

HEIMAT IN THE COLD WAR: WEST GERMANY'S MULTIMEDIAL EASTS,
1949-1989

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As a result of two world wars, decolonization, and labor migration in the twentieth century the notion of belonging underwent a radical transformation. This dissertation examines how the German concept of *Heimat*, an arguably untranslatable term that connotes localized belonging, was politically and culturally affected by the Cold War. The dissertation focuses on the role of Sudeten Germans, ethnic Germans expelled from postwar Czechoslovakia, in forging a link between *Heimat*, border tropes, and the physical landscape of the Iron Curtain between West Germany and Czechoslovakia. It interrogates this linkage, which allowed the expellees to fashion *Heimat* into an intermedial site of Cold War aesthetics, a linchpin between the postwar era and the Cold War, and an idiom of international law.

Chapter One reframes current public and academic discussions of 'Germans as victims.' It moves beyond a German-Jewish dyad to consider how Sudeten Germans engaged Palestine's political, cultural, and religious meanings in order to re-imagine Palestine as a quintessential homeland. Chapter Two reconsiders the role of nostalgia in processes of sensory and, above all, visual contact with *Heimat* as documented in Sudeten German borderland photography, travel reports, and poetry published during the Cold War. Chapter Three addresses postwar Sudeten German debates on language vis-à-vis literary histories of the "Sudeten German literature." A disjuncture between them posits Sudeten German culture as a challenge to the unproblematic link between a particular language and a certain kind of literary aesthetic as developed in the theory of minor literature of Gilles Deleuze and Félix

Guattari. The epilogue probes the analytical salience of “postwar” and “Cold War,” two terms used largely interchangeably by many scholars today. It defines their meaning via their relationship to *Heimat*. Oriented nationally, “postwar” *Heimat* contrasts with “Cold War” *Heimat*, which resonates in international discussions of self-determination, minority rights, and the right to the homeland. By elaborating the degree to which Sudeten Germans embraced both, this dissertation emphasizes the role of the expellees not only in wartime and postwar contexts but also in the culture and aesthetics of the Cold War.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Yuliya Komska was born in Lviv, Ukraine, where she studied English at the Lviv State Ivan Franco University between 1994 and 1996. She received a B.A., summa cum laude, in German and Art History from Colby College in 2000, with distinction in major. In 2003 she received an M.A. in Germanic Studies from Cornell University and in 2009 she was awarded a Ph.D. in Germanic Studies from Cornell University. She has also studied or conducted research at the University of Munich and the University of Gießen. Since 2007 she has been on faculty at the Department of German Studies at Dartmouth College.

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INTRODUCTION
A HOMELAND OF GESTURE

Looking like a crown of thorns expanded to lacerate the remaining body in its entirety, barbed wire, a staple of concentration camp iconography, scores Jesus' flesh as he attempts to cross the border between *Heimat* in the East and the space of the viewer (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Adolf Günther, *Untitled*, (1963).

Positioned between a ruin of an ostensibly abandoned and dilapidated German house in no-man's-land and a watchtower, illuminated and thrust forward by a white cross of light behind him, Jesus appears to shed his blood on a derelict borderland. Above him, redemptive rays highlight two weeping *Landser* headed westward, while another

pair appears to be arrested in a moment of helplessness and perplexity, a condition rendered opaque by the unavailability of their faces. Between the two pairs are two other figures exempted from the salvific glow and opposing directionality of the luminous diagonals. One of these resembles Pilate washing his hands. In accordance to centuries-old iconographic codes oblivious to resolutions of Vatican II, the artist endows this Pilate with features that are undeniably if ahistorically Semitic.¹ Reversing the victim-perpetrator dynamic in the wake of the Holocaust, Adolf Günther draws a clear parallel between the biblical passion and the exodus of ethnic Germans from postwar Eastern Europe. On his image, these German expellees (*Vertriebene* or *Heimatvertriebene*) continue to suffer after the war is seemingly over for everyone else.

How is Günther's black-and-white drawing significant for the scope of this dissertation? Featured on the cover of a 1965 issue of *Glaube und Heimat*, a publication that once tended to the needs of protestant expellees, the black-and-white drawing only seemingly underscores the well-known observation that the discourse of "German suffering" has been largely derivative, failing to generate a referential apparatus of its own.² Its emphases may indeed suggest that for over sixty years charting Germans victimhood has drawn exclusively on such recognizable and

¹ In particular *Nostra Aetate*, a 1965 declaration and one of several outcomes of the Vatican II Council, addresses the Church's relations with non-Christians. Among its important points, it reinforces historical and theological connections between Judaism and Christianity and states that, although Jewish officials may have participated in sentencing Christ to death on the cross, Jews as a collective cannot be blamed for his death. Such decisions were meant to influence both the way Catholicism viewed its relationship to Jews in the wake of the Holocaust and the traditionally anti-Semitic iconography of Jesus' passion.

² See, for example, Helmut Schmitz, "The Birth of the Collective from the Spirit of Empathy: from the 'Historians' Dispute' to German Suffering," in *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, ed. Bill Niven (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 95 and passim; Bill Niven, "Implicit Equations in Constructions of German Suffering," in *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present*, ed. Helmut Schmitz (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 105-124. Cf. also Aleida Assmann on the derivative nature of Jörg Friedrich's account of carpet bombing in "The Incompatibility of Guilt and Suffering in German Memory," *German Life and Letters* 59, no. 2 (April 2006): 195 and on the all-pervasiveness of Christian victimhood in iconographies of suffering, in *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (Munich: Beck, 2006), 72ff.

inextricably fused tropes of Holocaust representation and Christian imagery as freight cars, nails driven into defenseless bodies, armbands worn by emaciated figures crammed into concentration camps such as Theresienstadt. In such imagery the cloth was white and marked with a black “N” for *němec* (Czech for “German”), whereas long, exhausting treks seemed to beg for comparison with death marches and the way of the cross alike.³ However, while such formal (especially linguistic and pictorial) borrowings from these two traditions remain prominent, they do not exhaust the referential scope that characterizes the culture of German expellees after 1945.

This dissertation considers this scope beyond its links to the traditions of Christological narratives and Holocaust representation, although both are frequently adopted. I argue that one expellee group in particular went beyond derivative borrowings. After 1945 Sudeten Germans—ethnic Germans expelled from postwar Czechoslovakia—developed a system of signification that coalesced around borderland imagery and uniquely maintained a territorial link to the physical divide between the two Cold War blocs. This system’s reliance on a variety of border tropes allowed Sudeten Germans to connect their interwar experiences with the international significance of new Cold War divides, and especially to the Iron Curtain. By relating borders to the physical and figurative sense of belonging (*Heimat*), Sudeten Germans assigned the latter two crucial functions. First, as I explore further in this introduction,

³ Cf. Ernst Pawlik, “Ich war im tschech. [sic] Konzentrationslager Theresienstadt,” *Grenzland* 2, no. 3 (1952): 8-9. One of the most eloquent and earliest examples is *Dokumente zur Austreibung der Sudetendeutschen*, better known as “das Sudetendeutsche Weissbuch,” a collection of testimonies about atrocities committed against Sudeten Germans. Excerpts from the book circulated widely since their original publication in 1951 and were continuously reprinted in Sudeten German sources throughout the Cold War, preceding Theodor Schieder’s monumental *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa* (1953-1962). Reacting to the volume’s publication, a well-known Prague Germanist August Sauer was appalled at “wie systematisch hier das Verbrechen des Völkermordes am sudetendeutschen Volke geplant und ausgeführt wurde. [...] ‘Todesmärsche’ von Lager zu Lager gingen den Ausweisungen oft zuvor.” August Sauer, “Systematisch verübter Völkermord,” *Sudetendeutscher Dienst* 4, no. 95/96 (July 1951): 11-12. Complete references to articles in Sudeten German periodicals other than the academic journal *Sudetenland* are not included in the bibliography and appear only in footnotes.

in aesthetic terms they configured *Heimat* as a site of intersection between various media. Second, as I explain in the epilogue, in terms of twentieth-century periodicity they positioned *Heimat* as a linchpin between the postwar and the Cold War eras.

Consequently, Adolf Günther's image attests to more than unrepentant historical revisionism and "revanchist, authoritarian folk hysteria,"⁴ for which the expellees have become popularly known, or the referential paucity associated with products of their culture after 1945. The drawing stresses a spatiality largely uncharted by iconographies of suffering associated with either salvific crucifixion or Nazi-orchestrated death marches. The image draws attention to the fact that borders, as I discuss them in this dissertation, function as limits where multi-medial representation thrives and is localized. Its localization is particularly significant for understanding intersections between culture and politics in the Cold War.

The link between borders and images of national martyrdom is far from new: as Elisabeth Harvey points out, it dates at least as far back as the interwar years.⁵ Important in the present context is, however, not only that borders are politicized loci where German national tissue is thought to be particularly strained, as we see in documents left behind by Weimar-era border activists and Sudeten German 'cold warriors'. For this fabric is not torn just anywhere. As in Günther's drawing, its ruptures penetrate and fertilize the border to a Sudeten German *Heimat* in particular. Embedded and embodied in Christological imagery, Sudeten German sources present

⁴ Karl F. Bahm, "The Inconveniences of Nationality: German Bohemians, the Disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Attempt to Create a 'Sudeten German' Identity," *Nationalities Papers* 27, no. 3 (1999): 375-376.

⁵ In her exploration of borderland activism of nationalistically-minded women in the Weimar Republic, Elisabeth Harvey draws attention to comparable interwar trope of the so-called "bleeding border." In the context of her work, the term refers to the area of Silesia contested between Germany and Poland between the wars. Elisabeth Harvey, "Pilgrimages to the 'Bleeding Border': Gender and Rituals of Nationalist Protest in Germany, 1919-1939," *Women's History Review* 9, no. 2 (2000): 201-229. For an extended version of her argument, see her *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). I thank Peter Holquist for referring me to Harvey's work.

the border not only as a limit of *Heimat* but as its substantive scar tissue, not exterior or peripheral but constitutive of the space of *Heimat* and its cultural significance.⁶ The border to *Heimat* thus serves as a place where representations and imaginings in a variety of media are deposited and commingled.

Retaining spatial and political importance, such border belongs to what Yuri Lotman calls a semiosphere—a “semiotic space necessary for the existence and functioning” of heterogeneous and dynamic representational and communicative systems.⁷ Borders still serve as dividing lines between distinct semiotic spaces. But, in Lotman’s view, they also traverse these realms within and transport signification processes akin to blood vessels interlaced in a human body. This analogy appears appropriate given that Lotman derives his paradigm of a semiosphere from the scientific approaches to biosphere. In this sense, the function of borders contrasts with the term “limit” in discussions of the Holocaust, which is often pronounced to be a “limit event” teetering on the verge of unrepresentability.

The implication of such semiotic borders in creating meaning offers a way to conceptualize expellee cultures beyond representational derivatives outlined above. For many expellee groups, political functions of borders have been inseparable from their semiotic importance. As I show, in the German context the prominence of political borders with regard to harboring meaning reaches beyond the history of the Oder-Neisse line, Germany’s eastern border finalized only in the process of the country’s re-unification in 1990. Multiple signifying practices that thrive along

⁶ In this regard, explorations of the co-constitutive relationship between medieval manuscript texts and their marginal commentaries and images suggest another productive model of approach. See, for example, Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992) and Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 161ff.

⁷ Adhering to the poststructuralist vocabulary persistent in semiotics (even of the distinctly Lotmanian kind), Lotman speaks of “languages” rather than referential systems. However, his text makes it clear that “languages” subsume all media and means of communication. Yuri M. Lotman, *Universe of Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*, trans. Ann Shukman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 123-125; on the boundary as a constitutive part of the semiosphere, 137-138.

German borders after 1945, and especially along West Germany's border with Czechoslovakia, call for a careful consideration of an aesthetic that is still largely unexplored—a Cold War aesthetic. To contribute to writing a cultural history of the Cold War, a vast project which is conceivable only across disciplines and across national boundaries, is the central task of this dissertation.

While it is not novel to invoke the representational centrality of borders as sites for articulation of bodily and narrative rupture, this phenomenon received further impetus during the Cold War. It famously took shape in photography, graffiti, and texts on and about the Berlin Wall.⁸ Though it has been, to this day, insufficiently explored in iconographic terms, Berlin as “the symbolic capital of the Cold War” and its dividing lines have occupied a privileged position on the Cold War landscape in German Studies and beyond.⁹ As Paul Steege puts it, “[t]hroughout its postwar history and especially since the building of the Wall in 1961, Berlin served as *the* icon of Cold War conflict, a site for presidential pilgrimages and spy exchanges.”¹⁰ Regardless whether or not the Wall remains a divisive object of historic preservation in the memory cultures of the Berlin Republic,¹¹ it has clearly been canonized as a German memory site.¹²

Its iconic prominence produces a rarely questioned assumption that the Berlin

⁸ Cf. Christoph Hamann, “Schnappschuss und Ikone: Das Foto von Peter Fechtlers Fluchtversuch 1962,” *Zeithistorische Forschungen Online* 2 (2005) <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/site/40208419/default.aspx>, 14 January 2006. See also Pertti Ahonen, “Victims of the Berlin Wall,” in *Germans as Victims*, 130-146.

⁹ Paul Steege, *Black Market, Cold War: Everyday Life in Berlin, 1946-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5. Cf. also Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), 16ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹ Examples of some of the most controversial initiatives include those put forth by Alexandra Hildebrandt, the present director of the Museum Haus am Checkpoint Charlie. For a detailed documentation of her project, see Alexandra Hildebrandt, “Die Freiheit verpflichtet: Das Freiheitsmahnmal am Platz Checkpoint Charlie” in *Gedächtnis, Kultur und Politik*, ed. Ingeborg Siggelkow (Berlin: Frank und Timme, 2006), 79-124. See also Polly Feversham and Leo Schmidt, *Die Berliner Mauer heute: Denkmalwert und Umgang* (Berlin: Verlag Bauwesen, 1999).

¹² Edgar Wolfrum, “Die Mauer,” in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. Étienne François and Hagen Schulze, vol. 1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001), 552-570.

Wall and its multi-medial imagery—literature, photography, documentations, a few physical remains of its ever-changing graffiti, wall art, or monuments—represent the Cold War divide in its entirety. Only recently two extensive documentations profiled polyphonic images of both the German-German border and the Iron Curtain captured on camera from the north to the southeast. These projects refocused the aggregations of meaning and memory assigned to Berlin.¹³ Featuring many previously unstudied sources that reflect the changing landscape of the Iron Curtain where it coincided with the Czechoslovak-West German border, this dissertation follows in the footsteps of such a de-centered approach to the aesthetics of the Cold War.

For a variety of socio-political and historical reasons illuminated below, the conflation of border with *Heimat*—better known among expellees as *Heimat an der Grenze* or, occasionally, *Grenzlandheimat*—acquired special significance for Sudeten Germans who had once inhabited the outer limits of Habsburg Bohemia and Moravia and, after 1918, Czechoslovakia. At first glance, the pairing of *Heimat* and border is hardly surprising. Understood in the vernacular, *Heimat* is a delimited, “small” world with “narrowly defined boundaries.”¹⁴ *Grenzlandheimat*, however, suggests an experience or at least rhetoric of a wholly different kind. Because what used to be known as “the Sudetenland”—the term no longer in administrative use either in postwar Czechoslovakia or the present-day Czech Republic—encircled the young state, it was a *Heimat* without an interior. Rather than being limited, it was a limit itself. Its synonymous overlap with the border (after 1945 the Czechoslovak government referred to the area exclusively as *pohraničí* [borderlands]) may appear

¹³ Maren Ullrich, *Geteilte Ansichten: Erinnerungslandschaft deutsch-deutsche Grenze* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2006) and Anthony Bailey and Brian Rose, *The Lost Border: The Landscape of the Iron Curtain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004). Fragments of the latter can also be viewed on Rose’s website, <http://brianrose.com/lostborder.htm>. For a travelogue written during the Cold War, see Anthony Bailey, *Along the Edge of the Forest: An Iron Curtain Journey* (New York: Random House, 1983).

¹⁴ Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 10-11.

contradictory, since in contemporary scholarship on the subject, homes and borders are uneasy neighbors. A certain antithesis between homeland interiors and border-crossing transnationalism has become enshrined in traditional diaspora studies. It is buttressed by frequent assumptions that nomads and border-inhabiting vagrants do not need homes or, along somewhat different lines, that “no one ever feels at home” in border zones.¹⁵ And yet the coincidence of *Heimat* and border has exercised an influence that outlived the large-scale presence of the German minority in the Czechoslovak state. This coincidence allowed Sudeten Germans to intervene in politics, territoriality, and culture of the Cold War era from the western side of the Iron Curtain.¹⁶

Sudeten Germans arrived in postwar Germany after the Czechoslovak government under Edvard Beneš disenfranchised its state’s German and Hungarian ethnic minorities in 143 decrees. The latter were issued from June to October 1945 and sealed in part by Allied decisions at Potsdam in early August 1945.¹⁷ As a result

¹⁵ Jon Simons, paraphrased in Dan Rabinowitz, “National Identity on the Frontier: Palestinians in the Israeli Educational System,” in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 142.

¹⁶ On the overlap between the terms “Grenzgebiet” and “Sudetengebiete,” see Andreas Wiedemann, “*Komm, lass uns das Grenzland aufbauern*”: *Ansiedlung und neue Strukturen in den ehemaligen Sudetengebieten 1945-1952* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2007), 28-29.

¹⁷ The expulsion of the Hungarian minority was not endorsed by the Allies, leading Czechoslovakia to negotiate alternative ways to accomplish this group’s selective transfer. It is important that decrees on Czechoslovakia’s largest minorities were not a spontaneous product of postwar legislature. According to Beneš himself, their deliberation required more than one decade and began to crystallize after the annexation of the Sudetenland (subsequently renamed the *Reichsgau Sudetenland*) and the demise of the first Czechoslovak Republic, formalized by Hitler’s Germany, France and Britain in the Treaty of Munich (30 September 1938). Working from London and headed by Beneš, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile spent several years discussing the scope of disenfranchisement to be stipulated and consulted with leaders of Sudeten Germans in exile, especially with Wenzel Jaksch and other Social Democrats. Initial forecasts anticipated a more selective treatment of members of the two largest minorities, ensuring, in particular, that German Social Democrats willing to work with the Czechoslovak government should receive the right to stay. The issued decrees reflected Beneš’s dwindling faith in cooperation with minority representatives and his ever more embittered evaluation of both the interwar role of Czechoslovakia’s ethnic Germans and their overwhelming support for National Socialist policies in Eastern Europe. See Edvard Beneš, “Die Aussiedlung der Deutschen aus der Tschechoslowakei,” in *Die Beneš-Dekrete*, ed. Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi and Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2002), 15-32. For a comparative perspective on the treatment of the so-called “fifth columns” in Eastern Europe, see Manfred Kittel and Horst Möller, “Die Beneš-Dekrete und die Vertreibung,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 4 (2006): 541-581; on the development of Beneš’s

of “wild” expulsions in May-July 1945 and the organized transfer following the decisions at Potsdam, between two and three million Sudeten Germans found their way into occupied Germany. Between 25,000 and 30,000 of them lost their lives.¹⁸ Although they were initially admitted in the three largest zones of occupation (the French accommodated only 350,000 German refugees from the East), their continued westward migration meant that by 1950 most had settled down in provinces formerly controlled by the American and the British forces. These newcomers were re-distributed more evenly as a result of housing allocations, refugee aid packets, or new employment possibilities only in the 1950s.¹⁹ Some 200,000 ethnic Germans—spouses in mixed Czech-German marriages, Social Democrats or communists with strong anti-Nazi records, and highly qualified specialists instrumental for postwar reconstruction—stayed behind in Czechoslovakia.²⁰

views, esp. 557-558. For a further elaboration on the Beneš decrees, see Helmut Slapnicka, *Die rechtlichen Grundlagen für die Behandlung der Deutschen und Magyaren in der Tschechoslowakei 1945-1948* (Vienna: Internationales Institut für Nationalitätenrecht und Regionalismus, 1999); Detlef Brandes, “Beneš, Jaksch und die Vertreibung/Aussiedlung der Deutschen,” in *Erzwungene Trennung: Vertreibungen und Aussiedlungen in und aus der Tschechoslowakei 1938-1947 im Vergleich mit Polen, Ungarn und Jugoslawien*, ed. Detlef Brandes, Edita Ivaničková and Jiří Pešek (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1999), 101-110; and Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing. Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For a comprehensive documentation of Sudeten German politics in the Third Reich, see Volker Zimmermann, *Die Sudetendeutschen im NS-Staat. Politik und Stimmung der Bevölkerung im Reichsgau Sudetenland (1938-1945)* (Essen: Klartext, 1999).

¹⁸ Although the German-Czech and German-Slovak Historians Committees have been working on ascertaining the numbers since 1990, calculations remain tentative. Eagle Glassheim, “National Mythologies and Ethnic Cleansing: The Expulsion of Czechoslovak Germans in 1945,” *Central European History* 33, no. 4 (2000), 463. See also Radomir Luža, *The transfer of the Sudeten Germans: A Study of Czech-German relations, 1933-1962* (New York: New York University Press, 1964); Tomáš Staněk, *Verfolgung 1945: Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien (ausserhalb der Lager und Gefängnisse)*, trans. Otfried Pustejovsky (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002); and Frommer, op. cit. Sudeten German sources cite highly inflated numbers, including over three million expelled and 300,000 dead. Traditional Czech accounts, in contrast, refer to only 300 deaths. Jacques Rupnik, “Das andere Mitteleuropa: Die neuen Populisten und die Politik mit der Vergangenheit,” *Transit* 23 (summer 2002): 122.

¹⁹ Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger, “Vergessene Deutsche—erinnerte Deutsche: Flüchtlinge, Vertriebene, Aussiedler,” *Transit* 15 (fall 1998): 145.

²⁰ On Sudeten German resistance against the Nazis, by far not as enthusiastic as their support for the party, see Leopold Grünwald, “Der Sudetendeutsche Widerstand gegen Hitler (1938-1945), in *Die Beneš-Dekrete*, 76-90 and his *Sudetendeutscher Widerstand gegen Hitler* (München: Fides-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1978-1982).

The point of examining their Cold War investments is not that, in Svetlana Boym's words, "marginal Europeans are obsessed with borders."²¹ I argue instead that that the border between postwar Czechoslovakia and West Germany formed the core of a new referential system—a system embracing and intertwining language, writing, architecture, pictorial and photographic images, and topographic mappings. Sudeten Germans developed this referential system, or semiosphere, to put it in Lotman's terms, to place their most recent experiences into the new contexts of the Federal Republic and the conflict between the blocs. As I have already mentioned, this system regularly resorted to the language and imagery of Christological narratives and Holocaust representation alike. Yet it also blended them with the structural components of the border itself in unique ways. In this process it bridged the postwar era with the beginnings of the Cold War, a new global conflict in the offing. The development of the new system of signification around one of the most potent symbols of the Cold War, the Iron Curtain, therefore carries special meaning not only for the study of ethnic German expellees. It contributes to the ongoing exploration of the Cold War beyond its Soviet and North American political centers. Physically this system came together along 356 kilometers of the border between Czechoslovakia and West Germany, from Passau in the south to Schirnding in the north.²² As I will elaborate, these developments beg for a more careful consideration of the Iron Curtain as a key element of the Cold War aesthetic, rather than a merely immaterial metaphor or an arguably impermeable political divide.²³

Those who study Sudeten German politics and culture in the twentieth century

²¹ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 238.

²² I use the figure from F. Sackmann, "Deutsche Grenzlandpolitik am 'Eisernen Vorhang'—eine politische Notwendigkeit," *Revue d'Allemagne* 9:3 (1977): 479.

²³ In the Cold War context the expression "the Iron Curtain" was first used by Winston Churchill in a speech he delivered in Fulton, Missouri, in 1947. His use suggested not the actual fortifications but the unmistakable rift between the Soviet Union and the western Allies. Since the Fulton address, this metaphorical understanding of the phrase persisted. See, for example, W. R. Underhill, "Semantics of the "Iron Curtain" Metaphor," *ETC.: A Review of General Semantics* 33:3 (1976): 293-300.

encounter multiple border formulations, and their brief outline is in order here. From the late nineteenth century onward, both Austrian and German nationalists labored hard to fashion inhabitants of interstitial territories such as the Sudetenland into “frontier people” [*Grenzlandvolk* or *–deutschtum*], entrust them with the task of guarding the “language frontier” [*Sprachgrenze*] vis-à-vis their Slavic neighbors, and expect them to record this often violent “frontier struggle” [*Grenzlandkampf*] in the “borderland novel” [*Grenzlandroman*], arguably the only original genre of “Sudeten German literature” that thrived prior to the expulsion.²⁴ Yet recent studies of interwar history question the efficacy of such efforts and cut against the grain of such strict separation between self and other, or inside and outside. Jeremy King dwells on the slow pace of “ethnic nationalization,” positing nationality as a question of choice (albeit an irreversible one) between being Czech or German in his example of Moravia in 1905.²⁵ Pieter Judson draws attention to bilingualism in borderland

²⁴ To a limited extent, a border idiom was developed to mobilize various ethnic German groups outside Germany (so-called *Auslandsdeutsche*) already in the interwar period. On continuities between the interwar, wartime, and postwar periods, see Ulrich Prehn, “‘Volk’ und ‘Raum’ in zwei Nachkriegszeiten. Kontinuitäten und Wandlungen in der Arbeit des Volkstumsforschers Max Hildebert Boehm,” in *Das Erbe der Provinz: Heimatkultur und Geschichtspolitik nach 1945*, ed. Habbo Knoch (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001), 50-72; Ingo Haar, “Vom ‘Volksgruppen-Paradigma bis zum ‘Recht auf Heimat’: Exklusion und Inklusion als Deutungsmuster in den Diskursen über Zwangsmigrationen vor und nach 1945,” in *Die ‘Volksdeutschen’ in Polen, Frankreich, Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei: Mythos und Realität*, ed. Jerzy Kochanowski and Maïke Sach (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2006), 17-39; Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger, “Auslandsdeutsche,” in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, 370-388; Andreas Kossert, “Masuren als ‘Bollwerk’: Konstruktion von Grenze und Grenzregion: Von der wilhelminischen Ostmarkenpolitik zum NS-Grenzland und Volkstumskampf, 1894-1945,” in *Die Grenze als Raum, Erfahrung und Konstruktion: Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Étienne François, Jörg Seifarth, and Bernhard Struck (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2007), 211-240. Especially important for preserving continuities was the work of Max Hildebert Boehm and his *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien* (IGA) founded in 1926 in Berlin-Steglitz.

²⁵ See his *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) and “The Nationalization of East Central Europe: Ethnicism, Ethnicity, and Beyond,” in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, ed. Maria Bucur and Nancy Wingfield (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001), 112-152. Although Austria-Hungary was a multi-ethnic state, it did not legally recognize its constituents as nations until the “Moravian Compromise” of 1905—an effort to overcome ethnic tensions and “divid[e] up political and administrative provincial competencies between separate Czech and German national bodies. The terms of the compromise obliged Moravians to register as either Czechs or Germans.” See Pieter Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 13.

communities and describes borderland activism, struggle, or suffering not as intrinsic, local concepts but as projections and agendas only secondarily imposed by German nationalists from imperial centers.²⁶ Karl Bahm interrogates the role of regional identifications with Bohemia in delaying unambiguous pan-German sentiments among ethnic Germans in Bohemia and Moravia from 1918 to 1919 and again between 1935 and 1945 as well as in encouraging a preference for a “more ambiguous national-state identity.”²⁷ Chad Bryant highlights the frustration of both Nazi and postwar Czechoslovak officials with the tenacity of “amphibians,” “‘Germanized’ Czechs, or ‘Czechified’ Germans,” who stood for “the right and ability to choose a public nationality.”²⁸

Despite the persistence of delimiting *Grenzland*-coinages, these heterogeneous re-evaluations of the terrain inhabited by Sudeten Germans before 1939 yield an image of hybridity that is also familiar from discussions of borders across disciplines for several decades. Approaches to yoking border and hybridity were concurrently developed in the anthropology of ritual, postcolonial theory, and anti-imperialist critique articulated in Chicana/Chicano literature and writings on *mestizaje* and *la frontera*. As a result, a variety of discussions of literal and figurative borders embraced them as polylingual, multi-racial, politically, ethnically indeterminate, and counter-cultural margins of resistance and subversion.²⁹ Margins

²⁶ Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*. For a contrasting view of the *Sprachgrenze* ideology as indigenous, see Mark Cornwall, “Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border, 1880-1940,” *English Historical Review* 109, no. 433 (September 1994): 914-951.

²⁷ Bahm, op. cit., 397.

²⁸ Chad Bryant, “Either German or Czech: Fixing Nationality in Bohemia and Moravia, 1939-1946,” *Slavic Review* 61, no. 4 (2002): 685.

²⁹ On liminality, see Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960) as well as Victor Turner, “Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage,” in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967) and *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1969). On hybridity and margins as a locus of resistance, Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) and “Beyond the Pale: Art in the Age of Multicultural Translation,” in *Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Art, Art Policies, and the Facelift of Europe*, ed. Ria Lavrijsen (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1993), 21-30. On foundational texts of border theory, Gloria

and borders signified, depending on the field, loci of statelessness, deterritorialization, nomadic practice, minor(ity) literature, or all of the above.³⁰ Before moving on to interrogate the extent to which hybridity characterizes Sudeten Germans after World War II—my primary concern is their cultural production, not ethnic forms of hybridity—I would like to comment on the historical role of border explorations in Germany as well as the impact of border studies on German Studies.

Although some of the crucial terminology drawn from the U.S.-Mexican border theory (‘the Tortilla Curtain’ comes to mind) was arguably modeled on European and particularly German Cold War idioms, border studies reached both *Germanistik* and German cultural studies only slowly.³¹ Yet borders have long been a preoccupation of German political scientists, demographers, historians, and ethnographers. Interventions of these experts were premised less on semiotic indeterminacy than on a hermeneutic binary of self and other. Oftentimes, it was a binary that implicated these professions in biopolitical remappings of European borders as documented by National Socialist *Ostforschung*.³² Their concept of “frontier society”—German anthropologists of the 1930s and 1940s defined frontiers, unlike boundaries demarcating states, as lines between civilization and nature—relied on porous limits familiar to us from later post-modernist writings on borders. However, this society regulated such porous limits to justify their constant shifts in

Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987) and Emily Hicks, “Deterritorialization and Border Writing,” in *Ethics/Aesthetics: Post-Modern Positions*, ed. Robert Merrill (Washington, DC: Maisonneuve Press, 1988), 47-58.

³⁰ See, for instance, Petra Fachinger, *Rewriting Germany from the Margins: ‘Other’ German Literature of the 1980s and 1990s* (Montreal: McGill/Queens University Press, 2001).

³¹ In particular, Guillermo Gómez-Peña spoke of pieces of the “great Tortilla” as sentimental souvenirs hanging in tourist bedrooms. Guillermo Gómez-Peña, *The New World Border* (San Francisco: City Lights, 1996), 27.

³² See Mechtild Rössler, “Wissenschaft und Lebensraum”: *Geographische Ostforschung im Nationalsozialismus. Ein Beitrag zur Disziplingeschichte der Geographie* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1990); Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and Eduard Mühle, *Für Volk und deutschen Osten: Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 2005).

order to accommodate territorial expansion and reshuffle populations in the interest of the Nazi state.³³ Although no longer in the service to the political goals of the state, contemporary German ethnographers continue to be attached to postulations of local peculiarity (*Eigenart*). Inspired by *Eigenart*, their figurative and literal border crossings (*Grenzgänge*) persist as excursions into the foreign meant to reaffirm its foreignness.³⁴

Tropes of hybrid borders became more prominent in German Studies and in part *Germanistik* only through the study of migrant and minority literature. Summing up the in-between state once thought to characterize new literary worlds, Azade Seyhan, for example, described Germany's minorities as "consigned, literally and figuratively, to a life of detention at the border," left to "wander forever along the Möbius strip of cultural borderlands."³⁵ Seyhan's political and social mappings of "social, cultural and linguistic nomadism and struggles" were filtered through U.S.-Mexican border theory. According to Seyhan, these struggles "have produced a literature of powerful resonance at the periphery of German society."³⁶ "Border sites," marking "passages not necessarily in space but rather in time, history and memory," emerged for Seyhan as "zones of perpetual motion, confrontation, and translation." In these zones "the concepts of home and border become transportable" not only between contingent centers and peripheries, but across a wide array of

³³ See, in particular, the case of Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann in Hastings Donnan and Dieter Haller, "Liminal no More: The Relevance of Border Studies," *Ethnologia Europea* 30, no. 2 (2000): 9-10. Paradoxically, precisely these shifts make, in the authors' opinion, Mühlmann's approach applicable to the contemporary study of borders. For further references, see also footnote 23 in this chapter.

³⁴ Bernhard Streck, "Grenzgang Ethnologie," in *Literatur der Grenze—Theorie der Grenze*, ed. Richard Faber and Barbara Naumann (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1995), 185-196.

³⁵ Azade Seyhan, "Geographies of Memory: Protocols of Writing in the Borderlands," in *German Cultures, Foreign Cultures: The Politics of Belonging*, ed. Jeffrey Peck (Washington, DC: AICGS, 1997), 75. Leslie A. Adelson has consistently argued against the in-between position of migrants, most recently in *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

³⁶ Seyhan, "Geographies of Memory," loc. cit.

cultures around the globe.³⁷ “[T]he metaphor of border culture,” Seyhan adds elsewhere, “generates a field where idea and action in the form of change, exchange, import, export, clash, reconciliation, and dialogue are interlinked.”³⁸

The pace with which border studies and theory addressed Germany’s physical frontiers in the East has been even slower. Border studies reached them as the former borders of ‘Old Europe’ were shifting eastward after the 2004 expansion of the European Union. This was the eve of the slow structural dissolution of earlier borders, which had been anticipated since the accession of Poland, the Czech Republic, and other members of “New Europe” to the Schengen zone between 2004 and 2007. Kristin Kopp identifies a shift in focus from the nineteenth-century rhetoric of non-contamination in political and literary portrayals of German territories in the East (Silesia) to cinematic reformulations of a multi-medial border aesthetic. These entail radical shifts that zoom in on borders as productive rather than divisive transnational zones in the twenty-first century.³⁹ At a new temporal juncture, state *borders* dissipate and give way to transitional *boundaries* that, in Randall Halle’s words, look to horizons beyond “binaries of interior/exterior, homeland/frontier.”⁴⁰ Halle reminds us that “borders are not only lines drawn on maps. They are not simple spatial distinctions. They run through lives and cultures, structure economies, represent collective identity, and give rise to a particular form of ‘borderland’.”⁴¹ His

³⁷ Ibid., 79.

³⁸ Azade Seyhan, “From Minor Literature, Across Border Culture, to Hyphenated Criticisms,” in *Reading the Shape of the World: Toward an International Cultural Studies*, ed. Henry Schwarz and Richard Dienst (Westview Press/HarperCollins, 1996), 19. See also her *Writing Outside the Nation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

³⁹ Cf. Kristin Kopp, *Contesting Borders: German Colonial Discourse and the Loss of the Eastern Territories* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001) and her “Reconfiguring the Border of Fortress Europe in Hans-Christian Schmid’s *Lichter*,” *The Germanic Review* 82, no. 1 (2007): 31-53.

⁴⁰ Randall Halle, “Views from the German-Polish Border: The Exploration of Inter-national Space in *Halbe Treppe* and *Lichter*,” *The German Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (winter 2007): 77-96, here 78. In his distinction between border and boundary Halle follows anthropologists of borders. See, for example, Wilson and Donnan, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Halle, *op. cit.*, 77.

call to introduce border theory into German Studies, a call oblivious to efforts already made by scholars of migrant and minority literature, promises to uncover the complexities of “the multilingual, poly-ethnic, and unstable community” located to the east of Germany and thus far unaddressed by the theory’s North and Mezoamerican intellectual scope.⁴²

If this belated marriage of German Studies and border theory is indeed desirable, should it adopt Sudeten Germans as its children? And if so, what degree of hybridity, a quality that border studies has so strongly associated with its object, can we ascribe to Sudeten Germans after the expulsion? It is true that the only postwar *Grenzlandroman*—a genre previously so single-mindedly focused on borderland struggles that after 1945 literary scholars commonly considered it to have been left behind in the racial storms of the Third Reich⁴³—departs from the customary Czech-against-German *fabulae* to fuse the best of all border worlds.⁴⁴ Published in 1994, it strikes a chord very different from prewar narratives in this genre, usually incapable of positing “Brücke[n] zum anderen Ufer des anderen Volkes.”⁴⁵ Gustav Wiese’s *Ein armer Schlucker: Ein Grenzlandroman* profiles its picaresque and thoroughly hybrid protagonist Siegmund Sluschny as marginal in more than one way. His arrival in this world is cast as a double rite of passage, a detour on his pregnant mother’s pilgrimage to a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary. An unwanted souvenir from an accidental

⁴² Ibid., 93.

⁴³ Andrea Hohmeyer, “Böhmischen Volkes Weisen”: *Die Darstellung der deutschsprachigen Dichtung in den böhmischen Ländern der Jahre 1895 bis 1945: Probleme und Perspektiven territorialer Literaturgeschichte in Mitteleuropa* (Münster: Lit, 2002), 381-386. In Hohmeyer’s view, *Grenzlandromane*, as other border coinages, should be relegated to the interwar period.

⁴⁴ Gustav Wiese, *Ein armer Schlucker: Ein Grenzlandroman* (Freiburg: Freiburger Echo Verlag, 1994). Wiese died in 1982, and the novel was published posthumously. While Wiese’s work may not be the only postwar Sudeten German novel to thematize the border, it is, to my knowledge, the only one to have embraced its generic affinities in the title. However, the novel’s late publication date, the hiatus between its appearance and that of earlier *Grenzlandromane*, as well as its exceptional plotline make it difficult to discuss it in generic terms. These reasons account for the absence of its more detailed consideration in this dissertation.

⁴⁵ Rudolf Mattausch, “Sudetendeutsche Dichtung—Heute?” *Sudetenland* 4, no. 4 (1962): 245.

encounter between his Czech father and an ethnic German mother, as his name aptly indicates, with his birth in 1900 Siegmund also ushers a chronological transition—the turn of the century.⁴⁶ Faithful to his liminal beginnings, Siegmund spends his life taking turns to serve Austria-Hungary, the first Czechoslovak Republic, and the Third Reich and crossing the linguistic border between the German Gablonz/Jablonec and the Czech village Halschowitz. He vacillates between being Czech and German, becomes ever more suspect for his split loyalties and is recognized, in a long sequence of blows, at best as half of each or as neither. A “poor wretch” [*der arme Schlucker*] also in terms of social class and Jack of all trades and a master of none, Siegmund is constantly harassed by his German and Czech neighbors and colleagues. All three states which he (as behooves his name) aspires to serve honestly betray and exploit his naïve dedication. As a result, Siegmund’s character commands both the author’s and the reader’s sympathy. His initially suspect obedience to a wide range of regimes turns out to be a form of openness to change and a possibility of declaring allegiance to multiple *Heimaten*. Siegmund takes nationalism with a grain of salt. He is therefore far from being a threatening and overwhelmingly negative embodiment of racial contamination modeled on colonial novels or prewar *Grenzlandromane*. Instead, his character merges social marginality with ethnic and cultural *métissage* to an intended positive effect. Wiese’s text appears to suggest that Siegmund’s social trials and tribulations in particular are supposed to exemplify the ordeal endured by all Sudeten Germans, likewise disenfranchised, dispossessed, and expelled. Given this belated novelistic injection of hybridity into the Bohemian borderlands, how emblematic could Siegmund be of the Sudeten German culture after 1945?

The question is legitimate in part because in the Cold War new border epithets, discussed in various chapters of this dissertation, accrued to the Sudeten

⁴⁶ “Siegmund,” a quintessentially Germanic name, is paired with a Czech last name, a Germanized form of “slusny” [decent, chaste, honest].

German expellees. These epithets included the *Limes* of *Abendland*, Germany's Cold War bulwark (*Bollwerk*), or "the borderland people of the Christian world" (*das Grenzlandvolk der christlichen Welt*).⁴⁷ On weekends and holidays, entire families would undertake trips to the border (*Grenz(land)fahrten*), described as "ausgedehnte Spaziergänge entlang der Grenze zur CSSR, die einen Blick auf ehemals Vertrautes ermöglichen, Erinnerungen an Vergangenes wachrufen, zum Erzählen anregen und immer wieder die Fragwürdigkeit des Staates, der sich so hermetisch abschotten zu müssen glaubt, vor Augen zu führen."⁴⁸ Conjoining the visual, the narrative, and the political, borderland pilgrimages (*Grenzlandwallfahrten*) were heralded as an entirely new addition by Sudeten German expellees to folkloric ritual (*Brauchtum*) and popular piety. An interrogation of cultural hybridity of Sudeten German makes sense here because fears of nomadism and rootless diasporicity, on the one hand, and the recurrent return to the physical border to *Heimat*, on the other hand, have been leitmotifs in Sudeten German cultural production. The issue of hybridity is all the more relevant if one considers recent attempts to reposition German expellees on the cultural map of West Germany and acknowledge their contributions to postwar heterogeneity rather than implicit uniformity of this map. For instance, exploring "German history from the margins," Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman cite the example of ethnic German expellees to reinforce the view that Germany as a

⁴⁷ Cf. "Die Heimat schreit nach uns!" *Sudetendeutscher Heimat-Dienst* 4, no. 94 (30 June 1951): 5. Sudeten Germans invoked their "grenzdeutsches Erfahrungsgut" in the Detmold Declaration (24-25 January 1950), one of the foundational postwar documents pledging their continued allegiance to *Heimat*.

⁴⁸ R. A., "'An der böhmischen Grenz,'" *Glaube und Heimat* 5:3 (1 February 1953): 66. The tradition continued to thrive well into the late 1980s: "Grenzspaziergänge werden zu 'Grenzwanderungen', machen das theoretische Wissen, daß es politische Grenzen gibt, die unüberwindbar gewollt sind, praktisch erfahrbar, machen deutlich, daß 'Grenze' nicht nur ein territorialer Begriff, sondern eine gewollte Abschottung sein kann." Rudolf Schürer, "Grenzwanderungen," *Egerer Zeitung* 39:11 (November 1988): 209. Expellee articles frequently abbreviate names of their authors who may or may not have been already known to their readers. All names used in footnotes and bibliographic references to this dissertation reflect their appearance in original publications. No name are used if the author is unknown.

polyvalent political and cultural landscape where centers and peripheries have been co-constitutive for some time. They stress that

[p]erhaps even more important but often ignored in this context, was the presence of millions of ethnic Germans who fled westward in 1945, were expelled in 1946, or slowly trickled into West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s. Here was a group of individuals only recently vaunted by National Socialism as the advance guard in the project to Germanize eastern territory; now they found themselves demoted to marginal outsiders in the shrunken borders of the Federal Republic, ensuring that Germans' encounters with themselves, never mind with others, remained as complex as ever.⁴⁹

The overall success of expellee integration and the effects of their shift from a vanguard to a margin—no matter how co-constitutive of the postwar West German center—remain debated to this date.⁵⁰ However, even though I profile multiple, dynamic, and often inconsistent identifications in Sudeten German culture of the Cold War era, I suggest that social marginality of these expellees does not easily translate into hybridity. Moreover, the kind of hybridity Sudeten Germans often attribute to themselves—often referring to at least eight distinct groups mobilized under the term “Sudeten German” as recently as 1903—may not accurately reflect the import

⁴⁹ Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, Mark Roseman, “Introduction,” in *German History from the Margins*, ed. Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, Mark Roseman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 5. For a further acknowledgement of expellee contributions to diversity in West Germany, see Rainer Schulze, “The German Refugees and Expellees from the East and the Creation of a West German Identity after World War II,” in *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 320.

