

7-9-2009

Hans-Ulrich Treichel's Der Verlorene: Trans-Generational Trauma, Guilt And Shame

Anja Jennifer Riley

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fl_etds

Recommended Citation

Riley, Anja Jennifer. "Hans-Ulrich Treichel's Der Verlorene: Trans-Generational Trauma, Guilt And Shame." (2009).
https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fl_etds/49

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Foreign Languages & Literatures ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Anja Jennifer Riley

Candidate

German Studies (Foreign Languages & Literature)

Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality
and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Susanne Baudmann

Chairperson

Noel Pugach

Noel Pugach

Katja Schröter

Katja Schröter

**HANS-ULRICH TREICHEL'S *DER VERLORENE*:
TRANS-GENERATIONAL TRAUMA, GUILT AND SHAME**

BY

ANJA JENNIFER RILEY

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts
German Studies**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2009

DEDICATION

“The end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and to know the place for the first time”

T. S. Eliot ‘Four Quartets’

I dedicate this to all whom I love in the hope that they know who they are. There are too many people who have touched my life to mention here (it would perhaps command a thesis of its own), but I am grateful to every one of them. In the past years these people have been my infallible sources of support and encouragement, never doubting me and always ready to pick me up when I fall.

I dedicate this project specifically to my mother who has continued to feed my soul whether near or far and who remains my most treasured source of guidance and light. On my eighteenth birthday she bestowed me with Richard Bach’s book *There’s no such place as far away* and let me go into the world with the words of Bach’s book *“Fly free and happy beyond birthdays and across forever, and we’ll meet now and then when we wish, in the midst of the one celebration that never can end”*.

I also dedicate this to my child, who has shared both in the thesis’s joy and difficulty in the womb and whom I hope someday may like to read it. The hopes are always in the next generation, may you want to understand and read in-between the lines.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank a few people who have been instrumental to the success of this thesis.

My greatest debt I extend to Professor Susanne Baackmann, my Committee Chair and invaluable source of supervision and guidance. Professor Baackman's questions and meticulous editing helped to shape and clarify the progression of the thesis immensely. I am grateful for her continued encouragement and support throughout the process.

I would like to thank Professor Noel Pugach and Professor Katja Schröter, my other Committee members, who offered constructive suggestions and comments. In particular their grammar and stylistic advice was much appreciated.

I would also like to thank my partner Emerson LaFebre for his patience and understanding. He cooked for me, took care of me and strengthened me with an unwavering stream of unconditional reassurance and love. His belief in me from the start enabled me to carry this project to the end.

Finally I would like to thank Jean Aragon of the FLL Office and Doug Weintraub at OGS, who helped me with the administrative and formatting side to this thesis.

**HANS-ULRICH TREICHEL'S *DER VERLORENE*:
TRANS-GENERATIONAL TRAUMA, GUILT AND SHAME**

BY

ANJA JENNIFER RILEY

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts
German Studies**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2009

**HANS-ULRICH TREICHEL'S *DER VERLORENE*:
TRANS-GENERATIONAL TRAUMA, GUILT AND SHAME**

BY

ANJA JENNIFER RILEY

B.A., German/English, The University Of Warwick, 2002
M.A., German Studies, The University Of New Mexico, 2009

ABSTRACT

The public and private discourse about Germany's past under Hitler has recently undergone a significant shift. Instead of focusing on Germans as perpetrators, the last two decades have been dominated by discussions about Germans as innocent civilians victimized by the victorious Allies during the last years of WWII. Against the backdrop of this shift in German memory politics, this thesis examines literary negotiations of the current 'victim debate', using Hans-Ulrich Treichel's prose text *Der Verlorene* (1998) as a primary example. *Der Verlorene* dramatizes a childhood dominated by an irrevocable loss. The parents of the child narrator have been traumatized by the loss of their home and their first-born son in 1945. Treichel's text documents how the trauma, guilt and shame experienced by the first generation has deeply affected the post-war identity of the second generation. The author articulates the legacy of war-time trauma as a series of psychosomatic symptoms afflicting the second generation, offering a glimpse of a schizophrenic Adenauer generation caught between guilt and victimhood. While *Der Verlorene* could be read as symptomatic of a broader change in contemporary discourses about WWII, it is foremost a personalized attempt to re-address the past. Treichel's text challenges a trend of the current memory culture in Germany, which is marked by the desire to generalize and sentimentalize the suffering of ethnic Germans driven from the eastern territories. Ultimately, this text refuses any notion of closure and releases the reader into an ongoing struggle with Germany's catastrophic past and its legacy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>CHAPTER I</u>	9
<u>CHAPTER II</u>	29
<u>CHAPTER III</u>	53
<u>CHAPTER IV</u>	73
<u>CONCLUSION</u>	93
<u>WORKS CITED</u>	97

INTRODUCTION

***“A people does not live in the present. It lives in the succession of generations and one cannot say: I was not yet born. This legacy doesn’t concern me at all”
(Herf, *Divided Memory* 336).***

“Literature thus occupies a particular space in collective memory, it is simultaneously private and public” (Schmitz, *On Their Own Terms* 7-8).

Two photographic images from the Second World War are lodged in my conscience. One is of a SS soldier aiming a rifle at a Jewish woman, back turned to her enemy and child swaddled in her arms and the other is of a young German man, brutally uprooted from his home in Silesia and arriving in Western Germany, having lost his young family on the merciless trek to cold and starvation. Reconciling these two images; the first symbolising a country of perpetrators who had wrought death and destruction on Europe and the second of a nation who suffered tremendously as their country fell, is problematic. How can, therefore, all Germans be perpetrators? But how can Germans also be considered victims in the light of the nation’s millions of persecuted individuals? How can the realities of the Nazi regime be balanced with, for example, the often-terrorized flight of over twelve million Germans? As Aleida Assmann stresses, “Auf der einen Seite deutsches Leid, das einen >Freispruch für die Täter< ermöglichen soll, auf der anderen Seite deutsche Schuld, die jegliche Leiderfahrung ausschließt”¹ (*Der lange Schatten* 201).

The difficulty of recognizing this ambivalence lies in the realities of World War Two: Germany started the war and pushed its frontiers into Africa, southern Europe and over a thousand miles into the Soviet Union. Germany waged genocide against millions of

¹ ‘On the one side there is German suffering, which is claimed to make possible the acquittal of the perpetrators; on the other side there is German guilt, which excludes all consideration of suffering’.

innocent people. How is it possible to acknowledge Germans as victims of the war when they are the very people most responsible for its devastating effects across Europe and murdering of millions of Jews, Slavs, Sinti, Roma, the mentally challenged, homosexuals and political opponents? Indeed as Helmut Schmitz asserts in light of the contemporary preoccupation in Germany with German victimhood:

The representations of Germans as suffering victims of Allied bombing campaigns or expulsions from the Eastern German territories and the accompanying atrocities perpetrated against them by the Red Army seems to be at odds with the general view of them as overwhelmingly negative perpetrators and bystanders during the National Socialist regime. (*A Nation Of Victims* 2)

The legacy of the past, a “hotly contested territory”, according to Anne Fuchs in *German Memory Contests* (2), has continued to burden and exasperate the Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic and reunified Germany. How exactly does a nation come to terms with a past which left the European continent in ruins and intentionally eliminated a whole culture, which was an intrinsic part of Germany for centuries? It is obvious that the twelve years of National Socialist rule have “caused a massive disturbance in the national narrative” (Fuchs 3). Collective memory in post-war Germany has been and will remain a site of friction and conflict. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*², a term born in the post-war era, is widely understood to describe the processes by which Germans have attempted to engage with the past of the Third Reich and, in particular, the issue of guilt in relation to the Holocaust. Although its etymological roots harbour the desire for an ending of the preoccupation with National

² The literal translation ‘coming to terms with the past’ contains the idea of overcoming as ‘bewältigen’ shares the same root with ‘Gewalt’ and ‘walten’, which has connotations of overpowering. I therefore prefer the less well-known noun *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*, which implies more of an ongoing ‘working through’ of the past and will use this term in my thesis.

Socialism, *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* has generated a progressive approach to confronting the 'unmasterable'³ past.

Personal and individual stories have contributed to this *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* debate and the public, private and official spheres have been interlocked in a battle over memory. Three different spheres of engagement play an important role: the public, private and official domains. The public sphere is an arena, which to a large degree is shaped by the media (television, film, newspapers, magazines). The private sphere comprises family stories and personal interactions, which circulate within familial homes. The official sphere is created by government and other official authorities and colored by changing political agendas. Although, in some ways separate, these three domains are intertwined in complex ways and influence each other with respect to Germany's highly charged memory discourse. After all, as many cultural critics claim, "the memory of National Socialism is a matter of national politics and identity building" (Schmitz *A Nation Of Victims* 3). The private negotiation of the past thus always has a public profile that in turn shapes the private sphere and vice versa.

One way to understand the processes of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* is through its expression in the cultural sphere. Indeed Mary Fulbrook claims:

Perhaps the real meaning of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, to sift and raise for discussion, alternative interpretations, to try to understand who could or could not have done what, who was really to blame, was [...] carried out in the cultural sphere – in drama, literature and film. (75)

My thesis focuses here on literature as the "seismograph" (Schlant 3) of a nation's politics, culture and morals. Literature can be seen as a 'corrective' to official memory,

³ Title of Charles S. Maier's 1997 book *The Unmasterable Past*.

illuminating private spheres of experience and inhabiting a central place in the memory landscape. As Ulrike Vedder states “Not only does literature constitute an experimental field for developing radical solutions to contemporary problems, but it can also represent and elaborate the imaginary potential, that is, those fears and desires evoked by current upheavals and discourses of crisis” (*Chiffre 2000* 33). Literature affords aesthetic perspectives that are inaccessible to other forms. In fact, Dominick LaCapra claims:

narratives in fiction may also involve truth claims by providing insight into phenomena, by offering a reading of a process or period, or by giving at least a plausible feel for experience and emotion which may be difficult to arrive at through restricted documentary methods. (13)

The importance of literature as a mediator of social and political issues cannot be denied. In literature the forms of production are individual rather than collective but, of course, influenced by debates, events and other cultural processes beyond the individual author’s control. In Germany, literary texts which engage with the past of the Third Reich can be seen as part of a larger public enterprise on behalf of the country to engage in memory work. This is not to say that they do not also operate on specific private planes as personal endeavors to come to terms with German history and trauma. Germany’s official remembrance culture had sidelined people’s private memories or reflected an already existing collective sentiment, but in the last few decades specific works of literature have actually instigated debates in the public sphere. Literature today, which grapples with the National Socialist past, engages not only with the events it portrays, but also with a series of very public contestations. These debates are indicative of tensions between private and public arenas and thus unresolved conflicts as to how Germany’s problematic past should be represented.

My case in point will be Hans-Ulrich Treichel's text *Der Verlorene* (1998). The historical, political and social context surrounding the text's publication will first be explored. Situating the text in its formative contextual framework and detailing the events and debates, which surround its inception and bear on the themes it addresses, is informative. *Der Verlorene* contributes to the so-called 'German Victimhood Debate', a discourse, which has gained considerable momentum in the last decade of The Berlin Republic's near 20-year existence. This debate is connected to the structure of post-war West German society and entails charting how events in the various decades and, ultimately, unification, have influenced the debate on German victimhood and how, today, we are witnessing a new stage in the portrayal of Germans as victims of the war in the cultural and literary domains.

How does *Der Verlorene* intersect with this discourse and how does the text engage with the public space of community memory? How does Treichel depict the long-term effects of expulsion on the second generation? Does the text sentimentalise traumatic experience or does Treichel use different ways to present the pain and loss of a family of expellees? *Der Verlorene* invites a closer textual analysis of three thematic narrative threads; trauma and guilt and shame. This examination intends to show how Treichel's text navigates private trauma, at the core of the 'victim debate'.

Chapter I will examine how the binary opposition of perpetrator and victim⁴, guilt and innocence shaped Germany's culture of memorialisation immediately after the war ended. In the 1950s the past was represented in mutually exclusive categories, in which perpetrators and victims were never the same people. The student movement in the late

⁴ These are heavily charged definitions, which have been locked in a perennial conflict.

1960s accused the *Mitläufer*⁵-generation of complicity and guilt, and often identified them as perpetrators. It has taken almost fifty years before the perpetrator-nation could be examined in a more nuanced and inquisitive way, asking if they could also be conceived of as victims. Currently, the notion of German victimhood has gained prominence, which stands in stark contrast to a culture that did not publicly acknowledge German suffering, as this could be construed as an undermining of the nation's collective crimes. *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* today has seen a shift towards a wider acknowledgement of German suffering.

Chapter II explores how *Der Verlorene* fits into the debate on German victimhood and situates the text within the broader public discourse in the late 1990s in Germany. Despite the fact that the narrator did not experience the trauma his parents underwent when they were expelled from the East, the traces of this trauma have left indelible imprints on his psyche. This kind of 'trans-generational trauma'⁶ has been examined by many writers of the second and third generations, trying to understand their implication in the legacy of their parents' traumatic pasts. Indeed post-unification literature is marked by a growing number of family narratives that adopt a transgenerational perspective on Germany's past.

Chapter III examines the trans-generational trauma as exhibited by the narrator. The complex nature and problems inherent in the '*Tradierung*' of war experiences through generations is discussed. '*Tradierung*' is defined in this context as the process by which experiences of the Second World War are handed down by the war generation to subsequent generations. Harald Welzer clarifies this term in his seminal 2002 study *Opa*

⁵ Understood as the generation who experienced the Third Reich and were *followers* of the NS Regime.

⁶ The trauma experienced by one generation and subsequently passed on to its successive generation.

war kein Nazi: Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis (2002)⁷. In this context Marianne Hirsch's concept of post-memory⁸, developed in *Family Frames* (1997), is also helpful. Hirsch coined the term to represent the mediated memory of the second generation, who had grown up in the shadow of traumatic experiences, left unarticulated by their parents. Postmemory thus describes both the increasingly mediated and immediate nature of traumatic memory of generations born after the war⁹. Postmemory is mediated through images and stories passed down from one generation to the next, but never constitutes an integrated memory 'text'.

Chapter IV presents a closer textual analysis of *Der Verlorene* underscoring the physical, psychological and psychosomatic effects of the parents' guilt on the young narrator. Treichel's text pivots on his exploration of the mechanisms of guilt and shame, which deeply affected the narrator and pollutes his whole upbringing. These concepts may also be the most prevailing sentiments, which have burdened Germany's negotiations with its Nazi past, but Treichel's text negotiates three very individual ways of dealing with these emotions¹⁰.

By necessity, several significant topics had to be cut out from this thesis. It was interesting to examine how the German Democratic Republic (GDR) navigated the past of the Third Reich and how this negotiation developed along a different and conflicting axis to that of the FRG. East Germany pronounced a moral hierarchy of victims, which

⁷ Welzer and his team examine what the process constitutes and how it is performed and explore the gap between historical research and the communicative memory of the Third Reich.

⁸ Understood as the memory imparted by the war generation to its successors, as their own. I am following Hirsch in hyphenating the term.

⁹ Although most influential in discussions of Holocaust representation, Hirsch's thesis can also be utilized with respect to the literature of transgenerational transmission.

¹⁰ Additionally guilt and shame operate on a parallel level to the public and private spheres for German guilt has been paraded in the public sphere as Germany was called upon to collectively atone for the guilt of National Socialist crimes. Shame, on the other hand, has been a more private affair, reflecting the return of history in the private arena.

displaced the Holocaust to the margins of its official political culture¹¹. This comparison had to be left out. Additionally, it would have been fascinating to engage in a more detailed analysis of Günter Grass's literary career and the progression of his work, particularly in light of his recent revelation in 2006 that he was a member of the Waffen SS. Although Grass's *Im Krebsgang* (2002) is an important contribution to the current debate about German suffering, a more extensive examination is beyond the scope of this thesis. Finally, a lengthier examination of the issue of the rape of thousands of German women by Red Army soldiers at the end of the Second World War, as represented in historical documents and such films as Helke Sander's *BeFreier und Befreite* (1992) may have been illuminating, but was also beyond the aim of this study.

¹¹ The 'divided memory' (see Jeffrey Herf's seminal 1999 publication *Divided Memory*), which characterized the anti-totalitarian West and anti-fascist East, shaped the way each German state confronted the legacy of the past in the immediate post-war era. Memory of National Socialism emerged as sharply divided along political lines, Konrad Adenauer and Walter Ulbricht shaping public remembrance in line with their respective state's ideological fault lines.

CHAPTER I

***“Die Geschichte, genauer, die von uns angerührte Geschichte ist ein verstopftes Klo.
Wir spülen und spülen, die Scheiße kommt dennoch hoch”
(Grass Im Krebsgang 116)¹².***

***“[...] Saying true things about the past is easy – anybody can do that – but saying
right things about the past is difficult” (qtd. in LaCapra 10).***

This thesis explores how Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* can be positioned within the broader German Victimhood debate, how primary and trans-generational trauma is articulated in the text and how guilt and shame as two very different strategies of dealing with the past in the narrative come into play. In order to engage with these questions, external events, which have shaped literary narrative, will first need to be addressed. This chapter sets *Der Verlorene* in a context, which embraces historical, political, cultural and literary developments from the post-war era to the present in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Politicians, historians, intellectuals and authors from the FRG’s first decade drew battle lines with respect to the official and private commemorative and memory discourses.

Since the 1990s, the decade following the birth of a united Germany, there have been very different efforts to articulate the legacy of the National Socialist past into public consciousness. Bill Niven¹³, scholar of contemporary German History, interprets this inscription of the era into national memory as a growing inclusiveness of the presence and understanding of the National Socialist era in united Germany (5). Reunification led

¹² “History, or to be more precise, the history we Germans have repeatedly mucked up, is a clogged toilet. We flush and flush, but the shit keeps rising” (Grass/Winston 122).

¹³ Niven has made several important contributions to the field of modern German history/cultural studies, including *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (2002), which examines the commemorative culture of post-war Germany.

to the responsibility for the Nazi past being centred within one state and a new phase in the memory discourse began to take shape. In the cultural domain, this manifested itself in a significant growth of texts and films addressing the memory of this tumultuous chapter of Germany's history. Publications and debates relating to the problematic documenting of the past through historical scholarship, memorials and exhibitions testify to the fact that although the Third Reich may be receding in time, its legacy is becoming more palpable. Indeed Holocaust historian Dan Diner concedes "je weiter man sich zeitlich von der Nazi-Periode entfernt, desto näher scheint man bewußteinsmäßig zu rücken"¹⁴ (11). Chronicling the Third Reich seems to be intensifying as the war generation slowly dies out.

Gradually a *German* victim discourse became prominent and contested the existing perpetrator discourse. In his contribution to the politics of memory, *Changing Memory Regimes in Contemporary Germany* (2003), Eric Langenbacher re-examines the evolution of dominant memories over the post-war period in the FRG. Langenbacher sees Germany as having "recently witnessed the emergence of another memory based on the same period of history, but emphasising German suffering" (46). An increased interest in learning about the range of victims surfaced and the cultural sphere opened up to embrace stories of different experiences of the war. Public discussions shifted, for the first time after reunification, from the suffering Germans inflicted to the suffering they experienced. In the literary sphere there was an increasing shift towards a historisation of the post-war generation conflict¹⁵ based on both victim and perpetrator perspectives¹⁶. In

¹⁴ 'The further one moves away from the Nazi period in time, the closer one seems to move to it in terms of consciousness'.

¹⁵ Authors, most notably Bernhard Schlink in *Der Vorleser* (1995), but also Treichel in *Der Verlorene* have thus taken as their point of departure the precarious relationship they had with their parents, the generation that was directly involved in the National Socialist era, and the impact this has had on their lives. This is a development on from the *Väterliteratur* of the late 1960's (see my subsequent discussion of *Väterliteratur*).

the psychological realm new studies have recognized memory as a process of *Tradierung*¹⁷. In addition, the issue of transgenerational transmission of trauma has attracted increasing scholarly attention¹⁸ over the last decades, both from Psychoanalysis and Cultural Studies (Schmitz, *Nation Of Victims* 200). These inter-disciplinary shifts have, according to *Der Spiegel* journalist Hans-Joachim Noack, spawned a new “Stufe in der Vergangenheitsbewältigung”¹⁹ (37-38)²⁰.

As Ernestine Schlant²¹ notes, literature in Germany at the turn of the twenty-first century, began to chart new areas (244) and saw a marked re-emergence of books dealing with the Nazi past. Now, in a new millennium, the memory discourse is branching off into uncharted territory to include a remarkable tangent: German victimhood and the re-visiting of sites of German wartime experience. The discussion of this German-centred memory continues to dominate the public sphere. The political dynamics of memory are fascinatingly intricate, yet highly charged. The FRG, as Langenbacher accurately articulates, “was a high memory context from the outset” (52). Thus an initial return to the post-war era in the FRG is crucial in understanding both the specific historical inflections and changes of German “victim” and “perpetrator” today and how the legacy of the past has been confronted in the public sphere. This will additionally

¹⁶ Such as Ulla Berkewicz, *Engel sind schwarz und weiß* (1992), Marcel Beyer, *Flughunde* (1995) and Uwe Timm *Am Beispiel meines Bruders* (2003).

¹⁷ Such as Harald Welzer et al, *Opa war kein Nazi: Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis* (2002).

¹⁸ Such as Doris Schroeder, Bob Brecher. *Transgenerational Obligations: Twenty-first Century Germany and the Holocaust* (2003).

¹⁹ ‘third step in coming to terms with the past’.

²⁰ In his article, tellingly entitled ‘Die Deutschen als Opfer’ (2002) Noack proposes that the renewed dialogue between the generations, most notably between grandparents and grandchildren, on the subject of the bombing of the cities and the mass exodus from the East, could constitute a new stage in the *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* discourse. Also interesting here is Helmut Schmitz’s assertion that, “The probably final stage of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* consists of the inclusion of previously excluded German perspectives into the cultural memory of National Socialism” (Schmitz *On Their Own Terms* 219).

²¹ Author of the seminal publication *The Language of Silence: West German Literature and the Holocaust* (1999), which offers an analysis of West German Literature which grapples with the Holocaust and includes discussions of the work of Grass, Böll, Schneider and Schlink.

illustrate how *Der Verlorene* intersects, contests and/or confirms a particular moment in the history of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*.

The Holocaust was a frequent topic of discussion within West German institutions. The different ways in which memory was, however, suppressed and acknowledged in the FRG is important to highlight, as this fuelled the 1960s backlash and necessitated the unravelling of the layers of repression in post-unification Germany. Ralph Giordano alludes to the silence, which shrouded the past as the “zweite Schuld”²² (3), the primary one being the guilt of the Holocaust. Giordano’s term refers to the inability of the majority of Germans in the post-war era to confront the National Socialist past. He advocated the thesis that the Germans’ evasion of any rigorous analysis of their sins during the Nazi period constituted a “second guilt”. In their ground-breaking study on the culture of denial *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*²³, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich proposed that in order to avoid confronting the past, Germans developed repressive mechanisms: “Um diese Angst, diese Schuld und Scham zu vermeiden oder wenigstens zu verringern, werden seelische Abwehrvorgänge von der Art der Verdrängung, der Verleugnung, der Projektion und andere mobilisiert”²⁴ (27). Initially there was no room for the voices of Germans who felt victimised by their experiences and the 1950s remained a decade of historical silence and willing forgetfulness.

²² ‘Second guilt’.

²³ Published in 1967, this seminal work, which utilizes Freudian tools of analysis, explored how and why the Germans had repressed the National Socialist past and followed the ‘Führer’ to the extent they had. Identifying two interrelated tendencies in collective consciousness; the repression of the past and indifference and apathy towards the present, the Mitscherlich’s regarded the Germans inability to confront the past as intrinsically linked to their grief in losing their narcissistic ‘Liebesobjekt’ Hitler. Unable to mourn the loss of their Führer, they instead developed intensive defence mechanisms and invested their libidinal energies in the ‘Wirtschaftswunder’ of post-war Germany.

