982/83)	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	Richard Heß: La Sella	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Rolf Szymanski: L'Ephémère und Anabase (1982/83)	Seestraße 10 (Wedding)	

Ulrike Hogrebe: Sportler	Altonaer Straße 26 (Tiergarten)	
Ursula Hanke-Förster: Vögel	Avenue Charles de Gaulle (Reinickendorf)	
Volkmar Haase: Laokoon III (1982/83)	Tempelhofer Park (Tempelhof)	
Volkmar Haase: Ikarus	Schönwalder Allee 26 (Spandau)	
1983 Alessandro Carlini: Die grünen Menschen	Hohenzollerndamm (Wilmerdorf)	
Christian Hage: Grüne Pyramide	Dudenstraße 35 (Tempelhof)	
Detlef Kraft: Zwei Figuren mit Hund (1983/87)	Fasanenstrasse 37 und 62 (Wilmerdorf)	
Dietrich Arlt-Aeras: Skulptur	Richrad-Wagner-Straße 30 (Charlottenburg)	
Emanuel Scharfenberg: Elementblock (Elementwürfel) (1983/87)	Bismarckplatz (Wilmerdorf)	
Gary Rieveschl: Breakouts	Rudower Straße 184 (Neukölln)	
Georg Seibert: Haus des Ikarus	Habelschwerdter Allee, Skulpturenhof FU Rostlaube (Zehlendorf)	
Gerald Matzner: Nudeldruckwalze	Cyclopstraße 1-7 (Reinickendorf)	
Gerson Fehrenbach: Brunnenanlage DRK	Bundesallee, DRK-Wohnanlage (Wilmerdorf)	
Gloria Priotti und Daniel Zalaya: Umwandlungsprozeß des Rohmaterials durch die menschliche Arbeit und Technik	Haarlemer Straße 23 (Neukölln)	
Günter Anlauf: Berliner Bär	Mittelstreifen A 11, ehem. Kontrollpunkt Heiligensee-Stolpe (Reinickendorf)	
Günter Anlauf: Bodenskulptur-Environment (1983/90)	Einsteinufer 17/19 (Charlottenburg)	
Günter Anlauf: Uhrensäule (1983/84)	Schulstraße 4 (Zehlendorf)	
Hans Nagel: Dreiteiliges Ensemble	Hardenbergstraße, Ecke Fasanenstraße (Charlottenburg)	
Heinz Mack: Lichtpfleger (1983/87)	Taentzienstraße, Ecke Europa-Center (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Ku-Damm/Taentzien Str.
Karlheinz Biederbick: Vor dem Start nach Calais zum Europa-Flug von 1981 (1983/84)	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
Ludmilla Seefried-Matejkowa: Justitia	Alt-Moabit 14-16 (Tiergarten)	
Nikolaus Lang, Klaus Vogt, Falk Trillitzsch: Landschafts-Environment	Habelschwerdter Allee, Skulpturenhof FU Rostlaube (Zehlendorf)	
Odiou (Künstlergruppe): Freiplastik (Ewiger Frieden)	Hüfnerweg 39 (Neukölln)	

	Paul Brandenburg: Steinskulptur und Brunnen	Wüsthoffstraße 15 (Tempelhof)	
	Paul Pfarr: Brunnenanlage	Brunnen-, Ecke Lortzingstraße (Wedding)	
	Peter Fromlowitz: Künstliche Natur	Alt-Moabit 10 (Tiergarten)	
	Rolf Lieberknecht: Fundstücke	Habelschwerdter Allee, Skulpturenhof FU Rostlaube (Zehlendorf)	
	Rolf Lieberknecht: Licht-Tetraeder	Neues Ufer 1 (Charlottenburg)	
	Rolf Szymanski: Anabase	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
	Rose-Maria Stiller: Fischotter	Maximilian-Kaller-Straße (Tempelhof)	
	Sutee Tongbragob-Strobel: Ein liegender, ein stehender Baum	Habelschwerdter Allee, Skulpturenhof FU Rostlaube (Zehlendorf)	
	Ursula Hanke-Förster: Wasserrutschbahn Krokodil	Munsterdamm (Steglitz)	
	Vera Krickhahn: Brunnenplastik	Letteplatz (Reinickendorf)	
	Volkmar Haase: Ikarus	Holzmannstraße 1-7 (Tempelhof)	
1984	Bernd Münster: Drei Giebelsteine	Cuvrystraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-85
	Christa Biederbick: Skulpturengruppe	Charlottenburger Chaussee 75 (Spandau)	
	Claudia Ammann: Treppensteine	Cuvrystraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-85
	Demetros Anastasatos: Totempfahl	Adickesstraße - Lünette, Kindertagesstätte (Spandau)	removed
	Dietrich Arlt-Aeras: Großes Idol (1984/85)	Rixdorfer Straße, Ecke Alt Mariendorf (Tempelhof)	
	Emanuel Scharfenberg: Wasserpilz	Leon-Jessel-Platz (Wilmersdorf)	
	Erich Wiesner: Wenn, dann (1984/85)	Fabeckstraße, FU Silberlaube (Zehlendorf)	
	Georg Kohlmaier: Papierflieger	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	George Rickey: Three Lines Diagonal Jointed-Wall	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Steinzeichen (1984/5)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
	Günter Anlauf: Dreikopffüßler	Schillerpark (Wedding)	
	Günter Anlauf: Wasserspeier	Buckower Damm, Parkfriedhof (Neukölln)	
	Hans Beyermann: Schwimmsport	Seydlitzstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Panzernashörner (1984/85)	Budapesterstraße, Aquarium-Zoomauer (Tiergarten)	

	Hartmut Stielow: Waage	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Hein Sinken: Balance IV	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	Heinz Spilker: Lutz Heck-Büste	Zoologischer Garten, Dreisternpromenade (Tiergarten)	
	Heinz Spilker: Porträtrelief Alice Salomon	Karl-Schrader-Straße 6 (Schöneberg)	
	Isolde Haug, Azade Köker und Robert Schmidt: Brunnenanlage	Cuvrystraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-85
	Joachim Wendler: Traum vom Fliegen	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	Lothar Fischer: Plinthe	Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)	
	Makoto Fujiwara: Rote Granitplatte (Grabzeichen)	Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)	
	Miguel Esteban Cano: Trilogie (1984/85)	Reißeckstraße, Ecke Alt Mariendorf (Tempelhof)	
	Peter Herbrich: Brunnenskulptur	Cuvrystraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-85
	Rob Krier: Portalfigur	Stülerstraße 2-4 (Tiergarten)	
	Rolf Lieberknecht: L'Albatros	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	Rolf Lieberknecht: Laserinstallation für den Luftraum	Straße des 17. Juni 135 (Charlottenburg)	
	Ruth Gindhart: Flügelobjekt	Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)	
	Silvia Kluge: Gulliver im Swimmingpool	Cuvrystraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-85
1985	Alessandro Carlini: Grüne Menschen	Wohnanlage Gleimstraße 62-63 (Wedding)	
	Ben Wargin: Erde werde Erde - Kräutertiefel (1985/1986)	Bleubtreu-/Kantstrasse (Charlottenburg)	
	Brigitte Haacke-Stamm: Brunnenskulptur	Plötzensee, Frauenvollzugsanstalt (Tiergarten)	
	Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Berlin (1985/87)	Mittelstreifen der Tauentzienstraße zwischen Nürnberger und Marburger Straße (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Ku-Damm/Tauentzien Str.
	Christa Biederbick: Brunnen für den Rosengarten	Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)	
	Dedo Gadebusch: Wagenlenker	Trebbiner Straße 9 (Kreuzberg)	
	Dennis A. Oppenheim: Roots In Cubism	Britzer Garten, Trauernallee (Neukölln)	
	Dietrich Klakow: Eiweissmoleküle	Lauenburger Strasse 110 (Steglitz)	
	Eckart Haisch: Goldesel	Britzer Garten, Mohriner Allee (Neukölln)	

Eckart Haisch: Ramificazioni-Verzweigungen	Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)	
Eckart Haisch: Skulpturen und Mosaiken	Lutherplatz, Ecke Lynarstraße (Spandau)	
Eduardo Paolozzi: Katastrophenbrunnen	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
Gary Rieveschl: Mondjahr	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
Georg Seibert: Das Tor	Osdorfer Strasse 53 (Steglitz)	
Georg Seibert: Erinnerung (1985/86)	Siegmundshof 11 (Tiergarten)	
George Rickey: Four Lines in a T	Stresemannstraße (Kreuzberg)	in 1989 relocated to Gropius-Bau (Mitte)
Gerson Fehrenbach: Königspaar	Holsteinische Strasse / Ecke Feuerbachstrasse (Steglitz)	
Gerson Fehrenbach: Riehmers Hofgartensäule (1985/86)	Hagelberger Straße 9-12 (Kreuzberg)	
Günter Anlauf: Ornamentaler Fries	Pankstraße 30 (Wedding)	disappeared
Hanns-Jörg Voth: Steinhaus mit Seelenloch	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
Henry Moore: Large Divided Oval: Butterfly (1985/87)	John-Foster-Dulles-Allee (Tiergarten)	
Herbert Press: La Belle Jardinière	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
Irene Schultze-Seehof: Eisenbahndenkmäl	S-Bhf. Marienfelde (Tempelhof)	
Isolde Haug: Azade Köker und Robert Schmidt, Drei Liegende	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
Joachim Dunkel: Rolf Lieberknecht und Hans Vetter, Castor und Pollux	Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)	removed
Joachim Dunkel: Gedenkstele für Carl Herz	Yorkstraße 4-11 (Kreuzberg)	
Johannes Grützke: Tympanon	Haynauer Straße 56a (Steglitz)	
Karina Raeck: Versteinerter Libellenthron	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	
Karl Bobek: Flora	Manteuffelstraße, Bosepark (Tempelhof)	stolen after 1999
Karl Ciesluk: Wishing Star	Britzer Garten, Seebereich (Neukölln)	
Karol Broniatowski: Drei Aktfiguren an und im Brunnenbecken	Franz-Naumann-Platz (Reinickendorf)	
Karsten Klingbeil: Brunnenfiguren	Brunnenstraße 95-96 (Wedding)	
Klaus Duschat: Wegzeichen	Britzer Garten, Sangerhauser Weg Ecke Massiner Weg (Neukölln)	
Klaus Zillich: Kosmologischer Park	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	

Ludmilla Seefried-Matejkowa: Walkman  
Ludmilla Seefried-Matejkowa: Admiral mit  
Doppelgänger  
Manfred Hodapp: Gruppe 84  
Max Bill: Zwei Säulen  
Michael Ponto: Stadtplastik  
Michael Schoenholtz: Grabzeichen  
Mutsuo Hirani: Ostgeist  
Nando Barberi: Büste Ferdinand Sauerbruch  
Nikolaus Gerhart: Bohrung XI (zweiteilig)  
Norbert Radermacher: Der Ring  
Odious (Künstlergruppe): Zeit-Wege-Zeit  
Paul Pfarr: Brunnenpavillon  
Paul Pfarr: Windharfen-Installation  
Peter Herbrich: Grabzeichen (Grabstelle)  
Raffael Rheinsberg: Fundstücke - Graniträder  
Ralf Wudtke: Drachen  
Rolf Scholz: Der Fall Daidalos und Ikaros  
Rolf Szymanski: Fette Henne  
Rolf Szymanski: Gebreite  
Sebastian Heinsdorff: Odin  
Silvia Kluge: Paukenparade - Hommage Karl Foerster  
Susanne Mahlmeister: 12 Speere  
Ulrich Rückriem: Steinskulptur 2  
Volkmar Haase: Gespaltenes Dreieck  
Wiegand Witting: Kosmischer Kreis (Grabzeichen)

Julius-Morgenroth-Platz (Wilmerdorf)  
Admiralstraße, Ecke Kohlfurter Strasse (Kreuzberg)  
Rixdorfer Straße, Ecke Alt Mariendorf (Tempelhof)  
Klingelhöfer Straße 13-14 (Tiergarten)  
Zeughofstraße 98 (Kreuzberg)  
Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)  
Mariannenstrasse 47 (Kreuzberg)  
Delbrückstraße, Ecke Richard-Strauss-Straße  
(Wilmerdorf)  
Potsdamer Straße 50 (Tiergarten)  
Potsdamer Brücke (Tiergarten)  
Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)  
Putbusser Straße (Wedding)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)  
Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)  
Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)  
Flughafen Tegel (Reinickendorf)  
Britzer Garten, Buckower Damm (Neukölln)  
FU-Gelände, zwischen Forckenbeckstraße und Otto-  
von-Simson-Str. (Zehlendorf)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)  
Reichspietschufer neben der Neuen Nationalgalerie  
(Tiergarten)  
Volkspark Mariendorf (Tempelhof)  
Britzer Garten (Neukölln)

1986	Adochi: Stelen	Osloer Straße 102 (Wedding)	realized within the framework of the Stone Sculpture Symposium in 1986
	Alf Lerchner: Stahlblatt Nr. 5	Potsdamer Strasse 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
	Andreas Frömberg: Menschen in der Stadt (1986/87)	Oberbaumstraße, Ecke Gröbenufer (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
	Andreas Wegner: Dove Vai (Wohin gehst du?) (1986/87)	Schlesische Straße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
	Azade Köker: Skulpturengruppe (1986/87)	Oberbaumstraße, Ecke Gröbenufer (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
	David Lee Thompsen: International Harvester	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Skulpturen	Neues Ufer 1 (Tiergarten)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Skulptur Kranoldplatz	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
	Gustav Reinhardt: Serenity	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Hansjörg Wagner: Eisbärbrunnen	Zoologischer Garten (Tiergarten)	
	Hartmut Bonk: Imaginäres Theater: Leda mit Schwan, Zyclopen und Zentaur (1986/87)	Karl-Marx-Platz (Neukölln)	
	Herbert Press: Adam und Eva	Floningweg (Tempelhof)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Das tanzende Paar	Hermannplatz (Neukölln)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Zwei Figuren	Rathaus Schöneberg (Schöneberg)	
	Joachim Schmettau: Fassadenfiguren	Kurfürstendamm 136 (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kurfürstendamm/Taentzien Str.
	John McCarthy: Tutu	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
	Jürgen Goertz: Der Schrei	Im Domstift 22 (Schöneberg)	
	Justus Chrukin: Stein Skulptur	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
	Karlheinz Biederbick: Läufer	Kassenvorplatz (Neukölln)	
	Karl-Ludwig Sauer: Ruhe und Bewegung	Riedinger Straße, Pumpwerk Lichtenrade (Schönewald)	



Leslie Robbins: Keramik-Skulpturen (1986/87)	Schlesisches Tor, Grünfläche (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
Louis Niebuhr: Puppenruhe (1986/87)	Oberbaumstraße, zwischen Schlesische Straße und Oberbaumbrücke (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
Ludmilla Seefried-Matejkowa: Schlafende	Julius-Morgenroth-Platz, jetzt Hohenzollerndamm 117 (Wilmerdorf)	
Maciej Szankowski: Steinskulptur	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
Makoto Fujiwara: Wasserstein	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
Matthias Koepfel: Seelöwe auf Steinkugel	Ramler Straße, Ecke Swinemünder Straße (Wedding)	
Mehmet Aksoy: Steinskulptur	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
Mehmet Aksoy: Skulpturengruppe (1986/87)	Schlesische Straße, Ecke Oberbaumstraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
Peter de Longueville: Begrüntes Tor der Handwerker	Nonnendammallee 139 (Spandau)	
Peter Fromlowitz: Steinskulptur	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
Peter Herbrich: Steinskulptur	Kranoldplatz (Neukölln)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1983-86
Rainer Graff, Monika Hannsz: Windfühler IV	Oranienplatz (Kreuzberg)	
Ralph Hauswirth: Hermann Hugo, Doppelskulptur	Osloer Straße 102 (Wedding)	realized within the framework of the Stone Sculpture Symposium in 1986
Richard Heß, Thora Holle	Fasanenstraße 79-89 (Charlottenburg)	
Richard Serra: Berlin Junction (1986/87)	Herbert-von-Karajan-Straße, Ecke Tiergartenstraße (Tiergarten)	later relocated to the Philharmonie, and refunctioned as a Memorial of Victims of Euthanasia
Rolf Fässer: Brunnen ("Bergpredigt")	Bismarckallee 23 (Wilmerdorf)	
Rolf Scholz: Wir nennen es Fortschritt	Osloer Straße 102 (Wedding)	realized within the framework of the Stone Sculpture Symposium in 1986

	Rudolf Valenta: Freiplastik (1986/87)	Gröbenufer (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium 1985-87 (Menschenlandschaften)
	Susanne Specht: Granitskulptur	Osloer Straße 102 (Wedding)	realized within the framework of the Stone Sculpture Symposium in 1986
	Susanne Wehland: Brunnen und Fassadenfiguren	Sponholzstraße 15-20 (Steglitz)	
	Susanne Wehland: Känguruh	Fleischerstraße 144 (Neukölln)	
	Ulrich Rückriem: Grau Broby Granit Schweden	Einsteinufer (Charlottenburg)	
	Wiegand Witting: Drachenbrunnen	Oranienplatz (Kreuzberg)	
1987	Anne und Patrick Poirier: Gorgobrunnen (Das Haupt der Medusa)	Henriettenplatz (Wilmerdorf)	
	Bernar Venet: Bogen 124.5 Grad	An der Urania 17 (Schöneberg)	
	Bernhard Strecker und Wiegand Witting: Brunnen (1987/88)	Lutherplatz (Spandau)	
	Brigitte Haacke-Stamm: Paech-Brunnen (Brotbrunnen)	Birkenstraße, Ecke Stephanstraße, Ecke Pulitzstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Dietrich Arlt-Aeras: Richterstuhl	Tiergartenstraße, Ecke Kemperplatz (Tiergarten)	
	Engelbert Kremser: Drachenlabyrinth	Nonnendammallee 140-143 (Spandau)	
	Erich F. Reuter: Bronze-Torso	Friedrichstraße Eingang zum Haus am Checkpoint-Charlie (Kreuzberg)	
	<b>Erinnerungs- und Begegnungsstätte Bonhoeffer-Haus</b>	<b>Marienburger Allee 43 (Charlottenburg)</b>	
	Frank Dornseif: Großer Schatten mit Sockel	Kurfürstendamm, Ecke Wielandstraße (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kurfürstendamm/Taentzien Str.
	George Rickey: Double N	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)	
	Gerald Matzner: Acht Vasen mit Ornamenten	Schustehruspark (Charlottenburg)	
	Gerald Matzner: Brunnen	Réaumurstraße (Steglitz)	
	Gerald Matzner: Ordnungshüter	Kruppstraße 2 (Tiergarten)	
	Günter Anlauf: Rousseau-Säule	Großer Tiergarten (Tiergarten)	
	Heinz Mack: Obelisk	Henriettenplatz, Kurfürstendamm (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kurfürstendamm/Taentzien Str.
	Hildebert Kliem: Berliner Bär	Fehrbelliner Platz 4 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Ilan Averbuch: Weizenfeld	Mariannenplatz 2 (Kreuzberg)	

Joachim Dunkel, Rolf Lieberknecht und Hans Vetter: Corniche: Galionsfigur	Am Nordgraben 2 (Reinickendorf)	
Johannes Held: Niemals	Rudi-Dutschke-Straße Eingang zum Haus am Checkpoint-Charlie (Kreuzberg)	
Josef Erben: Pyramide	Kurfürstendamm, Ecke Bleibtrestreustraße (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Ku-Damm/Taentzien Str.
Karl Prantl: Steinskulptur	Reichspietschufer neben der Neuen Nationalgalerie (Tiergarten)	
Keith Haring: The Boxers	Potsdamer Platz, Eichhornstraße (Tiergarten)	
Lutz Leibner: Loch in der Mauer	Eisenbahnstraße (Kreuzberg)	
Makoto Fujiwara: Brunnengestaltung	Botanisches Museum (Steglitz)	
Michael Blaumeister, Fritz Bürki: Mahnmal für das KZ-Aussenlager Lichtenrade	Bornhagenweg (Tempelhof)	
Michael Schoenholtz,: Bogen	Bernburger Strasse 21-22 (Kreuzberg)	
Mirko Donst: Heinz-Galinski-Büste	Heinz-Galinski-Straße1 (Wedding)	
Olaf Metzel: 13.4.1981	Kurfürstendamm, Ecke Joachimstaler Platz (Charlottenburg)	initially part of the Sculpture Boulevard Ku-Damm/Taentzien Str., later relocated to Spreespeicher an der Stralauer Allee (Mitte)
Pam Taylor: William Shakespeare	Bismarckstrasse, Platz gegenüber der Deutschen Oper (Charlottenburg)	
Paolo Marazzi: All Uomo - Costructore di Pace	Wildmeisterdamm, Ecke Bat-Yam-Platz (Neukölln)	
Peter Herbrich: Deportations-Mahnmal (1987/88)	Levetzowstraße 7-8 (Tiergarten)	
Rainer Fest: Himmel und Erde	Boelckestraße, Ecke Wolffring (Tempelhof)	
Rainer Kriester: Große Stele	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)	
Ralf Schüler und Ursulina Schüler-Witte: Mahnmal für Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht	Großer Tiergarten (Tiergarten)	
Rolf Szymanski: Große Frauen Figur Berlin	Albrecht-Achilles-Straße, Ecke Kurfürstendamm (Charlottenburg)	initially part of the Sculpture Boulevard Ku-Damm/Taentzien Str., later relocated to Budapester Straße 35 (Charlottenburg)
Rüdiger Preissler: Paar	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	

	Silvia Kluge: Brunnen, (1987/88)	Königstraße (Zehlendorf)	
	Ursula Sax: Looping (1987/92)	Messedamm (Charlottenburg)	
	Vera Krickhahn: Zwei Reliefs	Rathaus Charlottenburg (Charlottenburg)	
	Volker Bartsch: Ammonitenbrunnen	Olof-Palme-Platz (Tiergarten)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur	Schönwalder Allee 26 (Spandau)	
	Volkmar Haase: Deportations-Mahnmal	Pulitzbrücke (Tiergarten)	
	Waldemar Otto: Gedenkstele Wilhelm Leuschner	Eisenbahnstraße 5 (Kreuzberg)	
	Wolf Vostell: Cadillacs in Form der Nackten Maja	Rathenauplatz, Verkehrsinsel (Wilmersdorf)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Ku-Damm/Taentzien Str. copy of the original statue from 1927, which got destroyed during the war
	Wolfgang Geuter: Eva-Brunnen (Nachschöpfung)	Alt-Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	
1988	Bernhard Heiliger: Echo I und II	Herbert-von-Karajan-Straße (Tiergarten)	
	Christoph Böhm, Künstlergruppe Blauhaus Berlin: Dreizack und Platzumgrenzung	Oranienstrasse / Ecke Skalitzer Strasse (Kreuzberg)	
	Claudia Ammann: Wasserlinie (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg, Strandbad Wannsee (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")
	Cornelia Lengfeld: Synagogen-Gedenkstein	Fraenkelufer 10 (Kreuzberg)	
	Dietrich Arlt-Aeras: Unterwegs	Grunewaldstraße 6-7 (Schöneberg)	
	Gerald Matzner: Abstellen (1988/2002)	Wenckebachstraße 23, im Garten des Wenckebach-Krankenhauses (Tiergarten)	after 2012 relocated to Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Vierteilige Gruppierung, (1988/89)	Königin-Elisabeth-Straße 49 (Charlottenburg)	
	Harro Jacob: Opfer und Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes	Hardenbergstrasse 33 (Charlottenburg)	
	Heinrich Brummack: Nichtgeburtstagskaffeekanne (1988/90)	Theodor-Wolff-Park (Kreuzberg)	
	Historische Zollmauer	Stresemannstraße (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1985-87 ("Menschenlandschaft")
	Isolde Haug: Wasserlinie (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg, Strandbad Wannsee (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")

Janez Lenassi: Wasserlinie (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg, Strandbad Wannsee (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")
Karl Menzen: Doppelherme	Manfred von Richthofen Straße, Ecke Wolfring (Tempelhof)	
Karl Menzen: Stauchung - Harmonisch	Manfred von Richthofen Straße (Tempelhof)	
Karsten Klingbeil: Hilfe!!	Finckensteinallee 23-27 (Steglitz)	
Künstler unbekannt: Mahnmal für die politisch Verfolgten der Künstler-Kolonie	Bonner Strasse 11 (Wilmersdorf)	
Künstler unbekannt: Opfer des frühen nationalsozialistischen Terrors	Königstrasse (Wannsee)	
Ludmilla Seefried-Matejkowa: Ossietzky-Denkmal	Blücherstraße 46-47 (Kreuzberg)	
Ludmilla Seefried-Matejkowa: Tanz auf dem Vulkan	Nettelbeckplatz (Wedding)	
Makoto Fujiwara: Steinerner Brunnen	Obstbaugelände (Zehlendorf)	
Makoto Fujiwara: Wasserlinie (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg, Strandbad Wannsee (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")
Manfred Hodapp: Wegzeichen	Grunewaldstraße 6-7 (Schöneberg)	
Michael Schoenholtz: Ohne Figur (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")
Peter Lenk: Die schwäbischen Floßfahrer (um 1988)	Kurfürstendamm, Ecke Bleibtreustraße (Charlottenburg)	relocated to Zum Heckeshorn 33 (Zehlendorf)
Peter Paszkiewicz: Wasserlinie (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg, Strandbad Wannsee (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")
Rainer Fetting: Andre Lesend (1988/89)	Sankt-Wolfgang-Gasse, hinter dem DomAuarée (abgebaut) (Mitte)	disappeared
Royden Rabinowitch: Two right and two left handed, same-sized, differently developed half conic surfaces	Potsdamer Strasse 50 (Tiergarten)	belongs to the Nationalgalerie
Stefan Kaehne: Vier Gewändefiguren	Breitscheidplatz (Charlottenburg)	
Susanne Specht: Wasserstein	Corneliusstraße (Tiergarten)	
Verein Künstler-Kolonie Berlin: Gedenkstein	Ludwig-Barnay-Platz (Wilmersdorf)	

	Volkmar Haase: Differenzierte Berührung Volkmar Haase: Tangentiale Berührung und Treppenskulptur	Wallstraße Ecke Am Köllnischen Park (Mitte) Lützowplatz 9 (Tiergarten)	
	Werner Stötzer: Wasserlinie (1988/89)	Wannseebadweg, Strandbad Wannsee (Zehlendorf)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1988-89 ("Wasserlinie")
	Wiegand Witting: Pamukkale Wolf Vostell: Nike Wolff Henri: Skulptur	Görlitzer Park (Kreuzberg) Kurfürstendamm 12-15 (Charlottenburg) Knesebeckstraße 97 (Charlottenburg)	
1989	Ben Wargin: Baum Gedenkzeichen Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Große Ringer	Breitscheidplatz (Charlottenburg) Otto-Suhr-Allee 6-16 (Charlottenburg)	removed
	Fred Weigert, Anja Henninsmeyer: Ready Mades	Schöneberger / Luckenwalder Strasse (Kreuzberg)	realized within the framework of the Sculpture Symposium in 1985-87 ("Menschenlandschaft")
	Georg Seibert: Symbiose	Crellerstraße, Ecke Langenscheidtbrücke (Schöneberg)	
	Heinz Spilker: Katharina-Heinroth-Büste	Zoologischer Garten, Dreisternpromenade (Tiergarten)	
	Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein	Dennewitzstrasse, Nelly-Sachs-Park (Schöneberg)	
	Lutz Leibner: Lenné 200 Mehmet Aksoy: Unsere Träume Rainer Kriester: Zwei Köpfe Rolf Lieberknecht: Windspiel Rolf Lieberknecht: Bunnensäule Rose-Maria Stiller: Kurmeltierbrunnen Rose-Maria Stiller: Ffusspferdfamilie Rudolf Valenta: Four Walls	Helmholtzstraße 2-9 (Charlottenburg) Böcklerpark (Kreuzberg) Theodor-Heuß-Platz (Charlottenburg) Cuxhavener Straße 14 (Tiergarten) Fasanenplatz (Wilmerdorf) Parkringanlage Tempelhof (Tempelhof) John-Locke-Straße (Tempelhof) Tempelhofer Park (Tempelhof)	
	Ruth Golan, Kay Zareh: Synagogen-Mahnmal	Lindenufer, Park an der Mündung Kammerstrasse (Spandau)	
	Siegfried Kühl: Hannah-Höch-Denkmal	Greenwichpromenade (Reinickendorf)	

	Studenten der FUB: 14 Objekte aus geschweisstem Metall, farbig gemalt (Ende der 1980er oder frühe 1990er Jahre)	Dahlem, Geländer der FUB (Zehlendorf)
	Unbekannt: Brunnen	Gropiusstadt (Neukölln)
	Volker Dierkes: Kopfspaziergang	Passage zwischen Berliner Straße und Badensche Straße (Charlottenburg)
Unknown	Alfred Hrdlicka: Totentanz	Heckerdamm 226 (Charlottenburg)
	August Rhades: Plastik zweier Kinder	Marienhöher Weg (Tempelhof)
	Barna von Sartory: Stufenpyramide	Felixstraße (Tempelhof)
	Dagmar Lohbeck-Klameth: Nessy	Fritz-Werner-Straße 43 (Tempelhof)
	Demetros Anastasatos: Colorationen	Rudower Straße 48 (Neukölln)
	Demetros Anastasatos: Relief mit Trinkbrunnen	Osloer Straße (Wedding)
	Demetros Anastasatos: Spielanlage (nach 1988 und vor 2003)	Gropiusstadt (Neukölln)
	Demetros Anastasatos: Glasmosaik Aquarium	Achterhöfen (Neukölln)
	Demetros Anastasatos: Relief mit Trinkbrunnen	Munsterdamm, Schwimmbad am Insulaner (Steglitz)
	Demetros Anastasatos: Relief Rondo	Karsenzeile (Neukölln)
	Frank Oehring: Versunkene Stadt Vineta	Wolliner Straße 31-37 (Wedding)
	Gerhard Schultze-Seehof: Springbrunnen	Lichtenrader Damm 224-230 (Tempelhof)
	Gernot Nalbach: Skulptur am Giebel	Ringstraße 103-106 (Tempelhof)
	Gisela von Bruchhausen: Sam's Memory	Köpenicker Straße 10 (Kreuzberg)
	Hans-Joachim Ihle: Pony	Kinderspielplatz Reichweindamm (Charlottenburg)
	Hilde Richter: Zwei Pferde mit Wagen	Wartburgplatz (Schöneberg)
	Hubert Elsässer: Brunnenanlage	Hugo-Heimann-Straße 2 (Neukölln)
	Hubert Elsässer: Brunnenanlage	Am Kiesteich 50 (Spandau)
	Hubertus Brand: Mutter mit zwei Kindern	Seydlitzstraße (Tiergarten)
	Josef Limburg: Zwei Tauben	Zoologischer Garten, Hühnerhaus (Tiergarten)
	Jürgen Mattern: Die Gemeinschaft	Wesendorfer Straße 14 (Reinickendorf)

