RESHAPING COLLECTIVE MEMORIES: TRAUMA AND GUILT IN THE FILMIC ADAPTATION OF *GEBÜRTIG*[1]

Anabela Valente Simões

Universidade de Aveiro, ESTGA | CLLC

Portugal

anabela.simoes@ua.pt

Abstract

The present essay aims at discussing the topic of post-memory of World War II by individuals who formed their identity after the end of this historical landmark. Bearing this objective in mind, a reflection upon the influence of the different types of memory in the process of identity formation shall be proposed and it will be contended that both memories formed upon the subject's experiences as well as second-hand, intermediated, inherited memories from the past –memories transmitted either symbolically or by elder members of the group –, deeply influence the elaboration of a subject's identitary map. This theoretical framework will be subsequently illustrated with examples taken from the cinematographic adaptation of *Gebürtig*, a novel written by the Jewish Austrian author Robert Schindel.

Resumo

O presente artigo procura discutir a pós-memória da II Guerra Mundial junto de indivíduos que formaram a sua identidade após o final deste marco histórico. Propõe-se, para tal, uma reflexão sobre a influência dos diferentes tipos de memória no processo de formação identitária e afirmar-se-á que, a par das memórias resultantes de experiências

---

[1] A version of this essay was first presented at the International Conference *Figures of Fiction IV* held at the University of Coimbra, in 2013.

vividas pelo próprio sujeito, também as memórias indiretas, intermediadas e herdadas do passado – memórias transmitidas quer de forma simbólica, quer através do testemunho de elementos mais velhos do grupo –, influenciam profundamente a elaboração do mapa identitário de cada sujeito. Este enquadramento teórico será posteriormente ilustrado com exemplos retirados da adaptação cinematográfica de *Gebürtig,* um romance do autor austríaco de origem judaica Robert Schindel.

Palavras-chave: Idendidade, (pós)memória, efeitos do Holocausto, trauma, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

Key words: Identity, (post)memory, the after-effects of the Holocaust, trauma, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

In Germany and Austria there is a prolific generation of writers that have as common biographical note their progenitors' tragic destinies during the national-socialist dictatorship. Particularly from the 1990s onwards, Jewish authors such as Katja Behrens (1942), Ruth Beckermann (1943), Robert Schindel (1944), Elfriede Jelinek (1946), Viola Roggenkamp (1948), Barbara Honigmann (1949), Esther Dischereit (1952), Robert Menasse (1954) and Doron Rabinovici (1961), among others, have been presenting their views and interpretations of that particular moment of history, not only through their literary representations, but also through forms of political activism and social interventionism.

From here one could acknowledge that the national-socialist past is an important element of their identity – an assumption that directs us to the complex mechanism of identity constitution and unfolds the argument that not only personal memories influence the development of the *Self*. Similarly, family and historical memories do play a key role in the process of identity formation as well.

The path to understanding what identity actually is could start with a plain definition taken from, for example, the *Oxford Dictionary*, where the concept is defined as follows: "the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is; a close similarity or affinity". From these two meanings one infers it relates to the notion of

"being identical", which means, sharing with others a set of characteristics such as language, customs and traditions, landscapes, myths, monuments or heroic characters, etc. These features are shared cultural elements and, as a result, they are distinctive attributes of a subject's collective identity.

Drawing on this idea of similitude or resemblance within a group, Stuart Hall introduces the central topic of "identification", which "is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal." And identity, in the end, would be "a process of articulation, a suturing that bounds people" amidst that group (Hall, 1996: 16).

There is apparent transparency in such explanations, nevertheless understanding identity is not as clear and unproblematic as it seems, as there are specificities of extreme complexity that must be regarded. Herein we aim at shedding some light on some those particular aspects, namely the importance of memory in the process of its development.

In point of fact, identity could also be explained according to the following threefold idea: firstly, it is related to the perception or conscience one has of himself as an individual; secondly, it comprises a sense of belonging to a specific context or place one is a social actor or feels specially bonded with; finally, it is completed upon the interaction one conducts with others in those contexts or places. All in all, in order to form a subject's identity ability to self-representation, a social and cultural context and, finally, social interaction are required.