⁵⁰ On the most recent contribution to the debate, see Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat: Die Geschichte der deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2008). Some of the other national and regional assessments include Johann Handl, “War die schnelle Integration der Vertriebenen ein Mythos?” in *Bayerns vierter Stamm. Die Integration der Flüchtlinge und Heimatvertriebenen nach 1945*, ed. Rudolf Endres (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 183-214; Matthias Beer, ed., *Zur Integration der Flüchtlinge und Vertriebenen im deutschen Südwesten nach 1945. Bestandaufnahme und Perspektiven der Forschung* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994); Sylvia Schraut, *Die Flüchtlingsaufnahme in Württemberg-Baden, 1945-1949. Amerikanische Besatzungsziele und demokratischer Wiederaufbau im Konflikt* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); Rainer Schulze, “Growing Discontent: Relations between Native and Refugee Populations in a Rural District in Western Germany after the Second World War,” in *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era*, ed. Robert G. Moeller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 53-72.

attached to hybridity today as a term of critical analysis.⁵¹ At stake is something different from a search for a passage between marginality and hybridity. I am therefore skeptical about the possibility of detecting a Siegmund Sluschny in every artifact considered on the pages on this dissertation. If borderland attachments of Sudeten Germans did inflect their culture with hybrid elements, I locate these not in ethnic, social, or political facets of Sudeten German life in the Federal Republic but in the polyphony of media—understood here in their most literal sense as literary, architectural, and pictorial media—that resulted from Sudeten German returns to the border both as a theme and physical landscape.

An anecdotal account is in order to foreground this medial discussion. It zooms in on some of the most vividly recurrent tropes of Sudeten German borderland culture in the Cold War, tropes that help single out the medial conduits in question. This account identifies the border as hardly being limited to a mere symbol of separation between the blocs or between West Germany and ‘*Heimat* in the East’. The anecdote will also point to the fact that for the Sudeten Germans the Iron Curtain was more than a locus of rupture in the imagined local, national, or international tissue. It was a wounding site *par excellence*, which confronted its fictional and real visitors with mutilated bodies, ruptured narratives, effaced images, and sensory havoc. On its terrain, no clear lines could be drawn between sensory effects produced by distinct media, and no clear-cut divisions existed between different media themselves.

⁵¹ For Sudeten German identification with their specific *Heimat* areas, see Volker Zimmermann, “Sudetendeutsche in der ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik und im NS-Staat,” in *Die Beneš-Dekrete*, 55. On the most resonant political mention of the term “Sudeten German,” see Franz Jesser, “Zweiteilung?” *Der Deutsche Volksbote* 11 (1903). The term “Sudeten German” gained overwhelming popularity and was widely in use by 1918. On the emergence of the term, see Andrea Hohmeyer, ‘*Böhmischen Volkes Weisen*’, 20 and Bahm, op. cit. Attempts to present the term as being older than it is frequently appear in numerous mainstream Sudeten German publications; see, for instance, Jörg Kudlich, “Die Verwendung der Begriffe ‘Sudetenländer/Sudetendeutsche’ ist älter als bisher angenommen,” *Sudetenland* 30, no. 2 (1988): 199-201.

Here the materiality of the border is only insufficiently conveyed by the usual ciphers of its iconography, barbed wire and watchtowers. Instead, the turnpike (*Schlagbaum*) figures as a leitmotif that links distinct media while making its incisions in physical landscapes. Recurrent literary and photographic images of the turnpike dominate Sudeten German accounts of the border. Sudeten German emphases on their repeated sightings expose their twofold role as elements of rupture, on the one hand, and as conduits of intermediality, on the other. The German term “Schlagbaum,” as I discuss in more detail in Chapter One, suggests that turnpikes are no longer natural but not entirely denatured either. Their tautological frequency signifies the difficulty of passage as well as the obstacles to narrating this difficulty. To quote a Sudeten German novel, *Schlagbäume* are nothing but “Baumstämme, die zuschlagen können,” murderous trunks worthy of the Macbethian forest.⁵²

In the anecdote that follows, one particular turnpike bridges Christological imagery with the physical setting of the borderland, its written accounts, and photographs that document its significance. The story demonstrates that turnpikes were the stuff of legends already in the early 1950s, well before they evolved into sites mandating compulsive return (“unser Weg,” writes a Sudeten German borderland tourist in 1962, leads “immer wieder zum Schlagbaum”).⁵³ Soon after the expulsion they are portrayed as passional instruments in emerging religious cults that spring up around mutilated Christ figures flung across the border or the so-called expelled Madonnas found in the border’s proximity. Violence supposedly inflicted upon images that once cohabitated with Sudeten Germans in settlements to the east of the Iron Curtain is most extensively documented in the instance of a polychrome crucifix from Wies, now in the Waldsassen Basilica (Figure 2).⁵⁴

⁵² Gustav Wiese, *...nichts ist mehr wie zuvor. Vertriebenenschicksale 1945-1969*. Historischer Roman (Freiburg: Freiburger Echo Verlag, 1993), 98.

⁵³ E. Sö., “Gedanken am Schlagbaum,” *Egerer Zeitung* 13, no. 15 (10 August 1962): 212.

⁵⁴ The statue of the Virgin Mary venerated in the well-known Church of the Meadow (Wieskirche) in



Figure 2. The “Mutilated Savior” of Wies, Waldsassen Basilica.

Multiple versions of the figure’s tragic passage into Bavarian countryside are reprinted in regional expellee periodicals throughout the Cold War to haunt audiences well past 1989.⁵⁵ As a rule, these accounts accompany comparatively brief mention of the destruction of the village itself which like many other borderland communities in

Upper Bavaria is not related to the cult discussed here.

⁵⁵ First accounts of such cases, submitted by locals, in particular clergy and policemen, were assembled in the Karasek Collection, now housed at the Johannes-Künzig-Institut für deutsche Volkskunde in Freiburg. Cf. a 1950 case of Mitterfirmiansreuth’s “resettled Madonna” [*ausgesiedelte Muttergottes*] in Sammlung Karasek, Sudetenland/Böhmerwald BrV 314.

Czechoslovakia, was razed due to its proximity to the Cold War divide. At first, as a witness testified, “[m]an hatte das Kreuz zerschlagen und die Christusfigur beschossen und verstümmelt.”⁵⁶ What followed was the symbolic execution and slow ‘death’ of Jesus’ figure on a turnpike: “Am 6. Feber des Jahres 1951 fanden deutsche Zollbeamte sie, mit einem Strick um den Hals, am Schlagbaum aufgehängt, nachdem sie durch viele Monate im Kot gelegen hatte und auf ihr herumgetreten worden war.” Subsequent accounts complete these terse earlier reports. They amplify the story and reward their readers with the kind of detail that would have appealed to late medieval audiences of passion plays and treatises wishing to expand upon spare biblical narrative. Slight discrepancies between different renderings of the story seem to matter little. According to a version published in 1979, a Czech worker was seen to have left church carrying Jesus’ figure on his back. Meanwhile,

[d]ie anderen Arbeiter hatten am Schlagbaum ein Feuer angemacht und wärmten sich die Hände. Der Tscheche schmetterte das Kreuz auf die Erde, zertrampelte es mit den Füßen und warf die Trümmer ins Feuer. [...] Als die Arbeiter später abgeholt wurden, traten sie das Feuer aus. Dabei bemerkten sie, daß die aus Holz geschnitzte Figur den Flammen standgehalten hatte. Derselbe Arbeiter, der sie zuvor aus der Kirche geholt hatte, nahm sie aus der Glut, legte ihr eine Drahtschlinge um den Hals und hängte sie über den Schlagbaum.⁵⁷

Mutilated twice over by its Czech tormentors yet miraculously emerging from the fire unscathed, Jesus’s figure suffers the humiliation of his ongoing passion at the turnpike. The figure stands as a metonymy for the erstwhile Sudeten German

⁵⁶ “Der ‘Corpus von Wies’ in der Waldsassener Klosterkirche,” *Der Egerländer* 13, no. 8/9 (August-September 1962): 181. Further quotations, loc. cit.

⁵⁷ Herbert Scharf, “Der geschändete Christus von Wies. Vor 28 Jahren wollten die Tschechen ein Kruzifix verheizen,” *Der Egerländer* 30 (July/August 1979): 147. Accounts published after the Cold War provide further detail. See, for instance, Ida Nüssel, “Der Frevel in Wies bei Eger,” *Egerer Zeitung* 50, no. 1 (January 1999): 11.

presence in the area, while its protracted torment at the same time is a metaphor for the suffering endured during and after the expulsion.

Well after the crucifix is enshrined in the Waldsassen church, vivid images of turnpikes marking former crossings to Wies haunt snapshots taken by Sudeten German borderland visitors (Figure 3).⁵⁸



Figure 3. The border at Hundsbach-Wies.

These turnpikes and countless others captured on camera cut across the “scheinbar harmloses Gesicht” of the borderland and are a constant feature of such physiognomy.⁵⁹ The “face of the border,” a metaphor repeatedly invoked by Wiese in his novel discussed in Chapter One, acts as a physical interface where literature, pictorial media, and architecture intersect, aided by features such as dashes. Dashes, as Sudeten German sources indicate, become unavoidable in images of looking into the

⁵⁸ A comparable image of one of the Wies-Hundsbach turnpikes appears also in an earlier issue of *Egerer Zeitung* from 10 August 1962, 211.

⁵⁹ Wiese, *...nichts ist mehr wie zuvor*, 177.

Heimat, which will be discussed in Chapter Two (Figure 4).

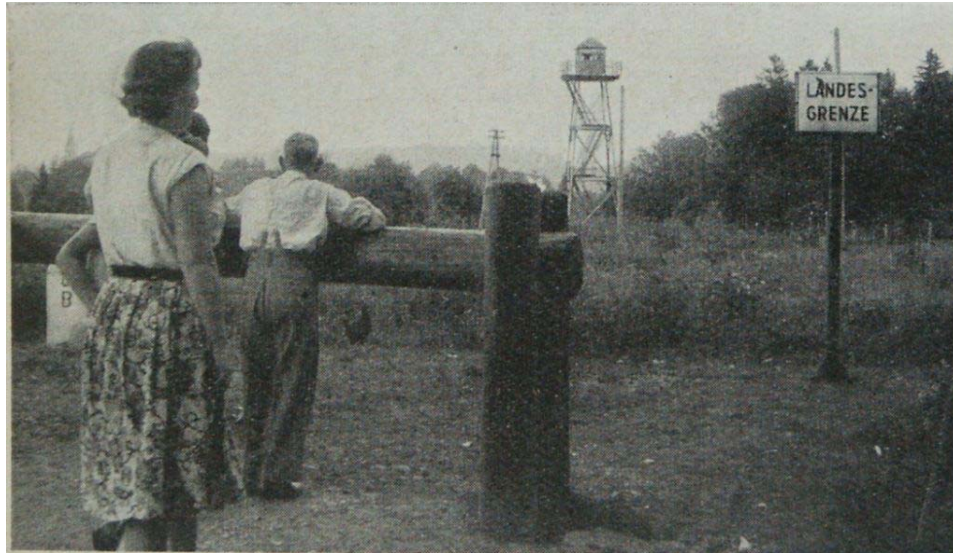


Figure 4. "Blick in die Heimat, an der Tillyschanze."

The occasional redundancy of their arrangement in the landscape does not cease to astound Sudeten German borderland visitors. The expellee author of one illustrated *Grenzfahrtbericht* (borderland visit report), introduced only by his first name (Rudi), explicitly draws his readers' attention to "hintereinander stehende Schlagbäume" (Figure 5).⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Rudi, "Und drüben ist die Heimat," *Egerer Zeitung* 8:9 (1957): 121. Further citations, loc. cit.

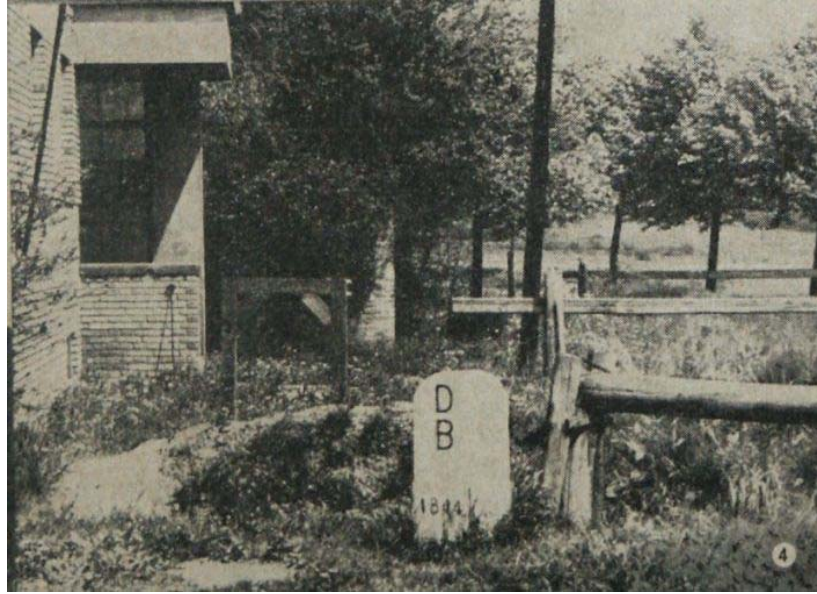


Figure 5. Rudi, “Und drüben ist die Heimat.”

Rudi saturates the text with descriptions of gaping holes of empty windows on the other side of the divide, the overwhelming grayness of the *Heimat* landscape, and white porcelain caps on electric wire demarcating the border. Confounded by his experience of the border, he concludes: “Einen Gedankenstrich scheint hier die Grenze zu bilden—wehe, wer sich hier nicht auskennt!” Rudi’s final line communicates a medial passage between the appearance of the border captured in the illustrations to his report and the textual narrative of this border he attempts to provide. Seemingly a blind spot in the border’s flow, an instance that obstructs a continuous narrative, the dash confronts the article’s readers with a horizontal strike that resonates in the superfluity of successive turnpikes. As they reflect each other in Rudi’s report, the dash and the turnpike bridge the border’s physiognomy with the syntax of its narrative account. At stake is not only their structural and visual semblance, a transient likeness between the border’s punctuated appearance and its fractured narrative. The echoes between them prompt the reader to reflect on the border as a space of medial encounter and a locale where that which is represented

concurrently resonates in different representational modes. The medial plurality of Sudeten German responses to the border is striking. Yet such panoply of media does not leave us with a number of distinct vehicles for transmission of meaning neatly arranged side by side. Sudeten German sources produced by borderland encounters depict media as conduits that contaminate each other, in other words, conduits that are readily hybrid. They position the border to *Heimat* as a juncture where, to speak with W. J. T. Mitchell, “[a]ll media are, from the standpoint of sensory modality, ‘mixed media’.”⁶¹ The contribution of Sudeten German sources to the Cold War aesthetic lies not only in their consistent renderings of one medium through or with the help of another, as I discuss in Chapter Two. This intermedial moment alone is neither unique to Sudeten German cultural production nor fundamentally new from the perspective of media studies. Rather, the significance of the Sudeten German intervention consists in the insistence of their sources on localizing and developing the intermedial moment at the rift between the blocs and at the threshold to *Heimat*. Intermediality becomes a property of the liminal zone where *Heimat* and the border converge.

I will now go back to horizontal breakdowns that conjoin the dash and the turnpike and approximate such media as writing and photography in illustrated narratives of Sudeten German visits at the border. It appears that their approximation is not a feature of Rudi’s report alone. It is rather a function of extraliterary properties often attributed to the dash by literary scholars. Those who work on texts by authors employing the dash extensively comment not only its cipher-like function

⁶¹ W. J. T. Mitchell, “There Are No Visual Media,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 4, no. 2 (2005): 257. In his article Mitchell is primarily reacting against the rise of visuality to a master narrative, observed primarily in the way it is discussed by the founders of visual studies, e.g. Mieke Bal, James Elkins, and Nicholas Mirzoeff. For an earlier argument along similar lines, see Mark Poster, “Visual Studies as Media Studies,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 1, no. 1 (2002): 67-70. Marshall McLuhan’s writings have been tremendously influential for such revaluations of medial relationships. In *The Man and His Message* he wrote: “No medium has its meaning or existence alone, but only with constant interplay with other media.” Marshall McLuhan, *The Man and His Message* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1989), 90.

symptomatic of an “idiomatic void,” a failure of language. They note also its striking visual and, above all, spatial impact on the otherwise two-dimensional flatness of the text.⁶² For these scholars the dash is not only as a punctuation mark. It is a quintessential mark of medial plurality inherent in texts, since the dash also conveys orality and expressivity beyond the written word. To quote Mark Boren, dashes are carved into the text: they “separate and suture, incise and sew.”⁶³ According to another scholar, they transcend both generic and textual limits and spill over into the pictorial, resembling cubist lines that dissect prose to make it “more similar to verse structure or even graphic art.”⁶⁴ As they reveal the loss of a “speaker’s coordinates,” dashes provide for a “spatial reading” of a text from the “periphery or circumference of language.”⁶⁵ They make media resonate in one another. They function, as they do in Rudi’s report, as a means locating media in the borderland and facilitating their interrelationship.

Yet dashes are more than just means. In his short impressionistic essay “Punctuation Marks,” Theodor Adorno invokes the physiognomy of punctuation, which further helps locate the dash on the medial face of the border.⁶⁶ The essay was published in a compilation that is explicitly meant to address topics of literary significance. Yet Adorno’s emphasis on the three-dimensional physiognomy of

⁶² Mark Edelman Boren, “More than a Line: The Unmistakable Impression of Significance and the Dashes of Henry James,” *Philological Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (1998): 335. On similar conclusions based on works produced in a different period, see also Martina Michelsen. *Weg vom Wort—zum Gedankenstrich. Zur stilistischen Funktion eines Satzzeichens in der englischen Literatur des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993), 107.

⁶³ Boren, op. cit., 337.

⁶⁴ Christine Tomei, “Landšafty fantasii, slyšimoj mol[ch]a za slovom”: Dis/juncture as a Patterning Principle in Andrej Belyj’s *Peterburg*,” *The Slavic and East European Journal* 38, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 606.

⁶⁵ Paul Crumbley, *Inflections of the Pen: Dash and Voice in Emily Dickinson* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 22, 28, and 32, respectively.

⁶⁶ My use of the term “medial” reflects different material and generic origins of the sources considered here and is not synonymous with the German term *medial*, which usually refers to mass media. Cf. Habbo Knoch, “Das mediale Gedächtnis der Heimat: Krieg und Verbrechen in den Erinnerungsräumen der Bundesrepublik,” in *Das Erbe der Provinz*, 275-300.

punctuation marks suggests that the full scope of associations conveyed also by dashes cannot be contained within literature. The less punctuation marks are anchored to words and names, he writes, “the more each of them acquires a definitive physiognomic status of its own, which cannot be separated from its syntactic function but is by no means exhausted by it.”⁶⁷ Connecting texts to passage in time and space, punctuation marks are, for Adorno, deictic “traffic signs” that gesture and point.⁶⁸ With their help, texts implode their narrowly linguistic boundaries, break out into voice, and expose their self-conscious fragmentation, all while alluding to music and gesture of which physiognomy is part.⁶⁹ Especially dashes, these “wrinkles on the brow” of the text, as Adorno puts it, take on a corporeal property as they “separat[e] things that feign a connection.”⁷⁰

Although Adorno’s traffic signs are expressly *not* media,⁷¹ it is difficult to think of their gestural and physiognomic thrust as lying outside communication. Indeed, their deictic thrust is symptomatic not only of textual disintegration, but also indicates fractures in seemingly arrested moments of stability and stasis, compositional as well as content-related, in still images that capture motion.⁷² Giorgio Agamben’s essay “Notes on Gesture” reads almost as an extension of Adorno’s “Punctuation Marks” with regard to helping us understand some of the implications of this deictic moment (that is, the moment of expressing, directing, and pointing that is physical as much as semiotic and syntactic) for intermediality.⁷³ Agamben is

⁶⁷ Theodor W. Adorno, “Punctuation Marks,” in *Notes to Literature*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann; tr. Sherry Weber Nicholsen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 91. Originally published as “Satzzeichen,” *Noten zur Literatur* (Berlin/Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1958).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁷² I discuss deixis and provide its definition for the present context in Chapter Two.

⁷³ Giorgio Agamben, “Notes on Gesture,” *Means without End: Notes on Politics*, tr. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 55. To an extent, Agamben may echo McLuhan’s observation on the link between media and the human body: “All media are extensions of some human faculty—psychic or physical” (McLuhan, 89).

especially interested in pictures in and of movement (cinema and photography in particular), which, he seems to think, make boundaries between media and medial distinctions altogether dispensable. In his words, such images implode their own frames to suggest that there are “no images but only gestures” directly engaged in kinetic processes that they depict.⁷⁴ Agamben links modern media such as photography to ancient traditions, where images existed within myths that surrounded and explained them. In some ways, Agamben’s perspective is a nostalgic glance into and an attempt to recuperate the past when media could not only mingle freely but also reconnect with movement and physicality that they originated from and were supposed to capture. He traces the liberation “of the image into gesture,” i.e. a zone of medial commingling, back to ancient Greek legends of peripatetic statues wandering away from their pedestals. This movement uncovers, in Agamben’s essay, a path “back to the homeland of gesture”.⁷⁵ The gesture does not just *act* or *make*, working to achieve a particular effect or end. Instead, it *carries on* without being caught in the polarity of either means or ends, and places its emphases on the process “as such”.⁷⁶ The gesture is not a medium *per se* but rather its manifestation or expression, “communication of a communicability”, “*the exhibition of mediality [,] the process of making a means visible.*”⁷⁷

Examining the function of gesture in cross-pollenating media, Jill Bennett appeals to Agamben’s insistence on the importance of “being-in-the-medium.”⁷⁸ She uses the processual importance of gesture to suggest indirectly that W. J. T. Mitchell’s invocation of “[m]ixed media” instrumentalizes “an obsolete term.”⁷⁹ Bennett emphasizes intermediality because it “implies more than the internal

⁷⁴ Agamben, loc. cit.

⁷⁵ Agamben, 56.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 57.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 59 and 58, respectively, original emphasis.

⁷⁸ Jill Bennett, “Aesthetics of Intermediality” *Art History* 30, no. 3 (June 2007): 432-450.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 434.

differentiation or mixing of media that occurs within art itself. Realized at the intersection of different practices, technologies, languages, and sign systems, intermediality posits a broad transdisciplinary sphere of operation open to—but not restricted to—interventions in aesthetic form.”⁸⁰ It is concerned, she continues, “less with significations or associations of particular sign systems, than with the staging of intermedial relationships, and thus with the creation of an ‘intermedial aesthetic’ per se.”

Without embracing Agamben’s suggestions in their entirety—as my discussion of looking and pointing at *Heimat* in Chapter Two will demonstrate, the gesture still communicates and thus remains inseparable from both means and ends—I propose that thinking about the gesture as manifestation of intermediality taps into the complexities of the Cold War aesthetic developed in a particular physical setting where Sudeten German bodies become physically and medially engaged with the border. This observation relates not only to the medial ambivalence of Sudeten German sources such as illustrated border reports, gestures pointing toward *Heimat* in family snapshots, appliquéd paper dots or crosses marking destroyed houses on old photographs of *Heimat*, and lookout towers whose windows configure our visual field as a framed image. Although these do not reach the kind of programmatic complexity available in high art, such as Gerhard Richter’s photo-paintings, they are relevant to this project and discussed in the following chapters. The gesture that so frequently figures in expellee culture also points to my overarching concern not only with territorial but also with aesthetic links between border and *Heimat* in the Cold War. The movement implicit in both the dash and the turnpike as discussed above—especially in the moment of the break they connote, be it *Strich* or *Schlag*—brings home their contextual interdependence. Intersections between the dash and the

⁸⁰ Ibid.

turnpike, gestural by dint of their physiognomic connections, help us conceptualize the border as a proper locus of intermediality, in other words, as “a homeland of gesture.” This is how, in my opinion, border and *Heimat* are medially fused.

These observations would be impossible without an acknowledgment of the many sources instrumental for my project. My argument is that rather than disorienting viewers, readers, and visitors, the plethora of media that confront them in print and on location forged links between a wide variety of impressions and experiences to which Sudeten German expellees have been exposed since their arrival in the Federal Republic. In situ, architectural settings combined expellee political agendas with engaging sensory faculties, both optic and haptic. At the same time they introduced their visitors to an array of newly executed wall paintings that emplot the flight motif in stories of the New Testament and twentieth-century violence. They placed pilgrims in front of devotional sculpture and images rescued from the *Heimat* and couched these in written legends nailed to walls of new chapels nearly exactly replicating lost *Heimat* originals. Finally, these settings explicitly encouraged guests to read and contribute entries to visitor books.

In the realm of Sudeten German fiction, another heterogeneous corpus of sources significant for my dissertation, one finds travelogues, multiple borrowings from the Old and New Testaments, and accounts of the expulsion and arrival in West Germany. Contrary to what one may assume, these texts do not necessarily focus exclusively on problems of Czech-German coexistence prior to 1945, the expulsion itself, or conflicts between West and Sudeten Germans after the expulsion. These narratives are also populated with groups having little to do with histories of these national or local tensions and clashes. While their overcrowded plots are not often self-reflexive—and many of them indeed were penned by former National Socialists and unrepentant right-wingers—they attest, as I discuss in the epilogue, to the far-

reaching appeal of *Heimat* in the Cold War.

In the Sudeten German press announcements of class reunions mingled with obituaries, illustrated borderland trip reports, accounts of the current state of *Heimat*, fundraising calls to finance new chapels or monuments, poetry, legal updates, political speeches, news from around the world, and small-scale reproductions of paintings, sculpture, or architectural sketches by West German or expellee artists. Unlike the more centralized expellee press organs, such as *Die Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, *Mitteilungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft*, *Der Sudetendeutsche*, or *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief*, some of which I also consider in this dissertation, these so-called *Heimatblätter* or *Heimatbriefe* were regional periodicals. Their relationship with umbrella organizations and publications did not always possess the kind of unproblematic continuity often ascribed to it. At times *Heimatblätter* were criticized for diffusing audiences of the Sudeten German Association (*Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft*, further SdL). These periodicals were, supposedly, unable to lead the “struggle” “über die engen Grenzen unseres heimatlichen Kreises dorthin zu tragen, wo die Entscheidungen vorbereitet und getroffen werden.”⁸¹ Their names, typically starting with adjectival derivatives of German towns’ names, such as Tepl, Karlsbad, Tachau, or Eger, point to their limited appeal. Addressing subscribers from specific locales and often published not in Munich but in a variety of disaggregated provincial publishing houses, many established by the expellees themselves, they did not only reproduce political pronouncements of the SdL and functionaries of its many subdivisions (*Ortsgruppen*). Rather, they commingled media and genres unavailable to scholars who limit themselves to a few central periodicals.⁸² Bringing together high and low,

⁸¹ R.H., “*Der Sudetendeutsche*: seine Aufgabe und sein Ziel. Nur eine unabhängige und überparteiliche Zeitung kann heute im Ausland wirken,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 7, no. 23 (5 June 1954): 7.

⁸² With regard to media and structure, *Heimatblätter* recall both German homeland albums (*Heimatbücher*), i.e. accounts of one village, area, or town written for posterity, and *yizkor* books

these small-scale publications, with the number of copies ranging from several hundred to several thousand, were neither always in line with SdL rhetoric nor did they draw a clear boundary between authors and their audiences. In many cases their readers were simultaneously contributors.

Manifest in today's obscurity of these sources is our very limited familiarity with the broad spectrum of life and culture of German expellees, Sudeten Germans included. Six decades have passed since the western Allies had lifted the postwar ban on associations and the press (*Koalitionsverbot*) before the founding of two Germanys in 1949, a date that also marks a consolidation of *Landsmannschaften* in the Federal Republic of Germany and the lower limit of this dissertation's chronology.⁸³ Countless issues of expellee periodicals have since appeared and been shelved in minor and major West German libraries. Despite the surfeit and overwhelming accessibility of these sources we still know next to nothing about the expellees' multimedial activity beyond the notorious annual congresses of their homeland associations. The long-term impact of this activity on the physical and cultural landscape of West Germany is likewise *terra incognita*.⁸⁴ Given recent

(memorial books) published by Jewish aid societies (*landsmanshaftn*) in the wake of the Holocaust. For a Sudeten German call to consider these kinds of sources seriously, see Margarete Kubelka, "Heimatbriefe," *Marienbad-Tepler Heimatbrief* 35, no. 409 (October 1982): 678-9. For a defense of regional expellee press against the assumption of the SdL that they target a circle that is too narrow, see M. R., "Die sudetendeutschen Heimatblätter wirken informativ und meinungsbildend in breite Schichten der Volksgruppe hinein," *Der Volksbote* 37, no. 7 (15 February 1985): 8.

⁸³ The first expellee associations in the British-American bi-zone were sanctioned on 10 March 1947, and mobilized almost exclusively property and land owners, motivated economically. The much more political *Landsmannschaften* started to emerge in 1948, joining forces in 1949 to form the *Vereinigten Ostdeutschen Landsmannschaften*, later *Bund der vertriebenen Deutschen* and since 1958 *Bund der Vertriebenen*, currently headed by Erika Steinbach. See Bernd Stöver, "Pressure Group im Kalten Krieg. Die Vertriebenen, die USA und der Kalte Krieg 1947-1990," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 53, no. 10 (2005): 899-901.

⁸⁴ Only a few studies have dealt with comparable material. They include Jutta Faehndrich, "Erinnerung und Umgang mit Vertreibung in Heimatbüchern deutschsprachiger Vertriebener," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 52:2 (2003): 191-229. However, Faehndrich's goal is not to offer close readings of select sources or to consider multiple media. She aims to arrive at a "gemeinsames Repertoire der Vertriebenen" (192), especially with regard to assessing their unsuccessful confronting the past, while surveying a large number *Heimatbücher* produced by a wide variety of expellee groups. Brenda Melendy considers published works on expellee ethnography, their political speeches, and new rituals, in her exploration of their reinventions of *Heimat* in the Federal Republic. See *In Search of*

scholarly attention to the German *Opferdiskurs* and the so-called *Komplex Flucht und Vertreibung*, over a decade of thorough archival work that has left us with invaluable knowledge about German victims and perpetrators, East and West German memory of wartime losses, and government policies with regard to a broad variety of contingents affected by the war and Holocaust alike, the lacuna concerning expellee culture is one of the blind spots of academic research on postwar Germany.⁸⁵

As Pertti Ahonen points out, the most authoritative historical and socio-political accounts of the postwar era prefer to relegate agency to the state and rarely consider expellee responses from the bottom up.⁸⁶ In cultural studies, interventions into the debate on Germans as victims have likewise limited their attention to the expellees to but a few sentences. In these somewhat reductive references, the expellees appear as revisionists vanquished by the early 1970—Aleida Assmann, for instance, notes with considerable relief that “Brandt’s *Ostpolitik* succeeded in marginalizing” them soon enough—or as ethnographic subjects whose curiously “folkloric self-fashionings lacked the support of the wider society.”⁸⁷ In Peter Fritzsche’s otherwise thorough and thought-provoking essay on West German postwar narratives the expellees are notable solely for their penchant for portraying “idyllic, self-contained rural settings.”⁸⁸ Robert Moeller, whose pioneering work on

Heimat: Crafting Expellee Identity in the West German Context, 1949-1961 (Ph.D diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 1998).

⁸⁵ The term “Komplex Flucht und Vertreibung” has become a trope in the German public sphere and appears in most publications devoted to the topic.

⁸⁶ Pertti Ahonen, “The Impact of Distorted Memory: Historical Narratives and Expellee Integration in West Germany, 1945-1970,” in *European Encounters: Migrants, Migration and European Societies since 1945*, ed. Rainer Ohliger, Karen Schönwälder, and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (London: Ashgate, 2003), 239-242. See also his *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe, 1945-1990* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). *Landsmannschaften* and the expellee lobby have since become much more firmly anchored in “dispassionate accounts” (Ahonen, “The Impact of Distorted Memory,” 240) authored by political scientists. See, for example, Matthias Stickler, “*Ostdeutsch heißt gesamtdeutsch.*” *Organisation, Selbstverständnis und heimatpolitische Zielsetzungen der deutschen Vertriebenenverbänden* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

⁸⁷ Assmann, “The Incompatibility of Guilt and Suffering,” 191.

⁸⁸ Peter Fritzsche, “What Exactly is Vergangenheitsbewältigung? Narrative and Its Insufficiency in Postwar Germany,” in *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film, and Discourse since 1990*, ed. Anne Fuchs, Mary Cosgrove, and Georg Grote (Rochester, NY: Camden

the early decades of the Federal Republic has been instrumental in disproving the “taboo” on discussing German victimhood, often limits his consideration of expellee reactions to a brief mention of their annual meetings.⁸⁹ Even in the most neutral academic accounts expellee activities appear as little more than quaint assemblages of “*Trachten* (regional costumes), the singing of traditional songs, and taking part in traditional dances and eating the culinary specialties of the region.”⁹⁰ To paraphrase Johannes Moltke’s observation on the state of research on the *Heimat* films of the 1950s, few of the authors who refer to the expellees appear to have spent much time studying them.⁹¹

Among explanations for such a lack of interest one could undoubtedly name a persistent political bias noted by Ahonen,⁹² the desire to emphasize, and as a rule justly so, West German attention deficits vis-à-vis victims of Germans, rather than Germans as victims; the belief that the dwindling desire to return to the *Heimat*, exhibited by most expellees by the late 1960s, was a sure symptom of their successful and comprehensive integration; the reluctance to tackle qualitative desiderata of art or literature produced in circles where anyone could count as an author;⁹³ and emphatic attention, on the part of both *Germanisten* and cultural studies experts, to confronting the past as the principal criterion for whether or not a given work or corpus of sources

House, 2006), 31.

⁸⁹ Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 35-36. For a critique of this aspect of Moeller’s work, see Ahonen 2003.

⁹⁰ Kati Tonka, “From ‘Sudetendeutsche’ to ‘Adlergebirgler’: Gudrun Pausewang’s *Rosinkawiese* Trilogy,” in *Coming Home to Germany? The Integration of Ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe in the Federal Republic*, ed. David Rock and Stefan Wolf (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 202.

⁹¹ Von Moltke, op. cit., 22-23.

⁹² Ahonen, “The Impact of Distorted Memory,” 239.

⁹³ Cf. Karl Schindler, *Heimat und Vertreibung in der schlesischen Dichtung* (Munich: Aufstieg-Verlag 1964, 48: “Von den Tausenden konventioneller Gedichtlein in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Kalendern [der Schlesier] sei abgesehen; sie sind ohne dichterische Prägekraft und leben von abgegriffenen Worten und Bildern.”

is worthy of study.⁹⁴ The as yet unexplored emergence of the expellees as objects of ethnography in the immediate postwar years—the first studies of ethnic German piety appeared already in the early 1950s, long before historians under Theodor Schieder and sociologists embraced the expulsion and its outcomes—added to the thick air of curious folkloricity that has surrounded them ever since.⁹⁵ Research institutes, such as *Johannes-Künzig-Institut für Ostdeutsche Volkskunde* in Freiburg, sprouted as early as 1950 in jarring contradiction to university *Volkskunde* departments being shut down due to their faculty's implication in the Nazi ideology and politics. Everyday rituals, burials, costume, songs, and fairy tales enthralled ethnographers and conveniently provided jobs to those with questionable records. At the same time, they deterred experts from other fields less dedicated to the study of folkloric *Eigenart*.⁹⁶ In the words of Brenda Melendy, “many Germans conflate ‘expellee culture’ in post-war Germany with the ethnological collections of Heimat [sic] memorabilia.”⁹⁷

An impression prevails in public opinion that expellee associations operated in a *Nebenöffentlichkeit*, a semi-public domain, and that works produced by expellees reside outside the canon of both political permissibility and artistic merit. This impression has made itself at home also in literary studies.⁹⁸ A catalogue published in 1995 regrets that the “Begriff der Literatur der Heimatvertriebenen” is “marginalisiert und eher negativ besetzt.”⁹⁹ Yet the author soon made clear that his intention was to

⁹⁴ Because memory and/or trauma studies have been paradigms prevalent in the study of the expellees to date, this dissertation brackets these approaches in favor of alternative models.

⁹⁵ See Alfred Karasek-Langer, “Neue Formelemente im bayerischen Wallfahrtswesen durch den Zustrom von Heimatvertriebenen,” *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1951): 103-107 and his “Brauchtumswandel in Bayern durch den Zustrom an Heimatvertriebenen,” *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1953): 118-128. Karasek-Langer, having previously worked on the folklore of *Auslandsdeutsche*, has been considered one of the founders of expellee ethnography. *Heimat* itself has been an object of ethnographic study at least since the late nineteenth century. See Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1971-1918* (Chapel Hill and London: North Carolina University Press, 1997), 115ff.

⁹⁶ On *Eigenart* and *Heimat*, see Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 114.

⁹⁷ Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 26.

⁹⁸ Cf. Faehndrich, *op. cit.*, 191.

⁹⁹ Peter Fassl, “Aspekte der Literatur der Heimatvertriebenen—Annäherungen,” in *Trauer und*

rescue and place in the limelight the literature written by those who “mit dem unvoreingenommenen Blick der Fremden die Kultur der neuen Heimat [an]eignen,” and not by those who formed “eine Binnenkultur, [deren] Resonanz nach außen blieb gering und eher auf offizielle Feiern beschränkt.” Dating back to Louis Ferdinand Helbig’s study from the late 1980s, the distinction between “expellee literature” (*Vertriebenenliteratur*) and “expulsion literature” (*Vertreibungsliteratur*) has proved to have a lingering and limiting influence.¹⁰⁰ While the latter is the proper subject of Helbig’s study, the former receives short shrift in the following synopsis republished in 1995:

‘Vertriebenenliteratur’ [...] ist gekennzeichnet durch einen vergleichsweise geringen Abstand von den Erlebnissen. Besonders in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren veröffentlichte Tagebücher und Fluchtberichte beschreiben den Schrecken und das Leiden, Schmerz, Tod und immer wieder das grausame Ende einer Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte, die je nach Landschaft bis ins dreizehnte Jahrhundert zurückreicht. Eines leistet diese Vertriebenenliteratur nicht: das Nachdenken über den geschichtlichen Kontext des Heimatverlustes.¹⁰¹

The latter is a task reserved for “expulsion literature,” a “critical *Heimatliteratur*” embracing modern literary strategies to reflect “wie und weshalb die

Zuversicht: Literatur der Heimatvertriebenen in Bayern, ed. Peter Fassl and Berndt Herrmann (Augsburg: Pröll, 1995), 9. For similar points, cf. also Berndt Herrmann, “Überlegungen zum literaturgeschichtlichen Ort der Vertreibungsliteratur in der Nachkriegsliteratur” in the same volume, 19-25.

¹⁰⁰ Louis Ferdinand Helbig, *Der ungeheure Verlust: Flucht und Vertreibung in der deutschsprachigen Belletristik der Nachkriegszeit* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1989), 62. In a very different context, a discursive parallel to this bifurcation exists also in the study of Holocaust literature. David G. Roskies notes a disjunction between the “literature of the Holocaust,” a corpus of wartime writings “that testifies to the historical reality of what later came to be known as ‘the Holocaust’” and the “literature on the Holocaust,” written after the destruction of European Jewry primarily in English and Hebrew. Roskies observes that the latter remains privileged, marginalizing both its wartime counterpart and the role of multiple languages in which it was written. David G. Roskies, “Ringelblum’s Time Capsules,” *The Jewish Search for a Usable Past* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 26-40.

¹⁰¹ Louis Ferdinand Helbig, “Von der ‘Vertriebenenliteratur’ zur ‘Vertreibungsliteratur’—eine Literaturbilanz 1945-1995,” in *Trauer und Zuversicht*, 26.

Heimat verloren wurde.”¹⁰² This is the literature of such undisputed twentieth-century German masters as Günter Grass, Siegfried Lenz, and Horst Bienek, to name a few.¹⁰³ These literati have commemorated expellees “als Subjekte [...], d. h. also Träger moralischer und politischer Haltungen, nicht als stumme und handlungsunfähige Objekte fremder Gewalt.”¹⁰⁴ Scholars have held onto the “andere[n] Erinnerungen” or these “‘anderen’ Vertriebenen” in an attempt to rehabilitate or even rescue the literary engagement with *Flucht und Vertreibung* as an integral part of postwar German literature.¹⁰⁵ *Vertriebenenliteratur*, by contrast, defined as “eine Gebrauchsliteratur innerhalb einer Gruppe” and overdetermined by revisionist politics, has inhabited a limbo outside the literary canon.

My decision to focus on the cultural production of one such group (including more than just the so-called *Vertriebenenliteratur*) aims neither to downplay the role of well-known German authors who have written about Sudeten German expellees, such as Peter Härtling or Reinhard Jirgl, nor to write an apology for the political objectives of Sudeten German organizations.¹⁰⁶ Without any doubt much of the work to be considered here, including media other than literature, bespeaks both political revisionism and vestiges of Nazi vocabulary such as *Volksgruppe* or *Stamm*. Some authors discussed and mentioned in this dissertation were card-carrying Nazi party members, influential academics in various ways implicated in reshaping and

¹⁰² Helbig *Der ungeheure Verlust*, loc. cit.

¹⁰³ Bibliographies appended to some of the most recent studies betray continued and nearly exclusive reliance on a very limited number of literary works. See, for instance, *Germans as Victims*, 281-282.

¹⁰⁴ Hahn and Hahn, “Flucht und Vertreibung.”

¹⁰⁵ See Eva and Hans Henning Hahn, “Die Deutschen und ‘ihre’ Vertreibung: Eine zerklüftete Erinnerungslandschaft wird geplant,” *Transit* 23 (Summer 2002), 114-115 and “Flucht und Vertreibung,” in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, 346, respectively.

¹⁰⁶ Other authors to have written about the expellees from the former Sudetenland within the canon of German-language literature include Gertrud Fussenegger, Otfried Preußler, Ilse Tielsch, Gudrun Pausewang and, more recently, Erica Pedretti, Gerold Tietz, Jörg Bernig, and Emma Braslavsky. For a varied reading list, see Peter Künzel, “Flucht und Vertreibung in der sudetendeutschen Literatur nach 1945,” in *Flucht und Vertreibung in der Nachkriegsliteratur*, ed. Klaus Weigelt (Melle: Verlag Ernst Knoth, 1986), 59-67.

resettling Eastern Europe, members of the SS, and/or founders of postwar right-wing parties invested in the preservation of *Volkstum*. Inclusion of authors with such biographies should be hardly surprising now. Students of history know more than they ever have about selective denazification in both East and West Germany, and National Socialist culture itself—speeches, fiction, films, or art—has for some time been the subject of academic research.

