This year has seen the publication of the latest volume – number 5 – in Peter Lang Edition’s series “Polnische Studien zur Germanistik, Kulturwissenschaft und Linguistik.” The series was established by a distinguished Polish Germanist, Professor Norbert Honsza, a specialist in modern German literature, especially Thomas Mann, Heinrich Böll and Günter Grass. This particular volume was issued by two editors – apart from Honsza, Przemysław Sznurkowski, a Germanist from Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa who has published extensively on Siegfried Lenz’s writings.

The new book on German-Jewish identity puts forward the long-lasting question of German-Jewish coexistence provoked by the Jewish Enlightenment. This gave rise to the question of whether it is possible for Jews, and for Jewish writers especially, to combine Jewishness with being German within their self-identity. Heinrich Heine’s quest for the roots of German culture provides the most spectacular example of this tendency. One might prefer to label this phenomenon (Adolf Leschnizer) as a “symbiosis,” as it encompasses different degrees of acculturation. All in all, the most prominent Jewish writers, such as Micha Josef Berdyczewski, Chaim Nahman Bialik, and Shmuel Yosef Agnon chose to settle in Berlin, for instance, but also other German cities. For others, like Gershom Scholem’s family, the Weimar Republic was their homeland. There, Jewish religious life and Jewish scholarship flourished. On the other hand, however, from the Jewish Enlightenment onwards German soil witnessed Jewish acculturation – Jews’ self-identification with German culture.

When the Nazi Party rose to power the situation changed dramatically. Gershom Scholem quotes his mother’s letter sent to him in 1933, when the boycott of Jewish trade in Germany was declared by the Nazi regime. In the letter she said, Jetzt wird uns mitgeteilt, dass wir keine Deutschen sind.¹ Jewish-German identity becomes a challenge in the post-Holocaust era. The history of the Jewish-German relations on the cultural level – from the Enlightenment to the post-Holocaust era – may be characterized by the motif of the “golden hair.” Heine’s Lorelei sitting on the Rhine shore and combing her golden hair seems to be a quintessence of Germany:

Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet
Dort oben wunderbar,
Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar,

Sie kämmst es mit goldenem Kamme.

¹ Quoted from Theo Mechtenberg’s contribution to the volume under discussion, “Was sind Sie denn eigentlich: Die Frage nach der deutsch-jüdischen Identität” (pp. 157-172), p. 160.
The motif of “golden hair” emerges again in Celan’s famous phrase from his Todesfuge:

Ein Mann wohnt im Haus der spielt mit den Schlangen der schreibt der schreibt wenn es dunkelt nach Deutschland dein goldenes Haar Margarete Dein aschernes Haar Sulamith wir schaufeln ein Grab in den Lüften da liegt man nicht eng.

The affirmation of the German-Jewish Jungfrau in Heine’s poem turns to a dramatic split between the German and Jewish: Margarete-Lorelai is still combing her “golden hair,” while the hair of Sulamith turns to ashes. While in Heine’s poem, Lorelei is sitting against the bright landscape of the River Rhine, in Celan’s poem Deutschland is wreathed in darkness, where a man is “playing with vipers.” The opposition between “golden hair” and “hair of ashes” puts life against a void. Finally, however, Jews continued their life in Germany and Austria in the post-Holocaust era.

If we recall Leschnitzer’s labeling – “symbiosis” – after World War II the still possible Jewish-German symbiosis turned out to take the form of a “negative symbiosis” (Negative Symbiose). The label “negative symbiosis” was proposed by Dan Diner, who states,

Since Auschwitz – what a sad twist – one can speak indeed of a “German-Jewish symbiosis.” Of course it is a negative one: for both Germans as well as for Jews, the result of mass annihilation has become the starting point for their self-understanding. It is an example of contradictory mutuality, whether they want it or not for Germans as well as Jews have been linked to one another anew by this event. Such a negative symbiosis, constituted by the Nazis, will stamp a relationship of each group to itself and above all, each group for another for generations to come.²

However, since the end of the war, in the post-Holocaust era in present-day Germany and Austria we have been witnessing some literary phenomena that testify to the fact that the “German-Jewish” history, identity and memory still inspire and intrigue. Examples may be supplied by Benjamin Stern (born 1967) or Astrid Rosenfeld (born 1977) and her famous debut Adams Erbe,³ with a somewhat sensational and humoristic plot – if partially located in occupied Poland and the Warsaw ghetto.