Furthermore, in today's world the concept of identity has been conforming itself to a new reality that constantly evolves and mutates as a result of the continuous need of adjustments. To use here Zygmunt Bauman's terminology, in a "liquid modernity" where everything is fluid and flexible, one's identity is no longer marked by permanence and stability but by mobility and change. This means that a subject's identity is not unified and stable, self-centred and parted from social context; on the contrary, it is undefined and decentralized, it is the result of new life forms that inhibit individuals to have a fixed and permanent identity. In the face of contemporary social diversity and therefore having to simultaneously act in different cultural systems, each individual may integrate multiple identity constellations, some even contradictory, which are continuously formed and transformed. As Hall affirms, in late modern times a subject's identity is "never unified,

but increasingly fragmented, never singular but multiply constructed across different intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions" (Hall, 1996: 17). Expanding on this, and as Maria Irene Ramalho and António Sousa Ribeiro explain, identity should be perceived as a plural and dynamic idea, that constitutes itself over discursive means:

> Identity is a plural concept (every individual, every collective entity can, not only at different moments but also simultaneously, participate in different identitary constellations). Identity is a dynamic concept (it is in permanent transformation and in this sense identity does not represent what one is, but rather what one is to come). Identity is a discursive concept (i.e., it constitutes itself in the process of social communication in a broader sense)[2]. (Ramalho and Ribeiro, 2001: 472)

This idea of plurality and fragmentation does not invalidate though the ground rule that foresees a sense of continuity in a subject's identitary reality. By establishing a structured relation between the several temporalities, i.e., by interconnecting past, present and future in a coherent fashion, each individual guarantees a sense of continuity and consistency, on the one hand in his personal history and, on the other hand, in the history of the community where he finds the fundamentals of his identity. Having this in consideration, research points at a definition of identity based upon a set of three specific concepts – continuity, connection and space and time permanency – which, once articulated, determine a subject's personal identity.   In this sense identitary formation may be perceived as the outcome of i) psychological and physical continuity or permanence in time, ii) a coherent correlation of the several moments or episodes of our life and iii) the ability to locate oneself in a certain place and specific time. The interconnection of these elements allows the writing of personal narratives which, once put together, constitute the subject's self-definition:

---

[2] ["Identidade é um conceito plural (todo o indivíduo, todo o colectivo, pode, não apenas em diferentes momentos, mas também em simultâneo, ser participante em constelações identitárias diversas). Identidade é um conceito dinâmico (está em permanente transformação e, neste sentido, a identidade não representa o que se é, mas o que se devém). Identidade é um conceito discursivo (isto é, constitui-se no processo da comunicação social num sentido amplo)."]

> Personal identity isn't anything more than that, a dynamic vital story, a report that we have been writing, developing, reviewing and transforming upon the various identification and de-identification processes we experience and that we are going to connect with the reports of our social and cultural context[3]. (Castañiera, 2005: 42)

As it was implied before, individuals are formed upon the variety of relationships they establish with others, in accordance to a dialectic process through which they are, simultaneously, issuers and recipients of a set of axiologies, senses and symbols expressed in a certain culture. This conscience of social belonging, attained through the act of sharing common symbols, leads to the constitution of a collective identity that is transmitted and perpetuated across different generations of individuals. These symbols embody a collection of symbolic and identifying elements which assume themselves as differentiating characteristics created to symbolize a group, a society or a nation with the purpose of nourishing a sense of unity and community and stimulating the feeling of belonging to a collective entity (Schnapper, 2007: 9). Beyond these factors, the self-definition of a group still needs another fundamental element, responsible for carrying existential cohesion and coherence on the one hand, and for moulding identities on the other hand: the common remembrance of historical events.

