

## Remembering March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945 in Würzburg

Johanna Dahl & Anne Mertel, University of Würzburg

### Historical Overview

#### In Advance of March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945:

Würzburg was said to be 'the lucky German city' that lived through almost five years of WW2 without any tremendous damage.<sup>1</sup> Most of the bomber squadrons changed their directions before they came to the city, or they just passed by and flew to another destination. This led to the common wishful thinking of many citizens of Würzburg that the city, with its numerous military hospitals and only very few wartime targets, would remain mostly undamaged.<sup>2</sup>



fig. 1: the "Heil Hitler" slogan on the wall of the fortress Marienberg suggests that the picture was taken between March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, and the arrival of the Americans in early April, as they overpainted the slogan.

However, thinking that there were no military attacks on Würzburg before the bombing of March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, would be wrong. There were, in fact, several 'smaller' attacks on Würzburg in advance:

- **July 21<sup>st</sup>, 1944:** An attack with high-explosive bombs killed around 40 people and damaged buildings.
- **February 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1945:** Several devastating bombings, especially the ones on February 19<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>, took the lives of hundreds of civilians.
- **March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1945:** Another nightly strike killed around 80 citizens.<sup>3</sup>

The everyday life in those last months and days of WW2 was shaped by the increasing number of air-raid alarms. Many hours were spent in air-raid shelters, and the population feared yet another devastating bombing.<sup>4</sup>

Which took place on ...



### ... March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945:

Between 5 and 6 pm, two big bomber squadrons of the Royal Air Force (RAF) took off near London. One approached the Ruhr area in Western Germany, the other approached the South of the former German Reich. The southern bomber squadron split up near the city of Ulm on the Danube.



fig. 2: view over the destroyed city of Würzburg

Half of the military aircraft flew towards Nuremberg; the other half of the “bomber group nr. 5” set a direct course for Würzburg. At this point, the fate of the city near the river Main was sealed.<sup>5</sup>

At about 8 pm, the sirens of the air-raid alarm began to echo through the city streets, and most of the citizens set off to the air-raid shelters. The engine noises of the advancing planes could already be heard.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, the whole target area between the Randersackerer Marsberg, Heidingsfeld, and the core city was marked with so-called “sky markers”. Those dark red light bombs served to indicate the target area for the 230 military aircraft of the types “Lancaster” and “Mosquito” that were on their way to bomb the city of Würzburg.<sup>7</sup>



fig. 3: view over the destroyed city

At 9:20 pm, the main attack began. The Royal Air Force dropped 927 tons of explosive and incendiary bombs within twenty minutes.<sup>8</sup> It was as if “fire was falling from the sky”.<sup>9</sup> The bombing sparked off a large-scale fire and destroyed almost a millennium of city history within minutes. The heat can be estimated at around 2,000 degrees Celsius. Even the pavements caught fire.<sup>10</sup> More than 60 km away from Würzburg, the firestorm that raged in the city could be seen.

That night, more than 4,500 people died.<sup>11</sup> They were either killed by the direct impact of bombs or suffocated in the shelters.<sup>12</sup> With 85% of the city being destroyed, the main cultural capital in Lower Franconia became a debris field and a tomb.<sup>13</sup>

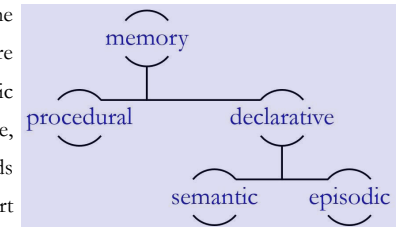
## Individual Memory - Theoretical Overview

The memory - storage place for everything we see, learn, and experience in life.

Memory "is the product of and the collective term for memories that are collected and objectified as Erinnerung".<sup>14</sup> In this case, Erinnerung means becoming aware of what is stored in memory.<sup>15</sup>

### But how is an individual memory constructed and structured?

Scientists divide memory into procedural and declarative parts. The former consists mainly of motor processes that do not require thinking. The latter can be divided into semantic and episodic memory. Semantic memory primarily stores general knowledge, whereas episodic memory, also called biographical memory, holds the consciously experienced lifetime of the individual.<sup>16</sup> A large part of these experiences can be assigned to autobiographical memory.



