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Holocaust Mothers and Daughters

Federica K. Clementi

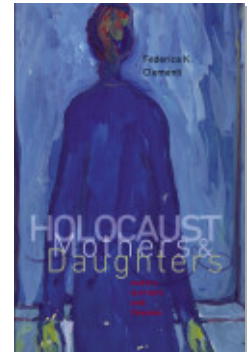
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NOTES

INTRODUCTION : REMEMBER WHAT AMALEK DID TO YOU

1. David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 10.

2. The law says: “The firstborn whom she [the widow] bears shall be established in the name of his dead brother, that his name be not wiped out from Israel” (Deuteronomy 25:6–7).

3. Judith Tydor Baumel, *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), ix.

4. *Ibid.*, xiii.

5. Rochelle G. Saidel, *The Jewish Women of Ravensbrück Concentration Camp* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 3. See also 109–20.

6. Ringelheim, Joan. “The Split between Gender and the Holocaust,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 344. See also 340–41.

7. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth, *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon, 1993); Vera Laska, ed., *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voices of Eyewitnesses* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983); Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg, *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003); Sara R. Horowitz, “Women in Holocaust Literature: Engendering Trauma Memory,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 364–77; Phyllis Lassner, *Anglo-Jewish Women Writing the Holocaust: Displaced Witnesses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Anna Reading, *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust: Gender, Culture, and Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

8. Lenore J. Weitzman and Dalia Ofer, “Introduction: The Role of Gender in the Holocaust,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 14.

9. S. Lillian Kremer, *Women’s Holocaust Writing: Memory and Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 14.

10. Primo Levi’s *Se questo è un uomo* was first published in 1947 by De Silva. In 1959 it was translated and distributed in English as *Survival in Auschwitz*, a title completely different from the original Italian. Only in 1986 was the book published in English with the title *If This Is a Man*, which more exactly reflects the Italian title.

11. Natalia Ginzburg, *Lessico familiare* (Turin, Italy: Einaudi, 1963), translated as *Family Sayings* in 1967.

12. Zoë Vania Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust: Identity, Testimony, Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 120.

13. This connection between the intimate lingo of family's daily life and identity is evident in the original Italian title, *Lessico familiare*, which means both "a family's language" and "familiar language" or lingo.

14. Alexandra Garbarini, *Numbered Days: Diaries and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), xii.

15. For more on the Oyneg Shabes archive, see Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epszstein, eds., *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes—Ringelblum Archive: Catalog and Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

16. Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika Getta Warszawskiego* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), 394 (my translation).

17. H  l  ne Berr, *Journal 1942–1944* (Paris:   ditions Tallandier, 2008).

18. *Ibid.*, 106 (my translation).

19. H  l  ne Berr, surviving witnesses tell us, was beaten to death on her bunk in a barrack in Bergen-Belsen one morning because she was too weak to move and get up for work. This happened five days before the British soldiers entered the camp and liberated it. I must thank Theodore Rosengarten for providing me with the details about the last moments of Berr's life.

20. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 15.

21. See Samuel D. Kassow, introduction to *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes—Ringelblum Archive: Catalog and Guide*, ed. Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epstein, trans. Robert Moses Shapiro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009; xv–xxiv).

22. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 14.

23. In his powerful study of Ringelblum's life, work, and personality, Kassow notes that by the summer of 1942 the indefatigable chronicler's disjointed and fragmentary writing style of his daily journal entries "betray[s] Ringelblum's anxiety and confusion as the world around him disintegrated, and as his comrades and friends disappeared, one by one, into the boxcars. The notes were also a reminder that he was human" (*ibid.*, 334). Kassow traces various points throughout the letters, diary entries, and other writings by Ringelblum that signal his "inner turmoil and grief" and his growing dissatisfaction and pessimism, justified by the gravely worsening situation. But, Kassow points out, "ultimately [Ringelblum] rose above his feelings and continued to fulfill his mission" (347).

24. Paula E. Hyman, "Gender and the Immigrant Jewish Experience in the United States," in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Judith Reesa Baskin (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 312.

25. Marlene Heinemann, *Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 2–3. In the specific case of Jewish women, when we talk about the selective transmission of memory, as Sarah Silberstein Swartz and Margie Wolfe write, "what has been neglected may be as critical as what has been passed down" (*From Memory to Transformation: Jewish Women's Voices* [Toronto: Second Story, 1998], 9).

26. Lawrence L. Langer, ed., *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

27. Caroline Eliacheff and Nathalie Heinich, *M  res-filles: une relation    trois* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2002), 385 (my translation).

28. Joyce Antler, *You Never Call! You Never Write! A History of the Jewish Mother* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Sylvia Barak Fishman, *Follow My Footprints: Changing Images of Women in American Jewish Fiction* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1992); Donna Bassin, Margaret Honey, and Meryle Mahrer Kaplan, eds., *Representations of Motherhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Janet Handler Burstein, *Writing Mothers, Writing Daughters: Tracing the Maternal in Stories of American Jewish Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Adalgisa Giorgio, *Writing Mothers and Daughters* (New York: Berghahn, 2002); Marianne Hirsch, *The Mother/Daughter Plot: Narrative, Psychoanalysis, Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

29. Mary Lowenthal Felstiner, *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 208.

30. Quoted in Kremer, *Women's Holocaust Writing*, 14.

31. Elie Wiesel, *Night*, trans. Marion Wiesel (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 8, 11.

32. *Ibid.*, 29.

33. Horowitz, "Women in Holocaust Literature," 367 (emphasis added). In October 2011, Spiegelman released the volume *Meta Maus*, which included a CD-ROM that devotes a section to recovering memories of Anja through the recollections of women who had known her—women interviewed by Spiegelman.

34. Anne Karpf, *The War After* (London: Minerva, 1997), 249.

35. The way we can make sense of this attitude is that, unconsciously, through the one-dimensional depiction of a world in which evil—and thus good, too—is absolutely recognizable, in which "figures are ferocity incarnate or unselfish benevolence" (Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment* [New York: Vintage, 1989], 74), the canonical Shoah writer strives to bring the reader (the nonwitness or judge) to a more direct understanding of the writer's actions and reactions at the time. See Giorgio Agamben, *Il linguaggio e la morte* (Turin, Italy: Einaudi, 2008) and *Quel che resta di Auschwitz* (Turin, Italy: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998); Hannah Arendt, *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954*, ed. Jerome Kohn (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1994); Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* (New York: Avon, 1971).

36. Tellingly, the film does include a couple of unlikable Jews—profiteers, black marketeers and corruptible *kapos*—one of whom showcases the physiognomy of the ugly and dangerous Jew typical of antisemitic propaganda (a lanky man who moves nervously, with kinky hair, a hooked nose, a giant upper lip, and shifty eyes). But these types do not end up on the list of "Schindler's Jews"—the ones who are saved—nor do we witness their fate. They are not good Jews, so presumably they are not saved.

37. Ruth Klüger, *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: Feminist, 2003), 90.

38. The primary texts of the first five chapters in *Holocaust Mothers and Daughters* are autobiographical works and war memoirs. The sixth chapter, on Anne Frank, deals with the diaristic genre—although Frank's work could also be categorized as an autobiographical epistolary. When discussing, as I do in this introduction, the relevance of women's literary contributions, I use the terms "autobiography," "memoirs," "journals," and "art" quite broadly. In doing so, I aim to highlight the importance of the broader range of women's cultural production, particularly in the field of life memory.

39. Amber Jacobs, *On Matricide: Myth, Psychoanalysis, and the Law of the Mother* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 24.

40. *Ibid.*, 25.

41. Sue Vice, *Children Writing the Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 2.

42. Aliko Barnstone and Willis Barnstone, eds., *A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now* (New York: Schocken, 1992)
43. Adalgisa Giorgio, "Dall'autobiografia al romanzo. La rappresentazione della Shoah nell'opera di Edith Bruck," in *Le Donne delle minoranze*, ed. Claire E. Honess and Verina R. Jones (Turin, Italy: Claudiana, 1999), 297–307, and "Strategies for Remembering: Auschwitz, Mother and Writing in Edith Bruck," in *European Memories of the Second World War*, ed. Helmut Peitsch, Charles Burdett, and Claire Gorrara (New York: Berghahn, 1999), 247–55.
44. Edith Bruck, *Lettera alla madre* (Milan: Garzanti, 1988), *Lettera da Francoforte* (Milan: Mondadori, 2004), and *Signora Auschwitz: Il dono della parola* (Venice: Marsilio, 1999).
45. Irene Kacandes, *Talk Fiction: Literature and the Talk Explosion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 146, 147.
46. Ruth Klüger, *weiter leben: Eine Jugend* (Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein Verlag, 1992), and *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: Feminist, 2003).
47. Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
48. Pascale R. Bos, *German-Jewish Literature in the Wake of the Holocaust: Grete Weil, Ruth Klüger, and the Politics of Address* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 4.
49. Jerry Schuchalter, *Poetry and Truth: Variations on Holocaust Testimony* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG International Academic, 2009).
50. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 206.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, 210.
53. Caroline Schaumann, "From 'weiter leben' (1992) to 'Still Alive' (2001): Ruth Klüger's Cultural Translation of Her 'German Book' for an American Audience," *German Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (2004): 328.
54. *Ibid.*, 325.
55. Schuchalter, *Poetry and Truth*, 76.
56. Schaumann, "From 'weiter leben' (1992) to 'Still Alive' (2001)," 326. This softness of voice is even more remarkable in Klüger's latest autobiographical text, *unterwegs verloren: Erinnerungen* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2008).
57. Sarah Kofman, *Rue Ordener, rue Labat* (Paris: Galilée, 1994).
58. Kathryn Robson, *Writing Wounds: The Inscription of Trauma in Post-1968 French Women's Life-Writing* (New York: Rodopi, 2004), 135.
59. Alice A. Jardine, "Sarah Kofman," in *Shifting Scenes: Interviews on Women, Writing, and Politics in Post-68 France*, ed. Alice A. Jardine and Anne M. Menke, trans. Janice Orion (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 104–12.
60. Kelly Oliver, "Sarah Kofman's Queasy Stomach and the Riddle of the Paternal Law," in *Enigmas: Essays on Sarah Kofman*, ed. Penelope Deutscher and Kelly Oliver (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 174–88; Tina Chanter, "Playing with Fire: Kofman and Freud on Being Feminine, Jewish, and Homosexual," in *Sarah Kofman's Corpus*, ed. Tina Chanter and Pleshette DeArmitt (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 91–121, and "Eating Words: Antigone as Kofman's Proper Name," in *Enigmas: Essays on Sarah Kofman*, ed. Penelope Deutscher and Kelly Oliver (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 189–204; Jean-Luc Nancy, "Cours, Sarah!" in *Les Cahiers du Grif* No. 3: *Sarah Kofman*, ed. Françoise Collin and Françoise Proust (Paris: Éditions Descartes, 1997), 29–37.

61. Sarah Kofman, *Selected Writings*, ed. Thomas Albrecht, Georgia Albert, and Elizabeth G. Rottenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

62. Milena Roth, *Lifesaving Letters: A Child's Flight from the Holocaust* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

63. Lore Segal, *Other People's Houses* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1965).

64. Tony Kushner, "Remembering to Forget: Racism and Anti-Racism in Postwar Britain," in *Modernity, Culture and "The Jew,"* ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 226–41, "Beyond the Pale? British Reactions to Nazi Anti-Semitism, 1933–39," in *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*, ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (London: Frank Cass, 1990), 143–60; Tony Kushner and Ken Lunn, eds., *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in British Society* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1989); Bryan Cheyette, *Constructions of "The Jew" in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations, 1875–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), "Moroseness and Englishness: The Rise of British-Jewish Literature," *Jewish Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1995), 22–26; David Cesarani, "Joynson-Hicks and the Radical Right in England after the First World War," in *Traditions of Intolerance*, 118–39; Phyllis Lassner and Lara Trubowitz, eds., *Anti-Semitism and Philosemitism in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Representing Jews, Jewishness, and Modern Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008); Richard Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

65. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–24, and "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, under the direction of Pierre Nora, English-language edition edited and with a foreword by Lawrence D. Kritzman, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1:1–20.