The authors who contributed to the volume under discussion explore different fields of Jewish-German coexistence, especially as testified in literature, although some authors focus on the theological and sociological aspects of the present Jewish-German coexistence. It is impossible to discuss the whole content of the book and the diversity of the themes undertaken by the authors, but some interesting motifs, especially literary ones, may be pointed out here to show the complexity of the problem.

The Enlightenment and Romanticism open the history of the complex coexistence between Jewish and German cultures. At this point, the absorption of the German cultural heritage and active participation in it were also opened for Jews. An example may

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³ Diogenes Verlag, Zürich 2011.
be provided by Heinrich Heine and his complicated attitude to German culture and lan-
guage. To sum it up, in his article “Heinrich Heine: Der Schatten des Juden” (pp. 49-56),
N. Honsza quotes Jost Hermand, [“For Heine] Germany was his homeland (Vater- und
Mutterland), the land of his youth, his language, his education, the land towards which
he felt strong longing. On the other hand, Germany remains for him the land of Enlight-
enment, cosmopolitanism and brotherhood – the example that other states should fol-
low.” This is also the reason why Heine was so critical towards it (p. 55). Finally – as is
well known – Heine died in France, which he perceived as alien. One of his poems was
written during his sickness, when the poet was suffering, bedridden in Paris: “Ich bin ein
Wurm un ich verrecke/Und verfaule im fremden Drecke” (p. 56).

We may ask the question, “what is specifically Jewish in Jewish-German identity?”
Klaus Hödl discusses the phenomenon of “Jewish difference,” the particularity of Jew-
ishness in the popular culture of Vienna around 1900. In the example he supplies –
the popular play by Albert Hirsch A Geschicht’ von anno dazumal – a Jewish character
named Isaak appears. Although at the beginning of the plot he is a parasite living at the
expense of two poor ladies, towards the end he turns out to be a very noble, kind man,
who rescues these two ladies from oppression. According to Hödl, one cannot provide
any formative elements of Jewishness – a character’s behavior is shaped in the interac-
tion with other characters. One cannot unequivocally point out which are the “formative
elements” of the characters’ Jewishness, as it depends on the context.

Biographies of German and Austrian Jews are especially interesting. In her reflections
on “Deutsch-jüdische Indentität aus der Sicht ostjüdischer Autobiographien in deutscher
Sprache” (pp. 19-35), M. Kłańska demonstrates the differences between European Jews’
identity, or, more precisely, identities. The author points out the difference between
the identity of Western and Eastern European Jews. In the pre-war generation the accultura-
tion to German culture seemed to be possible. The community of German-spoken Jews
was not uniform. The identities of German-speaking Jews may sometimes conflict or
oppose each other. This may occur to the extent of “Jewish anti-Semite” in the memories
of Alexander Granach, who was born in Eastern Galicia and moved to Berlin. There –
among others – he studied acting at the Reinhardt Seminar. He did not remember any
manifestations of anti-Semitism till the outbreak of World War I, except for one incident
provoked by the director of the Seminar, a Hungarian Jew:

Er machte alles klein und nichtig. […] Sprach ich doch mit ausländischem Akzent. Und er
ahmte mich nach, verhöhnte mich. Wen er selbst kein Jude gewesen wäre, hätte ich ihn für
einen Antisemiten gehalten. Er war eben ein jüdischer Antisemit. (p. 26).

At the same time, some German Jews felt their affinity to German culture, which was
highly attractive to them. M. Kłańska quotes Nachum Goldman, a Zionist who in 1933
fled from Germany to the United States and from there to Israel, as saying, “No nation
and no culture, even not the Jewish one, influenced me so much as the German one did”
(p. 33). Despite his Zionist views, in the times of the Weimar Republic he considered
himself as a German citizen (ibid.).