All experiences with self-reference are stored there.<sup>17</sup> Being influenced and shaped by the limitations of our perception, memories are not a perfect reflection of the past.<sup>18</sup> They are manipulable through commemorative events etc.<sup>18</sup> Even though the "episodic memory might be unreliable [...] it's the basis of our living identity"<sup>20</sup>. Our "identity and belonging are created by remembering"<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, the past is relived and remembered.

Thus, memory can also be passed on to future generations since "humans are able to extend their memory to things they have not experienced but have nevertheless absorbed into themselves"<sup>22</sup>. A particularly great interest of younger generations in certain events can be observed when the number of contemporary witnesses decreases.<sup>23</sup> The number of contemporary witnesses who still remember March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, in Würzburg is also dwindling. Two of them agreed to do a short interview with us. Other witnesses we asked did not want to talk about the events of that time.

From today's perspective, one can hardly imagine how terrible the memories of that time must have been. An "experience that is so incomprehensible, humiliating, painful or life-threatening"<sup>24</sup> is also called trauma.

One of the contemporary witnesses we were able to speak to mentioned in advance that it was not easy for her to talk about the events of that time. For this reason, too, she would like to remain anonymous here. Both interviews are not the exact wording; the answers of the contemporary witnesses are reproduced accordingly.

### Trauma

Remembering and talking about this event later can be very difficult. In the case of March 16<sup>th</sup>, it is possible to speak of a man-made trauma as a trauma caused explicitly by people. What was experienced cannot be stored correctly in autobiographical memory, making it difficult to remember. This happens mostly out of self-protection.<sup>25</sup>

## Individual Memory - Interview I (June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2022)

### 1) What was your life like before March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945?

I was eleven years old. My father was a soldier serving in the German army, and I was alone at home with my mother. We lived in a house in the Pleich [district in the old town of Würzburg]. The street doesn't even exist anymore.

### 2) What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945?

The smell of fire, its brightness, the crackling of the flames, and the man who kicked my mother when we fled from the air raid shelter.

### 3) Can you tell us about your experiences on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945?

My mother and I were at home. Then, in the evening, when the air raid alarm rang, we went to the shelter. My mother and I always each had a blanket with us. Aside from that, we only had the clothes we were wearing. We arrived at the shelter early enough. Thank God there still was enough space for us. It soon became very crowded. More and more people came with blankets full of smoke. The man in charge of the shelter said we all had to leave because of the danger of suffocation. My mother and I then pulled our blankets over our heads. At the exit stood a man with a watering can. He soaked the blankets with water. Then we had to walk through the burning streets. When we were leaving the shelter, the man behind my mother thought that we did not move fast enough. He kicked my mother in the back and stuffed dirt down the back of her pants. Everyone was panicking, but you don't do something like that. I still remember his face. I will never forget it. The wet blankets saved us from the flames. Otherwise, we probably wouldn't have made it.

Together with many others, we made our way towards Höchberg [neighboring town]. My mother knocked on the doors of many families whose houses were still intact, but we were always sent away with the remark that we should go to the school since all the refugees went there. Eventually, we found shelter at a teacher's house. I was only eleven, that's why she let me sleep in the hallway. The teacher allowed us to spend two days with her. Then we returned to the city.

### 4) How did March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, change your life and the life of your family?

My family lost everything, our apartment, all our possessions, but at least we survived. In Würzburg, citizens had long hoped the city would be spared, but that was not the case. My mother took the brunt of it, as she was solely responsible for me during the war and that night.

**“It was a terrible time, and it is, thank God, long gone.”**

Our house, well, the whole street was destroyed. That's why we went to an emergency shelter, a factory building where my father used to work. We had nothing left. Our apartment was completely destroyed. Then my father returned from the front; he had been given a furlough. I don't remember the exact amount of time we spent in emergency shelters and with relatives. It must have been about five years. Then we moved into our own apartment. I don't remember the time in the emergency shelters very well, except that it was very cramped. I also remember that there were other children to play with. We didn't have many toys, but the few we had, we shared.