The question of memory, as well as its importance in the process of one's identity formation, has been one of the most central topics in contemporary reflection. On the one hand, being able to align personal memories enables each subject to narrate his own story, that is, to draw a line that connects the several stages one has undergone and then reach self-understanding. This organized construction of the moments one has lived, allows the individual to attain the sense of integration and coherence, which are fundamental pieces in one's identity formation. On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that not only experienced events play a key role in a subject's identity; occurrences or facts prior to the subject's birth may also integrate one's identity. These past events may be transmitted

---

[3] ["La identidad personal no es nada más que eso, una historia vital dinámica, un relato que vamos construyendo, desplegando, revisando y transformando a partir de los diversos procesos de identificación y desidentificación vividos y que vamos conectando con los relatos de nuestro contexto sociocultural."]

both through the process of communicative memory and through the mechanisms of cultural memory. Whereas the first concept refers to forms of remembrance that are generally oral and very much determined by those individuals who lived through or during the event in question, the later refers to the texts, ceremonies, images, architectures, and monuments created to memorialise important events. In other words, communicative memories occur when the knowledge of events is inter-generationally passed on, which happens every time elder family members describe what they have actually witnessed or been involved in. On the other hand, cultural memories offer a public narrative of a historical event, which is learnt through symbolic means such as material representations (books, films, images, libraries, museums, etc.) or symbolic practices (traditions, celebrations, rituals, etc.) (Assmann, 2006: 51-58).

Focusing now on the post-*Shoah* generations, it is a fact that these individuals do not really bear a true memory of that historical event; instead, they have a form of secondary memory, an intermediated, second-hand memory which, indirectly, also belongs to them. The representation of the past based on these inherited memories led to a new category of memory which Marianne Hirsch coined as "postmemory":

> Postmemory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch, 2008: 103)

Referring himself to post-Holocaust artists, James E. Young also considers this is a generation that has been building an image of the past essentially upon what he calls a "received history" that was in great part constructed upon visual memories, which he describes as follows:

> [Their] experience of the past is photographs, films, books, testimonies… a mediated experience, the afterlife of memory represented in history's after-images: the impressions retained in the mind's eye of a vivid sensation long after the original, external cause has been removed (Young, 2000: 3-4).

The present essay aims precisely at focusing on the consequences of this specific non-experienced past; through the form of a filmic work – a visual memory that has also entered the realm of cultural memories, that symbolic mechanism that teaches the following generations about the past –, a second-generation individual presents his interpretation of the after-effects of the *Shoah*. All of these complexities are represented in *Gebürtig*, firstly in the form of a novel, then a cinematographic adaptation that was also co-developed by the original author, Robert Schindel (*1944).

Schindler is an Austrian Jew whose parents migrated to France in 1943, where they organized a communist resistance group. Their false identities would be eventually disclosed, but before they were taken to Auschwitz Schindel's mother succeeded in hiding him in an orphanage. His father would be murdered in the concentration camp of Dachau shortly after, but his mother managed to return to Vienna and reunite with her child. In 1968 Schindler started studying Philosophy and Pedagogics, joined Maoist groups, and founded the student movement *Kommune Wien*, and *Hundsblume*, the journal where he would publish his first texts. Since 2009 Schindel is a professor at the *Institut für Sprachkunst*, in the *Universität für Angewandte Kunst*, in Vienna[4].

To fully grasp the specificities of Schindel's work one must comprehend, on the one hand, the importance of the Holocaust in Jewish self-perception and, on the other hand, certain ambiguities of Austria's attitude towards its national-socialist past. Therefore, the next paragraphs will aim to succinctly approach these two matters.

The Holocaust, more than any other historical or cultural factor, seems to be the pivotal moment in post-war Jewish identity. According to Matt Bunzl, "it became the central aspect in Jewish self-perception" (Bunzl, 2000: 156), and not only for Israelis of Jewish confession, but also for many other members of the Jewish Diaspora who continue to review themselves in the suffering of the Holocaust victims and keep on preserving the memory of all who perished. This Diaspora feels integrated in a global community of victims and assumes the "cult of the victim" as a unifying element, which bonds them around a common historical event and provides them with the sense of belonging to a group that share a marking collective memory.