²⁴ “To avoid, or at any rate to diminish, this anxiety, guilt, and shame, psychic defense mechanisms such as repression, denial and projection are mobilized” (Placzek 17). W. G. Sebald would later extend on the Mitscherlich’s thesis, arguing that the Germans’ energy for the reconstruction and the economic miracle originated in a silent collective refusal to engage with the responsibility for the Nazi past and that this affected their ability to address their own traumatisations.

In the literary sphere, this repression of the past manifested itself in a pervasive numbness, which made differentiated reflections²⁵ on the past extremely difficult. The West German literary icons Günter Grass and Heinrich Böll, alongside Wolfgang Koeppen and the documentary dramatists whose work emerged in the early 1960s, championed post-war *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*. Grass's disillusionment and resentment towards the Third Reich manifested itself in a literary oeuvre unparalleled in the post-war literary landscape. The Danzig Trilogy of *Die Blechtrommel*²⁶ (1959), *Katz und Maus* (1961) and *Hundejahre* (1963) put *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* concretely on the agenda for post-war West-German society. Böll vied against the *Stunde Null*, as he interpreted it as obliterating memory and cutting off a whole nation from its cultural and spiritual roots. Böll's writing, such as *Wo warst du Adam* (1951) and *Billard um halb zehn* (1959), represents a sustained attempt to provide an aesthetic response to the legacy of the Holocaust. Koeppen's *Tauben im Gras* (1951) *Das Treibhaus* (1953) and *Der Tod in Rom* (1954) were also attempts to come to terms with the National Socialist heritage and revealed the author as an acute social critic who broached taboo issues of post-war West German society. The most notable contributions by documentary dramatists include Rolf Hochhuth's *Der Stellvertreter* (1963) and Peter Weiss's *Die Ermittlung* (1965).

However, stories of German loss and suffering were central to the politics of memory in the 1950s and 1960s, as Robert G. Moeller in *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (2001) convincingly validates. In his analysis of the manner in which postwar Germany forged for itself a new identity on the basis of

²⁵ In the literary or cultural spheres, indeed there are notably few treatments of the NS era.

²⁶ *Die Blechtrommel* includes a key incident, which prefigures the Mitscherlich's influential psychological study *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern* (1967). In a nightclub, sardonically called 'Der Zwiebelkeller', Oskar becomes part of a systematised attempt to teach the German people how to cry. Those who frequent the club cry because they are chopping onions, not because they feel remorse for the German past "deshalb wird unser Jahrhundert später einmal das tränenlose Jahrhundert genannt werden" (Grass 2001: 693). 'That is why our century will later be called the tearless century'.

vivid yet selective memories of the past, Moeller suggests that the public preoccupation with the expulsion of Germans from the east and the fate of prisoners of war in the Soviet Union²⁷ created a sense of German victimhood that facilitated overcoming past crimes, by asserting an equivalence of suffering. In fact one of the most powerful integrative myths at the time emphasized that “Germany was a nation of victims, an imagined community defined by the experience of loss and displacement during the Second World War” (Moeller *War Stories* 6).

The West German state recognized the demands of the displaced population early on in its development. For example, the governmental scheme ‘*Lastenausgleich*’²⁸ (Equalisation of Burdens) financially assisted millions of expellees. Constituting a significant proportion of the electorate, the expellees’ private stories profoundly shaped the agenda of post-war public policy. As Moeller explains, “Far from forgotten or repressed, the experiences were incorporated into the political discourse of the Federal Republic” (‘Sinking Ships’ 154). The West German government even funded a project to document the *Vertreibung der Deutschen*²⁹. Memories of German suffering were dominant amongst the expellee groups and played a major integrative role for their assimilation into the FRG. Expulsion stories were also one way in which Germans endeavoured to repudiate their own guilt for National Socialist crime and bypass reflection, depicting themselves as victims too. Yet this focus on victimhood was to enrage the subsequent generation, “raised on tales of a suffering Germany, they directly

²⁷ This is a separate historical tragedy, which is yet to receive the attention afforded the victims of the Allied bombing campaigns (due, in part, perhaps to W. G. Sebald’s *Luftkrieg und Literatur* (1999) and Jörg Friedrich’s *Der Brand* (2002)) or of the expulsions from the eastern territories.

²⁸ The parents in *Der Verlorene* will come to apply for this compensation (*der Lastenausgleich*) as expellees living in post-war West Germany.

²⁹ ‘Expulsion of the Germans’. Compiled by eight prominent historians, the project placed the expulsions at the centre of West German history.

criticized their parents, who, they charged, had never faced the enormity of the crimes of the regime” (Moeller, ‘Sinking Ships’ 161).

It was not until the late 1960s, which saw an explosion of both public and private challenges and clashes as the student generation held their parents to account for the roles they played in National Socialism, that the larger public began to address its problematic past. This is encapsulated in the notion of 1968 as a historical and generational marker. Slogans such as ‘*Trau keinem über dreißig*’³⁰ (qtd. in Schmitz, *On Their Own Terms* 25) came to signify the distrust felt by the second generation towards their elders. These cultural changes of focus saw “the past displaced by a history of the Third Reich in which Nazi atrocities took center stage” (Moeller, *War Stories* 175). But in its exclusive focus on the perpetrator status of the collective, the revolt failed to comprehensively examine either the war- or the second generation’s problematic identity. Helmut Schmitz suggests that “the student movement is regarded as responsible for instrumentalising a ‘politically correct’ binary discourse of guilt in which the Germans came to figure exclusively as perpetrators”³¹ (*A Nation Of Victims* 11). What the period did spawn, however, was a literary genre, now recognised in its own right: the *Väterliteratur*³².

The genre constituted the first of its kind to offer a generational confrontation with the past in literature. This differed from the official discourse of memory, which in the 1960s and 1970s was engaged with commemorating Holocaust victims and establishing

³⁰ ‘Trust nobody over thirty’.

³¹ Indeed Michael Berg, protagonist of Bernhard Schlink’s phenomenally successful 1995 publication *Der Vorleser* states, “Flucht ist hier nicht die Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit, sondern gerade die entschlossene Konzentration auf Gegenwart und Zukunft, die blind ist für das Erbe der Vergangenheit, von dem wir geprägt sind und mit dem wir leben müssen” (Schlink 172). ‘Here escape is not a preoccupation with the past, but a determined focus on the present and the future that is blind to the legacy of the past which brands us and with which we must live’ (Brown Janeway *Reader* 180-181).

³² ‘Father literature’. A genre of fiction which presented a confrontation between the second generation and, invariably (although not exclusively) their fathers, who had been in some way involved in National Socialism.

harmonious foreign relations with neighbouring countries that had been detrimentally affected by National Socialism³³. The notion that family members should be held accountable and their actions placed under scrutiny marks a significant shift in *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*, which had been predominantly concerned with atoning for National Socialist crimes through public commemoration and compensation schemes. The focus of the discourse shifted from an abstract public sphere to a radicalised personal realm of engagement. *Väterliteratur* broke the taboo on talking about Nazi atrocities within the familial sphere and previously undisclosed narratives began to enter the public domain. Although still a long way off from a comprehensive confrontation with the past, which embraced all dimensions of victimhood, the *Vätertexte* initiated a confrontation with National Socialism, which acknowledged the importance of its *Tradierung* through the generations.

The 1970s have been located as a '*Tendenzwende*'³⁴ in the memory landscape of the FRG. This was a predominantly left-wing intellectual response to a changing political and cultural climate. The student protests and furious attacks on the parent generation spawned a new search for self-identity, which assumed national dimensions. Additionally, at the end of this decade, the broadcasting of a four-part American television series played a major role in precipitating a different and in many ways radicalised remembering process. *Holocaust*, which subsequently became a media event and spectacle on its screening in Germany in 1979, can be seen as a chief catalyst in the turn towards a new broader interest in the history and images of the German past. The collective occupation with this film in the public sphere overran all expectations. The

³³ For example Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* in the 1970s, in which the Chancellor of the FRG worked hard to improve relations with his Eastern neighbours, including the acceptance of the existing Oder-Neisse line border and its ratification with the signing of the German Polish Treaty in 1970.

³⁴ Widely understood as meaning a change of direction, both in the political and cultural spheres in the 1970s.

series ultimately offered the possibility of identifying with a Jewish family, victims of the National Socialist regime. This was a new opportunity for Germans to empathise. Conditions were now right to look the past directly in the eyes and begin the task of mourning work in the cultural domain. Eric Santner discusses the role the series played in Germany's national mourning work in *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory and Film in Postwar Germany* (1990), confirming that "Holocaust became in the land of origin of the Holocaust, a site at which a nation seemed to begin to engage in the deep emotional labor of mourning" (73). With the reception of the *Holocaust* series, a new consciousness of the presentness of the past set in Germany. An American TV show had prompted a revolution inside Germany. German film scholar Thomas Elsaesser reminds us that "[...] the trigger for German directors to re-think the representation of history on film came, like the defeat of fascism itself, from outside" (qtd. in Sobchak 158).

Whilst *Väterliteratur*, *Neue Subjektivität*³⁵ and the American TV Series *Holocaust*, marked the 1970s, the early 80s were characterised by the development of the notion of '*Alltagsgeschichte*'³⁶, championed by the historian Martin Broszat³⁷. Broszat led a project, which offered, through an exploration of subjective experiences, new dimensions to the understanding of relations between the state and its people in Nazi Germany. The approach had a remarkable resonance and broke down taboos for a younger generation to analyse the Third Reich not just as a political phenomenon, but also as a social

³⁵ 'Neue Subjektivität' can be described as the general shift in German literature of the 1970s towards a growing political disillusionment, a demand for self-reflection and the discovery of the personal voice as a highly charged political means of expression, epitomized in the maxim 'Das Private ist politisch'.

³⁶ Understood as 'the history of everyday life' or 'history from below' this key concept generated a plethora of detailed empirical studies of the experience of different social groups, frequently in a local or regional context, during the Third Reich. The inter-disciplinary focus helped to open up new questions and problems about the character of social history during the National Socialist era.

³⁷ Director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich.

experience. But the late 1980s also bore witness to the *Historikerstreit*, which would radically alter perceptions on the political and moral dimensions of collective memory.

Schmitz refers to the *Historikerstreit*³⁸ as the ‘*Auslöser*’³⁹ (*German Culture* 296), which preceded the 1990s explosion of memory in the public sphere. The debate, initiated in the summer of 1986 and played out in the broadsheet German newspapers for over two years, signalled an important moment in German national self-questioning and produced a major discussion about historical responsibility. It centred on the contestation over whether Germany should be allowed to move on and out of the regimented politics of memory and associated guilt of the Holocaust and be able to assert itself as a ‘normal’ nation. This term, as is the case with the majority of concepts associated with the discourse of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*, is open to interpretation. The ‘normalisation’ debate involves the controversy surrounding the question whether Germany, half a century after the Third Reich, should be allowed, to behave and be accepted as a ‘normal’ nation. Advocates stress that Germans should be able to assert themselves as citizens of a democracy, which has overcome its past and is moving towards becoming a key player in international politics. In questioning the degree to which the Holocaust had taken hold of the public realm, the *Historikerstreit* thrashed out the boundaries of collective memory. The intensity of the dispute illustrated the degree to which the past remained a contentious and unresolved problem. However, the *Historikerstreit* sowed the seeds for a more inclusive version of the National Socialist past to enter public consciousness and was the first step towards yet another shift in *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* in the 1990s⁴⁰.

³⁸ See Aleida Assmann in *Geschichtsvergessenheit, Geschichtsversessenheit* (1999) and her detailed discussion of the *Historikerstreit*.

³⁹ Trigger.

⁴⁰ This, perhaps, paved the way for the publication of Bernhard Schlink’s groundbreaking *Der Vorleser* in 1995. Undoubtedly one of the most popular and successful works of fiction to emerge out of post-unification Germany, *Der Vorleser* was published to much controversy and debate in 1995. Schlink’s book

Unification saw not only the tearing down of the wall, which had separated the two German states, but the breaking down of taboos surrounding various aspects of National Socialism. This momentous historical event is intrinsic to an understanding of the development of the ‘Germans as victims’ discourse and memory dialogue in Germany. As Klaus Naumann, editor of a collection of articles on post-war German society, *Nachkrieg in Deutschland* (2001), states:

Während der deutsche Opferdiskurs in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahre stark von der Leidenskonkurrenz mit den NS-Opfern bestimmt war, folgte der öffentliche Diskurs der neunziger Jahre zunehmend [...] der Bruchlinie zwischen Opfern und Tätern⁴¹. (17)

The paradigmatic shift in the discussion about victims and perpetrators was articulated on many levels. In many ways, the desire to understand perpetrator motivation was stimulated by Christopher Browning’s historical study *Ordinary Men: Reserve Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992), in which he offered a multi-causal explanation for how such heinous crimes could have been carried out.

However these questions⁴² were catapulted fully into the public domain with the publication of Daniel J. Goldhagen’s controversial *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*⁴³ in

unleashed a controversy unparalleled as yet in the post-unification literary, cultural and public scene. The 1986 intellectual and public debate captioned the *Historikerstreit*, as well as the atmosphere in the mid-1990s, which saw an inter-disciplinary preoccupation with perpetrator mentality, forms the contextual background to Schlink’s novel.

⁴¹ ‘While the German victim discourse in the 1950s and 1960s was strongly determined by comparisons of the suffering of victims of National Socialism, the official discourse of the 1990’s increasingly followed the break line between victims and perpetrators’.

⁴² Both were influenced by Broszat’s turn to ‘*Alltagsgeschichte*’. However where Goldhagen’s explanation for collusion in National Socialism was mono-causal, Browning outlined a number of motives. The conclusions reached were very different, although they utilized the same archival material. Whereas Browning concluded that these were ordinary men acting on orders, Goldhagen interpreted the motives of these killers as able to be traced to a specifically German genetic defect.

⁴³ LaCapra discusses the Goldhagen ‘phenomenon’ in *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (2001) with respect to his attempt to try to represent trauma from the perpetrators’ point of view. LaCapra surmises that “Perpetrator history in Goldhagen becomes the putative history of perpetrators as seen through the eyes of

1996. This controversial piece of historical research⁴⁴ claimed to be both an extended historical outline of the history of German anti-Semitism in the nineteenth and twentieth century and a detailed narrative of the perpetrators' willing complicity in the Holocaust. The importance of Goldhagen's publication stems less, however, from the contents of the book, than from its effect in the public sphere. Goldhagen's study can be seen as a mark, by which taboos on portraying Nazi crimes, were finally seen to have been invalidated. Moreover, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* sparked an intergenerational dialogue, which saw the discussion of Nazi atrocities in the familial sphere being instigated by the third generation. Harald Welzer remarks that Goldhagen's book "[lieferte] eine Initialzündung für die Thematisierung einer generationenübergreifenden Verstrickung in den Schuldzusammenhang der nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen"⁴⁵ ('Schön Unscharf' 54). The increased interest in exposing a perpetrator mentality⁴⁶ saw a bridging of the public and literary domains, revealing a need to scrutinise National Socialist criminality.

Alongside literary and scholarly publications, the 1990s brought with it a host of competing memories and popular sensationalist media events, which placed the legacy of the past firmly in the public limelight. Schmitz sees the events of the 1990s as eroding "entrenched discourses on National Socialism" and opening "the floodgates on previously unacceptable topics" (*German Culture* 4). With reunification, an open discourse that centred squarely on the issue of German suffering became more

the victims – especially certain victims – with whom Goldhagen identifies and whose experience of events he imaginatively or phantasmatically recounts" (120). Although purporting to be a contribution to perpetrator history, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* is, according to LaCapra, an exercise in identification with specific imaginary victims. Perpetrator and victim once again conflate.

⁴⁴ Originally Goldhagen's Harvard doctoral thesis.

⁴⁵ 'it [provided] an initial ignition for the thematisation of a comprehensive generational involvement in the relationship of guilt to National Socialist crimes'.

⁴⁶ The focus on perpetrator motivation culminated in the 'Crimes of the Wehrmacht' exhibitions, which toured Germany between 1995 and 1997.

mainstream. The guilt of the past could no longer be passed over the ideological divide. The private was to enter the public and revolutionise its parameters.

Stories, which had until now only circulated in the family home, entered the public arena. The preoccupation with National Socialism filtered into all spheres and Germany saw an unprecedented degree of political and media discussion. Debates on how perpetrators and victims of National Socialism should be viewed entered the public realm. Now a 'new' unified identity needed to be carved out, an identity that would see different portrayals of the Third Reich and its players and victims contribute to its creation⁴⁷. This shift in *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* accompanied the emergence of German wartime suffering as a feature on the cultural agenda. Schmitz asserts that "since the mid 1990s mainstream German literature produced a stream of works that address the memory of German wartime experience and its lasting legacy throughout the post-war generation" (*A Nation Of Victims* 2). One such inflated example was the military historian Jörg Friedrich's publication *Der Brand*⁴⁸, which sparked an ongoing discussion about how Germans could remember civilian victims of the Allied bombing campaigns in 2002.

Hans-Ulrich Treichel's *Der Verlorene* epitomises the portrayals of wartime suffering in the political and cultural discourse of the 1990s, which represented a breaching of the taboo described by W. G. Sebald. In his controversial 1999 publication *Luftkrieg und*

⁴⁷ Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993) made the Holocaust a Hollywood box office hit, but it also brought a key figure of the Third Reich, who was not a Jewish victim, into the limelight. Spielberg's highly acclaimed and controversial blockbuster illuminated an individual story within the grand narrative of the Third Reich, without claiming to explain the historical catastrophe.

⁴⁸ This publication generated a similar level of public interest and journalistic attention, which the *Historikerstreit* and Goldhagen debates merited. Friedrich's portrayal of the Allied air war against Germany chronicled the effects of the carpet-bombing of German cities. Friedrich contributed to the new surge of documentation of German suffering, which had previously been censored under strict taboos. However, the book met with accusations of revisionist, right-wing revanchism.

*Literatur*⁴⁹ Sebald outlined a problematic hypothesis. Highlighting the “inability of a whole generation of German authors to register what they had seen and introduce it into our memory”⁵⁰ (x), he deplored the fact that the destruction and bombing remained “under a kind of taboo like a shameful family secret” (10). The Germans, according to Sebald and in line with the Mitscherlichs’ psychoanalytical assessments, had honed a “perfectly functioning mechanism of repression” (12). The ensuing debate saw critics both defend and rebuke Sebald’s controversial arguments. Whilst critics were quick to highlight Sebald’s oversight of various novels, his thesis of a general lack of a discourse which could adequately try to address traumatic events and the devastating nature of the bombing experience was “widely adopted and extended to the issue of German suffering as a whole” (Schmitz, *A Nation Of Victims* 6).

Sebald’s book-length essay catapulted the issue of the bombing experiences (and therefore German victimhood/suffering), forgotten for several decades, into the centre of public attention. Treichel’s book can be seen as part of this trend towards exposing wartime suffering in the late 1990s, which, due to a regimented ideological agenda, had largely been repressed in the FRG⁵¹. This is partly due to the third generation’s inquisitiveness, which Noack stresses: “Die Enkel-Generation sieht in einem Land [...] die zurückliegenden Ereignisse mit neuem, nüchternem Blick”⁵² (37), but also highlights the question of timing. German wartime suffering could not be addressed or acknowledged in the public sphere until the politics of memory had played out its

⁴⁹ Originating in lectures he delivered in Zürich in 1997.

⁵⁰ Although at the end of his essay, Sebald acknowledges that there are numerous exceptions to his theory that there existed a taboo on confronting the bombing campaigns in literature, he remains unconvinced that any literary portrayals have attained prominence in public consciousness.

⁵¹ Moeller, however, does remind us that the theme of German victimhood which surfaced in the 1990s was “not particularly novel; [but] represented the forceful return of what had never been completely repressed” (2001: 20).

⁵² ‘The generation of grandchildren see, with a new sober view, the incidents of the past’.

atonement of guilt for the Holocaust. Additionally, the appetite for stories of German wartime suffering reflected the awareness that the *Mitläufer* were passing away. The *Historikerstreit* in the late 1980s questioned the way the past should be confronted and introduced the possibility of minimising collective guilt for the Holocaust on the cultural agenda. Unification then instigated a search for a ‘common’ memory, which began to investigate the suffering of the German people as a consequence of the Second World War.

Der Verlorene is thus part of a cultural endeavour in the late 1990s to break the silence, which had previously surrounded the notion of German victimhood. In September 1999, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder was recalling the expellees and addressed the annual meeting of the Union of Expellees concluding that, “Every act of expulsion [...] is a crime against humanity” (Grusswort des Bundeskanzlers). The most controversial publication, however, which has subsequently steered the debate on German wartime suffering in the new millennium in Germany, was Günter Grass’s *Im Krebsgang*, published in 2002.

In his novella, Grass addresses the fate of Germans who were expelled or fled from the Eastern territories at the end of the war⁵³. *Im Krebsgang* perforated the public sphere with a remarkable impact. The book transposed the issue of German victimhood beyond newspaper supplements to reach the front pages of German broadsheet and sensationalist newspapers⁵⁴. Indeed Moeller remarks:

The publication of *Im Krebsgang* has prompted a national sigh of relief that has

resounded in much of its reception by popular media. The mass circulation weekly

⁵³ Grass was keen to justify this change of focus in speeches and interviews where he emphasised the necessity of remembering German victims and the dangers of leaving the topic of the bombings and exodus undiscussed, rendering it prey to right-wing revanchist tendencies.

⁵⁴ The Gustloff disaster was rendered on front pages with emotive titles such as ‘Die deutsche Titanic’ (*Der Spiegel*, 06/2002).

Der Spiegel was not alone in endorsing the need to recall a history [...], which featured Germans as victims, not perpetrators. (*Sinking Ships* 151)

*Im Krebsgang*⁵⁵ provided journalists with the perfect case study with which to examine the issue of the so-called taboo on German victimhood. The shift to the depiction of ‘German’ civilian victims at the hands of Allied and Soviet forces attracted the media attention. The novella rekindled the public debate about memories of war crimes against German civilians and provoked huge critical and public interest. The taboos surrounding German wartime suffering had been re-addressed with Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* in 1998 and Sebald’s claims in 1999 but *Im Krebsgang*, due perhaps partly to its author’s notoriety, placed the issue concretely in the public limelight. The time had come to acknowledge ‘Germans as Victims’ announced the headline in *Der Spiegel* (2002).

Im Krebsgang needs to be seen in the context of the lack of public discourse about German suffering in the immediate post-war period, the resulting transferral of repression to the second generation and their subsequent failure to address the past. Grass presents the history of how Germans have remembered and repressed wartime suffering since 1945. He shows adeptly how the larger political context framed the public articulation of memory. The debate surrounding Grass’s book changed the atmosphere in Germany sufficiently enough for people to start talking about the experiences of the displaced expellees as openly as they had talked about the Holocaust for the previous five decades. The text, almost single-handedly, articulates a paradigmatic change in the memory

⁵⁵ Grass, ever the ambitious author, had a broad agenda with his text, which examines the *Tradierung* of German wartime experiences, explores the concept of German victimhood, analyses right wing extremism and the memory culture in Germany and draws on the *Historikerstreit*, the Sebald and Goldhagen debates, Walser’s 1998 speech and the David Irving trial.

culture of the Federal Republic, for if the revered left-wing author Günter Grass⁵⁶ could voice such hitherto taboo issues, so could the nation.

The fate of German expellees became central to the German cultural and public sphere due not only to Grass's *Im Krebsgang*, but also to the conflict over the Benes decree⁵⁷ and the subsequent '*Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen*'⁵⁸ debate in 2003. This debate centred around the '*Bund der Vertriebenen*'⁵⁹ (BdV) and their suggestion to create a memorial and documentary centre with the aim of providing a comprehensive overview of the expulsion of 15 million Germans and heightening awareness of the issue in Germany. The proposal to locate the centre in Berlin generated both approval and criticism, splitting the German cabinet and dividing politicians, intellectuals and historians across Germany and Eastern Europe⁶⁰. *Im Krebsgang* was thus published in a decade, which had seen and would see the issue of German wartime suffering at the forefront of the FRG's public agenda. Aleida Assmann pinpoints the year 2003 as the year in which "memories of

⁵⁶ It is critical to mention that Grass made a shocking admission in an Interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* in advance of the release of his autobiography *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel* in 2006. His belated revelation that he served in the Waffen SS provoked huge international debate and incurred both positive and negative reaction. Perhaps this secret drove the author to engage more fiercely with Germany's past and the task of mourning, uncovering and articulating all facets of this era?