### 5) How was first time afterward?

It was especially difficult for my mother. She was alone with me. Later, she somehow managed to find my father. I don't really know how; the city was completely destroyed, and our house no longer existed. Everywhere was chaos, and we were hungry. But actually, we were lucky to be alive. My mother helped with the clear-up; she was a “Trümmerfrau”. We couldn't do anything else. I tried to help as much as I could, but I was a little girl.



fig. 4: “Trümmerfrauen“ and “Trümmerr Männer“ [women and men clearing up the city] in front of the church Stift Haug

### 6) How did your family deal with the subject then and now?

I didn't talk about it with my parents. It was a terrible time, and it's long gone. One can't change it, so why talk about it? At that time, we were busy with other things, daily survival and reconstruction. And today, there are nicer things to remember. Sometimes on March 16<sup>th</sup>, I think about what happened, but it was a long time ago.

### 7) Have you ever told your children, grandchildren, or the younger generations about your experiences?

No. I don't have children or nephews. I haven't talked about that day in a long time. I don't really feel the need to think about it either. It was a horrible time that I don't necessarily want to remember. Sometimes, when I do have to think about it, tears still come to my eyes. But that's just the way it is.

### 8) Do you have any connection to the local commemorative events or monuments?

I know there are many memorials and events, especially on March 16<sup>th</sup>, but I don't really relate to them. I haven't participated in events, maybe once with my parents when I was younger, but certainly not in recent years. I think it is good that there are events and monuments, like the one in front of the cemetery, but they are for the younger generations. I have my memories. That's enough.



## Individual Memory - Interview II (July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2022)

### 1) Who are you?

My name is Hans Leofrid Schürer. I was born on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1936, in Würzburg. I lived in a house in Bismarckstraße 10, close to my grandparents. Like most houses on that street, the house was entirely destroyed during the bombing of March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945. Only the house where my grandparents used to live remained intact.

### 2) Where have you been on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945?

There were minor attacks on Würzburg prior to March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945. The British air squadrons bombed Schweinfurt, as it was an important industrial city, and, occasionally, they dropped their remaining bombs over the city of Würzburg on their way home. In January 1945, there was a detonation near our house. All the window panes were shattered, and as it was a cold winter, we could not stay there. My mother, my older brother, and I - our father was at the front - walked to the surrounding villages looking for some place to stay. We were turned away by the mayors several times. On March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, we stayed in Grafenrheinfeld, which is about 40 km away from Würzburg.

### 3) Can you tell us about your experiences on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945?

When we heard the air raid alarm, we went to a potato cellar near the house we stayed in. The cellar was lined with straw. We were the only people from Würzburg there. I don't remember exactly how, but suddenly we got the information: "Würzburg is burning!" Even though the alarm was still going on, we climbed out of the cellar. The whole sky was red. That night everything in Würzburg that belonged to my family - our house and my father's company building - was destroyed.

### 4) Do you have a connection to the local commemorative events or monuments?

My father spoke at the commemorative event at the main cemetery every year, and I went there with him. Later, I went there in my position as a city councilor. In recent years, however, I did not regularly participate anymore.

**“Würzburg is burning!”**



fig. 5: boy walking through debris, summer 1945



fig. 6: sign embedded in the sidewalk "We want to remember"

## Collective Memory - Theoretical Overview

The concept of the so-called 'collective memory' is almost a hundred years old, as Maurice Halbwachs first introduced it in 1925.<sup>26</sup> The radical thesis he asserted is that "people do not build up an individual memory but are always enclosed in memory communities."<sup>27</sup> He argued, "that memories are anchored socially and form the communicative and emotional cement of a group"<sup>28</sup>. The group can be any people with a similar background; it refers to ethnic or religious groups, nations, and states.<sup>29</sup> This 'collective memory' has not always been there as the group actively produces and shapes its memory. So, how do communities create their 'collective memory'?

Black plaques like these can be found on buildings in Würzburg. Many state that the original building was destroyed in 1945 and the house was rebuilt.



fig. 7: plaque - urban gallery

After its destruction in 1945, the gallery was rebuilt in the same form in 1965-69.



fig. 8: plaque - memorial room March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945

The exhibition commemorates the destruction of Würzburg in WW2.



fig. 9: plaque - "Beim Grafeneckart 2"

In 1980, the south wing of the town hall was put up here instead of a baroque building from 1688, which was destroyed in 1945.



Memory is shaped through communication. This is not without problems regarding the happenings of March 16th, 1945. There are two main reasons: Trauma and the evanescence of the generations that witnessed the happenings 77 years ago.