Karl Wenke: Kakadu	Orthstraße (Wedding)
Karl Wenke: Pinguine	Lietzenseepark (Charlottenburg)
Karl Wenke: Rathausbrunnen	Karl-Marx-Straße, Ecke Erkstraße (Neukölln)
Künstler unbekannt: Abstrakte Formation	TU Gelände zwischen Bismarck- und Hardenbergstraße (Charlottenburg)
Künstler unbekannt: Brunnen	Stallschreiberstraße 8-10 (Kreuzberg)
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein für die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur	Seestrasse 92 (Wedding)
Künstler unbekannt: Spielende Bären	Jesse Owens Allee (Charlottenburg)
Künstler unbekannt: Storchenpaar	Halemweg 30 (Charlottenburg)
Künstler unbekannt: Titel nicht bekannt	Carl-Heinrich-Becker-Weg 6-10 (Steglitz)
Künstler unbekannt: Abstrakte Form	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy-Park (Kreuzberg)
Künstler unbekannt: Bärentränke	Teufelseechausee (Charlottenburg)
Künstler unbekannt: Figurengruppen	Planetenstraße (Neukölln)
Künstler unbekannt: Otto-Suhr-Gedenkstein	Kommandantenstrasse 29 (Kreuzberg)
Magdalena Müller-Martin: Das Paar	Lichtenrader Damm 224/230 (Tempelhof)
Paul Brandenburg: Tierskulptur Fischreiher	Strandbad Oberhavel (Spandau)
Paul Brandenburg: Gespaltenes Kreuz	Fließtal-Friedhof (Reinickendorf)
Reinhard Dachlauer: Schuhschnabelgruppe	Zoologischer Garten (Tiergarten)
Rolf Szymanski: Wetterhexe	Carl-Heinrich-Becker-Weg 6-10 (Zehlendorf)
Volkmar Haase: Plastik	Dorfplatz, Kladow (Spandau)
Volkmar Haase: Ohne Titel	Klopstockstraße 13-17 (Tiergarten)
Waldemar Grzimek: Grab Magdalena Bahrke	Parkfriedhof Lichterfelde
Waldemar Grzimek: Wellenreiter	Leonorenstraße 33 (Steglitz)
Walter Fintsch: Ruhende Frauen	Sundgauer Straße, Ecke Mühlenstraße (Zehlendorf)
Wilhelm Scharfenberg: Trinkbrunnen	Lietzenseepark (Charlottenburg)
Wolfgang und Anna Maria Kubach-Wilmsen: Buch	Corneliusstraße (Tiergarten)



#### Appendix 4. Public Works of Art in Budapest between 1945 and 1989

year	public work of art	address	notes
1945	Károly Antal: Soviet Heroic Memorial	V. Szabadság tér	
	Károly Antal: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XI. Gellért tér	demolished in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest)
	Lajos Rápolthy: Woman Drawing Water	XIII. Népfürdő u. 36.	in 1948 relocated to Dagály Lido
	Unknown: Memorial of the Soviet Airmen	V. Vigadó tér	attacked in 1956, replaced by Schall's monument in 1975
1946	Unknown: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVI. Hősök tere	demolished in 1956
1947	András Kocsis: Soviet Heroic Memorial	IV. István tér	in 1986, because of quality reasons, the memorial was renovated on the basis András Szilágyi's winning plan. Demolished in 1990. The main figure was relocated to Megyeri Cemetery.
	Dezső Tatár: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVII. Rákoskeresztúr, Erzsébet krt. - Nyomdász u.	demolished in 1992 (Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District)
	József Loósz: Bust of Sándor Petőfi	VIII. Delej u. 49.	
	Marianna Kőrössy or Edit Bán Kiss: New Pest Israelite Martyr Memorial	IV. József Attila u. 25	
	Pál Pátzay: Statue of Raoul Wallenberg	XIII. Szent István park	demolished before the inauguration
	Sándor Meyer: Soviet Memorial	XIII. Béke tér	demolished in 1956
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Liberation Monument	XI. Gellérthegy	in 1992 the Soviet soldier was relocated to the Statue Park, in 1993 the inscriptions and reliefs were demolished (Municipality of Budapest) and the monument was refunctioned as "Liberty Statue"
1948	Árpád Domján: Memory Column of Mihály Horváth	VIII. Horváth Mihály tér	
	Barna Megyeri: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVII. Kasztel A. u. 4. (now: Liget sor)	the upper part of the memorial was originally decorated with a red star, which was attacked several times (in 1956, then in 1968) by unknown people. Removed in 1990, relocated to the Statue Park in 1992.
	Dezső Bokros Birman: Ironworker	VI. Dózsa György út 84/b	
	Dezső Győri: Pioneer	XII. Konkoly Thege Miklós út 21.	

	Dezső Tatár: Bust of Lajos Kossuth	XVII. Csaba tér	
	Gyula Tokody: Bust of Sándor Petőfi	IV. Deák u. - Kossuth L. u.	demolished in 1980, reerected in 1989 at Rózsa street
	Imre Turáni Kovács: Freedom - Centennial Memorial	XV. Czabán Samu (now: Széchenyi) tér	
	József Szőnyi: Hungarian Youth - Centennial Memorial	X. Népliget, Lengyel sétány	
	Unknown: Centennial Memorial	XVII. Hősök tere	replacing the country flag, which was erected in 1934. Demolished in 1950. In the middle of the 90s the country flag was reerected.
	Unknown: Centennial Memorial and Memorial of WWII	XXIII. Hősök tere	
1949	Árpád Domján: Memory Column of the I. Defence Forces and Insurrectionist Infantry (Honvéd és Népfőlkelő Gyalogezred)	V. Dimitrov tér (now: Fővám tér)	replacing Ferenc Márton and Lőrinc Siklódy's 1938 "Memorial of IV. Charles' I. Defence Forces and Insurrectionist Infantry" (Honvéd és Népfőlkelő Gyalogezred). In 1998 György Szabó's memorial plaque was also added by the Municipality of Budapest to the column.
	Árpád Domján: Bust of Mihály Táncsics	XIII. Váci út 178.	
	Ferenc Laborcz: Liberation Memorial	XVII. Rákoskeresztúr, Bakancsos u.	in 1956 the star got demolished. After the regime change relocated to the court of the memorial house of Ferenc Laborcz (Csabai út 20).
	György Baksa Soós: Bust of Endre Ságvári	V. Városház u. 9-11.	relocated to the Statue Park in 1992
	László Szomor: Memorial of the Republic of Councils	V. Belgrád rakpart 5.	after the regime change the stars, the sickle and hammer were demolished. The memorial got renamed as "Sailors".
	Sándor Mikus: Bust of Sándor Petőfi	XXI. Petőfi tér	demolished in 1984
	Sándor Mikus: Captain Steinmetz	Vecsés, Fő út	demolished in 1956. Its slightly modified version was reerected in 1957 at XVIII. Vörös hadsereg útja (now: Üllői út). Relocated to the Statue Park in 1992.
1950	Béla Kucs - Ferenc Kovács - Béla Rozbora : Worker with a child	II. Ságvári liget (now: Szépjuhászné)	
	Ferenc Szücs: Police (Protecting People's Power)	V. Zrínyi u. 5.	demolished in 1989 (Ministry of Interior)
	János Pándi Kiss: Woman with a Jug	XXI. Kvassay Jenő út 1.	

	Péter László: Brownie	XIV. Dózsa György út 25-27.	in 1958 the statue was relocated to the primary school at XIV. Csáktornya park 1.
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Gratitude - Stalin's 75th Birthday	V. Szabadság tér	demolished in 1956
1951	András Beck: Worker Reading	XXI. Csepel, Béke tér	
	János Pásztor: Bust of Gyula Rudnay	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Jenő Kerényi: Statue of Ostapenko	XI. Budaörsi út	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Demolished in 1956, reerected in 1958. Removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), relocated to the Statue Park
	Péter László: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XII. Széchenyi hegy, Rege park	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), relocated to the Statue Park
	Sándor Mikus: Statue of Stalin and Grandstand	XIV. Dózsa György út	demolished in 1956
	Walter Madarassy: Bust of Mihály Munkácsy	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Well-Statue of a Little Recalcitrant	XIII. Thälmann (now: Fiastyúk) u.	
1952	Agamemnon Makrisz: Bust of Zsigmond Móricz	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	András Beck: Bust of Béla Bartók	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	András Beck: Statue of Attila József	XIII. József Attila tér	
	Dezső Erdey: Bust of Ferenc Liszt	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Dezső Győri: Young Engineers	V. Vigadó tér	demolished
	Géza Csorba: Bust of Endre Ady	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	György Baksa Soós: Bust of Sándor Petőfi	XIII. Szent István krt. 14.	
	István Tar: Bust of Miklós Zrínyi	XIII. Szent István krt. 14.	
	Lajos Petri: Bust of József Katona	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1967 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl - András Kocsis - Lajos Ungvári: Memorial of Kossuth	V. Kossuth Lajos tér	
1953	Agamemnon Makrisz: Singing Youth	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Dezső Erdey: Bust of Mihály Csokonai Vitéz	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Erzsébet Schaár: Bust of Mrs. Déry	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Ferenc Medgyessy: Bust of József Marek	VII. István u. 2.	
	János Pándi Kiss: Dockyard Worker	XIII. Váci út 202.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	János Sóváry: Bust of Kálmán Mikszáth	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány

1954	Károly Antal: Wrestler	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	László Molnár: 0 km stone	I. Clark Ádám tér	in 1974 relocated to XVII. Szabadság u.- Baross u.
	Mihály Pál: Bust of Mihály Táncsics	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Sándor Boldogfai Farkas: Bust of Ferenc Erkel	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Árpád Somogyi: Agronomist Girl	V. Kossuth tér	
	Béla Kucs: Miner	XV. Czabán Samu (now: Széchenyi) tér	
	Ferenc Kovács: Girl Reading	VIII. Mikszáth Kálmán tér	in 1963 relocated to XIII. Thalmann (now: Fiastyúk) u. - Tomori köz
	Ferenc Kovács: Girls Reading	XI. Villányi út 18.	
	Ferenc Medgyessy: Dancer	VII. Izabella (now: Hevesi Sándor) tér	in 1976 relocated to Kálvin tér, in 1982 to VII. Madách tér
	János Sóváry: Children Dancing	XI. Kisköre tér	
Jenő Grantner: Statue of Imre Thököly	XIV. Hősök tere		
Jenő Kerényi: Marchers	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja		
J. Kracsmarov: Bust of Georgi Dimitrov	V. Dimitrov (now: Fővám) tér	in 1984 relocated to II. Dimitrov u. 71. Removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest) and relocated to the Statue Park	
Lajos Ungvári: Undergraduates	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja		
László Garami: Grape Harvesters	X. Jászberényi út 1.		
László Marton: Children Playing	XI. Budafoki út 109.		
Pál Pátzay: Horseman	XIV. Műcsarnok	in 1958 relocated to V. Dunakorzó, in 1979 to II. Árpádfejedelem útja, Germanus Gyula park	
Sándor Oláh: Brigade-leader Woman	XI. Villányi út 57-59.		
Tamás Vigh: Singing Youth	XI. Kisköre tér 10.		
Árpád Somogyi: Horseman	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja		
Aurél Matey: Statue of Spartacus	XX. Soroksár, Milleniumi lakótelep		
Endre Szöllősi: Dog	XX. Serény u. 1.		
Ferenc Medgyessy: Woman Sunbathing	XII. Budakeszi út 43.		
Frigyes Matzon: Memorial of the Hungarian Jacobins	I. Vérmező		
Géza Fekete: Ship Mechanist	XIII. Váci út 202.		

	Gyula Palotai: Swimmer	XIII. Margitsziget	
	István Balázs: Children Playing	XI. Derzsi útca	
	István Kiss: Peace	XIII. Kilián György (now: Nővér) u. 17.	
	István Tar: Bombers	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Jenő Molnár: Girl with a Ball	XIV. Thököly út 149. - Torontál út	demolished in 1988 (because of damage), relocated in 1988 to the Hévíz State Hospital
	József Antal A.: Javelin Thrower	XII. Alkotás u. 44.	relocated in 1983 to the sport establishment of the School of Physical Education
	József Somogyi: Construction Laborer	VI. Bajza u. 41.	
	László Marton: Bust of István Ferenczy	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány
	Ödön Metky: Well-Statue of a Young Woman	XV. Törökszegfű tér	
	Pál Pátzay: Waver	III. Szépvölgyi út 41.	disappeared after 1997
	Péter László: Pioneer Girl	XV. Kozák tér	disappeared in 2000
	Sándor Szandai: Female Nude with a Bowl	XI. Fehérvári út 120.	
	Sándor Szandai: Mother with a Child	XIV. Nagy Lajos király útja 82/b	
	Tamás Vigh: Women Resting	XIV. Laky Adolf u. 62.	
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Statue of II. Ferenc Rákóczi	XIV. Hősök tere	
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Statue of Lajos Kossuth	XIV. Hősök tere	
1956	András Kocsis: Agriculture	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Árpád Somogyi: Scythe-Man	V. Kossuth Lajos tér	
	Aurél Matey: Children Playing	XI. Baranyai tér 2-8.	
	Barna Megyeri: Statue of Spartacus	XIV. Kerepesi út 78/d	
	Endre Szöllősi: Three Bears	III. Királyok útja 205.	most probably relocated
	Ferenc Simon: Bust of Tibor Szamuely	XII. Budakeszi út 43.	disappeared
	Géza Fekete: Worker-peasant (Első Magyar Gazdasági Gépgyár)	XI. Albertfalva, Hunyadi János út 2.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. The factory was demolished.
	István Cseh: Bust of György Marczell	XVIII. Gilice tér 39.	
	Iván Szabó: Folk-Dancers	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	

	Lajos Ungvári: Woman Standing	XII. Rózsa utca	originally erected in front of the main building of the MÁV Sanatorium. Today it stands in the rear garden.
	László Csontos: Girl with a Pigeon	XII. Csíz u. 2-8.	
	Mihály Dabóczi : Well-Statue of a Girl with a Frog	XIV. Szervián u. 2.	
	Mihály Dabóczi : Well-Statue of a Little Boy with a Fish	XIV. Szervián u. 2.	
	Ödön Metky: Ornament Well with a Jug	XI. Baranyai (now: Bölcső) út	damaged in 1969, replaced by the artist, destroyed again
	Sándor Boldogfai Farkas: Deers	XX. Teremszeg utcai park	disappeared in 2010
	Sándor Mikus: Mother with a Child and Balls	XI. Erőmű útca	
	Sándor Mikus: Skipping	XII. Pihenő út 1.	
	Tamás Gyenes: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XXI. Béke tér	removed in 1992, and relocated to the Csepel football station
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Hungarian-Soviet Friendship	X. Pataki (now: Szent László) tér	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
1957	András Dózsa-Farkas: Speed	VIII. Vajda Péter u. 10.	
	Ferenc Medgyessy: Ornament Well with a Bear	I. Fő utca	in 1966 relocated to II. Nagy Imre tér
	Gábor Boda: Ornament Well	XII. Csörsz u. 29-35.	
	Gyula Kiss Kovács: Bears	XIV. Thököly út 149. - Torontál u.	
	Judit Bolgár: Two Owls	XII. Mártonhegyi út 6.	disappeared in 2011
	Károly Kirchmayer: Bust of Kató Hámán	VI. Lenin (now: Teréz) krt. 109-111.	demolished in 1989 (Máv Rt)
	László Varga - Klára Herczeg: Ball Players	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Ödön Metky: Ornament Well with a Jug	XII. Csörsz u. 29-35.	disappeared
	Sándor Boldogfai-Farkas: Dog	XIX. Árpád u. 14.	
	Sándor Kiss: Boy with a Ball	XIX. Vécsey u. 9-13.	
	Tamás Gyenes: Bust of József Kalamár	XXI. Szent István u. 170.	relocated to the Statue Park
	Zoltán Olcsai Kiss: Brigade of Mechanics	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
1958	András Beck: Nature-Lovers	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Árpád Somogyi: Woman with a Jug	XIV. Kerepesi út 78/f	
	Barna Búza: Boxers	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	

Dezső Erdei - Péter László: Relay Racers	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
Dezső Győri: Gymnasts	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
Ferenc Simon: Man Wearing a Hat	XIV. Újvidék tér	disappeared around 1970
Géza Nagy: Well of a Giant Tortoise	IV. Papp József tér	
György Segesdi: Máté Zalka	XI. Bartók Béla út 24.	demolished after 1990 (Ministry of Defence)
Gyula Illés: Boys with a Pigeon	XIV. kerület, Kaffka Margit köz 2.	
Gyula Kiss Kovács: Girl Sitting	XIV. Kerepesi út 76/b	
Gyula Kiss Kovács: Statue of Blind Bottyán	VI. Kodály körönd	
Imre Turáni Kovács: Bust of Jenő Landler	IV. Elem u. 5.	demolished
Imre Turáni Kovács: Cinderella	XV. Ságvári Endre (now: Bácska) u. 14.	relocated to XV. Aporháza utca 63.
Imre Turáni Kovács: Smelter	XV. Ságvári Endre (now: Bácska) u. 14.	relocated to XV. Aporháza utca 63.
István Kamotsay: Sportsman	II. Pasaréti út 11-13.	
Iván Szabó: Sportswoman	II. Pasaréti út 11-13.	
János Konyorcsik: Stepping into the Water	IV. Papp József u. 12.	
Jenő Grantner: Well-Statue of a Boy with a Fish	X. Üllői út 130.	in 1979 temporarily demolished because of the construction of the underground. In 1994 the Municipality of Budapest also demolished the remaining pieces.
József Balázs: Female Nude Elbowing	XIV. Állatkerti krt. 11.	
József Balázs: Female Nude with a Veil	XIV. Állatkerti krt. 11.	
Károly Antal: Well-Statue of a Donkey Carrying Water	X. Üllői út 136.	demolished
Kristóf Kelemen: Bust of Gyula Kulich	VIII. Kulich Gyula (now: Ludovika) tér	demolished in 1990
Lajos Ungvári: Indian	XV. Kolozsvár u. 1.	
Lajos Ungvári: Mother with a Child	XX. Teremszeg utcai park	
László Marton: Girl with a Pigeon	X. Üllői út 130.	
László Marton: Statue of György Szondy	VI. Kodály körönd	
Lenke R. Kiss: Well-Statue of Children Bathing	XV. Kolozsvár u. 4.	disappeared
Mihály Dabóczi : Mother with a Child	XIV. Kerepesi út 78/b	
Mihály Mészáros: Boy with a Bird	X. Üllői úti ltp. Szárnyas u.	disappeared

	Sándor Boldogfai Farkas: Penguins	X. Üllői út ltp. Szárnyas u.	
	Sándor Mikus: Football-Players	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Sándor Várady: Bayonet fencing	XIV. Népstadion, Ifjúság útja	
	Sándor Várady: Pelican	X. Üllői úti ltp. Szárnyas u.	
	Tamás Gyenes: Bust of Gyula Krúdy	III. Korvin Ottó tér (now: Szentlélek tér)	in 2003 relocated to III. Dugovics tér
	Tamás Vigh: Goat with a Kid	III. Szőlő u. 40.	
	Unknown: Statue of Lenin	XXI. At the entrance of the Csepel Vas és Fémművek	on March 15, 1990, the Alliance of Free Democrats removed the statue. Relocated to the Statue Park in 1997.
1959	Árpád Turcsányi: Rearing Deer	XV. Őrjárat u. 4/b.	
	Béla Kucs: Puli (Hungarian Sheep-Dog)	X. Albertirsai u.	
	György Baksa-Soós: Bust of Endre Ságvári	II. Budakeszi út 5.	after the regime change relocated to II. district headquarter of the Hungarian Socialist Party
	György Segesdi: Worker's Power	XV. Czabán Samu (now: Széchenyi) tér	
	Gyula Nyírő: Angler	X. Üllői úti ltp. Szárnyas u.	disappeared
	István Cseh: Foal	X. Üllői út ltp. Szárnyas u.	
	István Martsa: Woman Sitting	VIII. József u. 32.	
	István Tar: Bust of Károly Ferenczy	XIV. Városliget, Művészsétány	in 1966 relocated to XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány. Disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1998
	László Húvös: Bust of Berlioz	X. Csajkovszkij park	
	László Marton: Bust of Joliot-Curie	XII. Jolie Curie (now: Királyhágó) tér	after the regime change relocated to the exhibition hall of the Budapest Gallery at Lajos street. Later stolen, now in the garden of the Central Research Institute for Physics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
	László Marton: Girl with a Flute	I. Lisznyai utca	
	Mihály Mészáros: Bust of János Apáczai Csere	V. Cukor u. 6	
	Mihály Mészáros: Woman Lying	III. Vörösvári út 88-96.	
	Miklós Varga: Girl	X. Üllői úti ltp. játszótér	temporarily demolished because of damage
	Pál Pátzay: Statue of Bálint Balassi	VI. Kodály körönd	
	Sándor Mikus: Little Girl Counting	XXII. Varga Jenő (now: Városház) tér	



	Sándor Óra: Bear with a Scooter	V. Néphadsereg tér 10/a	
	Tamás Gyenes: Fighter of the Hungarian Red Army	IV. Váci út - Árpád út	the inscriptions were removed
1960	Vilmos Szamosi Soós: Bust of Zoltán Gyulai	XI. Budafoki út	
	András Kocsis: Memorial of Haydn	I. Attila út, Horváth kert	demolished in 1983, reerected in 1984
	Anna Kárpáti: Bust of Gyula Dollinger	VIII. Üllői út 78.	
	Ferenc Simon: Bust of Ignác Fülöp Semmelweis	IX. Szent István kórház	
	Géza Csorba: Memorial of Endre Ady	VI. Liszt Ferenc tér	
	István Tar: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XIX. Kispest, Lenin tér (Városház tér)	refunctioned as a "Memorial of Liberty"
	István Völgyesi: Man Lying	XII. Alkotás út 44.	
	István Völgyesi: Woman Lying	XII. Alkotás út 44.	
	Jelena Veszely: Ambler	IX. Pöttyös u. 8.	
	József Ispánki: Energy - Lightning	XVIII. Nefelejcs u. 2.	
	László Csontos: Woman Sitting	XI. Schönherz Zoltán u. 23-25.	
	László Solymári Valkó: Bust of Tamás Esze	XII. Diósárok u. 40.	
	László Vastagh: Bust of János Nagyváthy	XIV. Városliget, Széchenyi sziget	
	Péter Rózsa: Girl Sitting	XII. Mátyás király út 17-19.	
	Tamás Vigh: Herald of the Peace	XIV. Thököly út, Budapesti Távbeszélő Igazgatóság	in 1969 replaced through a call for artists by "Buglers"
	Unknown: Liberation Memorial Stone	I. Dísz tér	removed and relocated to the Statue Park
	Viktor Kalló: Martyr Memorial	VIII. Köztársaság (now: II. János Pál pápa) tér	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	Zoltán Szabó Jr.: Memorial of the Buda Volunteer Regiment	I. Déli pu.	
1961	Agamemnon Makrisz: Social Worker	XI. Kosztolányi Dezső tér, Ifjúsági park	
	András Kocsis: Maypole	XV. Tátika u. 4-6.	removed in 1996 because of damage
	András Kocsis: Statue of Kálmán Mikszáth	VIII. Mikszáth Kálmán tér	
	Béni Ferenczy: Woman Sitting	I. Alagút u. Horváth kert	
	Ferenc Pál: Memorial Stone of the Kossuth-Bridge	V. Széchenyi rakpart	

	Ferenc Pál: Memorial Stone of the Kossuth-Bridge	I. Bem rakpart - Aranyhal u.	
	István Kamotsay: Bust of Zoltán Dalmady	XII. Alkotás út 48.	
	István Kiss: Memorial of György Dózsa	I. Dózsa György tér	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	István Martsa: Nurse with a Child	VII. Városligeti fasor 39-41	
	István Völgyesi: Woman Sitting	XVII. Rákoskeresztúr, Ferihegyi út 79.	
	János Konyorcsik: Bust of Chopin	X. Csajkovszkij park	
	János Konyorcsik: Well-Statue	VII. Erzsébet körút 43-49, Royal szálló, pálmakert	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Disappeared during 1990, while renovating the hotel.
	József Ács: Bear	III. Meggyfa u. 14.	
	Károly Radó: Modeler Boy	XI. Érdi út 2.	
	Lajos Ungvári: Lying Nude with an Apple	XII. Szanatórium út 19.	
	László Csontos: Martyr Memorial	XII. Mátyás király út 17-19.	demolished at the time of the regime change
	László Molnár: Bear	XI. Kosztolányi tér, Ifjúsági park	
	Magda Gábor: Boy Sitting	XI. Kosztolányi tér, Ifjúsági park	
	Márta Lesenyey: Children Dancing	XII. Mártonhegyi út 34.	
	Pál Borics: Bust of Aladár Komját	IV. Komját Aladár u. - Erzsébet u. (now: Lőrinc utca)	removed and relocated to the Local History Collection
	Sándor Boldogfai-Farkas: Monkey	III. Gyenes u. 8.	disappeared
	Sándor Szandai: Nude	XII. Alkotás út 48.	
	Tamás Vigh: Bust of Béla Bartók	Budai Ifjúsági Park	in 1981 relocated to XI. Bartók Béla út 141.
1962	Anna Kárpáti: Girl Sitting	XIII. Radnóti M. u. 32.	
	Béla Kucs: Boys Doing Gymnastics	II. Pasaréti út 191.	
	Dezső Mészáros: Horse	XII. Kiss János altb. u. 38.	
	Ferenc Medgyessy: Woman with a Child	XX. Kossuth L. u. 39.	
	Ferenc Takács: Bust of Lajos Mitterpacher	XIV. Városliget, Széchenyi sziget	
	István Kákonyi: Foal	XIV. Erzsébet királyné útja 10/d	
	Lajos Ungvári: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XXII. Budafok, Varga Jenő (now: Városház) tér	refunctioned as a "Memorial of Liberty"
	Lenke R. Kiss: Worker Sitting	XIV. Columbus u. 11.	

1963	Márk Vedres: Well of the Youth	XIII. Tahis u. 20.	
	Sándor Hajdú: Woman Resting	XXI. Rákóczi Ferenc út 189.	
	Sándor Nagy: Boy Sitting	XI. Bartók Béla út 152.	
	Sándor Szandai: Female Nude with a Bowl	II. Fő u. 86.	
	Agamemnon Makrisz: Women Sitting	XII. Pihenő út 1.	
	Barna Megyeri: Tranquility	XIV. Erzsébet királyné útja 10/d	
	Edit Stefániay: Plastic Art	XII. Alkotás út	disappeared at about 1976 during the reconstruction of the Alkotás út
	Ferenc Kovács: Girls Dancing	XI. Baranyai út 7-9. (now: Bölcső utca)	
	Ferenc Laborcz: Snake-Killer	II. Rómer Flóris u. 6-8.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Gyula Kőfalvy: Statue of Karl Marx	XIV. Ajtósi Dürer sor 19.	demolished
István Tar: Fisherman	XI. Bojti Imre (now: Erőmű) u. 1.		
István Völgyesi: Male Nude Sitting	XII. Alkotás út 48.	disappeared	
János Andrásy Kurta: Man Sitting	XII. Pihenő út 1.		
József Lajos: Bust of Ferenc Entz	XI. Budafoki út 2.		
			disappeared in 1998, replaced with László Csontos' work in 2008 (Municipality of Budapest, National Cultural Foundation). Disappeared again in 2010. Reerected in 2011.
László Húvös: Bust of Ferenc Liszt	X. Csajkovszkij park		
1964	Miklós Borsos: Motherhood	I. Apród u. 1-3.	
	Sándor Mikus: Mother Feeding her Child	XI. Vegyész u. 7.	
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Bust of Tchaikovsky	X. Csajkovszkij park	
	János Konyorcsik: Worker Sitting	XVI. Jókai u. 4	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	József Somogyi: Family	III. Bécsi út 205.	
	Mária Osváth: Boy Reading	XIII. Szekszárdi u. 2-14.	
	Mihály Dabóczi: Boy with a Fish	XI. Ulászló u. 78.	relocated to XI. Feneketlen lake
	Péter Rózsa: Bust of István Pataki	X. Pataki István (now: Szent László) tér	
	Sándor Boldogfai Farkas: Little Calf	XI. Irinyi József u. 32/c	
	Sándor Mikus: Woman Sitting	XIV. Kacsóh Pongrác u. - Balázs	

1965	András Kocsis: Bust of András Mechwart	park	
	Andreas Papachristos: Bust of Lajos Markusovszky	II. Mechwart liget	
	Barna Búza: Statue of János Irinyi	IX. Markusovszky tér	
	Eszter Miró: Elephant	XI. Lágymányosi út 21-23.	
	Ferenc Laborcz: Well-Statue of a Fisher Boy	XI. Bogdánfy u. 7.	
	Ferenc Medgyessy: Mother with her Child	XII. Kékgolyó u. 1/b	
	Frigyes Matzon: Well-Statue of Seals	XI. Gellérthegy	
	György Segesdi: Weather-Cock	I. Gellérthegy u. - Orvos u.	
	Gyula Kiss Kovács: Blood Donor	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	
	István Kiss: Past and Future of Budapest	XI. Diószegi út 62-64.	
	István Tar: Budapest Girl	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	
	János Horváth: Bust of Kornél Zelovits	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	János Sóváry: Bust of Attila József	XI. Villányi út 27.	in 1998 relocated to XI. Egy József utca, in 2000 to XI. Móricz Zs. körtér - Váli út.
	József Somogyi: Little Girl with a Foal	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	
	József Somogyi: Motherhood	II. Török u. 7-9.	
	Károly Vasas: Bust of János Csonka	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	reerected in 2009
	Lajos Barta: Little Horses	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	
	Lajos Petri: Bust of Adolf Lendl	XIV. Állatkerti út 6-12.	
	László Deák: Art	XVII. Rákoskeresztúr, Pesti út 113.	
	Lenke R. Kiss: Boy with a Hoop	III. Törzs u. 2.	
	Miklós Borsos: Gargoyles	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	demolished at about 1985 because of operational problems, later reappeared in Főkert (VII. Dob utca)
	Miklós Melocco: Pelican	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	
	Ödön Metky: Amphoras	XI. Gellérthegy, Jubileum park	the third amphora disappeared
	Pál Pátzay - Károly Weichinger: Statue of Lenin	XIV. Dózsa György út	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Removed in 1989 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park

	Tibor Vilt: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XX. Pesterzsébet, Emlékezés tere	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the cemetery in Rákoskeresztúr
	Viktor Kalló: Liberation Monument	XIII. Béke tér	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
1966	Agamemnon Makrisz: Bust of Ferenc Medgyessy	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
	András Kocsis: Bust of Mihály Zichy	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
	Béla Kucs: Kneeling Girl with Flower	XI. Ménesi út 44.	
	Béla Kucs: Technicians	XXI. Kossuth Lajos u. 12-14.	
	Dezső Bokros Birman: Looking into the Sun	XII. Budakeszi út	
	Ferenc Medgyessy: Venus of Debrecen	XI. Gellérthegy	
	Géza Fekete Sr.: Female Nude Sitting	XII. Pihenő u. 1.	
	György Segesdi: Bust of Alajos Stróbl	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 2012
	Gyula Kőfalvy: Esperanto Memorial Stone	I. Honvéd u.	
	Gyula Kőfalvy: Memorial Stone of Resistance	I. Döbrentei tér	
	Imre Huszár: Teaching	XI. Fehérvári út 159.	
	István Kiss: Bust of Janus Pannonius	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
	István Kiss: Memorial of János Apáczai Csere	XI. Bogdánfy u. 5/b	
	István Tar: Woman Plucking a Lute	II. Árpád fejedelem útja - Lukács fürdő	
	Jenő Grantner: Bust of Béla Tormay	VII. István u. 2.	
	Mihály Németh: Woman Reading	XVIII. Lakatos út 30.	
	Pál Borics: Bust of Ádám Clark	XIV. Városliget - in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	Pál Pátzay: Bust of Gyula Derkovits	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	temporarily demolished because of damage
	Sándor Mikus: Memorial Well of Ferenc Rózsa	VII. Jósika Miklós u. 35.	
1967	Anna Kárpáti: Black Boy	XI. Váli u 10-12.	
	Anna Kárpáti: People of Dózsa	XVII. Pesti út 113.	
	Dániel Fekete: Fountain	VIII. Blaha Lujza tér	
	Dezső Korniss: Esperanto Well	I. Eszperantó park - Hadnagy utca	
	Endre Szöllősi: Girl Pouring the Water	III. Királyok útja 281-289.	