66. Reading, *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust*.

67. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 115.

68. Wolfgang Benz, Claudia Curio, Andrea Hammel, and Toby Axelrod, eds., *Shofar* 23, no. 1 (2004); Lassner, *Anglo-Jewish Women Writing the Holocaust*, 19–102; Iris Guske, *Trauma and Attachment in the Kindertransport Context: German-Jewish Child Refugees' Accounts of Displacement and Acculturation in Britain* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2009); Vera K. Fast, *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011); Ann Byers, *Saving Children from the Holocaust: The Kindertransport* (Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow, 2012).

69. Helena Janeczek, *Lezioni di tenebra* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997).

70. Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 5. Furthermore, feminist approaches to memory and postmemory bring to the fore the fact that, as Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller emphasize, these "legacies of the past, transmitted powerfully from parent to child within the family, are always already inflected by broader public and generational stories, images, artifacts, and understandings that together shape identity and identification" (introduction to *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, ed. Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller [New York: Columbia University Press, 2011], 4).

71. See, for example, Dina Wardi, *Memorial Candles: Children of the Holocaust*, trans. Naomi Goldblum (London: Routledge, 1992).

72. Alan L. Berger, *Children of Job: American Second-Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1997). The expression comes to literary studies from psycho-

analysis. In my work, I use the term “second generation” to signify exclusively the generation of the survivors’ children.

73. See, for example, Erin McGlothlin, *Second-Generation Holocaust Literature: Legacies of Survival and Perpetration* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006). Starting in Germany in the 1970s, a new term, *Väterliteratur* (fathers’ literature) has come to label the vast category of novels that question the German national past—the past of the fathers—and, more specifically, the autobiographical texts of perpetrators’ children that deal with their identity crises. On *Väterliteratur*, see Anne Fuchs, Mary Cosgrove, and Georg Grote, eds., *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film, and Discourse since 1990* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006); Laurel Cohen-Pfister and Susanne Vees-Gulani, eds., *Generational Shifts in Contemporary German Culture* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010).

74. See, for example, Efraim Sicher, *The Holocaust Novel* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Dan Bar-On, *Legacy of Silence: Encounters with Children of the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), *Fear and Hope: Three Generations of Holocaust Survivors’ Families* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), and *The Indescribable and the Undiscussable: Reconstructing Human Discourse after Trauma* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999); Helen Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (New York: Putnam, 1979); Geoffrey Hartman, *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

75. Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl* (New York: Anchor, 1996) and *Tales from the Secret Annex*, trans. Susan Massotty (New York: Bantam, 2003).

76. Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *Writing as Resistance: Four Women Confronting the Holocaust: Edith Stein, Simone Weil, Anne Frank, Etty Hillesum* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Denise De Costa, *Anne Frank and Etty Hillesum: Inscribing Spirituality and Sexuality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

77. Katherine Dalsimer, *Female Adolescence: Psychoanalytic Reflections on Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

78. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, trans. George A. Kennedy, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 151.

79. Sigmund Freud, “On Narcissism: An Introduction,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1973), 14:67–102; “Humour,” in *ibid.*, 21:159–66.

80. In particular, I am referring to the essay “Cultural Resistance to Genocide” (in Lawrence L. Langer, *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995]), where Langer raises important questions about the legitimacy of using a term such as “resistance” to qualify the artistic works produced by Jews during the Holocaust: artifacts that, at the end of the day, did not injure the enemy (an enemy “scornful of the very idea of Jewish culture”) and did not “save Jewish lives” (52).

81. Gill Plain, *Women’s Fiction of the Second World War: Gender, Power, Resistance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 22.

82. I am aware that I am using the terms “patriarchy” and “women” as if they were self-evident, undivided categories, thereby disregarding the antihumanist, postmodern challenges that feminists have rightly raised against the use of a terminology that reproduces the same colonizing dynamics it tries to break. For my present analysis, rooted as it is in literary criticism, I find that, as long as we remain aware of this shortcut’s pitfalls and imprecisions, it can in

this introduction lead me more directly to a discussion of what will be later treated in a more nuanced way that takes into account different locations from which these subjectivities express themselves—Jewish, poor, bourgeois, young, old, Ashkenazi, orthodox, secular, and so forth.

83. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 56.

84. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 8.

85. Baumel, *Double Jeopardy*, 7. Kaplan suggests that, generally, women were more likely to lobby for a departure long before their husbands concluded that that would be the best course of action; however, Kaplan postulates that ultimately “decisions regarding emigration seem to have been made by husbands. Despite important role reversals, both men and women generally held fast to traditional gender roles in responding to the political situation—unless they were overwhelmed by events” (*Between Dignity and Despair*, 67).

86. Quoted in Ernst Schnabel, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958), 30.

87. Baumel, *Double Jeopardy*, 9.

88. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 29.

89. In fact, one of the tools at the disposal of antisemitic discourse is that of “feminizing” Jewish men: the hysterical, unheroic coward is a staple of anti-Jewish propaganda. When in 1942 news of Hitler’s plan for the Final Solution reached the free world, through Eduard Schulte (a German anti-Nazi industrialist) and Gerhart Riegner (a representative of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva), it was at first perceived as an expression of Jewish fear and panic (Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988], 149).

90. Charlotte Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (Zwolle, Holland: Waanders, 1998), 677, 678–79.

91. *Ibid.*, 733.

92. *Ibid.*, 746.

93. Quoted in Jardine, “Sarah Kofman,” 107.

94. *Ibid.*, note 5 (by Kofman).

95. In a telephone conversation in May 2010, Jean-Luc Nancy shared with me disheartening anecdotes regarding Kofman’s anger and sense of humiliation at feeling unappreciated by her colleagues.

96. See for example, Ruth Klüger, *unterwegs verloren*.

97. I had the opportunity to ask Bruck about *Lettera alla madre* and its relation to the real-life events the author experienced in her youth. Bruck confirmed that this novel is profoundly autobiographical, like most of her writings, and she said: “I write about the things I know and saw with my own eyes.” Adalgisa Giorgio incisively wrote in this regard: “The power of Edith Bruck’s writing comes from her ability to recognize the narrative potential in some of the circumstances of her own life and of life in general and to utilize them in order to represent the conditions of the [Holocaust] survivors in today’s world” (“Dall’autobiografia al romanzo,” 300).

98. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 30.

99. *Ibid.*, 185.

100. *Ibid.*, 162.

101. Sheila Meintjes, Meredith Turshen, and Anu Pillay, *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation* (London: Zed, 2001), 100.

102. Plain, *Women’s Fiction of the Second World War*, 28–29.

103. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 179.
104. I purposely forgo a discussion of those who took the side of heinous criminality and choose to focus exclusively on the victims and those who stood against the wave of violence.
105. Baumel, *Double Jeopardy*, 15.
106. Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 80.
107. The fact that Anne had been able to develop such a strong sense of self was undoubtedly the result of Otto and Edith Frank's modern child-rearing methods and progressive mentality, of which Anne speaks in her journal and that has been confirmed by many people who knew the family well.
108. Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, 116.
109. *Ibid.*, 319.
110. Frank, *Tales from the Secret Annex*, 20.
111. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 210, 31.
112. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 120 (emphasis added).
113. Suzette Henke, *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), xvi.
114. *Ibid.*, xii.
115. Garbarini, *Numbered Days*, 131–32.
116. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse*, 10.
117. Bella Brodzki, "Mothers, Displacement, and Language," in *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, ed. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 156.
118. Kofman, *Rue Ordener, rue Labat*, 9, my translation.
119. Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, 145.
120. *Ibid.*, 147.
121. Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 6, 7.
122. Carmel Finnan, "Autobiography, Memory and the Shoah: German-Jewish Identity in Autobiographical Writings by Ruth Klüger, Cordelia Edvardson and Laura Waco," in *German Monitor: Jew in German Literature since 1945—German-Jewish Literature?*, ed. Pol O'Dochartaigh (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2000), 448.
123. David N. Myers, preface to *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honor of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach, John M. Efron, and David N. Myers (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998), xiii.
124. Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism*, 133.

1. EDITH BRUCK'S DEAD LETTERS

1. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," in *English Romantic Verse*, ed. David Wright (London: Penguin, 1986), 155.
2. Primo Levi, *Il Sistema periodico*, in *Opere*, ed. Cesare Cases (Turin, Italy: Einaudi, 1987), 1:570. All translations from the Italian texts in this chapter are my own.
3. Edith Bruck, *Signora Auschwitz: Il dono della parola* (Venice: Marsilio, 1999), 14.
4. Edith Bruck, *Chi ti ama così* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997), 25.
5. Edith Bruck, *Lettera alla madre* (Milan: Garzanti, 1988), 8. In an interview I conducted with Bruck in the summer of 2007, I asked her about the discrepancy between the two *Selektion*

scenes, and she explained that the facts occurred as she told them in *Chi ti ama così*. However, after a brief pause, she looked at me and added, “But the other is true too.”

6. Manuela Consonni, “The Written Memoir: Italy 1945–1947,” in *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after WWII*, ed. David Bankier (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Berghahn, 2005), 173.

7. As Consonni reveals in her research, many camps memoirs were written by Italian Jewish women survivors, and this may further explain these texts’ invisibility. In the specific context of Italian postwar political discourses of group and party ideology, there was no room left for woman’s subjectivity—let alone Jewish woman’s subjectivity. Marxist theory unambiguously casts a negative light on women’s autobiographies and fictions (Carol Lazzaro-Weis, *From Margins to Mainstream: Feminism and Fictional Modes in Italian Women’s Writing, 1968–1990* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993], 94–116), while a combination of the totalizing patriarchal logic and party politics (dominated by Marxist orthodoxy) in postwar Italy precluded the possibility of including Jewish identity, gender concerns, and other peripheral accents in the public discourse. As Thomas Nolden correctly points out, “the initial wave of politicization in the late 1960s and the 1970s [in Italy, France, and West Germany] left little space for the exploration of ethnic, religious, regional, and cultural differences. After all, Marxism insisted that any affiliation other than solidarity with the working class was tantamount to false consciousness, a remnant of bourgeois ideology” (introduction to *Voices of the Diaspora: Jewish Women Writing in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Thomas Nolden and Frances Malino [Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005], xvi–xvii).

8. Bruck writes of her novel *Il silenzio degli amanti*: “While I was writing it I knew all too well that I was delivering a bastard child, which would probably be rejected by the readers who were going to push me back inside my tattooed skin; but I tried nevertheless and I will do so again” (*Signora Auschwitz*, 17).

9. Adalgisa Giorgio, “Dall’autobiografia al romanzo. La rappresentazione della Shoah nell’opera di Edith Bruck,” in *Le donne delle minoranze*, ed. Claire E. Honess and Verina R. Jones (Turin, Italy: Claudiana, 1999), 300. My translation.

10. Edith Bruck, *Lettera alla madre, Lettera da Francoforte* (Milan: Mondadori, 2004), and *Signora Auschwitz*.

11. Jonathan Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 139.

12. Paul de Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 69.

13. *Ibid.*, 97, 75.

14. *Ibid.*, 75–76.

15. For an analysis of de Man’s manipulations of Wordsworth’s text, see Don H. Bialostosky, *Wordsworth, Dialogics, and the Practice of Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 152–99.