The bombing of Würzburg, as described earlier, came with a lot of destruction and death. Many citizens lost everything, their properties, their homes and, possibly people they loved. Such an “incomprehensible, painful, and life-threatening experience is often related to trauma.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, it is comprehensible that many of the eyewitnesses we asked for an interview did not reply or changed their minds once the day of the actual interview approached. Furthermore, we ought not to forget that most of them were children or teenagers.

Considering that March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, occurred almost 80 years ago, it is not surprising that it is also becoming increasingly difficult to find eyewitnesses to talk to. Many of them are deceased or of high age.

What will happen to the collective memory when there is no one left of these generations to tell the stories?



fig. 10: model of the destroyed city of Würzburg, photo documentation with descriptions

The exhibition at the town hall memorial room commemorates the destruction of Würzburg. A model of the destroyed city (glass case in the center of the room) and a photo documentation with descriptions present the extent of the destruction.



fig. 11: aircraft bombs displayed in the memorial room



fig. 12: Mainfranken Theater Würzburg

### Theraterplay “Magnolienzeit“

The play “Magnolienzeit” deals creatively with the happenings of March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945. The theater project takes place in an air raid shelter and is based on the statements of eyewitnesses.

<https://www.mainfrankentheater.de/spielplan/a-z/magnolienzeit/>

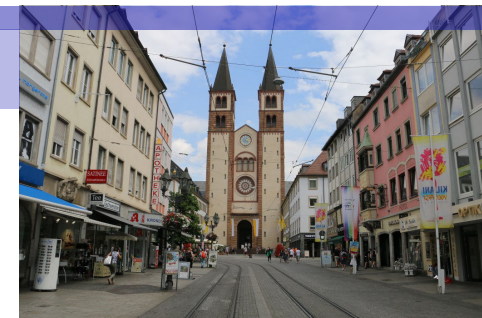


fig. 13: Würzburg cathedral

The bells of the Würzburg cathedral, just like all the bells of all the other churches, ring for 20 min. on March 16<sup>th</sup>. This was the duration of the attack.

Everything that is living memory today will be conveyed through the aid of “various symbolic media such as texts, images, monuments, anniversaries, and common festivals”<sup>31</sup>. Once the ‘communicative memory’ breaks away, society will be dependent on other forms of collective ‘remembering’.<sup>32</sup> But is this really ‘memory’, or is it something else?

In her book *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Susan Sontag claims that there is no such thing as ‘collective memory’. That a society, in fact, cannot remember. She says:

“All memory is individual, unreproducible – it dies with each person. What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that this is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds.”<sup>33</sup>

The citizens of Würzburg have decided that the events of the bombing on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, are important and worth ‘remembering’. Therefore, various places of remembrance can be found throughout the city, some of which are presented in this section of the essay.



fig. 14+15: reconciliation bell

The bell that’s rung only by the wind emphasizes the importance of reconciliation between former war enemies as well as between all humans.





fig. 16: wagon with debris near the river Main

The wagon remembers the extremely hard labor of the “Trümmerfrauen” and “Trümmerränner”, women and men that carted off around 2,7 Mio. m<sup>3</sup> of debris of the destroyed town. With the wagons of the “Trümmerbahn”, they brought the debris to the river Main to load it on ships.



fig. 17: memorial plaque to commemorate the “Trümmerfrauen” and “Trümmerränner”



fig. 19+20+21: memorial at the main cemetery

The names and birth years of the known victims are imprinted in alphabetical order on 32 glass plates that surround the area.



fig. 18: the original “Trümmerbahn” that ran through the market square of Würzburg, 1946



fig. 22: sculpture of a family

In the middle of the memorial, surrounded by the glass plates, is a stone sculpture of a family. Underneath is the mass grave of the victims of March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945.



## Evolution of the Collective Memory

### 1946:

- March 16<sup>th</sup> is a municipal commemoration day<sup>34</sup>

### 1949:

- City begins to plan a memorial for air war victims<sup>35</sup>
- Mayor Franz Stadelmayer expresses the guilt of Germany, condemns the racial extermination policy, and commemorates the murdered Jews<sup>36</sup>; Germany-wide, this happened only from the 1960s on<sup>37</sup>



fig. 23: horse carriage with a sign "Let's start reconstruction"