⁵⁷ In compliance with the Potsdam treaty this regulated the resettlement of Germans after Nazi occupation. 147 laws were enacted of which those most hotly disputed today concern the expropriation of Czech citizenship and confiscation of possessions. The debate regarding the decree and specifically, the proposal of the Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel to draw up a collective German-Czech declaration, has unleashed much controversy. The Czech Prime Minister Milos Zeman has refused to re-assess The Benes Decree. A questioning of the Benes decree would, according to Zeman, demand a revision of international treaties drawn up after the Second World War.

⁵⁸ '*Centre against Expulsions*'. Samuel Salzborn's Article 'The German Myth of a Victim Nation: (Re)presenting Germans as Victims in the New Debate on their Flight and Expulsion from Eastern Europe' in Schmitz's *A Nation of Victims* (2007) analyses succinctly how the 'Germans as victims' topos is represented in the debate on the centre.

⁵⁹ Established in 1951 as a national umbrella organisation for those who were expelled from the Eastern territories at the end of the war.

⁶⁰ The supporters of the project included, amongst others, the Social Democrat Peter Glotz and the home secretary Otto Schily, who argued that in terms of its centrality and for communication, Berlin would be the optimal solution. The main criticism levied, however, against the plans for the centre is that in situating it in Berlin, a nationalist significance may be implied which may de-value other sites of memory in the city. This position is championed by Marcus Meckel, an SPD representative, Wolfgang Thierse, President of the Bundestag, and Günter Grass. Former Chancellor Schröder and Joschka Fischer also seemed against a centre in Berlin. The chairman of the BdV, Erica Steinbach, has defended the scheme maintaining that it is not intended as something to be placed in a hierarchy of importance with the Holocaust.

German suffering, experienced fifty eight years previously, returned with a unique and unexpected impact” (*Der lange Schatten* 188).

But for what other reasons did the memory landscape see a shift towards a “communicative and family-centred memory of German suffering” (Schmitz, *A Nation Of Victims* 5) and a reclaiming of German wartime traumatisation? Why did the memory of German suffering return to the public sphere and meet with such resonance and interest? The passing away of witnesses may be the first important reason to mention, which goes hand in hand with a generational shift. This new generation is more intent on exploring the legacy of the past and recovering it in a process of self-reflection and self-discovery. This marks a change from the rebellious 1968ers, who were all too eager to judge their parents. Consequently, the re-emergence of images of wartime suffering is at the centre of the student faction and its role within the commemorative culture of the FRG. Schmitz sees the student movement as the locus of the taboo on German suffering, which recent publications have returned to (*On Their Own Terms* 12).

Both Treichel and Grass exhibit awareness of the importance of addressing memories, which they had not grappled with before. In an extension of the Mitscherlich’s study, the student generation repeated the withdrawal of libidinous energy with respect to their parents’ wartime experience, out of a feeling of shame (Schmitz, *A Nation Of Victims* 199). The children had turned into the accusers of their parents and refused to empathise with their suffering. Schmitz claims that the “second generation inherits the psychological damage of National Socialism from its parents and thus unwittingly continues the “inability to mourn” (*On Their Own Terms* 14). The agenda of the new generation, however and in contrast to their elders, is no longer to fashion a new

beginning, but to establish a more knowledgeable relationship with the past to identify where their beginnings came from.

Secondly, the media has embraced the theme of German suffering. The ignition of a broad, public debate is in large part due to the media's engagement with this theme. The private has become public in a society in which a metaphorical ban has been lifted and a proliferation of individual memories are being negotiated on a collective level. Many different forms of writing did address wartime suffering, a factor which Sebald was later to acknowledge. However, these works did not receive public recognition and thus remained largely at the fringes of a debate on German victimhood. Recent texts, however, have been propelled into the official public arena and have gained national and international appreciation. Literature in which memory is both a source of inspiration and mode of representation is today enjoying extraordinary esteem. In this genre, Assmann remarks "we observe new ways of accessing large-scale history as it crosses and intersects with family lives and family memory" (*Der lange Schatten* 192). Finally and important to remember, unification instigated the search for a new 'usable' common past.

German wartime suffering has thus recently been negotiated, not through an official commemorative drive, but through highly personal interjections, which have, however private, punctuated the public realm. In the subsequent years since the publication of both Treichel's and Grass's works, a vast discourse on Germans as victims has opened up and a 'victim dialogue' initiated both in the public and private spheres in Germany. This has lead Schmitz to claim that "the topic of German wartime suffering is omnipresent in contemporary Germany" (*A Nation Of Victims* 1). In the late 1980s, seeking to present Germans as victims was largely viewed as a right-wing agenda, whereas now the issue has become more main-stream. Although German suffering was a topic of discourse in

the post-war era and the most important representatives of German victimhood were “the men, women and children who had left or been driven out of Eastern Europe by the Red Army at the war’s end” (Moeller, *War Stories* 3), what is new, as articulated by Assmann, is “the current context [...] the intensity of the unexpected return of these issues and their wide social resonance among different classes and generations” (*Der lange Schatten* 187).

The difference lies in the crossing over into public discourse. Whilst victim stories circulated in the post-war era in family homes and private conversations, they did not find a larger resonance in the society as a whole. This complicates the public/private dichotomy even more. For what, according to Assmann, “had been well established as a private and informal memory was not necessarily on the agenda of political commemoration” (*Der lange Schatten* 190). Private memory was relegated to the private sphere in the post-war period, now, however, the private has entered the public arena and in turn, opened the door to floods of private and personal stories which splash across the pages of the public media. Hans-Ulrich Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* is just one example of one of these private stories, which has earned public attention.

CHAPTER II

“The processes of reminiscence in Treichel’s work involve a painful and gradual confrontation with the deepest recesses of the self” (qtd. in Williams/Basker 104).

“Es gibt in Deutschland ein bestimmtes, hoch-aufgeladenes Missverständnis, wenn die Rede auf den Nationalsozialismus und seine seelische Folgen kommt. Während die einen vom Krieg oder von der Vertreibung sprechen, sprechen die anderen vom Völkermord. Und man wirft sich gegenseitig vor, nur über das eine und nie über das andere zu sprechen”⁶¹ (Bude 65).

This chapter seeks to detail in more depth and with more specificity how Hans-Ulrich Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* engages with the discourse of German Victimhood, through its examination of expulsion and contribution to the debate on depicting German wartime suffering. The public dimensions of *Der Verlorene* are becoming clear in, for example, the context of W. G. Sebald’s line of reasoning in *Luftkrieg und Literatur* (2001)⁶². In this ground-breaking work, Sebald claimed that post-war literature had refused, on the whole, to examine the apocalyptic destruction of German cities. Several inflammatory publications that followed, including Jörg Friedrich’s *Der Brand* (2002), would stress the need to remember ‘German’ victims of the Second World War. However, Treichel’s principal concern with *Der Verlorene* was not to contribute to a broader victim culture. The author accomplishes this through the use of a masterfully laconic language and ironic humour. *Der Verlorene* ultimately illustrates the complex interplay between traumatic history and individual experience. The retreat into a private sphere of reflection does not, however, obscure fundamental political and social questions; questions chiefly regarding

⁶¹ ‘There is in Germany a particular, charged misunderstanding when the topic of discussion is National Socialism and its psychological consequences. Whilst some speak of war or expulsion, others speak of genocide. And one accuses the other of only speaking about the one or the other’.

⁶² Sebald examines the provocative issue of how and to what extent the atrocities suffered by German civilians in the years 1942-1945 have been remembered.

the loss of the Eastern territories and compensation payments for those expelled at the end of the war.

An examination of the tragedy of the mass expulsions of over 16 million Germans from Eastern Europe at the end of the war, which not only radically altered the economic, political and demographic map of Europe, but gave rise to untold suffering, provides the context to Treichel's subject matter. There is no doubt that German civilians were *also* victims of Hitler's war and this is no more poignantly illustrated than with the mass expulsions. This key tragedy constitutes *the* decisive historical background to *Der Verlorene*, since the central figures are a family of expellees from Eastern Germany and the central event around which the narrative pivots is the trauma they experience at the hands of the Russians.

Passing through Eastern territories previously settled by Germans, the Red Army left a record of mass rape and devastation as they pushed on to Berlin. The separation from and loss of loved ones, expropriation, humiliation and untold physical and emotional abuse were common fare. As a result, millions of Germans, from the Baltic to the Balkans, fled westward in terror, abandoning their homes and possessions. Moeller documents this in *War Stories*⁶³ (2001), in which he reveals that these treks of fleeing Germans signified the collapse of The Third Reich and “became a symbolic path of immense German suffering” (69). West Germany was the place of refuge for the millions of Germans forcibly expelled from the East. In the new Federal Republic roughly 16% of West Germans hailed from parts of eastern Germany ceded to post-war Poland or other areas in

⁶³ Drawing on a wide range of U.S. and German government documents, political debates, film archives, letters, oral histories, and newspaper accounts Moeller conveys the complicated story of how West Germans recasted the recent past after the Second World War. Rejecting earlier characterizations of a post-war West Germany dominated by silence about the Nazi past, Moeller demonstrates the ‘selective remembering’ that took place and in particular how West Germans remembered crimes committed against German victims.

Eastern Europe (3). Refugees of a war of frontiers and retribution, their personal testimonies and accounts testify to their place as victims of a war of recapturing power in the East.

In *Der Verlorene* a family – a father, mother and their son Arnold – are fleeing their homes in East Prussia from the advancing Red Army. It is the harsh winter of 1945 and the Second World War has seen its final days unfold. On the long trek armed Russian soldiers stop them and fearing for her life and that of her baby son, the mother hastily thrusts her child into the arms of another refugee woman, never to see him again: “ [...] da einer der Russen dem Vater bereits ein Gewehr vor die Brust gedrückt hatte, gelang es der Mutter gerade noch, einer neben ihr hergehenden Frau, [...] das Kind in die Arme zu legen”⁶⁴ (15). The mother never manages to retrieve her baby from the stranger she had entrusted him to. The family settle in West Germany. At first Arnold is assumed dead but early on in the narrative we learn of his true fate; he is not dead, but lost: “Er ist gar nicht gestorben, [...], er ist verlorengegangen”⁶⁵ (13). The boy’s absence in the family’s life, is the premise of the narrative⁶⁶.

The focus of the plot is the parent’s desperate search for their lost child. They have not only lost their home, livelihood, land and culture, but their son and they now grapple with these losses in the *Wirtschaftswunder*⁶⁷ period of the Federal Republic. In narrating the experiences of a German family who were expelled from their Eastern home, Treichel engages in the discourse of ‘German Victimhood’ and thus gives voice to what for a long time had been a taboo on German wartime experience. Furthermore, Treichel portrays the

⁶⁴ “[...] and as one of the Russians had already put his gun to my father’s chest, my mother just had time to put her child in the arms of a passing woman” (Brown Janeway 9).

⁶⁵ “He didn’t die, [...] he was lost” (Brown Janeway 7).

⁶⁶ Interesting literary comparisons can be drawn here with Uwe Timm’s *Am Beispiel meines Bruders* (2003), in which Uwe’s brother’s (Karl-Heinz) absence is also the focus of the narrative.

⁶⁷ Economic miracle

mindset and outlook of expellees who have settled in the FRG and comments on the society, which was established in the two Germany's after the Second World War. Stuart Taberner reiterates that the text “ruminate[s] on family life and the public-political sphere in the 1950s, 1960s and beyond and reveals the fractures running through the foundations of the post-war order in both East and West Germany” (qtd. in Schmitz *A Nation Of Victims* 226).

But to what extent had experiences of German expulsion and war-associated suffering been visible in the Federal Republic? The common conception is that German suffering at the hands of the Allies and Soviets was sidelined almost instantaneously to make way for the recognition of the victims of the Holocaust. However, German victims, predominantly those who were expelled from the Eastern territories, had a strong voice in post-war Germany and were allocated various privileges and compensatory rights. In *War Stories* (2001) Moeller describes how the official discourse of the 1950s stressed that Germany was a nation of victims, an ‘imagined community’ defined by loss and displacement during the Second World War: “In the memories of Adenauer and most west Germans, the past to be overcome in the 1950s, the past to be incorporated systematically as part of the present, was not the past of the German crimes, but the past of German suffering” (85). The fate of German expellees came to represent the fate of post-war Germany. Accordingly, the Red Army’s rape of women as it moved westward in 1945 became the ‘rape of the German nation’, as Moeller underlines, “countless reports detailed how the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe commenced, literally and symbolically, with the forceful occupation of German women’s bodies” (65).

Interestingly, the West German state, with the co-operation of some of the most accomplished historians in the Federal Republic, sought to record a chronicle of the

expulsions and make the story part of German history. This vast project, funded by the Federal Republic, recorded in extraordinary detail the plight of Germans driven out of Eastern Europe by the Soviets. In *‘Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neiße’*⁶⁸ Theodor Schieder surmised:

Die Ereignisse, die sich beim ersten Zusammentreffen der siegreichen Truppen der Roten Armee mit der ostdeutschen Bevölkerung abspielten, stellen zweifellos den tiefsten Punkt der Erniedrigung dar, den die Deutschen jenseits von Oder und Neiße erleben mußten⁶⁹. (60)

Schieder documented the phenomenon of mass rape and the brutal and savage violation of women’s bodies as part of a seemingly unbridled desire for revenge: “Bei den zahlreichen Erlebnisberichten, die vom Einzug der Roten Armee handeln, gibt es kaum einen, der nicht von Vergewaltigungen deutscher Frauen und Mädchen zu berichten weiß”⁷⁰ (60). Publishing a record of the Red Army’s crimes and offenses against Germans in the last months of the war’s end would establish the expulsions as “one of the most momentous events in all European history and one of the great catastrophes in the development of the German people” (*War Stories* 61). The documentation amassed impressive primary sources and constituted a “record of the entire process of the expulsions in its historical accuracy” (61).

The expellee’s influence on West German Politics and foreign policy was significant and the Bundestag took up means to meet the needs of German victims with a host of welfare initiatives. The *Lastenausgleich*⁷¹ law passed in 1952, for example, resulted in

⁶⁸ *‘The Expulsion Of The German Population From The Territories East Of The Oder-Neisse-Line’*

⁶⁹ ‘The Germans from the east of the Oder and Neisse were made to suffer the vilest humiliations conceivable, when they first came into contact with the victorious Red Army’ (Stranders 48).

⁷⁰ ‘Among the numberless reports on the entry of the Red Army, there is scarcely a single one which does not tell of the raping of women and girls’ (Stranders 48).

⁷¹ Compensation/equalisation of burden

the payment of nearly 27 million marks, 64% of which went to expellees (*War Stories* 45). It is towards the end of the story that it becomes clear that the narrator's father has been denied payments under the Federal Republic's *Lastenausgleich* law. Treichel comments specifically on the reimbursement law, but gives his reference to the compensation an ironic twist in that the parents were denied the money, "Dann habe die Mutter [...] über den Lastenausgleich gesprochen, den der Vater nach dem Krieg beantragt hatte und der ihm wegen der Rechtslage verweigert worden war"⁷² (163). The centrality of the issue of compensation to the parents is emphasized brilliantly by the narrator: "Ich wusste nicht genau, was der Lastenausgleich war, hatte das Wort aber schon so oft gehört, daß es zu den häufigsten Worten meiner Kindheit gehörte"⁷³ (163).

The 'Lastenausgleich' matter characterises the host of uncertainties, which mark the narrator's childhood in a profound way. The German term 'Lastenausgleich' implies a balancing out of burdens endured. Treichel's emphasis on the term highlights its inherent irony. The narrator separates the two nouns and plays with their connotations, "[...] doch solange er nicht verschwunden war, war er den Eltern kein Ausgleich, sondern eine wirkliche Last gewesen, die sie bedrückte und ihnen das Leben schwer machte"⁷⁴ (164). The narrator ultimately acknowledges that the *Lastenausgleich* law was a potential source of reparation for expellees in the FRG, but he also suggests that the family's loss cannot be recompensated for.

The *Lastenausgleich* law is one example of how German Victimhood was addressed in the post-war Federal Republic. Indeed a taboo on German Victimhood did not exist in the

⁷² 'Then my mother, [...], had talked about the official compensation for their sufferings that my father had filed for after the war and that had been refused to him because of the legal situation' (trans Brown Janeway 127).

⁷³ 'I wasn't exactly sure what compensation for their suffering was, but I'd heard the expression so often that it was one of the most familiar of my childhood' (Brown Janeway 127).

⁷⁴ '[...] but until it disappeared, it gave my parents no compensation, only real burden, which oppressed them and made their lives hard' (Brown Janeway 127).

post-war FRG, as Samuel Salzborn underscores: “any unprejudiced look at the German past will confirm the impression that flight and expulsion of Germans is a topic that at no time during the history of the Federal Republic had been subject to a taboo” (qtd. in Schmitz, *A Nation Of Victims* 96). How then could W. G. Sebald claim that experiences of German suffering in post-war German Literature were taboo? First and foremost Sebald criticizes what he perceives as the national amnesia of German writers to confront the destruction wrought by the Allied bombing campaigns⁷⁵ towards the end of the Second World War⁷⁶. However, Sebald’s thesis addresses German suffering as a whole and seeks a more inclusive look at the past. Although acknowledging numerous exceptions to his theory, Sebald remains unconvinced that any literary or historical portrayals of German suffering at the hands of the Allies have attained prominence in the public’s consciousness. The literary texts, which did broach German suffering “wurden aus dem kulturellen Gedächtnis ausgeschlossen”⁷⁷ (103). It is not that the experiences did not find literary outlets, but that they quickly fell into oblivion, if they were taken into account at all.

In other words, while expressions of these memories were relegated to a private domain and did not gain a wider audience, memory of German suffering *was* upheld within family narratives through generations. Memory is thus preserved in what Jan

⁷⁵ It is interesting here for me to note that it was the British *Flächenbombardierung* (carpet bombing), which triggered Sebald’s *Luftkrieg und Literatur* thesis. The memories (or repressed memories) of the *Brandkrieg* (fire war) thus gave force to the beginnings of the German Victimhood drive in the 1980’s. This was to come to the forefront of public consciousness with the publication of Jörg Friedrich’s inflammatory ‘*Der Brand*’ in 2002, in which he portrays the Allied bombing of civilian targets during World War II as systematic and in many ways pointless mass murder.

⁷⁶ It thus is partly Sebald’s project to expose the sheer horror of being bombed and of living in the aftermath of a bombed landscape.

⁷⁷ ‘were excluded from cultural memory’.

Assmann has termed “communicative memory”⁷⁸. These are shared and conveyed recollections within a memory community in personal interaction through the means of verbal communication, “Every individual memory constitutes itself in communication with others” (*Cultural Memory* 126). Welzer, Möller and Tschuggnall examine this in their seminal study *Opa war kein Nazi: Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis*⁷⁹ (2002), in which they set out to explore the question,

wie der Nationalsozialismus und der Holocaust im deutschen Familiengedächtnis repräsentiert sind und ob Erinnerungsgemeinschaften wie die Familie ein anderes Geschichtsbewusstsein, andere Bilder über die Vergangenheit und, vor allem, andere Rahmen für ihre Deutung bereitstellen als das ‘kulturelle Gedächtnis’⁸⁰. (12)

They take as their point of departure the disparity between ‘*Lexikon*’ and ‘*Album*’ as two modes of memory paths. ‘*Lexikon*’ represents the approach to ‘working through’ National Socialism by negotiating the subject matter in history books. This, however, denotes a distanced relationship to the past and stands in direct contrast to ‘*Album*’, which signifies a system of reference for the interpretation of the past through family and relatives and their personal documents, such as letters, photographs and memorabilia. Indeed the thrust of the narrative in *Der Verlorene* is propelled by the narrator’s scrutiny of the photograph of Arnold⁸¹. The photograph of Arnold on the “weiße Wolldecke”⁸² (7) opens the tale, impels the narrative forward and yet remains the vantage point to which the story returns.

⁷⁸ This Assmann compares to “cultural memory”, which is characterized by a different form of participation. Cultural memory is a group’s official memory. Since tradition is the central category of this memory, it covers a much longer period of time.

⁷⁹ ‘*Grandpa wasn’t a Nazi: National Socialism and the Holocaust in Family Memory*’ (2005).

⁸⁰ ‘how National Socialism and the Holocaust is represented in German family memory and whether memory communities, such as the family, furnish us with a different consciousness of history, different images of the past and above all, a different framework for its meaning as opposed to ‘cultural memory’.

⁸¹ This I will elaborate on further when considering Marianne Hirsch’s concept of ‘*Post-memory*’ in the following chapter.

⁸² ‘white blanket’ (Brown Janeway 3).

Welzer's and his co-author's research suggests the predominant presence of stories about the Germans' own suffering within family memory. But they remained confidential stories circulated in a very restricted sphere. '*Das Schreckliche*'⁸³ which the narrator's mother endures at the hands of the Russians, remains the motto of her private narrative, the trauma of which, incapable of being candidly expressed, leaves indelible traces in the psyche of her son. Taberner sees the majority of texts dealing with the Second World War after unification as "concerned with how 'private memories' of the hardships endured by 'ordinary Germans' were passed down within families in the post-war period" (qtd. in Schmitz, *A Nation Of Victims* 223). There is a marked attention to the dialogue between generations, which is especially evident in texts featuring stories of wartime suffering. *Der Verlorene* thus points to the tendency of the *Mitläufer* generation to articulate their suffering within a private framework and within the family sphere, but not within a broader and more open context. The narrator's parents in *Der Verlorene* discuss the *Lastenausgleich* frequently, hence why the narrator feels as if it has become *the* point of departure in family conversations. Thus "Die Mutter und der Vater hatten viele Jahre fast Tag für Tag über den Lastenausgleich gesprochen"⁸⁴ (163). But this remains a topic reserved for the kitchen table and does not enter the public sphere.

However, the 1990s saw the German Victimhood debate break into the public sphere, as private war experiences began to be negotiated on a collective scale. This accompanied a significant shift both in historiography and popular discourse from a history of hard facts to personal stories, human interest and emotions. An increasing focus on the plight of the individual lead to what Schmitz terms 'Histotainment' (*A Nation Of Victims* 6).

⁸³ 'the horror', (i.e the rape).

⁸⁴ 'My mother and father had talked about compensation for their sufferings almost daily for years' (Brown Janeway 127).

This shift towards a communicative memory centred around family communication occurred at the intersection of three significant historical developments; the passing away of the *Mitläufer* generation, ultimately the first-hand witnesses of war-time experiences, the unification of Germany and the ‘emotionalizing’ of history in the 1990’s⁸⁵. A new genre was beginning to emerge which would fictionalize history and historicise fiction.

But how does *Der Verlorene* fit into this new discourse? Although the German Victimhood debate is central to an understanding of Treichel’s story, the text engages with specific parts of the discourse more concretely, such as the expellees’ claims to compensation and the trauma of being *German* victims of the Red Army. Treichel conveys this through a narrator, who is both witness to and embodiment of the trauma of German wartime suffering for as he articulates his parents’ trauma, he is simultaneously conveying his own traumatised. As David Clarke notes:

Treichel’s stated need to re-examine his parents’ painful experiences in the wake of German unification appears to invite readers to regard *Der Verlorene* as a contribution to the contemporary reassessment of German suffering during the Second World War and its aftermath, and to the breaking of alleged taboos surrounding representation of that suffering. (qtd. in Williams/Basker 62)

Der Verlorene can be seen as an engagement with contemporaneous debates on the supposed near-absence of literary depictions of German wartime suffering and as a broader reflection on the way in which the (demise of the) Third Reich has been remembered at key moments in the post-war period in West Germany.