Yet my aim is not to extricate Sudeten Germans from the margins, since speaking in terms of marginality may only reproduce the rhetoric of continued victimization. I aim instead to show that various elements of expellee culture have been anything but peripheral since 1945. Here I refer not to the international influence of the *Landsmannschaften* on mainstream German and European politics which, according to a leftist critic, has been too readily dismissed in political circles and public discussions.¹⁰⁷ My focus is on cultural work that cannot be contained or explained within the terms of politics alone. A central claim of this dissertation is therefore that, rather than existing outside the mainstream German culture, Sudeten Germans have been in constant dialogue with it.¹⁰⁸ Instead of being the quaint objects or subjects of ethnographic study, expellees have been major contributors to more than one mainstream postwar debate. In this vein their interventions included

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Salzborn, *Grenzenlose Heimat: Geschichte, Gegenwart und Zukunft der Vertriebenenverbände* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 2000). Implicitly responding to earlier studies that considered “Macht” as much as “Ohnmacht” of the expellee associations, Salzborn’s titular invocation of the future stresses their persevering influence and control. The SdL played a prominent role in negotiations of the German-Czech Declaration (1997) that acknowledged past failures of both Germans and Czechs and vowed future cooperation as well as of the Czech accession to the European Union. Cf. Manfred Max Wambach, *Verbändestaats und Parteienoligopol: Macht und Ohnmacht der Vertriebenenverbände* (Stuttgart, F. Enke, 1971). For a historical perspective on the influence of the SdL, see Jürgen Tampke, *Czech-Bohemian Relations and the Politics of Central Europe. From Bohemia to the EU* (New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ Brenda Melendy in her *In Search of Heimat* observes that the expellees contributed to re-crafting *Heimat* in postwar Germany. She argues that they have redefined *Heimat* as a form of belonging, turning it into a dynamic, shifting concept with several contemporaneous references. Her argument invites but does not explicitly articulate the need to consider their interventions into West German culture beyond *Heimat*.

discussing and developing the German literary pantheon, preserving an allegedly disappearing standard of the German language, refashioning the appearance of the Iron Curtain, *the Cold War site par excellence*, as well as responding to Germany's division, discussed in more detail in the epilogue. In contrast to the prevailing opinion, their culture was confined neither to depicting "das Leiden, Schmerz, Tod" (Helbig) nor to operating mono-medially, as suggested in a contribution to *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*.¹⁰⁹ I hope to articulate the extraordinary pertinence of their artifacts to a range of subjects having little to do with the expulsion *per se* and to underscore the relevance of expellee culture beyond the scope of West Germany after 1945.

What justifies my choice of Sudeten Germans over any other expellee group when they constituted only about one fourth of all ethnic Germans expelled from Eastern Europe and probably under five per cent of the entire postwar West German population? Why should one even single out a group of expellees? After all, as Ingo Haar demonstrates, the continued postwar use of *Volksgruppe* or *Landsmannschaft* paradigms was encouraged and promoted by none other than former Nazi experts on *Umvolkung*. By isolating expellee groups and insisting on fostering their respective uniqueness, these scholars hoped to prevent individual expellee integration and thus create a precedent for the revision of Germany's eastern borders.¹¹⁰ Yet my goal is not to perpetuate such models. Nor do I wish to make a claim to account for *all* Sudeten Germans. Given that thousands of expellees preferred to sever all contacts with their former *Landsleute* and concentrate on their new life in East or West Germany instead, my analytical focus is on those who actively professed their Sudeten Germanness. They could express this stance by being members in interest groups, subscribing or contributing to expellee periodicals, donating to the

¹⁰⁹ Eva and Hans Henning Hahn suggest that the memory of the expulsion has been and remains mono-medial (in their understanding, exclusively text-based) due to scarcity of "authentische Bilder als Zeugnisse [der] Schicksale, Photographien oder Filme." See their "Flucht und Vertreibung," 336.

¹¹⁰ Haar, "Vom 'Volksgruppen-Paradigma bis zum 'Recht auf Heimat'," 31.

construction of monuments, attending meetings or congresses, and participating in expellee pilgrimages, public readings, or so-called nostalgia tourism (*Heimweh-Tourismus*).

This substantial fraction did share affinities and political platforms with other expellee groups, such as, for example, Silesians or East Prussians. Yet at the same time these Sudeten Germans understood themselves to be strikingly different from other expellees in two crucial respects. In part this sense of difference was an unintended effect of early drafts of West German citizenship law. Article 116 of the Basic Law (1949) automatically bestowed West German citizenship on Germans who inhabited Germany within its borders of 31 December 1937, whether they were then citizens of the Third Reich or not.¹¹¹ Yet unlike such so-called *Reichsdeutsche*, Sudeten Germans were relative latecomers. The Munich treaty of 1938, which formed the juridical base of their belated welcome into the Third Reich, did not enjoy international recognition. Although Sudeten Germans were eligible for citizenship as expellees of German background, their *Heimat* lay outside the law. While their late accession to Hitler's Germany may be of little concern for the study of their wartime life—despite multiple complaints, there is not enough evidence that they were treated as “Volksgenossen zweiter Klasse” by *Reichsdeutsche* politicians and administrators¹¹²—most of them clearly saw such belatedness as a liability until the *Bundestag* resolved the dilemma of Sudeten German citizenship by passing the Federal Refugee and Expellee Law (*Bundesvertriebenengesetz*) on 19 May 1953.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Daniel Levy, “Integrating Ethnic Germans in West Germany: The Early Postwar Period,” in *Coming Home to Germany?*, 21. On expellee policies in East Germany, see Philipp Ther, “The Integration of Expellees in Germany and Poland after World War II: A Historical Reassessment,” *Slavic Review* 55, no. 4 (1996), 779-805 and “Expellee Policy in the Soviet-occupied Zone and the GDR: 1945-1953,” in *Coming Home to Germany?*, 56-75.

¹¹² Volker Zimmermann, “‘Volksgenossen’ erster und zweiter Klasse? Reichs- und Sudetendeutsche in Böhmen und Mähren 1938-1945,” in *Die ‘Volksdeutschen’ in Polen, Frankreich, Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei*, 257-272.

¹¹³ Prior to that, Sudeten Germans were already among beneficiaries of two other laws geared to provide the expellees with some economic support: the Immediate Aid Law (*Soforthilfegesetz*, 8

The tenuousness of their initially uncertain legal status in the West German state left a lasting impact on the sense of otherness acutely felt by Sudeten German activists.¹¹⁴

Another difference was geopolitically conditioned. After Germany's division gained clear geographical contours in the course of 1948 and 1949, Sudeten Germans were the only group of expellees to have immediate physical proximity to the border to their *Heimat*. With that, they received partial sensory access to what lay on the other side of the divide. As I explain in Chapters One and Two, as well as in the epilogue, this garnered them the role of 'cold warriors' not shared to a comparable extent by any other expellees and gave their *Grenzland* credentials a new life. At the same time, relating to the Iron Curtain through its proximity to *Heimat* granted them a chance to transform the landscape on the western side of the border, implicate the divide between the blocs in their activities, and develop the intermedial environment that, in my view, makes this border area a 'homeland of gesture.'¹¹⁵ Moreover,

August 1949) targeting the least affluent and the wide-reaching Equalization of Burdens Law (*Lastenausgleichsgesetz*, 14 August 1952).

¹¹⁴ Oblivious to a contradiction implicit in their line of argument, Sudeten German opponents of the law attempted to make a case against such codification of 'Hitler's borders' and for recognizing broader cultural boundaries of Germanness. See Siegwalt Benatzky, "Es gibt nicht zweierlei Deutsche," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 1, no. 9/10 (December 1949), 2; Arthur Schidlo, "Umstrittene Staatsbürgerschaft," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 4, no. 46 (8 December 1951): 1; Heinrich Helm, "Gab es jenseits der Grenzen von 1937 keine Deutschen?," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 11 (14 March 1953): 5. In 1953, Lodgman von Auen, a long-time Sudeten German politician and the first chairman of the SdL, spoke about the difficulty that the current law posed for recuperating *Heimat* in "Unsere Heimat liegt außerhalb der Grenzen von 1937," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 22 (30 May 1953): 2. Further responses were triggered by the absence of the Sudetenland from a large 1950 Berlin exhibit *Heimat im Osten*: "Es darf im Sudetendeutschen als Vertriebenen nicht das Gefühl geweckt werden, daß er nicht Deutscher zweiter, sogar dritter Klasse ist." See E. Kunz, "Warum ohne uns? Ausstellung 'Heimat im Osten' ohne das Sudetenland—Brüskierung der Volksgruppe," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 4, no. 15 (25 April 1951): 4. On the role of the exhibit, see Hahn and Hahn 341-342.

¹¹⁵ So far I am familiar with only two studies of the Czech-German borderland, both couched in ethnography. See Katharina Eisch, "Grenzland Niemandsland: eine ethnographische Annäherung an die Deutschen in Böhmen," *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 40, no. 2 (1999): 277-305 and Maruška Svašek, 'Borders and Emotions: Hope and Fear in the Bohemian-Bavarian Frontier Zone', *Ethnologia Europaea* 30, no. 2 (2000): 111-126. After the end of the Cold War Sudeten Germans built few new structures but did not stop visiting their old towers and shrines, some of which were further expanded or renovated. Commenting on the tower at Neualbenreuth, described in detail in Chapter Two, an observer commented that "[n]ach einem Besucher-Rückgang durch die Grenzöffnung erfreut sich der Turm wieder guten Zuspruchs, so daß an die seit langem geplante Erweiterung der "Turmstube" am Fuß des Turms erneut edacht werden muß." See "Grenzlandfahrt," *Der Volksbote* 50, no. 28 (10 July 1998): 11.

throughout the Cold War, Sudeten Germans were among the very few to have toured the entire length of the Iron Curtain, from its northernmost to its southernmost points. These interventions explain my exclusively western bias. Since on the eastern side of the divide, Czech and East German alike, such practices would have been impossible, their alternatives remain to be explored elsewhere.¹¹⁶

Although in this introduction I have limited my discussion of *Heimat* primarily to its role as a nexus of intermediality, such a site is unthinkable outside spatial and chronological coordinates. *Heimat* is not only located on the map but, in Bernd Hüppauf's words, "entsteht aus der Entfernung," in spatial and temporal terms.¹¹⁷ How are its intermedial clusters constituted over time? How, where, and by whom are they received? Outstanding recent studies have broken with a long-standing tradition of viewing *Heimat* as a fortress of immutability, a harbor of "Geborgenheit und Sicherheit," a narrowly defined place resistant to forces of modernity.¹¹⁸ Instead, these studies observe the transformation of the concept into a litmus test registering historical change, an ambivalent entity that is "elastisch, flexibel und austauschbar," resistant to stable definitions, historically variable and

¹¹⁶ For a path-breaking anthropological study of the German-German borderland, see Daphne Berdahl, *Where the World Ended. Re-Unification and Identity in the German Borderland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹¹⁷ Bernd Hüppauf, "Heimat—die Wiederkehr eines verpönten Wortes. Ein Populärmythos im Zeitalter der Globalisierung," in *Heimat: Konturen und Konjunkturen eines umstrittenen Konzepts*, ed. Gunther Gebhard, Oliver Geisler, and Steffen Schröter (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), 109-140.

¹¹⁸ Habbo Knoch, op. cit., 277. See also von Moltke, op. cit.; Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*; Alon Confino, "'This lovely country you will never forget': Kriegserinnerungen und Heimatkonzepte in der westlichen Nachkriegszeit," in *Das Erbe der Provinz*, 235-252; Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat: A German Dream: Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gunther Gebhard, Oliver Geisler, and Steffen Schröter, "Heimatdenken: Konjunkturen und Konturen. Statt einer Einleitung," in *Heimat: Konturen und Konjunkturen*, 9-56; Bernd Hüppauf, op. cit. For a comprehensive historical account of the *Heimat* tradition, see von Moltke, op. cit.; Gebhard et al., op. cit., and Boa and Palfreyman, op. cit. For an extensive bibliography of German sources, see *Das Erbe der Provinz* and *Heimat: Konturen und Konjunkturen*. On the role of *Heimat* as a stepping stone to the nation and a more comprehensible metaphor for the national, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, CA: 1990) and Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, respectively. On a history of the *Heimat* idea, see Peter Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002).

marked by “Unschärfe.”¹¹⁹ Consequently, while *Heimat* has maintained its “weitgehend kontinuierlich[e] Präsenz,” it has meant different things to various German constituencies at distinct points in history.¹²⁰ It continues to emerge: in Bern Hüppauf words, *Heimat* “entsteht jetzt.”¹²¹ Speaking to “*Heimat* in the Cold War,” this dissertation responds to concerns with historical peculiarity and considers some of the new meanings that *Heimat* may have acquired in and outside Germany since the descent of the Iron Curtain.

The space of *Heimat* has likewise become ambiguous. It is no longer defined as antithetical to “Fremde,” but as Johannes von Moltke proposes, may be best understood dialectically as “the mutual interdependence of the two terms.”¹²² “It would be misleading,” he continues, “to define Heimat [sic] solipsistically as a territory organized towards the inside and excluding any consideration of the spaces beyond its reach.”¹²³ If this is indeed the case, *Heimat* is no longer “überschaubar,” bounded, and unconditional, but mutable and connected to contemporary contexts of migration no less than it once was linked to the putatively originary spaces of childhood.¹²⁴ It is no longer yoked to the national space of Germany, and scholars have produced detailed accounts of its travels as it has accompanied its German custodians to about every corner of the world for over a century.¹²⁵ Moreover, as I explain in Chapter 1 and the epilogue, in the process of their shifts the boundaries of *Heimat* may have transcended Germanness altogether. That is, *Heimat* may no longer be dependent on its German *Pfleger* though it remains connected to German cultural

¹¹⁹ Confino, “‘This lovely country you will never forget,’” 251 and Gebhard et al., op. cit., 10 and 13, respectively.

¹²⁰ Knoch, op. cit., 14. See also Gebhard et al., op. cit., 18.

¹²¹ Hüppauf, op. cit., 109.

¹²² Von Moltke, op. cit., 14.

¹²³ Ibid., 13.

¹²⁴ Hüppauf, op. cit., 131.

¹²⁵ For a series of studies of *Heimat* preserved by Germans outside of Germany, see *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, ed. Krista O’Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005).

heritage. For the present study of Sudeten German culture the usual focus of scholars on “*der deutsche Osten*” or “*der deutsche Osten*” may no longer be justified. While recovering ‘lost territories’ has undoubtedly been among the primary goals of ethnic German expellee activists, their German East was neither only German nor located exclusively to the east of the Oder and Neisse. By invoking “West Germany’s multimedial Easts” I point to several Easts that played a role for Sudeten Germans after 1945, not least the Middle East.

The following chapters and the epilogue lay out what I consider to be the temporal and spatial coordinates of *Heimat* in Sudeten German expellee culture. Chapter One reframes current public and academic discussions of ‘Germans as victims’ in contemporary memory contests. Instead of focusing on a familiar German-Jewish dyad of victims and perpetrators, I discuss how Sudeten Germans elaborated on Palestine’s political, cultural, and religious meanings in order to fashion Palestine into a quintessential homeland. Resisting traditional hierarchies in the rhetoric of *Heimat*, spatial (“engste,” “engere,” and “weitere”) or temporal (old or new), I propose that *Heimat* is best conceptualized not in such linear terms but rather in terms of superimposition. Chapter Two reconsiders the role of nostalgia in processes of sensory and above all visual contact with *Heimat* as documented in Sudeten German borderland photography, travel reports, and poetry. Analyzing ways in which this system implicates the Iron Curtain in rapport with *Heimat*, I examine the role of nostalgia’s visual qualities in mediating between Sudeten Germans, a self-proclaimed diaspora, and the German nation. Chapter Three addresses postwar Sudeten German debates on language, on the one hand, and literary histories of the “Sudeten German literature,” on the other. A disjuncture between them, I argue, pits Sudeten German culture as a challenge to the unproblematic link between a particular language and a certain kind of literary aesthetic as developed in the theory of minor literature of

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. In the epilogue I use Sudeten German sources to probe the analytical salience of “postwar” and “Cold War,” two terms used largely interchangeably by many scholars today. To define their relationship and the respective referential scopes, I suggest that in the German context they overlap in their appeal to *Heimat*. While “postwar” *Heimat* is oriented nationally, “Cold War” *Heimat* finds its reflection in international discussions of self-determination, minority rights, and the right to the homeland. By elaborating the degree to which Sudeten Germans participated in both, this dissertation emphasizes their role not just in wartime and postwar contexts, in which their political roles are well known, but also in the culture and aesthetics of the Cold War.

CHAPTER ONE

WHOSE PALESTINE?:

THE EXPULSION OF SUDETEN GERMANS AS A PALESTINIAN STORY

“To whom does the Holy Land belong? “Naturally to us,” say Israelis and Jews. “No, obviously to us,” respond Arabs and Muslims. “Although the Holy Land does not belong to us, it is holy to us as well. And we also want to have a say in who has access to the holy sites,” explain Christians.”

Michael Wolffsohn¹²⁶

1. Introduction: Does Palestine belong to the Sudeten Germans?

Two intersecting questions have helped shape the contexts in which Palestine has persistently figured over the last several decades: “Whose Palestine?” and “Where is Palestine?”¹²⁷ Their reiteration in Michael Wolffsohn’s book points to the contested albeit flexible boundaries meant to define who belongs in the Holy Land and to whom the Holy Land belongs, literally as well as figuratively. The overarching task of this chapter is to point to and interrogate some of the historical events, political scenarios, religious and cultural trends that gave rise to Palestine’s fluidity. How did its unfocused contours come about and how far did their influences extend?

A brief outline of several long-term developments that have conditioned the area’s significance and bestowed its blurred outline upon it is in order here. By the second half of the twentieth century, ‘Palestine’, its metonymical counterpart once tantamount to a Zionist “project and a goal—either of personal immigration or as the

¹²⁶ Michael Wolffsohn, *Wem gehört das Heilige Land? Die Wurzeln des Streits zwischen Juden und Arabern* (Munich: C. Bertelsmann, 1992), 18. Wolffsohn is a conservative German-Jewish intellectual and career historian known to have been one of the advocates of the large-scale project commemorating the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, the so-called Center against Expulsions (*Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen*).

¹²⁷ Colin Chapman, *Whose Promised Land? The Continuing Crisis over Israel and Palestine* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2002), 13.

geographic base for a project of the territorial regeneration of the Jewish people,” gradually fell into terminological disuse among Jews as the state of Israel became a more common referent.¹²⁸ Simultaneously, the name continued to gain strength among the area’s Arab residents. For them, it acquired the status of “the lost or occupied homeland that marks them as people.”¹²⁹ Well beyond the twentieth century, the territory now known as historic Palestine has been the destination for Muslim, Christian, and Jewish pilgrims for millennia. A familiar subject of heated disputes in the conflict between Israeli Jews and Palestinians over statehood and self-determination; a prickly entry in the catalogue of European ambitions in the Middle East long before and after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918; a screen for Orientalist fantasies among intellectuals, famously described by Edward Said; the crux of recurrent disagreements between Jews, Muslims, and Christians over rights of access to religious sites, Palestine is now the focus of renewed discord as scholars discuss the extent of its original contribution to the rise of ‘Western civilization’.¹³⁰ These multiple points of contention indicate a considerable degree of polysemy attached to Palestine as both a geographic area and an epistemological province.

In particular, this chapter focuses on examining some of the venues in which Palestine’s multiple meanings could aggregate in West Germany during the Cold War. I argue that the Sudeten German expellees, seemingly distant from Palestine’s geographical position on the map, engaged the totality of Palestine’s political,

¹²⁸ Jonathan Boyarin, *Palestine and Jewish History. Criticism at the Borders of Ethnography* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 5.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ In an issue of *PMLA* on literature and globalization, Basem Ra’ad debunks the canon of “Western civilization” as hegemonic, exclusionary, and sanitized because it has operated by consciously excluding areas linguistically and culturally located at its own foundation, Canaan in particular. Although historical linguistics and alphabet developments of the first millennium B.C. form the core of his argument, acknowledgements that preface the essay expose the inextricable link of his contentions to the current political situation. In particular, he thanks his “silent helpers,” “the people in villages and towns in Palestine, whose present condition made thinkable much of what is here.” See Basem L. Ra’ad, “Primal Scenes of Globalization: Legacies of Canaan and Etruria,” *PMLA* 116, no. 1 (January 2001): 105.

cultural, and religious layers of signification in a broad variety of genres and media. This semantic density allowed them to refashion Palestine into a quintessential homeland beyond the scope of traditionally German *Heimat*.

Indeed, Palestine's topography has turned out to be expandable, both thanks to recent shifts in the "boundaries of the physical world" in which the general sense of belonging has become "detached from bounded place"¹³¹ and to the perennial time warp in which the Holy Land has been caught.¹³² An analyst of the contemporary conflict asks: "What are the limits of Palestine? Where does it end and where does Israel begin, and are those limits spatial, or temporal, or both?"¹³³ His questions seem to refer to more than merely territorial markers as a traditional source of state legitimacy in the contemporary Middle East. Rhetorically they posit that, rather than circulating within strict spatial or temporal limits, Palestinian "narratives of self and history that focus on Palestine have an influence far beyond its boundaries."¹³⁴ Indeed, in the words of a prominent Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, the task of exploring Palestine's borders necessarily ushers a transformation of ethnic or national into universal, "damit Palästina sich nicht auf Palästina beschränkt, sondern seine ästhetische Legitimität in einem viel weiter gefaßten menschlichen Raum begründet."¹³⁵ Palestine's move from particular to universal, described by both Khalidi and Darwish, and its metamorphosis, in part by way of politics, from a territory into an aesthetic program have a direct bearing upon the present analysis of

¹³¹ Dan Rabinowitz, "Postnational Palestine/Israel? Globalization, Diaspora, Transnationalism, and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (summer 2000): 761.

¹³² Jeffrey Shandler notes the Western, specifically North American, tendency to see Palestine as arrested in biblical time. Jeffrey Shandler and Beth S. Wenger, "'The Site of Paradise': The Holy Land in American Jewish Imagination," *Encounters with the "Holy Land": Place, Past and Future in American Jewish Culture* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 11.

¹³³ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity. The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 9.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹³⁵ Mahmoud Darwish, *Palästina als Metapher. Gespräche über Literatur und Politik*, trans. Michael Schiffmann (Heidelberg: Palmyra, 1998), 37.

Sudeten German cultural production after 1945. This chapter is therefore as much about Sudeten German expellees as it is about Palestine itself.

The tendency in scholarly, journalistic, and fictional writing to abandon Palestine's limited political territoriality for its seemingly limitless aesthetic metaphoricity bespeaks a certain kind of temporal and territorial instability that are relevant to this chapter. As I outline below, a remarkable array of chronological shifts have connected various present moments, including those lived and imagined by Sudeten Germans, to a broad variety of historical epochs. The motley gamut of milestones in such periodicity has ranged, in the reverse chronological order, from the above-mentioned current political to the biblical, in particular the New Testament's passion of Christ and the Old Testament's Exodus. Spatially, territories more than familiar from the biblical past have been relocated into some of the best-known settings of modernity, especially those where violence accompanied nation-state formation or legacies of colonialism.

To be at the epicenter of such changes has therefore not been an exclusive prerogative of Sudeten Germans, and the changes in Palestine's scope have been anything but parochial. To cite just one example, a scholar of Native Americans, suggests that "contemporary Native peoples share much with our ancient indigenous counterparts." This said, she searches not only to "find the suppressed stories and identifications of Canaanites and American Indians in the holy text of the Exodus" but aims also to forge an "imaginative connection of American Indians with both Canaanites and Israelites" via the logic of oppression to which all three groups were subjected.¹³⁶ Along similar lines, Steven Salaita points out that the analogy between Native Americans and Palestinians has its roots in something more tangible than mere

¹³⁶ Laura Donaldson, "Joshua in America: On Cowboys, Canaanites and Indians," unpublished paper presented at the Mellon Fellows Colloquium at the Society for the Humanities, Cornell University, May 2005, 15 and 21, respectively.

rhetorical parallelism. Namely, it exercises a sustained influence on concrete state policies. “Their mimesis [...] is not merely parallel, but confederated. Zionists drew inspiration from American history in colonizing Palestine, and American history also shaped the outlook of American leaders toward the Near East.”¹³⁷ Extending the scope of his argument, Salaita cites a cartoon by Brazilian artist Latuff that testifies to the diffusion of the term “Palestinian” beyond Israelites, Canaanites, and Native Americans. Latuff’s images also include Vietnamese and Tibetans who counter their oppressors with the universalizing claim: “I am Palestinian.”

The diffusion of who is Palestinian therefore directly relates to the diffusion of the coordinates in which Palestine itself has been located. Donaldson’s concern with “relocating Joshua from the biblical plains of Jericho to the landscapes of Turtle Island [i.e. North America]” resonates with Salaita’s approval of Latuff’s “powerful way to deterritorialize Zionism’s covenant with the Holy Land.”¹³⁸ Both pieces indicate that not only physical expropriations but also figurative appropriations of the Holy Land have been prominently deployed in claims of religious, ethnic, or national groups having seemingly little to do with the Middle East. This development exceeds the proverbial proliferation of “promised lands” that are often coterminous with nation-states where “every language [is] Adamic, every capital Jerusalem, and every people chosen.”¹³⁹ As I argue, it has to do with the specificity of the enduring cultural circulation of Palestine in particular. Perhaps more than any other locale, Palestine has maintained its appeal to a wide variety of groups, and this appeal made a significant contribution to its diffusion. In Edward Said’s words, Palestine’s

¹³⁷ Steven Salaita, “Demystifying the Quest for Canaan: Observations on Mimesis in the New World and Holy Land,” *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 2 (fall 2002): 134. See also his *The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006).

¹³⁸ Donaldson, op. cit., 22 and Salaita, “Demystifying the Quest for Canaan,” 139, respectively.

¹³⁹ Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 1 and 44.

landmarks become “overlain and [...] even covered entirely with symbolic associations totally obscuring the existential reality” of what it is as an actual place.¹⁴⁰

Shortly before his death Said remarked on a generally unacknowledged yet consequential triangulation between Germany, Israel, and the Palestinian cause. While the Holocaust was one of the reasons for the “founding of Israel as a haven for Jews,” it also triggered the “disestablishing of the Palestinians from their homes.”¹⁴¹ As I will demonstrate, Sudeten Germans interpreted this triangulation in ways quite different from those entertained by Said. The Sudeten German configuration of the German-Israeli-Palestinian triangle went far beyond historical causality and became deeply steeped in the domain of mimesis. The range of genres and media they employed—coalescing, ultimately, in the public forum of their periodicals—invite Gunter Gebauer’s and Christoph Wulf’s broad definition of mimesis as a “metaliterary *anthropological* concept designating a specifically human ability [...] of observations and representations of the world, whether the activity takes place in empirical life or in a fiction.”¹⁴² The polyphony of fictional and non-fictional written sources, images, and objects embedded in specific physical landscapes in many respects does away with distinctions between what Gebauer and Wulf dubbed “social” (extra-literary, practical, and material) and “literary” mimesis. Attesting to the premise that “[w]ithout the practical mimesis of everyday life, literary mimesis would bear no reference to the world,” Sudeten German political essayism, literature, and pictorial arts of the Cold War engage in the intermedial relationship that I describe in the introduction.¹⁴³

As I mention further in Chapter Three, in the 1950s Sudeten Germans

¹⁴⁰ Edward Said, “Invention, Memory, Place,” *Critical Inquiry* 26:2 (Winter 2000): 180.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁴² Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Mimesis. Culture—Art—Society*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 22.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 23.

professed to fill a kind of cultural vacuum that resulted in West Germany from the extermination of Jews and lasted at least until the arrival of guest workers from the mid-1950s onward. The Palestinian scenario discussed here focuses on how their self-professed alterity—linguistic, cultural (especially literary), and political—transcended the boundaries of the Federal Republic. Fittingly, critics of established minority discourses draw attention to the need to subvert paradigms in which “minor” can exist and be defined only in relation to “major.”¹⁴⁴ They call for a shift of emphasis away from national and global models, both marked by strong accents on the dynamic between centers and peripheries, to transnational spaces that “can be conceived as a space of exchange and participation wherever processes of hybridization occur and where it is still possible for cultures to be produced and performed without necessary mediation by the center.”¹⁴⁵ The political episode of the Palestinian story that I am about to discuss focuses on Sudeten German references to other minorities. It is a preface necessary to my discussion of Palestine’s path to becoming a universal homeland, since it raises the question of whether minor-to-minor interactions necessarily result in hybrid spaces.

2. *How German is Heimat?*

On Christmas eve of 1996, a Sudeten German priest and director of the *Sudetendeutsches Priesterwerk*, a clerical organization entrusted with expellee pastoral care, joined a chorus of others to ponder Palestine’s ascent to a universal condition:

Was und wo ist Bethlehem? [...] Wo ist heute Bethlehem? Auch im
Geburtsort Jesu gibt es noch Vertriebene. Ihr Schicksal ist in doppelter

¹⁴⁴ Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, “Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally,” in *Minor Transnationalism*, ed. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 2ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

Hinsicht hart, denn viele von ihnen sind palästinensische Christen, die auch durch islamische Tendenzen heute eine bedrohte Minderheit sind. Bethlehem ist deshalb für mich ein Symbol: Für Vertriebene, für die in der Herberge kein Platz ist, die in Lagern oder Aussiedlerheimen leben, in Containern oder Baracken.¹⁴⁶

Here Palestine acquires a twofold relationship to spatiality. First, it becomes a symbol for dislocation, *the* place now turned into *kein[en] Platz*. Second, Palestine's relocation—which is, as I argue, not identical to deterritorialization—becomes a key principle in repeated appropriations of Palestine in a great many contexts. This both prompts and partially answers the questions: “Whose Palestine?” and “Where is Palestine?” The symbolic value of Palestine relies on its placelessness and replaceability, on the one hand, and the very particularity of its ‘placeness’ as the *Geburtsort Jesu*, on the other. Yet these elements commingle without seeming mutually exclusive to a wide range of Sudeten German authors. While Norbert Schlegel's Christmas address implies that Palestine had no physical place for those “für die in der Herberge kein Platz ist,” a variety of sources profiled in this chapter reveal that it metaphorically hosted a number of unexpected others, Sudeten Germans among them. For this reason, Palestine is important for Sudeten Germans and they are significant for understanding its transformations. However, although Sudeten Germans have actively participated in Palestine's appropriation and relocation, this fact alone is insufficient to connect their preoccupation with things Palestinian, on the one hand, and the “lost” *Heimat*, on the other.

My suggestion is that the acts of surveying the borders of Palestine outlined above have found, through the prism of the Sudeten German journalistic, literary, and artistic responses, a direct echo in fluctuations in the conceptual contours of *Heimat*. Sudeten German expellees did not turn the Sudetenland into a ‘New Palestine’ or

¹⁴⁶ Norbert Schlegel, untitled, *Leipaer Heimatbrief* 174 (December 1996): 4.

simply ‘inhabit’ the Holy Land, imaginatively sharing its coordinates with Jews and Palestinians. Rather, they centered their efforts on bringing actual Palestine closer to their own home. Fundamentally important here is that the long-term international attention to and an array of twentieth-century political and legal discourses on Palestine in which Sudeten Germans have shared for some time have construed it as more than a moveable site of suffering.¹⁴⁷ These discussions have shaped it into a quintessential homeland: for biblical Israelites who, according to a Sudeten German writer, must have “experienced exile and expulsion like no other people,”¹⁴⁸ for Christians, for early Zionists and Jews from Europe and elsewhere in the aftermath of the Holocaust and, finally, for contemporary Palestinians themselves. Not incidentally, an editor of a book on longing for home noted that, although “philosophers and theologians have not regularly addressed the topic in their formal work, [...] it is an issue which underlies much contemporary life and thought.” He named “the desire of Diaspora Jews to return home to Jerusalem” as just one example of such influence on contemporary politics.¹⁴⁹

The Sudeten German intervention is important for two main reasons. First, what I call their ‘Palestinian story’ emerged at a juncture of nearly *all* manifold meanings of Palestine and encompassed the entire spectrum of its referentiality. Therefore my study has methodologically little in common with recent scholarly efforts to disprove or marginalize the salience of historical parallels between Palestinians and Sudeten Germans.¹⁵⁰ It is interesting and politically telling but not

¹⁴⁷ Cf. “The Jews look back to Dispersion, the pogroms, and the Holocaust. The Arabs look back to their oppression under the Turks, the broken promises of the Western powers, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the traumatic defeat of 1967. Both know the meaning of the words ‘suffering’ and ‘injustice.’” Chapman, *op. cit.*, 206.

¹⁴⁸ Bruno Brehm, “Die unverlierbare Heimat,” *Stifter-Jahrbuch* VI (1959): 148.

¹⁴⁹ Leroy S. Rouner, “Introduction,” in *The Longing for Home*, ed. Leroy S. Rouner (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), 1.

¹⁵⁰ See Micha Brumlik, *Wer Sturm sät: Die Vertreibung der Deutschen* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 2005), 251ff.

singularly important that the latter have *compared* themselves to Palestinians, no matter how compelling or tenuous the similarities between them may appear. Facile one-to-one correlations usually criticized in Sudeten German identification strategies are, in this case, muddled by parallels drawn between Sudeten Germans and Jews as well as the suffering Christ. The Sudeten German proclivity to insert themselves into *all* of these heterogeneous narratives participates in an enduring Western preoccupation with reproducing a particular setting loosely circumscribed as “Palestinian.” Reproducing this setting as a totality, in texts, images, and in physical settings, defines Sudeten German “Palestinian story.”

Second, the single-minded focus of Sudeten Germans on *Heimat* can serve as a prism for contemplating new functions of Palestine specifically in the German context. The question of belonging in and of the Holy Land, raised at the beginning of this chapter, here intersects with and rubs against the significance of belonging constitutive of the concept of the German nation that the Sudeten expellees had to confront anew after 1945. To interrogate the extent of Palestine having become a usable polyvalent framework for referencing both suffering and homeland therefore means to ask about the degree to which Palestine has discursively ‘belonged’ also to Sudeten Germans. And, conversely, to ask how Sudeten Germans have become part of the “Palestinian” legacy means to ask how they have positioned themselves and been positioned by others as “belonging” in Palestine.

The issue here is not that a German *Heimat* could be transplanted to any place outside Germany where Germans were, as a recent publication eloquently demonstrates.¹⁵¹ Rather, I suggest, *Heimat* could be successfully resituated also where they *were not*. An increasing disconnection of place and culture put forth by many scholars of belonging in the age of globalization is often justified, especially

¹⁵¹ O’Donnell, Bridenthal, and Reagin, op. cit., passim.

when this rift implies that cultures can no longer be neatly mapped onto nation-states or other ethnically homogenous territories.¹⁵² An alternative scholars such as Ernst van Alphen envisions is for both migrants and sedentary people to imagine *a* single homeland in *a* “place in which the imagining takes place.”¹⁵³ This is to say, whereas the homeland and the place where acts of imagining occur need not be the same, van Alphen still presupposes that one of each is available. Elements of the ‘Palestinian story’ I outline here disturb such a one-to-one correlation. Contrary to thinking about a homeland, real or imagined, as associated with a *single* geographically identifiable place related to one’s ethnic, racial or cultural background, in their ‘Palestinian story’ Sudeten Germans reconfigure their *Heimat* through at least partial absorption of Palestine, a territory far removed from their immediate origins. Palestine as a Sudeten German homeland maintains no obvious relation to either the actual Sudetenland or the current location of expellees in Germany or elsewhere. At stake here is therefore less the fact that the boundaries of Germanness could be stretched to embrace, adapt to, or colonize new settings, as suggested by contributors to the volume *The Heimat Abroad*, but rather that the borders of *Heimat* turn out to be infinitely flexible. They reference ethnic backgrounds in only tenuous ways.

Thinking of Palestine turned a Sudeten German ‘homeland’ forces one to revisit the persistent reappearance, however critical, in literature and scholarship, of the triad of “engste,” “engere,” and “weitere” *Heimat* once reinforced by National Socialist *Heimatkunde* as well as the postwar dyad of “neue” and “alte” *Heimat*.¹⁵⁴ The ‘Palestinian story’ makes it progressively more difficult to inscribe such models within facile adjacencies and proximities of a conventional geographical (from the

¹⁵² See Ernst van Alphen, “Imagined Homelands: Mapping Cultural Identity,” in *Mobilizing Place, Placing Mobility. The Politics of Representation in a Globalized World*, ed. Ginette Verstraete and Tim Cresswell (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 53-70.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 127 and Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, passim.

“engste” to a “weitere”) or chronological (from “alt” to “neu”) continuum. In order to ‘inhabit’ Palestine, Sudeten Germans no longer needed to be either physically present on its territory. In this regard their goals radically differed from the Middle Eastern investments of the so-called “Palestine Germans” (*Palästina-Deutsche*) and members of the pietist Temple Society who had claimed the Holy Land to build “the Kingdom of God on earth” in the 1860s.¹⁵⁵ For Sudeten Germans bringing Palestine home eliminated a commute otherwise necessary to traverse spatial but also, especially in the case of representations of Christ’s passion, temporal distance. The task of approximating Palestine interlocked both *Heimat* and Palestine in the above-mentioned Saidian overlay.

Yet this is not to say that such superimposition of Palestine and the Sudetenland resulted in deterritorialization. As will become evident, a seemingly metaphorical relationship of Sudeten Germans to Palestine has constantly slipped back into territoriality. Because territory is constitutive of any reterritorialization, with regard to Palestine the former has never quite lost its significance, despite frequent assumptions to the contrary in many studies of cultural globalization.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Ralf Balke, *Hakenkreuz im heiligen Land: Die NSDAP-Landesgruppe Palästina* (Erfurt: Sutton, 2001), 7ff. Balke’s fascinating study explores the development of this heterogeneous group of Württemberg Pietists into a homogenous instrument of National Socialist politics in the Middle East. As the author points out, in the late 1930s political unrest in Palestine was propagandistically connected to the problems of German minorities in Europe. In particular, the German government used Britain’s inability to settle minority problems in Palestine, its post-World War II mandate territory, in order to dismiss London’s criticisms of the policies of the Third Reich in Eastern Europe, especially the Sudetenland (Balke, op. cit., 25). Balke cites Hitler’s speech at the 1938 NSDAP rally in Nuremberg: “Die armen Araber sind hilflos und vielleicht allein gelassen. Die Deutschen in der Tschechoslowakei sind weder hilflos noch sind sie allein gelassen, und die Leute sollten dies zur Kenntnis nehmen” (Balke, op. cit., 26).

¹⁵⁶ Of particular importance here, due to their broad resonance across disciplines, are studies of the “cosmopolitization of the Holocaust,” the “globalization of anti-Semitism,” as well as comparative approaches to ethnic cleansing. Advocating their thesis on the “cosmopolitization of the Holocaust,” Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider argue that collective memory lives on and performs a positive conciliatory role in the age of globalization, as national memory is being transformed into deterritorialized “cosmopolitan memory.” They find this to be evident particularly in the case of the Holocaust becoming a new “measure for humanist and universalist identification” in the age of an ideological vacuum in the wake of the Cold War. See Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, op. cit., 88ff. Concerns with a “new” (deterritorialized, detached from Christianity, leftist) anti-Semitism have permeated much of the Zionist press (e.g. the American periodical *Commentary* in the last five years).

While being, literarily, a topos for suffering and homeland with a transnational appeal, Palestine has remained, literally, a *topos*, a place, measured, replicated, emulated, and represented—a challenge to cartography precisely because of its constant relocation and overlay. To speak with Martin Buber, “Das Palästina der Bibel is kein geographisches Gebiet. Es liegt [im] Herzen.” However, even “[e]in Land, von dem ein heiliges Buch den Söhnen dieses Landes erzählt, ist niemals bloß im Herzen, ein Land wird nie zum bloßen Symbol. Es ist in den Herzen, weil es in der Welt ist; es ist ein Symbol, weil es eine Wirklichkeit ist.”¹⁵⁷

3. *Who are “Sudeten Palestinians”?*

Before examining how Sudeten German literary texts position their protagonists vis-à-vis Palestinian territories, I first address the manner in which Sudeten Germans have come to share a political landscape with Palestinians. This moment of the ‘Palestinian story’ positions Sudeten Germans at a crossroads of national and transnational memories. It delineates the political terms that have exercised wide-ranging influence on the cultural production of expellees and even preceded the expulsion. Since 1938 the example of the purportedly disloyal German minority in Czechoslovakia has consistently shaped Zionist views on Jewish-Arab relationships in Palestine.¹⁵⁸ This implicit connection between the Sudeten minority

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen has vocalized the essence of these concerns by characterizing the “new” anti-Semitism as “globalized.” Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, “The Globalization of Anti-Semitism,” <http://www.forward.com/issues/2003/03.05.02/oped1.html>, 13 October 2003.

Studies of ethnic cleansing have also been, for some time now, preoccupied with broad comparative perspectives. Thus, Andrew Bell-Fialkoff dates the phenomenon as being several millennia old. Norman Naimark, while concentrating on its specifically modern nature, bases his study on an array of cases broad enough to include the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, Stalin’s deportations of the Chechens and Ingush, and the expulsion of ethnic Germans. See Andrew Bell-Fialkoff, *Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996) and Norman Naimark, *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁷ Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Buber, *Juden, Palästina und Araber* (Munich: Ner-Tamid Verlag, 1961), 10ff.

¹⁵⁸ Nur Masalha, *The Land Without People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians 1949-96* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), 4.

and Palestine predated the Holocaust, the expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe, and the founding of Israel in 1948.

There are several reasons for highlighting the virtual political presence of Sudeten Germans in Palestine here. First, as I am about to demonstrate, Sudeten Germans have been the only ethnic group compared to Palestinians in the *longue durée*, from about 1938 into the present. Second, such comparisons have become international currency, as they have been by no means restricted to the press of Sudeten German organizations. Non-German politicians and authors writing about the Middle East conflict in Israel and beyond played an important part in relating Sudeten Germans to the events in the region. Third, as I explain in the following chapters of this dissertation, during the Cold War West Germany shared a border with former Czechoslovakia but not with any other former German ‘homeland’ in Eastern Europe. Since 1945 Sudeten Germans have therefore been the only German expellees to have had constant visual access to their ‘lost *Heimat*’. This literal borderland provided an opportunity to forge an iconographic link between images of Palestine and the Sudetenland and to underscore Palestine as the site of suffering.

In a 2003 journal article on “The Sudeten Palestinians” Nancy Hawker suggests that minority expulsion has been a consequence of the formation of ethnic democracies in Czechoslovakia and Israel alike.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, she argues, the “destructive ethnic logic” is neither an accident of democratic nation-state formation nor a peculiarity of totalitarian states or dictatorships. Hawker appears to question whether ethnic diversity and democracy can indeed coexist, since their confluence inevitably puts minorities at a disadvantage.

Sympathetic to both Sudeten German and Palestinian expellees, the piece opens with a story of a settler whose house is visited by its former owner, once forced

¹⁵⁹ Nancy Hawker, “The Sudeten Palestinians,” *Israel/Palestine: News from Within* 19, no. 3 (March 2003): 14-17. Thanks to Ole Frahm for bringing the article to my attention.

to leave when still a child. What follows are nostalgic memories, an exchange of photographs, and the settler's realization that the visitor is far less evil than previously imagined. "What is described above," Hawker continues,

is not some science-fiction scenario of Jerusalem one hundred years from now. The story of a settler's encounter with an expelled native happened in the summer of 2002 to A. K., a Czech man who owns a house in the North Bohemian Mountains, known in pre-World War II geography as the German Sudetenland.

Hawker's parabolic rhetoric draws on the narrative element in her sources. This element lends more structural importance to the tone of her piece than the hard historical facts that she cites. Her strategy facilitates and foregrounds an ostensible interchangeability not only between historical circumstances that conditioned the treatment of Palestinians and Sudeten Germans as minorities, but also between their *stories* on a much more tangible and intimate level. These stories in their initial plurality run through the course of the article akin to railroad tracks seen in perspective: in the end, they merge into one.