---

[4]Cf. Robert Schindel's official website: http://www.schindel.at/med_bio.htm

The Austrian reality, nonetheless, assumes specific characteristics which produced a different pattern as far as the Jewish identity self-reconstruction is concerned. In opposition to Germany, where the discussion about the crimes perpetrated during the twelve years of nazi dictatorship started in the immediate post-war, in Austria the national-socialist past was handled as taboo and, therefore, kept in silence. In fact, Austria suppressed this episode from its historical conscience for a long period of time and kept the collaboration with the nazi regime under the false myth that Austrians were also victims:

> Unlike Germany's near obsession with its Nazi past, Austria's relationship to its wartime history has remained decorously submerged, politely out of sight. Indeed, the post war identity of Austria had been based upon the self-serving myth that the country was Hitler's first victim. (Young, 1999: 7)

Furthermore, Heidemarie Uhl also reinforces that

> Austrians refused to accept the fact that following the *Anschluss* in March 1938, Austria became an integral part of Nazi Germany and that Austrians willingly, and often enthusiastically, participated in the execution of the Nazi regime's murderous policies. (Uhl, 2009: 61)

The reality is that after the end of the warAustria and Germany assumedquite different attitudes towards their recent past. After the constitution of the Second Republic, on April 27, 1945 – at the same time as Germany was being held responsible for crimes of genocide –, Austria assumed a completely contrary position and constructed a collective identity based on the idea of being the primary victim of the nazis. The denial of guilt and the myth of the victim proved to be quite convenient, both for the elite and the majority of the population as well. In fact, Austrian intellectuals seem to have not scrutinized the facts of the past, but rather denied any connection with the perpetrated crimes, either personalizing historical responsibility in the figure of Adolf Hitler, or generally transferring sole responsibility to the Germans. This perception, this imagined national narrative would last several decades.

The failed process of the Austrian *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* would finally meet a new direction after 1986, when an unexpected revelation generated a major political scandal and led to a reflection about Austria's co-participation in the nazi crimes. The crystallized official narrative that Austria was Hitler's first victim started at last to be questioned as a consequence of the so-called "Waldheim affair": during his election campaign[5], Kurt Waldheim, Austrian president from 1986 to 1992, had to face massive accusations related to his participation in the nazi regime as an SS-officer. Waldheim then claimed he had only "fulfilled his duty" (Uhl, 2001: 30-46).

The *Lebenslüge* ("lie of a lifetime") the seven years of active collaboration with Hitler's regime, had been, therefore, concealed, recharacterized and transformed into a national myth. Some even argue that the founding fathers of Austria's Second Republic "invented" another version of history (*apud* Knight, 2001: 130).

On the whole, it took more than four decades to the political, juridical and public recognition of Austrian Jews as Holocaust victims; forty years after the first legal actions against nazi criminals and the payment of compensations to the victims residing in Germany. This change in the perception of history had a double effect: on the one hand, the consolidated image of the victim that Austrians had of themselves was substituted by the image of the aggressor, particularly an aggressor that concealed its accountability; on the other hand, the Austrian Jewish community had, at last, the right to their role as *unique* victims and to the opportunity to affirmatively redefine their identity as members of a global community of victims.

These developments fostered the rebirth of Jewish political and intellectual intervention. Initially through journalistic essays and opinion articles and later through literary discourse, a group of young intellectuals was called to comment on both Waldheim's election and Jörg Haider's populist and anti-Semitic speeches. And Robert Schindel is one of the important names involved in this process of confrontation with the past.

---

[5] Of particular relevance is the circumstance that 1986 campaign was also accompanied by increasing right-wing populism, represented by ÖFP [Austrian Freedom Party]'s leader Jörg Haider, whose explicit racist and anti-Semitic ideas clearly demonstrate that, despite the Holocaust, it was (still) possible to exhort such ideas in the Austrian political field.

Gebürtig ("born in"/ "native of") was first published in 1992 and, a decade later, adapted to cinema by Lukas Stepanik and Schindel himself. Set in Vienna, the novel centres on the character of Danny Demant, a second-generation Jewish cabaret artist, and his circle of acquaintances from intellectual elite, and explores the ongoing problematic relationships between Jewish and non-Jewish individuals. The burden of the past and the way political authorities have dealt with the country's participation in the regime seem to be responsible for the existence of a "glass wall" (Schindel, 1992: 12) that separates Jews from non-Jews, even though most of them share the same birth country. It seems these individuals are bearers of different "Gebürtigkeiten", that is to say, conflicting origins and identities that cannot conciliate because it is impossible to overcome such a heinous past.