The complexity of the problem may be shown through biography, which seems to be
a prominent category in the discussion. Ernst Toller’s biography raises anew the issue of
the fate of the European Jew, and the German one especially. His biography – through his
works, and his autobiography *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* among them – is presented by B. Heimann in “Der Dichter und Revolutionär Ernst Toller” (pp. 81-87). As to the complexity of the “formative elements” of his identity, one may recall his own words, quoted by Heimann:

> Stolz und Liebe sind nicht eines, und wenn mich einer fragte, wohin ich gehöre, ich würde antworten: eine jüdische Mutter hat mich geboren, Deutschland hat mich genährt, Europa mich gebildet, meine Heimat ist die Erde, die Welt mein Vaterland. (p. 87).

Although Toller accepted his Jewish roots and German origin, he perceived himself as a citizen of the world. However, facing the defeat of his international and revolutionary ideas, he committed suicide “in depression and despair” (ibid.). On the margin of Heimann’s observations we may add that the “cosmopolitan” identity appears in Jewish literary biographies. Examples may be provided by the American author Bernard Malamud and his short story “German Refugee,” where the main character, the German journalist Oskar, flees from Germany in the face of the Nazi rule. In New York he tries to start a new life, or rather to change his identity, to build it anew. This, however, proves to be impossible: he cannot abandon this “filthy language,” German, and acquire a new one – English. He looks for universal elements in Walt Whitman’s poetry, as if trying to find his place amidst the heritage of American literature and consciousness. Finally, Oskar commits suicide in a dramatic gesture of helplessness – he is not able to acquire and accept his “new identity,” but, on the other hand, he cannot live any longer with the previous one. As if the boundaries of his self-identification have been dissolved and he loses any “self.”

To some extent, this autobiographical pattern of “cosmopolitan” Jew fits the life of Kurt Tucholsky. Some aspects of his attitude to Judaism are discussed by M. Sagner in “Kurt Tucholskys Verhältnis zum Judenthum: Eine Projektionsfläsche für jüdischen Selbsthass” (pp. 89-103). In this case we are dealing with a skeptic and critical attitude to Judaism, as well as to Germany, following Heine in this respect. Tucholsky spoke out against anti-Semitism, and in his publications he lampooned anti-Semites. At the same time, however, mostly in his correspondence, he expressed far-reaching distance to his contemporary Jews and Jewish movements. Sanger presents his skeptical attitude towards both Zionism and Jewishness in general. The latter may be illustrated by the following quotation from Tucholski’s letter to Arnold Zwieg:


Similarly, in his letter to Hedwig Müller Tucholsky states,

> Über die Juden kann ich nur im Ton der tiefsten Verachtung sprechen. (p. 100)\(^4\)

All in all, we are dealing here with a peculiar situation where an important element of Jewish-German identity is an obvious rejection. Rejection of Zionism, and apparently

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resentment towards Jewishness altogether, reflects the complexity of Tucholsky’s identity. His “self” is constituted by pushing away his Jewishness.

Sometimes, however, the political situation after the Nazis rose to power in 1933 brought forward the emergence of a new Jewish “self.” An illustrative example for this may be supplied by the life story of Felix Aharon Theilhaber. R. Heuer, in her article “Eroberung des neuen Judentums für Israel: Felix Aron Theilhaber,” describes a way that is almost in the opposite direction in comparison with the ways of life of Toller and Tucholsky: from the acculturated Jewish family to active Zionism and emigration to Palestine.

One may observe that in the biographical accounts presented in the abovementioned articles one feature is prominent – hardly any one of their heroes stayed in Germany. To varying degrees, they realized the mythos of the wandering Jew or – in the terminology of Michel Foucault – “heterotopicality” (see further).