16. William Wordsworth, *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London: Edward Moxon, 1876), 2:41.

17. Bruck, *Lettera alla madre* (hereafter *Lettera* in the text), 59, 62.

18. Bruck, *Chi ti ama così*, 8.

19. Bruck, *Signora Auschwitz*, 36.

20. Giorgio, “Dall’autobiografia al romanzo,” 300.

21. Bruck, *Chi ti ama così*, 21.

22. Adalgisa Giorgio, "Strategies for Remembering: Auschwitz, Mother and Writing in Edith Bruck," in *European Memories of the Second World War*, ed. Helmut Peitsch, Charles Burdett, and Claire Gorrara (New York: Berghahn, 1999), 252.

23. Bruck, *Chi ti ama così*, 23.

24. Bruck, *Lettera da Francoforte*, 93.

25. Edith Bruck, *Itinerario/Útirány* (Rome: Quasar, 1998), 49.

26. Bruck, *Signora Auschwitz*, 18.

27. *Ibid.*, 26–27.

28. Bruck, *Itinerario/Útirány*, 67.

29. Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 3.

30. Bruck, *Signora Auschwitz*, 16.

31. Barbara Johnson, "Apostrophe, Animation, and Abortion," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 36.

32. *Ibid.*, 32.

33. Jacques Derrida, *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 104.

34. "Envois" is positioned as a mere preamble to three main essays on psychoanalysis, "To Speculate: On Freud," "Le facteur de la vérité," and "Du tout"—but, by overturning the hierarchy of the book, Derrida makes "Envois" the longest section of *The Post Card* and lets the sketchy messages "posted" in the opening part of the book be the true pre-face, the leading commentary of everything that follows.

35. Derrida describes the event at the Bodleian Library in Oxford this way: "Yesterday, then, Jonathan [Culler] and Cynthia [Chase, who later became Culler's wife] guide [sic] me through the city. I like them, he is working on a poetics of the apostrophe . . . They themselves knew the carte . . . They had already seen it, and could easily foresee the impression it would make on me" (*The Post Card*, 15).

36. Peggy Kamuf, ed., *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 485.

37. Derrida, *The Post Card*, 143–44.

38. *Ibid.*, 52.

39. *Ibid.*, 12.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, 15.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, 29.

44. Bruck writes: "When I used to tell you that I would not have the life you had, you would once again stop answering or saying hello to me when I came back from school . . . you wouldn't talk to me. You didn't notice me, you looked past me, like Mengele the Selector" (*Lettera*, 36).

45. Giorgio Agamben, *Quel che resta di Auschwitz* (Turin, Italy: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998), 48–49.

46. Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Scribner Classics, 2000), 19.

47. *Ibid.*, 24.

48. *Ibid.*, 20.

49. *Ibid.*, 25.

50. Ibid.
51. Martin Buber, *Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis*, trans. Olga Marx and Greta Hort (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 94.
52. Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs*, 150.
53. Bruck, *Itinerario/Útirány*, 19.
54. Ibid., 20.
55. Ibid., 31.
56. Ibid., 47.
57. Ibid., 25.
58. Kai Erikson, "Notes on Trauma and Community," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 183.
59. W. H. Auden, *Collected Poems*, ed. Edward Mendelson (New York: Vintage, 1991), 248.
60. Buber, *I and Thou*, 30.
61. Paul de Man, "Shelley Disfigured," in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Continuum, 1979), 39–73, and "Autobiography as De-Facement," *MLN* 94, no. 5 (1979): 919–30. "Autobiography," de Man famously writes, "is not a genre or a mode, but a figure of reading or of understanding that occurs, to some degree, in all texts" (*The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 70).
62. De Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 75–76.
63. Ibid., 76.
64. Susan Gubar, "Prosopopoeia and Holocaust Poetry in English: Sylvia Plath and Her Contemporaries," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2001): 191–215. In her article, Gubar rehabilitates Plath, who had been severely attacked for her 1962 poems "Daddy" and "Lady Lazarus," which compared the suffering of womanhood with that of Holocaust victims.
65. Ibid., 192.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 196–97.
68. De Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 78.
69. Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
70. Although cinema and photography are media central to the stimulation of this kind of ethical encounter, I believe that the mental envisioning produced by literature is just as powerful and allows for the same strong cosentiment that Silverman hypothesizes as heteropathic identification.
71. De Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 74.
72. Kristeva, *Black Sun*, 42.
73. Ibid., 13.
74. Giorgio, "Strategies for Remembering," 253.
75. Ibid.
76. Kristeva, *Black Sun*, 200.
77. Ibid., 4.
78. De Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 3.
79. Ibid., 6.
80. Kristeva, *Black Sun*, 33.
81. De Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 7.
82. Ibid., 78.
83. Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs*, 135.

84. Derrida, *The Post Card*, 112.
85. De Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 77.
86. Johnson, "Apostrophe, Animation, and Abortion," 30.
87. Irene Kacandes, *Talk Fiction: Literature and the Talk Explosion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 147.
88. *Ibid.*, 146.
89. *Ibid.*, 144, 145.
90. *Ibid.*, 154.
91. Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. H. E. Butler (London: William Heinemann, 1921–36), 3:397.
92. Ruth Klüger, *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: Feminist, 2003), 30.
93. Quoted in Teddi Chichester Bonca, *Shelley's Mirrors of Love: Narcissism, Sacrifice, and Sorority* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 92.
94. Kristeva, *Black Sun*, 14.
95. *Ibid.*, 41, 43.
96. *Ibid.*, 43–44.
97. Franz Kafka, *Letter to His Father. Brief an den Vater*, trans. Ernst Kaiser and Eithne Wilkins (New York: Schocken, 1966), 53.
98. *Ibid.*, 7.
99. A fuller version is: "If you had listened to me to the end only once, maybe I wouldn't be writing to you now, maybe I wouldn't have written any of my books; I owe this literary disease of mine to you, and to Auschwitz" (*Lettera*, 78).
100. Kamuf, ed., *A Derrida Reader*, 485.
101. Franz Kafka, "An Imperial Message," in *Kafka: Selected Stories*, trans. Ian Johnston (West Valley City, UT: Waking Lion, 2008), 96.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*
104. Charlotte Delbo, *Auschwitz and After*, trans. Rosette C. Lamont (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 4.
105. Kafka, "An Imperial Message," 96.

2. LUPUS IN FABULA : THE END OF THE FAIRY TALE IN RUTH KLÜGER'S MOTHER-DAUGHTER SHOAH PLOT

1. Ety Hillesum, *An Interrupted Life and Letters from Westerbork*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 305.
2. *Ibid.*
3. I am using the term "fairy tale" in the broad and most common sense of the word, without distinguishing among the numerous and complex genres of myth, legend or folklore, classical fables, and so forth.
4. Jack Zipes, *When Dreams Come True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 34.
5. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 87.
6. Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 8, 10.
7. *Ibid.*, 12.

8. *Ibid.*, 24.
9. Dan Miron, *The Image of the Shtetl and Other Studies of Modern Jewish Literary Imagination* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000).
10. Cristina Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairy Tales: Gender and Narrative Strategies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 28.
11. Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, ed. Louis A. Wagner, trans. Laurence Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).
12. Northrop Frye, *Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1963), 31.
13. Ruth Klüger, *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: Feminist, 2001). On the genealogy of this text and my rationale for working with the English rather than the German version of Klüger's life story, see the introduction.
14. Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 214.
15. Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 26.
16. Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck, introduction to *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, ed. Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 1.
17. I am indebted to Alexandra Garbarini for this particular formulation of this concept.
18. The story of Snow White has numerous incarnations in many languages and cultures all over Europe, and not all of them have the queen interrogate a talking mirror. My references to Snow White in this chapter refer to the Grimm brothers' version of the story.
19. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 36.
20. Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairly Tales*, 9.
21. *Ibid.*, 22.
22. Klüger, *Still Alive*, 40 (hereafter *Still Alive* in the text).
23. Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization* (New York: Methuen, 1988), 134.
24. Bruno Bettelheim, *Freud's Vienna and Other Essays* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 132.
25. Milena Roth, *Lifesaving Letters: A Child's Flight from the Holocaust* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 102.
26. Gordon's Hebrew poem "Awake, My People!" (1866) contains the line "Be a man in your going out and a Jew in your tents," which—loosely translated as "be a man in the streets and a Jew at home"—became a famous Haskalah motto, embraced by scores of Jews all over Europe (quoted in Michael Stanislawski, *For Whom Do I Toil? Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1988], 50).
27. Interestingly, for the first seven years of her life, Klüger had been called Susi, short for Susanna—although Ruth was her first Hebrew name. At the time, the girl did not know that Susanna (Shoshanna in Hebrew) was also a Jewish name, and therefore she made a point of demanding that everybody start calling her only Ruth in honor of a Jewish identity she embraced in response to the fact that the Nazis were set on separating her from her countrymen based on that identity: "Now that my tentative faith in my homeland was being damaged by daily increments beyond repair, I became Jewish in defense. Shortly before I turned seven years old . . . I changed my first name. I had been called Susi, a middle name, but now I wanted the other name, my first name, the Biblical name . . . I tenaciously corrected the grown-ups when they used

my old name, and miraculously they gave in . . . I got my proper name not even knowing then how right it was for me, that it means ‘friend’ and belonged to the woman who left her country because friendship meant more to her than kinship” (*Still Alive*, 42).

28. After the *Anschluss*, Jews were not allowed to practice their professions. Viktor kept working secretly and was denounced and arrested for practicing illegal abortions.

29. Lenore J. Weitzman and Dalia Ofer, “Introduction: The Role of Gender in the Holocaust,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 5.

30. Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 140.

31. Bettelheim, *Freud’s Vienna and Other Essays*, 12–13.

32. Even before watching the Disney film, the Viennese girl certainly knew the original story, in its German version by the Grimm brothers. For a discussion of the Disney-fication of folk stories, see Kay F. Stone, “Fairy Tales for Adults: Walt Disney’s Americanization of the Märchen,” in *Folklore on Two Continents: Essays in Honor of Linda Dégh*, ed. Nikolai Burlakoff and Carl Lindahl (Bloomington, IN: Trickster, 1980), 40–48.

33. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 40.

34. Melissa Hacker, director, *My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransports* (New York: New Video Group, 2003), DVD. The documentary was made in 1995 and released in DVD format eight years later.

35. Mercea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). Also see Mircea Eliade, *The Two and the One* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) and *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

36. Geoffrey Hartman, *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 130.

37. J. R. R. Tolkien, *Tree and Leaf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965); Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*).

38. G. K. Chesterton, *Brave New Family: G. K. Chesterton on Men and Women, Children, Sex, Divorce, Marriage and the Family*, ed. Alvaro de Silva (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1990), 80.

39. Caroline Eliacheff and Nathalie Heinich, *Mères-filles: une relation à trois* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2002), 102. All translations from this work are my own.

40. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 205.

41. Nancy K. Miller, *But Enough about Me: Why We Read Other People’s Lives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 2–3.

42. In the previous chapter we saw how Edith Bruck’s mother harshly disparaged her daughter’s attempts at poetry. Sarah Kofman’s mother (see chapter 3) forbade her to use electricity at night to read or write. We will also see (in chapter 5) that Helena Janeczek’s identity, behavior, and choices constantly met with maternal disapproval. Anne Frank’s parents seem to be an exception; however, although they were supportive of the creative inclinations of their youngest daughter, the people in hiding with them disapproved of the girl’s activity because they thought a girl should devote more of her time to domestic chores.

43. Sophie Freud, *Living in the Shadow of the Freud Family* (London: Praeger, 2007), 8.

44. Eliacheff and Heinich, *Mères-filles*, 203–26.

45. Heinz Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self: A Systematic Approach to the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders* (New York: International Universities Press, 1971).