Just like in the novel, the characters portrayed in the film also render an existence that is suffocated beneath a never ending past. Nevertheless, there are some important differences as well, such as the time events take place, the narrative structure and the fashion some characters participate in the plot and the impact that they bring into the story. Firstly, whereas the action of the novel starts in 1983, in the film the story line is set in the year 1987, a time in which the "Waldheim affair" caused a wave of negative headlines for Austria around the world. Secondly, one of the most crucial elements in the novel is the effect of double fictionalization, that is, within the main novel there is another novel, created by the character Emmanuel Katz, a Jewish second-generation writer. In the film this *mis-en-alûme* was left aside, and both actions run simultaneously and intertwine. (A similar effect is created though, with the introduction of a film within a film.) Finally, the number of characters and their relationships within the narrative undergo significant changes as well.

In the filmic adaptation, Danny Demant assumes a dual role, as he is both character and the off-camera narrator of the events. On the one hand, he introduces the story of Susanne Ressel, who he used to be in a relationship with, and Hermann Gibirtig. Her father is Karl Ressel, a pensioner that had survived the nazis as a communist political prisoner in the Ebensee concentration camp. One day, Karl Ressel unexpectedly meets and recognises Rudolf Pointner, a former concentration-camp supervisor, and the excitement is such that he succumbs of a heart attack. His daughter is then confronted with the full severity of the past and decides to embark on a journey to bring the war

criminal to justice. With this objective in mind, she seeks Gebirtig, a former concentration camp inmate and one of the still living survivors that could testify against Pointer. However, Gibirtig, a Jewish emigrant who managed to establish himself in New York as a successful composer[6], had made a firm decision to turn his back on Vienna, convinced that running way from the *Schlangengrubbe* ("snake cave")[7], he could actually forget and overcome his traumatic past. Eventually Susanne would persuade him to return, but, and despite their efforts, when trial takes place Pointer is found not guilty due to "lack of evidence", which would deepen even further Gibirtig's frustration towards Austrian authorities[8].

On the other hand, Danny Demant conveys the story of the other key figure of the drama. When hired by an American film crew to play the role of a Viennese Jew in Auschwitz, Demant meets Konrad Sachs, a culture journalist from Hamburg, who spent his whole life repressing the fact that he is the son of a high-ranking concentration camp doctor. But that visit to Auschwitz would awake old ghosts and the past starts to haunt him back. Despite the fact he had long "decided to have no father, to have never had afather [and to keep] his origins secret" (Schindel, 1992: 55)[9], it becomes evident that Sachs fiercely struggles to cope with the past, with the inability to relate to Jewish individuals, with the burden of being the repository of such a dark inheritance.

It is quite striking the way Konrad Sachs is portrayed and in our opinion this is the film's most interesting character. He certainly gains strength in the cinematographic adaptation, as the trauma of the children of the perpetrators, often handled as a taboo, gets to be intensely unfolded. The representation of such trauma – through hallucinations, nightmares and acute uneasiness in the presence of Jews[10] – actually corresponds to what has been registered in many psychological and psychiatric studies, in which it was observed that in many cases the children of criminals had developed traumas as deep as the traumas

---

[6] According to Schindel, this character was based on a real person, on Georg Kreisler, an Austrian Viennese cabarettist, satirist, composer, and author (Schiefer, 2002).

[7] Cf. Schindel & Stepanik, 2002: 51'00 - 52'00.

[8] In the novel, this plot was the inside novel, the manuscript created by the second-generation Jewish character Emmanuel Katz.

[9] [„Er beschloβ keinen Vater zu haben, nie einen Vater gehabt zu haben […] Seine Herkunftt hielt er geheim."]