	Ferenc Kovács: Boy Squatting	XII. Németvölgyi út 37-39.	
	Gyula Kiss Kovács: Woman Sitting	XXII. Kaldor Adolf u. 5-9.	
	Henrik Bolba: Ornament Well	XIV. Erzsébet királyné útja 47.	
	István Cserenyei-Kaltenbach: Bust of Ábrahám Ganz	II. Bem J. u. 20.	
	István Szabó Jr.: Folk-Dance	XI. Fehérvári út 47.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	István Tar: Woman Sitting	IX. Dési Huber u. 14.	
	Iván Szabó: Memorial of the Buda Volunteer Regiment	I. Vérmező, Attila út	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	János Dorop: Stonemason Student	VIII. Üllői út 76.	demolished
	János Percz: Statue of György Dózsa	XII. Fodor u. 57.	
	János Sóváry: Bust of István Szőnyi	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészétány	
	Jenő Kerényi: Girl Playing the Flute	XIII. Margitsziget	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Disappeared in 1997, reerected in 2003 (Municipality of Budapest)
	Jenő Kerényi: Girl with a Jug	XIV. Torontál u.	
	József Ilosfai: Ceramics Goat	X. Szent László tér	disappeared
	Károly Vasas: Man and Woman Reading	VIII. Könyves Kálmán krt. 52.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Relocated to the inner yard.
	Pál Borics: Penguins	XVIII. Lakatos úti Itp. Építő u. 4.	
	Sándor Mikus: Nursing Mother	XIV. Ilka u. 57.	
	Tamás Gyenes: Bust of Bertalan Pór	VI. Városligeti fasor 38.	
	Viktor Kalló: Woman Playing Music	XIV. Kacsoh Pongrác út - Szinkszó park	
	Zoltán Olcsai Kiss - Klára Herczeg - Aladár Farkas: Memorial of Béla Kun, Jenő Landler and Tibor Szamuely	VIII. Kun Béla (now: Ludovika) tér	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
1968	Antal Pázmándy: Birds	XII. Zugligeti út 9-25.	
	Edit Szabó: Bust of Anyos Jedlik	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	Géza Csorba: Statue of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma	VI. Népköztársaság útja (now: Andrássy út) 103.	
	Imre Varga: Thinker	II. Ganz u. 28.	

	István János Nagy: Bust of Dávid Schwarz	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	István Kiss: Bust of Béla Kun	XII. Böszörményi út 21.	relocated to XII. Farkasvölgyi út 12. (to the garden of the Police College). Demolished after the regime change.
	István Szabó Jr.: Mother with her Child	XVIII. Dolgozó u. 2	
	István Tar: Dancers	XX. Téglagyár tér	
	János Meszlényi: Woman Standing	XII. Szanatórium út 19.	
	János Sóváry: Bust of Kálmán Kandó	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	Lajos Ungvári: Woman Sitting	XVIII. Egressy G. u. 36.	
	László Szomor: Bust of Pál Vásárhelyi	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	Márta Lesenyei: Memorial Well of Erzsébet Szilágyi	II. Szilágyi Erzsébet fasor - Lupény utca	
	Miklós Borsos: Ornament Well	I. Várpalota, Déli palotaudvar	
	Nándor Záhorzik: Bust of Lajos Martin	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	Pál Pátzay: Bust of János Xantus	XIV. Állatkerti út 6-12.	
	Pál Pátzay: Bust of Zoltán Kodály	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	temporarily demolished because of damage
	Sándor Konyorcsik: Sunbathers	II. Zivatar u. 1-3.	
	Sándor Mikus: Lying Figure	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	Tamás Vigh: Bust of Miklós Radnóti	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1998 (Municipality of Budapest). Disappeared again in 2003. Reerected in 2006 (Municipality of Budapest).
	Viktor Kalló: Work	XIII. Váci út 152-156.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Temporarily demolished.
	Walter Madarassy: Memorial Stone of the Hanoi Park	XI. Függetlenségi park, Bocskai út	disappeared
1969	András Nagy: Memorial of the Republic of Councils (Singing Youth)	XVII. Pesti út	relocated to XVII. Báthory u. 31., to the Erdős Renée house.
	Erzsébet Schaár: Bust of Adolf Káldor	XXII. Káldor Adolf (now: Duna) u. 5-7.	

	Ferenc Laborcz: Mother with her Child	XIII. Karikás Frigyes u. 2-4.	
	Ferenc Laborcz: Union of Pest and Buda	XVII. Csabai út 20.	
	GDR artist: Bust of Ernst Thälmann	XIII. Thälmann (now: Fiastyúk) u. 35-37.	
	Gyula Illés: Woman Leaning	III. Mikoviny u. 2.	disappeared
	Gyula Meszes Tóth: Bust of Tódor Kármán	XIV. Városliget, in front of the Közlekedési Múzeum	
	Imre Varga: Statue of Mihály Táncsics	I. Ostrom u. - Szikla Sándor u.	following an unsuccessful call for artists, Varga was commissioned.
	Imre Veszprémi: Bust of Aladár Aujezsky	VII. István u. 2.	
	István Bencsik: Bears Playing	XII. Pihenő u. 1.	
	István Kiss: Liberation Monument	XIV. Thököly út 141.	removed in 1991, and relocated to the Statue Park
	István Kiss: Workers Singing	XII. Csörsz u. 49.	demolished in 1996 (Christian Democratic People's Party)
	István Martsa: Labourer	XVII. Pesti u. 165.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Károly Radó: Bust of János Bihari	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészétány	
	Sándor Ambrózy - Károly Stöckert: Pioneer Memorial of the Republic of Councils	II. Pasaréti út 191-193.	relocated to the Statue Park
	Sándor Mikus: Woman Wringing Clothes	XII. Nagy Jenő u.	disappeared
	Tibor Rieger: Goat	VII. Dob utca 23-25.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Veronika Szabady: Non-Figurative Statue	XIII. Margitsziget	three statues disappeared
1970	Agamemnon Makrisz: Memorial of the Spanish international Brigade's Hungarian Fighters	V. Néphadsereg (now: Honvéd) tér	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	Aladár Farkas: Bust of Ho-Si-Minh	XI. Hanoi (now: Függetlenségi) park	removed in 1991 (Municipality of Budapest), and given to the Vietnam Embassy
	Árpád Mihály: Worker Watching the Flame	XXI. Varrógépgyár u. 1.	
	Barna Búza: Liberation Monument	XVIII. Kossuth Lajos tér	after the regime change the statue was refunctioned as a "Peace Memorial".
	Ferenc Kovács: Partisan Memorial of the Group SZIR	XIII. Szent István park 7.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Ferenc Laborcz - Attila Rész: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVII. Ferihegyi út 103.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. After the regime change the statue was refunctioned by the local government as a "Memorial of Liberty (Birds of peace)".



	István Tar - György Hollay: Fight of the Barbarians with the Romans	V. Március 15-e tér	the statue was realized through a call for artists. In 2011, after renovating the square, the statue (without the well) was reerected closer to the road.
	István Tar: Bust of Bálint Balassi	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, replaced in 1999 by Enikő Szöllőssy's "Bust of Bálint Balassi" (Budapest Gallery)
	József Somogyi: Gladiators	XI. Egly József u. 1.	
	Lajos Szőke: Ornamental Statue	II. Fillér u. 13.	
	László Szomor: Memorial Stone of Éva Braun	I. Szent György tér	
	László Szomor: Slumberer	XX. Tátra tér	
	Pál Borics: Bust of Loránd Eötvös	XVIII. Eötvös park	
	Sándor Mikus: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVI. Hősök tere	removed in 1992, and relocated to the Statue Park
	Zoltán Olcsai Kiss: Statue of Don Quixote	X. Rottenbiller park	destroyed, reerected in 1978 at X. Albertirsai út
	Zsuzsa Péter: Woman Standing	XIV. Bosnyák tér	
1971	Alajos Stróbl - Egon Pfannl: Statue of Pospischil	II. Bem József u. 20.	
	György Segesdi: Statue of Marx-Engels	V. Jászai Mari tér	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	Imre Varga - Éva Spiró: Partisan	IV. Pozsonyi úti ltp. Berda József u.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	István Kiss - István Vellay: Liberation Monument	XIV. Dózsa Gy. út	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	István Kiss: Bust of György Dózsa	XV. Fő út 70.	
	Iván Szabó: Boy with a Goat	XXI. Rákóczi Ferenc út	
	Iván Szabó: Bust of Sámuel Tessedik	XIX. Tálás utca	
	János Andrássy Kurta: Daydreamer	X. Maglódi út 89-91.	
	József Somogyi: Girl with a Harp	III. Fő tér - Zichy kastély	
	László Vastagh: Bust of Ferenc Pethe	XIV. Városliget, Széchenyi sziget	
	Pál Pátzay: Memory of Benedek Virág	I. Apród u.	
	Rati Sutar: Statue of Gandhi	VI. Népköztársaság útja (now Andrássy út) 103.	
	Szabolcs Várady: Fallow-Deer	X. Albertirsai út	

1972	Gyula Kiss Kovács: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XII. Csörsz u. park	after 1990 the statue was refunctioned as a “Memorial of Liberty”
	Imre Varga: Zeus	XI. Budaörsi út 95.	
	István Kiss: In memory of the Union of Pest and Buda	XIII. Margitsziget	following an unsuccessful call for artists, Kiss was commissioned
	József Gondos: Vase	XIV. Füredi u. 56-58.	
	József Somogyi: Mother with a Child	V. Kossuth Lajos tér - Metro Station	
	Mária Szabó: Book	XI. Mérnök u. 39.	relocated to XI. Leiningen út 27-35.
	Mária Zsuzsa Fayköd: Christ - Corpus	XII. Galgóczy u. 49.	
	Miklós Borsos: Bust of Miklós Barabas	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
	Ödön Metky: Amphora	XII. Pihenő u. 1.	
	Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Memorial well of Ottó Herman	I. Vérmező - Krisztina krt.	
	Sándor Mikus: Struggle	XIV. Uzsoki u. 36/a	
	Tamás Vigh: Bust of Sándor Petőfi	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1998 (Municipality of Budapest)
	Unknown: Non-Figurative Fountain	X. Üllői út 114.	demolished
	Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: Bust of Miklós Izsó	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 2011
1973	Aladár Farkas: Memorial of Sallai and Fürst	XIII. Váci út - Gyöngyösi u.	the statue was temporarily demolished in 1984 because of the construction of the underground. Disappeared in 1992 although it was to be relocated to the Statue Park.
	Fülöp Ö. Beck: Self-portrait (bust)	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1998 (Municipality of Budapest). Disappeared again in 2011
	György Fürtös: Ornament Well	I. Tóth Árpád sétány 9.	
	Gyula Bocz: Obelisk of Siklós - Villány	X. Népliget, Centenárium emlékpark	
	Gyula Végvári: Ornamental Statue	VII. Gorkij fasor 15.	
	István Kamotsay: Bust of Lipót Rottenbiller	X. Rottenbiller park	
	János Németh: Two-Sided Relief	X. Népliget, Centenárium emlékpark	
	Lenke R. Kiss: Collaboration of Workers and Peasants	X. Rottenbiller park	

	Mária Osváth: Well of a Young Girl	II. Fillér u. 3-5.	destroyed in 2006
	Miklós Melocco: Paper Airplane	XII. Zugligeti út 93.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Miklós Varga: Jubilee memorial	XV. Újpalota, Hevesi Gyula u.	
	Tibor Vilt: Statue of Imre Madách	XIII. Margitsziget	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Regularly attacked since 1995.
	Unknown: Fountain	X. Népliget, Centenáriumi emlékpark	
	Unknown: Hármaskörös Drip	X. Népliget, Centenáriumi emlékpark	
	Unknown: Memorial Stone of Fejér County with Coat of Arms	X. Népliget, Centenáriumi emlékpark	
	Unknown: Memorial Stone of the Centennial Park	X. Népliget, Centenáriumi emlékpark	
	Unknown: Spacewall of Badacsony Balaton	X. Népliget, Centenáriumi emlékpark	
	Unknown: The Map of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County	X. Népliget, Centenáriumi emlékpark	demolished
	Walter Madarassy: Bust of Vilmos Zlamál	VII. István u. 2.	
1974	Barna Búza: Memorial Stone of the National Theater	VIII. Blaha Lujza tér	
	Dezső Mészáros: Composition with Two Figures	XVII. Pesti út 84-90.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Erzsébet Schaár: Bust of Károly Kernstock	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1990
	Frigyes Janzer: Cellar Man	XXII. Kossuth Lajos u. 100.	in 1987 the statue was relocated to XXII. Leányka u. - Pentz u., then brought back to its original place
	György Ugray: Woman with a Lute	XXII. Nagytétényi út 190.	
	Imre Varga: Bust of Attila József	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1998 (Municipality of Budapest). Temporarily demolished in 2012 because of damage
	László Szabó: Long-Wool Sheep	XIV. Újvidék tér	relocated in 1995 to the zoo
	Pál Pátzay: Snake-Killer (Wallenberg Memorial)	VIII. Üllői út 80.	
1975	Barna Búza: Soviet-Hungarian Friendship	X. Kőbánya-Óhegy, Szovjet-magyar barátság (now: Óhegy) park	removed in 1992, and relocated to the Statue Park

Erika Ligeti: Mother with her Child	VIII. Kun Béla (now: Ludovika) tér	
Ilona Veszely: Girl Squatting	XV. Mézeskalács tér 6-7.	
Imre Varga: Statue of Mihály Károlyi	V. Kossuth Lajos tér	removed in 2012 (relocated to Siófok)
István Kiss: Cell	XIV. Pétervárad u. 11-17.	
István Martsa: Memorial of János Nagy Balogh	XIX. Wekerle telep, Petőfi (now: Kós Károly) tér	following an unsuccessful call for artists, Martsa was commissioned. In 2008 relocated to XIX. Templom tér.
István Szabó Jr.: Soviet Heroic Memorial	III. Csillaghegy, Martos Flóra sétány (now: Vasút utca)	according to the decision of the Municipality of Budapest, the statue was to be relocated, but representatives of the local government demolished it in 1992. In 1999 the statue was reerected - without the star - titled as "Flóra" in Bányaterenyé, reutilizing the pedestal of the former statue of Lenin.
Jenő Kerényi: Woman Holding the Flame	II. Vérhalom tér	
József Kampfl: Bust of Miklós Ybl	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
József Rátonyi: Twins	XV. Újpalota, Frankovics M. (now: Drégelyvár) u. 57-63.	
József Schall: Memorial of Soviet Airmen	V. Vigadó tér	following an unsuccessful call for artists, Schall was commissioned. Demolished in 1992. Its obelisk was relocated to the cemetery in Rákoskeresztúr in 1994, where, together with Tibor Vilt's female figure (of the Pesterzsébet "Heroic Memorial"), now it represents the tomb of the exhumed and reburied Soviet soldiers.
Mihály Mészáros: Memorial of the Buda Volunteer Regiment	II. Tárogató út - Vörös Hadsereg útja (now: Húvösvölgyi út)	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
Miklós Borsos: 0 km Stone	I. Clark Ádám tér	
Mireros Negrete: Bust of Eugenio Espejo	XII. Városmajor	disappeared in 1997, replaced in 2001 with Bernadett Szilágyi's statue (Municipality of Budapest)
Pál Pátzay: Bust of Mór Jókai	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, reerected by the Municipality of Budapest
Pál Pátzay: Water-Play	I. Tárnok u. - Balta köz	
Sándor Mikus: Bust of Ignác Pfeifer	XI. Budafoki út 4.	
Sándor Szandai: Children Playing with a Ball	XVII. Ferihegyi út 95.	

	Sándor Szandai: Dancers	XVII. Ferihegyi út 83.	
	Tibor Rieger: Bust of Mihály Vörösmarty	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
	Walter Madarassy: Bust of Ágoston Zimmermann	VII. István u. 2.	
1976	Andreas Papachristos: Family	XIV. Varga Gyula András park	following an unsuccessful application procedure, Papachristos was commissioned.
	Aranka Till: Meditation	XII. Szanatórium út 19.	
	György Jovánovics: Bust of Mátyás Mohácsi	XI. Ménesi út	
	Hanna Danilewitz: Bust of Jozef Wysocki	VIII. Múzeum kert	
	Imre Varga: Statue of Pallas Athene	X. Kozma u. 2.	
	István Kiss: Memorial of Working-Class Movement	II. Hűvösvölgy, Munkásmozgalmi sétány	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	István Martsa: Liberation Memorial	XVIII. Hősök tere	the statue was realized through a call for artists. In 1994 refunctioned as a "Memorial of the Second World War Victims of Pestszentimre".
	Klára Weeber: Friendship Column	IX. Ferenc tér	
	Walter Madarassy: Bust of Oszkár Wellmann	VII. István u. 2.	
1977	Attila Nemes: Figures Sitting	XII. Golfpálya út	
	Béla Tóth: My Precious (Horse)	X. Dobi István út 2.	
	Béni Ferenczy: Well with a Little Boy	V. Váci u - Kígyó u.	
	Gabriella György: Ornament Well	XIX. Lenin (now: Városház) tér	
	Géza Nagy: Bust of Imre Újhelyi	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Imre Varga: Worker	X. Újhegy úti ltp.	
	Industrial Designer's Group: Toys	I. Vérmező, Mikó u.	
	István Tar: Horseman	XIV. Kacsoh Pongrác út, Nezsider park	
	János Konyorcsik: Bust of Sámuel Tessedik	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	János Konyorcsik: Chemical Industry Worker	IX. Dési Huber u. - Pöttyös u.	following an unsuccessful call for artists, Konyorcsik was commissioned
	József Ács: Bears Playing	XVII. Tura u. 58.	
	József Ilosfai: Frog Queen	X. Expo tér	
	József Kampfl: Couple	XX. Pesterzsébet, Baross Gábor u.	

		22-24.	
	László Vastagh: Bust of Ferenc Pethe	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Nándor Záhorzik: Bust of Lajos Nagyváthy	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Pál Pátzay: Bust of Károly Lyka	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1998 (Municipality of Budapest)
	Róza Pató: Woman with Three Children	XIII. Tüzér u. 33-35.	
	Sándor Mikus: Motherhood	IV. Káposztásmegyeri út 21.	
	Sándor Nagy: Bust of Ödön Lechner	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	
	Tibor Vilt: Bust of Antal Szerb	XVI. Batthyány Ilona út 12.	
	Zoltán Bohus: Plastic Art of a Cell	VII. István u. 2.	
1978	Árpád Csekovszky: Ornament Well	XVII. Pesti út 167.	
	Árpád Somogyi: Bust of Imre Somogyi	XI. Szüret utca	
	Dezső Mészáros: Bust of Béla Molnár	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	disappeared
	Ferenc Kovács: Non-Figurative Column	VIII. Kun Béla (now: Ludovika) tér	
	Ferenc Kovács: Ornament Well	XVIII. Lakatos u. 7.	
	Grantner Jenő: Bust of György Orth	VIII. Salgótarjáni u. 12.	
	Gyula Nyíró: Bust of János Mathiasz	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Imre Varga: Bust of István Szőnyi	V. Markó u. 18-20.	
	István Kiss: Barricade	VI. Andrássy út 105.	demolished after 1990
	János Probstner: Ornament Well of a Dream-Castle	XVIII. Vándor Sándor u. 1-3.	
	József Ács: Bust of Gyula Derkovits	XVII. Derkovits tér	
	Judit Englert: Bust of József Marek	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Lajos Kecskés: Boy with a Snake	II. Frankel Leó út 24-26.	
	Lajos Kecskés: Little Girl	II. Frankel Leó út 24-26.	
	Mihály Dabóczi : Boy Goggling	IX. Toronyház u. 17.	
	Nándor Kóthay: Bust of Margit Kaffka	XI. Villányi u. 5.	
	Unknown: Memorial Stone of Carl von Linne	X. Népliget	
	Valéria Tóth: Children Playing	XVII. Pesti út 163.	following an the unsuccessful call for artists, Tóth was commissioned. Relocated to XVII. Báthory utca 31.
	Walter Madarassy: Memorial of Akseli Gallen	I. Lánchíd u. 17	

	Kallela		
1979	András Kiss Nagy - Ferenc Tóth: Martyr Memorial	II. Mártírok útja 89.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Demolished during the construction of the Mammut shopping center, and reerected at I. Margit krt. 85.
	Andreas Papachristos: Bust of Milán Füst	XIV. Városliget, Szoborsétány	
	Csaba Ásztai - Mihály Erdélyi - Enikő Szöllősy: Toy	XIV. Városliget	
	Ferenc Kovács: Ornamental Statues	XIV. Városliget	
	Györgyi Lantos: Bust of Károly Wagner	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Gyula Nyírő: Well-Statue of a Woman Drying Herself	XI. Bajmóci u. 11.	
	Hédi Majoros: Ornamental Statue	XIV. Városliget	
	Ildikó Kecskésné Szabó - Attila Bánó: Fountain	V. Magyar u.	
	Imre Veszprémi: Cronus	I. Mészáros u.	
	István Bankuti: Cock	XVII. Heltai tér	
	István Bánkuti: Statue of Attila József	XVII. Pesti út 113.	
	István Gádor: Ornamental Statue	XIV. Városliget	destroyed
	István János Nagy: Woman Lying	XII. Csörsz utca	relocated in 1984 to I. Vérmező
	István Kiss: Bulls	XI. Vahot u.	
	István Kiss: Dragonflies	I. Vérmező - Mikó u.	
	István Kiss: Protecting the Peace	XIV. Stefánia út 34-36.	demolished
	Jenő Grantner: Spring	VIII. Práter u. 75.	
	Jenő Kerényi: Ornament Well	XIV. Városliget, Kós Károly sétány	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Márta Lesenyei: Wooden Horse	XIII. Margitsziget	destroyed
	Miklós Borsos: Bust of Elek Benedek	XIV. Városliget, Szoborsétány	disappeared in 2007, replaced by Antal Illyés' work in 2011 (Municipality of Budapest)
	Pál Pátzay: Aurora	XIII. Népfürdő u. 36.	
	Péter László: Memorial Stone of Éva Braun	VIII. Rezső tér	
	Rozália Antoni - László Nádas: Toy with Pins and Buttons	XIV. Városliget	
	Tamás Fekete: Cone	XIII. Margitsziget - Hotel Thermal	

1980	Tibor Borbás: Statue of Dezső Kosztolányi	XI. Kosztolányi tér	
	Tibor Vilt: Spark Telegraph	XXI. Kossuth Lajos u. - Corvin út	demolished in 1990 (Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District)
	Zoltán Bohus: Ornament Well	XIV. Kacsoh Pongrác út 21-25.	
	Agamemnon Makrisz - Zizi Makrisz: Ornament Well (Metrober)	II. Moszkva tér	
	Antal Pázmándy: Ornamental Statue	XI. Tétényi út - Bártfai út	
	Erzsébet Schaár: Bust of Vilma Hugonnay	XXII. Nagytétény, in front of the Kastélymúzeum	disappeared at about 1990
	Ferenc Laborcz: Worker Sitting	XVII. Rákosliget, Hősök tere	relocated to Sugár u.
	Géza Samu: Sledge	XVI. Mátyásföld, Centenárium Itp.	relocated in 1995 to XIV. Városliget
	György Szabó: Bust of Ede Chlepkó	XIX. Chlepkó Ede tér (now: Ötvenhatosok tere)	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	Gyula Kovács: Triple Drinking-Fountain	XIV. Városliget	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	István Kiss: Legend (Bulls)	XI. Szakasits Árpád u. - Tétényi út	
	Iván Szabó: Bicinia	XI. Bogdánfy u. 15.	
	János Németh: Sun Moon Wind Fairy	II. Törökvész út 18.	
	Jenő Kerényi: Mother with a Child	XI. Goldmann György tér	the original copy of the statue was erected in 1971, in Moscow (Hungarian Embassy).
	József Ilosfai: Couple Kissing	XIII. Margitsziget	
	József Jakovits: Sun-Dial	XII. Pihenő út 1.	
	Judit Bolgár: Elephants	XXI. Ligeti Károly u.	
László Marton: By the Danube (Statue of Attila József)	V. Kossuth tér		
László Marton: Statue of József Egry	XI. Egry J. u. - Irinyi u.		
László Paizs: Double Orb	XII. Gesztenyés kert	demolished	
Sándor Kiss: Memorial of Áron Gábor	II. Szilágyi Erzsébet fasor - Gábor Áron u.		
Sándor Nagy: Puppeteer	III. Hévízi út 8/c		
Viktor Kalló: Collaboration	XXII. Rózsa Richárd úti Itp.		
1981	Agamemnon Makrisz: Mercury	I. Szentháromság tér 7/8.	
	Barna Búza: Girl with a Mandolin	XVIII. Kondor Béla sétány 7.	



	Gábor Mihály: In Memory of the First Pioneer House of the Country	XIX. József Attila u. - Rákóczi u.	
	Gyula Nyirő: Bust of Henri Dunant	XIII. Kárpát u. 56.	
	Imre Varga: Statue of Béla Bartók	II. Csalán út 29.	
	István Kiss: Folk-Tale (Bulls)	XVII. Csabai u. 20.	
	József Ács: Bust of Béla Bartók	XVII. Hunyadi u. 50.	
	József Seregi: Mother with her Child	XX. Határ út - Baross u. 2.	
	József Somogyi: Statue of Béla Bartók	XI. Kosztolányi Dezső tér	
	Katalin G. Staindl: History of Building	XI. Szakasits Árpád (now: Etele) út 36.	
	Márta Lesenyei: Mother with a Child	III. Békásmegyér, Kelta u.	reerected in 2007 because of quality reasons
	Sándor Kligl: Statue of István Eiben	II. Budakeszi út 51.	
	Sándor Nagy: Generations	XV. Czabán Samu (now: Széchenyi) tér	
	Tibor Vilt: Bust of Ferenc Schafarzik	XI. Budafoki u. 4.	
	Woodcarvers from Miskolc: Wooden Headboard with Tulips	XII. Böszörményi u. 23.	
1982	Antal Gazder: Ornament Well	XII. Kútvölgyi út 20-22.	
	Antal Kóthay: Bust of Antal Fasching	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Ferenc Laborcz: Father and his Son	XVII. Borsó u. 75.	
	Gábor Szabó: Mermaid	III. Május 9. park	
	György Segesdi: Ornamental Steel	XII. Alkotás u.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Gyula Illés - Zoltán Gulyás: Memorial of Antifascist Students	XI. Villányi út - Fadrusz u.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Imre Varga: Bull-Headed Water-Dipper	IX. Boráros tér	
	Imre Varga: Statue of Zoltán Kodály	I. Várhegy, Európa park	relocated in 2003 to I. Vár, Püspökkert
	István Kiss: Statue of Endre Ady	II. Ady-liget, Nagykovácsi u. 6.	
	István Kiss: Worker	XIII. Váci út 69.	
	István Örkényi Strasser: Bust of Zoltán Somlyó	XIV. Városliget, Művésztány	disappeared, replaced by Tamás Varga's "Portrait of Zoltán Somlyó" in 2011
	István Paál: Rearing Pegasus	XVII. Pesti út - 502. u.	
	József Bánlaki: Statue of Lenin	III. Hajógyári sziget	demolished

1983	József Seregi: Memorial of János Lippay	XI. Ménesi út	
	József Seregi: Memorial Stone of KISZ (Communist Youth League)	X. Népliget	demolished
	Márta Lesenyey: Lookout-Stone (Prince Buda and Princess Pest)	I. Hegyalja út	
	Pál Pátzay: Snake-Killer	II. Gábor Áron u. 16.	destroyed
	Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Deer	II. Mártírok útja - Rómer Flóris u.	
	Zoltán Gulyás: Ornament Well	XI. Kosztolányi Dezső tér	
	Ágoston Fischer - Ferenc Fischer: Well with a Raven	XIV. Czobor u. 6.	
	András Huber: Steelplates	XXI. Fürst Sándor u.	
	Arisztid Halász: Drinking Fountain with a Clown	XIV., Városliget, Dvořák sétány	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Dezső Berczeller: Leafy Tree	I. Krisztina krt. 41.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	György Segesdi: Work of Art Symbolizing the Character of the Factory of the 13th District	XIII. Pozsonyi út 60-64.	
	György Szabó: Bust of Lajos Markusovszky	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	disappeared
	Gyula Gulyás: Displacement	XXI. Kossuth Lajos u.	
	Hargita Mecseki: Day-Dreamer	XVII. Pesti út 124-126.	
	Imre Varga: Bust of Béla Czóbel	V. Október 6. utca 3.	
	Imre Varga: Wine-Seller	IX. Boráros tér	
	István Lisztes: Pegasus	III. San Marco u. 81.	
	Iván Szabó: Woman Kneeling	XII. Budakeszi út 51.	
	János Blaskó Jr.: Statue of Sándor Petőfi	XXI. Csepel, Áruház tér	
	János Horváth: Bust of Gusztáv Szabó	V. Kossuth tér 11.	
Jolán Humenyánszky: Bust of Sándor Cserháti	V. Kossuth tér 11.		
József Bányai: Ornament Well	V. Podmaniczky tér		
József Kampfl: Floating	IV. Pozsonyi úti ltp. - Nyár u.		
József Kampfl: Ornament Well with Seals	IX. Dési Huber u. 25.		
Károly Antal: Knight and his Trumpet	I. Vár - Fehérvári rondella		
László Marosán: Ornament Well	XIV. Ifjúság útja		
László Marton: Statue of Apollo	VII. Károly krt. 9.		