The perplexing history of this parallel thematizes, on the part of its Zionist proponents, ethnic disloyalty to a given state and, on the part of the Sudeten writers, a violated right for self-determination. This is a history replete with paradoxes and anachronisms. Several moments are noteworthy about the state of this largely rhetorically construed relationship. First, in contrast to the much better known parallels between Sudeten Germans and Jews,¹⁶⁰ the Sudeten German-Palestinian analogy has been based not on what has been done to the group in question but on what the group itself supposedly has or has not done. Second, the Sudeten German

¹⁶⁰ See Brenda Melendy, "Expellees on Strike: Competing Victimization Discourses and the Dachau Refugee Camp Protest Movement, 1948-1949," *German Studies Review* 28, no. 1 (February 2005): 107ff.

attitudes to Palestinians have not adhered to a consistent paradigm. Instead they have vacillated between insistence on exact sameness and postulation of radical difference. Third, though a theme in an array of analyses of the Middle East, this analogy has been commonly overlooked by historians of the ethnic German expulsion.¹⁶¹ Fourth, interpretations of people whom Hawker calls “Sudeten Palestinians” have been heavily influenced by their authors’ pro- or anti-Zionist sentiments and have had, for the most part, less to do with whether the authors had anything to say about the contemporary state of the Sudeten German case itself. One could then say that the resonance between Palestinians and Sudetens described in the press beyond expellee periodicals bridges two disparate chronological levels. While the issues of Palestinians are treated as current, Sudeten Germans appear almost entirely historicized, either as a disadvantaged minority in the Czechoslovak state following its proclamation in 1918 or as a treacherous group profiting from the Munich Agreement of 1938. Unless they speak for themselves, Sudeten expellees figure mostly as a history book example divorced from their contemporary political claims, including those based on the claims of Palestinians.

The chronology of the rhetorical connection in question dates at least as far back as 1938. Nur Masalha, one of the best-known historians of the Palestinian transfer, notes:

[T]he so-called German ‘example’ in Czechoslovakia had been repeatedly cited in the Jewish Agency Executive’s decisions of 7 and 12 July 1938, [...] largely devoted to the transfer solution [of Palestinians]. During these discussions as well as in the discussions

¹⁶¹ Samuel Salzborn, *Grenzenlose Heimat*, 140, and Micha Brumlik, loc. cit., are, to my knowledge, the only exceptions. An early study by C. Paikert compares not Israel and Czechoslovakia but Germany and the Arab countries. In his opinion, Germany, unlike the Arab countries, pursued integration of the expellees as opposed to creating pressure camps for refugees; this he sees as Germany’s key to successful prevention of “another Arab-Israeli issue.” C. Paikert, *The German Exodus: A Selective Study of the Post-World War II Expulsion of German Populations and its Effects* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 29-30.

[...] between 1937 and 1944 [...], many leading Zionists used the so-called German ‘precedent’ to justify their advocacy of Palestinian removal.¹⁶²

The analogical treatment of Sudeten expellees and Palestinians as a potential “fifth column” by Zionists thus predated the Munich Agreement of 1938 between Hitler’s Germany and the future European Allies and was not yet directly connected to what President Beneš considered the final act of Czechoslovakia’s treason. A Zionist supporter himself,¹⁶³ Beneš appears to have been the only non-Jew and non-Anglo-American to suggest a transfer plan of Palestinians based on the transfer of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia. His suggestion was allegedly considered only with hesitation, since “Jews, unlike Czechs, were not the masters of Palestine at that point.”¹⁶⁴ Ironically, the founding of Israel and the ensuing Palestinian transfer coincided with the last year of Beneš’s presidency (1948).

These postwar ideas regarding Palestinians might have fallen into utter oblivion had the Czech Prime Minister Miloš Zeman not advised, in an interview with the Israeli *Ha’aretz* in February 2002, that Israel should treat Palestinians as Czechs treated the Sudeten minority in 1945.¹⁶⁵ Even though these remarks reminded some left-wing critics of Beneš’s pro-Zionist stance and his hardliner attitude to the German minority after the war, few noticed that Zeman rehearsed Beneš’s views

¹⁶² Masalha, op. cit., 4.

¹⁶³ Livia Rothkirchen, “The Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile: Jewish and Palestinian Aspects in the Light of the Documents,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 9 (1973): 173.

¹⁶⁴ Chaim Simons, *Herzl to Eden. A Historical Survey of Proposals to transfer Arabs from Palestine* (Kiryat Arba: Nansen Institute 1994), 195.

¹⁶⁵ Heiko Krebs, “Berlin und Prag erklären Streit für beendet,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21 February 2002, 9. Daniel Brössler, “Die Poltergeist-Debatte,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20 February 2002, 4. Zeman’s description of Sudeten Germans as “Hitler’s fifth column” earlier in January of the same year preceded the statement quoted here. Articles and interviews in some German newspapers stressed that the alleged *Ha’aretz* passage related to the transfer was nowhere to be found. See Martin Gerner’s interview with Jiří Grusa, then the Czech ambassador in Austria, in *Die Zeit* 8 (2002) and Tjark Kunstreich, “Zeman in Israel: Ein würdiger Erbe,” *Jungle World* http://www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_2002/10/07b.htm, 16 October 2003.

nearly verbatim.¹⁶⁶ Different historical circumstances applied: while Beneš proposed a solution to an up-and-coming state of Israel where the Arab population dominated, Zeman was advising to repeat the Palestinian transfer fifty-five years after the fact. Steven Plaut, an economist publishing also on political science and a Zionist Jewish American living in Israel, has been writing on the subject for two decades. He has even re-published a piece written for a well-know American journal *Commentary* in 1980, thus demonstrating that by the end of twentieth century the problem has gained rather than lost its salience over time. This is how Plaut foregrounds his use of the Sudeten-Palestinian analogy in 1980:

Even a casual perusal of the history of European attempts at resolving the Czechoslovakian-German conflict must cause an uncanny feeling of déjà vu. For the current European initiative aimed at resolving the Middle East crisis and the role of the European democracies in that conflict bear an uncomfortably close similarity to their role in the negotiations over the Sudetenland in the 1930's. In the new European commitment to Palestinian self-determination, there is a malevolent echo of the European homilies supporting Sudeten German self-determination heard forty-two years ago.¹⁶⁷

In 1998, Plaut continues the same train of thought:

In searching for historical analogies to the Middle East conflict, there is but one that contains ALL of the elements of the Arab-Israeli conflict, one that illustrates better than any other what really lies at the heart of the conflict, one that illuminates better than any other the true political issues at stake. It is also the best source for lessons that must be learned about the use of “self-determination” as an instrument of military aggression, violence and genocide. That lesson involves the Sudetenland. Even a casual perusal of the history of the Czech-German conflict must cause an uncanny déjà vu.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Stephen Plaut, “Czechoslovakia 1938—Israel 1980,” *Commentary* 70, no. 2 (1980): 23.

¹⁶⁸ Steven Plaut, “The Sudetenization of Palestine,” http://www.freeman.org/m_online/jul98/plaut.htm, 4 October 2003.

What in 1980 appears, to Plaut, to be only an “uncanny déjà vu” assumes, in 1998, a comparative totality. In his view, the facility of substitution is so convincing that it suffices to “[c]hange the names, and you have the near-universal ‘explanation’ of the intifada.” Because “[d]uring the Hussite rebellion in the 15th century,” Plaut goes on, “the Czechs regained their full independence in a Maccabi-like armed struggle of the few against the many.” Furthermore, “[m]odern Czech nationalism emerged in the second half of the 19th century, about the same time as modern Zionism.” And “[d]uring World War I, Czech leaders lobbied in European capitals for independence at the very same time that Chaim Weizmann and the other leaders of the Zionist movement were struggling for support and recognition.” Centuries of well-documented Sudeten German history become, in Plaut’s view, an exclusively effective *exemplum* for the dangers lurking behind the ‘dovish’ incentives to give in to Palestinian demands.

Structurally, both Hawker and Plaut employ the same method—a catalogue of parallels—to entirely different ends. Although both are willing to concede the differences between Sudeten Germans and Palestinians (with Hawker especially aware of the “limited edifying value” of comparisons), both indulge in a mere enumeration of similarities. They draw attention to what happened “in both countries,” even if the reasons for the resulting parallels are diametrically opposed. For instance, as Hawker speaks of discrimination against both groups deemed, by their respective states, to pose a demographic threat, Plaut stresses that both resorted to terrorism to oust Jews and Czechs “out of their Lebensraum” [sic].¹⁶⁹ While Hawker addresses both groups as subject to arbitrary arrests and censorship, Plaut

¹⁶⁹ Steven Plaut, “Palestinian Irredentism: A Warning from History,” *The Middle East Quarterly*, June 1999, <http://www.meforum.org/article/459>, 4 October 2003.

discusses them as hiding “naked aggression under the righteous cloak of promoting self-determination.”

Although the objects of their analyses are conceived in outwardly similar terms, they reflect each other as mirror opposites. While Hawker’s “Sudeten Palestinians” are ethnic Germans having once faced a plight analogous to that of Palestinians in and outside of Israel, Plaut’s “Sudetens of the Middle East” are Palestinians supposedly as treacherous and potentially damaging to Israel as Sudeten Germans once were to Czechoslovakia. Their expressions echo each other only in terms of rhetorical coinage, not in terms of normative investment. “Sudetenization” is synonymous with minority oppression for Hawker and with state disloyalty for Plaut. Despite their strikingly different sentiments, their inversions of the same pattern ultimately serve to anchor Sudeten Germans in Palestine. A resuscitation Beneš’s legacy not only fails to rid Palestine of Palestinian Arabs, as the Czech politician seems to have recommended, but populates it with the lingering presence of another minority as well.

Sudeten Germans have not thought of themselves as similar to Palestinians in any temporally consistent way, although they did pick up on the alleged legal similarities between the Potsdam Agreement and the Balfour Declaration.¹⁷⁰ At least three identifiable temporal phases have characterized these vacillating affinities. First, the post-war years, when identification with Jews prevailed and the historical precedent for the link to Palestinians was not yet created. Second, the 1960s, when minority struggles in general, and those of Palestinians among others, attracted expellee support. Finally, in the third stage of revoking sympathy and repudiating PLO’s terrorism in the 1970s they placed a competing bid for recognition.

¹⁷⁰ Herbert Czaja, “Dreissig Jahre nach der Vertreibung—mitten im Kampf um die Freiheit,” *Mittlungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft* 1 (January 1975): 6. Walter Brand, “Wieder mit zweierlei Maß gemessen. EWG-Nahost-Erklärung und die deutschen Vertriebenen,” *Egerer Zeitung* 25, no. 2 (February 1974): 15.

The extent to which Sudeten Germans have sympathized either with post-Holocaust Jewish efforts to advance the founding of Israel or with Palestinian struggles for self-determination is therefore questionable. However they certainly attempted to employ both models to reconsider what *homeland* meant to them and to adjust their understanding of it in response to its changing meaning and growing importance on the international arena. For instance, Sudeten German writings from the immediate post-war years treat Palestinians as nothing but “foreign intruders.” They occlude striking gaps in causality between minority persecution and reinstatement in a homeland of Jews, on the one hand, and Sudeten Germans, on the other. Writing about a “Sudeten German Golgotha,” Emil Gebauer states that Sudeten Germans “*lieben ihre Heimat und werden diese nicht vergessen.*”¹⁷¹ Moreover, Sudeten Germans

werden von dem vielgeschmähten und doch so tapferen jüdischen Volke lernen und so lange ihre Heimat rückfordern, bis sie ihnen—so wie jenen—befreit von fremden eindringlingen zurückgegeben wird. Sie waren Deutsche, sind Deutsche und wollen Deutsche bleiben. Aber sie wollen, dass ihr Golgathagang endlich ein Ende nimmt. Sie wollen, dass ihr Leid, von dessen untragbarer Schwere selbst die Brüder und Schwestern im Reich sich keine Vorstellung machen können, endlich von ihnen genommen wird.¹⁷²

Gebauer nearly entirely displaces the status of “burdensome intruders,” frequently associated with German expellees in the Federal Republic of the 1950s, onto Palestinians and, by extension, the unnamed non-German Czechoslovak citizens now thought to populate former Sudeten homes. Essays of Father Reichenberger, a Catholic Sudeten German activist who after the war lobbied for the Sudeten German cause in both West Germany and the USA echoed this sentiment. Here the connection

¹⁷¹ Emil Gebauer, *Sudetendeutsches Golgatha* (Kaufbeuren: Isergebirgsverlag, 1946), 69.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

between the Holocaust, the establishment of Israel, and the purported Sudeten German likeness to Jews was expressed in a concise, unambiguous remark: “Nehmen wir uns Beispiel an den Gruppen, die sich für die Teilung Palästinas einsetzen.”¹⁷³

Yet the appeal of such Zionist roots to Sudeten German activists withered fast. By the 1960s Palestinians nearly entirely replaced Jews in Sudeten German discussions of Palestine. By that time, the Palestinian predicament had already become, for Sudeten Germans, a replica of their own:

Without attempting an evaluation of the current situation—the tragic link between the German and Jewish history calls for great caution despite the human sympathy that goes out to the Arab expellees in their bitter fate—there is this to be added to Arab considerations, or perhaps better said, feelings: The right to the homeland is lost as a result of economic assimilation.¹⁷⁴

This statement from a periodical established to promote the Sudeten German cause to international audiences defies Said’s understanding of the expulsion of Palestinians as a *silenced* consequence of persecution and extermination of European Jewry. On the contrary, Fritz Habel reinforces the entanglement of Jews, Palestinians, and Germans. In this a triangle Jews, in contrast to Palestinians, receive “caution,” not “human sympathy.” Not surprisingly, when the Palestinian question was brought to the international arena in the 1970s, this initial replacement of sympathy with caution resulted in a nearly complete obliteration of references to Jews or to Israel as a Jewish homeland. Reichenberger’s 1949 quote is revisited and reframed in rather unsubtly anti-Semitic tones: “Schon im Jahre 1948 erwähnt F. Reichenberger auf Seite 47 seines Buches: ‘Nehmen wir uns Beispiel an den Gruppen, die sich für die Teilung Palästinas einsetzen.’ Es ist nicht schwer zu erraten, welche Gruppen in

¹⁷³ Cited in J. Zapf, “Erinnerungen an die ‘Ostdeutsche Passion,’” *Heimatsbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 27, no. 324 (August 1975): 573.

¹⁷⁴ Fritz Peter Habel, “Arab Expellees from Palestine,” *Sudeten Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (January 1960): 13-15.

Amerika und in aller Welt er gemeint hat.”¹⁷⁵ Walter Becher, a prominent SdL functionary, thought it was a mere “tragic coincidence” (“gehört zur Tragik der Zusammenhänge”) that Yassir Arafat’s “Bekanntnis zur Identität seines Volkes” coexisted with a strengthening of Israeli identity.¹⁷⁶ The author appears to borrow from this vitality while at the same time aligning his Sudeten German subjects with the Palestinian minority position. In a quote to which I return in Chapter Two, he sums up: “Sudetendeutschtum lebt [...] [t]rotz aller Unterschiede zu den genannten und anderen Parallelen.”¹⁷⁷ Moreover, paradoxically, it “will sich lebendig erhalten und dies, obwohl es in das eigene Volk vertrieben wurde.”¹⁷⁸

For Sudeten German activists such as Becher, precisely the expulsion “into one’s own people” poses a radical challenge to the preservation of the “Volksgruppe.” In their view, the expellee community faced a twofold trial, the first part of which consisted in embracing or rejecting integration. Non-integration would have meant, in Becher’s words, an alignment with a “Reservearmee des Hasses und der Revolution,” a role allegedly assigned (*zugesdacht*) to the expellees after 1945.¹⁷⁹ The second part was to maintain, despite and against integration, “ungebrochene Bindekräfte in [...] Gesinnungs- und Kulturgemeinschaften.”¹⁸⁰ While Sudeten Germans such as Becher considered themselves fit to confront both challenges, it was obvious to them that the Palestinian case was not a direct analogy to theirs. It often

¹⁷⁵ Zapf, op. cit., 573.

¹⁷⁶ Walter Becher, “Identität und Geschichtsbewußtsein,” *Sudetenland* 17:1 (1975): 1. Further references, loc. cit. Becher was a Sudeten German politician, one-time public face and speaker of the SdL (1968-1982), and a founding member of the right-wing Sudeten German organization *Witiko Bund*.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ A recent study examines such West German apprehensions of perceived expellee radicalization in the offing. See Frank Buscher, “The Great Fear: The Catholic Church and the Anticipated Radicalization of Expellees and Refugees in Post-War Germany,” *German History* 21, no. 2 (2003): 204-224.

¹⁸⁰ Becher, loc. cit.

posed a contrast, demonstrating “in erschreckender Weise [...] die Gefahr der Nicht-Eingliederung.”¹⁸¹

While one could perhaps agree with Samuel Salzborn that the anti-Zionist alignment of Sudeten Germans with Palestinians harbors anti-Semitic features, their anti-Semitism is frequently nearly as anti-Palestinian as it is anti-Jewish.¹⁸² Although Étienne Balibar notes the emergence, in an expanding Europe around the year 2000, “of new forms of ‘generalized’ anti-Semitism, both ‘judeophobic’ and ‘arabophobic,’” the Sudeten German case casts doubt on their newness.¹⁸³ After Yassir Arafat’s address to the United Nations in the fall of 1974, the organization approved the Palestinian right to self-determination in resolution 3236 from November 22 of that year. Around the same time, Sudeten Germans began to compete for international attention by endorsing their own petition to the UN by mid-1975.¹⁸⁴ In the press they reminded “the world” that they had fallen as the *first* victims in the fight for self-determination: “Die Welt vergisst allerdings dabei allzu leicht, dass Sudetendeutsche die ersten Blutzugegen im Kampf für dieses Recht waren, jene Männer und Frauen, die am 4. März 1919 unter den Kugeln des tschechischen Militärs ihr Leben lassen mussten.”¹⁸⁵ At stake were “equal rights for all,” that is, resisting what seemed, to many ethnic groups, preferential treatment of Palestinians.¹⁸⁶ One advocate of the Sudeten German cause wondered why

¹⁸¹ Hans Komar, “Um die Zukunft der Sudetendeutschen,” *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 21, no. 3/4 (July/August 1974): 80.

¹⁸² Salzborn, *Grenzenlose Heimat*, 140.

¹⁸³ Étienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*, trans. James Swenson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), x.

¹⁸⁴ For a copy of the text, see the *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 22, no. 3/4 (July/August 1975): 108.

¹⁸⁵ Anon., “Tag des Selbstbestimmungsrechts (Redeunterlage),” *Mitteilungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft* 2 (February 1975): 2. I discuss the relevance of these so-called “March fallen” in the epilogue.

¹⁸⁶ Anon., “Rede des Sprechers der SL, Dr. Walter Becher, MdB, zur Hauptkundgebung des Sudetendeutschen Tages 1975 in Nürnberg,” *Mitteilungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft* 6 (June 1975): 22.

die öffentliche Meinung Europas nicht ebenso eindeutig von Millionen von Deutschen aus Gebieten verurteilt, die viele Jahre lang rein deutsche waren und warum sie nicht mit der gleichen Selbstverständlichkeit wie im Falle Palästinas die Rückgabe dieser Gebiete an die Deutschen befürwortet.¹⁸⁷

Having famously renounced retribution as a means in fighting for their homelands as part of the 1950 Charter of the German Expellees, Sudeten German activists now resented the supposed economic supremacy of the ‘Palestinian lobby’ in the UN. They argued that the

Problem der deutschen Vertriebenen unterscheidet sich von dem der Palästinenser nur dadurch, dass die Deutschen ihren Anspruch mit friedlichen Mitteln und nicht mit Terror, Mord und Totschlag vertreten. Ein Unterschied besteht aber auch darin, dass hinter den deutschen Vertriebenen keine mächtigen ölproduzierenden Länder mit ihren wirtschaftlichen Erpressungsmöglichkeiten stehen, sondern dass sie auf sich allein angewiesen sind.¹⁸⁸

Another periodical wrote along the same lines:

Wenn die deutschen Heimatvertriebenen auf ihren Treffen in diesem Jahr auf diese Tatsache [of Arafat’s speech to the UN] hingewiesen haben, so ist das kein Ausdruck der Sympathie mit den Partisanen der PLO. Sie wollen damit auf die ungleiche Behandlung des Selbstbestimmungsrechts durch die Vereinten Nationen aufmerksam machen. Der BdV und die Landsmannschaften haben ebenfalls Petitionen an die UNO gerichtet. Sie sprechen für zehnmal mehr Menschen als die Palästinenser. Es fand bisher keine Lobby, die ihnen gewährte, was gegenüber den Palästinensern fast eine Selbstverständlichkeit war.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Harry Hochfelder, “Wundern über Verzichte und mancherlei Tabuisierung,” *Volksbote* 37, no. 26 (28 June 1985): 4.

¹⁸⁸ “Heimat und Selbstbestimmungsrecht für alle,” *Jägersdorfer Heimatbrief* 27, no. 483 (January 1975): 4-5.

¹⁸⁹ Fa., “Auch nach 30 Jahren: Heimat—Freiheit—Menschenrecht,” *Mitteilungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft* 7/8 (July/August 1975): 6.

Withdrawal of sympathy from Palestinians occurs in ways strikingly similar to those in which it was previously revoked from Jews. The paradoxical essence of Sudeten German parallels to Palestinians lies less in the insistence on similarities than in the assertion of insurmountable differences between themselves and the other party in conflict. Rather than being based on mere comparisons, Sudeten German self-positioning in the Palestinian triangle relies on contrasts.

4. *Heimat Is Not What It Used to Be*

As I discuss throughout this dissertation, debates on the merits of expressing a political stance characterized much of Sudeten German literary production. Not surprisingly, many Sudeten German activists typically moonlighted as both literary authors and critics. Periodicals supported by and constitutive of the Sudeten German community in West Germany, especially *Heimatblätter* appealing to expellees from specific regions, provided their readers with a potpourri of frequently illustrated pieces on politics and literature, travelogues, and nostalgic reminiscences. Because of the lack of conventional differentiation between rubrics as we know them from mainstream press, there was a considerable degree of flux not only among topics but also among genres and styles, and political discussions easily spilled over into the literary. The pervasiveness of these intersections between political journalism and literature continued in expellee works that were discussed but not always serialized in periodicals. In particular Sudeten German novels, echoing Mikhail Bakhtin's observations on the genre, have been constantly engaged in a linguistic exchange with the rhetoric of journalistic writing.¹⁹⁰

This insight applies to *...nichts ist mehr wie zuvor*, a little-known historical novel by Gustav Wiese. The cover blurb describes a story of a "Leidesweg der

¹⁹⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin, "Slovo o romane," *Voprosy literatury i estetiki* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1975), 82.

Familie Glasner aus dem Neißetal” loaded with dramatic tension that is, in the publisher’s words, sufficient for a dozen thrillers.¹⁹¹ According to the publisher, the plot amounts to nothing short of “vielschichtige dramatische Geschehen, tief empfunden dargestellt aus der Sicht der deutschen Vertriebenen und der Vertreiber, der Juden und der Palästinenser [...]” The intersection of these plot lines produces a quintessential Palestinian story of Sudeten German fiction, and an omniscient Czech narrator is entrusted with the presentation of these allegedly varied perspectives.

The choice of a novel as a form for a literary Palestinian story where *Heimat* is a principal concern is symptomatic, since two arguably most influential theories of the genre—put forth by Georg Lukács and Mikhail Bakhtin—were, as John Neubauer put it, “infused with notions of homelessness.”¹⁹² Famously, Lukács nostalgically mourns the loss of an “integrated civilization” that produced the epic genre, a civilization where “man does not stand alone” but relates to the world as his “archetypal home.”¹⁹³ In this classical world, one that is “wide and yet [...] like a home” (29), epics provide a community for both their characters and the audience (66). The advent of the novel, in contrast, ushers a form incapable of representing the world other than by means of a biographical thrust, through “the life-experiencing interiority of the individual lost in [its] labyrinth” (79). It thus comes to reflect a condition of “transcendental homelessness (*Obdachlosigkeit*)” (56), a quest that never materializes, being forever frozen “in the process of becoming” (73).

Bakhtin, as Neubauer noted, in his response to Lukács subverts or, in Bakhtin’s own terms, “carnivalizes” this nostalgic stance and contrasts the novel’s

¹⁹¹ Gustav Wiese, *...nichts ist mehr wie zuvor*. Page numbers are cited parenthetically further in the chapter.

¹⁹² John Neubauer, “Bakhtin versus Lukács: Inscriptions of Homelessness in Theories of the Novel,” *Poetics Today* 17, no. 4 (winter 1996): 531.

¹⁹³ Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-Political Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, trans. Anna Bostock (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1971), 33. Further page numbers are cited parenthetically.

poly-dimensionality to epic flatness.¹⁹⁴ In Bakhtin, “linguistic homelessness of literary consciousness” that the novel creates liberates the genre from the uniformity of national and, importantly, social language. Shedding the need for a nostalgic search for and recovery of a home, it opens doors to stylistic hybridity, heteroglossia, and dialogic narrative structures.¹⁹⁵ I propose to read Wiese’s novel with these two considerations of homelessness in mind. They are relevant because, as I have pointed out earlier, the link they provide between social and aesthetic conditions also lies at the core of the mechanism behind the process of Palestine’s diffusion. The concepts with which these literary theoretical writings operate in conjunction with the notion of “homelessness”—“community” and “hybridity”—are terms suitable for a productive interrogation of the transnational moment of the Palestinian story.

Saturated with orientalist stereotypes and steeped in postwar German discourses on normalization, Wiese’s novel seeks a “neue, schuldlose Generation” among Sudeten Germans, Israelis, and Palestinians alike. It chronicles three generations in the Glasner family: Anna and her husband Rudolf, a postal worker; their son Werner, his wife Irene, and their daughter Britta. These are emphatically ordinary characters, “[e]infache Leute, durchschnittliche Menschen. Keine Fanatiker, keine Helden, aber auch keine Kriecher oder Spießbürger” (53). Their simplicity is supposed to underscore the totality of the expulsions between 1945 and 1948, since on June 26, 1945 they are among many other families forced to leave their domiciles in Reichenberg in the northwest Sudetenland. “[M]it der Heimat bezahlen” (81) appears required because of Werner’s active prewar and wartime involvement first in

¹⁹⁴ Neubauer, op. cit., 543.

¹⁹⁵ Bakhtin, op. cit., 178. Addressing the nexus between national belonging and literature, later scholarship influenced by Benedict Anderson’s work articulated a historical critique that appropriated the social aspect of Bakhtin’s stylistic analysis and indirectly contradicted Lukács’ approach. These scholars saw the novel in particular as a mirror “mimicking the structure of the nation, [...] helping standardize language” and a principal vehicle in the process of creation (and not dissolution, as in Lukács) of “imagined communities.” See Timothy Brennan, “The National Longing for Form,” in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 49-50.

the Hitler Youth and then in the NSDAP, followed by his officer's service in the Wehrmacht. Despite family attempts to "burn the past" as evidenced in photographs and military insignia, Werner ends up as a Soviet POW, one of the last to return to Germany after Adenauer's negotiations with Moscow in 1955.

The opening of the novel thus posits the loss of physical *Heimat* as total and irrevocable (92), threatening "den Ursprung und die Mitte verlieren, die Geborgenheit, vielleicht sogar sich selbst" (88) and necessitating the first of many border crossings in Wiese's text. This seemingly transnational move is, within the structure of the text, far from being associated with liberation from the constraints of *Heimat*. On the contrary, the beginning of the Glasners' diasporic existence is a burden to be relieved only by their struggles to recover *the Heimat*. In the course of the novel's development, their search for a concrete locus of belonging slips into a general search for *a Heimat* whose contours get progressively blurrier and no longer refer exclusively to the Sudetenland. By positioning its protagonists as "seekers," the plot performs the generic function of the novel, which in Lukács' understanding is to artificially "construct the concealed totality of life" once naturally inherent in the epic.¹⁹⁶ Narrative meandering justifies both the blurriness of *Heimat* as a destination and the eventual Palestinian detour because in the novel, to cite Lukács yet again, the "simple fact of seeking implies that neither the goals nor the way leading to them can be directly given."¹⁹⁷

First, leaving Reichenberg behind, family members flee across the Neisse and approach the new border between Czechoslovakia and what would become East Germany:

Grenze! Ein Strich auf der Karte, eine Markierung in der Landschaft,
einfache Pfähle mit Tafeln und Zeichen, Wälle aus Erde,

¹⁹⁶ Lukács, op. cit., 60.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Stacheldrahtzäune, Mauern, Schlagbäume, Minen und Wachtürme, das alles können Grenzen sein. Grenzen haben viele Gesichter, selten gütige. [...]

Ein Schlagbaum sperrte die Straße. Nach links und rechts zogen sich die Spiralen der Stacheldrahtrollen. Weit, scheinbar ohne Ende. [...]

Zwei tschechische Soldaten lehnten am Schlagbaum, dessen Farben noch ganz frisch waren. Schlagbäume! Baumstämme, die zuschlagen können (98).

The murderous landscape of the border, a limit usually conveying territorial finitude, here appears infinite and detached from the space of the national interior that it contains. The chiasmic dyad of *Schlagbäume* and *Baumschläge*, i.e. “Baumstämme, die zuschlagen können,” flattens and eventually cancels out the landscape through the emphatic repetitions of the morphemes.

On their very first night in the border zone patrolled by the Soviets, the Glasners encounter a family of a former POW camp commandant and a high-ranking functionary from Silesia. Soon after this man’s arrest and imprisonment by the Soviets and the death of his wife, Andreas Bergmann, the teenage son of the couple, joins the Sudeten German family. Having spent over six years on the East German side of the future “Zonengrenze, [...] die härter und dauerhafter wurde als die anderen Grenzen dieser Welt” (149), they escape to the Federal Republic in the continuation for their quest for *Heimat*. The incessant search for a new home is not a mere subject of the text: it is a structuring device that literally gives the plot mileage. Installed as a *status quo*, the characters’ *literal* inability to locate an immanent home functions as a kind of *literary* “transcendental homelessness” that is a principal force to propel and lend cohesion to the narrative otherwise held together only tenuously by the confusing story lines of its many protagonists. The nostalgic title of the novel, in which “nothing” is as it used to be—and particularly not *Heimat*—summarizes the plot as an unending catalogue of homelands lost.

The narrative of stumbling across borders in search for a homeland can therefore progress despite its rather unpredictable move to Palestine. Andreas Bergmann, now an artist-cum-engineer and Irene's one-time lover, follows his Jewish fiancée Esther to Israel in the early 1950s. In his own words, as a couple he and Esther are bound together by their experiences of the past: "Vielleicht sollte [Esther] Deutschland hassen lernen, aber sie lernte es in seiner Not und Zerrissenheit kennen [...] und sie lernte mich kennen, einen Vertriebenen, dessen Schicksal so viel Ähnlichkeit mit dem ihren hat" (193). Yet Esther's father opposes this facile community of victims. Having lost his wife in Auschwitz to an executioner named Bergmann, he refuses to consent to his daughter's engagement. Esther stays with Andreas and, disowned by her father, convinces Andreas to start working as an irrigation engineer on a kibbutz on the Israeli-Jordanian border. The trope of the border is here transported from the Sudetenland to the Middle East. Their flight across the border to Jordan, in which Wiese portrays both young people as "Ausgestoßene und Bettler," allows Andreas and the pregnant Esther to cement their transnational expellee community of the kind Sudeten German activists profiled earlier once liked to imagine. Members of this community are similarly interchangeable: when Esther dies from hunger and dehydration, Palestinian refugees who rescue Andreas replace her.

These Palestinians come close to being mirror reflections of characters in Latuff's drawings mentioned above: they are already somewhat German. A former Nazi colonel "der nicht nur mitschuldig wurde, sondern schuldig an den Juden—der zu den Arabern fliehen mußte [...] *um zu überleben*" (266, *emphasis mine*) is their leader. Drawing on a rhetoric of self-preservation borrowed from German expellee pronouncements I discuss in Chapters Two and Three, he ensures that Palestinians "sollen und wollen nicht vergessen und ansässig werden, nicht satt, damit ihr Wille

zur Rückkehr nach Palästina erhalten bleibt” (265). Adding to the landscape already densely saturated with refugee suffering, in colonel’s mind Andreas is nothing but a persecuted man like himself (263). Andreas’ experience, along with the colonel’s own “survival,” blends smoothly with that of Palestinian refugees. The colonel asks Andreas to stay in the camp and work on an irrigation system: “Komm mit mir zu den arabischen Flüchtlingen,” he says, “ein Verjagter bist du ja schon” (264).

One would expect that a work where the surfeit of alterity becomes almost suffocating as the plot unfolds would provide fertile ground for tracing hybrid heteroglossia. Yet akin to Sudeten German language and literary critics discussed in Chapter Three, the Czech narrator offers an account remarkably sterile on the linguistic and stylistic levels. Not only are dialect- or class-based linguistic markers absent from the dialogue that forms the core of the narrative—and this condition may be an intended authorial reference to the Czech narrator’s lack of sensitivity to both—but differences between languages are never thematized. Communication between Germans, Jews, Palestinians, and, later, Czechs unproblematically takes place in German as if it were Esperanto. Orientalist stereotypes—“Schreien und Keifen, Quietschen, Lachen und Heulen” (276) that accompany raping, looting, and killing in a Palestinian rebellion against the Jordanian sheikh in control of the local water supply—are limited to the non-verbal. The difference between Andreas and Palestinians excludes the linguistic moment. Instead, it is reduced to the social and political instances. Andreas, for example, refuses to support a Palestinian uprising citing the strictly peaceful purposes of his stay: “Ich wollte euch Felder und Früchte geben—kämpfen müßt ihr selbst” (275). His position meant to footnote the maturity of German expellees compared to “*Terror, Mord und Totschlag*” that Sudeten German political journalists attributed to the Palestinian *modus operandi*. Both heteroglossia in its Bakhtinian understanding and multilingualism are evacuated from

the stylistic spectrum of the novel, while standard German emerges as a universal language most suitable for narrating experiences of expulsion and the search for *Heimat*. Yet German does not serve as a common denominator subsuming all other categories. The absence of heteroglossia is critical for the fusion of various subject positions within the novel into what one might read as a universal minority position necessitated by the course of the 'Palestinian story'.

Even political differences are soon overcome. After the murder of both the old sheikh and the Nazi colonel by what is described as a fractured, disoriented, and angry Palestinian mob, Andreas is thrown into prison. This temporary fall from grace is a short-lived obstacle his character needs to underscore his high standing among other Palestinians prisoners. These he leads in an uprising against their misguided but not fundamentally evil oppressors and compatriots. Moreover, an envoy of the Jordanian king, who intervenes to restore order, requests Andreas' engineering services and asks him to postpone his return to Germany. Reconciliation of his political differences with Palestinians culminates in a final union that is nothing short of a marriage. Settling down with Alifa, a Palestinian woman and exotic dancer whose body is one of the few things capable of driving away his homesickness (313), Andreas remains among Palestinians for over ten years.

Egged on by his desire to see Germany, the "geteilte[s] Land mit der festesten Grenze mitten hindurch," Andreas plans a short trip in the summer of 1967. The extent of his fusion with his everyday Middle Eastern surroundings has a striking effect. Germans "drehten sich nach ihm um, die tiefe Bräunung seines Gesichts ließ ihn wie einen Orientalen erscheinen" (308). When in Munich and together with Irene, he plans to visit the inter-German border (319) at the moment when the news of the Six Day War reaches him. Eager to return to Alifa, Andreas quarrels with Irene on the way to the airport. The narrator solemnly observes that instead of the border between

the two German states they confront a terminal limit (319) as their car crashes in a fatal accident. We later find out from a letter from his friend Omar that Andreas symbolically dies when an Israeli bomb hits his and Alifa's house in Jordan, killing his Palestinian wife. Despite taking place in Germany, the final episode of his search for *Heimat*, his *Heimgang* in its meaning of death, is Palestinian.

Irene survives for another few months, blind and disfigured. In a coma following the accident she experiences visions having to do as much with her real-life jealousy toward Alifa as with her premonition of Alifa's death on the day of the accident. Seeing "deep into herself (*in sich hinunter*)," Irene merges with Alifa. Earlier irked at the difference between her blond looks and Esther or Alifa's dark beauty that Andreas seemed to prefer, in comatose visions following her physique's erasure she approximates Alifa: "Meine Haut ist goldbraun und mein Haar ist blauschwarz, Andreas! [...]. Und ich werde Alifa für dich sein!" (325-326). Effacing Esther, the dead and hence absent Palestinian woman becomes re-presented or is at least partially replaced by both the subjectivity and appearance of a Sudeten German, both bound together by nothing but the date of their injuries and their connection to Andreas.

The language used to convey Irene's experiences of mayhem during her delirious journey twenty years back into the past is referentially unspecific enough for the reader to locate images of destruction in either the Sudetenland or Palestine. Suddenly Irene and Andreas arrive "an *einer* Grenze [...]. Die Minen im Todesstreifen waren explodiert, sie hatten den Stacheldrahtzaun zerrissen und die hohen Stelzen der Wachttürme geknickt" (326, emphasis mine). The obsession with borders as sites of destruction and death continues to be a leitmotif. The author charts both Palestine and the Sudetenland primarily in relation to borders, whether borders show fleeing Sudeten Germans their "scheinbar harmloses Gesicht" (177) or effect a

traumatic momentary separation on the night of Esther and Andreas' escape (255). Although these borders may reflect real-life interstate divisions that stand in the way of happiness of the novel's Sudeten German, Jewish, or Palestinian characters, they serve to link rather than separate the Sudetenland and Palestine.

On a larger scale, the barren, bombed landscape of Irene's fantastical journey alternates with "scheinbar unversehrtes Land" (327) providing indeterminate echoes of either Germany in 1945 or Palestine in 1967. The historic specificity of Dresden's destruction in Irene's vision, of the ruins "einer großen Stadt, die ringförmig um ein riesiges Trichterloch aus Glas und Erz [...] lagen" (327), quickly fades into the immediately following letter from Andreas' Palestinian friend Omar that is read to Irene after she comes to her senses. The text of the letter appears to explain the destruction of Dresden as a consequence of a "short war" when "nur zwei israelische Tiefflieger, [...] unsere Oase fanden." Omar's words, "[d]ie Bomben fielen, als die Flüchtlinge, umringt von ihren Frauen und Kindern, angetreten waren, um nach Palästina zu marschieren—in ihre Heimat zurück" (330), echo descriptions of the Sudeten German expulsion: "[wie] eine Herde Schafe wurden die deutschen Einwohner von tschechischen Soldaten auf die Mitte des Platzes getrieben" (78). In a text that references strikingly few visual media—photographs are, memorably, burned at the beginning—this narrative account of Irene's visions is the episode most similar to photographic superimposition. To reiterate Said's point regarding the impact of Palestine beyond its borders, one could best characterize the results of this technique as "overlain and [...] even covered entirely with symbolic associations totally obscuring the existential reality of what as a [...] real place [it] is."¹⁹⁸ In these overlays, Wiese's novel foreshadows themes that decades later occupied Walter Gaudneck, a self-professed Sudeten German and a studio art professor from Florida.

¹⁹⁸ Said, *op. cit.*, 180.

The 1994 SdL pictorial arts prize laureate gave his 2002 exhibition the title “Brünn—Aussig—Jerusalem.” His main motivation sounds like a summary of Wiese’s novel: “[D]er Verzweiflungsterror in Palästina und Israel öffne auch für die Deutschen aus Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien alte Wunden und sie erinnere sie an die Grausamkeiten der Vertreibung aus ihrer Heimat.”¹⁹⁹

Palestine and the Sudetenland are also territorially bridged in the novel despite the many transnational moments that connect inhabitants of the two territories across borders, which the former are so frequently forced to cross. Although not a Sudeten German himself, Andreas literally acts as a symbolic *Träger* of the Sudeten German *Heimat* in Palestine, and is thus a third party entrusted with proffering cohesion between all others. Around his neck he carries a gilded key from the Glasners’ Reichenberg house that he once received from Irene shortly before his departure to Israel in the hope to find “eine zweite Heimat” (245), a key he returns shortly before the accident. Capable of locking and unlocking both Irene’s in-laws’ house and her heart, in the course of Andreas’ stay in Palestine it also becomes a master key to fit the lock of every home(land), be it in Central Europe or the Middle East. Or rather, it fuses the Sudeten German and Palestinian abodes into one home, both equally intangible, since possession of the keys does yet make entrance possible.²⁰⁰

Even after Irene and Andreas’ death the key remains connected to Palestine. Britta, first rejecting her parents’ “Heimatgefasel” and with it, the key to the house, contemplates donating the rest of Irene’s substantial inheritance to a “Fond für arabische Palästinaflüchtlinge, die seit Jahren in der Wüste vegetieren” (352).

¹⁹⁹ Susanne Habel, “‘Brünn—Aussig—Jerusalem’. Ausstellungseröffnung in München,” *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, 20 August 2002, 7.

²⁰⁰ A poem “Alte Schlüssel” serves as a postscript to Wiese’s other novel, *Ein armer Schlucker: Ein Grenzlandroman*. In it, Wiese elegiacally remarks: “Doch es fehlen/ die Türen dazu,/ denn unser Haus/ steht hinter der Grenze/ in der Vergangenheit/ drüben in Böhmen [...],” yet insists: “Dennoch, dennoch!/ Werft sie nicht weg, die alten Schlüssel,/ denn was wäre das Leben/ ohne Erinnerung.” Wiese, *Ein armer Schlucker*, 253-254.

However, she soon agrees to accompany Werner to Reichenberg, making an ideological U-turn and identifying with the *Heimat* she only recently claimed not to have needed. This is unusual for 1968, a year so overwhelmingly associated with the rise of a generation predominantly suspicious of the role of their parents in the Third Reich and distrustful of the manner in which it is discussed. The key that has traveled to the Middle East now unlocks the Glasners' former house. On its doorstep, in the midst of the Prague spring, Britta meets Karel and falls in love with this German-speaking and empathetic son of the "stranger and a Czech" who had taken over their property in 1945. After Karel's involvement in protests against the Soviet occupation—and many real-life Czech refugees have been advocates for their state's recognition of the expulsion of ethnic Germans²⁰¹—he flees the country, adding the last few miles to the trajectory of the novel's search for *Heimat*. Having joined the ranks of the many expellees in the text, he marries Britta and, with her and Werner's help, writes down the entire story.

It is perhaps one of many novelistic coincidences that Karel finishes the book "an einem erregenden Sommerabend des Jahres 1969, als drei Menschen die Erde verließen, um den Mond erstmals zu betreten" (413). In the first several chapters the omniscient narrator had already assessed the Glasners' homelessness in terms of feared rootlessness. This predicament is posited as verging on a borderless cosmopolitan dream that only walking in space could truly fulfill. Robert, Werner's Sudeten German friend,

dachte nicht daran, daß die nächste Generation der Vertriebenen eine neue Heimat haben könnte, eine andere, [...] vielleicht auch in Übersee—oder sie würden gar keine Heimat haben, nicht mehr haben wollen und überall daheim sein [...] (92).

²⁰¹ Ota Filip and Sidonia Dedina, Czech writers living in (West) Germany and writing in German since the late 1960s, are among such examples.

The process of *Heimat*'s transformation from local to universal in the course of the search for it is thus both a leitmotif and a frame for the narrative. This moment serves to counterbalance the text's other focus on limits and borders. Ever since the biblical expulsion from paradise, the author generalizes in his introduction, "[i]n der Dichtung aller Völker und aller Zeiten bildete die Liebe zur Heimat [...] ein hervorragendes Thema, waren Heimweh, Flucht und Vertreibung bestimmende Motive" (n. p.). Such alternations between particular and universal permeate the novel and help saturate it, indiscriminately, with homelands and homelessness of Sudeten Germans, Jews, Palestinians, and Czechs. This alternation translates into an interplay between the plurality and singularity of *Heimat*. This interplay conditions not only Wiese's text but the entire 'Palestinian story' of Sudeten Germans. *Heimat*'s singularity as a form of teleology within the novel thus paradoxically hinges on the plurality of homelands in the text. The conclusion of Wiese's narrative in outer space echoes the novel's opening to suggest that *Heimat*'s universalization forms the core of the protagonists' seeking missions. The novel's monolingualism and, to paraphrase Bakhtin, monoglossia facilitate cohesion of multiple manifestations of *Heimat* into one entity.