[10] Cf. Schindel & Stepanik, 2002: 7'20 - 7'55 and 30'50 - 31'24.

of the children of the victims[11]. Furthermore, the chosen image for the film poster, as well as for the book's later edition, is taken from one of Sachs' nightmares: a young boy, dressed with a nazi uniform, plays in front of a concentration camp, in the railways where wagons full of prisoners would arrive; over his head a haunting and dark cloud of birds crosses the sky. Then, in the film, the child looks at it both scared and confused.

Images 1 and 2: *Gebürtig's* film poster and book cover art. Images courtesy of Mr. Robert Schindel and Suhrkamp Verlag Berlin

The depth of Sachs' identity crisis[12] forces us to reflect upon the difficult and controversial argument that considers the sons and daughters of the nazi generation also victims of the past. If, on the one hand, second generation Jews claim they are the ones mostly afflicted, because they had to deal with the suffering and healing process of their relatives and had to grow and form their identities under the shadow of a problematic past that shattered their progenitors' lives; on the other hand, the sons and daughters of the

---

[11] See, for instance, Bar-on (2004); Brenner (2000); Coleman (1995); Hardtmann (1995).

[12] This character also seems to have been inspired in a real person, identified as Niklas Frank, a journalist for the *Stern* magazine and Schindel's personal friend (See, for example, Costazza, 2005: 384). The symmetries are in fact quite evident: Frank was born in München in 1939 and spent his first years in Krakow, where his father collaborated with the nazi regime as *Generalgouvernor*. As a result of the Nurnberg Process the nazi officer, AKA *Schlächter von Polen* ("Polen's butcher"), was condemned to death in 1946. In 1987 Niklas Frank published a book entitled *Der Vater. Eine Abrechnung*, where, in opposition to most of the sons and daughters of the nazi criminals at that time, he assumed who his father was and did and openly condemned his actions. Due its polemical content, the book was negatively received by many, who considered Frank someone who had fouled his own nest, by taking to a concrete, individual and familiar level an issue that was only discussed in general and social terms (Göllner, 2004).

nazi generation have been writing their personal narratives in a context with the longest process of overcoming an earlier event, a past that has convicted them to an unbearable moral guilt and continuous judgments for actions that preceded their birth.

It seems that during the 10 years that separate these two narratives, Schindel has managed to break the "glass wall" he talked about in the novel in the early nineties. The impression is conveyed that he has accepted that all second-generation individuals, independently of their family backgrounds, are stricken by the burden of history. In the end, due to the course of history both are bound to either the perpetrators or the victims, which points at a symmetric profile, a parallelism one can establish between the two groups. As Saul Friedländer (1987: 9-10) explains, "both are helplessly interwoven and any re-elaboration of one memory directly impinges on the other. Ultimately, neither Jews nor Gentiles can relate their own memory without relating to the other's as well".

All in all, *Gebürtig* portrays the significance of the past and one's origins, inherited guilt and successfully dealing with the present within a complex web of relationships. "We've felt sorry for ourselves for too long" is the conclusion reached by both Konrad, the son of a murderer, and Gebirtig, the victim. According to the author, the polarity of victims and perpetrators is surmounted as each personal fate is considered and the bonds between the characters are rearranged. These are subjects whose lives are as different as they are identical and, in the end, this appears to provide an opportunity for "cautiousreconciliation" (*apud* Schiefer, 2002). And such evolution seems to corroborate the theory that our identity is indeed a dynamic narrative that is in permanent transformation or, as Hall (1990: 222) puts it, a "production that is never complete, always in process".

Then again, the record of filmic renderings that depict the national-socialist period has definitely become quite extensive throughout the years. Even in more recent years there is a significant list of films with worldwide distribution – *The reader, The boy with striped pajamas, Valkyrie, Good, Defiance* and *Inglorious basterds* are all extraordinary examples of this – that keep on relating to this historical moment and gathering considerate attention and recognition. Simultaneously, productions such as *Gebürtig* (2002), *The Downfall* (2004), *Stauffenberg. Operation Valkyrie* (2004), *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days* (2005), *The Counterfeiters* (2007), *A Woman in Berlin* (2008) and *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* (2013) are recent European

works that also reveal this unceasing tendency to revisit this same historical period. Interesting is that, in opposition to what has been done in previous decades, many of these projects do not exclusively focus on Jewish victims or circumstances, but instead try to depict the perspective of non-Jews involved or contemporary of that same period. And *Gebürtig*, ironically written by a Jew, seems to have introduced this new trend. On the whole, it seems that recent Holocaust cinematography, by introducing this new perspective, is bringing a new input into the reshaping of collective memories and into the dynamics of remembering and dealing with such a singular past.