46. Jerrold M. Post, "Current Concepts of the Narcissistic Personality: Implications for Political Psychology," *Political Psychology* 14, no. 1 (1993): 107.
47. Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, "The Issue Is Power: Some Notes on Jewish Women and Therapy," in *Jewish Women in Therapy: Seen but Not Heard*, ed. Rachel Josefowitz Siegel and Ellen Cole (Binghamton, NY: Haworth, 1991), 13.
48. Quoted in Viktor E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy*, part 1, trans. Ilse Lasch, 3rd ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 38.
49. *Ibid.* (emphasis added).
50. One significant memory, however, concerns their arrival in Auschwitz: "The same evening . . . my mother explained to me that the electric barbed wire outside was lethal and proposed that she and I should get up and walk into that wire . . . I was twelve years old, and the thought of dying, now, without delay, in contortions, by running into electrically charged metal on the advice of my very own mother, whom God had created to protect me, was simply beyond my comprehension. The idea of it! . . . My mother accepted my refusal nonchalantly, as if she had merely offered me a walk in the country in peacetime" (Klüger, *Still Alive*, 96–97).
51. Lewis C. Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France: 1690–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 156.
52. *Ibid.*, 159.
53. Bettelheim explains that "a weak father"—that is, a father like those of Snow White and of Hansel and Gretel, is of no use to his children. Yet these types of fathers appear frequently in fairy tales, suggesting "that wife-dominated husbands are not exactly new to this world. More to the point, it is such fathers [weak fathers] who either create unmanageable difficulties in the child or else fail to help him solve them" (*The Uses of Enchantment*, 206). The only way for the child to successfully integrate Oedipal conflicts, according to Bettelheim, is through a balanced combination of maternal care and paternal protection (strength). Bettelheim postulates: "If a girl cannot form a positive identification with her mother, not only does she get stuck in oedipal conflicts, but regression sets in, as it always does when the child fails to attain the next higher stage of development for which she is chronologically ready" (*ibid.*). However, it was the Nazis, not her own or her parents' inadequacies or failings, that had endangered this developmental stage for Klüger.
54. Bruno Bettelheim, *Surviving and Other Essays* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 246–57.
55. Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 350–51.
56. *Ibid.*, 351.
57. Bruno Bettelheim, "Fathers Shouldn't Try to Be Mothers," *Parents' Magazine*, October 1956, 40.
58. *Ibid.*, 127.
59. *Ibid.*, 129.
60. On Bettelheim's emigration and his attitude toward Judaism and European Jews, see Richard Pollak, *The Creation of Dr. B: A Biography of Bruno Bettelheim* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).
61. Pascale R. Bos, *German-Jewish Literature in the Wake of the Holocaust: Grete Weil, Ruth Klüger, and the Politics of Address* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 86.
62. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 103.
63. Art Spiegelman, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (New York: Pantheon, 1996), 175.

64. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 105.
65. Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairy Tales*, 28.
66. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 187.
67. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 114.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, 115.
70. I am talking about friendship among peers. Usually, if a heroine is helped by a female figure the helper is either older, has magical powers, or is not human—in sum, the helper belongs to a different hierarchy than the heroine.
71. Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairy Tales*, 35.
72. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 187–88.
73. Jacques Lacan, *Écrits I* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1999), 92–99.
74. Bos, *German-Jewish Literature in the Wake of the Holocaust*, 85.
75. Hélène Cixous, *La jeune née* (Paris: Union Générale d'Édition, 1975), 158–59.
76. Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 133.
77. Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairy Tales*, 23.
78. *Ibid.*, 24.
79. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 207.
80. Jack Zipes, trans. and ed., *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* (New York: Bantam, 1987), 196–204.
81. Gilbert and Gubar, *Madwoman in the Attic*, 40.
82. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, 202. Clearly, Bettelheim's analysis takes for granted that the audience for the tale of Snow White is exclusively female.
83. Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairy Tales*, 7.
84. This is what Bacchilega rightly recognizes as being the workings of a folk tale, which thus are able to generate magic, or wonder (*ibid.*).
85. Bos, *German-Jewish Literature in the Wake of the Holocaust*, 80.
86. Klüger writes: "The story of Snow White can be reduced to one question: who is entitled to live in the king's palace and who is the outsider" (*Still Alive*, 47).
87. Luce Irigaray, "And the One Doesn't Stir without the Other," trans. Helene Vivienne Wenzel, *Signs* 7 (1981): 66.
88. Klüger says: "Ich komm' nicht von Auschwitz her, ich stamm' aus Wien" (quoted in Renata Schmidtkunz, *Im Gespräch: Ruth Klüger* [Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2008]), 5.

3. AUTO DA FÉ : SARAH KOFMAN'S TOTEMIC MEMOIR

1. Sarah Kofman, *Rue Ordener, rue Labat* (Paris: Galilée, 1994), 9.
2. Sarah Kofman, *Selected Writings*, ed. Thomas Albrecht, Georgia Albert, and Elizabeth G. Rottenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); *Paroles suffoquées* (Paris: Galilée, 1987); *Smothered Words*, translated with an introduction by Madeleine Dobie (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998); *Autobiogriffures. Du chat Murr d'Hoffmann* (Paris: Galilée, 1984); *Explosion I: De l' "Ecce Homo" de Nietzsche* (Paris: Galilée, 1992).
3. Jacques Derrida, "Sarah Kofman (1934–94):," in *The Work of Mourning*, ed. and trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 173.

4. Kofman, *Autobiogriffures*, 98.
5. Sarah Kofman, *Pourquoi rit-on? Freud et le mot d'esprit* (Paris: Galilée, 1986), 17.
6. Sarah Kofman, *L'Enfance de l'art: Une interprétation de l'esthétique freudienne* (Paris: Payot, 1970), 35.
7. Sarah Kofman, *La Mélancolie de l'Art* (Paris: Galilée, 1985), 32.
8. Friederich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Random House, 1967), 62–63.
9. Jacques Derrida, *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation: Texts and Discussions with Jacques Derrida*, ed. Christie V. McDonald, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Schocken, 1985), 5.
10. Kofman, *Rue Ordener, rue Labat*, 9 (hereafter RO/RL in the text). All translations from this work and other French editions of Kofman's writings are my own.
11. After the war, Sarah's mother had taken Mémé to court, accusing her of improper behavior toward the child. The French court not only dismissed the Jewish mother's claim but assigned custody of the girl to Mémé—thanks to the girl's testimony against her own mother.
12. Sarah Kofman, "'Ma vie' et la psychanalyse," in *Les Cahiers du Griffon* No. 3: Sarah Kofman, ed. Françoise Collin and Françoise Proust (Paris: Éditions Descartes, 1997), 171. This was translated into English as "'My Life' and Psychoanalysis" and published in Kofman, *Selected Writings*, 250–51.
13. Alice A. Jardine, "Sarah Kofman," in *Shifting Scenes: Interviews on Women, Writing, and Politics in Post-68 France*, ed. Alice A. Jardine and Anne M. Menke, trans. Janice Orion (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 105.
14. Kofman, *Paroles suffoquées*, 16, 43.
15. Michael Stanislawski, *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 157.
16. *Ibid.* To this list I would add the use of "Simhatorah" instead of Simchat or Simhat Torah.
17. Sarah Kofman, "Sacrée nourriture," in *Les Cahiers du Griffon* No. 3: Sarah Kofman, ed. Françoise Collin and Françoise Proust (Paris: Éditions Descartes, 1997), 167–68.
18. Kofman, *Selected Writings*, 247–48.
19. Stanislawski, *Autobiographical Jews*, 141.
20. Kofman, "Sacrée nourriture," 167.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. Kelly Oliver, "Sarah Kofman's Queasy Stomach and the Riddle of the Paternal Law," in *Enigmas: Essays on Sarah Kofman*, ed. Penelope Deutscher and Kelly Oliver (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 188.
24. Tina Chanter, "Eating Words: Antigone as Kofman's Proper Name," in *Enigmas*, 189–204.
25. Oliver, "Sarah Kofman's Queasy Stomach and the Riddle of the Paternal Law," 182.
26. Kofman, "Sacrée nourriture," 168.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Stanislawski, *Autobiographical Jews*, 159. He also points out: "Only later in the autobiography will Kofman reveal to us, if in a highly muted way, that her own hysterical vomiting was indeed coupled first with thumb-sucking and then with homosexual attraction to her surrogate Christian mothers" (*ibid.*).

31. Jacques Lacan, *Écrits*, *The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 552.

32. Leone is also the root of the name Leonardo—the great artist with whom Freud had deeply identified and whose proverbial “smile” Kofman dissected in *L’Enfance de l’art* and uncovered as the ultimate expression of motherhood, a smile that is pure fiction and disquiets us so profoundly because “it never existed” (109). On Kofman’s interpretations of the Leonardian smile, see Federica K. Clementi, “Nightbirds, Nightmares and the Mothers’ Smile: Art and Psychoanalysis in Sarah Kofman’s Life-Writing,” *Women in French Studies* 19 (2011): 67–84.

33. Kofman, “‘Ma vie’ et la psychanalyse,” 171.

34. *Ibid.*, 171–72.

35. Franz Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*, ed. Heribert Kuhn (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1999).

36. Kofman, “‘Ma vie’ et la psychanalyse,” 172.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Sarah Kofman, *Conversions: Le Marchand de Venise—Sous le signe de Saturne* (Paris: Galilée, 1987), 68.

39. *Ibid.*, 69.

40. *Ibid.*, 42.

41. *Ibid.*, 47.

42. Clementi, “Nightbirds, Nightmares and the Mothers’ Smile.”

43. Quoted in Jerzy Ficowski, introduction, trans. Michael Kandel, to Bruno Schultz, *The Street of Crocodiles*, trans. Celina Wieniewska (New York: Penguin, 1977), 19–20.

44. Slavoj Žižek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 79.

45. Sarah Kofman, *L’Imposture de la beauté* (Paris: Galilée, 1995), 142.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, 143.

48. *Ibid.*, 144.

49. Žižek, *Looking Awry*, 82.

50. Lacan worked all his career at refining his concept of *jouissance*—a term that in French has a sexual connotation and is linked to the idea of orgasm, and that Lacan recasts as a climax of emotions and excitement so strong as to be almost intolerable to the subject that experiences it. Lacan defined *jouissance* not in sexual terms but in relation to the speaking subject and the gap that opens between the tellable and untellable, which always produces lack, failure, and loss. *Jouissance* occurs in this space beyond language and is therefore always bonded to pain, absence, or death, and its place is language (see, in particular, *Écrits*, *The First Complete Edition in English*, 671–702). In the 1970s, Lacan applied the term to the realm of the Other (Woman) and developed the influential concept for subsequent feminist theorists of feminine *jouissance* (*Encore: Séminaire, livre XX*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller [Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975]). *Jouissance* is Lacan’s elaboration on what Freud had already located in the pull between the opposite drives of sex (life) and death: Lacan hypothesizes that *jouissance* is harmful to the subject because the attainment of satisfaction also entails its opposite—acute suffering—which annuls the effects that pleasure produces.

51. Sarah Kofman, “La mort blanche,” *Fusées*, no. 16 (2009): 7.

52. Paul Celan, *Selected Poems and Prose of Paul Celan*, trans. John Felstiner (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 31.