Significantly inflated in the course of Andreas' mission to Palestine, the boundaries of *Heimat* do not cease to expand after his death. The moon landing does not herald radical departure from the constraints of *Heimat* and the pervasive need to belong. On the contrary, it signals a continuation of the search for a safe haven, a transformation of local belonging into its universal counterpart, of many into one: "Wie ein Juwel strahlt die Erde im Weltall, voll Schönheit und Geborgenheit—die wahre Heimat, das größte Wunder, der göttliche Auftrag für alle Menschen, das verlorene Paradies neu zu pflanzen und wieder zu bauen" (414). In these last lines of the novel, the moment of discovery of "the true *Heimat*" is at the same time the point

of its final loss, since one can only realize its immanence after leaving its outermost stratospheric boundaries.

5. A Sudeten German Way to Calvary

As Wiese's book made clear, framing the Sudeten German expulsion as a *Leidensweg*, a passional account, is another prominent dimension of the "Palestinian story." It is significant here not only because its prototype, the passion of Christ, took place in Palestine. It merits consideration because idiosyncrasies of the passion's representation in Sudeten German literature and, especially, pictorial arts reference two concepts of mimesis not restricted to literary representation and derived from two long-standing traditions. The first, a Christian *imitatio Christi*, a spiritual *and* physical imitation of Christ, dates back to the Middle Ages. The second is a somewhat more recent West European interest in spatial recreation of Palestine as the site of Christ's passion in the process usually referred to as topomimesis, understood literally as replication of a locale. Whereas Sudeten Germans were far from being the only group of expellees to equate the ordeals of expulsion with Christ's suffering, they have uniquely engaged the Christian landscape tradition in their representational practices.²⁰²

To develop observations of historians such as Brenda Melendy on the Sudeten German use of the passion as a rhetorical strategy, below I argue that over time the passion becomes also a vivid pictorial device that Sudeten Germans use to recalibrate their *Heimat*'s spatial dimensions.²⁰³ Historically speaking, the scope of Christian (specifically Catholic) piety to which I refer here has thrived on the connection

²⁰² For parallels in the treatment of the expulsion among other ethnic German groups, see Karl Schindler, *Heimat und Vertreibung in der schlesischen Dichtung* (Munich: Aufstieg-Verlag, 1964), 49: "Besonders deutlich tritt auch in der modernen schlesischen Vertriebenendichtung das schmerzliche Flüchtlingsschicksal als unabwendbarer Weg des Kreuzes in den Spuren des Erlösers hervor." See also Hans Edgar Jahn, *Pommersche Passion* (Preetz/Holstein: Ernst Gerdes Verlag, 1964).

²⁰³ Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 129ff

between rhetoric of its various texts and pictorial genres that were to make metaphors tangible.²⁰⁴ My earlier observation about the permeability of boundaries between different genres and writing styles in the public sphere of the Sudeten German press thus applies also to the high degree of exchange between passionate rhetoric and images.

Having emerged in the interwar years, the figure of Sudeten German suffering as *passio Christi* characterized above all texts and images produced after the expulsion. One of its first written sources was *The Sudeten German Passion*, an already familiar collection of essays by Father Reichenberger published in 1948. Describing in graphic detail the injustice done to Sudeten Germans, Reichenberger insists on the need to coin the notion of “Potsdam Displaced Christians,” who are “members (*Glieder*)” of “Christ’s mystical body (*einen mystischen Leib Christi*).”²⁰⁵ He uses the term to describe the situation of the expellees and argue for a change of their legal status to that of DPs.²⁰⁶ Reichenberger writes: “The victims of Potsdam are victims of a monstrous crime (*eines ungeheuerlichen Verbrechens*). [...] These people are truly displaced, driven into nothingness in a most brutal and inhuman manner (*brutalsten und unmenschlichsten Weise*).”²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ These developments gained strength in the later Middle Ages and significantly evolved in the Baroque period due to the use of counter-Reformational approaches to piety, which heavily relied on images. Erwin Panofsky’s iconological approach has been very influential in fleshing out these links and encouraging examinations of the interplay between word and image.

²⁰⁵ Father E. J. Reichenberger, *Sudetendeutsche Passion. Für Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit* (Kiel: Arndt, 1995), 38. Reichenberger, who fled the Sudetenland in 1939 and opposed nationalism in the 1930s, seems to have been largely coopted by the nationalist press in Germany after 1945. For an outline of his biography, see Rainer Bendel, *Aufbruch aus dem Glauben? Katholische Heimatvertriebene in den gesellschaftliche Transformationen der Nachkriegsjahre 1945-1965* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 181ff. For the evidence of his cooptation, see issues of *Der Sudetendeutsche. Die Wochenzeitung aller Sudetendeutschen*, formerly published by the editors of the *Nationale Zeitung*, from the 1950s and 1960s.

²⁰⁶ On the other hand, in the early 1950s Jewish DPs in the Federal Republic submitted converse complaints about the difficulty of getting residence permits and the lack of help from regional associations of German expellees (*Landsmannschaften*). The latter allegedly refused to provide information necessary for Jews to be considered for material compensations under the West German Law of Equalization of Burdens (*Lastenausgleichsgesetz*, 1952). See “Jüdische Flüchtlinge fordern Anerkennung als Vertriebene,” *Kölnische Rundschau*, 18 March 1963, 1.

²⁰⁷ Reichenberger, op. cit., 32.

Reichenberger references to what he considers to be modern Christian reality are by no means restricted to legal terms. Throughout his book, he adopts a meditative stance through which Jesus' passion provides an additional gateway for contemplating the political plight of Sudeten Germans. To the Catholic Reichenberger, an armband worn by a Sudeten German comes close to a relic that triggers his highly politicized devotion:²⁰⁸

So ist mir die Binde ehrwürdig, fast wie eine Reliquie. [...] Meine Gedanken gehen zurück in die Leidensgeschichte des Herrn. Pilatus, der Feigling, der um die Gunst des Pöbels buhlte, um in des Diktators Gunst zu bleiben, der einen Unschuldigen Spott und Hohn preisgab und ihn geisseln liess und selbst vor einem Justizmord nicht zurückscheute, ist anscheinend das Vorbild der 'liberalen' Politik und 'demokratischen' Gerechtigkeit Benesch's [sic] geblieben.²⁰⁹

According to Reichenberger, Edvard Beneš, described as a latter-day "Pilate" and "Hussite" in one, "warf dem tschechischen Pöbel die Deutschen hin"²¹⁰:

Wie gern hätte er wohl jedem einen Spottmantel umgehängt; aber er konnte nicht genug Material stehlen. So musste eine Armbinde den Zweck erfüllen und der eine Buchstabe: N. Und der Pöbel—ich meine wohl nicht unverdorbenes Volk, wohl aber auch akademischen Mob—schwelgte in sadistischer Wollust.²¹¹

Abbreviating Christian "INRI" to a single postwar "N," Reichenberger further likens Czechs to "wild beasts" betraying the Sudeten Germans in hiding, just as Judas once betrayed Christ.²¹²

²⁰⁸ In postwar Czechoslovakia ethnic Germans were obligated to wear white armbands with a black letter 'N' for *nemec* (German).

²⁰⁹ Reichenberger, op. cit., 39.

²¹⁰ Hussites, followers of Jan Hus (c. 1369-1415) and his proto-Reformational thought that focused on limiting clergy's power, were predominantly Czech. Sudeten German historiography has traditionally thought of their uprising and the ensuing Hussite wars (late 1420s to early 1430s) as the first instance of Czech betrayal of the Germans population in Bohemia.

²¹¹ Reichenberger, op. cit., 39-40.

²¹² Ibid., 103.

Drawing on exaggerated cruelty characteristic of passionate accounts, several years later a Sudeten German author resorted to Reichenberger's pious metaphoricity to claim that Czechs allegedly used iron rods to drive nails deep into the feet ("*Nägel in die Fußsohlen geschlagen*") of their Sudeten German victims.²¹³ Tremendously influenced by Reichenberger's familiarity with Catholic devotional literature, in the language of such accounts the passion and the expulsion of Sudeten Germans merged to the extent that descriptions of Czech abuse at times evoked excerpts from a late medieval passion treatise or a saint's *vita*:

Keine Körperstelle bleibt verschont, ausgeruhte Männerkraft tobt sich an mir aus! Meine Kopf haut ist losgeschlagen, zusammengerollt und duch den herabfallenden Mörtelstaub verdreht; sie gleicht frisch gebrannten Dauerwellen. Die furchtbare Prügelei dauert eine halbe Stunde. Mein Körper wird blau und schwarz von den unzähligen Hieben und Schlägen und Fußtritten. Mein Gesicht durch den großen Blutverlust leichenblaß.²¹⁴

Similarly, for Sudeten German authors such as Emil Gebauer, the expulsion was nothing short of a way to Calvary. It was a perpetual, as Christian theologians called it, ongoing passion that Sudeten Germans suffered redemptively for *all* Germans: "für Deutschland, das gesamte Deutschvolk, unaussprechliches [sic] litten und noch leiden."²¹⁵ With this imagery in mind, a pilgrim's entry in a visitor's log of a Sudeten German chapel in the Czech-Bavarian borderland later admonished: "Landsmann, gehst du an Deiner alten Heimat vorbei, so halte an dieser Stätte und gedenke an den Passionsweg [sic] der leidvoll geprüften Egerländer".²¹⁶ *Leidensweg*—in its double meaning of 'bearing one's cross' and the 'suffering of Christ'—would become the most widespread similes employed both to reflect and

²¹³ August Sauer, op. cit., 12.

²¹⁴ Reichenberger, op. cit., 128.

²¹⁵ Gebauer, op. cit., 64 and 50.

²¹⁶ H. S., pilgrim book, Bruder-Klaus-Kapelle, Hatzenreuth, May 29, 1982.

reflect upon the extent of the Sudeten German predicament.²¹⁷ As early as 1945, Gebauer's fellow countryman reminisced:

Wir [ahnten] noch nichts von dem Golgatha schicksalsschweren Jahre, durch die wir einmal gehen mußten. Kein Bitternis wurde uns erspart. Der Leidenskelch durfte an uns nicht ungetrunken vorübergehen. Wir mußten ihn leeren bis zum Grund. Und wenn wir glaubten, es sei kein Tropfen mehr in ihm, war er wieder bis zum Rande angefüllt mit Leid und Not, Angst und Heimweh. Seid [sic] zwanzig Jahren kreist der Ölbergkelch unter den Vertriebenen. [...] Leid und Not flochten uns Dornenkronen. Wir trugen sie schon, als wir über frische Gräber nach dem Westen gejagt wurden.²¹⁸

My argument here is twofold. First, I suggest that Sudeten German passionate references are not only metaphorical. The use of religious language to translate physical pain into its symbolic counterpart has been common in responses to conflict or trauma, and neither wartime nor postwar Germany are unique in this regard. One readily concedes “that the construct of *imitatio*, the mimetic internalization of Christ's ‘passion’ or suffering (*passio*), dominates the politics of the representation of pain in the post-New Testament tradition” and also “depends on the conflation of symbolic and bodily wounds.”²¹⁹ However, Sudeten German authors did not limit themselves to internalizations of bodily *imitatio* as “martyrs for a new ethnic order in Europe,” although they did see themselves as enduring a *passio* amplified by both plurality (*Dornenkronen*) and its duration.²²⁰ Most prominently, the nature of Sudeten German concerns with the passion has been spatial, and they have done much to approximate the Sudetenland—as the specific site of their suffering—to Palestine, the historic

²¹⁷ Cf. Wilhelm Dienelt, “Der Leidensweg der sudetendeutschen Volksgruppe,” *Der Egerländer* 10, no. 7 (July 1959), 95 and H. Kastner, “Vor 30 Jahren. Bericht über die Geschehnisse in der Gemeinde Brod, Budweis und Umgebung in den Umsturztagen—Mai 1945” *Hoam!* 28, no. 5 (Mai 1975): 157.

²¹⁸ Richard Hauptmann, “Düsteres Golgatha—lichtvolle Auferstehung,” *Der Sudetendeutsche. Die Wochenzeitung aller Sudetendeutschen* 3, no. 16 (16 April 1965): 9.

²¹⁹ Deborah Johnson, *Trauma and Its Representations* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 21.

²²⁰ W. E., “Sudetendeutsche Passion?” *Glaube und Heimat* 1 (1955): 3.

locus of Christ's passion. This means that they have been interested not only in episodic references to the latter but in appropriating, adapting, and transplanting the narrative of the passion in its entirety.

Second, precisely its consistent and conscious *adaptation*, more than a simple *analogy* to Jesus, as suggested by some, distinguishes this part of the "Palestinian story."²²¹ At stake is not a mere instance of "traumatic mimesis," whereby mimesis constitutes an instance of "borrowed social suffering," a derivation from a large, more important, primary event.²²² The issue is rather one of inability and unwillingness to discriminate between primary and secondary events, of simulating a recurrence of a major painful event in a new context.

One key aspect of the approximation of the Sudeten German experience to Christ's passion has been temporal. Arguing against the so-called "colonization theory," the Czech proponents of which claim that Germans had not originally settled the Bohemian lands but arrived only later as colonizers, Gebauer repeatedly cites the German presence in the area as reaching back precisely two thousand years, implicitly, to the very first days of the Christian calendar. In his account, Sudeten Germans appear to have populated their *Heimat* at the time of Christ's life and passion. Therefore their redemptive mission should not be surprising. Moreover, jumping nearly two thousand years ahead, one of the recent Sudeten anthologies describes the years following 1945 as "Passionszeit" to indicate that the expulsion has become a device for measuring modern cultural periodicity.²²³ Both contemporaneous to the historical time of Christ's passion and imitating it in the wake of World War II,

²²¹ See, for example, Michael L. Hughes, "'Through No Fault of Our Own': West Germans Remember Their War Losses," *German History* 18, no. 2 (2000): 203.

²²² Johnson, *op. cit.*, 16

²²³ Hans Bohn, ed., *Zwischen Grenzen und Zeiten. Auslese von Erzählungen, Essays und Gedichten aus dem Egerland* (Nürnberg: Helmut Preußler Verlag, 2002).

Sudeten German history made the history of Christianity readily available for framing postwar narratives.

To an even greater extent, the passional framework of the ‘Palestinian story’ was spatial. Steven Plaut’s transpositions of landscape already suggested that Czechoslovakia could be imagined to possess many geographical properties of the Middle East. Its early surrender to the Nazis, he explained, occurred because “[m]ost of [its] fortifications were located in the Czech ‘West Bank’ that was ceded to Hitler.”²²⁴ Parallelism between Sudeten Germans and Palestinians, Plaut’s phrasing suggests, translates into a redefinition of geographical boundaries. In much of this remapping the link to Christ’s life and passion has become indispensable because of the importance of landscape in the Christian devotional tradition. As if to echo Plaut, a recent Sudeten German newspaper article followed a *via dolorosa*, a way of the cross, in the Egerland, one of the Sudeten regions. Its author moved from the now familiar passional periodicity to stepping in its traces (*Spuren*) in the landscape, station by station:

Auch wir Egerländer kennen, wie alle Vertriebenen, solche Kreuzwege—mit allen Stationen! Einer fängt mit der “Verurteilung” im Jahre 1918 an, gefolgt von der Unterdrückung, vom Haß, Demütigung und Geißelung bis zur Verurteilung der “Kleidung” und zur modernen “Kreuzigung”—zu den Todesmärschen, der Hatz und dem Todschatz.
[...] Via Dolorosa unseres Volksstammes. Wir müssen die “Dornenkrone” weiter tragen. Der Weg unserer Leiden—auch der seelischen—diese Via Dolorosa zieht durch die Geschichte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. [...] Auch unsere Heimat, unsere Stadt und unser Land zeigen die Spuren eines Kreuzweges, und auch quer durch das Egerland zieht die VIA DOLOROSA.²²⁵

The desire of Sudeten Germans to locate and relocate Palestine on the map

²²⁴ Plaut, “The Sudetenization of Palestine.”

²²⁵ R. F., “Via Dolorosa im Egerland,” *Egerer Zeitung* 50, no. 3 (March 1999): 44.

owes much to the age-old imaginings of what constitutes the locus of Christ's passion. The doctrine of the so-called "perpetual passion," formulated in the Middle Ages and expounded in Counterreformational Catholicism, postulated that Christ continues to suffer both for and with the world, everywhere and at all times. On the temporal level, this perpetuity of the passion of Christ complements what some have called the "present perfect" dimension of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and aids the conflation of both elements in the "Palestinian story."²²⁶ However, developments in the practice of visual piety encouraged especially by the Counterreformation demonstrated that dependence on the specificity of place was stronger than it may have first appeared. As I am about to discuss, while it was important that Jesus' suffering was constant and omnipresent, or global, as one might now say, it was no less crucial that the details of its Palestinian backdrop could and needed to be transferred to regions outside of Palestine.

Discrete attempts to recreate the Holy Land at various locations in Europe did take place before the Reformation and the Catholic reaction against it. Yet in the late fourteen hundreds, the increasing Ottoman control over the Middle East, culminating in the Porte's annexation of Palestine in 1517, weakened the position of Christian religious orders in the Holy Land. In particular the Franciscans, wardens of Christian holy sites and representatives of the Church in Palestine, were no longer able to grant extensive access to the most visited pilgrimage destinations. Consequently, preoccupation with Palestine's recreation in *terra propria* (one's own land), or closer to home, was a project to be pursued in Europe.²²⁷ Other factors, such as the

²²⁶ Karin Joggerst, "Vergegenwärtigte Vergangenheit(en): Die Rezeption der *Shoah* und *Nakba* im israelisch-palästinensischen Konflikt," in *Blind für die Geschichte. Arabische Begegnungen mit dem Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Gerhard Höpp, Peter Wien, and René Wildangel (Berlin: Kalus Schwarz Verlag, 2004), 295. The author cites her friend who suggests that to understand the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in its entirety, one should know that it has no past and no present, only the present perfect.

²²⁷ Luigi Zanzi, "Gerusalemme nelle Alpi. Per un Atlante dei Sacri Monti," in *Atlante dei Sacri Monti prealpini*, ed. Luigi and Paolo Zanzi (Milan: Skira editore, 2002), 44. For more information on the much more complex context and religious program of the *sacri monti* than can be given here, see also

Franciscans' rushed and chaotic tours leaving pilgrims disappointed as well as high costs of the journey also played into the "topographical reduction of Palestine."²²⁸ The sixteenth-century efforts strove to "bring Mount Zion right to the people in Europe and the Holy Places within the reach of all the faithful" by creating accessible substitutes first concentrated in the pre-Alpine regions of Italy. There the so-called holy mountains (*sacri monti*) put several surrogate "New Jerusalems" on the map.²²⁹ "Here," as William Hood writes, "pilgrims from all over Europe could venerate simulacra of the places which fifteenth-century Turkish advances in the Near East had made increasingly dangerous and difficult to access."²³⁰ The simulacra "grew in popularity just at the time when Holy Land travel was—paradoxically—simultaneously more popular and more restricted." (Rudy 5).

The first sacred mountain at Varallo in Piedmont featured distinct sites or chapels representing "Nasareth, Bethlehem, Mount Zion, Calvary, Tabor and Olives, the city of Jerusalem and the Valley of Josephat," populated with life-size figures frequently provided with real clothing and animal hair. Although the environs were not in the least reminiscent of the biblical setting, the "sense of topomimesis extended far beyond the site itself to include the neighboring valley," with a nearby town as the port of Caesarea and the local lake as the Sea of Galilee.²³¹ Illusion and imagination

Roberta Panzanelli, *Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the "New Jerusalem" at Varallo (1486-1530)* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999); Katheryn M. Rudy, *Northern European Visual Response to Holy Land Pilgrimage, 1453-1550* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001); and Gabriele Landgraf, *Die Sacri Monti im Piedmont und in der Lombardei. Zwischen Wirklichkeitsillusion und Einbeziehung der Primärrealität* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000).

²²⁸ George Kubler, "Sacred Mountains in Europe and America," in *Christianity and the Renaissance. Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 414.

²²⁹ Rudolf Wittkower, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 175.

²³⁰ William Hood, "The *Sacro Monte* of Varallo. Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy Gregory Verdon and John Dally (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1984), 293.

²³¹ D. Medina Lasansky, "Graffiti, Gore, and the Grotesque: Acting out the Passion at the Italian 'Sacri Monti,'" 3, unpublished paper presented at the Society for the Humanities, Cornell University, September 14, 2004.

alone were significant but insufficient sources for this topomimetic project. Therefore architects and artists in many respects relied on exact measurements²³² of objects in the Holy Land and distances between them, which they attempted to replicate. Especially in the early stages, parallels between Varallo and the Holy Land were achieved by means of “a topographic or geographic orientation of chapels in real space.” This precision in reconstruction was supposed to set in motion the viewer’s identification with Jesus.²³³ And although some scholars have observed that such reconstruction of “Jerusalem is symbolic and [...] could be moved anywhere,” the choice of locations does indicate that those in charge of its replication felt that some landscapes accommodated reproductions better than others. Not only the details of local landscapes, such as rivers or hills, made places more or less suitable for hosting replicas. Notably, the first simulacra also emerged in culturally and politically significant geographical terrains, namely, at the extreme territorial margin constituting the new confessional frontier in Europe, i.e. the Alps.²³⁴ By replicating Palestine they simultaneously provided a bastion for Catholicism.

My earlier discussion of some Sudeten German representational practices showed that universalization of Palestine as a site of suffering gained currency beyond Christianity. Yet the Christian moment undoubtedly helped enhance both the effect and the scope of this message. Countless literary and pictorial Sudeten German sources demonstrate that their creators could not only fathom the transposition of their fellow countrymen to Palestine but that, furthermore, it was not difficult for them to envision Palestine’s move to the Sudetenland. They eagerly took up the subject of Christ’s return to ‘carry the cross’ in solidarity with their authors’ *Landsleute*. At the same time, they sought to resolve topographic issues attending

²³² Rudy, op. cit., 161.

²³³ Landgraf, op. cit., 54 and 61.

²³⁴ Zanzi, op. cit., 45.

these drastic tectonic shifts.

For the minds behind the first sacred mountains as well as for many Sudeten German authors, it was less the passion itself than its original location that carried the most dynamism. According to Otfried Preußler, a classic of “Sudeten German literature” discussed in Chapter Three and a popular German author of children’s literature, major shifts in topography preceded the passion and involved earlier episodes in Jesus’ life. He transposes these events into “Bohemia” on the eve of the twilight of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the proclamation of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918 and, consequently, the expulsion of Germans after 1945.²³⁵ Preußler conceived *Die Flucht nach Ägypten. Königlich böhmischer Teil*, first published in 1978, as a stylized narrative with a structure divided into numerous chapters, each preceded by a paragraph of facetiously parabolic recapitulations reminiscent of Baroque-era narratives.

As is apparent from its title, the text tells a tale of the Holy Family’s flight into Egypt. Interspersed with fictional connections between Judea of the first century B.C. and the last years of *k. u. k.* Vienna, such as telegraph communication between Herod and Franz Josef, the introduction expounds on long-forgotten changes in the topographical surface of Central Europe that must have once been located surprisingly close to the Middle East:

Der Weg von Bethlehem nach Ägypten muß damals, in jenen heiligen Zeiten, durchs Königreich Böhmen geführt haben, quer durch den nördlichen Teil des Landes, bei Schluckenau etwa herein in das böhmische Niederland, dann nicht ganz bis zum Jeschken hinum, dann weiter im Vorland des Iser- und Riesengebirges, durch vorwiegend ärmliche, meist von Glasmachern, Leinenwebern und kleinen Häuselleuten bevölkerte Gegenden bis in die Nähe von Trautenau— und zuletzt auf der alten Zollstraße über Schatzlar hinaus ins Schlesische, wo es dann nach Ägypten nicht allzu weit mehr gewesen

²³⁵ Otfried Preußler, *Die Flucht nach Ägypten. Königlich böhmischer Teil* (Munich: dtv, 1996).

ist.²³⁶

Having left Bethlehem in the northeast, before the Holy Family arrives at its destination it meanders through a surprising exactitude of northern Bohemian toponyms that would be familiar only to Preußler's Sudeten German readers. That is to say, the Sudetenland becomes incorporated into an eastern geography between Palestine and Egypt. Preußler cites two explanations to account for this overlay of Central Europe and the Middle East. These make it obvious that cartographic surfaces have been not merely reshuffled but that their current state conceals profound tectonic changes:

Das wird zwar geschätzter Leser schwerlich sich vorstellen können, wenn man die heutigen Landkarten sich vor Augen hält: nur—die heutigen Landkarten sind eben damals noch nicht im Gebrauch gewesen, das ist das eine; auch möchte es immerhin ja der Fall sein können, daß sich die Straßen und Reisewege zwischen den biblischen Örtlichkeiten seither verschoben haben, das ist das andere [...].²³⁷

As both the subjunctive and the double modality (*möchte ... sein können*) of these fictional shifts (*Verschiebungen*) indicate, mapping the Holy Land onto a modern surface is a difficult affair. Yet the tone of the passage betrays dissatisfaction with the benefits brought about by the modern cartographic revolution that once upon a time had arrived to deliver our contemporaries from inaccuracies of the old science of space. To a much greater extent Preußler's text mourns the lost proximity and connectedness that the author describes not as a result of an old cartographer's whim, but of profound structural *Verschiebungen*.

These shifts receive their reflection also on a pictorial plain in a variety of Sudeten German artifacts. The Flight into Egypt was second only to Christ's passion

²³⁶ Preußler, op. cit., 5

²³⁷ Preußler, op. cit., 5-6.

among the most frequently painted religious references to frame the expulsion of Germans, as the example of the borderland Chapel Maria Frieden in Neualbenreuth that I discuss in Chapter 2 demonstrates (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Franz Gruss, altar fresco. Maria Frieden, Neualbenreuth.

Furthermore, images such as the so-called “Expellee Altar,” donated to the cemetery church of the Bavarian Furth im Wald in 1969, present direct juxtapositions of the Holy Family’s Flight from Egypt and the expulsion of Sudeten Germans (Figure 7).²³⁸

²³⁸ Furth im Wald has been a pilgrimage destination for Sudeten Germans from Bischofsteinitz/Horošovský Týn since 1969.



Figure 7. “Expellee altar,” cemetery chapel, Furth im Wald.

Here, the location of the Holy Family painted against unidentifiable leafy backgrounds on the bottom of the right wing is significantly broadened and recontextualized within the upper segment of the same wing, in the specificity of a mountainous landscape of the Sudetenland in which an unending expellee trek dissolves. Furthermore, Sudeten German images and texts discussed below, I suggest, seek to reconstitute a lost geographic proximity by framing passionate accounts with unfailing attention to details of landscape representation. Theorists of space have drawn a distinction between “depth models” of landscape aiming at an excavation of memory layers, on the one hand, and “surface models” focusing on “images, representations, and stereotypes of the landscape that [...] have considerable power to mobilize political passions,” on the other hand. Despite their amnesia-inducing burial effects, the efforts of Sudeten German writers and artists concerned with Palestine merge both models.²³⁹

²³⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell, “Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness,” *Critical*

In some cases, Sudeten German interest in reconceptualization and relocation of the passion went hand in hand with undertaking a journey to physical Palestine. Such was the case of Sepp Skalitzky, an established Sudeten German writer and a Holy Land pilgrim whose report of his 1967 journey I discuss later in this chapter. It may have been a coincidence that his story *Der heimatlose Heiland* appeared in press in 1950, a year when German expellees proclaimed their foundational Charter. In this document they repeatedly invoke the severity of loss of *Heimat*, demonstratively stress their willingness to forego “revenge and retribution” vis-à-vis East European neighbors, and emphasize their commitment to a unified Europe and reconstruction of (West) Germany. Whether intentionally or inadvertently, *Der heimatlose Heiland* reiterates the stance of the Charter in two main respects.²⁴⁰ The title betrays its first echo, homelessness, and elevating it to an insuperable level of divinity. The second echo can be heard in the specifically condemnation of violence, restricted though it remains to violence against Germans.

While the text’s adherence to traditional Christian creed is significant in the historical context of its publication, it is hardly original. Much less orthodox is the unfolding of the text’s plot around Skalitzky’s representation of Christ’s descent into the world. The latter is a place so conflict-ridden that only this redemptive mission can prevent the destruction of humankind by God, an event as entirely divorced from a conventional theological link to the Last Judgment. The redemptive goal of the story in essence implies that the literary ending of the narrative is not at all tantamount to the end in theological terms. On the contrary, their dissociation ensures an indefinite postponement of a number of ends, prominently the end of humankind and with it, of Christ’s ongoing passion. It is thus possible for the story’s ending to

Inquiry 26, no. 2 (winter 2000): 195.

²⁴⁰ Sepp Skalitzky, *Der heimatlose Heiland* (Waldkirchen: Verein der heimatstreuen Böhmerwäldler, 1950). Further page references are cited parenthetically.

herald “heavenly infinity (*himmlische Unendlichkeit*)” for those “murdered and tortured to death (*Gemordeten und zu Tode Gekülden*)” as well as those broken by nostalgia in foreign lands (*die in der Fremde das Heimweh geknickt hatte*)” (71), along with God’s blessings bestowed upon all countries except “Bohemia.” Finally, the very last sentence of the text symbolically culminates in what I read as a superimposition of ends and beginnings: “Da *begann* das Land zu veröden, und die Hussiten erbebten aus Furcht vor dem Gericht” (73, emphasis mine).

This circular effect characterizes, as I explain below, the manner in which some pictorial narratives of the passion have been framed, especially those produced by Sudeten Germans within the ‘Palestinian story.’ In *Der heimatlose Heiland*, narrative features such as the text’s diffuse temporality postulate not only an overlap but also an impossibility of differentiation between a variety of beginnings and ends. The first two pages, dedicated entirely to a lengthy exchange between God and Christ that seemingly occurs outside time, culminate in Christ’s decision to assume a carpenter’s guise. As Joseph David, he descends to an initially unnamed country. From there vapors from a “steaming sea of innocent blood reach God’s throne” (8). As a result of this depiction of universal primordial violence at the destination, which is a temporally unspecific reference variously used by Sudeten German writers to refer to the Hussite Wars, the Thirty Years War or the end of World War, the tension in the chronology of the text is never entirely resolved. Throughout the narrative the author rigorously maintains a transhistorical perspective that conflates at least two centuries, the fifteenth and the twentieth. Precisely this veering and the absence of a clearly defined sense of time—more than mere time compression—characterizes and enables the ‘Palestinian story’ with its task of reconnecting the seemingly disjointed. As in the *sacri monti*, the current reality is not blended out but incorporated and adapted to the representation of the event in order to connect the story from the past

with the immediate present. ‘Real time’ and the time of the event approximate each other and collapse into one another.²⁴¹

For Skalitzky, this constant oscillation between past and present is possible because the text, studded with medievalisms and archaic language, evacuates every trace of modernity. Here nothing but “hundreds of towers and a magnificent cathedral” dominate a cityscape (11); small-scale agriculture defines rural areas; and “hordes” of “Hussite people” (*hussitisches Volk*, 38) described as “the people of murderous Boleslav” speaking “the Hussite language (*hussitische Sprache*, 35)” roam about the country. Descriptions evocative of biblical accounts of Herod’s rule ensure that Joseph David has no trouble recognizing the scenes: “Er sah Leiber zucken unter den Hieben der Nagaika und Hirne aus zertrümmelten Schädeln quellen, hörte Frauen schreien unter Gewalt [...], er vernahm die Angstrufe und das Schmerzgestöhn gejagter und gequälter Kinder” (11).²⁴²

Similarly disjointed echoes of slaughter in biblical Bethlehem later resonate in Skalitzky’s personal diary, which he kept in Palestine during his 1967 pilgrimage, only the entries also links them to solidarity with Palestinians:

Flucht und Vertreibung! Im Alten Testament und um die Zeitenwende [of the New Testament] genauso ein Problem wie heute! Unsere Pilgergruppe, die zum größten Teil aus Heimatvertriebenen besteht, weiß aus eigenem Erleben um Seelennot und Leibeslind der Heimatlosigkeit. Deshalb greift jeden von uns das Elend der arabischen Palästinaflüchtlingen ganz persönlich an, die mit einer Unzahl von Kindern unglaublich arm in Zelten oder Lehmdörfern leben, in Verhältnissen, die kein Fremder mit der Linse einfangen darf. Und als Schicksalsgefährten erkennen wir auch Maria und Joseph, die den Weg in die Fremde nahmen, um sich selber das Kind und der Welt den Erlöser zu erhalten.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Cf. Landgraf, op. cit., 49.

²⁴² The word “Nagaika” is a borrowing from Russian to refer to a leather whip commonly used by Cossacks or Tartars. In Skalitzky’s text its references Sudeten German postwar encounters with Russian troops.

²⁴³ Sepp Skalitzky, *Frühlingsfahrt ins Heilige Land* (Buxheim: Martin-Verlag, 1968), 52-53.

The assonance of *Erleben*, *Seelennot*, and *Leibeselend*, continued in the poverty of *Lehmdörfer* and the thorny *Weg* of the Holy Family, vocalizes the link between experience and suffering. In his diary Skalitzky allows sentiment to roam freely in a Bethlehem that is borderless and ubiquitous, albeit inaccessible to ethnographic documentation through a stranger's viewfinder. The reader of *Der heimatlose Heiland* is, however, assured of the existence of borders as soon as Christ shoulders his cross right after crossing one such *Grenze*. Yet the first several pages of Skalitzky's fictional text do not disclose whether the borders designate the contours of late medieval principalities or modern nation states. The author's tone indicates that there may be no need to distinguish between these, and Skalitzky only unwillingly gives away veiled chronological cues: "Was sich seit den Zeiten Neros und Diokletians nicht mehr begeben hatte, trug sich zu im Jahre MCMXLV in einer der prächtigsten Städte der Erde, und Satan selbst verhüllte vor Scham und Ekel sein wüstes Gesicht" (12). One is clear from the onset: as in Wiese's novel, borders and their redrawing, such as the Potsdam agreement described as a princely council, localize suffering:

Da war auch eine Stadt, die hieß Postdam, dort versammelten sich die Großen der Erde. [...] Unter den Mächtigen aber befanden sich auch Abgesandte eines Volkes, die zu behaupten wagten, sie wären als Soldaten Christi gekommen. Selbst diese [...] kreuzigten den Heiland zum zweiten Male (25-26).

In the text, the decision to redraw borders and subsequently expel ethnic Germans marks the beginning of a passion synonymous with the loss of their "holy Land" ("Weh um mein heiliges Land!" 27). It is therefore not accidental that *Heimat* in both the title and the text alliterates with *heilig* (68). Largely innocent, save for the "Wenigen unseres Volkes" (28), the Germans are "driven across the border." They

die in “Elendsmärschen” (42), “heimatlos wie die Juden” (47). While the Sudeten German *Volk*—here simultaneously a wandering Jew and Christian savior to be crucified—is left to die, the “geistlichen Würdenträger des hussitischen Volkes [...] wuschen ihre Hände in Unschuld wie Pontius Pilatus” (43). The Sudeten German passion continues upon arrival in Germany as the expellees encounter greed and selfishness of Bavarian countryside inhabitants whom Skalitzky describes as untouched by the adversities of the war.

The logic of the story translates Christ’s perpetual suffering into that of the Bohemian Germans. However, what Skalitzky underscores is precisely that the expulsion in the Sudetenland was not just *like* Christ’s passion in Palestine: it was *more*. In a tone that in no way anticipates Vatican II and *Nostra Aetate*, Joseph David is warned that his tormentors will “schlimmer verfahren denn die Juden zu Jerusalem (14)” and knows that “sein Leidensweg schmerzhafter sein würde als der schmäbliche Gang durch Jerusalems Straßen (21).” In return, he is quick to acknowledge that “[v]iele waren darunter, deren Kreuzweg viel härter war als einst der meine von Jerusalem auf den Berg Kalvaria” (71).

Skalitzky’s text is not the only Sudeten German source both to repeat and to outdo Golgotha in a series of comparisons. A chain of pilgrimage shrines on the German side of the Czech(oslovak)-Bavarian border allowed the Sudeten German expellees to make systematic use of Christ’s passion in the context of their expulsion and situate it in a particular landscape. This landscape becomes especially significant because of its proximity to both the Iron Curtain and the *Heimat*. The location helped bolster and develop a very early sense of Sudeten German self-importance as “the borderland people of the Christian world (*das Grenzlandvolk der christlichen Welt*)” in the Cold War.²⁴⁴ Ironically it also indicated that Preußler’s fantasies about

²⁴⁴ Hans Christian Seebohm, “Die Heimat schreit nach uns!” *Sudetendeutscher Heimat-Dienst* 4, no. 94 (30 June 1951): 5. Seebohm, a Sudeten German himself, served as the Federal Minister of

erstwhile proximity between Bohemia and Palestine may have become less far-fetched in the context of Cold War realities. Despite differences in ritual use and iconographic programs, the logic of the most elaborate among these new Sudeten German sites resembled that of the Italian sacred mountains in four principal respects: location at a frontier between Christianity and atheism, or communism and capitalism; inaccessibility of the original sacred sites left behind in the *Heimat*; precision in the reproduction of measurements; and astonishing attention to both representing a particular landscape and embedding the new object *in situ*.

Over the years of the Cold War, such pilgrimage sites were expressly constructed and imagined as substitutes (*Ersatzwallfahrtsorte*) for the homeland pilgrimage churches, either destroyed or inaccessible after 1945. Their beginnings date back to 1950, when an expellee couple living in the Bavarian Forest found a statue of the Virgin Mary, soon named the Resettled (*ausgesiedelte*) or Expelled (*ausgewiesene*) Mother of God, laid across the border near Mitterfirmiansreut, a small village on the West German side of the Bohemian Forest (Figure 8).²⁴⁵

Transportation under Konrad Adenauer.

²⁴⁵ Schroubek, op. cit., 141-144.



Figure 8. “The Expelled Mother of God,” Mitterfirmiansreut.

Only a year later German border patrol officers discovered nearby an armless torso of Christ described in the introductory chapter (Figure 2).²⁴⁶ Cults and legends around these religious images sprung up quickly, and borderland inhabitants began to witness a growing number of pilgrimage sites that sprouted well into the mid-1980s.

In setting up what probably turned out to be the latest and most complicated of such sites, Sudeten expellees attempted to integrate the landscape of the *Heimat* into that of the passion in a way that would help retain their full significance. In the structure of this site Sudeten landscape becomes a parergon, a component of the salvific landscape that at first seems peripheral but is in fact constitutive of the expellee narrative that is charged, in this case, with integrating landscape images into the “Palestinian story.”²⁴⁷ In July 1985 a group of Sudeten expellees from the Bohemian Forest dedicated a replica of a dilapidated chapel left behind in Bohemian Tusset (now Stožec). The new building was located in Philippsreut, a village in the Bavarian Forest, almost across from the chapel’s old location (Figure 9).²⁴⁸ The chapel was not only reconstructed on the basis of photographs and postcards that some expellees were able to keep. Emil Weber, the coordinator of the project, and the chapel’s architect allegedly made half-legal trips to Czechoslovakia to take precise measurements of the original.²⁴⁹ The guidebook to the chapel stresses the authentic (*originalgetreu*) quality of the copy, even though financial circumstances forced the organizers to settle for a tin, rather than a wooden roof.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ “Korpus von Wies in Bayern,” *Der Egerländer* 2, no. 4 (1951): 85.

²⁴⁷ For an interpretation that questions parergon’s marginality with regard to landscape, see Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 7.

²⁴⁸ In the late 1990s the original chapel was also restored; since then both have served as cross-border twin pilgrimage sites (*grenzüberschreitende Zwillingswallfahrten*).

²⁴⁹ Rosa Tahedl, interview by author, tape recording, Runding, Germany, 16 June 2003. Tahedl is an especially important figure in the project of recovering Tusset in Bavaria, since has not only been actively involved in the community of *Böhmerwäldler* but also provided a variety of materials for the guidebook and wrote meditative texts for the processional manual for the stations of the cross discussed below.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* This deviation was apparently important, since Tahedl dwells on it at length.



Figure 9. Chapel exterior, the new Tusset Chapel, Philippsreut.

Despite these strong claims to authenticity, supposedly amplified by the axial orientation of the chapel's gable toward the *Heimat*, identical levels of elevation which the original and the copy shared, and emphasis on matrix-like precision of the

transposition (Figure 10), the architect Gerhard Edlmann admits that the chapel was a mere synthesis of memory and reality, since the “atmosphere is not transportable.”²⁵¹

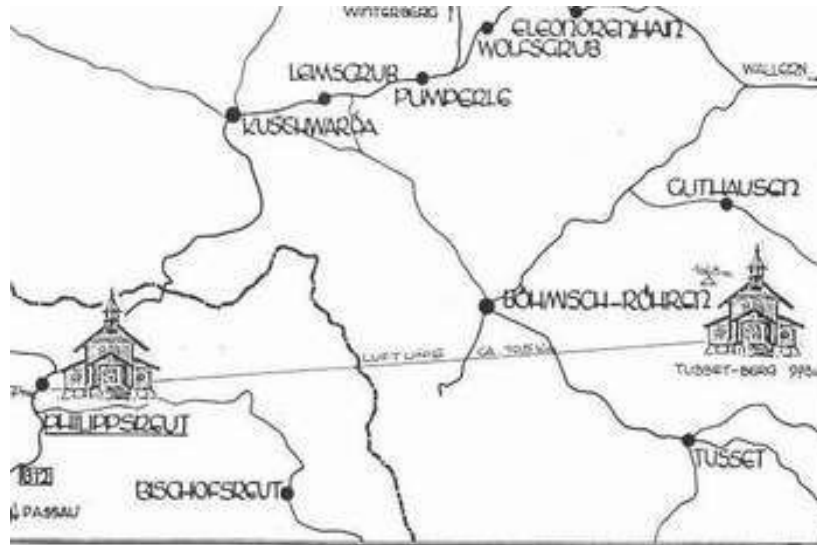


Figure 10. Untitled [the old Tuset chapel and its replica].

This mimetic imperfection, all the more conspicuous in view of an exaggerated emphasis on exactitude, characterizes not only the chapel itself but also the stations of the cross set up around a field and in nearby forest in 1987.²⁵² A record in the Chapel’s pilgrim book dated 16 July 2004 attests to the alleged use of the stations’ influential late Cold War iconography in other, more recent cycles, such as that in the village of Saldenau at Hohenau, Bavaria.²⁵³ Such continued reproduction of the Philippsreut copies reinforces both its status as a simulacrum and the ultimate

²⁵¹ *Die neue Tusetkapelle in Philippsreut*, 4th ed. (Hengersberg: Fa. Mühlbauer, n.d.), 2. Further parenthetically cited as *Tusetkapelle*.

²⁵² In their representation of the Passion the Philippsreut stations are not unique. At least one other Passion cycle was painted by Jaroslav Tschöpa, a so-called *Heimatverbliebener* (an ethnic German allowed to stay behind after 1948) in the 1990s. Although I had no access to these images, they apparently depicted “Leidensstationen, von den Mißhandlungen in der Heimat bis zur Suche nach einer neuen Bleibe [...]: Glaubenstrost, empfangen aus dem Blick auf den Gekreuzigten, der wie wir die weiße Armbinde trägt, als ein ausgestoßener gekennzeichnet. N wie Nemeč [sic], Christus mit uns, wir mit ihm auf Golgotha.” Angelus Waldstein-Wartenberg, “Laudatio auf Jaroslav Tschöpa,” *Sudetenland* 2 (1996): 182-183. What makes the Philippsreut case worthy of attention here is that its focus on landscape is at least as important as the images of suffering.