An examination of Treichel’s own reflections on his past can illuminate the motives for his contribution to the broader discourse of German Victimhood. A framework for

⁸⁵ As for example with Spielberg’s *Schindler’s List* in 1995.

understanding *Der Verlorene* is laid out in the author's 'Frankfurter Poetikvorlesungen'⁸⁶ published as *Der Entwurf des Autors* in 2000, which describes his change of genre from poetry to prose and a compulsion to re-address his past, "[Ich] habe [mich] denn auch, dem Sog der Zeitleere ebenso wie dem der Familienphantasie [...] entzogen an den Schreibtisch gesetzt und den ersten Prosasatz [...] meines Lebens geschrieben"⁸⁷ (*Der Entwurf* 103). The Berlin wall, the "Schutzwall"⁸⁸ (36), had encased his memory and on its destruction in 1989 he is exposed not only to East Germany, but to the whole Eastern European continent, and therefore also his past. His parents' past and the influence of this past on his life is now raw and unexposed and becomes the material for his prose work.

Der Verlorene can be read as to some extent a fictional re-working of what Treichel calls "kindheitslose Kindheit in einer weltlosen, erfahrungsleeren Provinz und in einem vom Krieg und von der Flucht traumatisierten Elternhaus"⁸⁹ (qtd. in Williams/Basker 13). 'Die Leere'⁹⁰ of this childhood has been projected onto his literary landscape. Sections of *Der Verlorene* echo descriptions of his childhood in *Der Entwurf des Autors*. Treichel's parents were 'Heimatvertriebene'⁹¹, refugees who came to Westphalia because they had to. His parents suppressed their own past as a result of the trauma of their expulsion, "Die Eltern, die ich kennengelernt hatte, waren Eltern ohne Vergangenheit. Und dass hieß für mich zuallererst: Eltern ohne Eltern [...]"⁹² (Treichel, *Der Entwurf*

⁸⁶ In the "Leseerfahrungen sind Lebenserfahrungen": Gespräch mit Hans-Ulrich Treichel' Treichel mentions in the 'Frankfurter Poetikvorlesungen', "Ich wollte mich mehr der Frage widmen, wie ich eigentlich zum Autor geworden bin" (Williams/Basker 27). 'I wanted to address the question of how I became an author'.

⁸⁷ '[I] sat down at the desk and, due to the draw of the emptiness of time and family fantasy, wrote the first prose sentence of my life'

⁸⁸ 'protective wall'

⁸⁹ 'childless childhood in an unworldly province, empty of experience and a home traumatized by war and expulsion'.

⁹⁰ 'the emptiness'.

⁹¹ 'Expellees who have lost their homes'.

⁹² 'The parents who I came to know were parents without a past and that meant for me first and foremost: parents without parents'.

21). We do not learn where exactly the parents came from and the absence of their place of origin signifies one of the many details of their past that were suppressed in the family home. As Basker suggests “‘The family’s home in eastern Europe is a non-place, since it exists neither in political fact as far as the limits of Germany are now concerned nor in the parents’ willingness to engage with their memories’” (qtd. in Williams/Basker 39).

Treichel’s pressing need to re-examine his parents’ painful experiences in the wake of German Unification springs, in particular, from his desire to explore the origins of his unfulfilled childhood and the feelings of guilt and shame which seeped into all areas of his family life: “‘In meinem Fall war es die Prägung durch die in der Familie immer anwesenden Gefühle von Schuld und Scham’”⁹³ (*Der Entwurf* 28). He details his parents’ manic escape into “‘wütende Abrissarbeit’”⁹⁴ (24) and their sudden decision in 1959 to start looking for the son they had lost during their flight from the Soviet army at the end of the war, “‘Eines Tages im Jahre 1959 sind auch die Eltern mit einem Erschrecken aus einem vierzehnjährigen Verdrängungszustand erwacht und haben beschlossen, ihr verlorenes Kind zu suchen’”⁹⁵ (26). It is clear, thus, that although *Der Verlorene* is largely fictitious, there is a strong autobiographical thread: “‘mein Schreiben [ist] ein autobiographisch inspiriertes Schreiben, mein Material die eigene Erfahrung und das eigene Ich’”⁹⁶ (105).

Treichel’s return to the memories of his childhood concur with the move in literature of the 1990s to re-examine the past to mend the present. This was heralded in by Schlink’s *Der Vorleser* in 1995 and is also central to Ulla Berkewicz’s *Engel sind schwarz und weiss* (1992) and Marcel Beyer’s *Flughunde* (1995). All texts share one

⁹³ ‘In my case it was the imprinting of the always present atmosphere of guilt and shame’.

⁹⁴ ‘angry abstract work’.

⁹⁵ ‘One day in 1959 my parents awoke from a fourteen-year state of repression and decided to search for their lost son’.

⁹⁶ ‘My writing is an autobiographically inspired writing, my material my own experiences and myself’.

uniting aim: to probe the spaces in-between public and private discourses about the past and to make previously silenced voices heard, using innovative aesthetic strategies. Critics have suggested that German losses had never been properly articulated and that the recent return of the theme represents a form of belated healing. As Schmitz states: “Furthermore, in the literature since 1990 there has been an increasing focus on the psychological consequences of the Third Reich and their long-term effects” (*On Their Own Terms* 15). Treichel certainly discusses *Der Verlorene* as a form of a deferred return to his *Ostwestfalen* life. The war and expulsion were fundamental vantage points in his parents’ lives, from which they could not depart. Assmann argues that this interest in German suffering had a therapeutic as opposed to a political agenda (*Der lange Schatten* 54), while Treichel asserts “das Schreiben hat etwas mit Lebensbewältigung zu tun” (*Der Entwurf* 113)⁹⁷. It is significant that Treichel chose literature to tell a story, which was important to him. Fiction returns to the heart of the family to understand history.

Der Verlorene denotes an attempt to negotiate the legacy of the past and how it plays out in the private family sphere. It can be seen to be a constituent of a well-established literary genre, to which Ulrich Raulff has assigned the label ‘Familienroman’⁹⁸ (1). By this he means (in this context) a blend of history, autobiography and literature drawn from real people and their experiences, which have left traces for subsequent generations to fictionalize, “es handelt sich um ein vorsichtiges Ertasten schmerzfreier Zonen im Familiengedächtnis eher von Seiten der Geschichte oder der Autobiographie”⁹⁹ (2). This new literature is characterized by intimacy and personal memory, as Raulff elucidates: “Diese Wahrheit ist individuell und intim: der Abdruck der Geschichte in der sensiblen

⁹⁷ ‘writing has something to do with coming to terms with life’.

⁹⁸ An old genre, particularly popular in nineteenth century depictions of the bourgeoisie (e.g August Lafontaine), which has recently gained new popularity in the context of ‘*Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*’.

⁹⁹ ‘it deals with a careful probing of painless parts of family memory more from a historical or autobiographical perspective’.

Materie des Gefühls’’¹⁰⁰ (3). A wealth of narratives began to appear in the 1990s concerned with the experiences of *Germans* during and after the war¹⁰¹. Literature had broken through to the public realm where stories could be heard by many descendants of the *Mitläufer* generation.

Der Verlorene comments, specifically, on the motives of the intellectuals who emerged in 1968 and who have been reluctant to talk about the bombing raids and mass expulsions. Treichel criticizes how Germany had been judged incapable of situating its own pain and suffering within the context of its associated guilt complexes. He further shows how the chain of repression through the generations culminated in the lack of an adequate space for German war-time suffering in the public and private domains. The ambiguities in the official discourse surrounding the past are reflected in the attitude of the narrator’s parents. Their retreat into tears or silence, “‘doch meist lief das Gespräch auf den Bruder Arnold und damit auf Tränen oder Schweigen hinaus’’¹⁰² (12), their internalization of shame, “‘niemand bemerkte, wie sehr sie unter allem, was geschehen war, litt’’¹⁰³ (138) and their sublimation into work, “‘Je mehr sich die Mutter [...] zu schaffen machte, um so weniger konnten die Scham und Schuld sich ihrer bemächtigen’’¹⁰⁴ (32) and yet their defiance in asserting their right to compensation as victims, mirror both the Mitscherlich’s repression thesis and Moeller’s insistence on an established victim status of expellees in post-war Germany.

¹⁰⁰ ‘This truth is individual and intimate: the imprint of history on the sensitive matter of feeling’.

¹⁰¹ Including Victor Klemperer’s diaries *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten: Tagebücher 1942-1945* (1995) and Monika Maron’s *Pawels Briefe* (1999), both autobiographical attempts to address their tumultuous family past under Hitler.

¹⁰² ‘but mostly it was talk about my brother Arnold and it ended in tears or silence’ (Brown Janeway 7).

¹⁰³ “‘nobody noticed how deeply she suffered over everything that happened’’ (Brown Janeway 106).

¹⁰⁴ “‘The more she found [...] to do, the less she could be overcome by shame and guilt’’ (Brown Janeway 22).

The parents in the story are incapable of mediating their experiences to their child who, in turn, cannot reflect productively on his own identity and heritage. Like his parents, the narrator is incapable of overcoming the past, which physically manifests itself in a sickness, which will not cease to plague the boy¹⁰⁵; “[...] plagte mich weiterhin in größeren, aber regelmäßigen Abständen mit ihren stromstoßähnlichen Attacken”¹⁰⁶ (57). The parents’ disavowal of their traumatic past funnels into their offspring’s analogous incapability of addressing this very past, which has subsequent consequences for their own wellbeing. In *Beschädigtes Leben: Autobiographische Texte der Gegenwart* (1990), Wolfgang Türkis emphasised this phenomenon and revealed “die Unfähigkeit der Kriegsgeneration über ihre Erfahrungen im Dritten Reich zu sprechen [...], die der Schwierigkeit der Nachgeborenen die eiserne Kiste zu öffnen entspricht”¹⁰⁷ (117). Treichel’s awareness of the effect this has had on the present day prefigures Grass’ examination of the continuities between the Third Reich and the present in *Im Krebsgang*. *Der Verlorene* joins other authors, in countering the second generation’s reaction to the legacy of National Socialism, whose roots ultimately lie in the repressive tendencies of the *Mitläufer*.

Der Verlorene can be read as resonating with the Mitscherlichs’ key study *Die Unfähigkeit zu Trauern*¹⁰⁸ (1967), which analysed the post-war generation’s systems of coping with the legacy of the past and their inability to confront its reality. This study, revealed the post-war tendency to mobilise “seelische Abwehrvorgänge”¹⁰⁹ (27) to prevent encroaching feelings of guilt and shame. The Mitscherlichs’ consider the

¹⁰⁵ This will be analysed in greater depth in the subsequent chapter.

¹⁰⁶ “[...] it continued to plague me at lengthening but nonetheless regular intervals with attacks that were like a surge of electrical current’ (Brown Janeway 41).

¹⁰⁷ ‘the inability of the war generation to talk about their experiences of The Third Reich, which corresponded to the difficulty the post-war generation had in opening the ‘iron-clad case’.

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Inability to Mourn’.

¹⁰⁹ ‘psychological defence mechanisms’.

complete immersion into the working ethos of the *Wirtschaftswunder* as a common substitute for tackling the past. The narrator's perspective of his parents, makes possible critical insights into the real values of the society they inhabit, a society in which, as the Mitscherlichs identify, work comes to replace reflection and a reckoning with the past. The narrator paraphrases his father's business maxim as, "Stillstand ist Rückgang. Und Rückgang ist der Anfang vom Ende"¹¹⁰ (75-76), employing irony and wit, for if the parents continue to move forward at the pace they are doing, they will never escape the past. Both parents in *Der Verlorene* exhibit prominent signs of repressing the past by launching themselves into the manic work-driven society of the FRG. The parents, as pointed out before, are also pre-occupied with obtaining compensation for their suffering at the hands of the Soviets¹¹¹. *Der Verlorene* examines the repression of the past instigated by the first generation and continued by the second, and, in referring to the institutional handling of claims (based on Hitler's legacy), intertwines the spheres of official and private memory.

The text also touches on the struggle to assert the value of individual German experiences in the face of the official commemorative atonement program for the National Socialist past¹¹². This attests to the distinction Welzer makes between official and private memory: "Während die kollektive Erinnerung den Holocaust und die nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen ins Zentrum stellt, kreist die private Erinnerung der

¹¹⁰ "To stand still is to retreat. And retreat is the beginning of the end" (Brown Janeway 56).

¹¹¹ This Moeller elucidates and analyses in *War Stories* (2001). Expellees were not happy with their fate and demanded that state governments move quickly to compensate them for their losses and facilitate their integration into West Germany. Legislative initiatives to compensate German victims allowed all political parties to acknowledge German loss and sacrifice. The West German state's promise to provide a national response to those affected by war was lodged in governmental policy and realised by federal programmes.

¹¹² However, the book encourages neither sentimentalised identification nor historical revisionism.

Familien um das Leiden der Angehörigen im Krieg’’¹¹³ (*Opa war kein Nazi* 53). We see the narrator’s parents trying to solidify their status as victims of the Russians, “‘Wer sein Haus verlässt, dem lauern die Russen auf’’¹¹⁴ (122) as opposed to confronting their own complicity in their fate or role in losing their son. The parents’ shame at being defeated by an “‘inferior enemy’’, the ‘bösen Russen’, gives way to a retreat to a sense of victimhood.

The book balances the repression of the war generation with an exploration of the imperatives, which fuelled the second generation’s aversion to their parents. Indeed Treichel’s tale could be seen as a variant on the *Väterromane*, so prevalent in West Germany in the late 1960’s. The narrator is saturated with references to his parents’ victim status and need for commensurate compensation payments. He develops an antipathy towards any mention of his parents’ wartime suffering, “‘Doch hatte sie ihre Zeit im Krankenhaus mit nichts anderem verbracht, als an die Vergangenheit zu denken, den Krieg, die Flucht und das Schreckliche’’¹¹⁵ (80). *Der Verlorene* thus constitutes an attempt to return to the experiences of the war generation, which the subsequent generation was all too quick to disparage, but which had a tremendous, if subconscious, impact on their lives¹¹⁶. Treichel himself, in an Interview with Rhys W. Williams, stated

¹¹³ ‘Whilst the collective memory of the Holocaust and National Socialist crimes stands in the centre, the private memories of the family members’ suffering during the war circulates’.

¹¹⁴ ‘He who abandons his house is ambushed by the Russians’ (Brown Janeway 93).

¹¹⁵ ‘But she spent her time in hospital doing nothing but thinking about the past, the war, their flight and the dreadful thing that was done to her’ (Brown Janeway 59-60).

¹¹⁶ Certain passages of *Der Verlorene* resonate with Bernhard Schlink’s *Der Vorleser* (1995), in which the narrator Michael Berg, a member of the ‘Nachgeborenen’ generation who had remained as silent about what links him to the National Socialist past as his former lover Hanna had about her direct involvement in that past, comes to recognise that his silence was also complicitous. Schlink calls for a working through of the past; “‘Geschichte treiben heißt Brücken zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart schlagen und beide Ufer beobachten und an beiden tätig werden’’ (172). ‘Doing history means building bridges between the past and present, observing both banks of the river, taking an active part on both sides’ (Brown Janeway *The Reader* 180).

“Insofern stellt das Buch eine sehr späte Reaktion eines Nachgeborenen auf ein nicht sehr oft erzähltes Erleiden dar”¹¹⁷ (qtd. in Williams/Basker 22).

Treichel participates in the broader discourse of German Victimhood, yet while *Der Verlorene* is directly concerned with the expulsions from the East and does give voice to an experience previously denied public identification, it explores victimhood unsentimentally and honestly, “Das Schreckliche, sagte die Mutter, sei dann insofern doch nicht passiert, als die Russen weder sie noch den Vater erschossen hätten”¹¹⁸ (15). There is no indirect or direct call for the parents’ suffering to be acknowledged and lauded. Through the voice of his narrator, Treichel uncovers the experience of expellees living in a FRG, which commands little affection amongst a generation for whom it appears as an inadequate compensation for their lost Heimat. There is a touch of poignancy when the narrator recalls his parents’ memory of their lost homeland of Rakowiec, “Der Boden war gut in Rakowiec, guter Weizenboden”¹¹⁹ (109), but this is never indulged in to the point of sentimentality.

Treichel does not concur with the concept of German victimhood as a form of defensive identity. His tale charts the long-term effects of expulsion and is a personal exploration of German wartime suffering. Treichel does not present his story as *the* narrative on German wartime suffering. The trend in the media and public discourse of the time was to harness books and material, which addressed German victimhood, as exemplary statements on the lifting of a taboo. This can be seen most explicitly with Günter Grass’s *Im Krebsgang* in 2002, which heralded a media furor on the topic of German suffering. But this was not Treichel’s intention. Williams shares this opinion and

¹¹⁷ ‘In this respect the book portrays a very late reaction of an offspring to a tale of suffering not frequently told’.

¹¹⁸ ‘The dreadful thing, said my mother, didn’t exactly happen after all, since the Russians didn’t shoot either her or my father’ (Brown Janeway 9).

¹¹⁹ ‘The soil was good in Rakowiec, good soil for wheat’ (Brown Janeway 83).

on interviewing Treichel stresses: “Ich bin nicht sehr überzeugt von der Rezeption des Buches, weil man es als repräsentativ für eine Generation von Deutschen gedeutet hat: Die Deutschen sind jetzt bereit, sich als Opfer darzustellen”¹²⁰ (qtd. in Williams/Basker 21). If the media appropriates a subject matter, which they think will appeal to thousands and subsequently renders it front-page worthy, it is often not long before it catches hold of public opinion. Indeed the *Spiegel* feature ‘Die Deutschen als Opfer’, published in March 2002, introduced the catchphrase into the German consciousness.

So how does Treichel achieve reducing a potential sentimentalizing of victim experience and maintain a sober portrayal of family trauma? The author manipulates reserves of comic, laconic irony to generate distance to and distraction from the dramatic horrors of expulsion. On retelling the traumatic episode with the Russians, Treichel is careful to balance the sheer horror of the situation with an irony that emphasises the narrator’s confusion about the events which took place, “Irgendwann, soviel verstand ich, ist auf der Flucht vor dem Russen etwas Schreckliches passiert”¹²¹ (14). He is after all only a child and his naïve attempts to console his mother are both humourous and poignant. On learning that his brother is alive and may have a different name, he says ‘Vielleicht [...] hat er ja Glück gehabt, und sie haben ihn wieder Arnold genannt’¹²² (17). As Taberner states “Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* provides a potent impression of this ‘secondary trauma’, but any possible impulse towards a self-serving melancholia or self-stylisation is undercut by satire” (qtd. in Schmitz, *A Nation Of Victims* 230).

That the family struggle financially in the FRG as displaced people is a maudlin truth, however Treichel softens the bleak atmosphere with, for example, his description of the

¹²⁰ ‘I am not very convinced about the reception of the book, as it was construed as being representative of a generation of Germans: The Germans are now ready to portray themselves as victims’.

¹²¹ ‘At some point – this much I understood – during the flight from the Russians, something dreadful happened’ (Brown Janeway 8).

¹²² ‘Maybe he was lucky [...] and they named him Arnold again’ (Brown Janeway 10).

gastronomic uses the mother derives from a pig's head. Pigs blood and pigs heads are converted into a multitude of different meals; "Schweinebacke und Schweinezunge, Schweineohren und Schweineschnauze, Schweinekopfbühe und Schweinekopfpaste"¹²³ (41). The *Wirtschaftswunder* is alluded to as the family obtain the new status symbol of prosperity; a television, but the father's sanctimonious sister initially rebukes it, calling it "eine Erfindung des Teufels" (28). However, she is tempted by the allure of the screen and so to resolve the pious conflict she turns away from the television. This humorous, ironic treatment of the topic does not obscure the important points the author wishes to make; it merely liberates the language of any sentimental melancholia, which could easily be deployed with such tragic subject matter. This style is in contrast to the emotionalising of family narrative. Schmitz sees this as emblematic of various other negotiations of German suffering, arising out of the so-called 'taboo', which had characterised the second generation's differentiations on the past, but which have now entered the public sphere¹²⁴. As he reiterates: "The notion of breaking with a taboo is central in recent attempts to construct a German experience of suffering from the perspective of empathy" (*A Nation Of Victims* 198).

Treichel's prose does not flounder in pessimism, but illuminates the psychological deficiencies of the war generation in coping with their experiences and the lasting effects this has had on the subsequent generation. The three-day trip to Heidelberg to undergo crude genetic tests is the first and only time the family travel together. Travel is ultimately related to the trauma the parents experienced on their flight from their home.

¹²³ "[...] pig's cheek and pig's tongue, pig's ear and pig's muzzle, pig's head broth and pig's head spread" (Brown Janeway: 29).

¹²⁴ Schmitz provides a theoretical investigation of the issue of empathy in representations of German suffering and distinguishes between historicist, sentimental and critical empathy. He also praises Uwe Timm's *Am Beispiel meines Bruders* (2003) as belonging to the former category and avoiding an emotionalisation of history, by creating a sense of emotional distance, which is also characteristic of *Der Verlorene*. See Schmitz *A Nation Of Victims* 2007. pp. 195-199.

But the Heidelberg the family witnesses is largely the inside of the physicians' consulting room (who is charged with determining the genetic correlations). When the family does briefly take in the sights of Heidelberg, it is clear that the burden of the past weighs heavily on their shoulders. This is poignant, but Treichel's prose retains a more laconic tone. The search for the genetically perfect 'Findelkind'¹²⁵ gets more and more whimsical as the narrative progresses. The ridiculousness of the enterprise reflects the increasing delusion of the parents. The narrator becomes an object for comparative skull analysis, stomach and forehead measurements, blood tests and plaster casts, "So wie unsere Finger mit denen Arnolds verglichen werden sollten, sollte auch unser Blut mit Arnolds Blut verglichen werden"¹²⁶ (59). Experts in laboratories draw up percentage likelihoods of consanguinity. The experiments are merciless in their irrationality and progress to more ludicrous levels¹²⁷.

It is the insecurity of Treichel's characters, which makes them ideal vehicles for his comic vision. Tragic irony enables readers to cry and laugh simultaneously, such as when the narrator feels he is singled out by fate for having a dead brother: "Ich hatte einen toten Bruder, ich fühlte mich vom Schicksal ausgezeichnet"¹²⁸ (12). Events are presented from the narrator's perspective and marked by his childlike naïveté, even when he negotiates seriously dark topics, such as the rape of his mother by the Red Army, "Höchstwahrscheinlich hatten sich die Russen auch auf die Mutter gestürzt, wobei ich mir nicht gänzlich im klaren war, was es im einzelnen zu bedeuten hatte, wenn die

¹²⁵ 'foundling'.

¹²⁶ 'Just as our fingers were to be compared with Arnold's, so was our blood' (Brown Janeway 43).

¹²⁷ Treichel seems to almost digress from the primary story to detail the extent to the tests. The experiments also, and most importantly, refer to National Socialist eugenics, the race ideology that judged people based on their physiology.

¹²⁸ 'I had a dead brother and I felt I had been singled out by fate' (Brown Janeway 6).

Russen sich auf jemanden stürzen’’¹²⁹ (54). The series of tests and experiments the narrator undergoes to try to establish his genetic makeup are anything but amusing for the narrator and only intensify his identity crisis, “Doch während Arnold mit jeder Untersuchung immer wahrscheinlicher zu werden drohte, wurde ich mit jeder Untersuchung immer unwahrscheinlicher’’¹³⁰ (61). Yet Treichel’s ironic tone lifts his readers to a vantage point, from where they can consider the absurdity of the proceedings described, “Dagegen weiche aber, so der Gutachter, mein Abwinkelungsgrad des Ohrläppchens gegenüber der Ohrebene nur unwesentlich von dem des Findelkindes ab’’¹³¹ (72). It is this tension, between the character’s insecurity and *not knowing* and the reader’s *knowing* which will come to epitomize Treichel’s comic vision. His readers are voyeuristic witnesses of the tragedy that unfolds.

Trauma writes itself onto every scene, but Treichel is careful to balance the heartrending tone with irony:

Wenn die Mutter traurig war, dann war sie wegen Arnold traurig. Wenn der Vater nach Heidelberg fuhr, dann fuhr er wegen Arnold nach Heidelberg. Und wenn wir jetzt das Schloß besuchten, dann taten wir auch dies nur wegen Arnold’’¹³². (121)

The situations could be predominantly depressing and sorrowful affairs; instead Treichel peppers them with irony, parody and a laconic dexterity which details and investigates rather than falling prey to sentimentality. This drives the message of traumatising home

¹²⁹ ‘Most likely the Russians had thrown themselves at my mother too, but I wasn’t really clear what it meant when the Russians threw themselves on someone’ (Brown Janeway 39).