This seems to be at the core of Joseph Roth’s novel, Hiob, discussed by M. Lowsky in “Das weiße Tischchen am Meer oder: Der Intellektuelle Mendel Singer. Über Joseph Roth’s Roman ‘Hiob’” (pp. 71-80). There is no end to the journey – in escaping his tragic fate, Mendel Singer faces new sorrows and sufferings. The question remains open as the “white little table” at which Mendel sits drinking tea on the American beach. This gives rise to reminiscences of the mythos of the journey, while looking for a new life and a new identity – and a quest for a treasure, or simply for a good life without any strikes of misfortune. The man is confronted with the fate of the whole nation, and suffers because of his father’s sins. As the characters that appear in the novels of Mendele Mocher Sforim, or those of Agnon, wander, looking for their fate and sometimes encountering wonders. Maybe the “white table” symbolizes an “open cart,” i.e. the unpredictability of life and creation – including that of the writer.

The question also remains open to some extent after the Holocaust. There are still Jews in Germany and Austria who decided to settle there, or those who came back from the countries of their exile (England for instance). And there are also those, like Nelly Sachs, who decided to live outside the German-speaking countries but continue to write in German. In the case of German-speaking Jews, biography and language are interwoven with the experience of the Holocaust. The new categories which seem to be relevant in the post-Holocaust literature are memory and guilt.

German and Austrian literature had to confront the question of guilt, post-war remorse; it had to bear the burden of responsibility, and the German-speaking writers had to cope with their own memories and the memory of the nation.

Post-war Germany faced and confronted the dramatic recent past. The literary response to the wartime and Holocaust inspired some literary phenomena like Trümmerliteratur (“rubble literature”) and Gruppe 47. The young generation of writers tried to confront the recent past and find a new language for the post-war German experience. The prominent figures of the movement are recalled in V. Wehdeking’s article “Über Identität und literarische (Selbst-) Inszenierung der deutsch-jüdischen Minderheit nach 1945 und in der Gegenwartsliteratur” (pp. 135-155). In this context the names of Max Frisch, Alfred Andersch and Heinrich Böll appear. The question of Jews of German origin who lost their whole family in concentration camps in Europe, and remain alone – in fact – deprived of both homeland and identity, arises in Andersch’s novel Efraim.
The complexity and absolute, overwhelming guilt is focused like in a lens in Heinrich Böll’s dramatic statement of Überlebt zu haben ist fast schon Schuld. To survive, to go on living after the tragedy and atrocities of war, is saturated with guilt – the guilt emerging from the memory of destruction and grievance. Now it is impossible to overcome the past, “who would want to ‘overcome’ it?” (p. 154).

Some interesting articles in the collection deal with Jewish authors of the generation of the Holocaust or their children – representatives of the second generation who decided to continue their activity either in the German language or in Germany and Austria, or both. As in Jewish literature in general, also here the biography of the writer seems to be relevant, or, specifically, living in the shadow of death, the experience of exile, “wandering” in search for some proper place to live, the multilingualism that has accompanied the Jewish “self” since the period of the Second Temple.

The biographies of German writers with Jewish roots in the after-war period seem relevant here. Poet Hilde Domin spent part of her life in the Dominican Republic when, in 1939, other countries in the Americas including the United States refused to host German-Jewish refugees. Some Jewish writers of Jewish-German origin were born to parents who had survived the Nazi period in exile, in England for instance, like Barbara Honigmann. On the other hand, the life paths of some – like Ilse Aichinger – are interwoven into the fate of European Jewry during the Second World War. Aichinger was considered a Halbarierin by Nazi law in Austria. Her mother came from a Jewish assimilated family and Ilse was raised a Catholic. Her twin sister escaped with the children transported to England, while her Jewish grandmother and her mother’s younger sister were murdered in the Maly Trostenets concentration camp (Belarus under the Nazi occupation). The biographies of the third generation are also “heterotropic” (for the term coined by Michel Foucault see further, at the end of the present text), nomadic. Vladimir Vertlib was born in Saint Petersburg in the mid-1960s, and then with his parents left Russia for Israel, to move subsequently to Austria, and through USA, Holland and Italy, finally returning to Austria, where he settled permanently. Among the authors mentioned in the volume, Benjamin Stein supplies an interesting example of a complex German-Jewish biography. He was born in the GDR under a name unknown to the reading public, and at the age of 16 converted to Orthodox Judaism and adopted the name Benjamin Stein. As if he considered his previous life void.