53. Tina Chanter, "Playing with Fire," in Sarah Kofman's *Corpus*, ed. Tina Chanter and Pleshette DeArmitt (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 95.
54. Sarah Kofman, "Tombeau pour un nom propre," in *Les Cahiers du Griffon* No. 3: Sarah Kofman, ed. Françoise Collin and Françoise Proust (Paris: Éditions Descartes, 1997) 169–70.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*, 170.
57. "Cauchemar" appears in Sarah Kofman, *Comment s'en sortir?* (Paris: Galilée, 1983). It was published in English as "Nightmare: At the Margins of Medieval Studies" in Kofman, *Selected Writings*.
58. Jacques Lacan, *Le moi dans la théorie de Freud et dans la technique de la psychanalyse: Séminaire, livre II*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1978), 196.
59. Sigmund Freud, *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 24.
60. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, vol. 4 of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1973), 107.
61. Lacan, *Le moi dans la théorie de Freud*, 196.
62. See Shoshana Felman, *What Does a Woman Want? Reading and Sexual Difference* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 68–120; Marilyn Migiel, "Faltering on Demand: Readings of Freud's Dream of Irma," *Diacritics* 20, no. 2 (1990): 20–39; Madelon Sprengnether, "Mouth to Mouth: Freud, Irma, and the Dream of Psychoanalysis," *American Imago* 60, no. 3 (2003): 259–84.
63. Chanter, "Playing with Fire," 92.
64. Kofman, *Conversions*, 28.
65. *Ibid.*, 26.
66. *Ibid.*, 41.
67. Sarah Kofman, *L'Énigme de la femme: la femme dans les textes de Freud* (Paris: Galilée, 1983), 194.
68. Kofman, *Pourquoi rit-on?*, 42.
69. Marcia Ian, *Remembering the Phallic Mother: Psychoanalysis, Modernism, and the Fetish* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 13.
70. Kofman, *Autobiogriffures*, 83.
71. *Ibid.*, 18.
72. *Ibid.*, 139–40.
73. *Ibid.*, 130.
74. *Ibid.*, 60–61.
75. *Ibid.*, 131.
76. *Ibid.*, 152.
77. *Ibid.*, 131.
78. *Ibid.*, 143.
79. Sigmund Freud, *Letters of Sigmund Freud*, ed. Ernst L. Freud, trans. Tania and James Stern (New York: Dover, 1992), 391. In another letter, this time to Arnold Zweig (May 31, 1936), Freud elaborates on the issue of biographical writing: "Anyone turning biographer commits himself to lies . . . for biographical truth is not to be had . . . Truth is unobtainable" (*ibid.*, 430).
80. Kofman, *Autobiogriffures*, 146.
81. *Ibid.*, 147.

82. Oliver, "Sarah Kofman's Queasy Stomach and the Riddle of the Paternal Law," 176.
 83. *Ibid.*, 177.
 84. Stanislawski, *Autobiographical Jews*, 161.
 85. Oliver, "Sarah Kofman's Queasy Stomach and the Riddle of the Paternal Law," 183.

4. MATERIAL MOTHERS : MILENA ROTH AND THE KINDERTRANSPORT'S LEGACY, OBJETS DE MÉMOIRE

1. *Kindertransporte* (*Kinder* means children in German) was the word used by the German rail authorities to diligently record the transportation of these children (Vera K. Fast, *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport* [London: I. B. Tauris, 2011], 21). The term "Kindertransport" quickly entered the English language and is still the universal signifier for this complex chapter in twentieth-century Jewish history. I am greatly indebted to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Washington, D.C., for having made available to me the remaining footage of the children's evacuation operation.

2. Milena Roth westernized her family name, getting rid of the Slavic female suffix "ová" at the end of a woman's surname.

3. Milena Roth, *Lifesaving Letters: A Child's Flight from the Holocaust* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

4. Another important text that features the heartbreaking correspondence between parents trapped in wartime Germany and a child safe in England is Anne L. Fox, *Between the Lines: Letters from the Holocaust* (Margate, NJ: ComteQ, 2005).

5. Jürgen Matthäus and Mark Roseman, *Jewish Responses to Persecution* (Lanham, MD: Alta-Mira, 2010), 286.

6. As Giles MacDonogh remarks, in 1938 Hitler "was probably simply hoping to get as much as he could without fighting the great powers" (1938: *Hitler's Gamble* [New York: Basic, 2009], x). Hitler might have made up his mind by then about his "solution" to the Jewish question, MacDonogh observes, but he had not shared his plans with other political leaders at that time, nor had an active annihilation machine been put in place yet.

7. Quoted in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Jean Draper, and Robert Ventresca, *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 418.

8. Cuba had initially promised entry to the refugees, who therefore left Hamburg aboard the *St. Louis* in May 1939, many hoping to emigrate to the United States from Cuba. But by the time the ship reached Havana, changes in the Cuban government's immigration laws blocked the passengers from being granted permission to disembark. President Roosevelt refused to put pressure on Cuba or to allow the refugees to land on US territory, thus washing his hands of their fate. Eventually the cruise ship was left with only one option: return to Europe. Three-quarters of its Jewish passengers, readmitted into European countries soon to be invaded by Germany, did not survive the Holocaust (Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews 1933-1948: British Immigration Policy and the Holocaust* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003]).

9. Quoted in Seymour M. Hersh, *The Dark Side of Camelot* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1997), 64.

10. Quoted in *ibid.*, 63.

11. Jeffrey S. Gurock, *America, American Jews, and the Holocaust* (New York: Routledge 1998), 227.

12. Fast, *Children's Exodus*, 21.

13. Lore Segal, *Other People's Houses* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1965).
14. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 168.
15. *Ibid.*, 133–34.
16. Eva Figs, *Little Eden: A Child at War* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), 12.
17. Claudia Curio, “‘Invisible’ Children: The Selection and Integration Strategies of Relief Organizations,” trans. Toby Axelrod, *Shofar* 23, no. 1 (2004): 51.
18. *Ibid.*, 48.
19. Bertha Leverton, “Dear Friends and Readers,” in *I Came Alone: The Stories of the Kindertransport*, ed. Bertha Leverton and Shmuel Lowensohn (Lewes, UK: Book Guild, 1990), 8.
20. Bertha Leverton and Shmuel Lowensohn, eds. *I Came Alone*. Since 1989 the former Kinder have done a lot to inscribe themselves into history, while scholars have seemed very slow to catch up. The former refugees established a Kindertransport Association, organized international meetings, and involved their children in the remembering process. Over the last two decades, a considerable number of Kindertransport memoirs has been published. Two remarkable documentaries have been released on the subject: *My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransport* (New York: New Video Group, 2003), directed by Melissa Hacker, whose mother arrived in England on a Kindertransport from Vienna and to whom Hacker dedicated her masterpiece, which is both biographical and autobiographical; and the Oscar-winning *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (Los Angeles: Warner Brothers, 2001), directed by Mark Jonathan Harris and produced by Deborah Oppenheimer, whose mother was also one of the Kinder saved on a transport out of Germany. In 1996 the playwright Diane Samuels wrote the theatrical work *Kindertransport*, inspired by a documentary film about the refugees’ stories she had seen on TV in the late 1980s. The academic world has only recently begun to produce much-needed research on this historical episode. Some seminal contributions are Nicholas Stargardt, *Witnesses of War: Children's Lives under the Nazis* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Phyllis Lassner, *Anglo-Jewish Women Writing the Holocaust: Displaced Witnesses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), which includes an examination of the Kindertransport literature; and the 2004 special issue of the journal *Shofar*, which was devoted entirely to the Kindertransport. Three recent monographs about the rescue operation are Iris Guske, *Trauma and Attachment in the Kindertransport Context: German-Jewish Child Refugees' Accounts of Displacement and Acculturation in Britain* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2009); Fast, *Children's Exodus*; and Ann Byers, *Saving Children from the Holocaust: The Kindertransport* (Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow, 2012). Also relevant is Richard Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
21. This memorial was later relocated and replaced by a different memorial sculpture by the Israeli artist and former Kind Frank Meisler. Flor Kent’s Kindertransport sculptures in London, Vienna, and Prague are titled, respectively, “Für Das Kind—Displaced,” “Für Das Kind” (For the child), and “Pro Dítě” (For the child). Frank Meisler’s sculptures in London, Berlin, and Gdansk are titled, respectively, “Children of the Kindertransport,” “Züge ins Leben—Züge in den Tod: 1938–1939” (Trains to life—trains to death: 1938–1939), and “Pociągi Życia—Pociągi Śmierci (Life trains—death trains).
22. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 123.
23. Ruth David, *Child of Our Time: A Young Girl's Flight from the Holocaust* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 53.
24. Susan Rubin Suleiman, “The 1.5 Generation: Thinking about Child Survivors and the Holocaust,” *American Imago* 59, no. 3 (2002): 277.

25. Tony Kushner, "Remembering to Forget: Racism and Anti-Racism in Postwar Britain," in *Modernity, Culture and "The Jew,"* ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 226–41.
26. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 132, 117–18.
27. Sue Vice, *Children Writing the Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 45.
28. Lassner, *Anglo-Jewish Women Writing the Holocaust*, 7.
29. Tony Kushner, "Beyond the Pale? British Reactions to Nazi Anti-Semitism, 1933–39," in *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*, ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (London: Frank Cass, 1990), 145.
30. Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust*, 47.
31. Kushner, "Beyond the Pale?," 149.
32. Quoted in David Cesarani, "Joynson-Hicks and the Radical Right in England after the First World War," in *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in Britain*, ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1989), 128.
33. Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust*, 52.
34. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 103, 137.
35. *Ibid.*, 121, 122.
36. Beate Neumeier, "Kindertransport: Memory, Identity and the British-Jewish Diaspora," in *Diaspora and Multiculturalism: Common Traditions and New Developments*, ed. Monika Fludernik (New York: Rodopi, 2003), 88–89.
37. The surviving correspondence also includes letters and notes to her daughter.
38. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 112.
39. *Ibid.*, 112–13.
40. *Ibid.*, 105.
41. For some of the most relevant scholarly contributions to the study of this particular topic, see Tony Kushner, "Remembering to Forget: Racism and Anti-Racism in Postwar Britain," in *Modernity, Culture and "The Jew,"* ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 226–41; Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn, eds., *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in British Society* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1989); Bryan Cheyette, *Constructions of "The Jew" in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations, 1875–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Cesarani, "Joynson-Hicks and the Radical Right in England after the First World War"; Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust*; Bill Williams, "The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle-Class Manchester and the Jews 1870–1900," in *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, ed. Alan J. Kidd and Kenneth W. Roberts (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1985), 74–102.
42. Kushner, "Remembering to Forget," 228.
43. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 117.
44. *Ibid.*, 115, 116.
45. See Tara Zahra's *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008) for an interesting discussion of the way in which children became the center of nationalistic discourses in Czechoslovakia from the end of the nineteenth century through World War II and how Czech nationalists and German loyalists used this particular demographic group as an important element in their political

and ideological war. Of particular interest and value is the way in which Zahra's work ultimately contributes to an understanding of national identity (in the Czech lands but also in a broader sense) as a very complex phenomenon: although nationalist movements and political parties needed to paint an image of nationality and nationalistic feelings as very clear, in reality the everyday picture of the relations among ethnic groups in Europe was much more equivocal, and the sense of identity of each group and subgroup was far more porous than we are generally given to believe. Zahra talks therefore of a "long history of national indeterminacy in East Central Europe" (272) rather than a simplistic dichotomy along ethnic lines.

46. Quoted in Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 34, 37, 42.

47. Quoted in *ibid.*, 29, 44.

48. David, *Child of Our Time*, 13–14.

49. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 180.

50. Quoted in *ibid.*, 49.

51. Sybil Oldfield, "'It Is Usually She': The Role of British Women in the Rescue and Care of the Kindertransport Kinder," *Shofar* 23, no. 1 (2004): 57.