¹³⁰ ‘But while Arnold was threatening to become more likely with every test, every test was making me less and less likely’ (Brown Janeway 45).

¹³¹ ‘In contrast, the downward angle of my earlobe compared with the overall size of the ear was not noticeably different from foundling 2307’s, according to the report’ (Brown Janeway 53).

¹³² ‘When my mother was sad, she was sad about Arnold. When my father went to Heidelberg, he went to Heidelberg because of Arnold. And when we visited the castle now, we were only doing it because of Arnold’ (Brown Janeway 92).

further, but without cloaking it in unnecessary generalizations. The effect renders the truth more palpable and hard-hitting, as Williams emphasizes: “The tragedy is depicted with subtlety and playful humour which paradoxically heightens the horror of the experience” (Mein Unbewusstes Kannte 31). Similarly, the East Prussian *Heimat* is not infused with any mythical quality or affirmative value. Traumatic experience is thus rendered less destructive with wit, humour and irony and an unadorned language. Treichel’s text affords emotional relief from a subject matter cemented in the opposite. The comedy is liberating and integrated to avoid melancholic pitfalls. Ultimately Treichel achieves a masterful concoction of tragedy and comedy and *Der Verlorene* successfully avoids a sentimentalizing of German wartime experience to offer a tragic-comic examination of the consequences of a past, which will not pass.

Whilst engaging with themes which are in accord with the German Victimhood discourse and which came to the forefront of the public sphere in unified Germany, Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* should not be viewed as a taboo-breaker or exemplary model by which to assess the progression of the discourse over the years of the FRG and into a new Berlin Republic. The public arena was perhaps more open to receiving Treichel’s depiction of the consequences of expulsion on the subsequent generation’s psyche. The text therefore, perhaps, met with such acclaim and acknowledgement. The text could be instrumentalised as one which addresses the suffering perpetrated on German civilians and the upshot this could have for the offspring of a traumatized generation, as Williams emphasises: “The ‘Schuld und Scham’ which mark the narrator’s upbringing in ‘Der Verlorene’ are intensely personal, yet they illuminate the complex relationship of post-war German experience to the past” (Mein Unbewusstes Kannte 217).

Treichel's characters are not to be extolled as exemplary 'German' victims. Rather, *Der Verlorene* engages with the public space of communicative memory as a personalised attempt to return to his *Heimat* and re-address the emotional 'Leere' of his childhood. It is a very personal attempt to reconcile the painful past, which Treichel also experienced as a result of a repression of wartime trauma, with a perplexing present. The repercussions of the loss of a boy on the trek from the East are extensive. This he alludes to in his 'Frankfurter Poetikvorlesungen' as being the true provocation of the text. It is one family's loss and is not to be generalised into the loss of a nation.

Treichel wanted to explore the trauma he experienced, a trans-generational trauma that was transmitted and written onto him as a direct result of the trauma his parents underwent. Indeed in an interview with Williams, Treichel highlights his motives and that of other writers of his generation: "möglicherweise, dass jetzt Autoren, die in den fünfziger oder sogar den sechziger Jahren geboren sind, erneut auf die Wirkung des Nationalsozialismus für ihr eigenes Leben stoßen und dieser Wirkung nun nachspüren"¹³³ (qtd. in Williams/Basker 22). It is this tracing of a trauma, which was not inflicted on the body, but on the mind, which is one of Treichel's principal objectives. This trauma was one of Treichel's chief motivations for re-addressing his past.

¹³³ 'possibly that authors, who were born in the fifties or sixties, are now confronting the effect of National Socialism on their own lives and tracing this impact'.

CHAPTER III

“Trauma stops the chronological clock and fixes the moment permanently in memory and imagination, immune to the vicissitudes of time”

(Langer 177).

“Something of the past always remains, if only as a haunting presence or symptomatic revenant” (LaCapra 49).

“We can no more deny the past that is part of us than we can deny the present”

(Schroeder/Brecher 51).

The Greek etymology of the word ‘trauma’ derives from the verb to wound. Enter any trauma ward in a hospital and you will be met with cases of grave injury. In Freud’s terms, however, trauma is understood as a wound inflicted not upon the body, but upon the mind¹³⁴. However much psychological trauma may not bear a tangible mark, a wound is indisputably inflicted on the psyche. Trauma, according to Cathy Caruth in *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*¹³⁵ (1996), is ultimately “always the story of a wound that cries out” (3), because too deep and often disregarded, it flares up on its own accord. Furthermore, in *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*¹³⁶ (1920), Freud suggests that the

¹³⁴ It is useful here to refer to the concept of trauma as championed by Freud. Freud is a founding figure in the history of the conceptualisation of trauma. His basic discovery that there is something at work in the mind which is unconscious and that the repressed can manifest itself in psychosomatic pain, has been crucial to our understanding of the nature and effects of trauma, the concept of which has changed from a purely clinical one to a cultural phenomena. Freud’s theories on individual and historical trauma are outlined in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) and on normal and pathological grief in *Mourning and Melancholia* (1917). Interestingly, Freud also experienced the loss of a younger brother and the following summary of the impact his death had on the young Freud shows stark parallels with the feelings the narrator has towards his lost brother, ‘I welcomed my one year younger brother with ill wishes and real infantile jealousy and his death left the germ of guilt in me’ (Freud in Aberbach 64). The narrator is still a child and accordingly displays childlike feelings, ‘Ich wollte aber mein Leben nicht mit Arnold teilen. Ich wollte überhaupt nichts mit Arnold teilen’ (91-92). ‘I didn’t want to share my life with Arnold. I didn’t want to share anything with Arnold’ (Brown Janeway 69).

¹³⁵ In this seminal publication, which takes its queue from the relationship between trauma, literature and history, Caruth explores the way in which the specific texts she examines speak about and through the profound story of traumatic experience. She holds that massive trauma precludes all representation because the ordinary mechanisms of consciousness and memory are temporarily destroyed.

¹³⁶ *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). Edition in works cited 1992.

wound of the mind is not, like the wound of the body, simple and healable, but rather a blow that is experienced too unexpectedly to be fully known and is therefore not available to consciousness. Trauma is thus not to be located in the original event of the individual's past, but in the way that its unassimilated presence returns to haunt the survivor later on. Despite our human capacity to survive and adapt, traumatic experience can, in Laurie Vickroy's words, "alter people's psychological, biological and social equilibrium to such a degree that the memory of one particular event comes to taint all other experiences" (12). Trauma irrefutably prompts psychological disequilibrium. The experiences of trauma can not only translate into loss of confidence in oneself, but a loss of confidence in the surrounding tissue of family and community.

Caruth asks a fundamental question in *Unclaimed Experience*: "Is trauma the encounter with death or the ongoing experience of having survived it?" (9) and argues that trauma is an effect not simply of devastation, but also an enigma of survival. The trauma, which the parents in *Der Verlorene* are truly suffering from, is of *surviving* without their lost son. It is a trauma that accompanies every step they take. Similarly, at the heart of Freud's rethinking of history in *Jenseits des Lustprinzips* is the unsettling question; What does it mean to survive? Traumatized individuals, following Freud, become 'fixated' to the trauma. In this way trauma is understood as a mimesis, an experience that, because it shattered the victim's cognitive capacities, has made the trauma unavailable for recollection. The traumatic experience, in its sheer extremity, disables the victim's perceptual capability, so that the experience can never become part

of an ordinary memory system. Dominick LaCapra sees trauma as “a disruptive experience that disarticulates the self and creates holes in existence”¹³⁷ (41).

The post-World War’s world has been fundamentally shaped by trauma and its aftermath. Trauma has become a paradigm for history and a site for much rigorous, multi-disciplinary academic scrutiny and trauma studies have constituted a new framework of meaning for modernity and history¹³⁸. Trauma has “inzwischen zu einem Leitbegriff der Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften avanciert”¹³⁹ (Assmann *Geschichtsvergessenheit* 114) and constitutes a “Verknüpfungspunkt zwischen verschiedenen Disziplinen”¹⁴⁰ (Bronfen 30). However, as LaCapra advocates, “No genre or discipline ‘owns’ trauma as a problem or can provide definitive boundaries for it” (96). Authorities such as Cathy Caruth¹⁴¹, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub¹⁴² have provided significant studies of trauma and literature, which will be pivotal to the following analysis of the psychological dimensions of *Der Verlorene*.

Literature can gain unique access to sites of trauma, fictional or non-fictional. The power of literature to articulate trauma is undeniable, as LaCapra asserts: “Literature writes, speaks or even cries trauma” (183). Trauma narratives, furthermore, reveal the tensions and conflicts implicit in retelling and re-experiencing traumatic events. In her exploration of how contemporary fiction narratives represent trauma in *Trauma and Survival in Contemporary Fiction* (2002) Laurie Vickroy maintains that:

¹³⁷ LaCapra examines this at length in his influential *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (2001), in which he furnishes the field with a broad-ranging, critical inquiry into the problem of trauma, notably with respect to major historical events. Adapting psychoanalytic concepts to historical analysis, LaCapra employs sociocultural and political critique to elucidate trauma and its after effects in culture.

¹³⁸ This prominence of trauma, can however be problematic, as we all feel elevated to a level of traumatic experience by its ubiquity in several discourses. Furthermore, experiences of World War Two victims have been appropriated and adopted, which has resulted in a discussion which criticises the use of trauma as a term used too freely.

¹³⁹ ‘in the meantime advanced to be a leading concept in literary and cultural studies’.

¹⁴⁰ ‘meeting point between various disciplines’.

¹⁴¹ See Caruth *Trauma* (1995) and *Unclaimed Experience* (1996).

¹⁴² See Felman & Laub *Testimony* (1992).

Trauma narratives [...] have taken an important place among diverse artistic, scholarly and testimonial representations in illuminating the personal and public aspects of trauma and in elucidating our relationship to memory and forgetting within the complex interweavings of social and psychological relationships. (1)

Indeed LaCapra highlights the special place literature enjoys in engaging with trauma, as opposed to documentary treatments: “narratives in fiction provide insight into phenomena, by offering a reading of a process or period, or by giving at least a plausible ‘feel’ for experience and emotion which may be difficult to arrive at through restricted documentary methods” (13). This may go somewhere to explain the increasing number of personal testimonies and stories, which have arisen since reunification, addressing German suffering. The thirst for emotional retellings of the past has opened the floodgates on a sphere of experience, which had been documented but less so *felt* by the German nation. As Niven writes, “1990 thus represented a significant moment of depoliticisation, a chance, indeed, for an articulation of German suffering as *suffering*, as an existential experience” (*Germans as Victims* 4).

The success of *Der Verlorene* lies perhaps also in part in its delivery of a ‘trauma narrative’ which provides an insight into the very ‘phenomena’ LaCapra refers to, by approaching trauma in a manner unavailable to theory. The story is an exploration of a psychologically destructive ordeal, written from the perspective of a young boy and as such, offers a new way to read traumatic experience. The clarity of perspective granted by the narrator attests to the unique way literature can articulate trauma. Theory cannot account for personal specificity. Indeed, in her article on trauma as a fashionable concept

in cultural studies, Sigrid Weigel criticizes Cathy Caruth and her theorizing of trauma¹⁴³. Caruth's post-structuralist concept of trauma as propounded in *Unclaimed Experience* (1996) ultimately levels historical differentiation and does not take into account various, conflicting subject positions within history. In Caruth's reading trauma is generalized and according to Weigel, 'hebt [...] dabei den Begriff der Geschichte in einem universalisierten Traumabegriff auf',¹⁴⁴ (53).

The primary site of trauma in *Der Verlorene* lies with the parents' ordeal of being expelled from their East Prussian home in the closing days of the Second World and their treatment at the hands of the ensuing Red Army. Trauma is thus triggered by a key event and subsequently tracks the family in the story throughout their lives¹⁴⁵. This was not merely a trauma they experienced in the past, but *is* a trauma, which follows them, scrupulously, into their resettling in the post-war FRG and shows no signs of abating in its destructive intensity. Laub's and Felman's study of trauma and literature, *Testimony: Crisis of Witnessing* (1992) illuminates the parents' trauma, which overrides time and eclipses distinctions between the present and the past;

The traumatic event, although real, took place outside the parameters of 'normal' reality such as causality, sequence, place and time. The trauma is thus an event that has no beginning, no ending, no before, no during and no after. Trauma survivors live [...] with an event that could not and did not proceed through to its completion, has no ending, attained no closure and therefore as far as its survivor are concerned, continues into the present and is current in every respect. (69)

¹⁴³ See Sigrid Weigel's article in *Trauma: Zwischen Psychoanalyse und kulturellem Deutungsmuster* (1999) pp. 51-64 and Caruth's *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (1996), above all pp. 10-20.

¹⁴⁴ 'raises the concept of history to one of universal trauma'.

¹⁴⁵ In this way it is difficult to analyse trauma in *Der Verlorene* as an event with any clear temporal boundaries.

The parents' trauma, although located in the past, permeates their day-to-day life. They are in an acute state of melancholia, "Er [der Vater] hätte in Frieden leben können, aber es gab keinen Frieden"¹⁴⁶ (45). Ironically, even though the war is over the parents live in a perpetual state of war within themselves. Freud's distinction between mourning and melancholia rests upon the assumption that mourning will be overcome after a lapse of time (qtd. in Rickman 124). Whereas melancholia, the distinguishing mental features of which are "a profoundly painful dejection, abrogation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to such a degree [...] culminat[ing] in a delusional expectation of punishment" (qtd. in Rickman 125), continues until the pathological disposition has received psychological treatment. Both parents are punishing themselves for the loss of their eldest son and their grief and self-reproach has rendered them unable to relate to their other son, the narrator of *Der Verlorene*.

The source of the trauma is strongly discernable in the narrator's mother. The mother's repeated allusions to her experience as 'das Schreckliche' becomes synonymous with the traumatic experience the parents suffer, for which they can find no suitable outlet. The definite article here marks for Welzer the concept of "leeres Sprechen" (*Opa war kein Nazi* 158)¹⁴⁷, where events are not named at all but signalled merely as "das...." ('the'). Facts remain contourless and the event exists in a different space, "das 'leere Sprechen' ist eine Redeweise die wie keine andere das intergenerationelle Gespräch über das 'Dritte Reich' prägt"¹⁴⁸ (159). 'Leeres Sprechen' is thus a mechanism of an

¹⁴⁶ 'He could have lived in peace, but there was no peace' (Brown Janeway 32).

¹⁴⁷ 'empty speaking'.

¹⁴⁸ 'the empty speaking is a mode of speaking which, like no other, shapes the concept of intergenerational dialogue on the Third Reich'.

intergenerational passing down of stories, whereby experiences are abridged and simplified into one phrase or word.

Following Freud, the victim can never be made to remember the traumatic experience, but can only repeat it in the form of a narration that recollects the past. Freud posits the distinction between ‘acting out’ and ‘working through’ trauma in the paper *Remembering, Repeating and Working Through* (1914). Acting out is related to repetition and the ‘repetition compulsion’: “[...] the patient does not remember anything of what he has forgotten and repressed, but acts it out. He reproduces it not as a memory but as an action; he repeats it, without, of course, knowing that he is repeating it” (qtd. in Strachey 149). The mother first uses the term ‘das Schreckliche’ in the long introductory revelation at the beginning of the story, in which she discloses that the narrator’s brother is not dead, but lost. The narrator becomes more and more confused as to what ‘das Schreckliche’ actually means: “Irgendwann, soviel verstand ich, ist auf der Flucht vor dem Russen etwas Schreckliches passiert”¹⁴⁹ (14). That the mother cannot fully articulate the extent to the trauma she experienced confirms the repressive mechanisms at work in her psyche. She does not work through the trauma by elucidating it. Instead she only skims its contours, referring to it with the same stock phrase, which in her mind suffices to confront it, but which in fact only exacerbates the need to deal with this trauma. ‘Das Schreckliche’ represents all that she abhors and suffers from and yet must face to overcome. Indeed LaCapra refers to this very notion when he claims that:

Victims of trauma tend to relive occurrences, or at least find that those

occurrences intrude on their present existence, for example, in [...]

words that are compulsively repeated and that don’t seem to have their ordinary

¹⁴⁹ ‘At some point – this much I understood – during the flight from the Russians, something dreadful happened’ (Brown Janeway 8).

meaning, because they're taking on different connotations from another situation, another place (143).

'Das Schreckliche' thus no longer only literally means 'the horror', but assumes the whole magnitude of the trauma the parents endured. For the narrator, however, 'das Schreckliche' becomes one of the key words of his childhood. He cannot understand or question it, just as his mother cannot clarify it. The French psychoanalyst Nadine Fresco echoes this sentiment when she speaks of the effects of war-time trauma on post-war families: "The gaping, vertiginous black hole of the unmentionable years where parents explained nothing, children asked nothing. The silence was all the more implacable in that it was concealed behind a screen of words, again, always the same words, an unchanging story..." (qtd. in Felman 64). The trauma articulated in these 'same words', 'das Schreckliche', thus comes to signify what *cannot* be articulated in a comprehensive story of the experience. In this way, trauma resides in *Der Verlorene* at the edges of words, at the impossibility of an all-encompassing narrative.

The trauma of being driven out from their homes and subjected to rape has been so overwhelming that family life is now shattered¹⁵⁰. Their son is lost, maybe dead, but they are alive and have to deal with this reality every day. They pore over the photos they have of Arnold, "das mir gleichsam lebensgroß erscheinende Photo, auf dem mein Bruder Arnold zu sehen war, Anlaß zu erschöpflicher Betrachtung bot"¹⁵¹(10) and preoccupy themselves more and more as the narrative progresses with finding their perfectly biologically matched lost son: "Es sei notwendig, sagte der Vater, verschiedene

¹⁵⁰ Hans Josef Ortheil also takes as his departure for *Hecke* (1983) the trauma the mother in the story can not come to terms with, the origin of which is the experience of war and the death of her children. Interesting textual comparisons could be made on the subject of trauma. Ortheil, like Treichel, writes as part of a struggle against the silence of trauma, which determined his childhood.

¹⁵¹ "[...] while the photo of Arnold, which seemed life-size to me, was the object of endless contemplation' (Brown Janeway 5).

Untersuchungen vorzunehmen, um die Verwandschaft mit dem fraglichen Jungen zu bestätigen’’¹⁵² (51). They thus in a way embody the war, as their very surviving of it has been inscribed onto their psyches. Unable to articulate it, the trauma becomes readable on their weary faces, through their tired limbs and perpetual sadness: “Doch waren die Eltern unfähig, Freizeit oder Erholung auch nur in Ansätzen zu genießen’’¹⁵³ (19). Indeed Treichel describes his mother as for a long time unable to remember the war and expulsion and yet “[...] die Mutter *war* in gewisser Weise der Krieg und die Vertreibung’’ (23, my emphasis).

But the trauma the parents experienced does not remain a trauma, which impinges only on their lives. For the primary trauma is transmitted to the narrator of *Der Verlorene*, who suffers from a secondary trans-generational trauma, as a direct result of what his parents suffered. How has the notion of trans-generational trauma materialized and how has the concept come to be understood¹⁵⁴? The phenomenon of trans-generational trauma¹⁵⁵ materialised in the 1980s with a plethora of psychological studies into the effects of the war generation’s traumatic experiences on subsequent generations. The basic revelation was that the transference of traumatic responses can continue through generations and that children can inherit patterns of traumatic response. Walter

¹⁵² “It would be necessary, my father said, to undergo various tests to establish our relationship to the boy in question’’ (Brown Janeway 36).

¹⁵³ ‘All the same, my parents were incapable of enjoying freedom or relaxation even in sudden bursts’ (Brown Janeway 12).

¹⁵⁴ Karl Jaspers recognised early on that, “Wir fühlen etwas wie Mitschuld für das Tun unserer Familienangehörigen’’ (113) ‘We feel complicity for the actions of our family members and in highlighting the sense of co-responsibility, he identified the concept of a trans-generational guilt. Doris Schroeder and Bob Breacher also pioneered the concept of trans-generational obligation, which they distinguish as an “indeterminate but strict obligatory sense which transcends generation borders’’ (46).

¹⁵⁵ Jewish ‘victim’ intergenerational studies surfaced earlier on the psychological scene than specifically German ‘perpetrator’ intergenerational considerations. However, alongside a growing openness on discussing perpetrator figures, the offspring of ‘Hitler’s Willing Executioners’ have come under scrutiny. Here the early psychological research of Dan Bar-On (1989) and more recently Monica Sue Weissmark (2004) on children of Nazi perpetrators marks a different understanding of the second generation. A growing body of literature coming from psychoanalysts is now contributing to a greater understanding of the impact of the Nazi era on the perpetrators and generations of their children.

Pontzen observes that, “Gefühle von Schuld, Scham und Trauer, die von der Elterngeneration verschwiegen werden mussten, werden jedoch zwangsläufig unbewusst an die nächste Generation weiter gegeben”¹⁵⁶ (59). Indeed inherent in Caruth’s theory of trauma is the belief that the trauma experienced by one person can be passed to others (*Trauma* 62).

This dynamic rests on a conflict between generations and a gap between the first generation, here understood as those *Mitläufer* who were directly involved with or affected by the Second World War and their children, the second generation, who were born during, in or after the war¹⁵⁷. Marking generation cohorts is a problematic undertaking and can lead to much confusion. I am following Alan B. Spitzer’s definition of a generation conceived as groups of co-evals, people of roughly the same age whose shared experience significantly distinguishes them from contemporaries in other age groups (1354). A generation thus shares a common set of beliefs, which tends to define its social existence. Indeed Assmann recognizes that: “Mit jedem Generationswechsel [...] verschiebt sich das Erinnerungsprofil einer Gesellschaft merklich”¹⁵⁸ (*Geschichtsvergessenheit* 40).

This second generation, to which Treichel and the narrator in *Der Verlorene* belong, is clearly distinguishable from the first in the dynamic student movement of the late 1960’s, which clearly set out its parameters as a generation in conflict with its elders. Such a strong antipathy towards the generation of one’s elders is not uncommon, but has rarely been expressed so vehemently as with the 1968ers in Germany. The Mitscherlichs’ thesis of a repression and disavowal of the past through immersion in the *Wirtschaftswunder* of

¹⁵⁶ ‘Feelings of guilt, shame and grief, which had to be concealed by the parent generation, were inevitably unconsciously passed on to the next generation’.

¹⁵⁷ See Schmitz *A Nation Of Victims* (2007) p.6, who categorises the three generations in a similar way.

¹⁵⁸ ‘With every generation change, the memory profile of a society shifts significantly’.

the post-war Federal Republic, was central for the student movement and frequently became the basis of the children's indictment of their parents. While the *Mitläufer* generation thus cut itself off from its emotional history in an attempt to suppress the past, their children turned into the accusers of their parents and refused to empathise with their parents' suffering during the war¹⁵⁹. Treichel's agenda in *Der Verlorene* is thus also partly to unearth a repressed trauma, and a specifically German trauma, which filtered through the first to the second generation.

In their seminal 2002 study *Opa war kein Nazi: Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis*¹⁶⁰, Welzer, Moller and Tschuggnall examine the question of what 'normal' Germans remember about the National Socialist period, how they talk about it and what and how historical consciousness has been handed down to the second and third generations¹⁶¹. Welzer identified the reluctance of the second generation to talk about the experiences their parents suffered, when interviewing various family members. According to him, the concept of *Tradierung* is pivotal to an understanding of how the past affects the present: "dass die Vergangenheit über intergenerationelle

¹⁵⁹ A breaking off of communicative relationships thus ensued, which saw a virtual silence between the generations develop in which the idea that the older generation should be seen exclusively in terms of implication became entrenched in the mindsets of the revolting generation. This attribution of guilt, however, clouded a concerted attempt to understand the trauma they endured as a direct result of the trauma their parents underwent, whose very existence was denied. It would be a long time before the second generation could recognize their parents as victims too and thus themselves as secondary victims. As Assmann states; "Wir haben es heute mit einer Verschärfung des Gedächtnis-Problems zu tun. Diese Verschärfung aber hängt wiederum unmittelbar mit dem Gedächtniswechsel zusammen" (*Geschichtsvergessenheit* 30). 'Today we are dealing with an intensification of the memory problem. This intensification, however, has more to do with the change in generations'.