²⁵³ Anonymous entry, pilgrim book, Tuset Chapel, Philippsreut, July 16, 2004.

irrelevance of originals.

Each of the now standard fourteen stations of the cross, painted on copper plates in oil and framed in wood, was sponsored by a former Sudeten German community from across the border (in the case of Station I, by Philippsreut).²⁵⁴ The name of each village is engraved on the frame under the image that it helped finance. A panorama of the settlement before the expulsion appears as the backdrop to the passion in order to validate the link further (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Helma Fritsche-Flügel, Station I .

Heated debates about the location of the site both among the local authorities

²⁵⁴ The stations of the cross have been in use since the thirteenth century. Their current content and number result from fifteenth-century replication of inaccessible sites in Palestine and Counterreformational standardization in 1686. See Landgraf, *op. cit.*, 35 and, especially, Rudy, *op. cit.*, 5ff. For more details of their history, see Notker Eckmann, *Kleine Geschichte des Kreuzweges* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1968), Karl Alois Kneller, *Geschichte der Kreuzwegandacht von den Anfängen zur völligen Ausbildung* (Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1908), and Ernst Kramer, *Kreuzweg und Kalvarienberg. Historische und Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Kehl and Strasbourg: Verlag Librarie Heitz, 1957).

and the supporters of the project once again proved that the passion was to be recreated not just anywhere (*Tussetkapelle* 115). Particular areas appeared to accommodate such representations better than others. According to the failed original plan, the pilgrim was to follow from the border to the chapel in a reenactment of the flight from Czechoslovakia. The final design negotiated between Emil Weber's *Landsleute* and the local authorities allowed for a more expansive "view of the Bohemian Forest on the other side of the border (*Fernblick auf den Böhmerwald jenseits der Grenze*)" that was to amplify the "commensurate eloquence (*sinnentsprechende Aussagekraft*)" of the represented passion of Christ (*Tussetkapelle* 110 and 115). This designation suggested that that the Jesus' passion was supposed to "become a symbolic procession through the fields on the other side of the border." The authors of the guidebook added that the artist understood how to link salvific history with the fate of German expellees and appeared to be moved by the cycle's "realistischen Darstellung der Passion" (*Tussetkapelle*, 110 and 117).

The cycle's location in Philippsreut made creating a multidimensional illusionistic backdrop to the passion, as was the case in naturalistically life-size architectural and sculptural settings of the *sacri monti*, redundant. As I describe in Chapter Two, resorting to the *Blick in die Heimat*, a constant visual exercise of visual contact with *Heimat*, allowed pilgrims to extend the painted two-dimensionality of each plate into the third dimension by contemplating what remained of the actual locales across the border.

Despite the contention of the guidebook that the main purpose of the stations was to preserve "das echte Wahre wie es war,"²⁵⁵ with regard to the content of all fourteen images this claim to realism was anything but unproblematic. Since their heyday in the fifteenth century the task assigned to the stations of the cross has been

²⁵⁵ Rosa Tahedl, interview by author.

to replicate the narrative of Christ's suffering *in* the Holy Land, since the stations provided a surrogate Jerusalem for those who could not afford to pray at the originals.²⁵⁶ Early pilgrimage sites were often set up by returned Holy Land pilgrims who had brought exact measurements of the holy sites back with them. Such "attention to topographic accuracy" figured prominently in the tradition of Holy Land recreations, even when painted backgrounds occasionally incorporated local landmarks.²⁵⁷ Yet in the course of their historical development, stations of the cross have grown ever more abstract, highlighting Christ's suffering at the expense of topographically specific background. Especially twentieth-century artists responsible for passion cycles used for devotional purposes chose to treat the subject matter in non-representational terms.²⁵⁸ Topomimetic projects such as the sacred mountains with their triple task of "the redubbing of local topography, the sanctification of local landscape, the construction of a New Jerusalem" have become a rarity in contemporary settings.²⁵⁹

This did not occur in Philippsreut. Although the construction of a New Jerusalem as such was not on the agenda there, topomimesis proved to be doubly indispensable as the task of substitution it was to accomplish was also double. The artist imagined Palestine in the Sudetenland, brought the "reproduced passion" ("nachgestalteter Leidensweg") home, and recontextualized it within the expulsion. As a result, Jesus and ethnic Germans suffer concurrently in a shared space. This means that the painter Helma Fritsche-Flügel bridged the representational gap between early modern and twentieth-century depictions of Christ's suffering. Like so many artists involved in designing the sacred mountains, she placed real-life characters, including some Sudeten Germans in their traditional dress—Emil Weber,

²⁵⁶ Rudy, *op. cit.*, 233ff.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6

²⁵⁸ Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 47.

²⁵⁹ Rudy, *op. cit.*, 239.

her own mother and, anachronistically, her daughter born after the expulsion—in the midst of Christ’s helpers. Brown-clad figures of Czech soldiers whom she claimed to remember clearly from the days of the expulsion were represented as Christ’s tormentors (Figures 12 and 13).²⁶⁰



Figure 12. Helma Fritsche-Flügel, Station V, Philippsreut.

The overlap between the biblical narrative and Fritsche-Flügel’s personal memories embraced also such new religious symbols in the borderland as the Expelled Mother

²⁶⁰ Helma Fritsche-Flügel, interview with author, tape recording, Ulrichsberg, Germany, 16 June 2003.

of God from neighboring Mitterfirmiansreut (Figure 13). The painter also reconstituted the Sudetenland in the Bavarian borderland. The latter was especially important in those thirteen cases where original *Heimat* settlements were razed or entirely depopulated.²⁶¹



Figure 13. Helma Fritsche-Flügel, Station VIII, Philippsreut.

As already mentioned, the passion occurs against the background of donor communities formerly in the Sudetenland. Fritsche-Flügel copied their images from postcards, since by the 1980s most villages either no longer existed or were no longer visible from the border because of the hills blocking the view. As in the *sacri monti*, the question of hyperreality is relevant in this respect. In an interview Fritsche-Flügel

²⁶¹ Rosa Tahedl, interview with author.

admitted that the horizon line is “not a barrier” that could prevent her from imagining her invisible *Heimat* whenever she would stand at the border. In some ways, *Heimat* becomes a simulacrum, a non-referential entity, the reproduction of which attends to an original but does not necessarily depend on it to produce a reality of its own. In the absence of originals, the painted landscape of the *Heimat* “precedes the territory.”²⁶² Originals, mostly no longer available in the actual landscape, become reconstituted via projection of simulated landscapes onto an empty terrain of the borderland itself. Thus, at station XII Christ dies against the landscape of the painter’s native village Wallern (Volary), with the skies as crimson as she had experienced them on the day of the expulsion (Figure 14).²⁶³

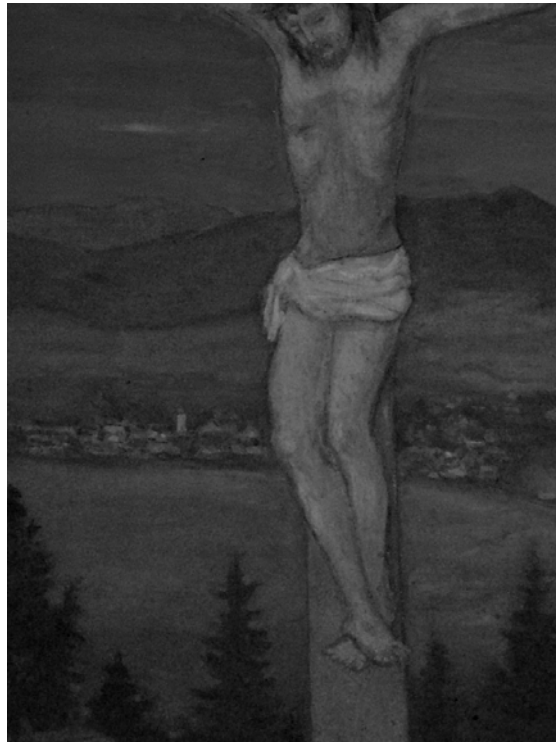


Figure 14. Helma Fritsche-Flügel, Station XII, Philippsreut.

²⁶² Cf. Jean Baudrillard, “Precession of Simulacra,” *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 1-6.

²⁶³ Helma Fritsche-Flügel, interview with author.

Along with place names located on station frames, a meditation booklet helps pilgrims identify further landmarks: “Im blutrotem Schein stehen Schreiner and Kubany, im Talkessel ducken sich die altersgrauen Häuser der Stadt Wallern.”²⁶⁴

In 1987 pilgrims from Wallern no longer needed, as they did in 1972, to “walk up Mount Calvary in their spirit” because their local Mount Calvary site was destroyed.²⁶⁵ Now Calvary not only comes “home” to the Sudetenland, but the Sudetenland itself becomes available as Calvary. Christ does not suffer everywhere or anywhere. He does so in a very particular, localized landscape. In the words of Rosa Tahedl taken from the prayer manual to the Philippsreut stations, his passion goes on “in der Landschaft um Pfefferschlag” (Station VIII), on “steinige[n] Boden, der dem Ort Elendbachl seinen Namen gab” (Station III), against a “Kriegerdenkmal im Hintergrund” at Eleonorenhain (Station IV) (*Kreuzweg*, n. p.). His way to Calvary starts at Philippsreut and moves back, imaginatively, into the Sudetenland, to the old chapel at Tusset. Simultaneously, in the physical setting of the borderland the pilgrim comes full circle in order to return to the forest clearing, the village houses and, after all, the chapel itself, the starting place.

The absence of some villages on the map and their availability on the stations, overtly questioning the rules of realism claimed by the authors of the chapel guidebook, raise the question of representation of violence, destruction, and depopulation so often lamented by Sudeten Germans. Writing on the use of passional imagery in contemporary art, Ziva Amishai-Maisels notes that many artists choose to use passion scenes episodically, “outside their usual Biblical context as archetypal of

²⁶⁴ Rosa Tahedl, “XII. Station: Wallern,” in *Kreuzweg der Böhmerwälder bei der neuen Tussetkapelle in Philippsreut* (Zwiesel: Josef Dötsch, n. d.). “In blutrotem Schein stehen Schreiner und Kubany; im Talkessel ducken sich die altersgrauen Häuser der Stadt,” n.p. Further parenthetically cited as *Kreuzweg*.

²⁶⁵ The appeal referred to a piece from the now destroyed Mount Calvary in Wallern, a fragment of the figure of Christ carrying the cross rescued by a woman pilgrim born there. ek, “...Emmaus 1970 in Wallern,” *Böhmerwälder Heimatbrief* (May 1972): 152.

the sufferings of modern man especially in times of war.”²⁶⁶ Christ’s passion as a subject re-worked by painters such as Marc Chagall exposes the devastating effects of twentieth-century violence in full. His “Yellow Crucifixion,” with its chaos of burning villages and people fleeing in all directions, is a vivid vision of the damage inflicted both by the pogroms and a foreboding of the Holocaust.²⁶⁷ The Philippsreut cycle, however, does little to divorce the passion episodes from the biblical narrative; rather, it expands and complicates the narrative of the New Testament through its inclusion of the expulsion. The result is, once again, not just *like* the passion of Christ but *more*.

The passion cycle restores the Sudeten German *Heimat* to an immaculate state: there is little to indicate the scale of its damage in the first postwar years. Perhaps only the frequent placement of villages on the horizon line alludes to the relationship between the vanishing point and what the expellees described as the vanishing Sudetenland, or the dying (*sterbende*) *Heimat*. Their coincidence with the location of the vanishing point, the perspectival *Fluchtpunkt*, reverses conventional vectors of orthogonals deemed to converge there and acts as a traumatic reminder of the trajectory of the expellee flight from, not into, the *Heimat*. The link of *Heimat* landscapes to perspectival depth, rather than the manner in which they are represented, conveys the sense of loss.

The violence of the expulsion itself is either completely displaced into Christ’s suffering or appears already as a *fait accompli* on the second station (Figure 15). Here Christ crosses, parallel to the Sudeten expellees, a bridge across the Moldau, walking not from left to right but from right to left. This is the direction in which he moves on all other stations except the following station III and in which

²⁶⁶ Ziva Amichai-Maisels, “Christological Symbolism of the Holocaust,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 3, no. 4 (1988): 457.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 464.

also the pilgrim proceeds. In this manner, the bridge that separates rather than connects the expellee trek from the *Heimat* is the pilgrim's entry point into the hyperreality of salvific history transported into the Sudetenland. The viewer's path through the pictorial and physical landscape rewinds history as the he or she moves in the direction opposite to that of the trek (Station II), finally enacting a symbolic return to Tuset and into the Sudetenland (Station XIV, Figure 12), in short, back into *Heimat*.

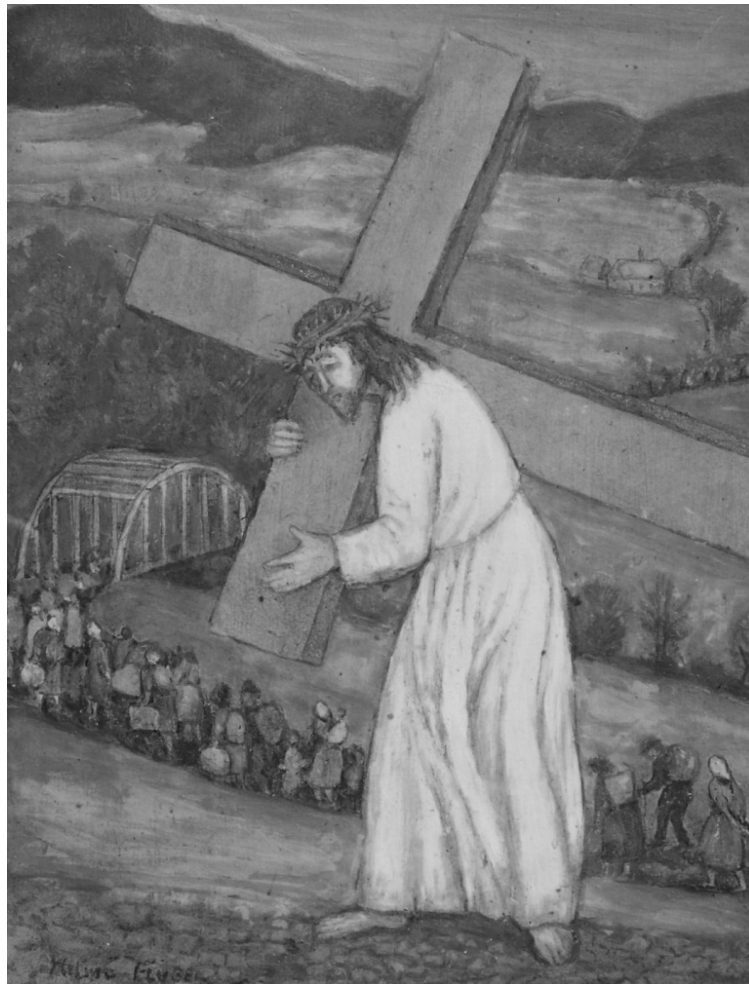


Figure 15. Helma Fritsche-Flügel, Station II, Philippsreut.

The guidebook describes the subject matter of the Philippsreut stations as a

“volksnahe Kreuzweggestaltung.”²⁶⁸ Yet what brings it close to the viewer? On the one hand, the stations employ a traditional, realist painterly technique and merge two subjects well-known to the target group of pilgrims. In accordance with the centuries-long tradition of depictions of the passion, the narrative is structured so that its ostensibly “good” characters in Sudeten German costumes are easily distinguishable from villains, whose faces, depicted in profile, are disfigured by spitefulness.²⁶⁹ Otherwise, tormentors are armed with clubs and clad in Czech soldiers’ clothing from the World War II era.

On the one hand, the painter follows pictorial conventions. On the other hand, she departs from the canon of Christian iconography that once represented Jews as Christ’s tormentors and executioners. Her replacement of Jews with Czechs produces an absence that may be indicative of historical circumstance prior to 1938, since among the inhabitants of borderland villages of the former Sudetenland there may not have been many (or any) Jews. Alternately, it may reflect a post-Holocaust condition and even a National Socialist fantasy by representing the former Sudetenland—but also, by extension, Palestine—as ‘*judenrein*’ by demonstrating “the ultimate result of Nazism’s ‘success’ in bringing about the ‘disappearance’ of Jews.”²⁷⁰ Or else, the painter may have reinterpreted the story of Christ’s death in the wake of Vatican II to resist placing the blame for the former on “Jews” by blaming particular Czechs whose faces she remembered. Or perhaps replaceability of perpetrators is intended to zoom in on the suffering itself and assert a context where empathy lies exclusively with Christ and/or com-passionate Sudeten Germans. In the wake of the Holocaust when, as Amishai-Maisels’ work demonstrates, Christ was often coded as a suffering Jewish

²⁶⁸ *Die neue Tussetkapelle in Philippsreut*, 117.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²⁷⁰ Omer Bartov, “Germans as Jews. Representations of Absence in Postwar Germany,” *Germany’s War and the Holocaust. Disputed Histories* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 220.

figure, Fritzsche-Flügel's representations of the passion leave no space for Jewish figures of any sort. To speak with Omer Bartov, "the absent is *known* to have been the victim, the true, innocent, 'ideal' victim, the victim with whom one precisely *should* empathize, had one not already chosen oneself as the preferred object of empathy."²⁷¹

Moreover, in spite of the prominent pictorial role of perpetrators in the iconographic agenda of the stations, the prayer booklet avoids explaining the identity of Jesus' tormentors altogether. While they dominate the painted surface, its written pendant focuses its attention on Christ's helpers instead, identifiable and often nameable Sudeten Germans. As if to play charades with the pilgrims, some of whom may have been acquainted with the helpers' real-life prototypes, the prayer booklet asks at Station V (Figure 12): "Where does he come from, this helper? Did he come down from Tussetberg—over the meadows of Guthausen to the bank of the young, splashing Moldau at the Säumer bridge?" (*Kreuzweg*). At station VI ("Veronica offers Jesus a cloth"), the booklet abandons its rhetorical questions and continues the theme more assertively:

She wears a traditional Bohemian folk costume (*Böhmerwaldtracht*), the woman from Humwald. As she defiantly rushes to help from the former house row of the village market place across the square in front of the local chapel, one feels the old readiness to help of this expelled village community (*Kreuzweg*).

6. Coda: Palestine as a Holy Homeland

W. J. T Mitchell has recently remarked on an ongoing metamorphosis in the concept of "holy *lands*," once richly political (directly related to statehood) and economic. For Mitchell, these terrains have been reduced to the aesthetic notion of "holy *landscapes*." Mitchell is "struck by the selectiveness of memory and history

²⁷¹ Bartov, *op. cit.*, 225

that is brought to the holy landscape,” which is now “an idol in its own right.”²⁷² He points out the dangerous extent to which the surface of a represented (especially painted or photographed) landscape in general is capable of opening up “false depths, selective memories, and self-preserving myths.”²⁷³ Mitchell finds this to have been especially true with respect to Palestine and the American West, i.e. areas he calls “frontier landscapes.”

Without necessarily engaging aspects of expulsion and conquest that landscape idolatry, according to Mitchell, justifies, I would like to suggest that topomimetic processes discussed here have produced a certain promiscuity and selectiveness with regard to the meaning and content of representing what was for Sudeten Germans a “frontier landscape,” that is, *Heimat*. These processes of overlay include large-scale operations of substitution that generate much of the “Palestinian story.” They involve territorial transpositions of Palestine and the Sudetenland, whereby one group replaces another, be it Palestinians and Sudeten Germans or Czechs, Jews, and Germans. Acts of substitution also stand behind two main principles that enable transformations of *Heimat* within the “Palestinian story.” These principles express the tension between *Heimat*’s plurality and singularity, on the one hand, and between the flexibility and rigidity of its borders, on the other.

However, topomimetic effects of the ‘Palestinian story’ do not occur on the landscape surface only. Much of the ‘Palestinian story’ reveals a nostalgic desire for recuperating a territorial proximity believed to have been lost in a series of geological, and not just topographic shifts. Mimesis in the Sudeten German ‘Palestinian story’ is thus not simply a scramble for *imitatio* of suffering. It is rather a desire to replicate and imitate the *settings* where this suffering—universalized as that of Palestinians, Christ, and the Sudeten Germans—takes place. Topomimesis exhibits

²⁷² Mitchell, “Holy Landscape,” 195 and 194, respectively.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 195.

a tension between the seeming dissolution of referentiality, on the one hand, and persistent dependence on real and imagined topographies of Palestine and the Sudetenland, on the other hand. Last but not least, topomimesis relies on the actual topographical configuration of the borderland in which the Sudeten German passion takes place politically and aesthetically. The “Palestinian story” thus only secondarily reflects less the longstanding obsession of West Europeans with physical sites of the Middle East, an obsession that dates back at least to the Crusades. Instead, the Palestinian narrative examined here engages a postwar European concern with Palestine in order to forge a new relationship to the Sudeten German *Heimat*. This mutable *Heimat*, physically absent in this “Palestinian story,” is constantly represented as a landscape that is at least partially interchangeable with Palestine, the quintessential homeland.

CHAPTER TWO

A SCOPIC REGIME OF NOSTALGIA²⁷⁴

1. Sudeten Germans: A Nostalgic Diaspora?

Since the early 1950s, newspaper rubrics and articles titled “Sudetendeutsche in aller Welt” followed *Landsleute* to places ranging from Switzerland, Sweden, Australia, Austria, and South Africa to “irgendwo in Sachsen.”²⁷⁵ Commonly published in mainstream Sudeten German periodicals as well as in regional newsletters (the so-called *Heimatblätter*), these writings summoned “in alle Himmelsrichtungen ausgesiedelten Glieder [der Volksgruppe] aus der Zerpellung in das Einheitsbewußtsein.”²⁷⁶ Addressing a “weltweite Gemeinschaft” of the “Sudetendeutschen Internationale,” they spread their news to “die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in die skandinavischen Länder, nach England, nach Israel, in die Vereinigten Staaten, nach Neuseeland und nach Südamerika.”²⁷⁷ In return, poems from a Sudeten German community in Canada, newcomers’ impressions from Adelaide, Australia, and updates on cultural life of German settlers in Brazil and Paraguay filled desks of the editors’ Munich offices.²⁷⁸ On countless maps that

²⁷⁴ I borrow the term “scopic regime” from Christian Metz’s work on cinema, where the concept is defined “by the [physical] absence of the object seen.” Although nostalgia as discussed here operates in a different medial range and thrives, as I discuss, on more than only visual media, it is to a great extent predicated on a similar absence and driven by what could be described as the desire to engage multiple senses. Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and Cinema*, trans. Celia Britton et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 61; see also 59-63.

²⁷⁵ “Sudetendeutsche in aller Welt,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 51 (1953): 7.

²⁷⁶ “Die Heimatvertreibung war kein Gottesurteil,” *Volksbote* 36, no. 2 (1984): 1.

²⁷⁷ “Eine notwendige Klarstellung,” *Sudeten-Bote* 9, no. 9-10 (1974): 1.

²⁷⁸ See, respectively, Hubert Leinsmer, “Weekend in Tomslake,” *Sudeten-Bote* 8:1-2 (1972): 15-16; “Von Hamburg bis Adelaide. Sudetendeutscher Fleischergehilfe berichtet über seine Auswanderung nach Australien,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 7, no. 27 (3 July 1954): 8; Rudolf Robert Hinner, “Die Sudetendeutschen in Brasilien,” *Sudetenland* 7, no. 3 (1965): 185-193, and Rudolf Linnert, “Sudetia—eine deutsche Siedlung in Paraguay,” *Sudetenland* 11, no. 3 (1969): 220-223. For additional sources on Sudeten German dispersal, see Alfred Bohmann, “Das Sudetendeutschtum im Ausland,” *Das Sudetendeutschtum in Zahlen: Handbuch über den Bestand und die Entwicklung der Sudetendeutschen Volksgruppe von 1910 bis 1950* (Munich: Sudetendeutscher Rat, 1959), 233-236 and “Sudetendeutsche in aller Welt,” *Mährischer Grenzboten* 51, no. 4 (2001), 14. Since 1954 Bavarian authorities officially patronized Sudeten Germans as the province’s “vierter Stamm,” along with Bavarians, Franconians,

accompanied reports of the Sudeten German expulsion from postwar Czechoslovakia, ray-like vectors of dislocation vividly captured dispersal from a singular *Heimat* to multiple points to the west of it.²⁷⁹

Whereas these conditions brought Sudeten Germans, to cite a *Landsmann* from Denmark, “mit der Welt weit mehr in Berührung als die Binnendeutschen,” many feared that this cosmopolitanism of sorts disquietingly bordered on “wurzellooses Nomadentum.”²⁸⁰ In the early postwar years, being linked to the world by virtue of dispersal and detached from Germany because of this proved to be both a blessing and a scourge for those who self-identified as Sudeten Germans. At that point “Zerländerung” became a presentiment of deterritorialization, a term that would come to signify a wide range of psychological, political, or spatial uncouplings for generations of scholars across the disciplines who followed cues from the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s work some forty years later.²⁸¹ Yet for a concerned Sudeten German writing in 1953, “Zerländerung” did not yet signal a withering importance of spatial entities.²⁸² It did not even primarily refer to the loss of place resulting in dispersal itself. Instead, it targeted the predicament of alternate allegiances that this dispersal may pose. Above all, the author feared that his *Landsleute* would trade loyalty to the seeming monolith of *alte Heimat* for the diffuse

and Swabians. Bavaria has therefore been a base for most Sudeten German organizations, publishing houses, as well as their press.

²⁷⁹ Examples of such diagrams and maps dispersal appear throughout the Cold War in the politically right-wing Ernst Bartl, *Egerland einst und jetzt* (Gieslingen/Steige: Egerland-Verlag, 1959), 284-285 as well as Oskar Böse and Rolf-Josef Eibicht, *Die Sudetendeutschen: Eine Volksgruppe im Herzen Europas* (Munich: Sudetendeutscher Rat, 1989), 83 and 155.

²⁸⁰ See Hubert Nerad, “Wir Sudetendeutsche im Ausland”, *Der Sudetendeutsche* 4, no. 5 (1951), 1 and Ernst Lehmann, “Schach der ‘Zerländerung’ der Sudetendeutschen!” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 21 (23 May 1953): 4, respectively.

²⁸¹ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari elaborated on deterritorialization and its derivatives in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (New York: Viking, 1977), *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), and *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Emily Hicks’ theorization of “border writing” constitutes an early example of how “deterritorialization” has been appropriated within literary and cultural studies, and especially in writings on border cultures. See Hicks, *op. cit.*

²⁸² Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 4.

provincialism of *neue Heimat*. Anxiously he observed, “wenn wir unsere Landsleute besuchen, die das Schicksal in andere deutsche Länder verschlagen hat [...] trumpfen [sie] bereits gegeneinander auf mit einem nicht zu unterschätzenden Stolz auf die Heimatländer und die Verhältnisse, die sie hier vorfinden oder bereits mitgestaltet haben.” As a consequence, the threat of “wurzellooses Nomadentum” lay not in the lack of belonging but rather in its highly localized surplus.²⁸³

Paradoxes of nomadism, scattered in Sudeten German writing of the first postwar decade, became manifest not only in the initial, albeit remarkably resilient, prejudice of many activists against multiple *Heimaten*. What shocked Sudeten activists most was the need to grapple with the question of nomadism in a country that, they had previously assumed, would share their culture and ethnicity. “*Nein, die Sudetendeutschen werden nicht weiter wandern,*” such were the emphatic Biblical undertones in a pamphlet issued by Emil Gebauer, one of the earliest postwar advocates of the Sudeten German cause already cited in Chapter One.²⁸⁴ Dispersal, understood by others as a form of connectedness to the world, assumed a sinister tone in his appeal. Far from being messengers to the world, Sudeten Germans were its “nackte Bettler [,] in die Fremde verschleppt, wo [sie]—wenn auch in deutschen Landen—als lästige Eindringlinge betrachtet und behandelt werden.”²⁸⁵ Consequently, speaking for all of his *Landsleute*, Gebauer decisively announced that “[i]hre [...] weitere Abschiebung in andere Länder und Erdteile lehnen sie ab.”²⁸⁶ Gebauer re-framed the expulsion within a continuum of some two millennia of

²⁸³ This chapter attempts to complicate assertions of the unproblematic coexistence of old *Heimat* and new as they have been articulated, for instance, by Brenda Melendy in her dissertation. See Brenda Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 27 and passim.

²⁸⁴ Emil Gebauer, op. cit., 64, emphasis original. Further in his text Gebauer suggested that Sudeten Germans “werden von dem vielgeschmähten und doch so tapferen jüdischen Volke lernen und so lange ihre Heimat rückfordern, bis sie ihnen—so wie jenen—befreit von fremden Eindringlingen zurückgegeben wird” (Gebauer, op. cit., 69).

²⁸⁵ Gebauer, op. cit., 68.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

European history and blended biblical chronology with that of early medieval migration on the continent. In alluding to the biblical exodus of Jews from Egypt, Gebauer's language simultaneously served to chart the timeline of German settlement in the Sudetenland as coeval to Christianity: "[Sudetendeutsche] wollen nicht auf fremden Kontinenten Generationen hindurch als Parias ihr elendes Leben weiter schleppen. *Sie hatten ein Heimatland, das ihnen seit 2000 Jahren gehörte [...]; sie wollen diese Heimat wieder haben.*"²⁸⁷ Whereas his programmatic refrains made clear what Sudeten Germans *did not* want, his interpretive evocation of massive population shifts of the early Middle Ages allowed him to draw further parallels between nomadism and what appears to be cosmopolitanism. Both led, in his mind, to eventual disappearance:

[Sudetendeutsche] wollen nicht aufgesaugt werden von anderen Völkern und unter ihnen verschwinden, d. h. untergehen, wie einst Westgoten in Spanien, die Franken in Gallien, die Wandalen in Nordafrika [...]. Sie alle haben ihren Gastvölkern neuen kulturellen, politischen, aber auch biologischen Auftrieb gegeben, haben neue Staaten gebildet und sind darin untergegangen. Die Sudetendeutschen wollen das nicht.²⁸⁸

How is the dyad of cosmopolitanism and nomadism significant for postwar culture of Sudeten Germans? Albeit extreme in its unequivocal rejection of dispersal, the breadth of Gebauer's transhistorical comparisons laid the foundation for the perseverance of the self-preservationist stance of Sudeten Germans in and outside West Germany. Once prominent among German minorities in the interwar period, safeguarding authenticity remained a powerful force steering Sudeten German cultural life in the Federal Republic and abroad after 1945. Rather than coding their cultural adversaries as Czech or broadly Slavic, however, they pitted themselves

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 64.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 68.

against West Germans. Echoing Gebauer's descriptions of expellee treatment in "deutschen Landen," almost thirty years later a prominent leader of the SdL grappled with describing a condition that was, in his mind, an amplified, doubled exodus because it had flung its subjects "in das eigene Volk":

Das Sudetendeutschtum will sich lebendig erhalten und dies, obwohl es in das eigene Volk vertrieben wurde. Keiner wird die Probleme übersehen, die damit verbunden sind. Keiner kann die Sogkraft der 'doppelten Vertreibung' verkennen. Sie wurde insofern geplant, ja bewußt ausgelöst, als die Volksgruppe nicht geschlossen wiederangesiedelt, sondern 1945/46 von den Familien an in allen Himmelsrichtungen zerpellt [...] wurde.²⁸⁹

Walter Becher's term "doppelte Vertreibung" alludes to more than one double. First and most obvious, it augments the scope of the expulsion to encompass both the loss of *Heimat* and the fragmentation of *Sudetendeutschtum* as an entity. Second, it maps the tension between being expelled into one's own ethnicity and dispersal "in allen Himmelsrichtungen," suggesting that these two conditions, seemingly fundamentally dissimilar, may be constitutive of the same phenomenon. Third, the very image of being expelled "ins eigene Volk" conjures up the uncanny double that German expellees—ethnically similar yet culturally and economically very different—often appeared to have been in postwar Germany.²⁹⁰ In Becher's account, the force of having been expelled into one's own ethnicity paradoxically

²⁸⁹ Walter Becher, "Identität und Geschichtsbewußtsein: Zum Selbstverständnis der Sudetendeutschen," *Sudetenland* 17, no. 1 (1975): 1.

²⁹⁰ For accounts highlighting differences between the expellees and West Germans, see Albrecht Lehmann, *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhaus: Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in Westdeutschland 1945-1990* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991); Handl, op. cit.; Michael Schwartz, "'Zwangsheimat Deutschland': Vertriebene und Kernbevölkerung zwischen Gesellschaftskonflikt und Integrationspolitik," in *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, ed. Klaus Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 114-148; and Rainer Schulze, "Zwischen Heimat und Zuhause? Einige Anmerkungen zu einer Diskussion, die noch lange nicht beendet ist," *Zwischen Heimat und Zuhause: Deutsche Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in (West)Deutschland 1945-2000*, ed. Rainer Schulze et al. (Osnabrück: Secolo, 2001), 288ff. Also in Daniel Levy, "Integrating Ethnic Germans in West Germany," 1ff.

mandates not an elimination but rather an accentuation of differences between Sudeten expellees and West Germans.²⁹¹

Outlining and foregrounding the stakes of self-preservation, Sudeten German spokespersons demonstrated that such perceptions of difference were not merely a question of territorial origin. Rather, they attributed them to a qualitative and behavioral peculiarity of their “eigene Lebensart” possessing “lebenswerte Daseinsformen, Verhaltensweisen [...], die nicht verloren gehen sollen.”²⁹² Trying to capture the new setting in which these existential forms were now to unfold, one contributor commented:

Ein Volk, das in einem eigenen Staat lebt, erhält durch sein staatliches Dasein eine eigene Prägung. Zu einem echten Staat gehören drei Dinge: Das Land (Territorium), die Bevölkerung und die Staatsgewalt. Unsere Volksgruppe verfügt über kein eigenes Territorium und keine Staatsgewalt. [...] Eine Volksgruppe im Exil [...] muß andere Formen des Zusammenlebens suchen, wie ein staatlich organisiertes Volk.²⁹³

In the context of Sudeten German globe-spanning dispersal, the question of these new existential forms and also the language used to describe dispersal in a variety of passages cited above—including Walter Becher’s potent coinage “doppelte Vertreibung” —suggest that many Sudeten expellees viewed their arrival in Germany not as a case of “unmaking” of a diaspora or its “return,” as some political scientists suggest, but rather as a diaspora in its re-making.²⁹⁴ In other words, their responses

²⁹¹ In Chapter Three I examine a reversal of this paradigm and interrogate the concept of *Eigenart* in detail.

²⁹² Karl Welser, “Noch lebt die Volksgruppe,” *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 25, no. 2 (April 1978): 226.

²⁹³ hs., “Unsere Volksgruppe in Exil,” *Volksbote* 6, no. 23 (1954): 1.

²⁹⁴ See Rainer Ohliger and Rainer Münz, “Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants in Twentieth-Century Europe: A Comparative Perspective,” in *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants. Germany, Israel and Post-Soviet Successor States in Comparative Perspective* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 14. Idem, “Minorities into Migrants: Making and Un-Making Central and Eastern Europe’s Ethnic German Diasporas,” *Diaspora* 11, no. 1 (2002): 45-78.

appear to indicate, in the words of Pieter Judson, that “[i]n a sense the expulsions created the German diaspora communities within Germany that had not previously existed.”²⁹⁵ If that is indeed the case, what kind of diaspora emerged?

Puzzled by the “persistence of an ‘expellee community’” in contemporary Germany, Henning Süßner suggests that “ethno-regional identity [of the expellees], reconstructed as an imagined diasporic community,” can explain “the longevity of the ‘expellee issue.’”²⁹⁶ Noting that ethno-regional formations lie at the core of German provincialism and therefore need not necessarily conflict with “the concept of nation-state [but instead] may function as an integral part of it,” he finds that “the definitions of diasporic migrant communities [...] might be easily applied to the study of the German expellee communities.”²⁹⁷ Whereas Süßner offers some very general examples of how *Heimatrecht*, fear of assimilation, and “obsession with nostalgic *Heimat* elements”²⁹⁸ qualify German expellees for a place under the diasporic roof, he seems less interested in explaining the substance of their affinity to those whom he defines as quintessentially diasporic: the “‘transnational’ migrant workers [...] with ties to more than one nation.”²⁹⁹ Furthermore, differentiating little between practices of distinct expellee groups and based largely on statistics rather than a detailed reading of primary sources, his argument serves as a vehicle for locating diasporicity

²⁹⁵ Pieter Judson explores interwar “self-understanding” of East Central European German communities and issues a plea for a greater differentiation between agencies behind the rhetoric of diasporization. He observes that while “Germans in Germany tended increasingly to characterize [ethnic Germans] as ‘lost diasporas,’” these communities did not unambiguously understand themselves in relationship to Germany. Such a link to the host country is fundamental to Judson’s definition of diaspora. See his “When Is a Diaspora not a Diaspora? Rethinking Nation-Centered Narratives about Germans in Habsburg East Central Europe,” in *The Heimat Abroad*, 239.

²⁹⁶ Henning Süßner, “Still Yearning for the Lost *Heimat*? Ethnic German Expellees and the Politics of Belonging,” *German Politics and Society* 22, no. 71 (Summer 2004): 1 and 12, respectively. Ethno-regionalism, he notes, “is supported by the German case where national identification traditionally is *re-enforced* by the assumption that the nation is constituted by a patchwork of different regional communities. This kind of regionalism can be defined as ethno-territorial as it culturalizes spatial features” (Süßner, op. cit., 8).

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8 and 13, respectively.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

wherever it fits. While based on a very general understanding of postwar expellee culture and its supposedly diasporic features—features to a great extent negotiated among and extrapolated from contributors to the academic journal *Diaspora*—Süssner’s diagnosis is exterior to, rather than inherent in or derived from expellee rhetoric, images, or practices. Unaddressed remain the issues of such representational mechanisms and media as well as of the status and value of diaspora as a critical concept for the study of German expellees, fundamental especially at the juncture when the foundations of diaspora in the territorial binary of “home” and “host country” have been thoroughly shaken. Indeed, the meaning and consequences of expellee diaspora formation in Germany, a country that one would expect to be an ethnic, linguistic, and cultural homeland rather than a host nation, is anything but self-explanatory.³⁰⁰

Süssner’s analysis then leaves several questions unanswered, some of which I attempt to grapple with in this chapter. *How* did expulsions make new diasporic communities manifest in post-war West Germany? What practices, beyond the political rhetoric already discussed, generated and defined these new formations? How are they similar to or different from other diasporic communities, especially with regard to the border-crossing transnationalism that scholars have employed to define diasporas for over a decade? Finally, did these practices lead to a further split between Sudeten Germans as a self-proclaimed diaspora, on the one hand, and West Germans as constituents of a nation, on the other—or did they effect a degree of reconciliation between them? Rather than speculating on the parameters that qualify

³⁰⁰ Ethnic German minorities resettled into the Third Reich immediately after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 initially found themselves in a comparable situation. However, the diasporic rhetoric did not become a long-term constituent feature of their cultural and political life as it did for postwar German expellees. See Götz Aly, *Endlösung: Völkerverschiebungen und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1995) and *German Minorities and the Third Reich: Ethnic Germans of East Central Europe between the Wars*, ed. Anthony Komjathy and Rebecca Stockwell (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980).

Sudeten German cultural activities to fit the established, if contested scholarly definitions of diaspora, as Süßner does, this chapter considers the diasporic dynamic as it developed and was articulated *within* Sudeten German expellee circles. First, it examines nostalgia—one of the most prominent mechanisms to have stimulated diasporic discourses in the Sudeten German milieu since the early 1950s. Its arguably most vibrant manifestation crystallized in the rituals and iconography of pilgrimages to the Czech-Bavarian border during the Cold War. According to expellee sources, these practices had their origins in longing, and nostalgia was their singular vehicle and agent.

Second, following Andreas Huyssen's suggestion that it is on the level of nostalgia that national and diasporic memories may intersect, this chapter draws attention to the repercussions that Sudeten German cultural and political self-fashioning as a diaspora may have had on their rapport with Germany as a nation.³⁰¹ One of the outcomes of Sudeten German diasporic practices may have been resulted in a form of cultural rapprochement with Germany. In particular, via efforts to trace the cultural lineage of their nostalgia to the figure of Adalbert Stifter, Sudeten German discussions of diasporicity appear to have contributed to the postwar expansion of the mainstream German literary canon. Consequently, this chapter is also an exploration of how diasporic sentiments can also produce a form of reconciliation with—if not a degree of cultural assimilation to—the nation. And it is only in tandem with the blurry contours of Sudeten German cultural self-definition expressed in 'minor' terms, described in Chapter Three, that one can try to gauge the effects of these at times mutually exclusive sentiments and acknowledge them in a wider cultural and social framework of divergent discourses. Contrary to James Clifford's remark that "diasporic language appear[ed] to be replacing, or at least

³⁰¹ Andreas Huyssen, "Diaspora and Nation: Migration Into Other Pasts," *New German Critique* 88 (winter 2003): 151.

supplementing, minority discourse” only in the late twentieth century, Sudeten German sources provide evidence of their much earlier concurrent existence.³⁰²

2. From *Sehnsucht* to *Sehsucht*

Süssner’s reference to the expellee “obsession with nostalgic *Heimat* elements” is but one example of how, in scholarly writings about diaspora, nostalgia has become an attribute most persistently ascribed to diaspora. Traditional approaches to diaspora, such as those on which Süssner relies, underscore “the impossible, nostalgic, desire to return to a place from which one was traumatically separated [...],” to “a *homeland*” that is first and foremost “the space” and only secondarily “the state.”³⁰³ In contrast, those who focus on diaspora formation in discourse rather than territory or space invert the above relationship between diasporicity and nostalgia. By this account, rather than resulting from diasporicity, “nostalgic [...] aspirations” call it into being by “mobiliz[ing] diasporas for transnational causes” and actively shaping their political and aesthetic agendas.³⁰⁴ It is precisely this symbiosis that turns into a terminological predicament in Yasemin Soysal’s controversial critique of diaspora as an “extension of the nation-state model.” Forecasting a grim future for both nostalgia and diaspora, Soysal sees their parallel tracks merge in terminological obsolescence. While nostalgia already is merely “a past invented for the present,” diaspora is bound to follow suit. “Lacking analytic rigorm,” diaspora “is destined to be a trope for nostalgia.”³⁰⁵ This shuttling between indispensability and

³⁰² James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 255.

³⁰³ Jon Stratton, “(Dis)placing the Jews: Historicizing the Idea of Diaspora,” *Diaspora* 6, no. 3 (1997): 320.

³⁰⁴ Pnina Werbner, “Introduction: The Materiality of Diaspora—Between Aesthetic and ‘Real’ Politics,” *Diaspora* 9, no. 1 (2000): 7.

³⁰⁵ Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, “Citizenship and Identity: Living in Diasporas in Postwar Europe,” in *The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity*, ed. Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 137 and 149, respectively. Other influential critics of nostalgia include Frederic Jameson whose primary concern is cinematic representations, in particular the

utter uselessness has characterized nostalgia's transnational circulation in recent years.