52. David, *Child of Our Time*, 30.

53. Harris, *Into the Arms of Strangers*.

54. Miriam Darvas, *Farewell to Prague* (San Francisco: MacAdam/Cage, 2001).

55. Astonishingly, there are no statistics available today that categorize the 10,000 rescued children by gender, origin, and age. However, a 2005 survey conducted by the Association of Jewish Refugees in Britain was able to provide statistical data on 1,025 former Kindertransportees still alive in the country. It was ascertained that 43.6 percent of the refugees in the sample were boys and 56.4 percent were girls. If this is a representative sample of the entire group of rescued children, it is safe to assume that the majority of all of the Kinderransportees were also girls.

56. Quoted in Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 61. It is possible that Doris's husband's foreignness (Emil Roth was born in Alexandria, Egypt, but his family had moved to Europe many years earlier) might have been why he had to make himself particularly inconspicuous.

57. *Ibid.*, 53, 54.

58. Quoted in *ibid.*, 55–56.

59. Segal, *Other People's Houses*, 22.

60. Quoted in Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 57, 145.

61. Quoted in *ibid.*, 152.

62. Beth Fowkes Tobin, "Introduction: Consumption as a Gendered Social Practice," in *Material Women, 1750–1950: Consuming Desires and Collecting Practices*, ed. Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 2.

63. Mona Körte, "Bracelet, Hand Towel, Pocket Watch: Objects of the Last Moment in Memory and Narration," *Shofar* 23, no. 1 (2004): 114.

64. Tobin, "Introduction," 8.

65. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–24, and "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, under the direction of Pierre Nora, English-language edition edited and with a foreword by Lawrence D. Kritzman, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1:1–20.

66. Constance Classen and David Howes, "The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibili-

ties and Indigenous Artifacts,” in *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums, and Material Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 209.

67. Jeffrey David Feldman, “Contact Points: Museums and the Lost Body Problem,” in *Sensible Objects*, 245–67.

68. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 64.

69. Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 178 (the chapter in question was written by Hirsch and Leo Spitzer).

70. Quoted in Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 48.

71. *Ibid.*, 74.

72. Quoted in *ibid.*, 76–78.

73. *Ibid.*, 135.

74. *Ibid.*, 136 (emphasis added).

75. *Ibid.*, 81.

76. Muriel Dimen, *Sexuality, Intimacy, Power* (London: Analytic, 2003), 212, 188.

77. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 82, 13.

78. Quoted in *ibid.*, 68, 66–67.

79. Quoted in *ibid.*, 73.

80. Quoted in *ibid.*, 66.

81. Alexandra Garbarini, *Numbered Days: Diaries and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 103.

82. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 120.

83. Quoted in *ibid.*, 92, 73.

84. Quoted in *ibid.*, 94.

85. *Ibid.*, 105.

86. *Ibid.*, 17.

87. *Ibid.*, 105, 109.

88. *Ibid.*, 110–11.

89. *Ibid.*, 115.

90. Andrea Adolph, “Nostalgic Appetites: Female Desire and Wartime Rationing in Virginia Woolf’s *Between the Acts* and Noel Streatfeild’s *Saplings*,” in *Material Women*, 56.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*, 56–57.

93. Feldman, “Contact Points,” 245.

94. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 12, 84, 83.

95. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 2.

96. Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

97. Nora, director, *Realms of Memory*.

98. Michael Rothberg, Debarati Sanyal, and Max Silverman, *Noeuds de Mémoire: Multidirectional Memory in Postwar French and Francophone Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 4.

99. Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 113.

100. It is important to note that Landsberg’s prosthetic memory does not erase difference or artificially construct an inauthentic sense of common origins: “People who acquire these memories are led to feel a connection to the past but, all the while, to remember their position in

the contemporary moment” (ibid., 9). By respecting their position of difference (not of likeness or identification) they can achieve empathy, “not an emotional self-pitying identification with victims but a way of both feeling for and feeling different from the subject of inquiry” (ibid., 135).

101. Nora, “General Introduction,” 7.

102. Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 18–19.

103. Ironically, *Realms of Memory* is rather polyphonic itself, being the product of the collaboration of numerous scholars.

104. Nora, “General Introduction,” 12–13.

105. Ibid., 11, and Pierre Nora, “Preface to the English-Language Edition,” in *Realms of Memory*, 1:xxii.

106. Nora, “General Introduction,” 3.

107. Körte, “Bracelet, Hand Towel, Pocket Watch,” 110.

108. Lee Edwards, “The Necklace,” in *I Came Alone*, 79.

109. Ibid., 80.

110. Ester Friedman, “The Tapestry,” in *I Came Alone*, 99, 101.

111. Segal, *Other People’s Houses*, 26, 27.

112. David, *Child of Our Time*, 27.

113. Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 12.

114. Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 132.

115. James E. Young, “Jewish Memory in a Postmodern Age,” in *Modernity, Culture and “The Jew,”* 214.

116. Anna Reading, *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust: Gender, Culture, and Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 105.

117. Ibid., 141.

118. Anna Conlan and Amy K. Levin, “Museum Studies Text and Museum Subtexts,” in *Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader*, ed. Amy K. Levin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 299–300.

119. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 8.

120. Feldman, “Contact Points,” 247.

121. Ibid., 255.

122. Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, introduction to *Sensible Objects*, 12. The authors are quoting from Haidy Geismar and Heather A. Horst, “Introduction: Materializing Ethnography,” *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 1 (2004): 5–9.

123. Classen and Howes, “The Museum as Sensescape,” 208.

124. Beverly Gordon, “Intimacy and Objects: A Proxemic Analysis of Gender-Based Response to the Material World,” in *The Material Culture of Gender, The Gender of Material Culture*, ed. Katharine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997), 243, 238.

125. Landsberg observes that contemporary audiences, especially in America, have begun to expect (or demand) a more experiential approach to historical knowledge, which can be provided through the help of complex mass-mediatic technologies (in museums, for instance) in order to supplement, not erase, more traditional cognitive approaches (*Prosthetic Memory*, 130).

126. Feldman, “Contact Points,” 247.

127. After all, as Jacques Derrida reminds us, the word “archive” comes from *arkhē*, “the principle according to nature or history, *there where things commence* . . . but also the principle according to the law, *there where men and gods command, there where authority, social order are exercised*” (*Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996], 1).

128. Classen and Howes, “The Museum as Sensescape,” 212.

129. Both failed and successful attempts to include gender diversity within Holocaust memorial discourses are examined in depth in Reading, *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust*, particularly chapter 5.

130. Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 125.

131. Roth, *Lifesaving Letters*, 89.

132. Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

133. Nora, “General Introduction,” 15, 17.

134. Rickie Bruman, “Jewish Women and the Household Economy in Manchester, c. 1890–1920,” in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 56.

5. FROM THE THIRD DIASPORA : HELENA JANECZEK AND THE SHOAH SECOND GENERATION’S DISORDERS

1. A reduced and modified version of this chapter was published as Federica K. Clementi, “Helena Janeczek’s Lessons of Darkness: Uncharted Paths to Shoah Memory through Food and Language,” *Contemporary Women’s Writing* 6, no. 1 (2012): 1–19; reproduced with permission.

2. I am borrowing the term “living connection” directly from Eva Hoffman and Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), introduction, 1.

3. *Ibid.*, 1.

4. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

5. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 5.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Marianne Hirsch, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 9.

8. Leslie Morris, “Postmemory, Postmemoir,” in *Unlikely History: The Changing German-Jewish Symbiosis, 1945–2000*, ed. Leslie Morris and Jack Zipes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 291.

9. *Ibid.*, 293.

10. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 5.

11. Helena Janeczek, *Lezioni di tenebra* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997).

12. Morris, “Postmemory, Postmemoir,” 294.

13. Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller, introduction to *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, ed. Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 2.

14. Judith Shuval, “Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm,” *International Migration Quarterly Review* 38, no. 5 (2000): 42.

15. Even Sarah Kofman—who, born in Paris, survived the war there—was in fact separated from her geographical and cultural roots, the Poland that her parents had emigrated from and the Yiddish-speaking world of her hasidic father and mother.

16. Pascale R. Bos, “Return to Germany: German-Jewish Authors Seeking Address,” in *Unlikely History*, 203.

17. Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).

18. Edith Milton, *The Tiger in the Attic: Memories of the Kindertransport and Growing Up English* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 53.

19. Andreas Huyssen, “Diaspora and Nation: Migration into Other Pasts,” *New German Critique* 88 (2003): 149.

20. Edmond Jabès, *The Book of Resemblances*, trans. Rosmarie Waldrop (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990), 56.

21. Bryan Cheyette, “Moroseness and Englishness,” *Jewish Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1995): 25.

22. Hirsch and Miller, introduction, 4–5.

23. Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other—Or the Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 16.

24. Janeczek, *Lezioni di tenebra*, 87 (hereafter *Lezioni* in the text). All translations from this work are my own.

25. Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 70.

26. Cathy Caruth, “Recapturing the Past: Introduction,” in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 152.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Rachel Falconer, *Hell in Contemporary Literature: Western Descent Narratives since 1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 43.

29. Primo Levi, *Se questo è un uomo* (Turin, Italy: Einaudi, 1986).

30. Etty Hillesum, *An Interrupted Life and Letters from Westerbork*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 183.

31. Hélène Berr, *Journal 1942–1944* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2008), 119 (my translation).

32. Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006). However, in principle, this metonymy is objectionable because hell is a religiously charged concept, the place where guilty people are sent and where divine punishment is delivered. Nonetheless, for lack of more apt metaphors, “hell” is often used (and I am guilty of doing so myself repeatedly in this volume) to give a sense to the living of the unimaginable tortures inflicted on the dead in that place.

33. Giorgio Agamben’s *Quel che resta di Auschwitz* (Turin, Italy: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998), 46–47. All translations from this work are my own.

34. Falconer, *Hell in Contemporary Literature*, 45.

35. Sarah Kofman, *Comment s’en sortir?* (Paris: Galilée, 1983).

36. Through the years I never stopped wondering why people had reacted so antagonistically to my indelicate yet relatively innocuous mistake. Had I been Polish, I wouldn’t have made that mistake. The fact that I was not Polish could mean only one thing to them: I was Jewish. Poles have long resented the world’s association of Auschwitz with the victimization of the Jews when, from the Polish perspective, Poles were martyred there too. What bothered them most

that day at the train station? My being a Westerner, a Western Jew, or a (Western Jewish) woman? My Polish friends suspect one thing, my Jewish friends another, and ultimately we keep rehashing our own biases in answering this question.

37. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 177–99 (the chapter in question was written by Hirsch and Leo Spitzer); Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, “The Tile Stove,” *Women Studies Quarterly* 36, nos. 1–2 (2008): 141–50, and *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

38. However, the mother is pathologically attached to such remnants and to the objects she owns, like her elegant antique rugs.

39. Falconer, *Hell in Contemporary Literature*, 42–43.

40. *Ibid.*, 3–4.

41. Paula S. Fass, *Inheriting the Holocaust: A Second-Generation Memoir* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009); E. Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge*; Anne Karpf, *The War After* (London: Minerva, 1997); Lisa Appignanesi, *Losing the Dead* (Toronto: McArthur, 2001); Martin Lemelman, *Mendel’s Daughter: A Memoir* (New York: Free Press, 2006).

42. Falconer, *Hell in Contemporary Literature*, 31.

43. Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno*, trans. John Ciardi (New York: Signet, 1982), 42.

44. Fass, *Inheriting the Holocaust*, 2

45. Dinora Pines, “The Impact of the Holocaust on the Second Generation,” in *Holocaust Trauma: Transgenerational Transmission to the Second Generation; Psychoanalytic, Psychosocial, and Object Relational Perspectives*, ed. Moshe Halevi Spero (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992), 87.