¹⁶⁰ 'Grandad was not a Nazi: National Socialism and the Holocaust in Family Memory'.

¹⁶¹ The study, pivotal to an understanding of the trans-generational aspect of memory, was the first of its kind to provide a detailed analysis of the *Tradierung* (the handing down) of history in conversations between generations. It suggested that the 'victimisation' discourse has always been prevalent in Germany and that there is a vast discrepancy between the official commemoration culture and private remembering. This thesis has recently received more academic attention and the existence of a German victim culture throughout the FRG's existence has merited further study. Robert G. Moeller's *War Stories* (2002) was a groundbreaking academic contribution, and Bill Niven's edited *Germans as Victims* (2008) has also brought the German Victimhood discourse more clarity. We can now speak of a 'renewed' interest in German victimhood, but in no way a breaking of a longstanding taboo.

Weitergabeprozesse höchst lebendig in die Gegenwart hineinreicht’’¹⁶² (*Opa war kein Nazi* 10). Welzer and his team study whether “Erinnerungsgemeinschaften wie die Familie ein anderes Geschichtsbewusstsein, andere Bilder über die Vergangenheit und, vor allem, andere Rahmen für ihre Deutung bereitstellen als das ‘kulturelle Gedächtnis’’¹⁶³ (12).

Welzer alludes here to Jan Assmann’s distinction between cultural memory and communicative memory in his article ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’ (1995). Cultural memory is controlled by society and handed down and accommodated by generations, “The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image” (132). Communicative memory, on the other hand, is constituted by the imagination of individuals and groups, along the line of reasoning that “every individual memory constitutes itself in communication with others” (126) and embraces third generation memory. Welzer and his team are chiefly interested in this communicative memory, an oral history, which is socially mediated and “weniger was die Leute nicht sagen, als das, was sie sagen’’¹⁶⁴ (14).

In *Der Verlorene* the narrator gains an interesting view of his father’s friends from the East by listening in on various conversations. Laughter and fervent tales of slaughtering animals quickly gives rise to a silence, which pervades the room. The guests were “zuerst nur noch leise und schließlich [haben] gar nicht mit einander gesprochen’’¹⁶⁵ (45). The East Prussian past is recreated for the narrator, but memories are marred by silence. One of the topos Welzer identifies in *Opa war kein Nazi* is the stereotype of the

¹⁶² ‘That through the intergenerational transmission process, the past presents itself vividly in the present’.

¹⁶³ ‘Memory communities such as the family provide a different historical consciousness, different images of the past and above all, a different framework for its understanding compared to cultural consciousness’.

¹⁶⁴ ‘less what the people do not say, than what they do say’.

¹⁶⁵ ‘began to speak softly and eventually stopped speaking altogether’ (Brown Janeway 32).

“bösen Russen”¹⁶⁶. He detects that “alles, was mit ‘Russen’ zu tun hat, geradezu naturgemäß mit Bedrohung und Schrecken verbunden ist”¹⁶⁷ (88). This stereotypical perspective of the Soviet Army is transmitted to the narrator in *Der Verlorene*, “Vor den Russen, sagte der Vater, sei im Prinzip keine Frau sicher gewesen”¹⁶⁸ (54). The narrator thus comes to associate the Russians with danger, although he does not quite understand the nature of that danger. The narrator’s father identifies himself as the opposite of the “bösen Russen”, who function as the ‘other’ and aids the father’s assertion of his right to a victim status. This identification is passed on to the narrator, who will undoubtedly come to identify the Russians as the ‘other’, without fully recognizing why.

The everyday representation of the “bösen Russen” is intergenerationally handed down through conversations, arguments and discussions which results in “Das Bild der rücksichtslosen, vergewaltigenden Russen”¹⁶⁹ emerging as a strong image for subsequent generations (*Opa war kein Nazi* 142), as can be clearly seen in *Der Verlorene*. Photographs, documentary footage and films enrich these stereotypes. The images from these media then integrate with fragments of stories told to merge into a version of the past. This composition of a version of the past from stereotypes is a common feature of ‘Post-memory’, a concept presented by Marianne Hirsch in *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Memory* (1997). Hirsch’s concept of post-memory has become influential, not only for its focus – Holocaust representations - but also for the literature of trans-generational transmission¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁶ ‘bad Russian’.

¹⁶⁷ ‘everything that has to do with the Russians is inevitably imbued with threat and horror’.

¹⁶⁸ ‘According to my father, in principle no woman was safe from the Russians, be she young or old’ (Brown Janeway 39).

¹⁶⁹ ‘The image of the ruthless, raping Russian’.

¹⁷⁰ The wide application of Hirsch’s theoretical trajectory is however, not without its problems. Whilst Hirsch’s central thesis is pointing in a different direction to that of the post-memory of the offspring of Holocaust survivors, her theory still contains some illuminating thoughts, which I would like to explore.

‘Post-memory’ essentially characterises the experience of those who have grown up dominated by narratives, which preceded their birth. Their experiences are ultimately displaced by the powerful stories of the previous generation and shaped by traumatic events that resist understanding and integration. Post-memory is distinguished from memory by *generational* distance and is thus a territory inhabited by subsequent generations. The narrator in *Der Verlorene* did not experience ‘das Schreckliche’ himself, but because of its central place in his mother’s consciousness, grows to accommodate the trauma into his own psyche. The fact that post-memory does not allow immediate access to first-hand experiences does not, therefore, negate its source as a potent form of memory.

Post-memory is textually mediated and relies on images, stories and documents passed down from one generation to the next. Photographs play a significant role in mediating post-memory. Indeed *Der Verlorene* opens with the narrator contemplating a photograph of his lost brother: “Mein Bruder hockte auf einer weißen Wolldecke und lachte in die Kamera”¹⁷¹ (7). Hirsch reads photography as a privileged site of post-memory, as a photo possesses an enhanced relationship to life and death, capturing “that which no longer exists” and suggesting “the necessity and, at the same time, the difficulty, the impossibility of mourning” (20). Photography is, as Hirsch contests, “the family’s primary instrument of self-knowledge and representation, the means by which family memory would be continued and perpetuated, by which the family’s story would henceforth be told” (6). The opening photograph in *Der Verlorene* of Arnold on a white blanket smiling into the camera, enables the story to unfold and is equally the vantage point the story always returns to.

¹⁷¹ ‘My brother squatted on a white blanket and laughed into the camera’ (Brown Janeway 3).

Der Verlorene thus constitutes what Hirsch names a ‘metaphotographic text’, which places a family photograph into a narrative context. Indeed the narrative is preoccupied with the significance of the photo of Arnold for the first ten pages or so. The centrality of the photograph to the family’s life is emphasised by the narrator’s statement that “‘Arnolds Photo aus dem Photoalbum war das einzige, was überhaupt von ihm existierte. Die Mutter löste es schweren Herzens aus dem Album. Würde es verlorengehen, wäre der ganze Arnold verloren’”¹⁷² (63-64). The mother frequently reaches for the family album and it becomes a habit of hers to show her son the photographs in it, despite his overwhelming lack of presence. What is interesting with respect to *Der Verlorene* is not only the presence of Arnold in photos, but the absence of the narrator¹⁷³. The centrality and importance of the photograph of Arnold thus illustrates the overwhelming presence of the narrator’s brother *vis-à-vis* the absence of himself in the family narrative. He is alive and thus the parents do not need photographs of him, but he is also neglected because of his presence in reality¹⁷⁴. As he himself says; “‘Schließlich war ich auch noch da, und hätte die Mutter nicht gelegentlich einmal sagen können, dass ich ja auch noch da war. Doch ich hörte immer nur, dass Arnold nicht da war’”¹⁷⁵ (167).

It is partly the repeated exposure to the photograph of Arnold, which produces a trauma in the narrator, who cannot contextualise the photograph within reality. However, for the parents, whose lives have been shaped by expulsion, relocation and the dispersal of everything they know, the photographs of Arnold, “‘provide perhaps even more than

¹⁷² ‘The photo of Arnold in the album was the only one in existence. My mother unstuck it from the album with a heavy heart. If it were to get lost, Arnold in his entirety would be lost too’ (Brown Janeway 46).

¹⁷³ This will be discussed at more length in the following chapter.

¹⁷⁴ An interesting comparison can here be made with Art Spiegelmann’s *Maus I* (1992), which contains a photograph of the dead brother Richieu, whose image illustrates the dedication page of the second volume. Art also considers the lack of photographs of him in his parent’s room and comes to the conclusion that ‘That’s the point! They didn’t need photos of me in their room, I was alive!’ (24).

¹⁷⁵ ‘I was here too after all, and at some point my mother could have said just once that I was here after all. But all I ever heard was that Arnold wasn’t here’ (Brown Janeway 130).

usual some illusion of continuity over time and space” (xi). But the photograph is an ideal, a wished-for reality, the photograph of Arnold depicts what the parents wish the family to be again, but not what it is. The photographs of Arnold which the narrative pivots around, attest to the repeated impinging of the past on the present, but also the impossibility of ever returning to that idealised past, to “Zuhause [...] der Osten”¹⁷⁶ (7). The photographs also verify the trauma of survival the parents and the narrator endures as they “[...] represent the life that was no longer to be and, that, against all odds, nevertheless continues to be” (23). J.J.Long states pertinently that “Postmemory continues to provide a useful starting point for the identification, description and analysis of a major cultural trend of the past two decades, namely the second and third generations’ engagement with their parents’ pasts” (qtd. in Fuchs/Cosgrove 161).

But it is not the trauma the parents endure as a result of their experience of being expelled from their home in East Prussia in the closing days of the Second World War, which is at the heart of Treichel’s narrative. The true provocation of the text lies in the effects this trauma renders on the narrator, the ‘other’ son. It is this trans-generational trauma, inscribed onto his narrator with variable effects, which Treichel wishes to explore in *Der Verlorene*. This is reflective of a trend in post-reunification German literature to address trauma as an experience, which affected not only the *Mitläufer* generation, but also their children. Indeed, as Schmitz asserts, “The issue of transgenerational transmission of both trauma and Nazi legacies has attracted increasing scholarly attention over the last decades, both from within Psychoanalysis and Cultural Studies” (*A Nation of Victims* 200). Contemporary literary treatments of German wartime suffering are marked by an examination of how ‘private memories’ of the hardships endured are

¹⁷⁶ ‘Home [...] the East’ (Brown Janeway 3).

passed down within families in the post-war period¹⁷⁷. Stuart Taberner sees, with a closer examination of literary representations of the Nazi past, more specifically, the primary focus as “less on the actual events than on the manner in which they have been remembered, discussed and depicted in the decades since the end of the Second World War” (qtd. in Schmitz *A Nation of Victims* 225).

The literature of the 1990s has seen an increasing focus on the psychological consequences of the Third Reich and Mitscherlich's theories have acquired paradigmatic status as an explanatory model by which to explain the inability of the first generation to confront the legacy of their past. Bill Niven contends that “it took a younger generation to draw attention to the need for Germans to remember their victims. Younger generations had nothing to hide and indeed had an urgent desire to uncover” (*Facing the Nazi Past* 22). Generational questions permeate and integrate with public and political events. It is the passing away of the first generation, which has been considered one of the reasons for the shift towards a ubiquitous family-centred memory of German suffering, and an explosion of narratives of German suffering and victimhood in the public sphere¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁷ The German generation conflict informs Bernhard Schlink's *Der Vorleser* (1995), in which the narrative focuses on the relationship of silence between the perpetrator and the second generation. Additionally Günter Grass's *Im Krebsgang* (2002) is concerned with three generations of German memory of National Socialism. Taberner sees *Im Krebsgang* as “self-evidently concerned with intergenerational trauma in the post-war family” (qtd. in Schmitz *A Nation of Victims* 239).

¹⁷⁸ Aleida Assmann reinforces this line of argument in *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (2006), in which she sets out three concrete and concise explanations for the *Wiederbelebung* (revival) of German wartime suffering. Her first explanation pertains to the ubiquity of the topic in the media, which “hat das Thema mit Breitenwirkung auf ihre Tagesordnung gesetzt” (192), ‘placed the theme, with a broad effect, on their agenda’. The second explanation refers to the lack of a chance the discourse had to escape private family circles or specialised research and enter a public arena. Assmann's third line of reason for the explosion of articulation of German wartime suffering follows the generational argument, that the ‘Zeitzeugen’, ‘contemporary witnesses’, are soon to disappear and thus that “Das soziale Gedächtnis unterliegt den biologischen Bedingungen des Generationenwechsels” (193), ‘social memory is subject to the biological conditions of the change in generation’.

The parents' loss is real and although also not dealt with sufficiently, tangible. The narrator's trauma is however intangible and therefore all the more destabilising. The parents are weighed down by increasingly acute levels of guilt and shame, but they repress these emotions and thus subconsciously mediate them onto their existing child. This is the trauma Treichel was exposed to as a child:

Es gibt in der Traumaforschung den Begriff der transgenerationellen Traumatisierung und ich bemerke, dass die Traumatisierung der Elterngeneration, also die Erfahrung von Krieg, Flucht und Verfolgung mir nicht nur in der Kindheit mitgegeben wurde, sondern mich auch über einen langen Zeitraum noch erreicht''¹⁷⁹. (Williams *Hans-Ulrich Treichel* 222)

Kendall Johnson looks at the specific effects of trauma on children and outlines key physical manifestations; "Stomach-aches, headaches, digestive upsets and other physical disorders are often very real symptoms of psychological distress" (53). Examining more closely the effects the parents' behaviour seems to have on the narrator, a symptomology of a traumatised individual plagued with psychosomatic symptoms can be established. Firstly, the narrator seems to have some kind of eating disorder. This is subtly alluded to by various comments the narrator makes on his relationship to food, his weight and that he is continuously being sick, "Am meisten mußte ich während unserer Ausflugsfahrten mit der neuen schwarzen Limousine erbrechen''¹⁸⁰ (21). It is ironic that the narrator is often sick in the vehicle with which the father wishes to show to the world how intact they are as a family unit. The narrator can be seen to have developed a curious variant of bulimia. This attests to his feelings of worthlessness, which ultimately springs from how

¹⁷⁹ 'There is the concept of transgenerational trauma in trauma research and I note that the traumatising of the parent generation, by which I mean the experience of war and expulsion, was not only passed on to me in my childhood, but has followed me over a long period of time'.

¹⁸⁰ 'Mostly I had to throw up when we were on outings in the new black limousine' (Brown Janeway 13).

his parents' behaviour makes him feel. Additionally the narrator suffers from abdominal cramps and curious facial spasms, brought on in particular situations. The narrator's "Gesichtskrämpfe"¹⁸¹ are diagnosed as trigeminal neuralgia, an intense intermittent pain along the course of a nerve in the head. This can be read as a physical symptom of the narrator's mental anguish.

Trauma in Hans-Ulrich Treichel's *Der Verlorene* resides in multiple locations, but with equal ferocity. Whilst the parents struggle with the trauma of survival and return to their photograph album to relive a past that is haunting the present, the narrator is stranded in a traumatic present, which dictates his every move. The parents subconsciously mediate a version of the past to him, complete with stereotypes and stock phrases. But due to the atmosphere of guilt and shame, which pervades the family home, the narrator develops worrying psychosomatic symptoms and a dangerous self-image. He is suffering from a trans-generational trauma and despite not being present at the site of the original trauma, his life has been irrevocably marked by its ongoing influence on the lives of his parents. He is relegated to the back of the family album, just as his trigeminal neuralgia is regarded as childish and excessive. Unfortunately, the parents' melancholic states leave little room for them to recognize the suffering of their existing son.

The narrator's hope that, "Vielleicht würde man eines Tages die Ursache meiner Beschwerden herausfinden, vielleicht würden die Beschwerden aber auch von selbst abklingen"¹⁸² (57) is loaded with irony. Trauma is the cause of his affliction, but being a wound of the mind, it is not something that can be easily diagnosed or healed. The narrator ultimately would not have minded if the bridge he stood on in Heidelberg

¹⁸¹ 'facial cramps' (Brown Janeway 44).

¹⁸² 'Maybe one day they'd discover the cause of my affliction, and perhaps the affliction would go away of itself' (Brown Janeway 41).

“eingestürzt wäre” (119)¹⁸³. Unfortunately the narrator is for his parents “nur das, was sie nicht hatte. Ich war der Finger in der Wunde, das Salzkorn im Auge, der Stein auf dem Herzen”¹⁸⁴ (140).

¹⁸³ ‘had collapsed’ (Brown Janeway 90).

¹⁸⁴ ‘I was only what she didn’t have. I was the finger in the wound, the grain of salt in the eye, the stone in her heart’ (Brown Janeway 108).

CHAPTER IV

***“Guilt is the Source of sorrow; ‘tis the Fiend,
Th’ avenging Fiend, that follows us behind
With Whips and Stings”
(Nicholas Rowe *The Fair Penitent* 1703).***

***“ Where shame is, there is also fear”
(John Milton *Paradise Lost* 1667).***

Der Verlorene can be seen as part of a trend towards illuminating German wartime suffering. Yet Treichel’s principal concern centers on personal experiences¹⁸⁵: “um eine historische Betrachtung geht es hier nicht; es geht einzig um Lebenserfahrung und Wahrnehmungsweisen”¹⁸⁶ (Treichel *Der Entwurf* 39). At the raw heart of the text are two similar and yet conflicting emotions; guilt and shame. This chapter explores how the three principal characters contend with guilt and shame and how their experiences with these emotions remain essentially disparate and distinct.

The father’s belated mourning of his lost homeland in Rakowiec, “Ein Bauer aus Rakowiec verläßt sein Haus nicht freiwillig”¹⁸⁷ (122) is emblematic of many expellees who were not only brutally uprooted from their homes, but witnessed the taking over of these previously German settlements by the Soviet Union and partitioning to Poland in the aftermath of the Second World War “Er stammte aber aus Rakowiec I, welches direkt neben Rakowiec II liege und eine rein deutsche Siedlung sei”¹⁸⁸ (110). The family, like many expellees driven from the eastern parts of Germany at the end of the

¹⁸⁵ Although as a reader of *Der Verlorene* it is difficult not to place the narrator’s family’s traumatic experience in the context of the expulsions and thus a wider historical narrative.

¹⁸⁶ ‘It is not about a historical consideration here, but solely about life experience and perception’.

¹⁸⁷ ‘A farmer from Rakowiec doesn’t abandon his house of his own free will’ (Brown Janeway 93).

¹⁸⁸ ‘But he came from Rakowiec I, which was right next to Rakowiec II and was a pure German settlement’ (Brown Janeway 83).

Second World War, lost their home and possessions and fleeing from the advancing Soviet army, trekked westwards in search of sanctuary. However, the narrator's family also *lost* their eldest son whom the mother hastily thrust into the arms of another refugee woman, fearing for his life as the Russians approached, “[es] gelang der Mutter gerade noch, einer neben ihr hergehenden Frau, die zum Glück von keinem der Russen aufgehalten wurde, das Kind in die Arme zu legen”¹⁸⁹ (15). This incident remains the source of all guilt and shame, the vantage point from which the story takes its impetus and drive, develops and progresses and yet always returns to, “daß sich Arnold beziehungsweise das Findelkind 2307 in mein Aussehen und damit in mein Leben drängte”¹⁹⁰ (151). ‘Das Schreckliche’ was then visited upon the mother. We never find out exactly what this entails, but it could well allude to rape, making the mother one of thousands of German women who were raped as a physical metaphor for the capturing of the country by Stalin’s armies¹⁹¹.

The exact circumstances surrounding Arnold’s death remain ambiguous. However, two pages on in the story, we learn of Arnold’s fate. Interestingly, this is where the narrator first enters the text as a subject. Only when the mother is explaining the story behind Arnold’s disappearance does the narrator become an ‘I’: “Die Aussprache wurde von der Mutter mit den Worten eröffnet, daß *ich* nun alt genug sei, um die Wahrheit zu

¹⁸⁹ ‘[...] my mother just had time to put her child in the arms of a passing woman, who luckily wasn’t detained by any of the Russians’ (Brown Janeway 9).

¹⁹⁰ ‘Arnold and foundling 2307 respectively were pushing their way into my appearance and hence my life’ (Brown Janeway 117).

¹⁹¹ The rape of women is a ubiquitous metaphor in (German) literature for the defeat and rape of the country. It is interesting here to mention Helke Sander’s *BeFreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder* (Liberators Take Liberties: War, Rapes, Children), which appeared as a two-part documentary film and as a book (co-editor: Barbara Jahr). The mass rapes of German women at the end of the Second World War by the Soviet army were seriously confronted in this work. Many different women were interviewed and had the opportunity to speak about their trauma and its long-lasting consequences. The film provoked heated discussions in Germany and the USA and although criticized by some as revisionism, was praised by many as the successful, long overdue treatment of an important and complex chapter of German history.

erfahren’’¹⁹² (12, my emphasis). From the beginning it is thus established that the narrator is only significant in his mother’s eyes in relation to her other lost son. His presence only signifies to the mother the absence of her lost son and his very existence prompts acute feelings of guilt in his mother. After the funeral of his father, the mother becomes more and more subsumed in sorrow and guilt. The narrator is now all the mother has, even just looking at him fills the mother with emotion, “Sie schaute mich an, ihr Blick verlor sich in meinem Gesicht, und während sich ihr Blick in meinem Gesicht verlor, schien ihr eigenes Gesicht zu verschwimmen und sich aufzulösen’’¹⁹³ (139). This becomes sheer agony for the narrator, who wants desperately to help and comfort his mother and yet is painfully aware that he only contributes to her anguish, “Mich peinigten diese Momente, ich rührte die Mutter, aber ich wollte sie nicht rühren’’¹⁹⁴ (139).

The unspoken sense of guilt and shame pollutes and distorts the present: “Vom Tag meiner Geburt an herrschte ein Gefühl von Schuld und Scham in der Familie, ohne das ich wusste warum’’¹⁹⁵ (17). There is no sense of a functioning family unit and the atmosphere is a breeding ground for the narrator’s identity crisis. Indeed in the household there reigns a sense of “Beklemmung und Bedrückung’’ (24)¹⁹⁶. Life now revolves around the lost son and finding him. Thus the family axis is Arnold’s absence, ‘Doch ich hörte immer nur, dass Arnold nicht da war’’¹⁹⁷ (167). The parents completely disregard

¹⁹² ‘The discussion began with my mother saying that I was old enough now to know the truth’ (Brown Janeway 7).

¹⁹³ ‘She gazed at me, her eyes lost themselves in my face, and while her eyes lost themselves in my face, her own face seemed to blur and dissolve’ (Brown Janeway 107).

¹⁹⁴ ‘These moments were torture for me, I moved my mother and I didn’t want to move her’ (Brown Janeway 107).

¹⁹⁵ ‘From the day of my birth, guilt and shame had ruled the family, without my knowing why’ (Brown Janeway 11).

¹⁹⁶ ‘oppressive anxiety’ (Brown Janeway 16).

¹⁹⁷ ‘But all I ever heard was that Arnold wasn’t here’ (Brown Janeway 130).

the existant son who, in turn, suffers from his presence being denied in the face of his brother's absence and yet ironically gives voice to and articulates the entire trauma the family experience: "Darauf erzählte sie mir die Geschichte vom verlorengegangenen Arnold [...] die Geschichte deckte sich einerseits mit der vom gestorbenen und verhungerten Arnold, und andererseits war es eine gänzlich neue Geschichte"¹⁹⁸ (13).

At several points in the text guilt and shame are used almost as mutually co-dependent, as if one cannot exist without the presence of the other: "Wohl spürte ich genau daß ich mich schuldig fühlte und daß ich mich schämte"¹⁹⁹ (18). The text mentions guilt and shame together on many occasions and Treichel emphasises how these two emotions go hand in hand and yet remain essentially very distinct experiences. Guilt has been the keyword for how Germans *should* confront their past²⁰⁰ and much has been written on Germans' individual and collective guilt regarding the legacy of the catastrophic Third Reich. Karl Jaspers differentiates between criminal, political, moral and metaphysical guilt in *Hoffnung und Sorge: Schriften zur Deutschen Politik*, published in 1965, and comes to the conclusion that guilt is collective and "daß wir Deutschen, daß jeder Deutsche in irgendeiner Weise schuldig ist"²⁰¹ (110). Giordano alludes to the silence, which shrouded the past in the post-war period as the 'zweite Schuld'²⁰² (3). Guilt has thus haunted Germany and its citizens as it navigates its negotiations with the National Socialist era. With guilt, Germans were forced to acknowledge, confront and atone for their past.