	László Wild: Well of Hermes	V. Váci u. 16.	
	László Wild: Well of Petőfi	V. Petőfi tér	
	Magda Gádor: Ornament Well	XXII. Magasház u. 1.	
	Mihály Pantl: Plastic Art of a Wooden Headboard	XXI. II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 106.	
	Mihály Schéner: Dorothea's Vehicle	III. Váradi u. 15/a - Hold udvar	
	Ödön Metky: Bust of József Berda	IV. István tér	disappeared at about 1990, replaced by János Bíró's statue in 1992 (Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District)
	Péter László: Bust of Ábrahám Géza Pattantyús	XI. Budafoki út 4.	
	Péter László: Bust of Győző Mihailich	XI. Budafoki út 2.	
	Péter László: Ibex	XIX. Hikádé Aladár u. 14-16.	
	Péter Székely: Peace	VIII. Nagyváradi tér	
	Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Music	IX. Kálvin tér - Ráday u.	demolished in 1997 because of construction work. In 2003 relocated to IX. Tűzoltó u. – Liliom u.
	Rozália Antoni - László Nádas: Toy with Pins and Buttons	VII. Almássy tér	
	Tamás Gyenes: Statue of Andor Endre Gelléri	III. Mókus u. 2.	
	Tibor Vilt: Time Machine	XI. Költők Parkja	
	Valentin Sztarcsev: Statue of Dimitrov	V. Dimitrov (now: Fővám) tér	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
	Viktor Kalló: Memorial Place of the Heroes of People's Power	VIII. Köztársaság (now: II. János Pál pápa) tér	removed in 1992 (Municipality of Budapest), and relocated to the Statue Park
1984	Ádám Farkas: Ornament Well	XIX. Városcsúcs	
	Ágnes Péter: Ornament Well with a Lion	V. Vörösmarty tér	
	Aladár Farkas: Bust of Károly Rezi	IV. Rezi Károly (now: Király) u.	demolished in 1994 (Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District)
	Béla Domonkos: Bust of Gábor, Andor	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 2011
	Béla Tóth: Statue of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma	X. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor sétány	
	Bernadett Szilágyi: Autumn	IV. Pozsonyi úti ltp. Őszi u.	
	Eszter Balázs: Bust of Áron Gábor	II. Bem J. u. 20.	
	Eszter Balázs: Bust of Lajos Katona	II. Bem J. u. 20.	

	Ferenc Kovács: Ornamental Statue	XIII. Margitsziget - Szabadtéri színpad	
	Frigyes Matzon: Bartók - Concerto	XI. Kamaraerdei Ifjúsági Park	reerected in 2012 at XI. Kosztolányi Dezső tér
	Géza Samu: Chariot of Sun	XIV. Egressy út 36.	
	István Bánkuti: Flying Man	XVIII. Ferihegyi Repülőtérre vezető út	
	István Martsa: Herons	XIX. Tálás u. 15.	
	István Máté: Hygiene	XIII. Szabolcs u. 23.	
	János Andrassy Kurta: Bust of László Jakóby	II. Bem J. u. 20.	
	János Andrassy Kurta: Bust of Técsey, Ferenc	II. Bem J. u. 20.	
	János Horváth: Bust of Tamás Kosutány	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	János Nagy: Pelican	XVI. Mátyásföld, Centenáriumi ltp.	
	Károly Szekeres: Ornamental Statue	XIV. Kerepesi út	
	László Kármán - Zoltán Deák: Memorial of Károly Kós	XIV. Kós Károly sétány	
	Magda Hadik: Bust of Jenő Hankóczy	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
	Márta Csikai: Dancer	XXI. Szentmiklósi úti ltp.	
	Mihály Parizán: Winter	IV. Pozsonyi úti ltp. Tél u.	
	Ödön Metky: Woman Standing	IX. Pöttyös utca	
	Pál Kó: Summer	IV. Lebstücker Mária u. - Nyár u.	
	Sándor Mikus: Girls Dancing	XVI. Szolnoki u. 23.	disappeared in 2012
	Sándor Rétfalvi: Ornament Well	XII. Németvölgyi pihenőpark (now: Gesztenyés kert)	demolished because of urban planning works
	Tamás Fekete: Statue of Zoltán Várkonyi	XIV. Róna u. 174.	
	Unknown: Ornament Well	VI. Nyugati pu.	
	Unknown: Ornament Well of Bishop's Garden	I. Színház u.	
	Unknown: Plastic Art of a Concrete Pipe	XIII. Váci út	
	Zoltán Boros: Memorial of Simon Bolívar	XXI. Simon Bolívar park	
1985	Á. Piesz: Memorial Stone of Resistance During the II. World War	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	Ágnes Péter: Spring	IV. Pozsonyi úti ltp.	damaged in 2006, temporarily stored by the local government

	Andreas Papachristos: Bust of József Fodor	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	Bálint Józsa: Pulsation	XI. Karolina út - Diószegi út	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Erzsébet Takács: Mother with her Children	VI. Andrassy út es a Rippl Rónai u. sarka	
	Erzsébet Takács: Stone-Cutter Woman	XI. Bartók Béla út 152.	
	Imre Varga: Memorial of György Lukács	XIII. Szent István park	
	István Kiss: Memorial of the Martyrs of the 1919 Counter-Revolutionary Revolt	VIII. Kun Béla (now: Ludovika) tér	demolished in 1992
	János Andrassy Kurta: Bust of Henrik Fazola	II. Bem J. u. 20.	
	János Andrassy Kurta: Bust of Tivadar Rombauer	II. Bem J. u. 20.	
	János Majoros: Ornament Well	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	József Rátonyi: Ornament Well with Fishes	III. Csobánka tér	
	József Somogyi: Memorial of the Victims of Fascism	XII. Gesztenyés kert	
	Julianna Tóth: Bust of Frigyes Korányi	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	disappeared
	Klára Herczeg: Bust of Lajos Hollós Korvin	III. Bárczy Géza u. 2.	disappeared
	László Lakner: Memorial of Miklós Radnóti	V. Károlyi M. u. 16.	
	Mihály Parizán: Ornament Well	IV. Hajló u.	
	Péter László: Fawns	XIX. Bocskai utcai park	
	Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Memorial of Bomb-Disposal Squad	I. Logodi u. - Tábor u.	
	Unknown: Well of Hermes	V. Váci utca - Régiposta utca	
1986	Ádám Farkas: Birth of the Sun	III. Váradi Sándor u. 35.	
	Agamemnon Makrisz: Hungarian Martyr Memorial - Memorial of Mauthausen	XIII. Viza u. - Dunapart	
	Andreas Papachristos: Three Graces	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	Árpád Csekovszky: Pigeons	XVII. Csabai út 20.	
	Barna Búza: Bust of Csaba Anghi	XIV. Fővárosi Állat- és Növénykert	
	Barna Búza: Dancing Snakes	XIV. Fővárosi Állat- és Növénykert	
	Ferenc Brem: Close to the Warm	XI. Kalotaszeg u. 31.	
	Imre Varga: Birds	XV. Mélyfúró u.	

	Imre Varga: Memorial of Béla Kun	I. Vérmező	following an unsuccessful call for artists, Varga was commissioned. Removed in 1992, and relocated to the Statue Park
	Imre Varga: Waiters	III. Fő tér - Laktanya u.	
	István Bánkuti: Scythian Deer	XVII. Uszoda u. 2.	
	István Kiss: Statue of Ferenc Münnich	V. Néphadsereg (now: Honvéd) tér	removed in 1990, and relocated to the Statue Park
	József Seregi: Ornament Well	III. Bécsi út, garden of the Margit Hospital	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Julianna Tóth: Bust of Emil Grósz	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	Károly Márkus: Ram	XIV. Tábornok u. 22.	
	Katalin G. Staindl: The Four Cardinal Points	XIV. Ond vezér sétány 5.	
	Kristóf Kelemen: Bust of Károly Jármay	VII. István u. 2.	
	László Húvös: Memorial of Gyula Germanus	II. Germanus Gyula park	disappeared at about 1995, in 2001 replaced by György Szabó's work of art (Municipality of Budapest).
	László Marton: Statue of Ferenc Liszt	VI. Liszt Ferenc tér	
	László Marton: Well of a Faun	VII. Erzsébet krt. 2-4.	
	Pál Pátzay: Memorial of János Hunyadi	XIV. Széchenyi sziget	replica of the variant from Pécs
	Richárd Török: Bust of Hippocrates	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	
	Sándor Györfi: Memorial of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky	V. Deák tér - Bajcsy Zsilinszky út	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Demolished in 1997 (National Theater's Office of the Envoy), reerected in 2002 in Tarpa.
	Tamás Léderer: Ornament Well	VIII. Práter utca - Szigony utca	
	Victor Vasarely: Geometric Image	I. Magyar Jakobinusok tere	
1987	Béla Domonkos: Bust	VII. István u. 2.	
	Béla Tilles: Beam Castle	XI. Törökugrató u. - Gazdagréti lakótelep	the statue was realized through a call for artists. In 1992 it was relocated to Kamaraerdei Ifjúsági Park.
	Dániel Kiss: Bust of Pierre de Coubertin	XII. Alkotás út 44.	
	Edit Oborzil - Tibor Jeney: Belfry	XIV. Városliget	
	Frigyes Janzer: Ornament Well	XI. Fehérvári út - Galváni út	
	Gábor Mihály: Sign-Like Plastic Art	XXIII. Nagykőrösi út 351.	

	Gyula Illés - Zoltán Gulyás: Memorial of the Pioneers of the Hungarian Flying	XIV. Örs vezér tere	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Gyula Meszes Tóth: Bust of Máté Zalka	X. Liget (now: Zalka Máté) tér	disappeared in 1997, reerected in 1999 (Municipality of Budapest). Disappeared again In 2012.
	Imre Varga: Memorial Stone of Olof Palme	XIV. Olof Palme sétány	
	Imre Varga: Statue of Raoul Wallenberg	II. Szilágyi Erzsébet fasor - Nagyajtai u.	
	István Szabó, Sr.: Ornamental Stone	XII. Királyhágó u. 1-3.	
	János Horváth: Memorial Stone of the National Theater	VIII. Rákóczi út 1.	in 1990 relocated to the other side of Rákóczi út
	János Konyorcsik: Bust of Marshal Malinovszkij	X. Magyar-szovjet barátság (now: Óhegy) park	demolished in 1989
	Jenő Lévy - Lajos Hartvig: Vampire Trap	XXI. Puli sétány - Erdősor utca	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Károly Péterfy: Statue of Károly Kós	XIX. Kós Károly tér	
	Lajos Szőke: Drinking-Fountain	XXI. Erdősor u.	destroyed in 1994
	László Cs. Kovács: Bust of József Darvas	III. Szérűskert u. 40.	disappeared
	László Varga: Bust of Thomas Mann	III. Bécsi út 134.	
	László Wild: Guide-Post	XIV. Városliget	
	Levente Rékásy: Music Pavilion	XV. Újpalota, Hevesi Gyula (now: Nyírpalota) utca 34.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Destroyed.
	Miklós Melocco: Well of Léda	I. Mészáros u. - Pálya u.	
	Nebojsa Mitric: Bust of Vuk Karadzic	I. Szarvas tér	
	Péter Petru Balog: Symbol	III. Köles u. - Kaszásdűlő lakótelep	
	Richárd Török: Bust of Sándor Kotlán	VII. István u. 2.	
	Tamás Gyenes: Bust of Ludovik Lazar Zamenhof	I. Döbrentei tér	disappeared in 1998, replaced in 1999 by Péter Berecz's statue (Magyar Ifjúsági Eszperantó Szövetség)
	Unknown: Ornament Well	XIX. Fő u. 1-13.	
	Unknown: Well of Hermes	V. Váci utca - Régiposta utca	disappeared
1988	Ágnes Péter - Enikő Szöllőssy: Clock Tower	V., Káposztásmegyeri lakótelep, Külső Szilágyi út - Óceánárok utca	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	Attila Borbály: Painter of the Sun	III. Szentendrei út 373.	disappeared
	Dániel Kiss: Memorial of Ferenc Kemény	XII. Alkotás út 44.	

	Henrik Bolba: Mother with her Child	XI. Törökugrató u. 9.	
	Iván Paulikovics: Statue of Frigyes Karinthy	XI. Karinthy F. út - Irinyi József u.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
	László Marton: Statue of Árpád Szakasits	XI. Szakasits Árpád út 55.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Removed in 1992, and relocated to the Statue Park. This statue was the last political monument of the Kádár era.
	Sándor Kecskeméti: Form in the Space	XI. Rétköz u. - Gazdagréti ltp.	
	Tibor Budahelyi: Resonance	XV. Páskomliget u. - Bánkút u.	the statue was realized through a call for artists
1989	Unknown: To Budapest from Ungvár	XII. Rege úti park	
	Barna Búza: Bust of Zoltán Ambrus	XIII. Margitsziget - Művészsétány	disappeared in 1997, reerected in 2003
	Dániel Kiss: Memorial of Ferenc Mező	XII. Alkotás út 44.	
	Denzen Barsboldt: Tibetan Monk	III. Vörösvári út	
	Imre Kovács: Bust of Ábrahám Ganz	XIX. Üllői út 200.	
	István Paál: Bust of József Budenz	II. Budenz út - Bognár u.	
	János Som: Drinking Fountain	XV. Újpalota, Hevesi Gyula (now: Nyírpalota) utca 34. sz.	the statue was realized through a call for artists. Damaged
	László Lakner - Miklós Melocco: Rose	XXII. Rózsakert u. - Tűzliliom u.	
	Mihály Mészáros: The Arabian Bird	XII. Németvölgyi út 99.	demolished
	Péter László: Bust of Herbert Nádler	XIV. Fővárosi Állat- és Növénykert	
	Péter László: Bust of Károly Serák	XIV. Állatkerti út 6-12.	
	Sándor Ágh Fábián: János Bust of Csonka	XI. Fehérvári út 43. - Csonka János park	
	Sándor Kecskeméti: Ornament Well	XII. Apor Vilmos tér 9-11.	demolished at about 2010 because of urban planning works
	Tibor Berki - Gyula Madaras - László Barabás: Wooden Headboard	X. Népliget	
	Unknown: Bust of Ágám Muttnyánszky	XI. Budafoki út 4.	
	Unknown: Bust of Károly Vas	XI. Ménesi út	
Unknown	Unknown: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVII. Rákoskert	relocated
	Unknown: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XVII. Rákoshegy, Tessedik tér	relocated
	Unknown: Soviet Heroic Memorial	XXIII. Soroksár, Hősök tere	demolished



## Appendix 5. Public Works of Art in Berlin after 1990<sup>256</sup>

year	public work of art	address	initiator	notes
1990	Achim Kühn: Drei Nadeln (1990/1993)	Sterndamm 103 (Treptow)		
	Alfred Hrdlicka: Tod des Demonstranten	Bismarckstraße, neben Deutscher Oper (Charlottenburg)		
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Knieende Dame mit Schale (Nackte vom Ostseeplatz)	Ostseeplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Ates: 3-X-90 in Deutschland	Lützowplatz (Tiergarten)		Sculpture Symposium Lützowplatz 1990
	Bernd Tholl: Märchenfiguren	Schleusinger Strasse 17 (Marzahn)		
	Bernd Wilde: Mann und Frau	Biesenbrower Straße 21-37 (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Carin Kreuzberg: Heinrich-Heine-Denkmal	Köpenicker Straße, Ecke Heinrich-Heine-Straße (Mitte)		
	Christian Boltanski: The Missing House	Große Hamburger Straße 15-16 (Mitte)		Exhibition project "Endlichkeit der Freiheit"
	Christian Rickert: Max-Beckmann-Büste	Hermsdorf, Bahnhofsvorplatz (Reinickendorf)		
	East Side Gallery	Mühlenstrasse (Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg)		VBK and BBK
	Ernst Löber: Pferd	Schönstraße 26-28 (Weissensee)		
	Gabriele Schnitzenbaumer: Stumme Wächter	Luisenplatz (Charlottenburg)		
	Gertreiner Büttner: Sofa	Barther Straße, Ecke Zingster Straße (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Hartmut Stielow: Ohne Titel	Corneliusstraße, Grünstreifen vor der Galerie Nothelfer (Tiergarten)		

<sup>256</sup> The database also includes the most important museums and memory institutions.

Heinrich Brummack: Nichtgeburtstagskaffeekanne	Theodor-Wolf-Park (Kreuzberg)	
Hella Horstmeier: Aufgehoben	Robert-Rössle-Str 10 (Pankow)	
Jürgen Strand: Mahnung an Tschernobyl	Klosterstraße (Mitte)	
Karl-Günter Möpert: Denkmal für die Erbauer Marzahn	Marzahner Promenade 15 (Marzahn)	in 2005 relocated to Marzahner Promenade 30.
Karl-Günter Möpert: Pan	Alfred-Kowalke-Straße (Lichtenberg)	
Künstler unbekannt: Abstrakte Skulptur	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy-Park (Kreuzberg)	
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein (Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht)	Mannheimer Strasse 27 (Wilmersdorf)	
Künstler unbekannt: Reiterfigur (um 1990)	Wassertorstrasse 65 (Kreuzberg)	
Künstler unbekannt: Stahlobjekt (1990er Jahre)	Böcklerpark (Kreuzberg)	
Künstler unbekannt: Zwei Figurengruppen aus Beton (1990er Jahre)	Böcklerstrasse/Gitschiner Strasse (Kreuzberg)	
Ludmilla Seefried- Matejkowa: Gedanken eines Mimen (1990er Jahre)	Julius-Morgenroth-Platz (Wilmersdorf)	out of the three parts of the composition, "Walkman" was demolished in 2000
Matthias Frotschel: Winddriesel	Landsberger Allee 526 (Marzahn)	
Norbert Schwarz, Guido Spütz: Spielwürfel	Luitpoldstrasse 38 (Schöneberg)	
Paul Pfarr: Fünf-Wasser-Tiegel	Marheinekeplatz (Kreuzberg)	call for artists
Pomona Zipser: Auf hoher See	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
Robert Metzkes: Diesterweg- Denkmal	Burgstraße (Mitte)	
Rolf Biebl: Brunnen der Generationen	Helene-Weigel-Platz (Marzahn)	
Rudolf Valenta: Obelisk	Wilsnacker Straße 3-5 (Tiergarten)	

	Susanne Ahner: Gedenkzeichen für das Theater des Jüdischen Kulturbundes	Kommandantenstrasse 57 (Kreuzberg)	Kreuzberg Programme for Memorial Signs at Places of Jewish Community and Cultural Life
	Udo G. Cordes: Titel nicht bekannt	Lützowplatz (Tiergarten)	Sculpture Symposium Lützowplatz 1990
	Ulrich Jörke: Hugenotten in Buchholz	Pfarrer Hurtienne Platz (Pankow)	
	Volker Bartsch: Torblock	Lützowplatz (Tiergarten)	Sculpture Symposium Lützowplatz 1990
	Werner Stötzer: Saale und Werra	Waldmeisterstrasse 10-20 (Wilmerdorf)	On loan from Sanitärfirma Vater (Berlin)
	Wolf Vostell: Discobol	Joachimsthaler Straße 29 vor dem ArtHotel (Charlottenburg)	
	Wolfgang Mattheuer: Jahrhundertschritt	Budapester Straße 35 (Charlottenburg)	
1991	Achim Pahle: Brunnenkulptur	Knobelsdorffstraße Ecke Wundtstraße (Charlottenburg)	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Junges Paar	Havemannstraße, Ecke Eihornstraße (Marzahn)	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Constellation	Potsdamer Straße 33 (Tiergarten)	
	Christian Uhlig: Grenzwächter	Landsberger Allee / Rigenwalder Straße 59 (Marzahn)	
	Dedo Gadebusch: Brunnen Unter Tempeln begraben VII	Trebbiner Straße 9 (Kreuzberg)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Memento Mori (1991/92)	Parkfriedhof Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	
	Gerson Fehrenbach: Wächterfiguren (1991/92)	Werkhof Britz (Neukölln)	
	Gisela von Bruchhausen: Paravent	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	disappeared
	Günter Anlauf: Vier Jahreszeiten	Caspar-Theyß-Straße 27-29 (Wilmerdorf)	
	Igael Tumarkin: Bertholt Brecht	Grünanlage nördlich Wallstraße, gegenüber dem Märkischen Museum (Mitte)	

Igael Tumarkin: Von der Dicken Berta zur Roten Rosa	Bundesallee, Ecke Hohenzollerndamm (Wilmerdorf)	
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Sich Aufrichtende	Marzahner Promenade (Marzahn)	call for artists in 1985
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Die Geschlagene	Marzahner Promenade (Marzahn)	call for artists in 1985
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Sich Befreiender	Marzahner Promenade (Marzahn)	call for artists in 1985
Ju Ming: Ungebrochener Taiji-Fluss	Takustrasse 40 (Zehlendorf)	On loan from the Gallery Odermatt Vedovi, Paris
Jürgen Köhler, Christoph Meyer: Plastisches Ensemble	Luisenstrasse/Karlstrasse 1 (Treptow-Köpenick)	
Karl-Günter Möpert: Ohne Titel	Zossener Strasse 70-76 (Hellersdorf)	
Karol Broniatowski: Mahnmal des Berliner Senats	Güterbahnhof Grunewald (Wilmerdorf)	call for artists in 1987/88
Künstler unbekannt: Denkmal für Kommunisten und Antifaschisten	Marzahner Promenade 55 (Marzahn)	originally designed in 1986
Künstler unbekannt: Friedenspfahl	Albertinenstraße 20-23 (Weissensee)	
Lore Plietzsch: Sitzende	Fichtelbergstraße (Marzahn)	
Lore Plietzsch: Mutter mit Kind	Fichtelbergstraße (Marzahn)	
Manfred Strehlau: Denkmal für J. S. Bach	Hans-Schmidt Strasse 6-8. (Treptow-Köpenick)	Art office of Treptow-Köpenick
Margauerite Blume-Cardenas: Ohne Titel	Zossener Strasse 78-84 (Hellersdorf)	
Monika Schnitzler: Objekt	Skulpturengarten der Ev. Kirche am Tempelhofer Feld (Tempelhof)	Ev. Church (financed by donations and by the district of Tempelhof)
Nikolaus Bode: Dorfleben	Wolfgang-Heinz-Straße 42 (Pankow)	
Pomona Zipser: Für den Bruder Leib	Budapester Straße, Ecke Wichmannstraße (Tiergarten)	
Rolf Walter: Lindenbrunnen	Ringkolonaden (Marzahn)	
Rüdiger Preisler: Der schreitende Mensch	Görlitzer Park (Kreuzberg)	call for artists
Siegfried Pietrusky: Ronda	Riesaer Strasse 94 (Hellersdorf)	District office of Hellersdorf

1992	Stefan Horota: Bremer Stadtmusikanten	Hagenower Ring 75 (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Stephan J. Möller: Erde, fruchtbringend	Randowstraße 6 (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Volker Bartsch: Panketor	Osloer Straße 102 (Wedding)		
	Volker Bartsch: Tor am Karlsbad	Am Karlsbad (Tiergarten)		
	Volkmar Haase: Offene Berührung	Schönwalder Allee 26 (Spandau)		
	Volkmar Oellermann: Großer stehender Bär	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)		
	Anja Schmidt: Ohne Titel (Dreiecksbrunnen)	Hellersdorfer Promenade 11-13 (Hellersdorf)		
	Anna Franziska	Park am Weißen See (Weissensee)		
	Schwarzbach: Liegender			
	Anne Dore Spellenberg: 10 Objekte	Albertinenstraße 20-23 (Weissensee)	Sculpture workshop with the leadership of Anne Dore Spellenberg	
Annelies Rudolph: Taut-Denkmal (Gedenktafel auf Sockel) (1992/2003)	Argentinische Allee 157/Ecke Riemeisterstrasse 131 (Zehlendorf)	Gehag		
Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Dreiheit (1992/93)	Skulpturengarten des Auguste-Viktoria-Krankenhauses (Schöneberg)	Call for artists organized by the Berlinische Galerie and the Senate Department (Kunst im Stadtraum und am Bau)	in 2004 relocated to Alte Jakobstraße 124-128, in front of Berlinischen Galerie (Kreuzberg)	
Dietrich Ebert: Eisenskulptur Emanuel	Barstraße 44 (Wilmerdorf)			
Scharfenberg: Fontanebogen (Brunnen)	Marktplatz im Märkischen Viertel (Reinickendorf)			
Friedrich B. Henkel: Vegetative Landschaft	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)			

CEU eTD Collection

**Gedenk- und Bildungstätte Haus der Wannseekonferenz**

**Am Grossen Wanssee 56-58 (Zehlendorf)**

**Joseph Wulf, VVN (Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes), BVN (Berlin Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes), Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin, Liga for Human Rights, financial contribution by the Federal Government and by the Land of Berlin**

**belongs to the association "Erinnern für die Zukunft" (supporting association of the House of the Wannseekonferenz e.V.: Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Bundesminister des Inneren), Land Berlin (Regierender Bürgermeister), Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin, Bistum Berlin, Ev. Kirche Berlin- Brandenburg, Bund der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, Deutsches Historisches Museum)**

**Gedenkstätte Günter Liftin**

**Kieler Eck (Mitte)**

**Jürgen Liftin**

Jo(achim) Jastram: Schreiender Hengst

Pablo-Picasso-Straße, Ecke Falkenberger Chaussee (Hochschönhausen)

Josef Vajce: Standbild Johann Amos Comenius

Karl-Marx-Straße, Comenius-Garten (Neukölln)

Gift from former Speaker of the parliament of the Czech and Slovak Republic, Alexander Dubcek

Karl Menzen: Versus (1992/93)

Kurfürstendamm, zwischen Westfälischer- und Joachim-Friedrich-Straße (Charlottenburg)

Karol Broniatowski: Säulenreihe  
Lore Plietzsch: Flötenspielende Kinder

Parchimer Allee 109 (Neukölln)  
Fichtelbergstraße, Nördliche Geißenweide (Marzahn)

Micha Ullman: Nobody (Niemand)

Rand des Parkplatzes vor dem Martin-Gropius-Bau (Mitte)

BBK (Bundesverband Bildender Künstlerinnen und Künstler)

in 2004 relocated to Lindenstraße (Kreuzberg). Bought by the Senate Department of Science, Research and Culture.