### 1950s:

- Big repertoire of commemorative events: Requiem, church service, memorial meeting of the city council, wreath-laying ceremony, memorial concerts, flags on half-mast; ringing of church bells<sup>38</sup>
- Commemoration directed to victims, survivors, and those bombed out<sup>39</sup>
- Speeches commemorated the destruction of the city and highlighted the importance of peace<sup>40</sup>
- 1950: Book by Max Domarus "Der Untergang des alten Würzburg und seine Vorgeschichte" [engl.: The destruction of the old Würzburg and its prehistory] about responsibility of the Germans<sup>41</sup>
- 1950: Mainpost [local newspaper] article on what to learn from the war and how to prevent further conflicts<sup>42</sup>
- 1954: Inauguration of the memorial for the air war victims (located next to the main cemetery)<sup>43</sup>
- Slogan "Würzburg lebt" [engl.: Würzburg is alive] prominent in the 1950s Mainpost articles - commemoration of destruction and reconstruction<sup>44</sup>

### 1960s:

- 1960: Mainpost articles on commemoration and reconstruction<sup>45</sup>
- 1965: 20th anniversary, various commemorative events
- After 1965: Reduction of the number of events; decision made by cultural officer Josef Voll - many, especially younger people, would no longer have a connection to March 16<sup>th</sup>
- Events such as church services and an official commemoration by the mayor continued to take place<sup>46</sup>



fig. 24: two men tearing down the ruin of a house

### 1970s:

- 1970: Mainpost focuses on how the city has changed, pictures of the same buildings in 1945 and 1970<sup>47</sup>
- 1975: Reduction of public focus on remembrance<sup>48</sup>

### 1980s:

- Intensification of commemoration<sup>49</sup> and linking of remembrance with concerns of the peace movement<sup>50</sup>
- 1985: Commemorative events and exhibitions stretched over several weeks<sup>51</sup>; remembering the destruction of neighboring cities like Gemünden and Kitzingen<sup>52</sup>

### 1990s:

- Focus: Embedding the commemoration of March 16<sup>th</sup> into an understanding of the NS past<sup>53</sup>
- 1990: Commemoration is getting more informative, exhibition about air-raid victims<sup>54</sup>
- 1995: Chain of lights with ~35,000 participants, city-run to raise money for Third World projects<sup>55</sup>
- 1998: Inauguration of the memorial room at the city hall<sup>56</sup>



fig. 25: people load debris onto a boat, skyline of the destroyed city in the background

### 2000s:

- Annual wreath-laying ceremonies, church services, etc.
- Main-Post headline on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2000: night of fire as collective trauma of the city<sup>57</sup>

### 2010s:

- 2010: At the commemoration ceremony, the mayor exhorts reconciliation, international friendships must be cultivated, fight against discrimination and disadvantage<sup>58</sup>
- 2010: "Dialog Erinnerungskultur" [engl.: dialogue remembrance culture] project of the city's cultural department - expert rounds, discussions, initiate a dialogue among the citizens<sup>59</sup>
- 2018: World premiere of the play Magnolienzeit, about the destruction of Würzburg<sup>60</sup>

### 2022:

- The mayor of Würzburg connects the commemoration of March 16<sup>th</sup> with the war in Ukraine. According to him, the destruction of Würzburg symbolizes the cruelty and senselessness of war<sup>61</sup>
- Events like a wreath-laying ceremony, church services, lectures, commemorative concert, memorial city tour<sup>62</sup>