Being yoked to diaspora is not the only factor to have influenced nostalgia's ascent to a transnational category. The last two hundred years of writing about it have uncoupled it from place, anchoring it in time instead, and transformed it from an individual pathology into a social symptom.³⁰⁶ While diaspora scholars such as Brian Axel have only recently begun to question their "field's emphasis on the analytic model of place," this has long been old news for nostalgia experts.³⁰⁷ From a narrowly local, *heimatlich* malaise nostalgia has advanced toward a global condition detached from geographic referents and liberated from the obscurity of its initial "Volkstümlichkeit"³⁰⁸ and persistent anchoring in tradition. It has become, in the words of Kimberly Smith, a "universal experience" or, according to Svetlana Boym, a "feature of global culture."³⁰⁹

Yet what does it mean that these transformations in the scope of nostalgia's signification have not occasioned a terminological change to usher in a new

obfuscation of history in "nostalgia film," and Arjun Appadurai's stance against "nostalgia for the present, the stylized presentation of the present as if it had already slipped away" in the advertising industry.³⁰⁵ See, respectively, Frederic Jameson's "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend: Bay Press, 1983) and *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Arjun Appadurai, "Consumption, Duration, and History," in *Streams of Cultural Capital. Transnational Cultural Studies*, ed. David Palumbo-Liu and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 36. For an outline of nostalgia's devolution into a negative political concept, see Marcos Piason Natali, "History and the Politics of Nostalgia," *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies* 5 (Fall 2004), n. p.

³⁰⁶ Linda Hutcheon, "Irony, Nostalgia, and the Postmodern," in *Methods for the Study of Literature as Cultural Memory*, ed. Raymond Vervliet and Annemarie Estor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 194. Nicholas Dames outlines nostalgia's nineteenth-century transformation "from a wasting illness [...] into a regular fact of human memory" in his intriguing analysis of nostalgia as a form of therapy in Jane Austen's works. See Nicholas Dames, "Austen's Nostalgics," *Representations* 73 (Winter 2001): 119.

³⁰⁷ Brian Keith Axel, "The Diasporic Imaginary," *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (2002): 411ff. On alternative constitutions of diasporicity through generational, rather than territorial links, see Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin, "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity," in *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. By Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Manmur (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 85-118.

³⁰⁸ Klaus Brunnert, *Nostalgie in der Geschichte der Medizin* (Düsseldorf: Tritsch Verlag, 1984), 4.

³⁰⁹ Smith, op. cit., 506 and Boym, op. cit., xvii.

conceptual language that would describe the phenomenon? In other words, what remains when nostalgia (*Heimweh*) is stripped of both ‘home’ (*nostos/Heim*) and ‘sickness’ (*algia/Weh*)? Perhaps nostalgia’s survival as a term testifies to a lingering presence, not the utter disappearance, of these two components that have shaped it since its discursive nascence in seventeenth-century medicine. This chapter examines some of the ways in which these two original elements—home and sickness—may still be operative in its reconstitution of the past and relates them to the changes leading to nostalgia’s globalized scope. As a sensory and, above all, a visual yearning constitutive of diasporicity, nostalgia sends out ripple effects that produce more than sentimental couplings between its expellee subjects and a mythical home. Directed toward *Heimat*, trajectories of nostalgic vision mirror the vectors that map diasporic dispersal from this very home. They resonate in a variety of sources that include photographs, maps, and drawings. *In situ*, I shall argue, this specular relationship implicates both in a cartographic and pictorial rapport with the Cold War divide, since visual sources place the Iron Curtain between these rays’ respective points of departure. By circulating visually, nostalgia additionally inscribes its expellee subjects in a continuum of twentieth-century periodicity that cannot be punctuated in reference to the end of World War II alone.

I suggest that the key role allocated to vision in the setting examined here attests to the perseverance of nostalgia’s “visceral physicality” evoked by Linda Hutcheon. These persistent physical origins of nostalgia are a site where disturbing outcomes of more than one war have had a chance to resonate.³¹⁰ Having emerged in the aftermath of the Thirty Years War, the term ‘nostalgia’ gained currency after a Swiss medical student Johannes Hofer completed his dissertation about *Heimwehe oder Heimsehnsucht* in 1688.³¹¹ He suggested homegrown, Swiss origins for his term,

³¹⁰ Hutcheon, *op. cit.*, 198.

³¹¹ One of the first documentary mentions of nostalgia purportedly dates to the very last years of the

“which indeed the gifted Helvetians have introduced not long since into their vernacular language, chosen from the grief for the lost charm of the Native Land, which they called *das Heimweh*.”³¹² Commonly overlooked by contemporary scholars of nostalgia who tend to study Hofer through excerpts in Jean Starobinski’s influential early analysis,³¹³ visual tropes abound in Hofer’s account and appear to steer the very pairing between *Heim* and *Weh*. Following in the footsteps of staggering advances in optics, the text bristles with terms “image” and “imagination.”³¹⁴

Fixation on home (*Heimat*), as Hofer describes it, possesses a telescopic quality, forever zooming in on the image of the “Native Land.” Hofer attributes the causes of the pathology to what appears to be a flawed synthesis of images in the brain. Its result is a surplus of compulsive re-presentation—*Heimat* is, in his words, “continually represented” (387). This symptom he traces in turn to the “afflicted imagination” (381) that is in dire need of being “corrected” (388). He observes that excessive fixation on one idea—and “nothing else creates a stronger impression than the desire recalling the homeland”—generates visual chaos in a weary and unsettled mind, a condition in which “various images move about” (381). The condition therefore primarily affects the portion of the brain “in which [...] images of [physical] objects are represented through a certain motion of animal spirits,” and especially

Thirty Years War, when the Spanish troops in control of Flanders reported “el mal de corazón.” See Klaus Brunnert, *op. cit.*, 1.

³¹² Johannes Hofer, “Medical dissertation on nostalgia by Johannes Hofer, 1688,” tr. Carolyn Kiser Anspach, *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2, no. 1 (March 1934): 380. Further page references are cited parenthetically.

³¹³ Jean Starobinski, “The Idea of Nostalgia,” *Diogenes* 54 (1966): 81-103. Starobinski places special emphasis on the Enlightenment-era change in the understanding of nostalgia. This change replaced the Hofer’s earlier focus on longing for a particular place with longing for a moment in time, usually childhood or youth.

³¹⁴ Telescopes in their modern form were an invention of the late sixteenth—early seventeenth century. Johannes Kepler, formerly a court mathematician in Prague and a posthumous victim of the Thirty Years War (his Regensburg grave was ravaged by Swedish troops in 1632, two years after his death), wrote about them in his 1604 *Astronomiae Pars Optica*. René Descartes’ *Discourse on Method*, including his influential contribution to optics, appeared in 1637.

“those fibers of the middle brain in which compressed traces of ideas of the Fatherland still cling” (384). “Moreover,” continues Hofer, “I believe that these traces are actually impressed more vigorously by frequent contemplations of the Fatherland, and from an image of it, so that the animal spirits follow continuously from thence by the same impulse and thus raise up constantly the conscious mind toward considering the image of the Fatherland” (384).

Tautologies within Hofer’s own writing perform and underscore the visual excess that he is describing. Furthermore, his constant recourse to the word ‘image’ seems to have set the tone for accounting for nostalgia’s deleterious effects for a long time to come, even though many an expert would move far beyond Swiss mountains. Elisabeth Bronfen’s introduction to Karl Jasper’s 1909 dissertation on forensic aspects of nostalgia exemplifies the degree to which visual language has saturated a broad spectrum of works that have discussed longing since Hofer. In particular, she draws attention to the overwhelming power of “pathogen gewordene Erinnerungsbilder” winning control of their host’s bodies and minds.³¹⁵ Indelibly etching home onto and into the body, nostalgia cannot be encapsulated only in the descriptive *Heimweh*: from Hofer’s time onward, it has circulated also as *Sehnsucht*, a synonymous pendant to *Heimweh* inscribed already in the title of Hofer’s dissertation. And it is the latter term which, as Ute Brandes notes, becomes ever more closely approximated to *Sehnsucht* over the course of the nineteenth century.³¹⁶

Pathological overlaps between *Sehnsucht* and *Sehnsucht*, conditioned already by compulsive re-viewing of the image of home in Hofer’s treatise, become all the more meaningful in the wake of World War II and the ensuing political, cultural, and geographical rifts within Europe. Despite the steadily decreasing attention to longing

³¹⁵ Elisabeth Bronfen, “Fatale Widersprüche,” in Karl Jaspers, *Heimweh und Verbrechen* (Munich: belleville, 1996), 12.

³¹⁶ Ute Brandes and Bernd Busch, “Die Zukunft der Sinne: Sehnsucht. Einstiege im Dialog,” in *Sehnsucht: Über die Veränderung in der visuellen Wahrnehmung*, ed. Ute Brandes (Göttingen: Steidl, 1995), 15.

as a pathology since the second half of the nineteenth century,³¹⁷ the aftermath of the war and the massive dislocations it had caused appear to have lent *algia* new currency. Writing about “refugees and expellees in numbers exceeding displacements of the past [...] flooding into the host nations of the world,”³¹⁸ medical students of nostalgia speak the current language of diaspora studies already in the early 1950s. Fueled by those who, as Charles Zwingmann, landed far from their homes, attempts to rethink the nearly forgotten psychological disorder re-emerged “in den turbulenten Jahren nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg mit ihren Massen von Flüchtlingen, displaced persons, Kriegsgefangenen und KZ-Häftlingen” (Brunnert 1).

Nostalgia’s renaissance was written into the traumatic continuum of modernity: “Das 20. Jahrhundert erlebte auf breiter Basis die Wiederkehr einer psychopathologischen Situation, die 350 Jahre lang die Mediziner beschäftigt hatte,” wrote Karl Brunnert in the 1980s.³¹⁹ Drawing implicit parallels between three conflicts arguably fundamental to the progression of modernity—the Thirty Years War,³²⁰ World War II, and the Cold War—postwar studies of nostalgia mixed such diverse groups as “Gastarbeiter, Emigranten und Heimatvertriebenen”.³²¹ They broadly charted war-time dislocation and presented labor migration as its Cold War pendant, allowing literature on nostalgia to host a variety of uneasy bedfellows. Forging a link between expellees and Süßner’s “‘transnational’ migrant workers [...] with ties to more than one nation,” these studies once again propelled the “Heimatvertriebene” beyond their unambiguous association with the World War II

³¹⁷ Starobinski, op. cit., 100.

³¹⁸ Charles Zwingmann, *‘Heimweh’ or ‘Nostalgic Reaction’: A Conceptual Analysis and Interpretation of a Medico-Psychological Phenomenon* (Stanford University, PhDiss, 1959), 2. Zwingmann was a German POW whose medical skills, in demand with the U.S. military, led to his stay in the U. S. after his release.

³¹⁹ Brunnert, op. cit., 1.

³²⁰ For an overview and critique of the persistence of the Westphalian system, see Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648. Class, Geopolitics, and the Making of Modern International Relations* (London: Verso, 2003).

³²¹ Brunnert, op. cit., 19.

era.

For Sudeten Germans, nostalgia's universal appeal was distilled in the rhetorical question: "Wer hätte wohl nie den tiefen Seelenschmerz empfunden, der durch die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat hervorgerufen wird?"³²² Part of a lengthy speculation on "Heimat und Heimweh," this question appeared in a 1953 issue of one of the numerous regional *Heimatblätter*. It inserted the expellees into a broad discussion of uprooting. The course of this discussion ran parallel to that of medical literature on nostalgia:

Seitdem die Furie des zweiten Weltkrieges über Europa dahingebraust ist, dürfte es wohl kaum noch jemand geben, der von dieser seelischen Krankheit unberührt geblieben wäre. Fast ein jeder hat einmal seine Heimat, wenn auch mitunter nur zeitweilig, verlassen müssen. Millionenheere kämpften in allen Teilen Europas, Millionen gerieten in Gefangenschaft, ganze Städte wurden entvölkert und ihre Einwohner auf dem Lande untergebracht. [...] Eine gewaltige Unruhe ist über diese Menschen gekommen und sie alle haben erfahren müssen, was Heimweh bedeutet. Es ist als eine Gefühlsregung zu bezeichnen, die aus der Vorstellung der Heimat entspringt, und dabei dürfte es völlig gleichgültig sein, ob man sich nur der geliebten Landschaft oder der Menschen oder des eigenen Heimes erinnert. Auffallend ist, daß das Heimweh ein besonders uns Deutschen eigentümlicher Gemütszustand ist, der den einzelnen um so stärker ergreift, je mehr er sich den Erinnerungsbildern nachgibt.³²³

In the spirit of Hofer's study, the passage shuttles between the particular and the universal. By describing nostalgia as a sentiment engulfing scores of dislocated individuals across Europe, it singles out Germans as particularly prone to succumb to the power of nostalgic images. Even more significantly for the scope of this chapter, it suggests that nostalgia—despite its diasporic circulation, one may add—is precisely that which approximates the expellees to their German hosts.

³²² Eduard Klemm, "Heimat und Heimweh," *Marienbad-Tepler Heimatbrief* 6, no. 58/7 (July 1953): 119.

³²³ *Ibid.*

3. *Perspectivism of Nostalgia's Sightfulness*

For some time now, forays into how nostalgia dictates its narratives, to use Peter Fritzsche's term, have been hampered by excessive attention to either its negative or, more recently, its positive characterization.³²⁴ Its negative interpretations persist despite the growing distance between nostalgia and provincial conservatism manifest, to cite Huyssen, in its "delusional [...] dimension."³²⁵ Aiming at a more differentiating approach, attempts to rehabilitate nostalgia posit it either as a "social force really capable of affecting change" because it protects what is worth preserving or as a "progressive force" capable of "reinfusing lost histories with credibility, substance, and emotional resonance."³²⁶ These efforts nevertheless remain caught at the opposite end of this rather unproductive polarization of nostalgia's effects.³²⁷ Focused on negotiating between nostalgia's defense and its critique, advocates and foes alike often forget to explain what is operative in nostalgia's recall of the past, private and public. Even Svetlana Boym's influential and timely call to "illuminate some of nostalgia's mechanisms of seduction and manipulation" produces limited results. Rather than offering a genealogy of the sentiment and its workings, it provides a typology that simultaneously acquits and accuses nostalgia. Her negatively coded and collective "[r]estorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home," while its overwhelmingly positive, individual, and artistic "[r]eflective" counterpart "thrives on *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately."³²⁸ Side-stepping the

³²⁴ Peter Fritzsche, "How Nostalgia Narrates Modernity," in *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, ed. Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 65ff.

³²⁵ Huyssen, op. cit., 151.

³²⁶ See, respectively, Claudia Sadowski-Smith, "Post-Cold War Narratives of Nostalgia," *The Comparatist* 23 (1997), 124 and Peter Glazer, *Radical Nostalgia: Spanish Civil War Commemoration in America* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 7. Glazer explores performative commemoration of the Spanish Civil War as a form of a critique of the Vietnam war.

³²⁷ Huyssen, loc. cit.

³²⁸ Boym, op. cit., xvi.

need to acquit or accuse nostalgia, this chapter instead plots its genealogy and traces the persistence of the visual strand in nostalgia's twentieth-century circulation in particular.

In his recent work on the subject, perhaps as no other scholar of nostalgia since Hofer Peter Fritzsche employs a variety of visual metaphors to speak of nostalgia as “a kind of sightfulness” (rather than “a kind of blindness”) predicated upon “a ‘deep shift in optic identity’ [...] particular to the modern era.”³²⁹ In the following, I propose to shift his emphasis from a metaphorical “regime of seeing which facilitates nostalgia”³³⁰ to a physical regime of seeing that nostalgia facilitates in the course of Sudeten German practices along the Iron Curtain. This chiasmic inversion is significant, since, rather than turning to historical, social, or cultural mechanisms that “produce” nostalgia,³³¹ this chapter fleshes out some of the cultural paradigms that visual practices of nostalgia produce, endorse, or modify.

The most prominent among these is nostalgia's alignment with and reliance on the regime of perspective—especially linear perspective. The latter becomes manifest and adjusted to the historically specific setting not only visually, but, in a broader sense, sensorily, especially by means of gesture, on the key role of which in this project I dwell in the introductory chapter. Indeed, Hofer's constitution of nostalgia in the imagination and its subsequent psychosomatic externalization already attests to structural similarities between perspective and pathological *Sehsucht*. According to Joel Snyder, externalization of interior imaginings, albeit artistic rather than psychosomatic, marked also the birth of perspective: “[a]ll perceptions, according to *perspectiva* [...] come about by means of image formation [...]. Images are [...] made in the mind where one would expect to find them—in the imagination.

³²⁹ Fritzsche, “How Nostalgia Narrates Modernity,” 64.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

What [Leon Battista] Alberti did was to conceive of this mental construct, the image, as picture [...]. [He] provided a method by means of which that image could be projected and copied in art.”³³²

The pairing between nostalgia and perspective uncovers two of their other fundamental affinities that permit a productive interrogation of how nostalgia operates visually. Much like nostalgia, perspective is ultimately concerned with issues of distance and proximity, introducing a spatial dimension into nostalgia’s otherwise temporal scope. While nostalgia works, in the words of Linda Hutcheon, by “[s]imultaneously distancing and proximating,” perspective fundamentally problematizes “distance [...] between the point of view and the object perceived, [...] between the eye and the picture plane [...]”³³³ But even beyond juxtapositions of past and present in nostalgia, oppositions of the viewing and vanishing points in perspective, and dyads of distance and proximity in both, doubling has been another important term pervading numerous studies of both phenomena. Discussions of nostalgia and perspective alike, as they have been developed in cultural studies over the past two decades, have made it clear that overlaps and overlays, and not just strict binaries and oppositions, are at stake in both.³³⁴ Trying to capture nostalgia’s *modus operandi* beyond the simplistic mimetic reconstitution of lost originals, Svetlana

³³² Joel Snyder, “Picturing Vision,” *Critical Inquiry* (1980): 520.

³³³ Hutcheon, op. cit., 195 and Hubert Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective*, trans. John Goodman (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994), 94, respectively. Cf. Jonathan Steinwand’s observation that “[n]ostalgia necessarily relies on a distance—temporal and/or spatial—separating the subject from the object of its longing, the imagination is encouraged to gloss over forgetfulness in order to fashion a more aesthetically complete and satisfying recollection of what is longed for.” Jonathan Steinwand, “The Future of Nostalgia in Friedrich Schlegel’s Gender Theory: Casting Aesthetics Beyond Ancient Greece and Modern Europe Toward a Future Germany,” in *Narratives of Nostalgia, Gender, and Nationalism*, ed. Jean Pickering and Suzanne Kehde (London: Macmillan, 1997), 9.

³³⁴ With regard to perspective, Jacques Lacan’s borrowings from the perspectival schema in his theory of the gaze and its relationship to subjectivity beyond the picture plane have, to various degrees, influenced visual theoreticians from Damisch to James Elkins. See Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 67ff; Damisch, op. cit., passim.; and James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 249ff. The already cited works of Peter Fritzsche and Nicholas Dames on nostalgia convey a similar unsettling of boundaries between past and present.

Boym conjures a figure of “a double exposure, or a superimposition of two images—of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life,” and Linda Hutcheon speaks of a “doubling-up of two different times, an inadequate present and an idealized past.”³³⁵ As if to echo these suggestions, structuralist undertones of Hubert Damisch’s philosophical study of perspective flesh out its specular nature: based on *di-monstratio*, with its emphasis on both showing and mirroring, perspective is “a process of duplication, of repetition, of doubling.”³³⁶

Some of the answers to the question of how nostalgia engages and positions its subjects—Sudeten German pilgrims in situ as well as vicarious travelers wandering across pages of periodicals and treading upon black-and-white grains of reproduced snapshots—lie at the intersection of longing and perspective. The interplay between distance and proximity, on the one hand, and the complexities of double exposure that structurally underlies the relationship between nostalgia and perspective, on the other hand, sonorously resonates with Peter Becher’s invocation of “doppelte Vertreibung” in the context of diasporicity. Doubling, distance, and proximity have also been staples in the vocabulary that social sciences have developed in the course of the twentieth century to account for otherness, a phenomenon certainly relevant to the conditions in which nostalgia typically thrives. To cite a vibrant example from Georg Simmel’s influential introduction to his essay on social otherness, the foreigner (*der Fremde*) is not “der Wandernde, der heute kommt und morgen geht, sondern [...] der, der heute kommt und morgen bleibt—sozusagen der potenziell Wandernde, der, obgleich er nicht weitergezogen ist, die Gelöstheit des Kommens und Gehens nicht ganz überwunden hat.”³³⁷ Evocative of

³³⁵ Hutcheon, op. cit., 198 and Boym, op. cit., xiii-xiv.

³³⁶ Damisch, 98.

³³⁷ Georg Simmel, “Exkurs über den Fremden,” *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftlichung*, in *Georg Simmel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Otthein Rammstedt (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1992), vol. 11, 764. Further quotations, loc. cit.

Huysen's description of a diaspora as a combination of "loss of a homeland" and "the unfulfilled desire to return," which results in "the shuttling of whole migrant populations between host nation and homeland" (Huysen 151), the introductory lines of Simmel's essay posit that the stranger combines both "die Gelöstheit von jedem gegebenen Raumpunkt" and the "Fixiertheit an einem solchen." Questions of distance and proximity further regulate the dynamic in which, Simmel believes, the other is socially situated inside, not outside the group. "Die Einheit von Nähe und Entferntheit," he continues, "die jegliches Verhältnis zwischen Menschen enthält, ist hier zu einer, am kürzesten so zu formulierenden Konstellation gelangt: die Distanz innerhalb des Verhältnisses bedeutet, daß der Nahe fern ist, das Fremdsein aber, daß der Ferne nah ist."

Their many similarities notwithstanding, nostalgia did not adopt the perspectival regime unchanged. Nostalgic practices discussed below did not just reproduce perspective as a master narrative. What we know about longing conflicts with "[t]he abstract coldness of the perspectival gaze [that] meant the withdrawal of the [...] emotional entanglement with the objects depicted in geometricalized space."³³⁸ As Starobinski reminds us, nostalgia is primarily "an emotional upheaval,"³³⁹ an irrational force whose often myopic goals show more interest in the particular rather than in the "transcendental and universal" of Albertian and Cartesian perspectivalism.³⁴⁰ This emotional quality is evidenced not only in a substantial volume of Sudeten German travelogues, border reports, and poetry inspired by visits at the Iron Curtain. It pervades also the presentation of visual material that accompanies them. For example, a photograph caption in a trilingual edition

³³⁸ Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988), 8. In his piece, Jay traces a number of traditions that resisted the imposition of perspectivalism, and posits many, rather than one, scopic regimes that informed modernity.

³³⁹ Starobinski, *op. cit.*, 89.

³⁴⁰ Jay, *op. cit.*, 11.

contrasting prewar and Cold War images of the Sudetenland, published with an international audience in mind, comments on “a shocking appearance of the whole landscape, appealing to anyone’s emotions.”³⁴¹ To translate this emotional appeal from words into the image, the caption invites the viewer to join an expellee couple at the Iron Curtain and follow the direction pointed by a West German border patrol officer (Figure 16).



Figure 16. “Barricades on same street before Eger.”

At the same time, the gesture toward a single point across the border focuses the viewer’s eye and leads it away from the textual emphasis on “the whole landscape” meant to reflect *Heimat* in ruins. Consequently, in contrast to the notoriously expansive, *gesamtdeutsch* streak of the Sudeten German culture, deictic emphasis on a finite number of *Heimat* points, prominent in borderland writing and photography, may have unwittingly resulted in limiting rather than infinitely expanding the perspectival model.

Such “Heimatgenossen, die mit den Augen die altbekannten Punkte drüben

³⁴¹ Bartl, op. cit., 277. Bartl’s book had captions in German, English, and French in order to promote the cause of Sudeten German expellees internationally. The full caption to the image shown here reads: “Barricades on same street before Eger. Blown up houses and farms are all over [sic] to see. Their ruins give a shocking appearance to the whole landscape, appealing to anyone’s emotions.”

suchten” populated borderland photography. Their vision advanced “zum Horizont hin” in order to recognize “die wohlvertrauten Stätten.”³⁴² Their hands, frozen in time throughout the decades of the Cold War, pointed toward “das eine Dach oder Gebäude oder sonst ein markanter Punkt” located across the Iron Curtain.³⁴³ Such images in which, as Pierre Bourdieu put it, “an art imitates art,”³⁴⁴ enforce a perspectival view not only via the workings of the camera lens that allow the viewer to “see the subject as if looking through a window.”³⁴⁵ Their very composition buttresses formal rules of perspective, and those of linear perspective in particular. Illusionistic effects, in which the exchange between the near and the far reverberates, arise from the composition as well as from the use of light and dark. They locate the meaning of these images at the intersection between their two-dimensional form and their content.³⁴⁶

For example, a snapshot of the Koch family on “the threshold (*Schwelle*) to *Heimat*” arranges generations to reflect recession in both number of people and their age, so that foreshortening is almost instilled in their intersubjective and intergenerational relationship (Figure 17). In contrast to the light coat of the woman bleaching the edge of the image, the monochromatic color scheme of men’s clothing appears to darken as if to stress the figures’ growing distance to the eye of the viewer. Parallel tracks of vision directed at *Heimat*, with the exception of a young boy who looks into the camera, further unify the photographic subjects and become embodied

³⁴² W. v. Lutzau, “Grenzlandfahrt der Gmoi Erding,” *Der Egerländer* 12, no. 1 (January 1961): 12 and A. Sch., “Ein schöner Blick in die geraubte Heimat,” *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 18, no. 215 (July 1966): 580, respectively.

³⁴³ Karl Gröger, “Blickpunkte an der Grenze,” *Egerer Zeitung* 38, no. 8 (August 1987): 142.

³⁴⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Social Definition of Photography,” *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 73. Here Bourdieu also points out that “photography is a conventional system which expresses space in terms of laws of perspective (or rather of one perspective) [...]”

³⁴⁵ Snyder, op. cit., 505.

³⁴⁶ The use of light and contrast are not only specific to linear perspective; they are prominently employed in modes of creating spatial illusion that attempt to reflect our actual perception of objects, such as atmospheric and color perspectives.

in their arms. Raised at identical angles to point binoculars at the horizon line, the repeated gesture of their arms underscores their unity as a family and suggests a unified viewing point within the picture. The imagined opening in the state border, “the threshold to *Heimat*,” is configured as the exact perspectival standpoint through which vision proceeds.



Figure 17. “Arbeiter der F. Koch mit Wagen zu Ostern 1960 an der Schwelle zur Heimat [...]”

Yet whereas the family’s location at the “threshold” evokes a rite of passage, a liminal moment arrested by the camera whose subjects seem poised to cross the boundary, the emphasis on vision suggests the contrary. Looking becomes not only a substitute for physical crossing: the way in which such snapshots accentuate the intensity of the visual component translates into their most emphatic emotional message about the impossibility of crossing.

The manner in which the image engages the outside viewer relies not only on the emotional appeal and its composition. To bring *Heimat* closer to the expelled reader, the photograph transcends its medial boundaries to adjust the vanishing point

implied for the viewers *in* as well as *of* the picture. On the left side of the image, drawn either by those who submitted the image or by the editors of the periodical where it was published, an arrow on the horizon line situates *Heimat* landmarks in their most exact coordinates and simultaneously enforces a single vanishing point. To explain this accent, the caption draws attention to smoke signals that arise from *Heimat* to suggest communication, whether with the familiarity of a homely hearth or with uncanny smoldering ruins: “[L]inks von Altkinsberg die gelbe Esse der Erl-Fabrik, qualmender Rauch stieg gerade über das Gebäude.” The intervention of one medium into another, buttressed by this succinct explanation, forcibly merges the perspectives of viewers both within and outside the image. By conflating vanishing points and simulating a unified viewing point, the photograph encourages a single viewer to gaze into the *Heimat* vicariously while identifying with a unified photographic subject.

If, as this intermedial commentary suggests, longing is indeed “a way of seeing and interpreting,” how do such interpretive sightings come about?³⁴⁷ In what follows, I discuss some of the Cold War visual practices of Sudeten Germans along the Iron Curtain where it coincided with the border between West Germany and Czechoslovakia. Motivated by nostalgia, these practices and rituals—secular and religious—transcended the limitations of the proverbial “gaze into the past” often ascribed to longing.³⁴⁸ The relationship they forged between nostalgic vision and (linear) perspective attests to Damisch’s universalizing observation that the “heuristic power of the perspective configuration [...] continues to exercise its influence over the widest range of domains.”³⁴⁹ This chapter tracks how, in Damisch’s words, “[a]s a

³⁴⁷ Fritzsche, “How Nostalgia Narrates Modernity,” 65.

³⁴⁸ Glazer, loc. cit. In his rich analysis, Fritzsche refers to a similar phenomenon as “sighting[s] of the past,” which nostalgia subjects to its involved interpretation (Fritzsche, “How Nostalgia Narrates Modernity,” 65). Cf. also Ann C. Coley, *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 211.

³⁴⁹ Damisch, op. cit., xiii. “[T]he ascendancy of [perspective’s] paradigm,” he explains, “has made

paradigm [...], perspective is sometimes in operation precisely when one least expects it, where its intervention is least visible.” The present analysis of nostalgia’s visual contexts aims to probe their analytical salience for diaspora studies and contribute to the study of visuality in the Cold War.

4. Visions of Heimat: Blick and Bild

Frequent recourse to nostalgic vocabulary, *Heimweh* and *Sehnsucht* alike, has provided cohesion to disparate genres and media issued over more than six decades by German expellees. “Man müsse das Heimweh wachhalten”: this line penned by Hans Watzlick, a Sudeten German literary figure prominent both before and after the expulsion, was a somewhat more poetic pendant to political dilemmas of the kind deliberated by Walter Becher.³⁵⁰ This single-minded fixation on *Heimat* conferred upon the expellees the vernacular epithet ‘ewiggestrig’ and led Henning Süßner to speak of the obsessive incantation by expellees of “nostalgic *Heimat* elements.” Yet in the circles of Sudeten German activists during the Cold War, longing was far from limited to the political rhetoric of the spokespersons or private reminiscences. Along the border between West Germany and Czechoslovakia, nostalgia became the crux of bustling tourism and pilgrimage activity that resulted in constant architectural interventions into the landscape of the Iron Curtain on its western side. These included lookout towers (*Grenzlandtürme*) and hilltop chapels that punctuated this new “Grenzwall von Gnadenstätten längs der böhmisch-bayerischen Grenze, beginnend am Dreisesselberg.”³⁵¹ To chronicle the long-term processes of their

itself felt well beyond the borders of the regional domain within it first made an impact (that of painting), and this without its having lost, to this day, any of its capacity to convey information or its power to attract” (Damisch, op. cit., xxii). He further suggests that the study of perspective “cannot be contained within the limits of any [one] discipline” (Damisch, op. cit., 84).

³⁵⁰ W. Hader, “Nach der Eingliederung: Einschmelzung oder Fortbestand der Volksgruppe?” *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 14, no. 1 (February 1967): 10 (appendix). Watzlick’s phrase refers to the need to maintain the focus of Sudeten German creative activity on *Heimat*.

³⁵¹ Karl Reiß, “Wallfahrten—Gnadenstätten—Heimattreffen: Kirche und Vertriebene bleiben in enger

emergence and ritual functions, the self-proclaimed “Generation des Heimwehs”³⁵² left behind a vast documentation of borderland pilgrimages in photography, travelogues, poetry, and fiction, interlaced on the pages of Sudeten German periodicals.

Effects of such refashioning of the borderland became especially palpable in the 1950s and 1960s. They coincided with the period when the German-German border was also taking its shape to culminate in the construction of the Berlin Wall starting in August 1961 and responded to these Cold War-era changes. In the words of a Sudeten German borderland visitor, solitary viewings of *Heimat* were rare, and expellee trips affected the entire infrastructure of the area, previously neither densely populated nor frequently visited. Testifying to the onset of the economic miracle and a fast-paced economic integration of the expellees, “[u]eberall [sic] standen, fuhren wieder zahlreiche Autos [...]. Alle diese Verkehrsmittel brachten neugierige Menschen in jene Straßen, die früher einmal nur ganz selten oder durch sie überhaupt nicht befahren wurden. Ueberall [sic] standen diese Menschen und starrten hinüber in das heimatliche Land” (Figure 18).³⁵³

Verbundenheit,” *Der Volksbote* 36, no. 1 (6 January 1984): 6. For a pioneering ethnographic study on the subject, see Karasek-Langer, “Neue Formelemente im bayerischen Wallfahrtswesen,” 103-107. For an thorough outline of all expellee pilgrimages constructed through 1968, see Schroubek, op. cit. Brenda Melendy’s dissertation contains a brief mention of expellee pilgrimages, with sources stemming nearly exclusively from Schroubek’s book. See Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 90-95. A regional survey of new cults in and around Cham in the Bavarian Forest is available in *Die Eingliederung der Heimatvertriebenen im Landkreis Cham: Eine Dokumentation des Landkreises Cham* (Furth im Wald: Perlinger Druck, 1988). I am indebted to Günter Bauernfeind, Landratsamt Cham, for making this publication available to me.

³⁵² Walli Richter, “Heimat hier und Heimat dort,” *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, 6 September 2002, 7.

³⁵³ Anon., “Grenzlandfahrt. Bericht für jene Heimatvertriebene, denen eine solche Begegnung nicht möglich ist,” *Egerer Zeitung* 11, no. 10 (25 May 1960): 144.



Figure 18. “In drei Personenwagen und 25 Autobussen fahren über tausend Angehörige der Ackermann-Gemeinde und der ‘Jungen Aktion’.”

To accommodate growing numbers of nostalgic border pilgrims, the new setting came to resemble some of the prosthetic structures meant to extend vision along the former boundaries between East and West Germany. Much like the Cold War-era scaffolding set up in West Berlin to allow foreign and domestic visitors to reach across the Berlin Wall visually, Sudeten German “Gebetswall,” as it was alternately known, was to facilitate looking.³⁵⁴ Yet unlike viewing points on the border between East and West Germany described by Daphne Berdahl, Sudeten German sites invited their visitors to do more than just “gaze down on and ponder the otherness of the East.”³⁵⁵

Nostalgia played a key role in constituting this difference. For real-life border visitors and their fictional counterparts, such as one in a story by a well-known author Sepp Skalitzky, the desire “in die Heimat zu schauen” meant, “sie wieder einmal mit den Augen zu besitzen.”³⁵⁶ The process of taking symbolic possession of “geraubte”

³⁵⁴ Josef Donner, ‘St. Anna-Wallfahrt Mähring 1981. Predigt beim Festgottesdienst’, *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 34, no. 398 (October 1981): 715.

³⁵⁵ Berdahl, *op. cit.*, 149.

³⁵⁶ Sepp Skalitzky, “Fremde Frau an der Grenze,” in *Dornenkron der Heimat* (Buxheim/Allgäu: Martin Verlag, 1961), 85.

Heimat became engrained in the yearly repetition of pilgrimages to the border and in the setting that expellees developed to host such rituals.³⁵⁷ While in the late 1940s the “Blick in die allgemeine Heimat” from any borderland location satisfied the pilgrims, by the early 1950s “Sehnsucht nach der Heimat [war] so übermächtig groß” that it demanded increasing local specificity.³⁵⁸ Moreover, it required new architectural structures to extend expellee vision. Consequently, from the early 1950s to the mid-1980s, southern parts the Iron Curtain on its western side were also construction sites that testified to the growing desire on the part of Sudeten expellees to compensate for the progressing dilapidation of *Heimat* across the divide.

Encapsulated in the so-called *Blick in die Heimat*, visual exercises that these sites encouraged constantly shifted between wishful projection of images of intact *Heimat* onto the razed and barren border landscape across the Iron Curtain, on the one hand, and recognition of *Heimat*’s irrevocable and uncanny changes, on the other.³⁵⁹ For those caught between the desire to return and acceptance of the status quo, erasure of the *Heimat* landscape, its transformation into “eine tote Landschaft, verwildert, verwahrlost, ohne jedes Leben” (von Lutzau, 12) was anything but

³⁵⁷ “Geraubt” has been one of the most persistent attributes of *Heimat* in various genres of expellee writing. In regard to the present context, see, for example, A. Sch., “Ein schöner Blick in dei geraubte Heimat,” *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 18, no. 215 (July 1966): 580 and Dr. H., “Heimat, wie war ich Dir nah’...” *Egerer Zeitung* 10, no. 2 (25 February 1959): 5.

Although is possible to interpret yearly pilgrimages of the expellees through the prism of Freudian psychoanalysis (e.g. within the framework of mourning and melancholia), such an approach would detract from this chapter’s focus on visuality and pin down nostalgia in negative terms.

³⁵⁸ Willi Junker, ‘Die Mähringer Feiertage 1966’, *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 18, no. 217 (September 1966): 708 and Hanni Zörkendörfer, “Sehnsucht nach der Heimat,” *Marienbader Heimatbrief* 22 (July 1950): 7-8, respectively.

³⁵⁹ Nostalgia—associated in colloquial and academic discourses with distortion, myopia, emotional intensity, irrationality, and a multitude of other debilitating effects on both the exterior and interior of the subject—invites a careful consideration of its visual manifestations that cannot possibly be limited to domination and control. To reflect this observation and avoid terminological conflation of the *Blick* with “the gaze,” the unambiguously menacing and power-driven functions of which are well-known from the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre, Jaques Lacan, Guy Debord, and post-structuralist historians and/or film theorists such as Martin Jay, Kaja Silverman, Laura Mulvey, to name only a few, I have kept the original German *Blick* throughout. Elsewhere, I have suggested that the context of vision and power can be relevant for interpreting the *Blick in die Heimat*, yet these earlier observations lie outside of the scope of this chapter. See my “Border Looking: The Cold War Visuality of the Sudeten German Expellees and Its Afterlife,” *German Life and Letters* 57, no. 4 (October 2004): 401-426.

effacement of *Heimat im Herzen*. Heralding the *Bild der Heimat* as one of the central components of expellee visual imagery, Sudeten Germans interiorized *Heimat* akin to Hofer's patients, insisting, "was das Auge trotz Fernglas nicht erfassen kann, entsteht bildhaft und fast greifbar in uns."³⁶⁰ The sensory pairing of optic trajectories and their tenuously haptic parallels propels the visual element of these borderland practices beyond its own limit.

Along with photographs or illustrated border reports poems (many titled "Blick über die Grenze") published in *Heimatblätter* provided an influential source of documenting and popularizing these sensory responses. One such poem, *Heimat-Sehnen*, was disseminated among expellee readership in 1964, a year when Czechoslovakia opened its borders to Western tourists, allowing Sudeten German expellees to visit their former *Heimat*.³⁶¹ Its text therefore reads as a timely expression of the tension between *Heimat* seen and remembered, between *Sehen* and *Sehnen*. In the opening, the lyrical 'I' assumes the position of those expellees—oftentimes found among the readership of borderland reports—who could not travel and see for themselves. Consequently, the nagging desire to catch yet another glimpse of *Heimat* permeates the first three stanzas of the poem. In the first verse especially, the alliterative moaning of *einmal*, *meinem*, *möchte*, and *nochmal* echo the phonemic make-up of *Heimat* itself to communicate the urgency of longing:³⁶²

Noch einmal in meinem Leben
möcht ich meine Heimat sehn,

³⁶⁰ Anon., "Geleitwort zum Heimattreffen 1953 in Mähiring," *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 5, no. 59 (July 1953): 469.

³⁶¹ Josef Weitzer, "Heimat-Sehnen," *Der Egerländer* 15, no. 12 (December 1964): 331

³⁶² Cf. Yuri Lotman's observation on the relationship between specific phonemes and construction of meaning in poetry: "In natural language, lexico-semantic meaning is inherent only in the word. In poetry, the word is broken down into segments, from morpheme to phoneme, and each of these segments obtains independent meaning. The word is simultaneously divided and not divided." Yuri Lotman, *Analysis of the Poetic Text*, trans. D. Barton Johnson (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1976), 50. In other words, in poetic language phonemes arguably perform a role more important than they do in natural language.

möchte gerne alle Wege
meiner Kindheit nochmals gehn!

Seit man mich aus ihr vertrieben,
nagt in mir ein steter Schmerz;
all mein Sehnen, all mein Sinnen
gehet [sic] seitdem heimatwärts.

Zwar hab ich ein Heim gefunden,
ein Daheim im fremden Land,
wo ich mich geborgen fühle,—
doch es ist kein Heimatland.

Rhyming in the first stanza, *sehnen* and *gehen* are, to invoke Yuri Lotman, not just “a conjunction of two separate utterances, but [...] two modes of saying the same thing.”³⁶³ As a result, *sehnen* is not a form of stasis, but a kinetic and directional sensory trajectory. Visual emphases, with which repetitions of *sehen* punctuate Weitzer’s text, and the ways in which they engage their reader undercut literary critical attributions of sheer metaphoricity to textual perspectivism. In narratological treatments of perspective, understood as narrative viewpoint and voice, perspective’s manifestations within the text are meant to be radically different from the shape actual vision takes once the reader closes the book. For example, in his classic study of poetics Tzvetan Todorov stresses that “literary perspectives do not concern the reader’s real perception, which always remains variable and depends on factors external to the work; but a perception presented within this work[...].”³⁶⁴ By contrast, Weitzer’s piece, along with many a borderland poem authored by Sudeten Germans in the course of the Cold War, thrives on the reader’s nostalgia to stimulate as well as simulate perception of *Heimat* and to provide, albeit not always successfully, a viewpoint that transcends its own poetic limits and spills into the visual.

Modalities of *Sehen* and *Sehnen*, buttressed by the deictic *gehen* in the first

³⁶³ Lotman, *Analysis of the Poetic Text.*, 58.

³⁶⁴ Tzvetan Todorov, *Introduction to Poetics*, trans. Richard Howard (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 32.

two verses, thus acquire dynamic features that propel both the lyrical ‘I’—and with him, the reader—in his quest for *Heimat* and the flow of the poem.³⁶⁵ The futility of his search condenses in the emphatic absence of *Heimat* at the end of the third stanza—a turning point that both invites the remaining three strophes and posits the starkest contrast to them. Here, the structure of the poem brings a *Freund* and interlocutor of the lyrical ‘I’ in dialogue with the expelled reader. Initially a proxy between the ‘friend’ and the reader, the ‘I’ implores: “Freund! Du sahst nach vielen Jahren/ unsre Heimat jetzt als Gast./ Sag! Wie war es? Sag die Wahrheit,/ welchen Eindruck du nun hast?” Yet the answer of the imaginary friend requires no mediation. Instead, it introduces a second perspective—the latter will become especially meaningful in my later discussion of anamorphosis—on the dialogic level that fragments the ‘I’ within the text. While still in dialogue with the ‘I,’ the friend’s response now embraces the reader in semblance of a direct address: “Ewigschönes Bild der Heimat!—/ Halt es fest im Herzen dein!—/ Unsere Heimat liegt in Ketten!/ Wo du hinschaust: Wüstenei’n! [...]” As the ‘friend’ responds both to the lyrical ‘I’ and to the implicit reader, he takes it upon himself to saturate the bare visual landscape of the poem—limited to the abstract *sehen* in the first two strophes—with visual imagery.

Rather than resolving the interior tension that the nostalgic lyrical ‘I’ experiences, this saturation produces another conflict. First of all, it erases physical *Heimat* by channeling it into a plurality of blank and derelict *Wüstenei’n*. *Heimat*, here no longer a physical referent, becomes an empty canvas onto which the ‘friend’ projects unfading mental images. In his response, the *Eindruck* that so urgently punctuates the question in stanza four is reconfigured not as a fleeting impression but as a near-photographic imprint on the heart, reminiscent of Hofer’s *Heimat* etched

³⁶⁵ I address the role of deixis further in this chapter.

into one's nostalgic interior. Second, references to *Schmerz* that frame the poem now extend the conflict into the realm of diasporicity, since the poem codes the causes of this pain in several ways. Whereas in the third verse *Schmerz* rhymes with *heimatwärts*, a trajectory suggestive of healing and promised relief, the last strophe reverses this direction. Contrary to the declaration "doch es ist kein Heimatland," which betrays an oblique hint of expellee diasporicity in the third strophe, the final verse attempts a return to the *gesamtdeutsch* streak of expellee culture: "Man vertrieb uns aus der Heimat,/ weil für Deutschland schlug das Herz./ Deutschland haben wir gewonnen,/ und dies mindert allen Schmerz!" Rather than visually and culturally extending the lyrical 'I' or presenting the reader with a synthesis of disparate perspectives, the pronouncements of the anonymous 'friend' end the poem with an unresolved antithesis.