Rainer Fest: Himmelshaus-Erdenhaus

Görlitzer Park (Kreuzberg)

Reinhard Haverkamp: Flügeltor

Straße des 17. Juni vor dem TU-Hauptgebäude (Charlottenburg)

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	Siegfried Wehrmeister: Büste Alfred Döblin	Karl-Marx-Allee 131 A, vor dem Kino Kosmos (Friedrichshain)	stolen in 2010
	Siegfried Wehrmeister: Büste Jan Amos Comenius	Comeniusplatz (Friedrichshain)	
	Studentengruppe der Hochschule der Künste um den Hochschullehrer Dieter Appelt: Mahnmale an die Verfolgten Reichstagsabgeordneten	Platz der Republik, Reichstagsgebäude (Tiergarten)	Perspektive Berlin e.V.
	Theodor Neuhofer: Wirbelwind nach DIN Format	Tempelhofer Damm , vor dem Finanzamt Tempelhof (Tempelhof)	
	Volker Bartsch: Schultor	Lützowstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Volkmar Haase: Skulptur	Scharfe Lanke, Uferpromenade (Spandau)	
1993	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Kinetische Skulptur	Hauptstraße, Ecke Straße am Güterbahnhof (Schöneberg)	
	Carin Kreuzberg: Drei Frauen	Elisabethweg, Ecke Ossietzkystraße (Pankow)	
	Christoph Meyer: Land-Raum-Fenster	Gartenstrasse, Ecke Wegenerstrasse (Weissensee)	
	David Laugomer: Kuh	Travemünder Straße, Ecke Osloer Straße (Wedding)	
	Dorit Bearach: Wassertraum (1993/94)	Schlosspark (Köpenick)	
	Gruppe Odius: Skulpturale Giebel-Linien	Alte Hellersdorfer Strasse 10, 24, 38 (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf
	Heinrich Drake: Pantherkatze	Alt Köpenick, Luisenhain, gegenüber Rathaus (Köpenick)	
	Herbert Dreiseitl: Schalenbrunnen	Zingster Straße 16 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Umschlungenes Paar	Puchanstraße (Köpenick)	
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Die Sphinx	Galerie Mutter Fourage (Zehlendorf)	
	Jochen Schamal: Tänzerin	Parochialstraße 1-3 (Mitte)	
	Jörg Hinz: Ohne Titel	Hellersdorfer Promenade 24/26 (Hellersdorf)	

	Klaus Nocolak: Landschaftsbrunnen	Boulevard Kastanienallee / Ecke Mylauer Weg (Hellersdorf)	District office of Hellersdorf	
	Michael Croissant: Figur	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)		
	Renate Stih, Frieder Schnock: Mahnen und Gedenken im Bayerischen Viertel	Bayerische Platz, Rathaus Schöneberg, Münchener Strasse (Schöneberg)	District office of Schöneberg	the initial idea of the Mahnmal stems from 1988, call for artists in 1991/92
	Rolf Biebl: Adam und Eva	Knaackstraße, Kulturbrauerei, vor dem Kesselhaus (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Rüdiger Roehl, Jan Skuin: Memento (Platte für Maueröffnung)	Sonnenallee (Treptow)		
	Sol LeWitt: Würfelskulptur	Hallesches Ufer 62 (Kreuzberg)		
	Thomas Richter und Martin Wilke: Das Schiff zur Rettung der Unschuld der Kunst	Fröbelstraße 17 (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Veronika Hansen: Steinquader	Bernkasteler Straße, Ecke Trierer Straße (Weissensee)		
	Wolfgang Stübner: Seelöwen	Zingster Straße 16 (Hochenschönhausen)		
1994	Aram Böhm: Schnecke	Oranienstraße 4 (Kreuzberg)		
	Emerita Pansowová: Vater und Sohn	Trusetaler Straße 19-15, Ecke Schleusinger Straße (Marzahn)		
	Friedrich B. Henkel: Große Metamorphe Landschaft	Volkspark Friedrichshain, Skulpturenensemble um den See bei der Freilichtbühne (Friedrichshain)		
	<b>Georg Seibert: Gedenkstätte KZ Columbiahaus</b>	<b>Columbiadamm, Ecke Golßener Straße (Tempelhof)</b>	<b>District office of Tempelhof</b>	
	Georg Seibert: Ikarus	Meyerinckplatz (Charlottenburg - Wilmersdorf)		in 1996 relocated to Berlin-Friedrichsfelde, in 2010 to Marleben in Wendland, then to Hohenzollerndamm
	Gudrun Venter: Signalrot - Verkehrspurpur - Polarweiss	Riesaer Strasse / Mittweidaer Strasse (Hellersdorf)	Gallery Wilmersdorf	



Hans Muhr: Wiener Trinkbrunnen	Kurfürstendamm 33, Ecke Uhlandstraße und Grolmanstraße (Charlottenburg)	part of the Sculpture Boulevard Kuddamm/Tauentzien Str.
Hans-Peter Goettsche: Ohne Titel	Borkheider Strasse / Ecke Clara-Zetkin-Park (Marzahn)	
Inges Idee (Künstlergruppe): Erzählungen (1994/95)	Waldemarstraße 118 (Kreuzberg)	
Jan Skuin: Köcher	Zeppelinplatz (Wedding)	
Jan Skuin: Schwarz-Weißes Paar	Brückenstraße, am Fußgängertunnel (Treptow)	District office of Treptow-Köpenick
Joel Shapiro: Zwei Figuren	Friedrichstraße und Charlottenstraße, an den Ausgängen der Friedrichstadt-Pasagen, Quartier 205 (Mitte)	
Manfred Ebeling: Hammer	Warnemünder Straße 57 (Hochenschönhausen)	
Max Bill: Berlin dankt Frankreich	Kurt-Schumacher-Damm, Ecke Straße 442 (Wedding)	
Michael Klein: Hugenotten-Pelikan	Friedrichstraße, Ecke Claire-Waldoff-Straße (Mitte)	
Norbert Radermacher: Neuköllner Mahnmahl für das KZ-Aussenlager Sonnenallee	Sonnenallee (Neukölln)	call for artists in 1988/89
Raimund Kummer: Glasblätter	Rudolf-Virchow-Klinikum, Innenhof (Wedding)	
Reinhard Haverkamp: Beluga	Straße des 17. Juni, TU Innengelände (Charlottenburg)	
Reinhard Haverkamp: Helix	TU Gelände zwischen Bismarck- und Hardenbergstraße (Charlottenburg)	
Reinhard Haverkamp: Zwischen Himmel und Erde	Eingangsbereich TU Musikgebäude, Hardenbergstrasse (Charlottenburg)	
Rüdiger Roehl: Torsulptur	Zeppelinplatz (Wedding)	
Rüdiger Roehl: Wasserspeier Trio	Baumschulenstraße 79-83 (Treptow)	in 2005 relocated to Sterndamm 102 (Treptow)

	Students of the Löcknitz-Grundschule: Denkstein-Mauer	Berchtesgadener Strasse 10/11 (Tempelhof-Schöneberg)		displays the names of prosecuted Jews
	Ulf Duschat: Boeuf Bourignon	Riesaer Strasse / Mittweidaer Strasse (Hellersdorf)	Gallery Wilmersdorf	
	Volkmar Haase: Licht, Raum, Dynamik	Motzener Straße 34 (Tempelhof)		
	Yoshimi Hashimoto: Baum	Treptower Park (Treptow)	District office of Treptow	the sculpture was realized within the framework of the project "Artists against the hatred of foreigners" in 1993
1995	Achim Kühn: Balance III.	Glienicker Weg 125 (Treptow)	Berlin Chemie AG Berlin Adlershof	
	Achim Kühn: Brunnen Kleine Elefanten	Arndtplatz, Adlershof (Treptow)		
	Achim Kühn: Luftfahrtsymbol	Am Seegraben 84 (Treptow)		
	Angelika Baasner-Matussek: Tor aus glasierten Ziegelsteinen	Richard-Willstädter Strasse 11 (Treptow)	Wista-Management GmbH	
	August Jäkel: Gedenkstele für Magnus Hirschfeld	Otto-Suhr-Alle 93 (Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf)	District office of Charlottenburg together with the Magnus Hirschfeld Association, the Gay Museum, the Schwusos and other institutions	
	Berndt Wilde: Seezeichen	Bürgerpark Marzahn (Marzahn)		
	Christine Dewerny: Spielstein	Humannplatz (Prenzlauerberg)		
	Claes Oldenburg: Houseball (1995/97)	Bethlehemkirchplatz, Mauerstraße (Mitte)		
	<b>Deutsch-Russisches Museum Berlin-Karlshorst</b>	<b>Zwieseler Strasse 4 (Karlshorst)</b>		
	Ernst Leonhardt: Europa macht Handstand III	Grieser Platz (Wilmersdorf)	On loan from the artist	
	Friedrich B. Henkel: Sitzende	Bürgerpark Marzahn (Marzahn)		
	Fritz Klimsch, Richard Scheibe: Emil-Fischer-Denkmal	Robert-Koch-Platz (Mitte)		copy of Fritz Klimsch's statue realized in 1921 and destroyed in WWII
	Fritz Koenig: Großer Janus II	Sigismundstraße (Tiergarten)		

Gabriele Hennemann: Plansche (1995/96)	Geraer Ring (Marzahn)		
Gerald Matzner: Indischer Brunnen	Luisenstädtischer Kanal, zwischen Oranienplatz und Engelbecken (Mitte)		
Gerhard Jäckel: Raumdurchdringung B/35	Hindenburgdamm 30 (Steglitz)		
Gösta Gablick: Sonnenuhr	Park am Malchower See (Hochenschönhausen)		
Gottfried Kohl: Tanzende Kraniche	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)		
Günter Maser: Sonnenuhr	Biesenbrower Straße 101-103 (Hochenschönhausen)		
Hella Santarossa: Blauer Obelisk	Theodor-Heuss-Platz (Charlottenburg)		
Hüsch Stephan: Marmor	Hindenburgdamm 30 (Steglitz)	Prof. Kurt Schimmelpfennig	
Inge Mahn: Wetterhahnturm	Cecilienstraße (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Frauenprotest 1943 (Frauenblock)	Rosenstraße, Grünanlage (Mitte)	Senate programme "Kunst im Stadtraum"	initiated in 1989
Jan Skuin: Drei Stelen	Sterndamm 102 (Treptow)		
Jan Skuin: Urpflanze	Späthstraße 80-81 (Treptow)		
Kai-Uwe Dräger: Figuren des Jugendbrunnens	Cecilienplatz (Hellersdorf)		
Kai-Uwe Dräger: Figuren des Jugendbrunnens	Jugendplatz (Spandau)		
Karl Biedermann: Kopfsteher	Joachim-Ringelnatz-Straße, Ecke Mettlacher Straße (Marzahn)	Housing association of Marzahn	call for artists with invited applications
Karl Hillert: Daphne	Müggelheimer Straße, Grünanlage Frauentrog (Köpenick)		
Kenan Sivrikaya: Linien	Dorotheenstraße, auf dem Hof der Humboldt-Universität (Mitte)		
Künstler unbekannt: Friedensfigur	Hauptstrasse 13 (Pankow)		
Künstler unbekannt: Mooreiche	Rudower Chaussee 17 (Treptow)		
Lothar Köppel: Betonkugel-Installation	Ehm-Welk-Strasse 1 (Hellersdorf)		
Lothar Köppel: Der aufgehobene Weg	Cecilienstrasse/Teterower Ring 166 (Hellersdorf)		

	Lutz Kommalein: Boot	Insel der Jugend Treptow, Nahe Abteibrücke (Treptow)		
	Manfred Ebeling: Sandsteinkörper	Ribnitzer Straße 3-7 (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Markus Lüpertz: Der gestürzte Krieger	Kantdreieck (Charlottenburg - Wilmersdorf)	Kap Hag	
	Micha Ullman: Denkmal Bücherverbrennung (Versunkene Bibliothek)	Bebelplatz (Mitte)	Senate programme "Kunst im Stadtraum"	call for artists with invited applications in 1993
	<b>Neue Synagoge Berlin – Centrum Judaicum</b>	<b>Oranienburgerstrasse 28-30 (Mitte)</b>		<b>decision in 1988</b>
	Rainer Kriester: Grosses Sonnenzeichen	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)		
	Rene Graetz: Upright	Treptower Park (Treptow)		
	Rolf Lieberknecht: Windspiel	Hellersdorfer Strasse/ Ecke Gülzower Strasse (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
	Udo Dagenbach: Lichttor	Louis-Lewin-Straße , Ecke Theaterplatz (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
	Volker Bartsch: Skulpturenensemble	Darßer Straße 97 (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Wolfgang Göschel, Joachim von Rosenberg, Hans-Norbert Burkert: Steglitzer Denkzeichen für die ehemalige Synagoge Haus Wolfenstein (Deportationsmahnmal)	Hermann-Ehlers-Platz (Steglitz)	Initiative Haus Wolfenstein	call for artists in 1992 by the district (Kunst-am-Bau-Wettbewerb)
1996	Wolfgang Stübner: Head over Heels	Arendsweg 1 (Hochenschönhausen)		
	Akbar Behkalam: Mahnmal Cemal Kemal Altun	Hardenbergstraße (Charlottenburg)		
	Andreas Klein: Ruhe in den Schatten	Einbecker Straße 64/66 (Lichtenberg)		
	Ansgar Nierhoff: Unwucht (1996/97)	Corneliusstraße (Tiergarten)		
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Kinetische Skulptur	Simon-Bolivar-Straße 20 (Hochenschönhausen)		

Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Kinetische Skulptur	Coloniaallee 36/30 (Treptow)	Stadt und Land Wohnbauten-Gesellschaft mbH.	
Carin Kreuzberg: Stehender Junge	Wisbyer Straße, Ecke Lewaldstraße vor dem Eingang zur Poliklinik (Prenzlauer Berg)		relocated to Fröbelstraße 17, BA (Prenzlauer Berg)
Christoph Mertens: Canto Rodado II Denkmal für die Opfer des NS-Regimes	Breite Strasse 24a (Pankow) Papitzer Strasse 10-24 (Tempelhof-Schöneberg)	On loan from Christoph Mertens History workshop Lichtenrade	
Frank Dornseif: Der Betrachter	Riesaer Strasse / Hönower Strasse (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
Franziska Frey: Ohne Titel Gedenkstein für gefallene italienische Soldaten	Breite Strasse 24a (Pankow) Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	On loan from Franziska Frey	
Gerhard Mantz: Drehende Kugeln	Hofzeichendamm (Weissensee)		
Gösta Gablick: Die Gedanken sind frei	Freienwalder Platz (Hochenschönhausen)		
Gunter Demnig: Stolpersteine (seit 1996 -)	überall in Berlin	Civil initiatives	
Günter Maser: Stelen	Biesenbrower Straße 101-103 (Hochenschönhausen)		
Harald Haacke: Bismarckdenkmal	Bismarckplatz (Wilmerdorf)		reproduction of the original statue destroyed during WWII
Heinrich Drake: Junge Pferde Herbert	S-Bahnhof Wilhelmshagen (Köpenick)		
Wiegand: Buchstabengruppe	Achillesstraße 31 (Weissensee)		
Ismond Rosen: Christus im Holocaust	Zossener Strasse 65 (Kreuzberg)	On loan from the artist	
Jens-Hagen Engelhardt: Agatha Günner	Große Hamburger Straße (Mitte)		

Karl Biedermann: Der verlassene Raum	Koppenplatz (Mitte)	Call for artists in 1988 (GDR). Realization in 1996 due to interventions by local organizations and individuals. Realized within the framework of the senate programme "Kunst im Stadtraum"
Markdi Suvero: Gallileo Watersurface	Potsdamer Platz (Tiergarten)	
Markus Lüpertz: Der Tod des Kriegers	Kantdreieck (Charlottenburg)	Berlinische Galerie
Michael Klein: Denkmal Bettina und Achim von Arnim	Arnimplatz (Prenzlauerberg)	
Michel Milberger: Heinz-Galinski-Büste	Waldschulallee (Charlottenburg)	
Mirko Siakkou: Jongleur	Park am Malchower See (Hochenschönhausen)	
Niklaus Koliusis: Denkmal für die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft	Königin-Luise-Straße 55 (Zehlendorf)	
Rainer Fetting: Willy Brandt	Stresemannstraße, Ecke Wilhelmstraße (Tiergarten)	
Roland Luchmann: Pyramide	Humannplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Rolf Wicker: Geknicktes Haus	Breite Strasse 24a (Pankow)	On loan from Rolf Wicker
Rüdiger Roehl: Kopf (1996/97)	Adlergestell 333 (Treptow)	
Spartak Babajan: Hauptmann von Köpenick	Alt-Köpenick, Ecke Rosenstraße (Köpenick)	
Thorsten Goldberg: Stein-Papier-Schere (1996/97)	Oberbaumbrücke (Friedrichshain)	Senate programme "Kunst im Stadtraum"
Ulrich Bauss: Drei Betonkulpturen	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	
Volker Hansen: Trauerndes Paar	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	
Wieland Förster: Heinrich-Böll-Stele	Greifswalder Straße 87 (Prenzlauer Berg)	

	Wolfgang Stübner: Mayatempel	Hagenower Ring 54 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Yvonne Kohlert: Pavillon	Einsteinpark (Prenzlauer Berg)	
1997	Achim Kühn: Schneekristall	Zingster Straße 25 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Achim Kühn: Gräser im Wind	Zingster Straße 23 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Achim Kühn: Regenbogen	Zingster Straße 15 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Achim Kühn: Regentropfen	Zingster Straße 21 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Alexander Heiger: Indianerhäuptling	Boschpolder Platz (Marzahn)	
	Aram Böhm: fünf	Mohnweg 20 (Treptow)	
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Sonnenuhr	Ursulinenstraße, Nordpark (Neukölln)	Mr. Sodeikat (Kunst am Bau)
	Christian Behrens: Brücken der Begegnung	Alexanderplatz (Mitte)	
	Christine Dewerny: Marmorstein	Schweizer Tal 18 (Pankow)	
	Christine Gersch: Marzahner Geister	Borkheider Straße, neben der Turnhalle (Marzahn)	Housing association of Marzahn
	Christine Gersch: Wegweiser	Borkheider Straße, neben der Turnhalle (Marzahn)	
	Christoph Girot: Wasseranlage	Invalidenpark (Mitte)	
	Christophe Girot: Sinkende Mauer	Invalidenpark (Mitte)	
	Cornelia von Impel: Taststein	Schönstrasse 80 (Weissensee)	
	Detlev Kraft: Humboldt-Denkmal	Karolinenstraße, am Flachwasserbecken vor der Humboldt- Bibliothek (Reinickendorf)	Gift from Alfred and Dr. Steffen Gebauer
	Günter Maser: Kinderhände	Hagenower Ring 36 (Hochenschönhausen)	
	Helge Warme: Lichtblick	Karl-Marx-Allee 78-84 (Friedrichshain)	City of Berlin
	Jonathan Borofsky: Molecule Man	Oberbaumbrücke (Treptow)	Allianz

	(1997/99)			
	Jörg Siegele: Figuren	Frankfurter Allee, Ecke Möllendorffstraße (Lichtenberg)		
	Jörg Steinert: Hoffnung	Robert-Rössle-Strasse 10 (Pankow)		
	Karl Biedermann: Torso	Zionskirche (Mitte)		
	Manrique Césa: Kinetische Skulptur	Hammarskjöldplatz (Charlottenburg)		
	Markus Lüpertz: Hommage á Liebermann	Max Liebermann Haus (Mitte)	On loan from the Harald Quandt Grundbesitz KG	
	Mauermarkierung (seit 1997)	durch die Innenstadt		
	Nicola Falley: Räume in Raum	Schönstrasse 80 (Weissensee)		
	Norbert Radermacher: Die Ringe	Charite Campus Virchow Klinikum (Mitte)		call for artists
	Odius (Künstlergruppe): Steg und Skulpturen im Südgelände (1997/98)	Südgelände, ehemaliger Rangierbahnhof Tempelhof (Schöneberg)		
	Odius (Künstlergruppe): Giardino Segreto (1997/98)	Südgelände, ehemaliger Rangierbahnhof Tempelhof (Schöneberg)		
	Rainer Fest: Interior Space	Takustraße 7 (Zehlendorf)		
	Renate Wiedemann: Düfte	Schönstrasse 80 (Weissensee)		
	Rolf Szymanski: Eisenplastik (1996/1997)	Carl-Heinrich-Becker-Weg (Steglitz)		
	Sabine Teubner-Mbaye: Ruhender Mann, stehendes Mädchen	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)		
	Wolfgang Reuter: Tünnes und Schäl	Ehrenfelder Platz (Treptow)		
	Zvi Hecker, Eyal Weizmann, Micha Ullman: Page/Blatt	Axel-Springer-Strasse 48-50 (Kreuzberg)	Barmer Ersatzkasse	call for artists in 1995
1998	Amilcar de Castro: Ohne Titel	Neuen Grottkauer Straße Nr. 38 (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Einstein	Einsteinpark (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Aram Böhm: Säule	Neue Wiesen Weißensee (Weissensee)		



Astrid Mosch: Königin	Piseporter Strasse (Pankow)		
Bernhard Hoppe: Tuffsteinskulpturen	Quedlinburger Strasse (Hellersdorf)		
Carsten Höller: Die Rutsche (the Slide)	Auguststraße (Mitte)		
Cesar Olhagaray: Hauszeichen	Cecilienstrasse, Lily-Braun Strasse, Ernst-Bloch-Strasse (Marzahn)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
Christian Stanici: Hubschrauber mit Engel	Thomas-Mann-Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)		
Christine Gersch: Nixenspiel	Friedrich-Junge-Straße (Friedrichshain)		
David Lee Thompson: Scarecrowngyclones	Riesaer Strasse 94 (Hellersdorf)	District office of Hellersdorf	
Egidius Knops: Miss America	Riesaer Strasse 94 (Hellersdorf)	District office of Hellersdorf	
Frank Thiel: Ohne Titel	Friedrichstrasse (Mitte, Friedrichshain, Kreuzberg)		call for artists in 1996
Gedenkstein Hermann Stöhr	Ostbahnhof (Friedrichshain)	Bündnis Friedrichshain, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	
Gruppe Odius: Bank	Eisenacher Strasse 99 (Marzahn)		
Henry Stöcker: Flugobjekte	Ballonplatz (Weissensee)		
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Der Sizilianische Traum	Rosenstraße, Innenhof Hotel Plaza (Mitte)		
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Gedenken an Mathilde Jacob	Franz-Mehring-Platz (Friedrichshain)	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation	
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Karl Liebknecht-Relief	Franz-Mehring-Platz (Friedrichshain)	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation	
Johannes Grützke: Lachender Kopf	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)		
Klaus Duschat: Ohne Titel	Riesaer Strasse 94 (Hellersdorf)	District office of Hellersdorf	
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein mit Tafel für Opfer der Euthanasieaktion 1940-41	Brebacher Weg 15 (Biesdorf)		
Künstler unbekannt: Knautschke	Zoologischer Garten, vor dem Flusspferdhaus (Tiergarten)		

Mahnort Kurfürstenstrasse (Bushaltestelle)	Kurfürstenstraße 115/116 (Tempelhof-Schöneberg)	Ronnie Golz, Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, der Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe, Werbefirma Wall	
Matthias Heinz: Drei Räder	Breite Strasse 24a (Pankow)	On loan from Rolf Wicker	
Michael Croissant: Kopf	Fasanenstraße 25 (Charlottenburg)		
Michael Klein: Bettinas Bank	Arnimplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)		
Michael Klein: Poesie der Dinge	Arnimplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)		
Mindaugas Navakas: Reconnaissance	Zossener Strasse 9-17, Teupitzer Strasse 34-44 (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
Nikolaus Hirsch, Wolfgang Lorch und Andrea Wandel: Gleis 17	Güterbahnhof Grunewald (Wilmerdorf)	Ignatz Bubis (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland) and Heinz Dürr (Vorstandsvorsitzender der Deutschen Bahn AG)	call for artists in 1995
Per Kirkeby: Ohne Titel (1998/2000)	Leipziger Straße 3-4 (Mitte)		
Peter Dietsch: Karpfenjuhle	Neue Krugallee 4 (Treptow)		
Pit Kroke: Lenz 92	Olivaer Platz, Ecke Konstanzer Straße (Wilmerdorf)		
Rene Graetz: Upright	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)		
Robert Rauschenberg: Riding Bikes	Potsdamer Platz (Tiergarten)		
Rolf Biebl: Gallionsfigur	Achillesstr. 14 (Pankow)		
Sabina Grzimek: Porträt Erwin Negelein	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		
Sabina Grzimek: Porträt Karl Lohmann	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		
Stephan Balkenhol: Großer Mann mit kleinem Mann	Pariser Platz 6 (Mitte)		
Susanne Specht: Inter mundien	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)		
Veryl Goodnight: The Day the Wall Came Down	Clayallee, Grünstreifen neben dem Alliierten-Museum (Zehlendorf)	Gift from the US, financed by private sponsors living mostly in Germany	
Volker Bartsch: Seitigkeiten	Grünfläche zwischen Matthäikirchplatz und Potsdamer Straße (Tiergarten)		

1999	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Europa	Marienburger Strasse 42-46 (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Schutzmantelmadonna	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)		
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Sphinx weibl.	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)		
	Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Tanzender Stein	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)		
	Astrid Mosch: Paar	Hof des Einkaufscenters an der Landsberger Allee (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Bernhard Wilhelm Blank: Kinetisches Objekt (1999/2001)	Kölner Damm 36 (Neukölln)		
	Christian Stanici: world wide web. company. Gesellschaft mit unbeschränkter Haftung	Thomas-Mann-, Ecke Greifswalder Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Daniel Pflumm: Neu	Philippstraße 13 (Mitte)		
	Frank Hüller: Tiersteine (1999/2000)	Zerbster Straße (Hellersdorf)	Senate programme "Grün macht Schule"	
	Gabriele Basch: Wahre Geschichte	Invalidenstrasse (Mitte)		call for artists in 1996
	Gedenkkreuz für Karl-Heinz Kube	Berlepschstraße / Ecke Benschallee (Steglitz/Zehlendorf)		
	Hans Haacke: Der Bevölkerung (1999/2000)	Reichstag (Mitte)	Kunst am Bau	
	Heike Ponwitz: Übergang - Nähe und Distanz	Sonnenallee (Neukölln, Treptow, Köpenick)		call for artists in 1996
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Die böse Wolke	Rahnsdorf, Hinter der Dorfkirche (Köpenick)		
	Karl Biedermann: Peter Fechter Stele	Zimmerstrasse (Mitte)	Donated by Axel-Springer-Verlag	
	Karla Sachse: Kaninchenzeichen	Chausseestraße, zwischen Liesen- und Wöhlertstraße (Mitte)		call for artists in 1996
	Kohlhoff&Kohlhoff: Berlin Wall Memorial	Bernauer Strasse (Wedding)	Senate and the German Historical Museum	call for artists in 1994
	Matthias Brellocks: Kunstbank	Sterndamm 102 (Treptow - Köpenick)		
	Michael Klein: Lesendes Mädchen	Bezirksmuseum Marzahn (Marzahn)		

	(1999/2000)	<b>Museum Blindenwerkstatt Otto Weidt</b>	<b>Rosenthaler Strasse 39 (Mitte)</b>	<b>Inge Deutschkron, Hans Israelovicz</b>	
		Peter Kern: Paar	Bürgerpark Marzahn (Marzahn)		
		Pomona Zipser: Ohne Titel (1999/2000)	Skulpturengarten AVK (Schöneberg)	On loan from the Berlin Water Company	in 2004 relocated to Lindenstrasse/Kochstrasse (Kreuzberg)
		Rolf Biebl: Rosa Luxemburg	Weydingerstraße 14–16 (Mitte)	Circle of "Ein Zeichen für Rosa Luxemburg"	in 1999 relocated to Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 (Friedrichshain)
		Rolf Fässer: Samariterbrunnen	Schönwalder Allee 26 (Spandau)		
		Rolf Julius: Klangpyramide	Branitzer Platz (Hellersdorf)		
		Rüdiger Preißler: Paar	Lossebergplatz (Weissensee)		
		Rüdiger Roehl, Jan Skuin: Denkmal der Maueropfer	Kiefholzstraße (Treptow)	One of the teachers of Hartmann, district office of Treptow	
		Rüdiger Roehl, Jan Skuin: Sonnenuhr	Sterndamm 142 (Treptow - Köpenick)		
		Susanne Ahner: Übergang zum Untergrundbahn	U-Bahnhof Schwartzkopfstrasse, U-Bahnhof Kochstrasse, U-Bahnhof Heinrich-Heine-Strasse, U-Bahnhof Bernauer Strasse (Mitte, Friedrichshain, Kreuzberg)		call for artists in 1996
		Trak Wendisch: Halbmondträgerin	Breite Straße (Pankow)		
		Twin Gabriel (e.): Mind the Gap	Bornholmer Straße/Ecke Norweger Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)		call for artists in 1996
		Wieland Förster: Nike 89	Glienicker Brücke (Postsdam)		
2000		Anna Franziska Schwarzbach: Wenn ich groß bin (Mahnmahl für nationalsozialistische Euthanasieopfer)	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		
		Ayse Erkmen: Sesse "Elogio"	Max-Liebermann-Haus (Mitte)	On loan from the Bankgesellschaft Berlin	
		Christine Gersch, Igor Jerschow: Skulpturengarten	Seelgrabenpark (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf	

Christine Gersch, Igor Jerschow: Träumer und Tierskulpturen (2000/01)	Deulstrasse 19-20 (Treptow)		
Eduardo Chillida: Berlin	Willy-Brandt-Straße (Tiergarten)	Federal Republic of Germany, financed by Rolf und Irene Becker	
<b>Erinnerungsort Auerbach'sches Waisenhaus</b>	<b>Schönauser Allee 162 (Prenzlauer Berg)</b>		
Ewerdt Hilgemann: Cerberus	Bundesallee. Ecke Nachodstraße (Wilmerisdorf)	Investitionsbank Berlin	
Franz Bernhard: Der Kopf	Stresemannstraße 94 (Kreuzberg)	Kunst am Bau	
Gedenkstein für die verschwundene Synagoge	Konrad-Wolf-Strasse 91/92 (Hochenschönhausen)	Citizens, district office, Heimatmuseum	
Gedenkstein Marinus van der Lubbe	Schumannstrasse 13 a (Mitte)	Foundation of „Ein Grab für Marinus van der Lubbe“	
Gerhard Rommel: Eiserner Gustav	Potsdamer Straße, auf dem Mittelstreifen vor der Potsdamer Brücke (Tiergarten)	Berliner Taxifahrer	
Günter Öeller: Säule der Gefangenen. Mahnmal für das KZ- Aussenlager Berlin Lichterfelde	Wismarer Strasse (Steglitz)	City Council Assembly	
Helge Warme: Würfel	Altlandsberger Platz 4 (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn (Kunst am Bau)	
Jeff Koons: Balloon Flower	Marlene-Dietrich Platz (Tiergarten)		auctioned in 2010
Ju Ming: Taiji-Tor	Takustrasse 40/Ecke Lansstrasse (Zehlendorf)	On loan from the Gallery Odermatt Vedovi (Paris)	
Klaus-Müller Klug: Granitstele	Königin-Luise-Straße, Ecke Im Winkel (Zehlendorf)	Barg-Betontechnik	
Künstler unbekannt: Löwenfisch (nach 2000)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)		
Lothar Gericke, Andreas Walter: Glasstahlsäulen	Eichhorster Strasse 16 (Marzahn)	GbR Scheidges/Fröhlich	
ODIOUS Künstlergruppe: Cortenstahl-Säule (um 2000)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)		
Olaf Metzel: Niemandland. Umsonst und draussen	Spreebogenpark (Mitte)	Kunstbeirat Spreebogen	call for artists with invited applications