46. Appignanesi, *Losing the Dead*, 61.

47. Dan Diner, “Negative Symbiosis: German and Jews after Auschwitz,” in *The Holocaust: Theoretical Readings*, ed. Neil Levi and Michael Rothberg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 423.

48. Marianne Hirsch, “Past Lives: Postmemories in Exile,” *Poetics Today* 17, no. 4 (1996): 662.

49. Melvin Jules Bukiet, *Nothing Makes You Free: Writing by Descendants of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 16.

50. Etyan Bachar, Laura Canetti, and Elliot M. Berry, “Lack of Long-Lasting Consequences of Starvation on Eating Pathology in Jewish Holocaust Survivors of Nazi Concentration Camps,” *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 114, no. 1 (2005): 165–69.

51. Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (London: Penguin, 2011).

52. Dawid Sierakowiak, *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak: Five Notebooks from the Łódź Ghetto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

53. Levi, *Se questo è un uomo*, 101 (my translation).

54. Angela Favaro, F. C. Rodella, and Paolo Santonastaso, “Binge Eating and Eating Attitudes among Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors,” *Psychological Medicine* 30, no. 2 (2000): 463–66; Ada H. Zohar, Lotem Giladi, and Timor Givati, “Holocaust Exposure and Disordered Eating: A Study of Multi-Generational Transmission,” *European Eating Disorders Review* 15, no. 1 (2007): 50–57.

55. Favaro, Rodella, and Santonastaso, “Binge Eating and Eating Attitudes among Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors,” 465.

56. Karpf, *The War After*, 4.

57. Epstein, *Where She Came From: A Daughter's Search for Her Mother's History* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1998), 7.
58. Fass, *Inheriting the Holocaust*, 149.
59. Karpf, *The War After*, 53.
60. Judith S. Kestenberg, "Psychoanalyses of Children of Survivors from the Holocaust: Case Presentations and Assessment," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 28, no. 4 (1980): 781.
61. Kelly Oliver, "Sarah Kofman's Queasy Stomach and the Riddle of the Paternal Law," in *Enigmas: Essays on Sarah Kofman*, ed. Penelope Deutscher and Kelly Oliver (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 174–88.
62. Clara Sereni, *Casalinghitudine* (Turin, Italy: Einaudi, 1987). The work has been published in English as *Keeping House: A Novel in Recipes*, trans. Giovanni Miceli Jeffries and Susan Brizirelli (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).
63. Appignanesi, *Losing the Dead*, 18.
64. *Ibid.*, 19.
65. *Ibid.*, 151.
66. *Ibid.*, 220.
67. Karpf, *The War After*, 256.
68. Suzan Hanala Stadner, *My Parents Went through the Holocaust and All I Got Was This Lousy T-Shirt* (Santa Ana, CA: Seven Locks, 2006), 13, 36, 17, 37.
69. Interestingly, in 2002, Janeczek published a second book, with a telling title: *Cibo* (Food). The book is a roman à clef about a German woman in Italy whose entire network of friends and family is interconnected through the love, anxiety, and memories that food can call up. In *Cibo*'s complicated portrait of food's role in contemporary life, painful experiences from the past are compounded by the demands of an image-obsessed society (see Helena Janeczek, *Cibo* [Milan: Mondadori, 2002]).
70. Efraim Sicher, *The Holocaust Novel* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 144.
71. Judith S. Kestenberg, "Transposition Revisited: Clinical, Therapeutic, and Developmental Considerations," in *Healing Their Wounds: Psychotherapy with Holocaust Survivors and Their Families*, ed. Paul Marcus and Alan Rosenberg (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 1989), 70.
72. Pines, "The Impact of the Holocaust on the Second Generation," 91.
73. *Ibid.*, 92.
74. Kestenberg, "Psychoanalyses of Children of Survivors from the Holocaust," 781.
75. All of the quoted material here is italicized in the original. *Lezioni* is interspersed with bits and pieces of conversations between mother and daughter (which Janeczek transcribes without further elaborations) and interventions, almost intrusions, by the mother (who speaks directly in the first person) on various topics, including her opinions of the draft of the manuscript that Janeczek lets her read as she is working on it. These parts, which constitute an interruption of the narrative and of the memoir proper, are italicized in *Lezioni*.
76. For a revealing analysis of how different and fraught the memories of Jews and Christians are in regard to the prewar and Holocaust years in Poland, for instance, see the groundbreaking volume edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews during the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).
77. Epstein, *Where She Came From*, 143.
78. *Ibid.*, 133.

79. Daniel Vogelmann, "My Share of the Pain," in *Second Generation Voices: Reflections by Children of Holocaust Survivors and Perpetrators*, ed. Naomi Berger and Alan L. Berger (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 73.

80. Fass, *Inheriting the Holocaust*, 157–58.

81. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 244.

82. Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music and Other Essays*, trans. Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 85. Wagner remarks: "The Jew speaks the language of the nation in whose midst he dwells from generation to generation, but he speaks it always as an alien" (ibid., 84). And then Wagner describes the Jews' alleged way of speaking thus: "In particular does the purely physical aspect of the Jewish mode of speech repel us . . . The first thing that strikes our ear as quite outlandish and unpleasant, in the Jew's production of the voice-sounds, is a creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle" (85). See also Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

83. Art Spiegelman, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (New York: Pantheon, 1996). Parenthetically, I have always wondered about the unusual names of Spiegelman's parents and his brother in the book. For example, Anja is a very old-fashioned form of the more common Ania; Vladek, although a Slavic name, is not spelled this way in Polish (Wladek would be the diminutive of the name Władysław, and Włodek would be the diminutive of Włodzimierz). Most puzzling is the brother's name, Richieu—a name that does not exist in Polish, or, as far as I can tell, in any other Slavic language. My guess is that it is the transcription of Rysiek, the diminutive of Ryszard (Richard). But why wouldn't this have been made clear to Spiegelman by his father or family friends? Again, language is one of the numerous mysteries surrounding the Shoah parents, mysteries to which second-generation children have no access.

84. Stadner, *My Parents Went through the Holocaust and All I Got Was This Lousy T-Shirt*, 16.

85. Appignanesi, *Losing the Dead*, 81.

86. Sophia Lehmann, "In Search of a Mother Tongue: Locating Home in Diaspora," *MELUS* 23, no. 4 (1998): 101.

87. Tadeusz Borowski, *Opowiadania Wybrane* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), 122 (my translation).

88. Liana Millu, *Il fumo di Birkenau* (Florence: Giuntina, 2008).

89. Epstein, *Where She Came From*, 7–8.

90. Fass, *Inheriting the Holocaust*, 148.

91. Kestenberg, "Psychoanalyses of Children of Survivors from the Holocaust." See especially 787–88.

92. Ruth Wajnryb, *Silence: How Tragedy Shapes Talk* (Crows Nest, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 2001), 148–49.

93. Maria Cristina Mauceri, "Writing outside the Borders: Personal Experience and History in the Works of Helga Schneider and Helena Janeczek," in *Across Genres, Generations and Borders: Italian Women Writing Lives*, ed. Susanna Scarparo and Rita Wilson (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 141.

94. George Steiner, "Our Homeland, The Text," *Salmagundi*, no. 66 (1985): 4–25. See also George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

95. Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 232.
96. Eva Hoffman, *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 211.
97. *Ibid.*, 273.
98. *Ibid.*, 5.
99. Mauceri, "Writing outside the Borders," 142.
100. Helen Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (New York: Putnam, 1979), 260.
101. Alan L. Berger and Naomi Berger, introduction to *Second Generation Voices*, 3.
102. Dori Laub and Nanette C. Auerhahn, "Reverberations of Genocide: Its Expression in the Conscious and Unconscious of Post-Holocaust Generations," in *Psychoanalytic Reflections on the Holocaust: Selected Essays*, ed. Steven A. Luel and Paul Marcus (New York: Ktav, 1984), 155.
103. Irene Kacandes, "Displacement, Trauma, Language, Identity," in *Femmes écrivains à la croisée des langues, 1700–2000/Women Writers at the Crossroads of Languages, 1700–2000*, ed. Agnese Fidecaro, Henriette Partzsch, Suzan van Dijk, and Valérie Cossy (Geneva: MétisPresses, 2009), 225.
104. Alan L. Berger, *Children of Job: American Second-Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1997), 187.
105. Levi, *Se questo è un uomo*.
106. Kacandes, "Displacement, Trauma, Language, Identity," 227.
107. Primo Levi, *I sommersi e i salvati*, in *Opere*, ed. Cesare Cases (Turin, Italy: Einaudi, 1987), 1:692 (my translation).
108. Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969), 213.
109. *Ibid.*, 79.
110. *Ibid.*, 201.

**6. "I HAVE TO SAVE MYSELF WITH A JOKE" :
ANNE FRANK AND THE SURVIVAL OF HUMOR**

1. Steven Paskuly, epilogue to Rudolph Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly, trans. Andrew Pollinger (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1992), 197.
2. Rudolph Höss, *Death Dealer*, 189.
3. *Ibid.*, 61.
4. *Ibid.*, 62.
5. Quoted in Mary Lowenthal Felstiner, *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 207–8.
6. Miep Gies with Alison Leslie Gold, *Anne Frank Remembered: The Story of the Woman Who Helped to Hide the Frank Family* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 11–12.
7. Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl* (New York: Anchor, 1996), 333.
8. Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* (New York: Avon, 1971), 249.
9. The diary appeared first in Dutch in 1947, followed by French and German editions in 1950, an English-language edition in 1952, an American stage adaptation in 1955, and a film version in 1957 (Gerrold van der Stroom, "The Diaries, Het Achterhuis and the Translations," in Anne Frank, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition*, ed. David Barnouw and Gerrold

van der Stroom, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans, B. M. Mooyaart-Doubleday, and Susan Massotty [New York: Doubleday, 2003], 66, 74; hereafter *Critical Edition* in the text).

10. David Barnouw, "Anne Frank and Academia," in *Critical Edition*, 104–5.

11. Quoted in van der Stroom, "The Diaries, *Het Achterhuis* and the Translations," 59.

12. Nigel A. Caplan, "Revisiting the Diary: Rereading Anne Frank's Rewriting," *Lion and the Unicorn* 28, no. 1 (2004): 79.

13. Katherine Dalsimer, *Female Adolescence: Psychoanalytic Reflections on Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 72.

14. See Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *Writing as Resistance: Four Women Confronting the Holocaust: Edith Stein, Simone Weil, Anne Frank, Ety Hillesum* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 140.

15. Caplan, "Revisiting the Diary," 89.

16. Brenner, *Writing as Resistance*, 140–41.

17. Christopher Bigsby, *Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust: The Chain of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 220.

18. Catherine A. Bernard, "Anne Frank: The Cultivation of the Inspirational Victim," in *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust*, ed. Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), 220, 219. Bernard's point is, in my opinion, confirmed time and again by the distasteful reincarnations of a fictional Anne Frank in literary works (most by male authors), the most famous of which is Philip Roth's *The Ghost Writer* (New York: Library of America, 2007). A more recent male fantasy (a particularly violent, masculine, and unsettling one) on the "return" of Anne Frank is Shalom Auslander's *Hope: A Tragedy* (New York: Riverhead, 2012), a sad case of a good sense of humor meeting bad taste.

19. Harold Bloom, "Editor's Note," in *A Scholarly Look at The Diary of Anne Frank*, ed. Harold Bloom (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1999), vii.

20. Quoted in Caplan, "Revisiting the Diary," 77.

21. Lawrence L. Langer, "The Uses—and Misuses—of a Young Girl's Diary: 'If Anne Frank Could Return from among the Murdered, She Would Be Appalled,'" in *Anne Frank: Reflections on Her Life and Legacy*, ed. Hyman Aaron Enzer and Sandra Solotaroff-Enzer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 205.