The German-Jewish identity refers either to the place or to the language, or to both of them. The adjective “German” is always “the language,” either the mother-tongue or the most prominent one among the languages spoken. It is the only language which manages to bear the load of feelings and thoughts. The problem of language fits the typically Jewish phenomenon of multilingualism well. Heide Domin perceives her life as Sprachodysee. She recalls the times of her exile in England:

In England lebten wir dreisprachig. Italienisch war unser beider Privatsprache. Es war so gut wie ein Geheimcode. Mit den Eltern sprachen wir deutsch. Und im übrigen bemühten wir uns […] um das Englische.⁵

This statement may be regarded as a situation of Jewish multilingualism.

⁵ H. Domin, Aber die Hoffnung. Autobiographisches. Aus und über Deutschland, R. Piper, München – Zürich 1982, p. 27f. [according to Michael Braun’s article, p. 126].
The poetry of Hilde Domin is discussed by M. Braun in “‘Die schwersten Wege’: Exile und Sprache im Werk von Hilde Domin” (pp. 121-134). However, the language is being “neutralized,” i.e. it is deprived of the specifically “German” connotations. In other words, poetry is looking rather for universal values and senses. This seems to match the meta-poetical reflection of Hilde Domin as to the sense of the poem which is “ein Augenblick von Freiheit [...] ein ‘Nichtwort // ausgespannt / zwischen Wort und Wort’.” There is a generation – or generations – of Jewish German-language writers that were born after the war and after the Holocaust. Their return the German-speaking countries was difficult. They experienced exile – it is part of their biography. They gained a deep insight into the biographies of German-speaking Jews and their quest for their identity and – generally – their place in the world. In his article “Auf Sperensuche in der jüdischer Geschichte: die Identitätsproblemitik im Werk von Barbara Honigmann,” P. Sznurkowski quotes Honigmann’s view,

Es klingt paradox, aber ich bin eine deutsche Schriftstellerin, obwohl ich mich nicht als Deutsche fühle und nun auch schon seit Jahren in mehr in Deutschland lebe [...] Als Jude bin ich aus Deutschland weggegangen, aber in meiner Arbeit, in einer sehr starken Bindung an die deutsche Sprache, kehre ich immer wieder zurück.6

Thus for Barbara Honigmann, the bond with the language is so strong that, despite the exile she was forced to experience, she tends to define herself as a “German writer.”

This is a Jewish ethos embodied by both writers, as well as some characters that appear in their novels. Dagmar C.G. Lorentz focuses on two authors in “Selbstfindung nach der ‘Symbiose’: Das Erschreiben jüdischer Identitäten in den Werken von Ilse Aichinger und Vladimir Vertlib” (pp. 173-194). Vertlib recalls the problem of some Jews from the period before the war, when the Jewish identity was imposed on Germans of Jewish origin. Suddenly they realized that they are not Germans like Scholem’s mother. It is not enough to take such and such identity. You must be also perceived by the others as such. One of the characters, Gabriel Saltzinger, of his novel Letzter Wunsch hears:


As Dagmar Lorentz points out, although Gabriel tends to define his identity rather in cosmopolitan terms, he is perceived as a Jew by the others. Finally, Gabriel to some extent fails to choose his identity, as did Scholem’s family and Oskar, the main character of Malamud’s short story. The identity is not to be chosen, but it is determined by the surrounding society.

Memory still remains a very important component of identity. Sometimes it is family memory, as preserved by older generations, in the pictures and trinkets that survived. For Heinrich Böll memory constitutes a painful recollection of the past that man cannot

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6 B. Honigmann, Damals, dann und danach, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München 2005 [2], p. 17f [after the article under discussion, p. 243].
7 A fictional little town where the plot of the novel is placed.
8 V. Vertlib, Letzter Wunsch, Deuticke Verlag, Wien 2003, p. 304 [quoted according to the Dagmar C.G. Lorenz article in the volume under discussion, p. 190].
change. One cannot overcome the past. Is this really so? In fact, the more far off the past, the weaker the memory. On the other hand, when time turns, the same events may be seen in a different light.