	Olafur Eliasson: Zwei Leuchttürme für das MDC	Max-Delbrück-Centrum (Pankow)		
	Raffael Rheinsberg: Das E als Element der Architektur	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		
	Rainer Görß: Denkzeichen Modezentrum/Reflexum	Hausvogteiplatz (Mitte)	A group associated with the publisher Gerhard Hentrich, and the journalist Uwe Westphal	call for artists by the Senate in 1995
	Rolf Szymanski: Zwei Figuren in großer Höhe	Rubensstraße 125 (Schöneberg)	On loan from the senate	
	Rüdiger Preisler: Sitzendes Paar	Landsberger Allee, vor der Cafeteria im Neubau des Klinikums Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	On loan from the artist	
	Sabine Straub: Bücherwürfel	Allee der Kosmonauten (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn (Kunst am Bau)	
	Salomé: Regenbogenstele	Nollendorfplatz (Tempelhof-Schöneberg)		
	Slavomir Drinkovic: Marko-Marulic-Statue	Julius-Morgenroth-Platz (Wilmerisdorf)	Present from the City of Split	
	Susanne Specht: Fluss-Stationen, Quellstein und Wassertor	Corneliusstraße, Grünstreifen vor der Galerie Nothelfer (Tiergarten)		
	Thorsten Goldberg: Ohne Titel	Charité Campus (Mitte)		call for artists
	Uli Mathes: Öffnung Flora (2000/2002)	Peter-Weiss-Gasse, Ecke Alice-Salomon-Platz (Hellersdorf)	On loan from the artist	
	Vladislav Sajzev: Geometrischer Garten	Alte Hellersdorfer Strasse 7 (Hellersdorf)	Senate Department of Education, Youth and Sport	
	Volker Bartsch: Option	Fasanenstraße, Ludwig-Erhardt-Haus (Charlottenburg)		
	Walter Sutkowski: Gazelle	Emrichstrasse 52-82 (Köpenick)		
	Werner Stötzer: Sitzende	Köpenicker Strasse/Lianenweg (Köpenick)		
	Wolfgang Ruppel: Denkmal des 17. Juni 1953	Wilhelmstraße, Ecke Leipziger Straße (Mitte)		call for artists with invited applications in 1997
2001	Anne Ochmann: Harlekin	Am Prenzlauer Berg 5 (Prenzlauer Berg)		

	Annette Messig, Angela Lubic: Zitrusfrüchte	Zinsgutsstrasse 38 (Treptow-Köpenick)	
	Carlos Maria Toto: José de San Martin	Potsdamer Straße vor dem Ibero-Amerikanischen Instiut an der Staatsbibliothek (Tiergarten)	
	Christine Gersch: Lebenslinien	Blumberger Damm 12-14 (Marzahn)	
	Christoph Glamm: Ohne Titel	Teterower Ring 36 (Hellersdorf)	Stern
	Cifuentes Alvaro: Sofa	Wisepark Wuhletal (Marzahn)	
	Dorothee Rättsch: Zerbrechliches Kind	Oranienburger Chaussee 53 (Reinickendorf)	
	H. Kühn: Gedenkstele Wilhelm Leuschner	Leuschnerdamm gegenüber Hausnummer 33 (Kreuzberg)	
	Hans Boes: Die Erde in Flammen (2001/02)	Vorplatz St. Thomaskirche (Kreuzberg)	
	Hans Hoepfner: Windspiel	Albertinenstrasse 26. (Weissensee)	
	Heinz Mack: Wassertor	Klosterstraße 3, Spandau-Arkaden (Spandau)	
	<b>Jüdisches Museum</b>	<b>Lindenstrasse 9-14 (Kreuzberg)</b>	<b>call for artists in 1988</b>
	Künstler unbekannt: Buddy Bären	überall in Berlin aufgestellt, viele in Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	Firma Buddy Bär Berlin GmbH
	Künstler unbekannt: Kinderschänderschliesskäfig - Denkmal nach	An der Wuhlheide 250 (Treptow)	Ravene Possehl-Stahl AG
	Otto Herbert Hajek: Wegzeichen 3a	Tiergartenstraße 15 (Tiergarten)	On loan from the artist
	Sabina Grzimek: Porträt Otto Warburg	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
	Volkmar Haase: Woge mit gegenläufigen Flügeln	Fasanenplatz (Wilmersdorf)	in 2008 relocated to Herbert-Lewin-Platz (Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf)
	Wolfgang Roszdeutscher: Komposition und Landschaft	Boxberger Strasse (Marzahn)	
	Zbigniew Fraczkiewicz: Wir vom XX. Jahrhundert	Parchimer Allee 109 (Neukölln)	
2002	Alexander Polzin: Der Steinhändler	Berliner Straße 120 (Pankow)	
	Auke de Vries: Gelandet	Potsdamer Platz (Tiergarten)	

Brigitte und Martin Matschinsky-Denninghoff: Elemente	Landsberger Allee, Ecke Ernst-Zinna-Weg (Friedrichshain)	On loan from the Berlinische Galerie
Büro Franck: Wasserläufe	Landsberger Allee, vor dem Haupteingang des Klinikums Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)	
Cecco Bonanotte: Die Kirche zeigt den Menschen die Gründe ihrer Hoffnung	Lilienthalstraße 13 (Neukölln)	
Chantaldela Chauvinière-Riant: Adenauer und Charles de Gaulle	Tiergartenstraße, Ecke Klingelhöferstraße (Tiergarten)	
Christel Lechner: Paar mit Schirm	Wilhelmsruher Damm 144 (Reinickendorf)	
Denkmal Russlanddeutsche Opfer des Stalinismus	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	
Fusion e.V., Wolfgang Janzer, Sandra Burckhardt: Fliegenpilz (2002/03)	Clara Zetkin Park (Marzahn)	Fusion e.V.
Gerson Fehrenbach: Gilgamesch	Sensburger Allee, am Café K (Charlottenburg)	
Hans Scheib: Porträt der Hirnforscher Oskar und Cecile Vogt	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)	
Hartmut Sy: Liebende	Landsberger Allee, Ecke Ernst-Zinna-Weg (Friedrichshain)	On loan from the artist
Hartmut Sy: Ohne Titel	Landsberger Allee, Ecke Ernst-Zinna-Weg (Friedrichshain)	On loan from the artist
Hubertus von der Goltz: Tor zum Prenzlauer Berg	Prenzlauer Allee, Ecke Am Prenzlauer Berg (Prenzlauer Berg)	
Jacob Wedel, Wilhelm Grässle: Denkmal für die Opfer des Stalinismus	Wiesenburger Weg 10 (Marzahn)	Berliner Berein "Vision"
Jonathan Garnham: Sarkophag	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	Berlin Grün GmbH. call for artists
Josef Nalépa: Porträtbüste Albrecht Haushofer	Lehrter Straße (Tiergarten)	Financed by the Ernst Freiberger Foundation
Karsten E. W. Kunert: Windskulptur "Spurensuche"	Helmholtzplatz (Prenzlauer Berg)	



Klaus Behr: Mädchen	An der Wuhlheide 42 (Treptow)		
Künstler unbekannt: Abstrakte Skulptur	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	UDK (Bildhauerklasse Prof. Hashimoto)	call for artists
Künstler unbekannt: Akt (Mann mit dickem Arm)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	UDK (Bildhauerklasse Prof. Hashimoto)	call for artists
Künstler unbekannt: Keim	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	UDK (Bildhauerklasse Prof. Hashimoto)	call for artists
Künstler unbekannt: Mahnmal gegen Vergewaltigung	Viktoriapark (Kreuzberg)	Anonymous initiators	
Künstler unbekannt: Stele (mit zwei menschlichen Figuren)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	UDK (Bildhauerklasse Prof. Hashimoto)	call for artists
Kurt Buchwald: Das Firmament der Dinge (2002/03)	Tangermünder Straße 18 und 20 (Hellersdorf)	STERN GmbH, district office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf	call for artists
Lothar Oertel und Schüler und Lehrer des heutigen Oberstufenzentrums Holztechnik: Denkzeichen des Zwangsarbeiterlager	Rudower Strasse 18 (Köpenick)		
Markus Lüpertz: Das Urteil des Paris	Kudamm-Eck (Charlottenburg)		
Martin Kuhn: Grosser Wasserstein	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	Mr. Gottfriedsen (Grün Berlin), Prof. Hashimoto (Leiter der Steinwerkstatt der Universität der Künste Berlin), Prof. Evison (Leiter der Meisterklasse Metall der Udk), Mrs. Riese (Grün Berlin)	call for artists
Nikolaus Bode: Gedenkstele	Luisenstädtischer Kirchpark (Mitte)		
Patricia Pisani: Ohne Titel (Denkzeichen zur Erinnerung an die Ermordeten der NS-Militärjustiz)	Murellenberg (Charlottenburg)	District office of Charlottenburg	call for artists in 2001 with invited applications
Per Kirkeby: Ohne Titel	Peter-Weiss-Gasse (Hellersdorf)	Land of Berlin, Senate Department for Urban Development (Kunst am Bau)	
Rainer Fest: Erinnerungsstein für das Zwangsarbeiterlager	Hermannstrasse 84-90 (Neukölln)	Lorenz Wilkens	

	Robert Schotten: Hirsch	Fürstenwalder Damm, im Park Püttbergeweg in Berlin-Rahnsdorf (Köpenick)		
	Rüdiger Roehl, Jan Skuin: Kopf mit Herz	Fürstenwalder Damm, im Park Püttbergeweg in Berlin-Rahnsdorf (Köpenick)		
	Sabine Teubner-Mbaye: Bruch ist ganz	Flora-, Ecke Görschstraße (Pankow)		
	Sebastian Kulisch: DNS-Skulptur	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		
	Senta Baldamus: Brunnen der Jugend	Wartenberger Straße, Ecke Wustrower Straße (Lichtenberg)		
	Silvia Kluge: Welle mit Stab	Dörpfeldstrasse 54 (Treptow)		
	Susanne Ahner: Garbáty- Denkzeichen	Garbáty-Platz (Pankow)		
	Susanne Bazer: micro-macro	Grellstrasse 18/24 (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Thomas Reifferscheid: Tor/Gneis (vor 2002)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	On loan from the artist	
	Thorsten Stegmann: Heinz- Rühmann-Denkmal	Potsdamer Platz (Tiergarten)		
	TOPAZ: Drei Männer (2002/03)	Wuhlheide (Treptow)	On loan from the artist	
	Vladislav Sajzev: Mohrrübe	Kastanienallee 118 (Hellersdorf)	Senate Department of Education, Youth and Sport	removed in 2007
2003	Clemens Gröszer: Kopf Integral	Erholungspark Marzahn (Marzahn)	Municipal authorities	
	Dmitry Kuznetsov: Leichtgewicht	Breite Strasse 46/47 (Pankow)		
	Gabrielle Rosskamo, Serge Petit: Geschlossene Gesellschaft	Kyretzer Strasse 64 (Hellersdorf)		student project with the leadership of Gabriele Rosskamp and Sege Petit
	Gedenkstein für 20 polnische Zwangsarbeiterinnen	Parkfriedhof (Marzahn)	Survivors from Łódź	
	Gerhard Rommel: Porträt Arnold Graffi	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		
	Gidon Graetz: Phönix	Potsdamer Platz, Inge-Beisheim-Platz (Tiergarten)		
	Hans Scheib: Porträt Max Delbrück	Robert-Rössle-Straße 10 (Pankow)		

Hubertus von der Goltz: Balance	Eisenacher Straße, Ecke Suhler Straße (Hellersdorf)	Housing association of Hellersdorf	
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Paar	Schragenfeldstraße (Marzahn)		
Karin Sander: Heilstein	Max Planck Institut (Mitte)		call for artists with invited applications
Karl Biedermann: Gedenkstätte für den letzten Mauertoten - Chris Gueffroy	Chris-Gueffroy-Strasse (Treptow)	Senate and House of Representatives (Michael Cramer)	
Karl Schlamminger: Pendelobelisk	Joachimstaler Platz (Charlottenburg)	Gift from Hans and Thomas Grothe	
Katja Natascha Busse: Faltenwerfung	Grünfläche zwischen Matthäikirchplatz und Potsdamer Straße (Tiergarten)		realized within the framework of the International Sculpture Symposium "Stones Without Borders IV"
Künstler unbekannt: Gedenkstein			
Lothar Berfelde (Charlotte von Mahlsdorf)	Hultschiner Damm 333 (Mahlsdorf)		
Marlene Dammin: Emu	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	Gift from the Australian Embassy Bonn	
Marlene Dammin: Känguruh	Tierpark-Friedrichsfelde (Lichtenberg)	Gift from the Australian Embassy Bonn	
Pit Bohne: Vorsicht Mensch	Blankenfelder Chaussee 5 (Pankow)		
Rolf Biebl: Reliefblock Begegnung	Erholungspark Marzahn (Marzahn)	Municipal authorities	
Rudolf J. Kaltenbach: Bewegung im Raum	Stiftsweg 1 (Pankow)		
Silvia Breitwieser: Histoire und Histologie	Grünfläche zwischen Matthäikirchplatz und Potsdamer Straße (Tiergarten)		realized within the framework of the International Sculpture Symposium "Stones Without Borders IV"
Spartak Babajan: Friedrich II.	Marktplatz Friedrichshagen (Köpenick)		reproduction of Felix Göring's 1903 sculpture destroyed in WWII
Stefan Laskowski: Faun (Brunnenskulptur)	Wilhelmsruher Damm, gegenüber Einkaufszentrum Märkisches Viertel (Reinickendorf)		

	Sylvia Christina Fohrer: Meditation gegen das Schweigen	Grünfläche zwischen Matthäikirchplatz und Potsdamer Straße (Tiergarten)		realized within the framework of the International Sculpture Symposium "Stones Without Borders IV"
	Volkmar Haase: Der Anfang und das Ende	Lietzenseepark, Neue Kantstraße (Charlottenburg)	On loan from Prof. Klaus W. Döring	
	Volkmar Haase: Versuch einer Balance (Tangentiale Berührung)	Lietzenseepark (Charlottenburg)	On loan from Prof. Klaus W. Döring	
2004	Albrecht Klink: Die Gebrüder Jakob	Alte Jakobstraße 129 (Kreuzberg)		
	Axel Anklam: Tanzende Berolina	Hausvogteiplatz, vor dem Haus zur Berolina (Mitte)		
	Christine Gersch und Igor Jerschow: Drei Weisen	Plönzeile 7 (Treptow)		
	Christine Gersch und Igor Jerschow: Zauberer	Plönzeile 7 (Treptow)		
	Clegg & Guttman: Monument for Historical Change - Fragments from the Basement of History	Weydingerstraße, Ecke Linienstraße (Mitte)		
	Ernst Baumeister: Parkwächter - Stehfisch	Wassertorstraße, Ecke Gitschiner Straße (Kreuzberg)		
	Gedenkstein Jüdischer Friedhof	Gehsener Strasse 74-78 (Köpenick)	Teachers and students from the Merian High School	
	Genevieve Gilabert: Reflexion	Albert-Schweitzer-Strasse (Köpenick)		
	Gerhard Thieme: Portrait Heinz Knobloch	Heinz-Knobloch-Platz (Pankow)		
	Han Xiujuan: Konfuzius	Eisenacher Strasse 99 (Marzahn)	Gift from China	
	Ingo Wellmann: Mahmal zur Erinnerung an die NS-Zwangsarbeit im Bezirk Spandau	Stadttrandstrasse (Spandau)	Spandauer Bündnis gegen Rechts, Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt, Evangelischen Kirchenkreis Spandau, DGB-Bildungswerk	
	Ingo Wellmann: Mahmal für die Zwangsarbeiter	Evangelisches Waldkrankenhaus Spandau (Spandau)		
	Lothar Seruset: König mit Fisch	Wassertorstraße, Ecke Gitschiner Straße (Kreuzberg)		

2005	Michael Klein: Mahnmal für Zwangsarbeiter	Parkfriedhof Marzahn am Wiesenburger Weg (Marzahn)	Heimatverein Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Marzahn-Hellersdorfer Wirtschaftskreis
	Rolf Szymanski: Flucht in die Zeit	Alte Jakobstraße 124-128, vor der Berlinischen Galerie (Kreuzberg)	Gift from the Piepenbrock consortium
	Stefan Horota: Bär	Arnswalder Platz (Prenzlauer Berg)	
	Teilnehmer des Kunstprojekts aus dem Tageszentrum des Vereins "Platane 19": Turmplastik	Hindenburgdamm 30 (Steglitz)	Verein Platane
	Christian Günter Behrens: Brücken der Begegnung	Wilmsdorfer Straße/Ecke Pestalozzistraße (Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf)	Gift from the artist
	Christine Gersch: Echinacea	Westpark (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf
	Christine Gersch: Ohne Titel	Westpark (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf
	Christine Gersch: Schwarzwurzel	Schwarzwurzelpark (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf
	Fusion e.V., Wolfgang Janzer, Sandra Burckhardt: Ohne Titel (2005/06)	Rosenbecker Strasse 25-27 (Marzahn)	Fusion e.V.
	Gunda Förster: "Lichtlinien"	Karlshorster Straße 6 (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau
	Hartmut Sy: Drei Würfel	Am Nordgraben 2 (Reinickendorf)	
	Helga Tiemann: Konrad Adenauer	Adenauerplatz (Charlottenburg)	Wall AG
	Ingeborg Hunzinger: Älteres Paar	Fürstenwalder Damm, im Park Püttbergeweg in Berlin-Rahnsdorf (Köpenick)	Berlin Süd-Ost e.V.
Ingeborg Hunzinger: Die sich Erhebende	Bellevuepark (Köpenick)		
Josepine Günschel, Margund Smolka: "Die Rote Farm"	Kaskelstraße (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau	
Karla Sachse: fragen? Denkzeichen für die Opfer der ehemaligen Haftstätte Fröbelstrasse	Fröbelstrasse 17 (Prenzlauer Berg)		

	Kerstin Wichmann: "Die grünen Wege"	Pfarrstraße/Wiesenweg (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau	
	Künstler unbekannt: Büste Werner von Siemens	Alt-Biesdorf 55 (Marzahn-Hellersdorf)		
	Künstler unbekannt: Konrad Zuse	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation	
	Luc Wolff: "Raum für Freiraum"	Schriftzug am Giebel des Museum Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau	
	Martin Enderlein: Keramische Sitzelemente	Etkar-André-Straße, Ecke John Heartfield-Straße (Hellersdorf)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf	
	Peter Eisenmann: Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas	Ebertstraße, Ecke Behrensstraße (Mitte)	Perspektive Berlin e.V., Land of Berlin, Federal Government	first call for artists in 1995, second call for artists in 1997
	Rüdiger Roehl und Jan Skuin: Steckenpferd träumt mit dem Regenbogen	Havemannstraße, Ecke Wörlitzer Straße (Marzahn)	Housing association of Marzahn/DEGEWO-Gruppe	
	Veronika Kellendorfer: "sur le pont"	Boxhagener Straße /Marktstraße (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau	
2006	Elisa Bracher: Eisenholzstämmen	Neue Grottkauer Strasse / Peter-Edel-Strasse (Hellersdorf)	Gift from the artist	
	<b>Dokumentationszentrum NS-Zwangarbeit</b>	<b>Britzer Strasse 5 (Schöneeweide)</b>		
	Georgi Tchapanov ("Tchapp"): Breaking the Wall	Leipziger Straße, vor der Bulgarischen Botschaft (Mitte)		
	Hans Haacke: Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg	vor der Volksbühne (Mitte)	City of Berlin	call for artists
	Hella Horstmeier: Es ist so schön neben dir zu stehen	Robert Rössle Strasse 10 (Pankow)		
	Historische Kommentierung Olympiagelände Berlin	Olympiagelände (Charlottenburg)	Civil groups, professional public	
	Karina Raack: Die Mauern und der Schatz des Priamos	Dunckerstrasse 64 (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Künstler unbekannt: Porträt des russischen Genetikers Nikolai Wladimirowitsch Timoféeff-Ressovsky	Max-Delbrück-Centrum (Pankow)		

	Nils-R. Schultze, Lutz Helmut Schön: Kryptographisches Experiment (Teil des Projekts "Gedenken-Gang")	Rudower Chaussee/Brook-Taylor- Strasse (Treptow)	Wista-Management GmbH
	Rachel Kohn: Denk mal (!) für Kinder im Straßenverkehr	Kaiser-Friedrich-Straße (Mittelstreifen), Ecke Bismarckallee (Charlottenburg)	Artists and activists from "Kiezbündnisses Klausenerplatz"
	Rafael Hohlfeld: Stelenfeld	Carola-Neher-Strasse 38 (Hellersdorf)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf
	Sean Landers: Pan	Kurfürstenstraße (Tiergarten)	
	Stefan Kaehne: Porträt N. W. Timofeeff-Ressovsky	Robert-Rössle-Str 10 (Pankow)	
	Susanne Specht: Lange Bank	Bürgerpark Pankow (Pankow)	
	Volker Bartsch: Perspektiven (2006/07)	Boltzmannstraße, vor dem Henry- Ford-Bau (Zehlendorf)	
	Waldemar Otto: Frau mit Gewand	Uhlandstrasse/Hohenzollerndamm (Wilmerdsdorf)	Mrs. Zanger
2007	Christine Gersch: Blumenbank	Westpark (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf
	Eberhard Foest: Mauerskulpturen	Bundesministerium der Finanzen (Mitte)	
	<b>Gedenkort Quitzowstrasse</b>	<b>Quitzowstrasse (Moabit)</b>	<b>Stiftung Topographie des Terrors</b>
	Gustav Seitz: Thomas Mann	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation
	Jürgen Goertz: Rolling Horse	Europaplatz, Hauptbahnhof (Tiergarten)	
	M + M: Wilma	Wilmerdsorfer Arcaden (Charlottenburg-Wilmerdsdorf)	
	Miriam Lenk: Yolanda	Nachodstraße 8, Ecke Spichernstraße vor der Investitionsbank Berlin (Wilmerdsdorf)	
	Miroslav Vochta: Rilke-Monument	Prager Platz (Charlottenburg)	Gift from R. M. Rilke Foundation (Prague)
	Peter Lenk: Friede sei mit Dir (Längste Pimmel von Berlin)	Fassade taz-Gebäude, Rudi-Dutschke- Straße 23 (Kreuzberg)	

	Peter Lenk: Karriereleiter	Bundesallee, Ecke Spichernstraße vor der Investitionsbank Berlin (Wilmerdorf)	Investitionsbank Berlin	
	Rolf Biebl: Portrait Mies van der Rohe	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation	
	Stefan Horota: Löwe mit Jungen	Belforter Straße, Ecke Knaackstraße (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Stefan Horota: Wolf, Schaf und Bär	Anton-Saefkow-Strasse (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Wang Fu: Helfen zwischen Himmel und Erde	Kummerower Ring (Hellersdorf)	Berlin Fire Department, district office of Marzahn-Hellersdorf	call for artists
2008	Alexander Polzin: Giordano Bruno	Potsdamer Straße, Bahnhof Potsdamer Platz (Tiergarten)		
	Beate Rothesee: Das Leben entwerfen	Mühlenstraße 24 (Pankow)	District office of Pankow	
	Elmgreen und Dragset: Denkmal für die im Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Homosexuellen	Tiergarten (Mitte)	Lesben- und Schwulenverbands Deutschland and the initiative of „Der homosexuellen Opfer gedenken“	
	<b>Gedenkstätte Stille Helden</b>	<b>Rosenthaler Strasse 39 (Mitte)</b>	<b>Johannes Rau</b>	
	Günther Uecker: Skulptur für Götz Friedrich	Götz-Friedrich-Platz (Charlottenburg)	Individual donations	
	Josefine Günschel: innenhaut-aussenhaut	Wisbyer Strasse (Pankow)	District office of Pankow	
	Karin Rosenberg: Heinrich von Treitschke, Harry Bresslau und der Antisemitismusstreit (Stele)	Lepsiusstraße / Treitschkestraße (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf	
	Karin Rosenberg: "Ziegenruhe"	Dathepromenade (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau	
	Kay Winkler: Georg Elser	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation	
	Künstler unbekannt: Nashorn	Anton-Saefkow-Park (Prenzlauer Berg)		
	Marguerite Blume-Cardenas, Sigrid Herdam: Die magischen Sieben	Altlandsberger Platz (Marzahn)	District office of Marzahn	
	Matthias Heinz: Wasserkunst	Antonplatz (Weissensee)		



2009	Stadträumliche Markierung des ehemaligen Sperrgebiets in Hohenschönhausen	Hohenschönhausen	Financed by the Deutschen Klassenlotterie and the Senate Department for Culture	
	Thorsten Stegmann: Heinrich Zille Denkmal	Propst-, Ecke Poststraße (Mitte)		
	Andreas Meck: Ehrenmal der Bundeswehr	Hildebrandstr./Reichpietschufer (Tiergarten)	Federal Defence Minister Franz Josef Jung	
	Bert Gerresheim: Edith Stein	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation	
	Josefine Günschel: Kopfbewegung	Rudower Chaussee zwischen Newtinsraße und Erich Thilo Straße (Treptow)	Senate Department, Adlershof Projekt GmbH (Kunst am Bau)	call for artists in 2004 with invited applications
	Florian and Michael Brauer: Walljumper	Brunnenstrasse (Wedding)		
	Karin Rosenberg: Der erhängte Soldat (Stele)	Hermann-Ehlers-Platz (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf	
	Karin Rosenberg: Von der SS-Kameradschaftssiedlung zur Waldsiedlung Krumme Lanke (Stele)	Argentinische Allee / Teschener Weg (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf	
	Karin Rosenberg: Zehlendorfer Dächerkrieg (Stele)	Wilskistr. / Am Fischtal (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf	
	Künstler unbekannt: Büste Heinrich Grüber	Heinrich-Grüber-Platz (Kaulsdorf)		
	Miriam Wetzel: "Fanblock"	Sportplatzgelände Siegfriedstraße 71 (Lichtenberg)	Kunst am Bau	
	Renée Sintenis: Berliner Bär	Lettberger Straße (Neukölln)		duplicate of the 1957 original
	Rolf Biebl: Rosa Luxemburg	Weydingerstraße, vor dem Redaktionshaus der Jungen Welt (Tiergarten)		
	Rolf Biebl: Ohne Titel	Volkspark Friedrichshain (Friedrichshain)		destroyed
Rolf Biebl: Wir sind das Volk	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation		
Rüdiger Roehl: Stefan Heym	Regattastrasse 145 (Treptow)			
Tor nach Pankow (2009/2013)	Pankow			
Torsten Schlopsnie: 2 Köpfe (um	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	Grün Berlin GmbH		

	2009)			
	Torsten Schlopsnies: Katze (um 2009)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	UDK (Prof. Haschimoto)	call for artists
	Torsten Schlopsnies: Wächter der Schwelle (um 2009)	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	UDK (Prof. Haschimoto)	call for artists
2010	Valentin Hertweck: Kubus	Schönstrasse 80 (Weissensee)		
	Adriana Rupp: 2 Steine mit italienischer Inschrift	Britzer Garten (Neukölln)	Management of the Britzer Garten	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Ludwig Erhard	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiburger Foundation	
	Bernhard Heiliger: Max Planck	Platanenallee 6 (Zeuthen)	Prof. Dr. Thomas Naumann	
	Frank Stella: Prince Frederick Arthur of Homburg (2010/11)	Marlene-Dietrich Platz (Tiergarten)		replacing Jeff Koons' "Balloon Flowers"
	Gedenkstein zu Ehren Erwin Nöldners und anderer Antifaschisten und Kriegsgegner aus dem Rummelsburger Kiez	Nöldnerplatz (Lichtenberg)	Verein Zivilcourage, HOWOGE	
	Jacqueline Diffring: Das Innere Auge	Kurfürstendamm 32, Ecke Uhlandstraße (Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf)	Jacqueline Diffring Foundation	
	Jenny Mucchi-Wiegmann: Terra	Weitlingstraße 89 (Lichtenberg)		
	Karin Rosenberg: Fliegeberg (Stele)	Schütte-Lanz-Str. 37 (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf	
	Magnus Kleine-Trebbe: Bathesba	Müggelschloßchenweg (Köpenick)		
	<b>Topographie des Terrors (Denk-Ort)</b>	<b>Stresemannstrasse 110 (Kreuzberg)</b>	<b>Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, financial contribution by the City of Berlin and by the Federal Government</b>	<b>call for artists in 1993, Peter Zumthor won the application in 1995</b>
2011	Achim Kühn: Denkmal Widerstandsgruppe "Rote Kapelle" (Bürger im Widerstand)	Schulze-Boysen-Straße (Lichtenberg)	Residents, financed by the Lichtenberger Fonds for "Erinnerungskultur 2010"	
	Andrea Böning: Zweifelläufer	Hauptstraße 66 (Pankow)		call for artists
	Florian Bauer: Berlin Wall Memorial 1000	Bernauer Strasse (Wedding)		
	Karin Rosenberg: Der Wandervogel	Heesestr. 15 (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf	

	(Stele)		
	Karin Rosenberg: Die Entstehung der Kolonien Nikolassee und Schlachtensee (Stele)	Hohenzollernplatz (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Karin Rosenberg: Glienicker Brücke (Stele)	Königsstraße (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Karin Rosenberg: Heinrich von Kleist (Stele)	Königstraße, Ecke Bismarckstraße (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Karin Rosenberg: Lans-, Taku- und Iltisstraße (Stele)	Lansstr. 8, Ecke Iltisstraße (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Karin Rosenberg: United States Army Berlin Brigade (Stele)	Platz der US-Brigade (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Michael Klein: Baumdenkmal Ort der Erinnerung und Information Zwangslager für Sinti und Roma	Anton-Saefkow-Platz (Lichtenberg)	
	Thomas Schütte: Vater Staat	Otto Rosenberg Platz (Marzahn)	
	Ulrich Klages: Denkmal für Georg Elser	Potsdamer Strasse 50 (Tiergarten)	
2012	Heinrich Drake: Albert Einstein	Wilhelmstraße Ecke An der Kollonade (Mitte)	
	Dani Karavan: Denkmal für die ermordeten Sinti und Roma	Alt-Moabit 101 (Tiergarten)	Ernst Freiberger Foundation Civil groups, including the International League for Human Rights and Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma
	Emerita Pansowová: Gret Palucca	Simsonweg (Mitte)	
	Karin Rosenberg: Ballonflucht mit tödlichem Ausgang (Stele)	Garnisonskirchplatz, Ecke Spandauer Straße (Mitte)	Kunststiftung Poll
	Karin Rosenberg: Ein Filmatelier in Steglitz (Stele)	Erdmann-Graeser-Weg, Ecke Goethestraße (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Künstler unbekannt: Stele für Julius Posener	Berlinickestraße 11 (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	District office of Steglitz-Zehlendorf
	Melanie Schmidt: Giant Tulip	Julius-Posener-Platz (Steglitz-Zehlendorf)	Initiative Rehvieste
		Bruno-Bürgel-Weg (Treptow)	

Unknown	Achim Kühn: Titel nicht bekannt	Richard-Willstädter-Straße 12 (Treptow)
	Anne Ochmann: Drache	Heinrich-Roller-Straße (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Detlef Rohrbach: Zeitläufer	Herzbergstraße 79 (Lichtenberg)
	Detlef Rohrbach: Trihelix	Herzbergstraße 79 (Lichtenberg)
	Franka Hörnschemeyer: Ohne Titel	Konrad-Adenauer-Straße, Paul-Löbe- Haus (Tiergarten)
	Hans Scheib: Reiter	Wassertorstraße 65 (Kreuzberg)
	Helga Wagner: Krokoschlange	Marienburger Straße 42-46 (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Karl Hillert: Weiblicher Torso	Schlossinsel Köpenick, im Park (Köpenick)
	Karol Broniatowski: Brunnen	Hugenottenplatz (Pankow)
	Künstler unbekannt: Herme	Hasselwerderpark; Nahe Hasselwerderstraße (Treptow)
	Künstler unbekannt: Obelisk mit Sitzfigur	Marienburger Straße 42-46 (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Paul Ohnesorge: Möwenbrunnen	Alexandrinenstr. 91 Ecke Oranienstr. (Kreuzberg)
	Twin Gabriel (e.): Dichter und Hund	Konrad-Adenauer-Straße, Paul-Löbe- Haus (Tiergarten)
	Wolfgang Tappe: Drei Stelen	Marienburger Straße 42-46 (Prenzlauer Berg)
	Yoshimi Hashimoto: Titel nicht bekannt	Saargemünder Straße 2, vor dem Japanisch-Deutschen Zentrum (Zehlendorf)

## Appendix 6. Public Works of Art in Budapest after 1990<sup>257</sup>

year	public work of art	address	initiator	notes
1990	Anna Stein: Blatant	XIII. Jászai Mari tér	Present of the artist	
	Béla Domonkos: Bust of Gyula Magyary-Kossa	VII. István u. 2.		
	Edit Zavadszky: Ornament well	XI. Etele út - Tétényi út	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District, Municipal District Heating Company	
	Gusztáv Kraitz: Well-Statue	XIV. Örs vezér tere	IKEA	
	Henrik Bolba: Composition	XI. Rétköz u. 29-31.	City Council of the Capital	
	Imre Kovács: Bust of Zsigmond Móricz	XIX. Gábor Andor út 15-17.	XIX. District Council	
	Imre Varga: Memorial of the Hungarian Jewish martyrs	VII. Dohány u. 2.	Emanuel Foundation	
	István Béla Farkas: Rower	XIII. Pozsonyi u.		
	István Madarassy: Figure of a Girl	VI. Dózsa Gy. út 106.		
	Iván Paulikovics: Bust of Lieutenant-General János Kiss	XII. Kiss János altábornagy u. 31.		
	István Szentgyörgyi: Statue of István Nagyatádi Szabó	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	Municipality of Budapest	originally erected in 1932 and demolished in 1949
	János Seres - Zsigmond Szórádi: Crane Hill	XXI. Dunadűlő út	City Council of the Capital	call for artists
	Kristóf Kelemen: Bust of Rezső Manninger	VII. István u. 2.		
	László Marton: Little Princess	V. Vigadó tér, Duna-korzó	City Council of the Capital	

<sup>257</sup> The database also includes the most important museums and memory institutions.