¹⁹⁸ 'Then she told me the story of how Arnold got lost, [...]. The story was a piece with Arnold dead of starvation, and at the same time it was a completely new one' (Brown Janeway 7-8).

¹⁹⁹ 'I absolutely knew that I felt guilty and ashamed' (Brown Janeway 11).

²⁰⁰ The 'past' I am referring to here is that of the legacy of the Second World War.

²⁰¹ 'that we Germans, that every German person is in one way or another guilty'.

²⁰² 'second guilt'.

Freud identified guilt as the tension between the harsh super-ego and the ego that is subjected to it, which expresses itself in a need for punishment (qtd. in Rickman 222). A person thus feels guilty when he *knows* he has done something bad. Both the mother and father exhibit this guilt; the mother principally for handing over her son to another woman, “‘Aber sie habe voreilig Angst um ihr eigenes Leben und das Leben ihres Kindes gehabt, und in Wahrheit habe sie auch voreilig das Kind weggegeben’”²⁰³ (16) and the father for (albeit forcefully) abandoning his land, “‘Wer sein Haus verlässt, der versündigt sich’”²⁰⁴ (122). The mother’s trauma and subsequent sense of having committed an unforgivable crime by losing her son, has generated her overriding sense of guilt. The mother perceives this guilt as hers and hers alone and she throws herself into the housework in an attempt to stave off the sense of shame which penetrates her very core, “‘Je mehr sich die Mutter im Haus zu schaffen machte, um so weniger konnten die Scham und die Schuld sich ihrer bemächtigen’”²⁰⁵ (45). Symptomatically, after the renovation on the house is completed, the mother suffers a nervous breakdown. The narrator, with an adept maturity, knows that the real reason behind his mother’s breakdown is not stress but “‘dass sie über den Verlust meines Bruders Arnold nicht hinwegkomme’”²⁰⁶ (48).

The manner in which Treichel describes this is emblematic of his laconic narrative style: “‘Nachdem die Umbau des Hauses beendet war, erlitt die Mutter einen Zusammenbruch’”²⁰⁷ (48). Treichel’s text is predominantly composed of lucid and terse sentences, which convey an almost documentary feel to the prose. The language is very dry and ‘sachlich’ and there is a predominance of simple formulations. This kind of style

²⁰³ ‘But she’s been too quick in fearing for her life and the life of her child, and if she were honest, she’d been too quick to give the child away’ (Brown Janeway 10).

²⁰⁴ ‘He who abandons his house commits a sin’ (Brown Janeway 93).

²⁰⁵ ‘The more she found to do in the house, the less she could be overcome by shame and guilt’ (Brown Janeway 22).

²⁰⁶ ‘that she had never got over the loss of my brother Arnold’ (Brown Janeway 34).

²⁰⁷ ‘After the rebuilding was finished, my mother had a breakdown’ (Brown Janeway 34).

perhaps reflects how the young protagonist was able to deal with the events. His detached emotional narration can thus be viewed in part as a coping mechanism, for example when describing his father's funeral: "Die Männer trugen den Sarg an die Grabstelle und ließen ihn mit Hilfe von drei dicken Tauen in die Erde hinab"²⁰⁸ (137). It is, moreover, doubly ironic that where the prose is lucid and precise, the narrative is characterised by ambiguity.

The mother, however, feels both guilt and shame. Whereas guilt is generated whenever a boundary is transgressed, shame occurs when a goal is not being reached. Shame requires an audience and is only really felt when exposed, but guilt can be an internalised response felt deep in the psyche. Merrell Lynd observes that "experiences of shame appear to embody the root meaning of the word – to uncover, to expose" (qtd. in Morris 159). Following this logic, the mother's shame is rooted in her sense of the discrepancy between what she perceives herself to be (a mother who lost her child) and the image she feels she should live up to (a mother who is in control of her family and household). Thus the mother feels shame when she feels that society's eyes are judging her, when her failure as a mother is exposed. By occupying herself with the traditional responsibilities of a dutiful housewife, she seeks to atone for what she regards as her dereliction of those duties in giving Arnold away, "Und in Wahrheit tat die Mutter zumeist nichts anderes, als sich im Haus zu schaffen zu machen"²⁰⁹ (32). The fact that the narrator comments almost exclusively on his mother's demeanour, and scarcely on his father's (lack of) behaviour, signifies the extremity of her actions and obvious impact this has on the narrator.

²⁰⁸ 'The men carried the coffin to the graveside and used three thick ropes to let it down into the earth' (Brown Janeway 105).

²⁰⁹ 'And to tell you the truth, almost all my mother did was find things to do in the house' (Brown Janeway 22).

The mother tries to demonstrate to the outside world that she is committed to this conventional role, we see, for example, her forced attempt in public to exhibit her capacity for maternal love by embracing the narrator so hard that he feels he is being compressed into her stomach: “Doch je weniger ich atmete, um so mehr drückte sie mich an sich fest, als wollte sie mich in ihren Bauch hineindrücken”²¹⁰ (74). The mother does not embrace her child, which is really what the narrator desperately needs, but holds him to her, wanting never to let him go. The narrator subsequently senses how this is not a comfort for his mother, but a despairing action:

Manchmal geschah es, dass sie die Arme nach mir ausstreckte, mich an sich drückte, meinen Kopf mit ihren Händen bedeckte und fest an ihren Bauch drückte. Dort blieb mir die Luft weg, und ich begann zu schwitzen, während ich spürte, wie erst der Bauch und dann die ganze Mutter bebte”²¹¹. (73)

The word used here ‘hineindrücken’ (to squeeze) is worthy of note, indeed it is mentioned in this sequence in almost every sentence. This is an interesting episode as we can see here that the mother wishes, subconsciously, to return her existing son to the womb to protect him and make sure he can never be lost²¹².

The mother is the driving force behind the search for Arnold and continues this search after the death of her husband, with the help of her new companion, Mr. Rudolph, “Eines Tages eröffnete sie mir, dass Herr Rudolph sich angeboten habe, sie bei der weiteren

²¹⁰ ‘The more she shook and shuddered, the harder she squeezed me against her belly and almost into it’ (Brown Janeway 55).

²¹¹ ‘Sometimes she would stretch out her arms to me, hug me, cover my head with her hands and press it against her stomach. This would cut off my breath, and I’d begin to sweat, as I felt first my mother’s stomach and then my whole mother begin to shake’ (Brown Janeway 54).

²¹² Interestingly, later on in the story, when his father dies, the narrator is given a Bible by Mr. Rudolph and is told to read from it. He is immediately attracted to the “Tote Meer”, ‘dead sea’ (Brown Janeway 100) on a map at the end of the Bible. Here the narrator may also be expressing a subconscious desire to return to the safety of his mother’s uterus, “Ich brauchte mich nicht zu bewegen, die Wellen trugen mich, die Wellen schaukelten mich, ich hatte ein warmes Gefühl in den Adern, ich schloß die Augen und schlief” (133). ‘I didn’t need to move, the waves held me up, the waves rocked me, I had a warm feeling in my veins, I closed my eyes and slept’ (Brown Janeway 102).

Suche nach Arnold zu unterstützen’’²¹³ (142). The mother does not care about anything else but recovering her lost son, she “wollte keinen Admiral. Sie wollte ihr Kind’’²¹⁴ (82). It is her unhappiness, which ultimately pushes the father to explore every possible avenue in order to find Arnold again, yet he plays a secondary role. This is a result of the fact that his particular sense of guilt is related to his abandonment of his farm in East Prussia, which he now knows, as a result of the rejection of his request for compensation (‘Lastenausgleich’), will not be atoned for. The parents wish to have their guilt assuaged with an official confirmation that they suffered an injustice is preferable to them facing an active role in their loss. Yet in their melancholic states, an end to their guilt would only be feasible with psychological intervention to initiate a mourning process.

The father consequently develops an alternative strategy for dealing with his guilt and grief; he immerses himself into the ‘Wirtschaftswunder’. The Mitscherlichs’ consider the complete sublimation into the working ethos of the ‘Wirtschaftswunder’ as a common substitute for tackling the past, “alle unsere Energie haben wir vielmehr...auf die Wiederherstellung des Zerstörten, auf Aufbau und Modernisierung unseres industriellen Potentials konzentriert’’²¹⁵ (Mitscherlich 19). Indeed on the family’s trip to Heidelberg to undergo the multitude of experiments to determine their relationship to the ‘Findelkind 2307’, Treichel supplies us with a clever metaphor of the parents’ inability to mourn. The family stop at a bridge to look over a river, but the bridge is motionless, “Sie schwang nicht einmal. Nicht die geringste Bewegung war zu spüren’’²¹⁶ (119). This is emblematic of the parents’ incapability of dealing with their trauma and acknowledging their son’s

²¹³ ‘One day she revealed to me that Mr. Rudolph had offered to support her in the further search for Arnold’ (Brown Janeway 109).

²¹⁴ ‘Sie didn’t want an Admiral. She wanted her child’ (Brown Janeway 61).

²¹⁵ ‘[...] they concentrated all their energies on the restoration of what had been destroyed, and on the extension and modernization of their industrial potential’ (Placzek 9).

²¹⁶ ‘It didn’t even sway. Not the slightest movement to be felt’ (Brown Janeway 91).

suffering. They cannot move from their obstinate, repressive positions, just as the bridge remains rigid and inflexible.

The father starts up a successful grocery business, which requires his constant commitment and which, thus, allows him little time for reflection, “Während sich die Mutter nur schwer vom Ergebnis des Gutachtens erholte, kümmerte sich der Vater um so mehr um das Geschäft”²¹⁷ (75). His mechanism of avoiding confronting the past is encapsulated in the narrator’s comment: “Schliesslich hatte er sich auch bisher um das Geschäft gekümmert, doch dabei sein kaufmännische Grundmaxime vernachlässigt, welche lautete: Stillstand ist Rückgang. Und Rückgang ist der Anfang vom Ende”²¹⁸ (75). The father launches himself into his work, “Oft kam es mir vor, als tue der Vater vor dem laufenden Fernseher nichts anderes, als darüber nachzusinnen, welche Arbeiten noch getan werden müßten”²¹⁹ (27).

The father has a strong attachment to and sense of morals based on his former identity as an East Prussian farmer. His attempts to move on and establish himself as an entrepreneur can be seen not just in terms of his desire to make up for the material loss which the ‘Lastenausgleich’ failed to compensate for, but also to free himself from the guilt over the abandonment of his farm. The father is driven by a desire to fully integrate into the FRG society: “Er, der nach dem Krieg mit leeren Händen nach Ostwestfalen gekommen war, hatte sich nun ein drittes Mal eine sogenannte Existenz aufgebaut”²²⁰ (45). His penchant for expensive cars is primarily a means of parading the family’s

²¹⁷ ‘While my mother had difficulty recovering from the results of the expert report, my father just spent that much more time with his business’ (Brown Janeway 56).

²¹⁸ ‘Until now he had taken care of the business too, but neglected his business ground rules, which were: ‘To stand still is to retreat. And retreat is the beginning of the end’ (Brown Janeway 56).

²¹⁹ ‘I often thought my father did nothing while the television was on but think up tasks that still had to be done’ (Brown Janeway 18).

²²⁰ ‘Having arrived empty-handed in East Westphalia after the war, he had now built himself an ‘existence’ for the third time’ (Brown Janeway 32).

material success and, therefore, their belonging to West Germany, “Mit dem Wagen beförderte er gewissermaßen sich selbst vom Kapitän zum Admiral, und er glaubte, auch die Familie damit auszeichnen zu können”²²¹ (80). The narrative however ultimately devotes little analysis to the father, who remains essentially a cold and distant character, unable to relate to his existing son and swamped in his work before dying an ironic and untimely death. Whether the father mourned the disappearance/death of his first son is left unclear, as are so many other elements of the narrative.

Clothing for the father is an important means of trumpeting his new identity as a prosperous West German, “er verlor erst dann wieder etwas von seiner Unruhe und Unsicherheit, als er im korrekten Anzug, mit Mantel und Hut auf die Strasse trat”²²² (87). As the narrator observes, the father appears not to be made of flesh and blood, which would signify his true identity, but rather of “gestärkten Hemden, einem Anzug mit Weste und Lederhandschuhen”²²³ (89). That the narrator, moreover, views his father this way testifies to the lack of intimacy in the family, as flesh is ubiquitously associated with familial bonds.

If the father keeps busy and his shop makes a profit, he can evade any semblance of shame, as he is successful in the society he now finds himself and in the public eye. When, however, the cold storage shed is broken into and all items either stolen or spoiled, it is too much for the father to cope with. That he has not insured the shed is too much for him to handle, “Jahrelang habe er allen möglichen Versicherungen Geld in den Rachen geworfen, und noch nie habe er sie in Anspruch nehmen müssen. Und nun dies. Er setzte

²²¹ ‘The car allowed him in some way to promote himself from captain to admiral, and he thought he could confer distinction on the family with it too’ (Brown Janeway 60).

²²² ‘[...] he began to shed his unease and insecurity as he went out onto the street in his proper gray suit, with a coat and hat’ (Brown Janeway 65).

²²³ ‘starched shirts, a three-piece suit and leather shoes’ (Brown Janeway 67).

sich, war erneut schweißüberströmt und schnappte nach Luft’’²²⁴ (128). Whilst the mother internalises her guilt and shame, the ultimate consequence of the father’s externalisation of his sense of guilt and, in the end, shame, leads to his death from a heart attack, ‘‘Ich ging allein zu Bett und wurde gegen zwei Uhr morgens von [...] Herrn Rudolph mit den Worten geweckt, dass der Vater gestorben sei’’²²⁵ (131-132).

The narrator, however, suffers and exhibits the most confounding and complex combination of guilt and shame. From the very beginning of the narrative, it is clear that whilst it is the narrator who is telling the story, it is his brother Arnold who takes centre stage. Indeed the first lengthy paragraph, the narrator’s first breath, is a monologue on Arnold. To begin with, Arnold is dead and the narrator is proud to have a dead brother: ‘‘Ich hatte einen toten Bruder, ich fühlte mich vom Schicksal ausgezeichnet’’²²⁶ (11). Yet the narrator is envious of Arnold’s central presence both literally in the family photograph album and metaphorically in the atmosphere of guilt and shame which saturates the family, ‘‘dass Arnold verantwortlich dafür war, dass ich von Anfang an in einer von Schuld und Scham vergifteten Atmosphäre aufgewachsen war’’²²⁷ (18). For whilst there are various shots of Arnold as a happy child in the family album, the narrator ‘‘[war] auf den meisten Photos meiner Kindheit zumeist nur teilweise und manchmal auch so gut wie überhaupt nicht zu sehen’’²²⁸ (9). The fact that Arnold is the only character in the book who has a name²²⁹ is symptomatic of his pervasive presence, versus

²²⁴ ‘For years he’d thrown away money down the throats of one insurance company after another and had never had to make a claim. And now this. He sat down, was drenched in sweat again, and gasped for air’ (Brown Janeway 98).

²²⁵ ‘I went to bed alone and was awakened around two o’clock in the morning by [...] Mr. Rudolph with the words that my father had died’ (Brown Janeway 100-101).

²²⁶ ‘I had a dead brother and I felt I had been singled out by fate’ (Brown Janeway 6).

²²⁷ ‘[...] Arnold was responsible from the very beginning for my growing up in an atmosphere poisoned with guilt and shame’ (Brown Janeway 10).

²²⁸ ‘[is] in most of the photos from my childhood I am either only partly visible or sometimes not really visible at all’ (Brown Janeway 4).

²²⁹ Although on the first page of *Der Verlorene* we learn that his brother was named after his father.

the narrator's seemingly pervasive absence, despite being the son who was not lost and is very much present.

It is this sense of a non-existence, of being not worthy of a reputable place within the nucleus of the family, which gives rise to the narrator's overwhelming guilt and shame complexes, "Ich wusste nur, dass ich bei allem, was ich tat, eine gewisse Schuld und eine gewisse Scham verspürte"²³⁰ (17). The overriding sense of guilt and shame the narrator feels cloud a rational perspective on his own self-worth. The narrator's central problem can perhaps be seen to be his inability to see his place within the family and its history as the foundation of his own sense of self. His parents have a strong attachment to their homeland, 'der Osten', which engenders strong emotions whenever mentioned, "Während die Mutter das Wort 'Zuhause' aussprach, begann sie zu weinen"²³¹ (7). But the narrator feels neither attached to his origins or his present environment.

This lack of being able to relate to his parents' homeland is also reinforced by the fact that he is relegated to the back of the family photograph album, whereas there are many photographs of Arnold. This, in turn, is emblematic of how the narrator feels that, "Arnold, der untote Bruder, die Hauptrolle in der Familie [spielte] und mir eine Nebenrolle zugewiesen hatte"²³² (17). Arnold is not only the driving force of the narrative, but of the family's demise. The narrator comes to realise that "ihre Unfähigkeit zur Freizeit und zur Erholung mit dem verlorengegangenen Bruder Arnold [...] zusammenhing"²³³ (20). It is ironic that when the narrator is finally photographed, it is in

²³⁰ 'All I knew was that whatever I did, I felt guilty and ashamed' (Brown Janeway 11).

²³¹ 'As my mother spoke the words 'at home' she began to cry (Brown Janeway 3).

²³² 'Arnold, my un-dead brother, had the leading role in the family and had assigned me a supporting part' (Brown Janeway 10).

²³³ 'their incapacity for freedom and relaxation was all tied up with my lost brother Arnold' (Brown Janeway 12).

the service of the parents' search for Arnold. Indeed his parents' insistence on his presence at all the tests, is merely to reverse his brother's absence.

The narrator's feelings of guilt and shame penetrate all areas of his life, yet the narrator does not know why he feels guilty,

Wohl spürte ich genau, daß ich mich schuldig fühlte und daß ich mich schämte,
aber es war mir gänzlich unerklärlich, warum ich, der ich doch nichts weiter
als ein unschuldiges Kind war, mich [...] schämen oder gar schuldig fühlen
musste²³⁴. (18)

It is impossible for the narrator not to feel guilty and ashamed, as his parents' almost parade these emotions on a regular basis, "Die Spaziergänge und die Ausflüge, die ich mit den Eltern unternahm, waren wahre Schuld und Schamprozessionen"²³⁵ (19). David Aberbach has observed that bereaved children are particularly likely to experience feelings of guilt, especially if they do not receive convincing explanations and reassurances from their parents (14). The narrator's parents fail to communicate to their son that what is happening is not his fault and that he is loved. They are so consumed in their internal struggles, that they cannot see the effects this is having on their son, "Was gibt es hier zu grinsen, sagte der Vater, der nichts von meinen Schmerz ahnte"²³⁶ (56). Consequently, the narrator tries to understand his overriding sense of guilt on his own and therefore understandably misconstrues his culpability.

For the narrator, the family has thus become the sphere not in which identity is secured, but rather in which it is denied. This makes the title of the book all the more

²³⁴ 'I absolutely knew that I felt guilty and ashamed, but I could not explain to myself why the innocent child that I was should be ashamed [...] or should feel guilty' (Brown Janeway 11).

²³⁵ 'The walks and outings I went on with my parents were regular penitential processions of shame and guilt' (Brown Janeway 12).

²³⁶ 'What's there to grin about, said my father, who had no idea of the pain I was feeling' (Brown Janeway 40).

significant for who exactly is ‘Der Verlorene’? Literally it may seem to be the lost son Arnold but as the narrative progresses it transpires that the narrator, in the process of living with traumatised parents, is the real lost one. Treichel plays with the irony of this ‘lostness’ in his characteristic laconic tone:

Und als ich erfahren hatte, dass Arnold nicht verhungert, sondern nur verlorengegangen sei, hätte ich höchstens insofern einen Verlust erlitten, als ich nun gewissermaßen einen toten und zumal einen auf der Flucht vor dem Russen gestorbenen Bruder verloren hatte. Statt des toten hatte ich nun einen verlorengegangenen Bruder. Das war für mich allerdings kein Gewinn²³⁷. (49)

This is the central revelation of the story. As Kendall Johnson observes, “When loss affects a family, children may develop apathy and withdrawal behaviours because their basic needs are not being met during the parents’ own grieving” (15). The narrator’s intrinsic sense of guilt is a direct result of how his parents make him feel; that he has committed an offence by his very existence and that, he should have been the one lost or even dead, not Arnold.

The parents’ search for Arnold contributes, ironically, to the narrator’s sense of not belonging to the family. As the various tests take their course, evidence mounts that not only is ‘Findelkind 2307’ unlikely to be the parents’ child but that there is no conclusive reason to believe that the narrator is related to them either, “[ich] wurde mit jeder Untersuchung immer unwahrscheinlicher”²³⁸ (27). This sense of being in some way an intruder within the family helps to explain the narrator’s substantial feelings of shame. We can see the narrator’s shame as cutting him deeper than his sense of guilt. Indeed

²³⁷ ‘And when I discovered that Arnold hadn’t starved, but had just been lost, the only loss I could be said to have suffered was that I’d lost a dead brother, who’d died what’s more while fleeing the Russians. Now I didn’t have a dead brother, I had a lost one. That was hardly a plus for me’ (Brown Janeway 35).

²³⁸ ‘With every examination I became more implausible’ (Brown Janeway 37).

Lynd identifies shame as “unlike guilt...in specific terms irreversible” (qtd. in Morris 181). It is thus the narrator’s overriding feelings of shame which are most worrisome as guilt can be assuaged, but shame is retained and can question the reality of any significance. Moreover, the experience of shame is almost impossible to communicate and by its nature isolating and alienating.

The narrator also feels shame when he perceives he is failing to live up to the image of his lost brother or “‘ein guter Sohn’”²³⁹ (138). Indeed throughout *Der Verlorene* we gain a sense of the parents’ disappointment with the narrator which ranges from the father’s critique of his hair to his inability (and subsequent self-reproach) to console his mother in her grief, “[...] spürte ich wieder die Schuld und Scham, die ich immer spürte, wenn die Mutter traurig war, und die es mir unmöglich machte, der Mutter auch nur das geringste Zeichen von Nähe zu zeigen”²⁴⁰ (171). This discrepancy between what he feels his parents expect of him and how he perceives himself to be is the ultimate source of his sense of shame. At the funeral, he feels shame for being unable to feel any grief for his father. Treichel’s laconic prose style here reflects the distance the narrator feels towards his father’s death and the lack of any real emotion, “‘Doch vorher galt es nochmal Abschied zu nehmen’”²⁴¹ (134). Treichel’s style of writing emphasises the lack of warmth or tenderness discernible within the family, both the mother and father are referred to only as ‘*der Vater*’ and ‘*die Mutter*’, not Papa or Mama or even just Vater or Mutter. The use of the definite article here is indicative of the distance the narrator feels towards his parents.

²³⁹ ‘a good son’ (Brown Janeway 106).

²⁴⁰ ‘I felt the same guilt and shame I felt when my mother was sad and that made it impossible for me ever to show the smallest sign of closeness to her’ (Brown Janeway 133-134).

²⁴¹ ‘But before that, it was time to say goodbye once more’ (Brown Janeway 103).

The narrator feels that he has almost usurped the place of Arnold, the good son. He senses that his father thinks he is indifferent to the loss of his brother. Indeed when the narrator learns that the identified boy bears striking resemblance to him and winces from the resultant “Art Magenkrampf”²⁴² (55), the extent to how his father’s treatment of him wounds him is expressed. The father’s insensitivity in stressing to the narrator that he has the easiest time of it compared to them, “so ging der Vater davon aus, dass ich es am einfachsten hatte. Ich hatte es aber nicht am einfachsten”²⁴³ (121), is clear. This is emblematic of how wrapped up the father is in his own grief and guilt; he is unable to recognise his son’s suffering and interprets his winces and grins as indications of mockery, as opposed to symptoms of real psychological distress. The father’s treatment of his son is here the only indication of his own grief, which remains scarcely articulated in the narrative. In his mother’s eyes, in turn, the narrator has almost no identity in his own right but is rather “das, was sie verloren hatte”²⁴⁴ (140). He feels that “der Mutter bei meinem Anblick ein tiefer Schmerz auf das Gesicht legte”²⁴⁵ and he thus comes to despise his own reflection, “und daß ich diesen Schmerz ebenso zu hassen began wie mein eigenes Spiegelbild”²⁴⁶ (140).