In “Identität und Konvektion: Erbe oder Eskapismus? Die Nachkommen der Überlebenden und der Kriegskinder erschreiben sich ihren Ort in der Zeit” (pp. 209-232), L. Koelle focuses her reflections on the Jewish-German identity on the novels of two representatives of modern German belles-lettres, undertaking the issue of Jewish-German identity, or presenting it in a new light. One of the phenomena focused upon here is that of Benjamin Stein. His novel Die Leinwand was partially inspired by the row over Binjamin Wilkomirsky’s memoirs Bruchstücke. Aus einer Kindheit 1939-1948 published in 1995, which turned out to have been faked. The whole story, or two parallel stories, circulate around memory. According to Koelle, memory is an indispensable element of identity. But mechanisms of memory are complex. Marc Buhl describes the quest for the past of his characters, Gero and Tony. They had forever lived in the belief that she was a granddaughter of Jewish victims of the war. Their trials were connected with their family past, the past of victims and perpetrators. And unexpectedly, after sixty years had passed she realized that she was an offspring of the perpetrator:

Ich bin, sagte Tony sehr langsam, so als ob sie nach Wörtern suchte, die sie gar nicht finden wollte, ich bin die Enkelin deines Vergewaltigers. […] die Erbin eines Mörders, schrie Tony plötzlich. Des Mörders an dem Mann, der mein Großvater sein sollte.9

The family memory, the family story, must be dramatically changed. The character, Tony, finds herself on the side of the perpetrators, on the side of guilt.

The identity, the motives in writing may be perceived as an unresolvable bondage. Discussing the subject “Vladimir Vertlibs Selbstverständnis als österreichischer Autor russisch-jüdischer Herkunft,” Petra S. Fiero quotes Vertlib’s reflections concerning his identity and his “self”:

Man hat eben mehrere Identitäten, doch der Überlappungsbereich ist so groß, dass man nicht sagen kann, dieses Motiv kommt eher aus Russland, jenes aus Österreich und wieder etwas anderes habe mit meiner jüdischen Identität zu tun. […] Als Kind habe ich noch Russisch besser gesprochen als Deutsch […] Anton Tschechow, Michal Bulgakov oder Isaak Babel haben mich mehr geprägt als zum Beispiel Joseph Roth.10

The “identity” seems to be composed of different elements, like a mosaic. The openness to the “European” culture seems to be a Jewish propensity. Koelle’s notion of Konvektion as a mechanism of acculturation – the absorption of different elements – complements the picture.

As the articles from the collection deal mostly with literature, or the identity as testified in the text, some theoretical framework should be supplied to allow an adequate analysis of such complex – as presented above – literary artefacts. A very interesting proposal is advanced in the article – the only one in English – by Th. Nolden, “The Spaces of

9 M. Buhl, Das Billardzimmer, Eichborn Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 2006, p. 289 [according to the volume under discussion – p. 219].
Jewish Writing” (pp. 195-208). The key notion advanced here is that of “heterotopical-ity” – a notion coined by Michel Foucault. This refers to the literature that emerges and develops in the circumstances of diaspora, “displacement” to some extent. “Emerging outside the ‘homeland,’ Jewish writing is always conceived in ‘another space’: homeland itself can only be referred to as ‘another space’” (p. 201).

As mentioned earlier, it is beyond the scope of the present review to discuss every aspect of the German-Jewish identity dealt with in the volume. I focused only on some literary as well as bibliographical topics that allow some insight into the content of the collection of articles. Additionally, the above remarks are intended as an encouragement to a careful reading of the volume, which provides a number of thorough studies on a very interesting, relevant and – at the same time – complex subject. To make a profound study of the articles provided, however, an index of subjects and names should be supplemented.

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