22. Bettelheim's essay on the diary has been appositely criticized by Bigsby (*Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust*, 219–57).

23. Caplan, "Revisiting the Diary," 77–78.

24. Brenner, *Writing as Resistance*; Denise De Costa, *Anne Frank and Ety Hillesum: Inscribing Spirituality and Sexuality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

25. Dawid Sierakowiak, *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak: Five Notebooks from the Łódź Ghetto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

26. Brenner, *Writing as Resistance*, 135.

27. Hélène Berr, *Journal 1942–1944* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2008), 106 (my translation).

28. See, for example, Terrence Des Pres, "Holocaust Laughter?," in *Writing and the Holocaust*, ed. Berel Lang (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988), 216–33.

29. Steve Lipman, *Laughter in Hell: The Use of Humor during the Holocaust* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1991), 8.

30. John Morreall, *Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humor* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 119.

31. Antonin J. Obrdlik, "Gallows Humor: A Sociological Phenomenon," *American Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 5 (1942): 713.
32. Lipman, *Laughter in Hell*, 25.
33. Morreall, *Comic Relief*, 120.
34. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, trans. George A. Kennedy, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 151.
35. Quoted in Morreall, *Comic Relief*, 121.
36. Lipman, *Laughter in Hell*, 9.
37. Sigmund Freud, "Humour," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1973), 21: 163.
38. Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika Getta Warszawskiego* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), 369 (my translation).
39. The population of the Warsaw Ghetto had officially been liquidated between July 22 and September 12, 1942, almost a year before the uprising. Over 400,000 Jews are estimated to have been imprisoned within the ghetto, an area of about 1.3 square miles. Most of them died there; the rest were deported to extermination camps.
40. Glenn Sujo, *Legacies of Silence: The Visual Arts and Holocaust Memory* (London: Philip Wilson, 2001), 61.
41. Etty Hillesum, *An Interrupted Life and Letters from Westerbork*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 183.
42. Charlotte Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (Zwolle, Holland: Waanders, 1998.)
43. Berr, *Journal 1942–1944*.
44. Henri Bergson, *Le Rire: Essai sur la signification du comique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), 4–5 (my translation).
45. Ernst Schnabel, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958), 24.
46. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
47. Franz Kafka, "An Imperial Message," in *Kafka: Selected Stories*, trans. Ian Johnston (West Valley City, UT: Waking Lion, 2008), 96.
48. Martin L. Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 221.
49. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 24.
50. Jon Blair, director, *Anne Frank Remembered* (Los Angeles: Sony Pictures Classics, 1995), DVD.
51. Dalsimer, *Female Adolescence*, 70.
52. Blair, *Anne Frank Remembered*.
53. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 114–15.
54. Schnabel, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, 106.
55. *Ibid.* (emphasis added).
56. Blair, *Anne Frank Remembered*.
57. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 165.
58. Blair, *Anne Frank Remembered*.
59. Schnabel, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, 107.

60. Menno Metselaar and Ruud van der Rol, *Anne Frank: Her Life in Words and Pictures*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York: Roaring Brook, 2009), 66.

61. *Ibid.*, 51.

62. *Ibid.*, 42.

63. Blair, *Anne Frank Remembered*.

64. The frustrated Oedipal desire for the father is also perfectly exemplified in these lines: "I long for something from Father that he's incapable of giving . . . It's just that I'd like to feel that Father really loves me, not because I'm his child, but because I'm me, Anne" (*The Diary of a Young Girl*, 141).

65. Willy Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank* (New York: Anchor, 1992), 129.

66. This episode is retold in an even more detailed and literary fashion in Anne Frank, *Tales from the Secret Annex*, trans. Susan Massotty (New York: Bantam, 2003), 56–58.

67. Janet L. Surrey, "The 'Self-in-Relation': A Theory of Women's Development," in *Women's Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center*, ed. Judith V. Jordan et al. (New York: Guilford, 1991), 61–62.

68. Frank, *Tales from the Secret Annex*, 30.

69. *Ibid.*, 17.

70. *Ibid.*, 18.

71. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 165–66.

72. Frank, *Tales from the Secret Annex*, 20.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*, 21.

75. *Ibid.*, 24.

76. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 56.

77. Brenner, *Writing as Resistance*, 141.

78. Miep offers a slightly different version: "The one most affected by bad news was Mrs. Frank. Slowly . . . her attitude was becoming more and more dismal. All the rest of us were encouraged by the rumor that perhaps the razias were finished . . . But none of [the hopeful news] seemed to hearten Mrs. Frank . . . As much as all of us argued against her view, she saw no light at the end of the tunnel" (*Anne Frank Remembered*, 132–33).

79. Blair, *Anne Frank Remembered*.

80. Schnabel, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, 158, 159.

81. *Ibid.*, 169–170 (emphasis added).

82. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 108.

83. In particular, I am referring to Lawrence L. Langer, *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). In "Cultural Resistance to Genocide" in that volume, Langer questions the legitimacy of using a term such as "resistance" to qualify the artistic works produced by Jews during the Holocaust—artifacts that, at the end of the day, did not injure the enemy (an enemy "scornful of the very idea of Jewish culture") and did not "save Jewish lives" (52).

84. Freud, "Humour," 163.

85. For example, in one of her reflections on the subject, Frank writes: "I don't mean to imply that women should stop having children . . . What I condemn are our system of values and the men who don't acknowledge how great, difficult, but ultimately beautiful women's share in society is" (*The Diary of a Young Girl*, 320).

86. Warren S. Poland, "The Gift of Laughter: On the Development of a Sense of Humor in Clinical Analysis," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (1990): 198 (emphasis added).
87. Dalsimer, *Female Adolescence*, 73.
88. Quoted in Philip Crockatt, "Freud's 'On Narcissism: An Introduction,'" *Journal of Child Psychotherapy* 32, no. 1 (2006): 11.
89. Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," trans. James Strachey, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth, 1973), 14: 88, 89.
90. Schnabel, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, 49.
91. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 56.
92. Freud, "Humour," 162.
93. *Ibid.*, 163.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989).
96. Sarah Kofman, *Pourquoi rit-on? Freud et le mot d'esprit* (Paris: Galilée, 1986), 28.
97. Freud, "Humour," 166.
98. *Ibid.*
99. Dalsimer, *Female Adolescence*, 75.
100. De Costa, *Anne Frank and Ety Hillesum*, 122.
101. Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, *Signs* 1, no. 4 (1976): 881.
102. De Costa, *Anne Frank and Ety Hillesum*, 122.
103. Höss, *Death Dealer*, 183.
104. Simon Wiesenthal, "Epilogue to the Diary of Anne Frank," in *Anne Frank: Reflections on Her Life and Legacy*, 67.
105. Gies, *Anne Frank Remembered*, 122.

EPILOGUE : REMEMBER WHAT ZEUS DID TO YOU

1. Charlotte Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (Zwolle, Holland: Waanders, 1998). The German title is *Leben? Oder Theater? Ein Singespiel*.
2. Quoted in Mary Lowenthal Felstiner, *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 109–10.
3. Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, 747.
4. *Ibid.*, 815.
5. *Ibid.*, 816–17.
6. Norman Rosenthal writes in his introduction to *Life? or Theatre?*: "The name Charlotte Salomon occurs in few, if any, general histories of 20th-century art and culture—not even those devoted to Germany . . . Its very singularity has stood in the way of its recognition" ("Charlotte Salomon's *Life? or Theatre?* A 20th-Century Song of Innocence and Experience," in *Charlotte Salomon, Life? or Theatre?*, 10).
7. Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, 202.
8. Griselda Pollock, "Theater of Memory: Trauma and Cure in Charlotte Salomon's Modernist Fairytale," in *Reading Charlotte Salomon*, ed. Michael P. Steinberg and Monica Bohm-Duchen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 54.

9. Michael P. Steinberg, "Reading Charlotte Salomon: History, Memory, Modernism," in *Reading Charlotte Salomon*, 3.

10. Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, 762–63.

11. *Ibid.*, 814.

12. One day, Mr. and Mrs. Knarre and Lotte are enjoying a blissful lunch in the garden overlooking the splendid Riviera. The grandmother asks Charlotte: "Are you here in the world only to paint?" But before she can answer, the grandfather jumps in and scolds his wife: "You are too lenient with her [Charlotte]. Why shouldn't she work as a housemaid, like all the others?" (*ibid.*, 723).

13. *Ibid.*, 655.

14. Festiner, *To Paint Her Life*, 47.

15. For an in-depth discussion, and a slightly different interpretation, of Wolfsohn's figure in Salomon's life and art, see the important chapter devoted to this aspect in *ibid.*, 40–61.

16. *Ibid.*, 61.

17. *Ibid.*, 60.

18. Felstiner reports part of an interview that Paula Salomon-Lindberg gave half a century after the war, in which she casts Charlotte's love affair with Wolfsohn as a mere fantasy of the artist—who, according to Paula, had hardly been alone with him more than three times. The interviewer presses her: "You think the paintings are a fantasy"—to which Paula responds with a terse: "Dreaming. She is dreaming" (quoted in *ibid.*, 53).

19. *Ibid.*, 141–42.

20. *Ibid.*, 143.

21. Christine Conley, "Memory and Trauerspiel: Charlotte Salomon's *Life? or Theater?* and the Angel of History," in *Reading Charlotte Salomon*, ed. Michael P. Steinberg and Monica Bohm-Duchen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 99.

22. Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 27–28.

23. Amber Jacobs, *On Matricide: Myth, Psychoanalysis, and the Law of the Mother* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 25.

24. Marcia Ian, *Remembering the Phallic Mother: Psychoanalysis, Modernism, and the Fetish* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 13.

25. As Marianne Hirsch has written, Electra "[identifies] completely with her father's dis-course . . . [and] underwrites paternal law and male supremacy, as well as female antagonism, competition, and powerlessness" (*The Mother/Daughter Plot: Narrative, Psychoanalysis, Feminism* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989], 31). Luce Irigaray points out that it is the oracle of Apollo, son of Zeus, that inspires Orestes to kill his mother: "Orestes kills his mother because the empire of the God-Father [Zeus], who has seized and taken for his own the ancient powers (*puissances*) of the earth-mother, demands it. He kills his mother and is driven mad, as is his sister Electra. Electra, the daughter, will remain mad. The matricidal son, on the other hand, must be saved from madness so that he can found the patriarchal order" (*Sexes and Genealogies*, trans. Gillian C. Gill [New York: Columbia University Press, 1993], 12).

26. Jacobs, *On Matricide*, 69.

27. We shouldn't forget that Zeus himself had been helped by his mother to supplant his father, the Titan Cronus. Cronus, in turn, had castrated his father and replaced him as ruler of the universe. Then, fearing that his offspring might one day overthrow him, he began to

devour them (the baby Zeus escaped this terrible fate thanks to his mother's astuteness and later revenged himself on Cronus).

28. Jacobs, *On Matricide*, 67.

29. *Ibid.*, 72.

30. Salomon, *Life? or Theatre?*, 822.

31. *Ibid.*, 823.

32. As Conley points out, "the ironic commentary of CS [Charlotte Salomon, the persona of the artist who signs the overlays only by her initials] undermines the family patriarchs and the expert opinions of psychiatrists to suggest sources of culpability beyond the presumed degeneracy of the maternal line, most accurately in the veiled accusation of incest in the final scenes . . . where grandfather admonishes Charlotte for refusing to share his bed" ("Memory and Trauerspiel," 99).

33. I am indebted for these details about Ludwig Grunwald's death to the revealing documentary film *Leven? of Theater?* directed by Frans Weisz (Amsterdam: Homescreen, 2012), DVD.

34. Robert D. Baird, *Category Formation and the History of Religions* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 75.