Whenever the narrator and his mother are alone there is a sense of unease. The few attempts the mother does make to display maternal affection, are met with embarrassment by the narrator. In the conclusion to *Trauma and Survival in Contemporary Fiction* Vickroy points to the quintessential bonds between children and their mothers and states, “Mothers are frequently the locus for determining whether legacies of trauma will be

²⁴² ‘some kind of stomach cramp’ (Brown Janeway 40).

²⁴³ ‘[...] my father was proceeding from the belief that they were the easiest for me. Things weren’t easiest for me’ (Brown Janeway 92).

²⁴⁴ ‘what she didn’t have’ (Brown Janeway 108).

²⁴⁵ ‘[...] the sight of me put a look of pain on my mother’s face’ (Brown Janeway 108).

²⁴⁶ ‘[...] and that I began to hate this pain as much as I hated my own reflection in the mirror’ (Brown Janeway 108).

resisted or perpetuated’’ (222). The traumatising of mothers, in particular, and as Vickroy highlights, can create destructive generational legacies. The effect the mother’s trauma has on the narrator is palpable; the trauma she experiences is subsequently projected and passed onto the son. The narrator describes, in painstaking detail, his mother’s anguish and we can see that her condition prompts his distress. When she has no further legal claims to more experiments, she becomes acutely upset, ‘‘Nun wurde das Zittern so stark, dass die Hande den Kopf nicht mehr hielten und mit dem Kopf mitzitterten’’²⁴⁷ (159). The narrator cannot deal with this and needs to move away from the table.

That the adults neither acknowledge the narrator’s physical ailments nor the psychological roots of the symptoms is testament to their blinkered state of immersing themselves in work and household duties and in the desperate search for their lost son. Indeed Herr Rudolph, the mother’s new companion, interprets the narrator’s facial spasms as merely ‘Grinsen’²⁴⁸. The brusque nature of Herr Rudolph’s order: ‘‘Schluss mit dem Grinsen’’²⁴⁹ highlights how the narrator’s pain is disregarded by the adults. At the end of the book, the narrator’s wish to be identical with the lost son signifies his desire for a genuine sense of belonging based on biological ties. The tragic figure of the narrator, looking out to his brother in the shop, is the last image of the narrative. However, in perhaps the final ironic twist, this liberation is denied the narrator. These last two succinct sentences of the book deserves particular attention: ‘‘Und noch wahrend ich spurte, wie das Blut in meinen Kopf zuruckkehrte und die Magennerven sich entspannten, sagte die Mutter, die von alldem nichts bemerkt zu haben schien: Mach das

²⁴⁷ ‘This time the trembling became so strong that her hands could no longer hold her head and began to tremble along with it’ (Brown Janeway 123).

²⁴⁸ ‘grinning’ (Brown Janeway 131).

²⁴⁹ ‘What’s there to grin about?’ (Brown Janeway 131).

Fenster zu. Wir fahren’’²⁵⁰ (175). It is significant that the tension in the narrator’s stomach is seen to subside. Treichel implies here that a reunion with the lost brother may heal the wounds, which the trauma has inflicted and alleviate the narrator’s psychosomatic symptoms. But what this last sentence ultimately leaves, is an overwhelming sense of poignancy and futility.

The narrator is locked into the car, always synonymous for him with physical revulsion, the brother they may have finally ‘found’, who may offer the narrator the possibility of being part of an intact family unit, is beyond the window and his mother closes off any possibility of contact. The narrator is impotent and powerless. The reasons behind the mother’s final rejection of the lost son are left ambiguous and the text negates any hope that the past may be a starting point for a new beginning. She cannot ‘find’ her lost son, as this would bring an end to her searching; the very activity she needs to keep going. A resolution for her would mean breakdown, for as long as her son is ‘lost’ she has a task to apply herself to and subsume herself into. The possibility of an end to this preoccupation brings fear, not relief. Finding ‘Der Verlorene’, who has been lost for all these years, is not something the mother can actually entertain. How would she explain her actions to him? How would she move on with him? She would no longer have a cloak of guilt to hide under, she would need to live. Although it is not definitive that the boy in the shop window is in fact Arnold, the narrator’s comment that “‘Als ich durch die Schaufensterscheibe das Findelkind 2307 sah, erschrak ich und bemerkte sofort, dass Heinrich aussah wie ich. Ich sah in dem Laden mein eigenes, nur um einige Jahre später

²⁵⁰ ‘And even as I felt the blood in my head recede and my stomach muscles relax, my mother, who appeared to have noticed nothing, said ‘Close the window. We’re leaving’ (Brown Janeway 136).

Spiegelbild’’²⁵¹ (174), leaves little room for uncertainty. The narrative continues to be frustratingly ambiguous to the end on whether Arnold remains lost or has now been found. What is never doubtful, however, is that the other family members are lost and continue to be so even when they may have found the true lost one.

The narrator is severely affected by the loss of his brother and his parents’ sense of guilt and shame is both mediated through to him and perpetuated onto him. He not only feels guilty himself, but senses *and absorbs* their overriding sorrow, ‘‘Ich machte mir viele Sorgen’’²⁵² (161). He does feel hurt and he does feel angry, but these emotions remain private and undisclosed (although not to his privileged readership) and he does not express his infuriation, ‘‘Ich war wütend auf die Mutter. Ich war wütend auf Arnold. Und ich bemerkte, dass ich auch wütend auf Herrn Rudolph war’’²⁵³ (167).

The socio-historical context, which has bred the feelings of guilt and shame, may be homogeneous but how each of the characters deals with and behaves varies considerably. Whilst the mother is subsumed in self-blame, seeking to flaunt the role she perceives she has in the past failed to live up to, the father escapes into his work and seeks to identify with the new affluent West German society by material means. The narrator, on the other hand, is submerged in an overriding sense of guilt and shame at his very existence, brought on by the way his parents treat him as a result of their own guilt, and his traumatised state manifests itself in various psychosomatic symptoms. This individualisation of guilt and shame is the axis on which the text pivots.

²⁵¹ ‘As I caught sight of foundling 2307 through the shop window, I took fright, and realized immediately that Heinrich looked like me. What I saw in the shop window was my own mirror image’ (Brown Janeway 135).

²⁵² ‘I was concerned about a lot of things’ (Brown Janeway 125).

²⁵³ ‘I was furious at my mother. I was furious at Arnold too. And I realized I was furious at Mr. Rudolph too’ (Brown Janeway 130).

Der Verlorene can thus be read as an exercise in autobiographical *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*, indeed Treichel states, “Wenn das Schreiben schon etwas mit Lebensbewältigung zu tun hat, dann auch insofern, als das ganze Leben zu bewältigen ist” (*Der Entwurf* 113). The text dissects the schizophrenia of an entire generation caught between guilt and victimhood. Careful neither to exculpate nor sentimentalise, the book ultimately charts the sad experiences of one young boy whose parents’ treatment of him makes him believe he is “der Finger in der Wunde, das Salzkorn im Auge, der Stein auf dem Herzen”²⁵⁴ (140). It is his experience of being ‘Der Verlorene’ which is the true provocation of the text.

²⁵⁴ ‘the finger in the wound, the grain of salt in the eye, the stone in her heart’ (Brown Janeway 108).

CONCLUSION

“Die Literatur ist gewissermaßen die Frage, die immer neu beantwortet werden muss und beantwortet werden wird”²⁵⁵ (Treichel Über die Schrift hinaus 10).

My thesis has argued that Hans-Ulrich Treichel’s *Der Verlorene* needs to be grounded in a historical, political, and cultural context, in which the discursive constructs of ‘perpetrator’ and ‘victim’ have been central to an understanding of how Germany negotiated its remembrance of the Third Reich. Just as the characters in the text grapple with trauma, guilt and shame, so the German nation has attempted to deal with the responses to and repercussions of the legacy of its past in various ways. The *Mitläufer* generation, to which the narrator’s parents in *Der Verlorene* belong, was a generation marked by denial. They chose to concentrate on re-building their destroyed country instead of confronting what had happened in their names. However, as Moeller documented, the sense of German victimhood prevalent amongst the expellee population living in Germany, was central to the FRG’s politics of memory during the post-war era. This is exemplified in *Der Verlorene* when the parents try to assert their right to compensation for their suffering.

The second generation, however, brought in a new attitude towards the past, epitomised by the *Väterliteratur* of the 1970’s. The parent generation was stigmatised almost exclusively as perpetrators and the shift in public opinion instigated by the screening of the American television series *Holocaust* in 1979 only emphasised the need to remember the victims of National Socialism. This turn in the public debate was central in the *Historikerstreit*, in which the long-lasting effect of Germany’s war crimes was debated. The 1990’s, however, saw a change in the victim/perpetrator dialectic. A

²⁵⁵ ‘Literature is effectively the question that must continually be answered and will be answered’.

number of sensationalised events and publications drew attention to the need to place German suffering on the public agenda.

Treichel's book *can* be seen as part of this trend towards confronting German wartime suffering, which after reunification gained prominence on the cultural agenda of the new Berlin Republic. This thesis has illustrated how *Der Verlorene* engages with specific aspects of the German memory discourse. The story stages an exploration of the effects of expulsion on a German family, now settled in the FRG and re-examines painful experiences, beyond words. This past had been taboo for the second generation, who cultivated an angry silence on the subject. *Der Verlorene* returns to the past of the parents' generation in order to understand the legacy of an inherited trauma. The text does not sentimentalise the suffering it portrays, but rather presents a laconic account of the ramifications of trauma.

The expulsion from their homes and the treatment by the Russians the parents endure on their trek westwards, overrides details of time and space. 'Das Schreckliche' stands for all that cannot be articulated, yet is present in every moment. In this way, the text also performs the trauma it seeks to convey. 'Das Schreckliche' inhabits the text and resides in every breath the characters take. The narrator suffers from the trauma inherited from his parents. He is crushed by its intensity and 'speaks' about it in a variety of psychosomatic symptoms. Whilst the parents struggle with the trauma of survival without their lost son, the narrator is isolated in a present subsumed by guilt and shame.

The story meticulously examines how differently each of the three principal characters deals with guilt and shame. The mother throws herself into the role of a dutiful housewife, but cannot stave off her overriding guilt and shame. The father buries himself into his business and seeks to establish the family as legitimate members of the new

materialistic FRG. He too succumbs to guilt and shame and dies as a result of the stress this places on him. The narrator, however, as a child, cannot understand the atmosphere of guilt and shame, which saturates the household, or comprehend his identity crisis and (lack of) an established place within the family.

Regardless of the larger framework in which *Der Verlorene* can be considered, the story powerfully evokes a family suffering from the long-term effects of Nazi Germany. Left is one young boy who has been irreparably impacted by his parents' experiences at the end of the Second World War. He is a victim and his story of a history that preceded him, deserves to be heard. Treichel's text has contributed to a more nuanced discussion of German wartime suffering and points to the need to understand the events of the Second World War from the perspectives of all involved. Indeed as Helmut Schmitz states,

While the issue of German suffering in the arena of politics and public commemoration remains a contentious issue, there appears to be widespread consensus among critics that literature is a medium that can address all the issues surrounding German wartime experience with greater complexity and ambiguity than other discourses. (*A Nation of Victims* 20)

What the text ultimately leaves us with, however, is a striking lack of closure. The story ends with the possibility that Arnold may have been found and yet there is no hope that this may be the start of a new beginning, as the mother demands they drive on. The narrator remains in the car, plagued by his sickness and unable to completely reach the unmistakable conclusion that he is facing his lost brother in the shop window. The perpetual struggle for an adequate representation of Germany's past is an ongoing process. The strength of the ending to *Der Verlorene* lies thus precisely in its denial of any resolution.

Treichel refuses to contribute in any definite way to any larger discourse or to comment directly on German victimhood or elevate his characters to any such status.

Rather, as David Clarke reiterates:

[...] history itself is presented in *Der Verlorene* as it is experienced on an individual basis, frustrating attempts to formulate a grand narrative of the past or a shared attitude to that past which could serve as a basis for national identity. (qtd. in Williams/Basker 76)

Der Verlorene should not be categorised as emblematic of a particular shift in national consciousness. Treichel opts out of being the missing piece in any larger puzzle and has been notably reticent to give his story any broader significance in the public sphere.

The absence of any unequivocal answers therefore speaks louder than the presence of any such insinuations, just as Arnold's absence in the narrative eclipses the narrator's presence. *Der Verlorene* does not offer closure, intimating that the past is far from being mastered. The car drives on as a subtle metaphor, the preoccupation with the past and attempts to unravel its impact on the present cannot end. The lack of an answer is in itself a question that must continue. Perhaps the answers are forever lost, but that does not mean giving up on searching for the questions.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY TEXTS

- Berkewicz, Ulla. *Engel sind schwarz und weiß*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, 1992.
- Beyer, Marcel. *Flughunde*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, 1995.
- Grass, Günter. Trans. Krishna Winston. *Crabwalk*. New York: Harcourt Inc, 2002.
- *Die Blechtrommel*. München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001.
- *Im Krebsgang*. Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2002.
- Klemperer, Victor. *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten: Tagebücher 1942-1945*. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1995.
- Maron, Monika. *Pawels Briefe*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999.
- Ortheil, Hans Josef. *Hecke*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1983.
- Schlink, Bernhard. *Der Vorleser*. Zürich: Diogenes Verlag, 1997.
- , trans. Carol Brown Janeway. *The Reader*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.
- Spiegelmann, Art. *Maus: A Survivor's Tale. My father bleeds history*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1992.
- Timm, Uwe. *Am Beispiel meines Bruders*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006.
- Treichel, Hans-Ulrich. *Der Verlorene*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1998.
- *Liebe Not: Gedichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1986.
- , trans., Carol Brown Janeway. *Lost*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1999.
- *Von Leib und Seele*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1992.

SECONDARY TEXTS

- Aberbach, David. *Surviving Trauma: Loss, Literature and Psychoanalysis*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.

- Assmann, Aleida. *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*. C. H. Beck: München, 2006.
- *Geschichtsvergessenheit, Geschichtsversessenheit: Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945*. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt: Stuttgart, 1999.
- 'On The (In)Comparability of Guilt and Suffering In German Memory'. *German Life and Letters* 59 (2006): 187 – 200.
- Assmann, Jan. 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity'. *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125-33.
- Bohleber, Werner. 'Das Fortwirken des Nationalsozialismus in der zweiten und dritten Generation nach Auschwitz'. *Babylon 7* (1990): 70-83.
- Bronfen, Elisabeth, Birgit R. Erdle, Sigrid Weigel, ed. *Trauma. Zwischen Psychoanalyse und kulturellem Deutungsmuster*. Köln: Böhlau, 1999.
- Browning, Christopher. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Bude, Heinz. *Bilanz der Nachfolge. Die BRD und der Nationalsozialismus*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992.
- Caruth, Cathy. eds. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Diner, Dan, ed. *Ist der Nationalsozialismus Geschichte?* Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1987
- Ehlers, Hella and Joyce Crick, ed. *The Trauma Of The Past: Remembering and Working Through*. London: Goethe Institut, 1994. Wagh, Martin. 'The Working Through of the Nazi Experience in the German Psychoanalytic Community: A view from a close distance'.
- Eley, Geoff. *The Goldhagen Effect: History, Memory, Nazism – Facing the German Past*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Evans, Richard J. *Telling lies about Hitler: The Holocaust, History and the David Irving Trial*. London: Verso, 2002.
- Felman, Shoshana and Dori Laub, eds. *Testimony: Crisis of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*. London: Routledge, 1992.

- Fresco, Nadine. 'Remembering the Unknown'. *International Review of Psychoanalysis*. 11 (1984): 417-427.
- Freud, Sigmund. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. London: International Psychoanalytical Press, 1992.
- Fuchs, Anne, Mary Cosgrove and Georg Grote, ed. *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film and Discourse since 1990*. New York: Camden House, 2006.
- Fullbrook, Mary. *German National Identity after the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- Giordano, Ralph. *Die zweite Schuld oder von der Last Deutscher zu sein*. Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring Verlag, 1987.
- Goldhagen, Daniel. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.
- Hage, Volker. *Zeugen der Zerstörung: Die Literaten und der Luftkrieg*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 2003.
- Herf, Jeffrey. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames. Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Jablowska, Joanna. *Zwischen Heimat und Nation: Das deutsche Paradigma? Zu Martin Walser*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 2001.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Jaspers, Karl. *Hoffnung und Sorge: Schriften zur Deutschen Politik*. München: R. Piper & Co, 1965.
- Johnson, Kendall. *Trauma in the Lives of Children*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989.
- LaCapra, Dominick. *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Langenbacher, Eric. 'Changing Memory Regimes in Contemporary Germany'. *German Politics and Society* 67, 21:2, (2003): 46-68.
- Langer, Lawrence. *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

- Leys, Ruth. *Trauma: A Genealogy*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Leo Madow M.D. *Guilt: How to Recognize and Cope with It*. New Jersey: Jason Aronson Inc, 1988.
- Maier, Charles S. *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1988.
- Mitscherlich, Alexander and Margarete. *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern. Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens*. München: Piper, 1967.
- Moeller, Robert G. 'Sinking Ships, the Lost Heimat and Broken Taboos: Günter Grass and the Politics of Memory in Contemporary Germany'. *Contemporary European History* 12 (2003): 147 – 181.
- *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001.
- Morris, Herbert, ed. *Guilt and Shame*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.
- , eds. *Guilt and Shame*. Merrell Lynd, Helen. 'The Nature of Shame'. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.
- , eds. *On Guilt and Innocence: Essays in Legal Philosophy and Moral Psychology*. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1976.
- Naumann, Klaus. *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001.
- Niven, Bill. *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- , eds. *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2006.
- Noack, Hans-Joachim. 'Die Deutschen als Opfer'. *Der Spiegel*. 25 March 2002: 24-36.
- Trans. Placzek, Beverley, R. *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behaviour*. Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich. New York: Grove Press Inc, 1975.
- Pontzen, Walter. 'Kinder der Täter: Söhne und Töchter und ihre Nazi Väter' *Analytische Psychologie*, 33:1 (2002): 56-73.
- Raulff, Ulrich. *Bruder Hitler: Die NS Zeit als Familienroman*. Süddeutsche Zeitung, [Munich] 3rd Aug. 2004: 11.
- Rickman, John, ed. *A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1957.

- Sander, Helke. Barbara Johr, eds. *BeFreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder*. Munich: Kunstmann, 1992.
- Santner, Eric. *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory and Film in Postwar Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Schieder, Theodor, ed. *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa. Band I; Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Ostgebieten östlich der Oder-Neiße*. Herausgegeben vom Bundesministerium für Vertriebene. Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1954. München: DTV GmbH & Co. KG, 1984.
- Schieder, Theodor, ed. Trans, Vivian Stranders. *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe. Vol. I. The Expulsion Of The German Population From The Territories East Of The Oder-Neisse-Line* A selection and translation from 'Dokumentation Der Vertreibung Der Deutschen Aus Ost-Mitteleuropa'. Bonn: The Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims, 1953.
- Schlant, Ernestine. *The Language of Silence: West German Literature and the Holocaust*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Schmitz, Helmut. *German Culture and the Uncomfortable Past: Representations of National Socialism in Contemporary Germanic Literature*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2001.
- *A Nation Of Victims. Representations of Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.
- *On Their Own Terms: The Legacy of the Nazi Past in Post-1990 German Literature*. Birmingham: Birmingham University Press, 2004.
- Schroeder, Doris and Bob Brecher. 'Transgenerational Obligations: Twenty-first Century Germany and the Holocaust'. *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 20:1 (2003): 46-55.
- Sebald, W.G. *Luftkrieg und Literatur*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001.
- , trans. Bell, Anthea. *On the Natural History of Destruction*. New York: Random House, 2003.
- Sobchak, Vivian, ed. *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television and the Modern Event*. Elsaesser, Thomas. 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions'. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Spitzer, Alan B. 'The Historical Problem of Generations'. *The American Historical Review* 78:5 (1973): 1353-1385.

- Strachey, James, ed. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. London: Hogarth, 1966. 'Remembering, Repeating and Working Through' 'Further Recommendations on the Technique of Psycho-Analysis II' (1914), 12: 145-56 and 'Mourning and Melancholia' 14: 237-60.
- Tiedemann, Rolf, ed. *Ob nach Auschwitz noch sich leben lasse: Ein philosophisches Lesebuch*. Adorno, Theodor W. 'Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit'. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1997.
- Treichel, Hans-Ulrich. *Der Entwurf des Autors: Frankfurter Poetikvorlesungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000.
- *Über die Schrift hinaus: Essays zur Literatur*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000.
- Türkis, Wolfgang. *Beschädigtes Leben: Autobiographische Texte der Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: J. B Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1990.
- Vickroy, Laurie. *Trauma and Survival in Contemporary Fiction*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.
- Volkan, Vamik D. M.D and Elizaneth Zintl. *Life After Loss; The Lessons of Grief*. Schribner's Sons, New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1993.
- Wangh, Martin. 'The Working Through of the Nazi Experience in the German Psychoanalytic Community: A view from a close distance'. In: Hella Ehlers and Joyce Crick, ed. *The Trauma Of The Past: Remembering and Working Through*. London: Goethe Institut, 1994.
- Welzer, Harald. *Das soziale Gedächtnis: Geschichte, Erinnerung, Tradierung*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001.
- Sabine Möller, Karoline Tschuggnall, eds. *Grandpa wasn't a Nazi: National Socialism and the Holocaust in German Memory Culture*. New York: American Jewish Committee, 2005.
- Sabine Möller, Karoline Tschuggnall, eds. *Opa war kein Nazi: Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis*. Frankfurt am Main: Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002.
- Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung. 'Schön unscharf. Über die Konjunktur der Familien und Generationenromane'. Beilage zum Mittelweg 36:1 (2004): 76-84.
- Wildt, Michael. *Erzwungene Wege. Flucht und Vertreibung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Kronprinzenpalais Berlin. Bilder einer Ausstellung, *Historische Anthropologie*, 15 (2007): 281-295.

Williams, Arthur, Stuart Parkes and Julian Preece, ed. *Whose Story? Continuities in Contemporary German Language Literature*. Berne: Peter Lang, 1998.

Williams, Rhys and David Basker, ed. *Hans-Ulrich Treichel*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004.

--- 'Mein Unbewusstes Kannte...den Fall der Mauer und die Deutsche Wiedervereinigung nicht: The writer Hans-Ulrich Treichel'. *German Life and Letters* LV: 2 (2002): 246-267.

Wood, Nancy. *Vectors of Memory*. Berg: Oxford, 1999.

T.V PROGRAMMES

Holocaust. Dir. Marvin J. Chomsky, NBC. 16-19 April, 1978.

FILMS

Schindler's List. Dir. Steven Spielberg. Perf. Liam Neeson, Ben Kingsley, Ralph Fiennes. Universal Pictures, 1993.

BeFreier und Befreite. Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder. Dir. Helke Sander. Perf. Leonore Ballowitz, Antonie Brugsch-Hauckold. Bremer Institut Film/Fernsehen, 1992.

ONLINE SOURCES

'Grusswort des Bundeskanzlers' zum '50. Tag der Heimat' des Bundes der Vertriebenen am 5.September 1999 in Stuttgart, http://www.bund-der-vertriebenen.de/nr4_00.html [accessed 08/10/08]

'When was the last time you saw my brother?' Nicci Gerrard. Guardian Unlimited. Sunday January 30, 2000, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,3956565,00.html> [accessed 08/19/08]

'Shifting Demographic Discourses in Literature: Contemporary German Generational Fiction' Ulrike Vedder. http://www.generationenforschung.de/pdfs/Preprint_Generationen_Englisch.pdf [accessed 10/23/08]