	Sándor Kecskeméti: Memorial of the Vizsoly Bible	XI. Károli Gáspár tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	Tamás Varga: Memorial of King Matthias	II. Hűvösvölgyi út 78.	City Council of the Capital	
	Tamás Vigh: Memorial of László Nagy	III. Árpád fejedelem útja 66.	City Council of the Capital, III. District Council	
	Tibor Szervátiusz: Memorial of Dezső Szabó	XI. Gellérthegy, Szabó Dezső sétány	Dezső Szabó Memorial Committee	
	Unknown: Country flag	XVIII. Hősök tere	Endre Székely Historical Association	
	Unknown: Memorial of the Berlin Wall	I. Tabán	Present of Germany to the the Alliance of Free Democrats' (SzDSz) I. district organization	in 2004 relocated to XII. Szarvas Gábor út 58-60.
1991	Ádám Farkas: The Power of Earth	XI. Nagyszében tér	City Council of the Capital	call for artists
	Béla Domonkos: Imperial Béla Pataki: Bust of István Széchenyi	X. Albertirsai út 2-4. V. Szabadság tér 5-6.	Hungarian Credit Bank	
	Imre Makovecz: Memorial of the victims of the volley on October 25, 1956	V. Kossuth Lajos tér	Association of Hungarian Political Captives (POFOSZ)	erected without the necessary permissions
	Johann Halbig: Immaculata	VIII. Rákóczi út 31.	Municipality of Budapest, Town Protection Association for Budapest	originally erected in 1867 and demolished in 1949
	József Huber - Béla S. Hegyi: Statue of Apollo and Minerva	V. József Attila u. 1-3.	Municipality of Budapest, Post Bank	reconstruction of the statues erected in 1823 at V. Roosevelt tér 3., and removed in 1904
	László Csejdy: Bust of Loránd Eötvös	VIII. Múzeum krt. 4-6.		
	Lőrinc Siklódy: Heroic Memorial of Firemen	IV. Szent László tér 1.	Fire Brigade	originally erected in 1942 at VIII. Kun street 2 and destroyed during the war
	Pál Kő: Memorial of Frigyes Podmaniczky	V. Podmaniczky Frigyes tér	Municipality of Budapest, Town Protection Association for Budapest	
	Péter Rózsa: Bust of Rezső Pericht	II. Pasaréti út 11-13.	János Görkői and his friends	

1992	Tamás Szabó: Memorial of Carl Lutz	VII. Dob u. 10.	Carl Lutz Action Committee (Switzerland), Municipality of Budapest	
	Unknown: Memorial of the '56 Martyrs Died at Thököly Road	XIV. Thököly út	Association of Hungarian Political Captives (POFOSZ), Hungarian Democratic Forum's (MDF) XIV. district organization	
	Unknown: Memorial Stone of 1956	II. Széna tér - Lövőház u.	Association of Hungarian Political Captives (POFOSZ)	
	Agamemnon Makrisz: Ornament Well	VIII. Kálvária tér	Municipality of Budapest	
	Antal Orbán: Memorial of Nándor Zichy	VIII. Lőrinc pap (former Szcitovszky) tér	Municipality of Budapest	originally erected in 1930 and demolished after 1949
	Dániel Kiss: Memorial of Árpád Csanádi	XII. Alkotás út 44.	Hungarian Olympic Committee (MOB), International Olympic Committee (NOB), University of Physical Education (TF)	
	Gábor Kovács: Obelisk of 1956	XII. Gesztenyész kert	56 Memorial Committee of the XI. District Local Government	
	György Jovánovics: Martyr Memorial of 1956	X. Kozma u. 8-10.	Committee for Historical Justice	call for artists
	Iván Paulikovics: Bust of Áron Tamási	XII. Mártonhegyi út 34.		
	János Bíró: Bust of József Berda	IV. Aradi u. 3.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District	
Kornél Baliga: Carillon	III. Lajos u. 168.	István Tarlós representing the Local Government of Budapest Capital's III. District		
Mária R. Törley: Bust of Gábor Baross	XVI. Baross Gábor u. 18.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVI. District		
Unknown: Memorial of Regnum Marianum	XIV. Felvonulási tér	Individual action	demolished in 2000, reerected in the same year (supported by the Municipality of Budapest, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIV. District, Catholic Church, Foundation for the Little Regnum Chapel, citizens)	

1993	Unknown: Memorial Stone of Elemér Szánthó	XIII. Szabolcs u. 33.	Doctor's Advanced Training University of Ministry of Defence	
	Antal Czinder: Martyr Memorial of 1956	IX. Bakáts tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IX. District	
	Béla Tilles: Ornament Well	XI. Kérő utca - Őrmezői lakónegyed	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	Gábor Mihály: Bust of Ferenc Hepp	XII. Alkotás út 44.	International Federation of Basketball (FIBA), Hungarian Basketball Federation (MKOSZ), University of Physical Education (TF)	
	György Zala: Heroic Memorial of the I. World War	IV. Tanoda tér	Municipality of Budapest, Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District	originally erected in 1944 inside the building of the National Casino and destroyed in 1944-45
	Henrik Bolba: Turning Non-Figurative Plastic Art	XI. Bikszádi út		
	Ilona Barthné Mezőfi			
	Mózer: Bust of János Neumann	XI. Budafoki út	Organization of American Hungarian Alumnis	
	Imre Veszprémi: Memorial of the Gulag Victims	V. Honvéd tér	Foundation for the Preservation of the Memory of those who Died in the Gulags	
	János Béres: Bust of Lajos Rotter	III. Hármashatár-hegy	Scientific Society of Mechanical Engineering	
	László Péterfy: Martyr Memorial of 1956	XIX. Ötvenhatosok tere	Kispest Memorial Foundation	
	Péter Nagy: Saint Heart of Jesus	XII. Galgóczy u. 49.		
	Péter Vladimir: Grimace Well	II. Budakeszi út 3.		
Tamás Fekete: Water Organ	III. Római út - Római úti lakótelep	Municipality of Budapest	destroyed in 2006, relocated to the Aquincum Museum in 1993	
Unknown: Bust of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk	I. Naphegy tér	Gift from the Turkish government		
Unknown: Memorial of Sailors	V. Dunakorzó	Association of the Hungarian Sailors		



1994	Gábor Mihály: Bust of Kunó Klebelsberg	XII. Alkotás út 44.	University of Physical Education (TF), Ministry of Culture and Public Education, Foundation of Pro Renovanda Cultura Hungariae	
	Gergely Orosz - János Orosz: Memorial of 1956	XVI. Diósy Lajos u. 34.		
	Ilona Barthné Mezőfi Mózser: Bust of Tódor Kármán	XI. Budafoki út	Organization of American Hungarian Alumnis	
	József Kampfl: Bust of Teréz Brunswick	I. Gránit lépcső - Logodi u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District, Municipality of Budapest	
	László Marton: Statue of St. John of Nepomuk	XII. Diósárok u. 1.		
	László Péterfy - Károly Mihu: In Memory of the Victims of WWII	XIX. Templomtér	Kispest Memorial Foundation, Local Government and citizens of Budapest Capital's XIX. District	
	Pál Pátzay: Budapest (Danubian Wind)	V. Dunakorzó	Municipality of Budapest	originally erected in 1937, relocated in 1950 to the Szabadság (Dagály) lido, then, in 1978, to the National Gallery. Reerected close to the original place in 1994
	Sándor Kiss - György Vadász: Memorial of Hungarian Independence	XI. Függetlenségi park	Foundation of the Independence Memorial, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	call for artists
	Tibor Zielinszky: Bust of Szilárd Zielinsky	XI. Budafoki út 4.		
	Unknown: Zionist Memorial	XIII. Alsó rakpart	Hungarian Zionist Association, Hungarian Office of Jewish Agency for Israel	
	Zsolt Gulácsy-Horváth: Bust of István Széchenyi	I. Krisztina tér	Széchenyi Association, Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District	
1995	Előd Kocsis: Bust of János Mócsy	VII. István u. 2.		
	Lajos Józsa: Plastic Art	V. Deák Ferenc u. 7-9.		

	Miklós Ligeti: Statue of Heir Rudolph	XIV. Városliget, Olof Palme sétány	Municipality of Budapest	originally erected in 1908 and demolished in 1950. Reerected in 1980 in Nagybereki titled as "Hunter". Relocated to its original place in 1995.
1996	Péter Szanyi: Carpe diem	XI. Pázmány P. Sétány		
	Ádám Farkas: Traces of Power	V. Szabadság tér 7-9.	Bank Center	
	Árpád Világhy: Millennial Memorial	XVI. Pálffy tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVI. District, Privity of civilians of Árpádföld	
	Frigyes Janzer: Bust of Ferenc Mérei	XI. Mezőkövesdi út 8-10.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	disappeared
	Gábor Mihály: Memorial of the Victims of Traffic Accidents	III. Flórián tér - Szőlő u. - Kiscelli u	National Accident Prevention Committee	
	Gábor Mihály: Olympic memorial	V. Stollár Béla u. - Balassi Bálint u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District, Hungarian Olympic Committee (MOB)	
	Gyöngyi Szathmáry: Bust of Pál Csonka	XI. Budafoki út 4.		
	Imre Makovecz - László Péterfy: Memorial of People Persecuted Between 1944 and 1990	I. Dózsa György tér	Edit Rázsó	erected without the necessary permissions
	István Darázs: Memorial of the Hungarian Settlement	XVI. Hősök tere	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVI. District	erected without the necessary permissions
	István Kudor: Grove wooden headboard	XIV. Tábornok u. 22.		
	István Tóth: Bust of Lajos Kossuth	XII. Mátyás király út	Municipality of Budapest	originally erected in 1913
	Károly Ócsai: Memorial of the Honvéd Soldiers in Tétény	XXII. Csókásy Pál u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXII. District	

Károly Ócsai: Obelisk of 1956	I. Tabán	56 Memorial and Piety Foundation	the obelisk was arbitrarily and illegally reshaped by veterans of 1956 in 1997. Destroyed in 2001. Restored according to the original plans in the same year.
Lajos Gyórfi: Memorial of the "Kids of Budapest" 1956	VIII. Corvin köz	The "Kids of Budapest" 1956 Foundation	
Lajos Papp: Statue of Blanka Teleki	IX. Mester u. 23.		
Mária Lugossy - Béla Hámori: Flame of the Revolution	V. Kossuth Lajos tér	The Institute of the History of 1956, 1956 Memorial Committee (public subscription)	call for artists
Mária Lugossy: Microcosm	I. Táncsics Mihály u. 7.		
Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Statue of Saint Joseph	II. Pasaréti tér		
Tamás Varga: Statue of Imre Nagy	V. Vértanúk tere	Imre Nagy Memorial Foundation, Andrew Sarlos (Canada) and others	
Tibor Szervátiusz: Millennial Memorial (Hungarian Altar)	X. Szent László tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's X. District	
Tibor Werner: Composition	XI. Vahot u. I.	Individual action	
Unknown: Crucifix	XII. Eötvös út	Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	destroyed at about 2010
Unknown: Memorial of the Late-Roman Cemetery in Gazdagrét	XI. Regős	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
Unknown: Memorial Stone of 1956	IV. Görgey Artúr úti park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District	
Unknown: Memorial Stone of Queen Elisabeth	XX. Szent Erzsébet tér	Association of the Civic Union for Erzsébetváros	
Unknown: Millennial Memorial	XXI. József Attila u. 16.		
Unknown: Odawara Present Column	V. Erzsébet tér	Oshare Yokocho Shotenkai Association of the city Odawara	
Unknown: Memorial Stone of the Fightings in 1956 at	XX. Alsótelek út	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XX. District	

Jurta-Hill

	Zsolt Gulácsy-Horváth: Memorial of the "Kids of Budapest" 1956	VIII. Corvin köz	Corvin Budapest Film Palace	
1997	Előd Kocsis: Bust of Árpád Bókay	XVIII. Városház u. 40. Bókay kert	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Ilona Barthné Mezőfi Mózer: Bust of Jenő Wigner	XI. Budafoki út		
	Imre Varga: Statue of St. Gerald	XI. Bartók Béla út 149.		
	Iván Paulikovics: Memorial of István Károlyi	IV. Szent István tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District	
	László Marton: Memorial of Vilmos Apor	XII. Apor Vilmos tér	Vilmos Apor Memorial Committee, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
	Unknown: Memorial of the Foundation of Rákosliget	XVII. Hősök tere	Circle of Alumnis of Liget and Civic Circle of Rákosliget	
	Unknown: Statue of St. John of Nepomuk	I. Attila u. 35-37.	Town Protection Association for Budapest	originally erected in 1838 at I. Szent János tér and destroyed in 1960.
	Zsuzsanna Pannonhalmi: Memorial of St. Elisabeth	XX. Szent Erzsébet tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XX. District, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art	
1998	Árpád U. Szegedi: Memorial of the Victims of the Bombings	IX. Könyves Kálmán krt. - Máriássy u.	Ministry of Interior, National Command of Civil Defence Command	
	Emőke Tömpe: '48 Honvéd Soldier Memorial	XVII. Csaba vezér tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District	
	Frigyes Janzer: Bust of Károly Knézich	XIV. Kántorné sétány 1-3.	Croatian teaching Language Nursery School, Elementary School and Dormitory	
	Frigyes Janzer: Bust of László Somogyi	XVIII. Kondor Béla sétány	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Gyöngyi Szathmáry: Bust of Iván Kotsis	XI. Budafoki út 4.		

György Vastagh: Statue of Artúr Görgey	I. Vár, Fehérvári rondella	Görgey Statue Restoring Foundation, Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District	originally erected in 1935 at I. Prímás bastion and destroyed in 1945. In 1998 reconstructed and replaced with László Marton's work.
Gyula Pauer: Memorial of 1848 (Kossuth-Petőfi)	XVIII. Kossuth Lajos tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
József Kampfl: Drinking-Fountain (Statue of a Boy Bathing)	VIII. József krt. Csibész tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's VIII. District	call for artists
László Gömbös: Bust of Artúr Görgey	IV. Görgey Artúr u. 20.		
László Péterfy: Memento 1945-1956	XI. Pázmány Péter sétány	Memento Foundation of Hungarian 1945-56 Political Convicts	
Mihály Mészáros: Arabian Bird	X. Kozma u.		
Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Budapest is the Pearl of the Danube (Memorial of the Union of Buda, Óbuda and Pest)	V. Március 15 tér - Váci utca	Hungarian Trade Bank PLC., Memorial Committee of the Union of Budapest, Municipality of Budapest	
Sándor Gyula Makoldi: Statue of Cozma and Damian	V. Hercegprímás u. 14.		call for artists
Tamás Baráz: Gulliver	XV. Városkapu u. 7.	Donation of Attila Kis	
Unknown: In memory of the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence	XIV. Pákozdi tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIV. District	
Unknown: Mammoth	II. Széna tér		
Unknown: Statue of the Holy Trinity	III. Szentlélek tér	German Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's III. District, Braunhaxler Association	originally erected in 1740-43 and demolished in 1956
Zsuzsanna Pannonhalmi: Drinking-Fountain with a Lion	XIV. Állatkerti körút	Budapest Zoo and Botanical Garden	call for artists

1999	Hans Muhr: Ornament Well	V. Miatyánk utca - Deák Ferenc utca	Gift from Vienna	
	Imre Varga: Bust of St. Elisabeth	XI. Bartók Béla út 149.		
	Imre Varga: Bust of St. Imre	XI. Bartók Béla út 149.		
	Imre Varga: Bust of St. László	XI. Bartók Béla út 149.		
	Imre Varga: Bust of St. Margit	XI. Bartók Béla út 149.		
	Imre Varga: Bust of St. Stephan	XI. Bartók Béla út 149.		
	Judit Zsin: Bust of Béla Kondor	XVIII. Kossuth Lajos tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Kálmán Veres: Bacchus of Gazdagrét	XI. Rétköz u.	Info Ltd.	
	Magda Matola – Gusztáv Adamis: Fountain	X. Kőrösi Csoma sétány	Local Government of Budapest Capital's X. District	
	Ottó Frech: The Seven Hungarian Chieftains	XVIII. Thököly út, Miklóstelep	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Pál Pátzay: Statue of Raoul Wallenberg	XIII. Szent István park	Memorial Committee of Wallenberg	originally erected in 1947, but before the inauguration it got demolished. Reconstruction of the original statue.
	Róza Pató: Bust of Albert Szent-Györgyi	XVI. Csömöri út 20.		
	Zsuzsanna Pannonhalmi: Sun-Dial	XVII. Szabadság sgt.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District, Municipality of Budapest	
2000	Alexander Polzin: Statue of Giordano Bruno	X. Kerepesi út 87.		
	Barna Búza: Statue of János Calvin	IX. Kálvin tér 8.	Dunamellék diocese's Bishop Office of the Hungarian Calvinist Church	relocated within the square in 2007 because of urban planning works
	Béla Domonkos: Bust of János Xantus	V. Markó u. 18-20.	János Xantus Vocational High School	
	Gyöngyi Szathmáry: Bust of Jenő Rados	XI. Budafoki út 4.		

György Várhelyi: Memorial of the First Hungarian Athletic Competitions Organized in 1875	V. Szabadság tér	Hungarian Athletic Club, Ministry of Youth and Sport, Hungarian Olympic Committee (MOB), Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	
Ibolya Török: Bust of Mihály Vörösmarty	XVIII. Vörösmarty u. 64.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
Imre Varga: Hang-glider Icarus	XI. Stoczek u. 6.		
István Bors: Memorial of Rákos' Field	XVII. Kegyeleti Park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District, Municipality of Budapest	
István Haraszt: Bird	XIV. Állatkert		
István János Nagy: Bust of Béni Egressy	XII. Böszörményi u. - Kiss János altábornagy u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
István Marosits: Ascension	XI. Magyar Tudósok körútja 1.		
János Fajó: Circle in Three Dimensions	XII. Alkotás u. 63-67.		originally exhibited within the framework of the exhibition "Into the New Millennium with Art" on the lake of Városliget
József Kampfl: Bust of Dénes Gábor	XI. Budafoki út		
Kálmán Veres: Shaman	XIII. Váci út 1.		
László Gömbös: Bust of Zoltán Bay	IV. Görgy Artúr u. - Kiss Ernő u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IV. District, Zoltán Bay Foundation	
László Marton: Cantata Profana	XII. Királyhágó tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District, Office of the Millennial Government Commissioner	
Mária V. Majzik: Sisters	XX. Köves u. 1.		
Pál Kő: Love Gate	X. Albertirsai út 10.	Hungexpo PLC.	
Péter Párkányi: Statue of Mór Jókai	XII. Diana úti park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
Tamás Körösenyi: Plumbing	III. Záhony u.		originally exhibited within the framework of the exhibition "Into the New Millennium with Art" on the lake

	Tibor Budahelyi: II. World War Memorial	XXI. Szent Imre tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District	
	Tibor Budahelyi: Millennial Sign	IV. Baross u. 91.		
	Unknown: Armenian Cross-Memorial	V. Dunakorzó	National Armenian Minority Self-Government	
	Unknown: Country Flag in Csepel	XXI. Tanácsháza tér		
	Yengibarjan Mamikon: Armenian - Hungarian Memorial	XXI. Rákóczi kert	Armenian Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District	
	Yengibarjan Mamikon: Wonder Deer	II. Csalán út 29.		
	Zsolt Gulácsy-Horváth: Memorial of Endre Ady	VI. Benczúr u. 45.	Blood and Gold Ady Friend Circle	
2001	Antal Czinder: '56 Memorial	XI. Móricz Zsigmond körtér	Foundation for South Buda	
	Attila Sajgó: Bust of Endre Széky	XVIII. Rákóczi u. 81.	Pestszentlőrinc-Pestszentimre Public Funds for Culture and Sport	call for artists
	Béla Domonkos: Bust of Ilona Tóth	VIII. Nagyváradi tér	Unio Civilis Bt.	
	Boldizsár Szmrecsányi: Bust of Ferenc Erkel	XII. Böszörményi u. - Kiss János altábornagy u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
	Ferenc Árvai: '56 Memorial at Széna Square	II. Széna tér	Memorial '56 Foundation	
	Gábor Mihály: Statue of Hungarian Football	XIV. Istvánmezei út 3-5.		
	György Buczkó: Coding for the Future	XII. Csörsz u. 29-35.		
	Gyula Gulyás: Bust of Sándor Márai	I. Mikó u. 2.		
	Gyula Gulyás: Message to	XII. Csörsz u. 29-35.		



the Future

Imre Varga: Pope Sylvester II.

XI. Bartók Béla u. 149.

St. Gellért Congregation

István János Nagy: Camel

XII. Hollósi Simon utcai játszótér

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District

István Majoros: Bust of Gábor Bethlen

XI. Bartók Béla út 141.

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District

István Majoros: In Memorial of Mothers

IX. Haller u. 21.

Losing their Soldier-Sons

János Baraté: Memorial of St. Stephan

XVI. lot number 541080

Public Benefit Organization for Cinkota

János Meszlenyi Molnár:

Well-Statue of a Girl with a Fish

I. Vár, Ellipsz sétány

Buda Castle Maintenance Public Company

Jenő Grantner: Statue of Kunó Klebelsberg

XI. Villányi út 25.

Office of the Millennial Government Commissioner

originally erected in 1937 at IV. Eskü tér (now: V. Március 15-e tér) and destroyed in 1944-45. In 1960 the two side-figures were relocated to II. Adyliget as "Science" and "Art". In 2001 the statue was reerected in its original form.

József Kampfl - Ferenc Callmeyer: Memorial of the Victims Died in the Volley on October 25, 1956

V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development

József Seregi: Drinking-Fountain

XI. Bükköny utcai játszótér

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District

Kozsuharov Ognjan: Bust of Ignác Martinovics

XII. Kék golyó u. 6.

László Péterfy: Statue of Géza

VIII. Rezső tér

Local Government of Budapest Capital's VIII. District, Office of the Millennial Government Commissioner, Municipality of Budapest

László Szalai: Ornament Well

XVII. Aranykút utcai szabadidőpark

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District

demolished

Mária R. Törley: Statue of St. Stephan (Memorial of the Foundation of the Hungarian State)	XVI. Havashalom úti park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVI. District, Ministry of National Cultural Heritage	
Márta Lesenyey: Bust of Gábor Döbrentei	I. Döbrentei u. 8.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District	
Máté Csurgai: Martyrs of Arad	XX. Orsolya u. - Eperjes u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XX. District, Pesterzsébet Kossuth Association	
Nándor Wagner: Philosophical Garden	I. Gellért hegy	Will of the artist	
Ottó Frech: Statue of St. Imre	XVIII. Nemes u. 17.		
Pál Kő: Statue of St. Stephan	XI. Szent Gellért tér, in front of the Rock Chapel	Office of the Millennial Government Commissioner, Municipality of Budapest	
Tamás Varga: Ancient ship	XIII. Béke tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIII. District, Office of the Millennial Government Commissioner	
Tibor Szervátiusz: '56 Memorial	XXII. Szent István tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXII. District	
Tibor Szervátiusz: Statue of Béla Bartók	VIII. Ötpacsirta u. 4.		
Unknown: 56 Wooden Headboard	XII. Pethényi út	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
Unknown: Bust of István Hazay	XI. Budafoki út 4.		
Unknown: Fekete-Krettinger Cross	III. Ezüsthegy u. - Rózsadomb u.	German Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's III. District, Braunhaxler Association	originally erected in 1860 at III. Munkácsy u. - Új utca
Unknown: Memorial of Little Prison (Kisfogház)	X. Kozma u. 13.	Ministry of Justice, Freedom Fighters Public Foundation, Association of Hungarian Political Captives (POFOSZ)	
Unknown: Memorial of Pesthidegkút	II. Templom u.		
Unknown: Millennial Memorial	XXI. Áruház tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District	

	Unknown: MOM-Memorial	XII. Csörsz u. 29-35.		
	Zsuzsa G. Heller: Obelisk	XII. Csörsz u. 29-35.		
	Zsuzsa Lóránt: Bust of Vilmos Vázsonyi	VI. Váci út 1-3.		
2002	Ádám Farkas: Holy Trinity	I. Szentháromság tér	Budapest-Budavár Rotary Club	
	András Bojti: Ganz Whistles	II. Fény utca		
	András Pomsár: Cross of Paulines	XI. Gellérthegy, above the Rock Chapel	Office of the Millennial Government Commissioner	
	Dávid Tóth: Statue of St. Kinga	V. Március 15. tér - Piarista köz	Polish Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	
	Ferenc Gvárdián: Memory of Kálmán Szily	IX. Timót u. 3.	Kálmán Szily Technical High School	
	György Markolt: Memorial Cross of Pál Zsámboki	III. Csillaghegy, Lehel u. - Attila u.	Csillaghegy Civic Circle, Local Government of Budapest Capital's III. District	
	<b>House of Terror</b>	<b>VI. Andrassy út 60.</b>	<b>Hungarian Government</b>	
	Ibolya Török: Armenian - Hungarian Military Memorial	XVIII. Uzsok tér	Armenian Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Imre Varga: 1944 (In memory of the Holocaust)	VII. Dohány u. 2.	Emanuel Foundation	
	Imre Varga: Bust of József Gruber	XI. Bertalan Lajos u. 4-6.		
	István Bencsik: Statue of Éva Ruttkai	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	János Vizsolyi: Ornament well	XX. Kossuth Lajos utca	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XX. District	
	Lajos Csákvári Nagy: Rearing Snail	IX. Dési Huber utca		
	László B. Hegyi: Millenar Well	VI. Hajós u - Dessewfy u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's VI. District	call for artists
	László Marton: Statue of Sinkovits, Imre	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	László Marton: Statue of Tamás Major	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Márk Lelkes: Statue of	XX. Kossuth Lajos tér	Ibolya Ivancsikné Komár	

	Sándor Petőfi			
	Miklós Melocco: Gate (Statue of Klári Tolnay and Zoltán Latinovits)	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of Hilda Gobbi	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of Imre Soós	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of József Tímár	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of Kálmán Latabár	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of Lajos Básti	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of Margit Lukács	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Sándor Kligl: Statue of Béla Kovács	V. Kossuth tér	Ministry of National Cultural Heritage	
	Sándor Kligl: Statue of Manyi Kiss	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Sándor Simorka: Bust of Ferenc Deák (Bamba)	XVIII. Városház u. 40.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Tamás Eskulits: King Matthias	XII. Böszörményi u. - Kiss János altábornagy u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
	Tamás Köröseyi: Memorial of the Hungarian Nobel Prize Winners	XI. Egyetemváros	Municipality of Budapest	
	Tibor Szervátiusz: Rose- Garden Madonna	II. Pasaréti út 137.		
2003	Andor Mészáros: Statue of Shakespeare	V. Dunakorzó	Budapest Shakespeare Statue Committee	replica of the statue erected in 1960 in Sydney
	Béla Domonkos: Bust of Jenő Kovács	VII. István u. 2.		
	Dávid Raffay: Ornament Well with a Deer	XII. Sasadi út 190.		