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>vgl. Oppelt, Hans (1995) *Würzburger Chronik des denkwürdigen Jahres 1945*. Würzburg: Schöningh. (Nachdruck der Originalfassung von 1947), 2.
- <sup>2</sup>vgl. ebd.
- <sup>3</sup>vgl. ebd.
- <sup>4</sup>vgl. ebd., 2-7.
- <sup>5</sup>vgl. ebd., 13-14.
- <sup>6</sup>vgl. Höynck, Klaus-Martin, Schellenberger, Eberhard (2005) *16. März 1945: Erinnerungen an Würzburgs Schicksalstag und das Ende des Krieges*. Würzburg: Echter, 14.
- <sup>7</sup>vgl. ebd.
- <sup>8</sup>vgl. ebd., 9.
- <sup>9</sup>Oppelt, Hans (1995) *Würzburger Chronik des denkwürdigen Jahres 1945*. Würzburg: Schöningh. (Nachdruck der Originalfassung von 1947), 14.
- <sup>10</sup>vgl. ebd., 15.
- <sup>11</sup>vgl. ebd., 11.
- <sup>12</sup>vgl. ebd., 16.
- <sup>13</sup>vgl. ebd., 12.
- <sup>14</sup>Assmann, Aleida (2019) *Introduction to Cultural Studies – Topics, Concepts, Issues*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 168.
- <sup>15</sup>vgl. Assmann, Jan, „Gedächtnis/Erinnerung“ in: Reinalter, Helmut, Brenner, Peter J. ed. (2010) *Lexikon der Geisteswissenschaften. Sachbegriffe - Disziplinen – Personen*. Wien: Böhlau, 233.
- <sup>16</sup>vgl. ebd., 236.
- <sup>17</sup>vgl. Gudehus, Christian, Eichenberg, Ariane, Welzer, Harald ed. (2010) *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 75.
- <sup>18</sup>vgl. Assmann, Aleida (2019) *Introduction to Cultural Studies – Topics, Concepts, Issues*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 169.
- <sup>19</sup>vgl. Assmann, Jan, „Gedächtnis/Erinnerung“ in: Reinalter, Helmut, Brenner, Peter J. ed. (2010) *Lexikon der Geisteswissenschaften. Sachbegriffe - Disziplinen – Personen*. Wien: Böhlau, 234.
- <sup>20</sup>Assmann, Aleida (2019) *Introduction to Cultural Studies – Topics, Concepts, Issues*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 170.
- <sup>21</sup>Pohn-Lauggas, Maria (2020) *Individual and Collective Practices of Memory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 3.
- <sup>22</sup>Assmann, Aleida (2019) *Introduction to Cultural Studies – Topics, Concepts, Issues*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 174.
- <sup>23</sup>vgl. Pohn-Lauggas, Maria (2020) *Individual and Collective Practices of Memory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2.
- <sup>24</sup>Assmann, Aleida (2019) *Introduction to Cultural Studies – Topics, Concepts, Issues*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 176.
- <sup>25</sup>vgl. ebd.
- <sup>26</sup>vgl. ebd., 175.
- <sup>27</sup>ebd.
- <sup>28</sup>ebd.
- <sup>29</sup>ebd.
- <sup>30</sup>ebd., 176.
- <sup>31</sup>ebd., 175.
- <sup>32</sup>vgl. Erll, Astrid (2011) *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen : eine Einführung*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 3.
- <sup>33</sup>Sontag, Susan (2003) *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Picador, 67f.
- <sup>34</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 14.
- <sup>35</sup>vgl. ebd., 14.
- <sup>36</sup>vgl. ebd., 25.
- <sup>37</sup>vgl. ebd., 40.
- <sup>38</sup>vgl. ebd., 14-15.
- <sup>39</sup>vgl. ebd., 24.
- <sup>40</sup>vgl. ebd., 21.
- <sup>41</sup>vgl. ebd., 41.
- <sup>42</sup>vgl. Mainpost, 16. März 1950.
- <sup>43</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 14.
- <sup>44</sup>vgl. ebd., 18.

- <sup>45</sup>vgl. Mainpost, 16. März 1960.
- <sup>46</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 15.
- <sup>47</sup>vgl. Mainpost, 16. März 1970.
- <sup>48</sup>vgl. Mainpost, 16. März 1975.
- <sup>49</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 15.
- <sup>50</sup>vgl. ebd., 22.
- <sup>51</sup>vgl. ebd., 15.
- <sup>52</sup>vgl. Mainpost, 16. März 1985.
- <sup>53</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 23.
- <sup>54</sup>vgl. Mainpost, 16. März 1990.
- <sup>55</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 15-16.
- <sup>56</sup>vgl. ebd., 27.
- <sup>57</sup>vgl. ebd., 16.
- <sup>58</sup>vgl. Rötter, Karl-Georg, Jung, Wolfgang (2020): *Kranzniederlegung für Opfer des 16. März 1945*. Würzburg: Mainpost <https://www.mainpost.de/regional/wuerzburg/kranzniederlegung-fuer-opfer-des-16-maerz-1945-art-5505181> [zuletzt aufgerufen am 4.08.2022].
- <sup>59</sup>vgl. Kultur-, Schul- und Sportreferat Stadt Würzburg (2011) *Der 16. März 1945 in der Erinnerungskultur Würzburgs 2009-2011*. Marktheidenfeld: Schleunungdruck, 5.
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