Bibliography

ASSMANN, Aleida (2006), *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik,* München: C.H. Beck.

BAR-ON, Dan (2004), *Die Last des Schweigens. Gespräche mit Kindern von Nazi Täter,* Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

BERGMANN, Martin S. and Jucovy, Milton E. (eds) (1995), *Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaus,* Frankfurt a.Main: S. Fischer.

BRENNER, Michael (2000). "Epilog oder Neuanfang?", *Jüdenin Deutschland nach 1945.* Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, pp. 35-44.

BUNZL, Matti (2000), "Die Wiener Jahrhundertwende und die Konstruktion jüdischer Identitäten in der Zweiten Republik", *Erinnerung als Gegenwart jüdische Gedenkkulturen.* Berlin: Philo, pp. 149-172.

COLEMAN, M. Donald (1995). "Kind von Verfolgern", *Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaus,* Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, pp. 217-238.

COSTAZZA, Alessandro (2005), "La memoria ereditaria: la Shoah nel romanzo y nel film 'Gebürtig' di Robert Schindel", *Representare la Shoah,* Caderni di Acme 75, Cisalpino, pp. 379-398.

FRIEDLÄNDER, Saul (1987), "West Germany and the Burden of the Past: The Ongoing Debate", *The Jerusalem Quarterly,* 42 (Spring), pp. 9-10.

GÖLLNER, Renate (2004), "'Brecht mit eurem Vater'.Bruch und falsche Versöhnung in der postnazistischen Familie", *Context XXI. Magazin zur Alpenbegradigung:* http://www.contextxxi.at/context/content/view/37/35/.

HALL, Stuart (1990), "Cultural identity and diaspora", *Identity, Community, Culture Difference*, London: Lawrence & Wisart: pp. 222-237.

--- (1996), "Introduction: who needs identity?",*Questions of Cultural Identity,* London: Sage, pp. 1-17.

HARDTMANN, Gertrud (1995),"Die Schatten der Vergangenheit",*Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaust*, Frankfurt a.Main: S. Fischer, pp. 239-261.

HIRSCH, Marianne (1992). "Family Pictures: Maus, Mourning, and Post-Memory," *Discourse* 15 (2), pp. 3-29.

--- (1997), *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

--- (2008), "The Generation of Postmemory",*Poetics Today,* Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 29.1 (Spring), pp. 103-128.

KNIGHT, R. (2001), "The Austrian State Treaty and beyond", *Contemporary European History*, 10, 1, pp. 123-142.

SCHIEFER, Karin (2002), „Gebirtig by Lukas Stepanik and Robert Schindel", *Austrian Film Comission,* Viena:

http://www.afc.at/jart/prj3/afc/main.jart?artikel_id=5231&content-id=1148999736995&rel=de&reserve-mode=active

SCHNAPPER, Dominique *et al* (2007), *Identity and Memory*.Paris: Culturesfrance.

SCHINDEL, Robert (1992), *Gebürtig.* Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp

SCHINDEL, Robert and Stepanik L. (2002). *Gebürtig.* Cult Film.

UHL, Heidemarie (2001), "Das 'erste Opfer'. Der österreichische Opfermythos und seine Transformationen in der Zweiten Republik", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft,* 30, 1, pp. 19-34.

-- (2009), "Conflicting Cultures of Memory in Europe: New Borders between East and West?",*Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs,* III, 3,pp. 59-72.

YOUNG, James E. (1999), "Memory and Counter-Memory. The End of the Monument in Germany", *Harvard Design Magazine*, 9, Fall, 1-9