Enikő Szöllőssy: Sun-Column	II. Templom u.	Father Lajos
Gábor Veres: Bust of József Antall	I. Apród u. 5.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District
Gyöngyi Szathmáry: Bust of János Neumann	XI. Infopark	Ministry of Informatics and Communications, John von Neumann Computer Society, Tivadar Puskás Telecommunication Polytechnic and Trade School, Infopark
HZ: Statue of Béla Lugosi	XIV. Városliget	
Imre Varga: Bust of Churchill	XIV. Városliget - Churchill sétány	Alexander Brody
János Mészleányi: Virgin Mary of Fatima	XXIII. Szent László út 149.	
József Bohoczki: Bust of Ferenc Deák	XXI. Deák Ferenc tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District
József Kampfl: Bust and Memorial of István Széchenyi	XII. Széchenyi emlékút	
Károly Kirchmayer: Bust of József Antall	XV. Pestújhelyi tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XV. District
László Marton: Bust of Ferenc Donáth	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.	
László Sax: Statue of Mary	XI. Ménesi út	
Mária Minya: Ornament well	XIII. Fiastyúk u. 69-87.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIII. District
Mária Minya: Ornament Well with Birds	XIII. Gyöngyösi sétány	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIII. District
Mária R. Törley: Bust of Schöpf Ágost Merei	VIII. Üllői út 74.	SOTE Children's Clinic
Márk Lelkes: Bust of István Széchenyi	XX. Kossuth Lajos u.	Ibolya Ivancsikné Komár

replacement of Alajos Stróbl's statue of Széchenyi (1891). The structure behind the statue originally stood at the entrance of Városliget (Gloriette memorial well), which was relocated to here in 1989.

	Pál Kő: Bust of Margit Szécsi	XVIII. Kossuth Lajos tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Pál Kő: Memorial of Hungarian Science	VI. Váci út, in front of Westend	TriGRÁNIT PLC.	
	Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Bust of Imre Ormos	XI. Ménesi út		
	Tibor Borbás: Tisza (Niké)	II. Adyliget, Szabadság tér		replica of the statue erected in 1987 in Csongrád
	Unknown: Bust of József Jáky	XI. Budafoki út 4.		
	Unknown: Bust of Miklós Barabás	XII. Városmajor u. 44.		
	Unknown: Girl with a Ball	XV. Szentmihályi út 167-169		
	Unknown: Memorial Stone of Anna Lindh	XIV. Olof Palme sétány		
	Yengibarjan Mamikon: Memorial of Nationalities	XVIII. Szervét Mihály tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Zoltán Schütz: Dancing Pair	XIV. Columbus u. 87-89.	Bracha Zisser - Motti Zisser	
	Zsuzsanna Szemők: Bust of Zsuzsanna Kossuth	XII. Diósárok u. 1.		
2004	Béla Mónus: In memory of Tank Men of Piliscsaba Supporting People	VIII. Bródy Sándor u. 5-7.		
	Boldizsár Kő: Noah's Ark	XI. Kecskeméti József utca	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	Frigyes Janzer: City Greeting	XXII. Nagytétényi út 31-33.		
	Gábor Banay: Memorial of the '56 Revolution	XV. Széchenyi tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XV. District	
	Gábor Gáti: Heroic Memorial	XX. Emlékezés tere	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XX. District	
	Géza Stremeny: Actor-Memorial	VI. Nagymező u. 20.	Municipality of Budapest	
	<b>Holocaust Memorial</b>	<b>IX. Páva u. 9.</b>	<b>Government</b>	

## Center

	Imre Varga: Bluebell (In Memory of Joining the EU)	I. Szent György tér	Prime Minister's Office	demolished
	Imre Varga: Statue of Zsigmond Móricz	XI. Móricz Zsigmond körtér	Municipality of Budapest, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	István Bartha: Székely Gate	XX. Helsinki út	Donation of Székelykeresztúr, Bölön	
	István Janáky - Béla S. Hegyi - János Herner: Time-Wheel	XIV. Dózsa György út	Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Economy and Transport, Khronosz Foundation	
	János Meszlényi Molnár: Queen Elisabeth	XX. Kossuth Lajos tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XX. District	
	László Pócsik: '56 Memorial	XXIII. Helsinki u. 105.		
	Péter Menasági: Memorial of Péter Mansfeld	II. Bolyai utcai park	Hungarian House Foundation	
	Tibor Rieger: Reception	XII. Szarvas Gábor u. 58-60.	Hungarian Maltese Charity Service	
	Unknown: Bust of Tarasz Sevcenko	V. Március 15-e tér		demolished because of the protest of Hungarian Ukrainians
	Unknown: In memory of the Pulmonics Passed Away	XII. Pihenő u. 1.	Parish of Pasarét	
	Unknown: Wooden headboard of Balassi, Bálint	XIV. Stefánia út 34.	National Union of Comrade Associations, Civil Union for the Culture of Bodrogköz, Foundation for the Culture of Villages, Cultural Association of Honvéd Soldiers	
2005	Antal Czinder: Memorial Column of Wine-Growers of Gellérthegy	XI. Kemenes u. - Kelenhegyi u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District, German Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	Árpád Világhy: Bust of János Pálfi	XVI. Pálffy tér		
	Barna Búza: Bust of Kun Klebelsberg	II. Templom u. 2-10.		
	Boldizsár Szmrecsányi: Memorial of the XII.	XII. Böszörményi u. - Németszőlgyi u. -	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	erected without the necessary permissions

District's Victims of II. World War	Istenhegyi u.		
Gábor Szabó: Bust of László Palotás	XI. Budafoki út 4.		
Géza Széri-Varga: Bust of István Bibó	V. Széchenyi rakpart	István Bibó Public Statue Committee	
Gyula Pauer: Shoes on the Bank of Danube (In memory of the Arrow Cross Terror's Victims Shot into the Danube)	V. Széchenyi rakpart	Shoes on the bank of Danube Committee	
István Dobrádi: Daisy	XVII. Rezgő u. 15.		disappeared in 2009, reerected
Iván Paulikovics: Composition	XIII. Papp Károly u. - Gömb u. - Teve u. - Petneházy u.	Angyalföld Housing PLC.	
Iván Paulikovics: Ornament Well	IX. Tompa u. 14.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IX. District	
János Babusa: Statue of Gyula Gózon	XVII. XV. utca 23.	Gyula Gózon Fringe Theater Foundation	
József Kampfl - András Pomsár: Wall of the True	XII. Apor Vilmos tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
József Kampfl : Bust of Gyula Strommer	XI. Egry J. u. 1.		
Károly Kovács: Statue of Béla Radics	XIII. Vőlegény u. 2.		
Katalin Székely: Animal Statues for Blinds and Purblinds	XIV. Állatkerti krt. 5.		
László Mészáros: Hussar Horse	XXII. Nagytétényi út 31-33.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXII. District	originally erected in 1935 at XIV. Kerepesi út Ferenc József cavalry barrack. After 1945 it was relocated to II. Hűvösvölgyi út barrack, then to II. Hidász utca. In 2001 the statue was demolished, in 2005 reerected.
Mátyás László Oláh: Statue of Teiresias	V. Kossuth Lajos tér underground	Bkv PLC., Pro Cultura Urbis Public Foundation	



2006	Péter Kaubek: Bust of Attila József	XXI. József Attila u. - Táncsics Mihály u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District	
	Szilvia Haber: Drinking-Fountain with a Whale	XV. Régi Fóti út 14.		
	Unknown: Bust of Gyula Nándori	II. Bem József u. 20.		
	András Kocsozh: '56 Memorial	XII. Eötvös József park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
	Antal Czinder: Bust of Anna Kéthly	VII. Kéthly Anna tér	Anna Kéthly Foundation	
	Antal Illyés: Statue of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky	V. Deák tér	Municipality of Budapest	replacement of Sándor Györfy's statue (1986), which was demolished in 1997.
	Béla Domonkos: Memorial of Árpádföld	XVI. Katymár u.	Privy of civilians of Árpádföld	
	Csaba Bodó: Bust of Jenő Egerváry	XI. Budafoki út 4.		
	Enikő Szöllőssy: Hope	XII. Ráth György u. 7-9.	Hungarian League Against Cancer	
	Ferenc Gyurcsok: Statue of Attila József	VI. Liszt Ferenc tér	Attila József Artistic Center Foundation, Prime Minister's Office	
	Ferenc Tischler: Bust of Tivadar Puskás	I. Krisztina krt. 55.	Hungarian Telekom	
	Frigyes Janzer: Bust of Jenő Ádám	XI. Köbölkút u. 27.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	Gábor Szabó: Bust of Jean-Pierre Pedrazzini	VIII. Köztársaság tér (now: II. János Pál tér)	Embassy of France, Embassy of Switzerland, Paris Match	
	Gábor Varga: Statue of the Leaders and Martyrs of the 1848 Revolution	I. Kapisztrán tér 2-4.		
	Gábor Veres: Bust of Ronald Reagan	XIV. Városliget, Churchill sétány	Péter Zwack, Municipality of Budapest	
György Szabó: Memorial Well of József, Attila	IX. Sobieski tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IX. District, SEM IX City-Development PLC		
Imre Keresztfalvi: Bust of Alfréd Bardon	XI. Budafoki út 4.			
István Buda: Statue of Vergilius and Dante	V. Szerb u. 21-23.			

István Gergely - Miklós Melocco: Memorial well of Elek Benedek	I. Fátyol u. - Várkert rkp	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District
I-Epsilon group (Tamás Emődi-Kiss, Tamás Papp, Katalin György, Csaba Horváth): '56 Memorial	XIV. Ötvenhatosok tere	Prime Minister's Office
Kálmán Veres: Archangel St. Michael	XII. Hóvirág utca	
Kálmán Veres: Guardian angel	XII. Hóvirág út	
László Hunyadi: Memorial of Albert Wass	XIV. Hajcsár u.	
László Péterfy: Catherine Memorial Tree	XII. Ráth György u. 7-9.	
Mária Majzik: Chroniclers 1956-2006	XI. Magyar Tudósok körútja 1.	
Mária R. Törley: Flame ('56 Memorial)	XVI. Erzsébet-liget	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVI. District
Márk Lelkes: Bust of Kölcsey, Ferenc	XX. Topánka u. park	Ibolya Ivancsikné Komár
Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: '56 Memorial at the University of Technology and Economics	XI. Műgyetem rakpart	Prime Minister's Office
Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Statue of László Németh	II. Pasaréti út – Radna u.	László Németh Association, Municipality of Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art
Sándor Györfi: Statue of Marco d'Aviano	I. Fő u. 30-32.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District
Szilveszter Oláh: '56 Memorial	XVII. Kegyeleti park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District

	Tamás Szabó – Ákos Maurer Klimes: Roma Holocaust Memorial	IX. Nehru-part	Municipality of Budapest, Local Government of Budapest Capital's IX. District, Budapest Roma Self-Government, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Gambling PLC., Romedia Foundation	
	Tamás Vigh – Györgyi Markolt: Memorial of Zoltán Tóth ('56 Memorial of the Academy)	V. Roosevelt tér, in front of the MTA headquarter	Hungarian Academy of Sciences	
	Tzortzoglou Georgios: Memorial of the Greek citizens of Pest	V. Dunakorzó	Greece, Greek Republic of Cyprus, Greek-Cyprian-Hungarian Friend Circle	
	Unknown: Memorial stone of Carl Lutz	V. Szabadság tér 12.	Embassy of the United States	
	Unknown: Statue of a Prow	XXI. Szent Imre tér	Donation of Fiume	
	Unknown: Statue of a Hungarian Cross	IX. Orczy tér	Commission of the investor	
	Zsigmond Szórádi: '56 Memorial	XXI. Szent Imre tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District	
	Zsuzsanna Illyés: Fountain	XXI. Szent Imre tér	Donation of enterprises of Csepel	
2007	Árpád Világhy: Statue of the St. Family	XII. Szent Család Plébániatemplom		
	Béni Ferenczy: Lovers	V. Vigadó tér 2.	“Vigadó Office Building” Ltd.	from private possession, the statue (1918) was given to the Hungarian National Gallery in 1963.
	Dávid Raffay: Girl with a Dog	V. Duna-korzó, Vigadó tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	call for artists
	Emil Eöry: Bust of Farkas Heller	XI. Műgyetem rakpart 4-6.		
	Frigyes Janzer: Bust of Zsigmond Móricz	XI. Nagyszeben tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	call for artists
	Gábor Veres: Statue of Imre Kálmán	VI. Nagymező u.. 17. előtt	Pest Broadway Foundation, Ministry of Education and Culture	
	Géza Széri-Varga: Hussar (1848 Memorial)	VII. Klauzál tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's VII. District	call for artists

	Gyöngyi Lantos - István Máté: Statue of St. Imre György Buczkó: Composition	XVIII. Kisfaludy u. 33/c VIII. Kerepesi út 9.		
	György Kiss: Statue of Mrs. Pál Veres	V. Veres Pálné u. - Duna u.		originally erected at the IV. (now: V.) Erzsébet tér. Demolished in 2003 because of urban planning works. Reerected in 2007.
	Ivan Mykytyuk: Statue of Tarasz Sevcsenko	II. Fő u. 88.	Dunaferr Vasmű Corporation, Ukrainian Embassy	
	Iván Paulikovics: Bust of Frigyes Csáki	XI. Műgyetem rakpart 4-6.		
	Kálmán Veres: Statue of a Griffin	XII. Németvölgyi út 99.		
	László Kutas: Bust of Philipp Melanchthon	XIV. Rózsavölgyi köz 3.	Donation of the Lutheran Museum	
	Mária R. Törley: Bust of József Paulheim	XVI. Paulheim József tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVI. District	
	Mária R. Törley: Memorial of 1956 (Praying Angel)	VII. Rózsák tere	Local Government of Budapest Capital's VII. District	
	Márta Csikai: Archangel St. Michael	III. Szépvölgyi út		
	Miklós Melocco: Memorial of Péter Mansfeld	I. Szabó Ilonka u. 2-4.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District	
	Péter Szanyi: Paul Street Boys	VIII. Práter u. 11-15.	Municipality of Budapest, Local Government of Budapest Capital's VIII. District, Rév8 PLC.	call for artists
	Unknown: Statue of St. Florian	I. Kossiuszkó Tádé u. 5.		
2008	Ádám Farkas: Panorama of Buda	V. Duna-korzó, Vigadó tér	Budapest-Budavár Rotary Club	
	Ákos Benedek: Flamingo	XIV. Állatkerti krt. 6-12.		
	András Illyés: Peacetime Police	V. Zrínyi utca – Október 6. utca	Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	
	András Sándor Kocsis: Bust	XIII. Szent István park	Editorial Office of Népszava	

of Ferenc Fejtő

Antal Bodzán: Woman  
Standing

XI. Vegyész u. 17.

Béla Domonkos: Bust of  
Ilonka Tóth

XVI. Tóth Ilonka tér

Béla Tóth: Bust of Károly  
Keleti

VIII. Tavaszmező u.

Technical Institute of Budapest, Károly Keleti Faculty of Business  
and Management

Boldizsár Kő: Memorial  
Tree

II. Bem rakpart

Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District

Boldizsár Szmrecsányi:  
Scooter

V. Duna utca – Váci  
utca

Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District

Diego Cudin: Bust of  
Giorgio Perlasca

VIII. Bródy Sándor u.  
8.

Italian Cultural Institute Budapest, Italian Government

Gábor Bedey: Memorial  
stone of Albert Wass

XVII. Pesti út –  
Erzsébet körút

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVII. District

Gábor Fülöp: Dissolution

VIII. Illés u. 25.

call for artists

Géza Stremeny - Péter  
Török: Statue of Lajos  
Batthyány

I. Batthyány tér

János Babusa: Statue of  
Pope John Paul II.

XVII. Rákoshegy, Szent  
István tér

Association of XVII. District's Provincialists, Local Government of  
Budapest Capital's XVII. District

János Korényi: Crucifix

XII. Diana út

János Lestyán-Goda:  
Memorial of the  
Reformation

VII. Bajza utca –  
Városligeti fasor

Vestry of Budapest-Fasor Lutheran Parish, Local Government of  
Budapest Capital's VII. District

János Roth: Memorial of  
László Ocskay

XIV. Városliget

Town Protection Association for Budapest

Károly Krajcsovics: Well  
with an Elephant

XI. Torbágy utcai park

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District

László Marton: Statue of  
Mihály Babits

I. Vérmező

Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District

László Péterfy: Bust of  
Sándor Wekerle

XIX. Kós Károly tér

Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIX. District

	Márta Csikai: Archangel St. Raphael	XII. Pihenő u. 1.		
	Péter Párkányi: Statue of Ferenc Bessenyei	IX. Bajor Gizi park		
	Sándor Dévényi: Ornament Well	XI. Gellért tér		
	Unknown: Memorial Stone of the Erstwhile Óbuda Brickyard	III. Bécsi út 134.		
	Unknown: Statue of a Reptile and Egg	VIII. Ludovika tér 2-4.		
	Viktória Éva Koncz: Bust of Albert Wass	IV. Rákóczi tér 2-4.	Harp Civic Circles, 107 Civic Circles (public subscription)	
	Zénó Kelemen - Zoltán Gyüre: Wavebench	VIII. Múzeum krt.		
2009	Attila F. Kovács: Iron Curtain	VI. Andrassy út 60.	Public Foundation for Researching the Middle and Eastern European History and Society	
	Attila Rajcsók: Apple-Core	II. Fény utca		
	Béla Domonkos: Statue of József Mindszenty	XVI. Templom tér	Public subscription	
	Dávid Tóth: Statue of Gyula Kelemen	IV. Tulipános kert		
	Dávid Tóth: Statue of St. Hedwig	V. Március 15-e tér	Polish Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	
	Gábor Miklós Szőke: Brown Cow	III. Bojtár u. 45-47.		
	Gyöngyi Szathmáry: Bust of Tivadar Puskás	XI. Szombathelyi tér – Puskás Tivadar utca	Tivadar Puskás Public Foundation	
	György Jovánovics: Ghost of the Construction	IX. Közraktár u. 4-6.	Ministry of Education and Culture	call for artists
	Imre Varga: Statue of Arthur Koestler	VI. Lövölde tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's VI. District	
	Imre Varga: Statue of Miklós Radnóti	VI. Nagymező utca 11.	Municipality of Budapest, Ministry of Education and Culture	

István Majoros: Country Flag	XXII. Szent Flórián utca	Public subscription	originally erected in 1932 and demolished in 1947
József Kampfl: Archer-Statue (Memorial of MOM)	XII. MOM park, Süss Nándor sétány	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District, MOM park PBW Hungary Company, MOM Memorial Foundation	close to this place stood Erzsébet Haich's "Bowmen" (1939), which was demolished after the Second World War. The statue is the diminished version of the original.
Krisztián Kamasz: Snow White	XVII. 525. tér 1.		
Norbert Kotormán: Statue of Heracles	III. Záhony u.		
Nyírpalota Society: Memorial Stone of Tibor Tenke	XV. Újpalota, Fő tér	Nyírpalota Society, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XV. District	
Pál Kő: Bust of László Nagy	XVIII. Kossuth Lajos tér		
Róbert Csíkszentmihályi: Statue of Saint Francis of Assisi	II. Margit körút 23.	Hungarian Franciscan Order of our Lady	
Sándor Györfi: Jászkun Hussars	I. Kapisztrán tér 2-4.	relatives, Ministry of Defence, Institute and Museum of Military History, Ministry of Education and Culture, Karcag, Kisújszállás, Kenderes, Kuncsorba, Kunmadaras, Kiskunfélegyháza, Kiskunlacháza, Szabadszállás, Lajosmizse, Alliance of Self-Governments of Jászság, Jászberény, Association of Maintaining Traditions of Nagykun, Foundation for Nagykun Kisújszállás, Town Protection and Beautifying Association for Kisújszállás, City Retired Club, Modern Captains, private individuals, Alumnis Friend Circle, Nagykunság Intellectual Association	
Tamás Baráz: Memorial of the Jewish Victims of Work Service	VII. Bethlen tér 2.	Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Education and Culture, Municipality of Budapest	call for artists
Tamás László: Memento 1909 - 1969 - 2009	XV. Hartyán köz		
Tamás Varga: Memorial of Józsi Jenő Tersánszky	XII. Alkotás utca – Kis János altábornagy utca	Municipality of Budapest	

	Tamás Vigh: Memorial of Gábor Sztéhlo	V. Deák tér	Lutheran Congregation of Csillaghegy, Municipality of Budapest, Hungarian Lutheran Church, National Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education and Culture, Gábor Sztéhlo Foundation, Mihály Táncsics Foundation	
	Unknown: Memorial of the Victims of Holodomor	V. Március 15-e tér	National Ukrainian Minority Self-Government, Ukrainian Embassy	
	Zoltán Farkas: Bust of Antonio Bonfini	I. Vár, Patkó bástya	Ministry of Education and Culture, National Office of Cultural Heritage	reconstruction of the statue (1934) demolished in 1944-45
	Zsigmond Szórádi: Memorial of István Angyal	IX. Tűzoltó u. 36-38.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's IX. District	call for artists
2010	András Bojti: Glass Cubes	V. Egyetem tér 5.		
	András Kocsis: Mother with Her Child (Maternal Sorrow, Hungarian Sorrow)	IV. István tér		originally erected in 1937
	András Kontur: Statue of Áron Márton	XII. Márton Áron tér (Rácz Aladár út - Törökbálinti út)	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
	Béla Tóth: Bust of Artúr Horn	V. Kossuth Lajos tér 11.		
	Boldizsár Szmezsányi: Stone Foot	V. Egyetem tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	
	Dávid Tóth: Bust of Emil Wolf	IV. István út - Tél utca	Chinoi	
	Ernő Rubik: Rubik's Cube	III. Záhony u.		
	Ernő Tóth: Chess Players	III. Záhony u.		
	Éva Ambrus - Ágota Mór - Kristóf Bihari - Anna Eplényi: Fountain	XVII. Kós Károly tér		
	Géza Széri-Varga and Zoltán Széri-Varga: Memorial of the Deported	I. Szarvas tér	Municipality of Budapest	
	János Vizsolyi: Broken	XX. Ady Endre tér		



Károly Krajcsovics: Memorial of László Kálnoky, István Kormos and Zoltán Zelk	XI. Őrmezei lakótelep, Költők parkja	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
Katalin Csányi: Bust of King Sigismund	III. Bécsi út - Sanmarco utca - Tímár utca	Óbuda University, King Sigismund College, Local Government of Budapest Capital's III. District	
Lajos Szorcsik: Trotter Driver	VIII. Kerepesi út 9.		
László Kutas: Statue of Pál Harrer	III. Fő tér - Harrer Pál utca	Local Government of Budapest Capital's III. District	
László Marton: Bust of János Fadrusz	I. Naphegy utca - Lisznyai utca	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District	
Margit Kovács: Ornament Well	V. Kossuth Lajos u. 9.		the work of art (1950) originally stood inside the Pioneer Department store demolished in 2010
Merab Merabisvili: Statue of Sota Rusztaveli	XII. Kútvölgyi út - Virányos út	Georgian Embassy	originally erected in 1988 in Kecskemét (present from the Georgian Government)
Mihály Zsolnai: Memorial of 1956	XVIII. Tarkó u. 20.		
Miklós Ligeti: Mrs. Déry	I. Alagút utca - Krisztina körút	Local Government of Budapest Capital's I. District	originally erected in 1935 and demolished at about 1944-45
Péter Boros: Bust of Gennaro Verolino	XII. Hegyhát út 19.		
Péter Czér: Football Player	XIII. Rozsnyai u. 4.	Commission of the investor	
Péter Rákosi: Bust of János Wein	XIII. Victor Hugo u. 41.	Budapest Waterworks, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIII. District	
Tibor Budahelyi: Memorial of People Injured or Died in Occupational Accident	XXI. Csepel Művek Ipari Park II. Dunalejáró utca 13.	National Alliance of Hungarian Trade Unions, Foundation of Trade Unions for Public Culture (subscription)	
Tibor Rieger: II. World War Memorial	XV. Czabán (Bányász) park	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XV. District	call for artists
Tibor Sárossy: Memorial of Trianon	XXI. Béke tér	Public subscription, individual donation	

2011	Unknown: Plastic Art	III. Kunigunda útja		
	Zsigmond Szórádi: Memorial of Manfréd Weiss	XXI. Weiss Manfréd út	Municipality of Budapest, Local Government of Budapest Capital's XXI. District	
	Zsófia Farkas: Guard Cell	IX. Thaly Kálmán u. 36.		
	Alice Gosztonyi: Child with a Dog	XIII. Margitsziget	Municipality of Budapest	originally erected in 1930 and disappeared in 1995
	Bolesław Syrewicz: Bust of Chopin	I. Horváth kert	Donation of the Polish Chopin 2010 Memorial Committee	
	Dávid Tóth: Statue of Olivér Halassy	IV. Pozsonyi út 4.		
	Ernő Tóth: Statue of Steve Jobs	III. Záhony u.	Graphisoft SE, Graphisoft Park	call for artists
	Gábor Miklós Szőke: Dobermans	V. Erzsébet tér 13.		
	Gábor Miklós Szőke: King Kong	VII. Klauzál u. 10.	Doboz pub	
	Gábor Szabó: Fountain with Natatores	XV. Bánkút u. 67-69.	Nyírpalota Association, "Like your school" Association	call for artists
	Géza Széri-Varga and Zoltán Széri-Varga: Katyn Memorial	III. Katinyi mártírok tere	Municipality of Budapest	call for artists
	György Moldován: Bust of Gábor Bethlen	VII. Bethlen Gábor tér	Péter Solt	
	Hargita Mecseki: Muses	XVII. Pesti út 167.		
	István Major: Patrona Hungariae	X. Haller tér	Foundation of Hungarians for Each Other, Association of Independent Women	
	István Máté: Statue of Ronald Reagan	V. Szabadság tér	Ronald Reagan Memorial Committee, Public Foundation for Researching the Middle and Eastern European History and Society	
János Kalmár: Pray for the Rebirth of Painting	V. Erzsébet tér	Painting-lovers Circle Hungarian Jewish Association		
Katalin György: Ornament Well	XVI. Sashalmi tér 1.			

	László Domonkos: Memorial of the WWII Heroes and Victims of Rákosliget	XVII. Hősök tere	Local Government of Rákosmente and the Association for the 17th district	
	Mária V. Majzik: Memorial of People Deported from Budapest	XXII. Játék utca 16.	Association of Hungarian Political Captives (POFOSZ)	
	Marija Ujević Galetović: Statue of Miroslav Krleža	VIII. Ludovika tér	Municipality of Budapest	
	Mihály Dabóczi: Spring IV.	XI. Tétényi út 36.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XI. District	
	Péter Köröszötös, Mátyás Szitó and Ferenc Juhász: Statue of Gábor Baross	XXII. Minta utca	Baross Gábor Civil Club	
	Sebestyén Markolt: Statue of St. John of Nepomuk	II. Bimbó út - Keleti Károly utca	Local Government of Budapest Capital's II. District	
	Sebestyén Markolt: Lady	II. Budakeszi út, Szépjuhászné		
2012	Andrej Gabrovec Gaberi: Historica	IX. Sóház u.	Project of "Európai Egyetemi Hidak"	
	Attila F. Kovács: 1956 Memorial	XVIII. Hargita tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XVIII. District	
	Béla Domonkos: Trianon Memorial	XIV. Istvánmezei út 2.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XIV. District	after two unsuccessful calls for artists, the local government directly commissioned Domonkos
	Előd Kocsis: Bust of Kőrösi Csoma Nándor	IX. Ifjú munkás u. 13.	Kőrösi Csoma Primary School	
	Gábor Miklós Szőke: Green Horse	III. Bojtár u. 45-47.		
	Gábor Miklós Szőke: Horses in Love	III. Bojtár u. 45-47.		
	Gábor Miklós Szőke: Red Horse	XIII. Hajdú utca		
	Gergely Kelecsényi: Open Book	V. Egyetem tér - Henszlmann u.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	

György Benedek: Statue of Gábor Klauzál	XXII. Nagytétényi út 31.	Gábor Klauzál Association (public subscription)	
István Harmath: Statue of István Tisza	XIV. Bosnyák u. 1-7.	István Tisza Friend Circle	intentionally resembling the other portrait of Tisza destroyed after the Second World War
István Harmath: Waving (Memorial of 1956)	XV. Epres sor 1.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XV. District	
János Vizsolyi: Balance	XX. Tátra tér		
János Vizsolyi: Fall	XX. Tátra tér		
József Kampfl: Statue of Gábor Dénes	XI. Mérnök u. 39.	Gábor Dénes College	
Károly Bakó: Memorial Stone	XXII. Angeli út 65.	German Minority Self-Government of Budapest Capital's XXII. District, Nagytétény Civil Club	
Károly Bebo, György Markolt, Katalin Gémes, Attila Fekete and András Kontur: Saint Florian	III. Pacsirtamező - Serfőző u.	„Braunhaxler” Nonprofit Company	originally erected in 1819
Lajos Szőke: Paperboy	V. Hild tér	Local Government of Budapest Capital's V. District	
Mária R. Törley: Bust of Cécile Tormay	VIII. Gyulai Pál u.	National Value-protecting Association	
Nándor Wagner: Earth Mother	I. Ostrom u.	Present of the Foundation Academia Humana	
Ottó Hargitai: Bust of Sándor Bauer	VIII. Mátyás tér	Gyula Vác	
Teréz Borza and András Kontur: Dawn/Light	XII. Sirály u. 2.	Local Government of Budapest Capital's XII. District	
Unknown: 56 Memorial	V. Vértanúk tere	Organizations of 56 immigrants in the UK	

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