Engaging the audience through rhetoric and vivid references to the visual impact of the current state of *Heimat*, such impressions published in the aftermath of borderland trips were frequently riddled with conflicting undertones. They mixed political revisionism and its close inspections of *Heimat* in order to "einmal wiedersehen und neu aufbauen" with mournful acknowledgements that *Heimat* was lost: "[d]as Bild der Heimat, wie wir es alle noch [...] im Herzen tragen, gibt es nicht mehr. Die Heimat ist anders geworden."³⁶⁶ In many of these texts, the haptic availability of *Heimat* turns out to be but an illusion: *Heimat* is only "fast greifbar." Its thwarted recuperation is especially vivid in a report from a young Sudeten German looking at the *Heimat* with his son. "Mein Blick ging über die wohlbekanntesten Höhen," he wrote, "über Dörfer und Städte, die so friedlich und greifbar nahe lagen. Doch das Bild täuschte, denn so manches Dorf birgt kein Leben mehr und die

³⁶⁶ See R.H., "Der Sudetendeutsche: seine Aufgabe und sein Ziel. Nur eine unabhängige und überparteiliche Zeitung kann heute im Ausland wirken," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 7, no. 23 (5 June 1954): 7 and Herbert Spitz, "Wirklichkeit oder Illusion der Heimkehr? Beitrag eines jungen Sudetendeutschen mit Sinn für die Realität der Gegenwart," *Der Sudetendeutsche* 7, no. 6 (6 February 1954): 2.

fremden Menschen, die dort wohnen, leben ein Leben ohne rechte Zufriedenheit.”³⁶⁷

The illusory quality attached to the *Bild der Heimat* and its relationships to the *Blick in die Heimat* has particular significance for the discussion of connections between nostalgia and perspective further in this chapter.

5. “Sehnsucht, die Türme baut”: ‘*The Center of Europe*’ as a Viewing Point

Although the Iron Curtain may appear to have been an unlikely holiday destination, its proximity to *Heimat* redefined the appeal of sightseeing for Sudeten German visitors across generations.³⁶⁸ In the early 1960s, its indubitable attraction warranted no questions other than a rhetorical: “Wen zog die Sehnsucht nicht schon in seinem Urlaub wieder einmal in die Nähe der Grenze?”³⁶⁹ Border reports (*Grenzlandberichte*) became a vertiable genre in the Sudeten German mass media during the Cold War era. The leitmotif of *Heimweh* and *Sehnsucht* ran through one such 1964 account, whose author chose a generic expellee figure to explicate his own seemingly unconventional travel plans: “Trotzdem er auch längst wieder in seinem Aufnahmeland ein geachteter und vielleicht auch schon wieder zu irdischem Besitz gelangter ‘Neubürger’ ist, trieb ihn das Heimweh, um auch nur einen Blick hinweg über die Hügel und die vertrauten Fluren des Grenzlandes werfen zu können.”³⁷⁰ The nostalgic *Blick* and *Bild der Heimat* alternate to superimpose past and present as well as remove physical markers of the Cold War division: “[a]lles Vergangene ließ [...]

³⁶⁷ Rudi Marterer, “Der Blick nach drüben,” *Jahrbuch der Egerländer* (1964): 88.

³⁶⁸ One of the goals of borderland trips was to cultivate loyalty to *Heimat* in those whom the *Bundesvertriebenengesetz* defined as second- and third-generation expellees. Many undertook kilometer-long journeys “[d]amit unsere jungen Landsleute, wenn beim Treffen oder bei einem Treffen klare Sicht herrscht, einen umfassenden Blick in die Heimat ihrer Eltern und Landsleute tun können und begreifen, warum die Älteren gar so gerne von der verlorenen Heimat sprechen und träumen.” A. Sch., “Ein schöner Blick in die geraubte Heimat,” *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 18, no. 215 (July 1966): 580.

³⁶⁹ kam., “Gedanken zur Öffnung der tschechoslowakischen Grenze,” *Egerer Zeitung* 15:4 (25 February 1964): 58.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

dieses Schauen, hinweg über die Betonhöcker, vorbei an den Wachtürmen wieder lebendig erscheinen.” Yet longing also harnessed, rather than merely discounted, the presence of the seemingly impenetrable barrier. Endowing nostalgia with agency of its own, the report held longing accountable for the changing appearance of the Iron Curtain on its western side: “Sehnsucht war es ja auch, die den Gedanken verwirklichte, einen Turm auf einer Anhöhe zu erbauen, der wenigstens einen Blick in die vertraute, uns geraubte Stadt ermöglichen soll.” In the scheme of nostalgic vision that such elevations were to provide, *Blick in die Heimat* and *Bild der Heimat* became blended to the point of inextricability.

Sudeten German regional papers often commented upon how between the late nineteenth century and the expulsion ubiquitous lookout towers—the Bismarck Tower near Grünberg in the vicinity of Eger/Cheb, the Peindl tower near Neudeck, and the Kudlich tower—allowed Sudeten Germans to survey and worship the *Heimat* landscape.³⁷¹ Consequently, the papers printed announcements of the ongoing refashioning in the borderland side by side with reports about the deliberate destruction or slow decay and abandonment of those older *Heimat* edifices. Promoted in print, new structures springing up along the Iron Curtain extended not only the visual range of what the expellee visitors could see by pushing the horizon line ever further. Metaphorically they were an extension of *Heimat* itself.

Looking was thus both the means that spurred the construction of these new sites and their end. Inscribing their origins in the desire to see, an expellee clergyman noted that the this need was an essential first step: “Zuerst mußten wir beim Blick in die alte Heimat wahrnehmen, wie Dörfer und Kirchen und Denkmäler zerstört wurden oder verfielen.” Only then “[a]us Gläubigkeit, aus Liebe zu den

³⁷¹ See “Die Habsburg-Warte auf dem Altvater,” *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* 30:5 (30 January 1987), 7; “Unser Turm,” *Altvater* (September-October 1953): 7; jv, “Der Bismarkturm am Grünberg,” *Egerer Zeitung* 40, no. 8 (August 1989): 138; Bartl, op. cit., 68-69.

Heimatheiligen und aus Opferbereitschaft sind wir [...] darangegangen, diesseits der Grenze neue Heiligtümer und Gnadenstätten zu errichten.”³⁷² The hyperreal dimension of these sites, built “stellvertretend für all die heute dem Verfall preisgegebenen Wallfahrtsorte der alten Heimat,” is yet another significant departure from the principles behind the structures located at inter-German borders.³⁷³ On the one hand, while replicating the overall appearance or, as I discuss in Chapter One, the exact dimensions of their razed or decaying originals, Sudeten German borderland structures often ended up being simulacra producing realities of their own.

On the other hand, both *Grenzwall* and *Gebetswall* were terms that reflected the extraordinarily ambitious scope of the Sudeten German project, another goal of which was to replicate and mirror the Iron Curtain itself. Even more significantly, Sudeten expellees as a group imagined themselves to reflect the contours of these new developments in the landscape of the Cold War. Once again invoking Europe’s barbarian past to remind of their interwar mission as *Grenzlanddeutsche*, they summoned their alleged “Fähigkeit der bewährtesten ‘Limes’ des deutschen Volkes.”³⁷⁴ As self-designated wardens of “die Angel des Abendlandes” they extended their war-time role as a “Bollwerk des Deutschtums gegen den Osten”³⁷⁵ to watch over the western, Christian margin of Cold War Europe.³⁷⁶

Published in 1959, an anonymous contribution to a rubric chronicling several

³⁷² Donner, loc. cit.

³⁷³ E. Sö. “...und droben steht die Kapelle’: Einweihung der Kapelle ‘Maria Frieden’ am 14. Juli 1963,” *Egerer Zeitung* 14, no. 16 (25 August 1963): 255.

³⁷⁴ Karl Welser, “Noch lebt die Volksgruppe”, *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 25, no. 2 (April 1978): 226.

³⁷⁵ Dr. H., op., cit., 17.

³⁷⁶ See, respectively, Welser, loc. cit., and Wilhelm Pleyer, “Sudetendeutsch: In Sachen Deutschlands,” *Europas unbekanntes Mitte—Ein politisches Lesebuch* (Munich: Bogen Verlag, 1957), 22. Pleyer, as well-known political pamphletist, relates the so-called *Volkskampf* of Sudeten Germans to its “größte Vorgängerschaften,” one of them being “die Schlacht auf den Katalaunischen Feldern, in der ein rein germanisch-römisches Heer die Hunnen schlug und Europa vor dem Ansturm Asiens rettete.” Op. cit., 23. Pleyer, who started his career in the Third Reich, was one of the most vocal supporters of the continued *Volkskampf* and the return of ethnic Germans to a ‘German Sudetenland’.

years of work on one of the most popular borderland towers, the so-called *Turm der Heimat* in Neualbenreuth in the Bavarian Forest, sequences the stages in the emergence of these new sites.³⁷⁷ The text starts with the suggestion that the power of nostalgia to attract (*ziehen*) derives from its ability to proffer a visual experience. “Für unsere Menschen ist es in erster Linie die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat,” writes the author, “die sie in diese Gegend zieht. Die unmittelbare Nähe unseres Egerlandes und die Hoffnung, einen Blick nach ‘drüben’ werfen zu können, sind ein Anreiz, dem man nicht widerstehen kann.” At the crux of this experience lies a carefully steered, purposeful *Blick* that, instead of roaming on vast vistas, targets and magnifies specific “Einzelziele”:

Weit hinein ins Land geht unser Blick zu den heimatlichen Städten und Dörfern. Links liegt Eger, dann Franzensbad, Oberlohma, Haslau, im Hintergrund Schönberg mit dem Kapellenberg; nach rechts schauen wir in Richtung Frauenreuth, Mühlessen, bis rüber an den Kulmer Berg; im Vordergrund liegen Palitz, Palitzhübel [...]. Mit einem guten Glase kann man freilich auch viele Einzelziele erkennen.

Meticulously pointing to each of the four directions of *Heimat*, the description does more than provide an extensive list of locations visible through binoculars. Its stratification of *Heimat* into distinct visual planes creates a nearly pictorial impression. The latter communicates *Heimat*'s receding layers, arranged from the clearly identified foreground toward the background.

Alluding to one of nostalgia's many doublings—manifest not only in the dyad *Abschied/Wiedersehen*, but in the recurrent emphasis on *Wieder-sehen* itself—the author continues: “Als wir damals aus der Heimat gingen, blieb uns keine Zeit zum Abschiednehmen von den alten vertrauten Stätten. Hier können wir Abschied nehmen und Wiedersehen feiern zugleich, wenn es auch nur ein Wiedersehen aus der Ferne

³⁷⁷ Anon., “...steht meiner Heimat Haus”, *Egerer Zeitung* 10, no. 9 (10 May 1959): 123.

bedeutet.” The passage makes it clear that access to *Heimat* distinguishes Sudeten Germans from other expellee groups: “Uns es ist ein Trost, zu wissen, daß die Heimat wenigstens zu erschauen ist, daß wir überhaupt die Möglichkeit im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen haben, einen Blick dorthin zu tun.”

Here the discussion pivots on the interplay between visibility and invisibility. The relationship between these two became a prominent motif in Sudeten German responses to chronological intersections between their borderland construction and the increasing physical separation between the two German states and the blocs alike. In the discussion of the Neualbenreuth site, the author anticipates the Berlin Wall and positions Sudeten German experiences as uniquely significant in the context of the Cold War. In his mind, their importance stems from their preoccupation with the (in)visibility of both the barrier and that which is behind it: “Vieles hat Menschenhand vermocht, aber neben der unsichtbaren eine sichtbare Mauer zu errichten, über die jeglicher Blick und Ausblick verwehrt ist, dazu war sie bisher doch nicht imstande.” The inability to register boundaries visually of boundaries has wide-reaching effect. The following description highlights the openness of the landscape where neither the Iron Curtain nor the Sudeten German *Grenzwall* functions as a “sichtbare Mauer.” The seeming immateriality of these borders prefaces the first mention of the lookout tower: “An dieser Stelle, die wie keine zweite einen derart allumfassenden Überblick gestattet, wird die ‘Tillenwarte’ stehen. Ein 22 Meter hoher Aussichtsturm wird unseren Landsleuten erlauben, noch weiter hineinzusehen in das Land—unser Heimatland.” Instead of drawing attention to the new materiality of the borderland imminent in the advent of a new structure, the passage shifts attention to the haptic materiality of the *Blick* itself. Described as *allumfassend*, it is saturated with undertones of capturing, embracing, and touching.

It is here that the fragment betrays some slippage between two key elements

of Sudeten German borderland visuality: *Blick in die Heimat* and its counterpart, *Bild der Heimat*. While making it clear that the *Bild* is not a direct outcome of the *Blick*, the article implies an inseparable bond between the two. Weaving together nostalgia, Cold War imagery, and a political focus on the return to *Heimat*, the author sums up:

Ganz gleich wie das Schicksal entscheidet, vergessen und verblasen wird das Bild der Heimat niemals und daß es uns vergönnt ist, ein Zipfelchen des großen undurchdringlich erscheinenden Vorhanges zurückzuziehen und hinzuschauen auf unser nur schlafendes Egerland, dafür wollen wir dem da droben, der die Geschicke der Welt lenkt, dankbar sein.

Via its emphasis on the fabric of the Iron Curtain that openly contradicts an earlier commentary on its immateriality, the quote points to a slippage between the *Blick in die Heimat* and the nostalgic, near-photographic *Bild der Heimat*.



Figure 19. “Ein seltsam anmutendes Bild.”

Whereas preparations around the Turm der Heimat in Neualbenreuth could only anticipate the Berlin Wall, the tower’s coincidental opening in the July of 1961 invited a large number of comments about the role of expellee interventions in the

Cold War. Anniversaries of the tower, meticulously celebrated among ethnic German users from Eger/Cheb and adjacent areas, provided vantage points for such speculations. On one such occasion fifteen years after the tower's opening, a patron suggested, "das Schicksal habe es gewollt [...], daß der Grenzlandturm im gleichen Jahr gebaut wurde wie die Mauer in Berlin. Sei die Mauer aber aus Furcht und Haß gebaut worden, ist der Grenzlandturm in Liebe und Sehnsucht errichtet worden."³⁷⁸ More than a mere longing for *Heimat*, *Sehnsucht* was now a force that inserted the expellees into Cold War terrain. By the mid-1960s, *Sehnsucht* drove Sudeten Germans to the border in overwhelming numbers: "Auto um Auto mit Landsleuten, die von Heimatsehnsucht erfüllt sind" streamed toward the massive structure hovering over Bavarian farm fields (Figure 19).

In Neualbenreuth facilitating the *Blick* appeared to have been a priority. This was in contrast to another prominent borderland shrine located in nearby Mähring (Figure 20), where a small 1953 replica of the St. Anna pilgrimage church left behind in Plan/Planá preceded a tower, which was added only after the expansion of 1967. From here, "[d]ie Grenze, die von Menschen gezogen wurde," enthused a visitor, "gilt nicht für unsere Augen und unseren Geist."³⁷⁹ Those who endorsed the Neualbenreuth *Turm der Heimat* a decade later reversed the sequence of construction at the site in Mähring. They demonstrated that the visual investment alone sufficed to make the place into a pilgrimage site. As a result, the proximate chapel Maria Frieden followed only in 1963. Accordingly, the ascent of the tower to the status of a pilgrimage site derived not from the presence of a proper religious structure, but from the sanctification of *Heimat* itself. "Da erhebt sich das von Waldbergen eingesäumte Egerland," meditated a pilgrim, "und wird uns zu dem, was es uns auf all den

³⁷⁸ A.P., "15 Jahre Grenzlandturm in Neualbenreuth," *Egerer Zeitung* 27, no. 10 (October 1976): 135.

³⁷⁹ Maria Kluhs, "Dank an Neualbenreuth," *Egerer Zeitung* 30, no. 5 (May 1979): 64. In the late 1960s, Neualbenreuth must have still been a pilgrimage site the popularity of which was limited to the expellee circles, since it is not listed in Schroubek's otherwise extensive study.

‘Wallfahrten’ nach Neualbenreuth schon lange geworden ist, zum ‘Gnadenbild’.³⁸⁰
“Bild der Heimat” was thus not only a mental image but also a devotional image, presented “wie im gläsernen Schrein” before the eyes of its Sudeten German devotees.³⁸¹ At the time when Cold War divides in and outside Berlin were increasingly losing their porosity, the tower was to allow expellees to retain maximal visual access to *Heimat* as both *Gnadenbild* and *Bild*.



Figure 20. Chapel exterior, St. Anna Chapel, Mähring.

Despite its alleged origins in love and nurture, the tin-and-wood siding of the tower’s exaggerated stairwell, its massive octagonal upper platform, and its isolated location across the border from its concrete-and-steel Czechoslovak counterparts

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Herbert Wessely, “Blick über die Grenze,” in *Jahrbuch der Egerländer* (1957), 30.

evokes a hermetic dungeon from a distant past rather than a home away from home (Figure 21). At first glance, the structure of the tower suggests a possibility of total vision while ensuring the viewer's total invisibility. It gestures toward trappings of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, the exhaustive consideration of which in Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* laid open the dynamic between vision and power.³⁸² However, while spectres of mastery over Eastern Europe haunt expellee political pronouncements to the extent that may suggest a direct link between borderland structures and panopticism, deficiencies of nostalgic vision de-center such an unambiguous interpretation of the tower's vertical thrust.



Figure 21. Exterior, Heimat Tower, Neualbenreuth.

The context of mutual surveillance in the Cold War conditioned the impossibility of unchallenged panopticism. Wherever Sudeten German visitors

³⁸² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 195-228.

directed their Blick or aimed their binoculars, they were aware of being in what Lacan would have called the “scopic register” of those who watched them from across the divide (Lacan 106). As one of the speeches delivered at the opening ceremony of the tower made clear, “dem Turm der Heimat stehen, deutlich und unübersehbar genug, die Wachttürme der Soldateska des Moskauer Kremls gegenüber.”³⁸³ To counter such conspicuous prominence, in sites such as the Turm der Heimat Sudeten expellees set out to disrupt the visual asymmetry characteristic of surveillance. Rather than being an “appropriating gaze” that recuperates and reinstates the unchanging and boundless landscape of Heimat,³⁸⁴ the Sudeten German Blick operated within parameters of contact and exchange, imagined and physical alike. Snapshots captured face-to-face encounters with Czechoslovak guards and presented an occasion to comment on the immediacy of Sudeten German visual interventions (Figure 22).

³⁸³ Anon., “Hoch ragt der Turm der Heimat,” *Der Egerländer* 12, no. 8 (August 1961): 176.

³⁸⁴ On the role of vision in colonization of space, see John Noyes, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915* (Chur and Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), 164ff.



Figure 22. “So wurden wir von den Tschechen ‘bewacht’.”

In the words of Leni Wunderlich, a devoted chronicler of the Neualbenreuth and its most faithful bard,

Man hat weder Waffen noch Wehr ihm vertraut [sic].
Ein Turm, nur zu schauen ins weite Land,
In die Heimat, die liebe, aus der wir verbannt!³⁸⁵

Vignettes meant to document the significance of the visual confrontation staged at Neualbenreuth between Sudeten Germans and the surveillance regime of the Eastern bloc framed the lifespan of the Berlin Wall. Not limited to their coincidental founding in the summer of 1961, the connection between the Wall and the *Turm der Heimat* extended into November 1989, so that the chronology of viewings from Neualbenreuth echoed both the construction and the collapse of the Wall. Among a

³⁸⁵ Leni Wunderlich, “Zur Einweihung des Grenzlandturmes,” *Egerer Zeitung* 12, no. 10 (25 May 1961): 151.

large number of poetic responses to borderland visits, written by authors who ranged from rank-and-file expellee association members to much better known literary figures such as Ilse Tielsch and Sepp Skalitzky, one in particular zooms in on the intersection between the allegedly dreamy expellee *Blick* and surveillance. Titled “Abend an der Grenze/ČSSR,” Alois Wanka’s piece conjures up the hushed sounds and muted colors of a twilight to simulate and augment the sensory experience of the border. Anaphoric refrains that either frame or open its stanzas create a kind of aural environment that invites the hearing and seeing reader to roam in three-dimensional space of the borderland. With traces of the lyrical ‘I’ evacuated, the text reads as a poetic illustration, the growing intensity of which directs the reader beyond language. Anticipating the poem’s recurrent shifts between distance and proximity, the introductory lines conjure up an illusion of depth by engaging the reader’s hearing:

Von fern her tönen die Glocken.
Der Abend zieht heimlich ins Land.
Der Mond scheint die Sterne zu locken.
Vom Tal steigt ein nebliges Band.³⁸⁶

From this sonic landscape, the visual component slowly emerges as the second verse changes the patterns of its repetitions to begin with an emphatic negation: “Kein Licht ist mehr zu sehen./ Kein Laut stört mehr die Ruh,/ Nur das Rascheln der schlafenden Blätter/ Und das Rauschen des Wassers dazu.”

The natural setting of the macroscopic *Mond* and *Tal*, underscored, in the second stanza, by the alliterative microscopic “Rascheln der schlafenden Blätter” and “Rauschen des Wassers” sets a stage for the dyad of *fern* and *nah* in which the poem unfolds. Our aural impressions seem to recede along with the dwindling scale on which Wanka represents nature, and the second strophe symptomatically leaves the

³⁸⁶ Alois Wanka, “Abend an der Grenze/ČSSR,” *Egerer Zeitung* 40, no. 11 (November 1989): 210.

reader with “[k]ein Licht ist mehr zu sehen” and “[k]ein Laut.” At the same time, this recession creates a pause before the third stanza, where the subject matter is much further removed from the viewer than the familiar realm of nature. Despite its deceptive parallelism to the introductory line of the poem (“Von fern her tönen die Glocken” versus “Von der Grenze am Tillen im Osten”), it undoes the scenery of the first two stanzas and altogether denatures the borderland environment:

Von der Grenze am Tillen im Osten
Ein Blinken der östlichen Macht.
Ein Zöllner steht stumm auf dem Posten.
Eine Streife, die die Grenze bewacht.

Here, “[e]in Blinken” of security towers across from the Iron Curtain both debunks the earlier “[k]ein Licht ist mehr zu sehen” and gestures toward the slippage between *blinken* and *blicken*, rendering the latter in the last word of the strophe as *bewacht*. The border to *Heimat* becomes the site where visual encounters between the blocs crystallize. Wanka’s final strophe juxtaposes *Mächte* with *Träume* to suggest that the expellees represent dreams instead of allying themselves with any given power: “Da treffen sich Mächte und Träume/ An der Grenze zum Egerer Land.”

As the poem suggests, while adopting the landscape on the western side of the Iron Curtain and adapting it to their needs, Sudeten Germans positioned themselves with regard to surveillance, the visual exercise eminently associated with the Cold War. However, their role in situ was, unlike in Wanka’s poem, far from limited to dreams antithetical to power and, by implication, conflict. Communicating with the remote yet all-important towers of Moscow, Sudeten German visual patrol of their *Heimat* reinforced and even surpassed the efficiency of West German border troops supposedly limited to looking out for much more proximate targets.³⁸⁷ As they

³⁸⁷ Some border reports point to an often distrustful attitude of the West German police to Sudeten

imagined themselves disrupting the radical visual asymmetry of panoptic surveillance, the expellees strove to strike a balance between seeing and being visible—literally and figuratively—both in situ and in their scramble to retain prominence in West German and international politics.

Previous adaptations of the landscape under the Hapsburg rule seemed to facilitate their efforts to maintain this balance. When reporting from the border, many were convinced to be looking—as well as making themselves visible—from the “geographischen Mittelpunkt Europas,” now inexplicably relegated to the margins of the Cold War-era West.³⁸⁸ Once a trigonometric point for land surveys that Austro-Hungarian authorities conducted in the area between 1865 and 1873, the Tillen, a hill adjacent to Neualbenreuth, evolved into one of the principal attraction points on the route of pilgrims commonly touring the borderland from south to north. Marked by a granite stele, the hilltop retained its significance well after surveying operations ended and became locally known as the Mittelpunkt Europas (Figure 23). And while in the course of the Cold War redrawing the contours of Europe and Asia held renewed appeal across borders and disciplines, frequently making such centers perambulate from one Central European locale to another, these changes had little influence on Sudeten German geographies.

German border visitors in the early years of the Cold War. By the early 1960s, however, “Ihr früheres Mißtrauen hat sich in Freundlichkeit umgewandelt. Noch mehr, sie achten auf ihre deutschen Brüder und Schwestern, damit diesen kein Leid zustößt, stehen ihnen mit Rat und Tat zur Seite, wenn es notwendig erscheint.” See “Grenzlandfahrt. Bericht für jene Heimatvertriebene, denen eine solche Begegnung nicht möglich ist,” *Egerer Zeitung* 11, no. 10 (25 May 1960): 144.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.



Figure 23. The “Center of Europe” (1985), Tillen.

Accordingly, although some expellees acknowledged the difficult task of determining the exact coordinates of Europe’s center, the symbolic importance of the Tillen remained largely unchallenged. In 1985, Sudeten expellees joined Neualbenreuth locals in a celebration of the opening of a new granite post to mark Europe’s center, since after the demise of the Iron Curtain the original stele remained in Czechoslovakia, close yet inaccessible from the western side.³⁸⁹ A Sudeten German participant of the fest noted that the stone “erinnert[e] an die Vermessungen des K. u. k.-Vermessungsamtes in Wien aus dem Jahr 1865.”³⁹⁰ The latter, the report

³⁸⁹ A plaque at the new stone makes an important qualifying statement: “Früher wie heute gilt ‘Tillenberg’ zentraler Punkt in der Mitte Europas. Exakt die Mitte eines Kontinents zu bestimmen ist nicht möglich, denn das Ergebnis fällt je nach den Voraussetzungen, von denen man für die Messung ausgeht, unterschiedlich aus. Eine Absolute Wahrheit gibt es nicht.’ Französisches Institut für Geographie, Paris 1984.”

³⁹⁰“Feier am Mittelpunkt Europas,” *Egerer Zeitung* 36, no. 12 (1985): 220.

insisted, established the central location of the Tillen that “in diesen Jahren immer wieder die Geschichte des Kontinents widerspiegelte.” Official voices lent legitimacy to such private observations. During the ceremony itself, Helmut Fischer, a representative of the *Egerer Landtag*, a political and cultural umbrella organization uniting expellees from the area of Eger/Cheb, described the Tillen as a “Schicksalsberg der Egerländer und bestätigte die Mittelpunktfunktion für die Menschen diesseits und jenseits der Grenze.”³⁹¹ As they underscored the importance of the Tillen, Sudeten Germans by extension placed emphasis on centrality of one of their foremost Cold War pilgrimage sites. Furthermore, such accounts portrayed the Iron Curtain as a hub, rather than a periphery, of the continent and the conflict alike.

Yet the Tillen may have retained its questionable status among Sudeten Germans for yet another reason. Doubting its function as Europe’s *Mittelpunkt* would have been paramount to questioning the centrality of proximate *Heimat* itself—*Heimat* that revisionist political writings located not only “im Herzen” but “im Herzen Europas.”³⁹² Wilhelm Pleyer, an ardent promoter of the Sudetenland as “Europe’s unknown center,” resorted to compasses to encircle Europe around his *Heimat*:

Daß Eger in Böhmen, ob auch im westlichsten, der räumliche Mittelpunkt Deutschlands, nämlich des geschlossenen deutschen Siedlungsgebietes in Europa sei, wird jedem Deutschen unwahrscheinlich sein. Schlägt man jedoch die Karte von Mitteleuropa auf, setzt den Zirkel im Punkte Eger ein und mißt jedesmal in Richtung und

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² “Heimat im Herzen Europas” is an expression that Sudeten Germans frequently used to argue for centrality of the so-called “sudetendeutsche Frage” (referring both to the return of the expellees and attendant changes in political organization of the area) in postwar Europe. See “Niemandland im Herzen Europas. Ein Blick über die Böhmerwaldgrenze in die entseelte Heimat—Stacheldrahtverhaue, Minenfelder und Bunker...” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 5, no. 14 (12 April 1952): 3.

Gegenrichtung, dann findet man: Eger
liegt genau in der Mitte zwischen Trier
und Ratibor, zwischen Stettin und
Bozen, zwischen Cuxhaven und
Marburg an der Drau [...] ³⁹³

In the poem's opening, millimeters that measure centrality of *Heimat* do not just underscore this *Heimat*'s symbolic importance. By positing Eger/Cheb as an allegedly indispensable "räumliche[n] Mittelpunkt Deutschlands," the poem disguises a well-known political agenda focused on reclaiming territories to the east of the Iron Curtain. At the same time, the concluding lines go much further than this narrow focus of expellee politics. They invoke a mutual dependence between the expellee rhetoric and the rhetoric of Cold War polarity. Having enumerated European cities on the circumference that his compasses describe, Pleyer delegates an impersonal "man," rather than his lyrical "I," to walk from his *Heimat* town to the border: "Andererseits steht man, von Eger nach/ Osten ausschreitend, am dritten Tage/ an der tschechischen Volksgrenze [...]." Arriving at the end of this evidently staggeringly short journey as well as the poem itself, Pleyer's "man" is not only delegated to convey authoritatively the hard facts of this "ungewöhnliche Nachbarschaft." He becomes a messenger whose task is to relate the latter to one of "der brennendsten Fragen Europas/ [...], die der Mitte Europas."

5. Boundaries of Perspective

As they fathomed the Iron Curtain in the midst of visual exchanges between East and West, both actual and imagined, Sudeten Germans did more than locate it

³⁹³ Wilhelm Pleyer, "Europas unbekannte Mitte," *Jahrbuch der Egerländer* (1974): 27. Further citations, loc. cit. See also his "Europas unbekannte Mitte," in *Europas unbekannte Mitte*, 9ff. The centrality of the Sudetenland, according to Pleyer, appeared unknown already because "vielen ist schon [seine] erkundliche Lage etwas Nebelhaftes," and "nur rein Teil des deutschen Volkes weiß von der Mitte Europas, die zugleich die Mitte Deutschlands ist" ("Europas unbekannte Mitte," 9).

metaphorically between the viewing and vanishing points of opposing perspectives. The Cold War divide quickly became the locus of westward-oriented rays that Sudeten German political publications used to represent the expellee exodus from Heimat crossed with the eastward-oriented rays of their Blick in die Heimat. This crossing of perspectival orientations is manifest in border cartography. These trajectories pointing in opposite directions crystallized already in the early 1950s, and an illustration documenting the evolution of a new pilgrimage chapel in Mähring provides vivid testimony to this (Figure 24).³⁹⁴

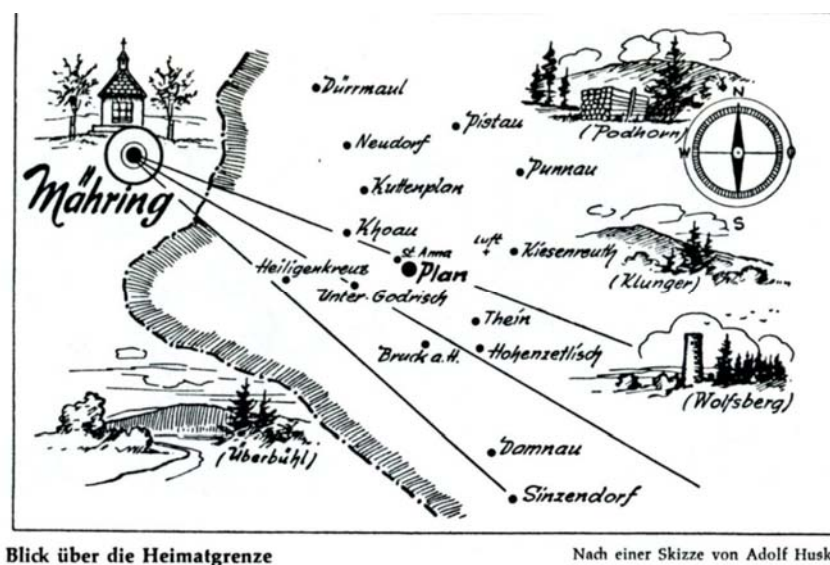


Figure 24. “Blick über die Heimatgrenze,” drawing after Adolf Huska.

Titled “Blick über die Heimatgrenze,” the drawing is based on a sketch of expellee artist Adolf Huska. The drawing subdivides the pictorial plane into two asymmetrical parts connected by three straight lines that emanate from a roundel in the upper left-hand corner.³⁹⁵ The circular shape of the latter, punctuated by a black center against

³⁹⁴ The present-day interior of the church in Mähring features an *al secco* wall painting depicting the flight of an expellee family across the border.

³⁹⁵ Adolf Huska, a bagpipe player and musician from Plan, was prominent among expellees from the Egerland. According to a church guidebook, in 1953 he must have encouraged his *Landsleute* to gather in Mähring, “denn der Anblick der Heimat wühlt den Menschen bis ins Innerste auf, gibt [...] aber auch die Kraft, im harten Dasein auszuharren.” Josef Schmutzer, *Stankt Anna* (Geisenfeld: Josef Schmutzer, 1968), 20.

the white background, at first glance suggests a target—the point where the viewer’s attention presumably culminates. However, rather than being the goal of the process that the illustration attempts to capture or the final destination of the viewer’s scrutiny, the circle marks the point of origin for what the image depicts. Reminiscent of an eye whose dark pupil mandates the Blick across the border, the circle both locates the source of vision on the picture plane and demarcates the viewing point, inviting the reader to assume a position on the map. Huska portrays vision as a vividly enabling process by sketching an emissive eye that sends out rays toward objects in space, rather than being a mere receptacle of intromission.³⁹⁶ This accounts for the initial impression that the expellee eye is also as an aggressive force violating the border to penetrate into the interior of *Heimat*. The eye’s location at the bottom of a diminutive St. Anna chapel furthers the sense of agency attached to the Blick by symbolically indicating that nostalgic vision fueled the foundation of new pilgrimage sites in the borderland. By aligning the roundel with the chapel, the drawing sanctifies expellee vision, coincidentally assigning to such vision a place that pictorial arts frequently reserve for God’s omniscient eye.

Yet in contrast to an “overpowering and ubiquitous eye of God” that scholars have interpreted as a “prototype of [...] hegemonic vision” and total surveillance, the scope of vision that the expellee eye delineates is markedly limited.³⁹⁷ Rather than radiating over the entire expanse of *Heimat*, its rays cross the picture plain diagonally to span only its narrow section to the south of Plan/Planá at the center of the image.

³⁹⁶ Whereas intromission is the currently accepted premise for how the human eye functions by receiving signals, rays, and reflections, emissive theories were popular during the Middle Ages. However, emission has not ceased to exercise considerable influence on scholars interested in vision as a cultural, not physiological paradigm. See Teresa Brennan, “‘The Contexts of Vision’ from a Specific Standpoint,” in *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*, ed. Teresa Brennan and Martin Jay (New York: Routledge, 1996), 219ff.

³⁹⁷ Astrit Schmidt-Burkhardt, “The All-Seer: God’s Eye as Proto-Surveillance,” in *Ctrl [space]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin, Ursula Frohne, and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 18.

As they emanate to the lower right from the upper left, they noticeably thin out the otherwise thick curve delineating the Iron Curtain and pass through it as if it were a gateway or window.

Huska is not alone in his oblique commentary on the role that new sites played in providing an opening through which *Heimat* could be seen. In 1952, only a year before his sketch was adapted for print, a borderland visitor suggested that what used to be “eine kleine unbedeutende Erhebung auf der Mähringer Flur [...] ist [...] seit den Tagen der Austreibung ein Wallfahrtsziel geworden, ein ‘Fenster’, von dem man in die alte Heimat schauen kann.”³⁹⁸ As if to echo these words, Huska’s sketch indicates that the window motif is more than just a rhetorical trope. In the drawing, visual rays not only map distances between the eye and various *Heimat* landmarks arranged on the picture plane. These lines establish a visual pyramid in which they function as perspectival orthogonals proceeding from a unified viewing point through the Iron Curtain.³⁹⁹ Here the alleged geographical *Mittelpunkt Europas* merges symbolically with the centrality of the perspectival viewing point, and the above-mentioned Einzelpunkte recover the tracings of *Heimat*’s contours. Yet, unlike orthogonals of linear perspective, visual rays in Huska’s image neither converge nor extend to the edge of the image, an edge that would otherwise be synonymous with the horizon line.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ F. R., “Der Pfaffenbühl bei Mähring: Vorschlag zum Bau einer Gedächtniskapelle,” *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 5, no. 50 (October 1952): 19. Franz Reipirch (F. R.) was one of the most active proponents of the chapel.

³⁹⁹ Formal, and especially one-point perspective is based on a grid of intersecting orthogonals (lines defining the distance to viewer and merging in the vanishing point) and transversals, which cross the orthogonals a regular intervals. James Elkins, *op. cit.*, 10, provides an illustration of a perspective schema from 1893 that nearly exactly parallels Huska’s drawing. Elkins devotes much of his attention to the origins of perspective in Western art in order to de-center our monolithic impression of perspective. In particular, he argues that most Renaissance sources provided evidence of many disparate accounts of its uses rather one unified narrative of the Albertian tradition. See especially Elkins, *op. cit.*, 46 and 63ff.

⁴⁰⁰ Splayed orthogonals were, as Elkins notes, a structural feature of “reverse perspective” before the Renaissance. Elkins, *op. cit.*, 251.

Published in several sources over time—first on a cover of a *Heimatblatt* and later in a guidebook to the church of St. Anna—Huska’s drawing was accompanied by an editorial comment on the numerous highlights of *Heimat*, visible and invisible alike. Despite its initial use of the term *Weitblick* to refer to an all-embracing view from the hilltop, the passage instead offers telescoping detail that it layers into a “geschlossenes Bild”:

Ein herrlicher Weitblick tut sich vom Pfaffenbühl aus vor dem Beschauer auf. Über Waldkulissen sieht man die Stadt Plan mit seiner Umgebung. Im wechselnden Licht der Sonne tauchen immer wieder andere Merkmale der Stadt auf: Bahnhof, Kirche, Bürgerschule und das Krankenhaus mit dem Klunger im Hintergrund geben ein geschlossenes Bild. [...] Von Obergodrisch sind einige Häuser und von Untergodrisch der ganze Ort zu sehen. Heiligenkreuz ist durch eine Waldspitze verdeckt. Wie ein Wegweiser steht die Kirche von Hohenzetlisch und der Blick reicht bis Damrau und darüber hinaus [...].⁴⁰¹

Instead of immediately opening the entirety of *Heimat* to the eye, the note, like Huska’s image, initially suggests the impossibility of seeing such totality. The *Blick* only penetrates the landscape only gradually, which suggests the difficulty of capturing *Heimat* as a whole. The landmarks become available in the shifting sunlight one by one and appear in the order of diminution, from the most detailed and proximate to the furthest and therefore tenuously unnamed, indexed by the indistinct darüber hinaus. This is also how real-life Mähring visitors arranged such points compositionally as their *Blick* recovered them in sequence. “Das erste Ziel war die Fabrik,” wrote a visitor on the eve of the chapel’s construction,

man sieht sie vollständig. Ob sie noch im Betrieb ist, konnte natürlich nicht festgestellt werden. Darüber hinweg sieht man den hölzernen

⁴⁰¹ Anon., “Blick über die Heimatgrenze,” *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 5, no. 58 (June 1953): 417.

Vermessungsturm, den die Tschechen wahrscheinlich aus strategischen Gründen stehen lassen. Weiter links ist Willfahrts Haus sichtbar, doch wo der eigentliche Ort beginnt, konnte ich nichts unterscheiden, alles war hinter Bäumen.⁴⁰²

Regulating relationships between distance and proximity, expellee accounts from the newly established borderland sites, and from Mähring in particular, carefully represent the multiplicity of that which the *Blick* yields, with each point seen representing a minimal meaningful unit. Employing this pointillist technique, a report titled “Was unsere Augen sahen” arranges *Heimat* landmarks as if they were to be depicted on canvas as seen from the “awe-inspiring” and “holy” site near Mähring.⁴⁰³ Images of the *Heimatscholle*, echoing years of their nationalistic instrumentalization in the Third Reich, also re-emerge in the setting of the Cold War:

Am Samstag, dem 25. Juli und Sonntag, dem 26 Juli, zogen von früh bis Mitternacht hinein pausenlos Gruppen, ja ganze Kolonnen, so wie einst auf den St. Anna-Berg, zu unserer neuerbauten St. Anna-Kapelle [...]. Der Blick in die Heimat, begünstigt durch klaren Himmel, war gut. Unzählige Ferngläser gingen von Hand zu Hand. Vor uns der Planer Kessel. Jeder suchte seine engere Heimat, das heilige Fleckchen Erde, wo seine Wiege stand, seine Arbeitsstätte und seine Scholle waren. Als Ausgangspunkt galt für viele das Hammerbachtal tief drunten [...]. Auf der Verbindungsstraße konnte man jeden Straßenbaum, ja selbst jede Telegraphstange sehen.

Proceeding from a single point of origin (*Ausgangspunkt*), expellee eyes zoom into the recession of *weitere*, *engere*, and *engste Heimat* that Erica Pedretti so concisely described in her eponymous novel.⁴⁰⁴ Both *Fleckchen* and *Wiege*

⁴⁰² Karl Weber, “Ein Fernblick über die Grenze,” *Mareinbad-Tepler Heimatbrief* 37 (October 1951), 10.

⁴⁰³ “Was unsere Augen sahen,” *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 5, no. 6 (September 1953): 585.

⁴⁰⁴ Erica Pedretti, *Engste Heimat* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1995), 155. Pedretti’s title refers to school geography as her Sudeten German narrator studied it in the Third Reich: “Meine engste Heimat ist die Stadt Hohenstadt. Meine engere Heimat ist der Kreis Schönberg. Meine weitere Heimat ist der Schönhengstgau.”

function as diminutives, one referring to size and another to age, to convey the microscopic scale on which *Heimat* becomes progressively more important and to mark its furthest points as most fundamental to the view.

As much as the window trope in the 1952 account of Mähring, the *Ausgangspunkt* in this passage suggests an opening from which vision proceeds. Within perspective the motif of an opening, as may have become apparent from the above discussion of Huska's drawing, assumes a key role. As Leon Battista Alberti famously recommends in his treatise *On Painting*, arguably the most influential contribution to the Western study of perspective, pictorial surface is to be delineated and imagined as a window that both delimits and unifies the subject matter.⁴⁰⁵ While the extent to which Alberti may have used an actual window to construct perspective is unclear, such luminaries as Albrecht Dürer subsequently reinterpreted Alberti's window as a mechanical rather than a purely imaginative device. Dürer's perspective windows served as surfaces to capture the image and "unified [perspective] most powerfully."⁴⁰⁶ In formal experiments, "the object is set in front of the 'window' and it is on the hinged panel that its contours are marked with the aid of the visual string,"⁴⁰⁷ as if to echo Alberti's description of visual rays as "the finest hairs of the head" (Alberti 46). The overall structure of the mechanism resonates with Dürer's definition of perspective as "looking through" (*Durchsehung*), since pieces of string act as tangible rays of vision connecting an object with surfaces onto which its outline is transferred.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ Addressing the question of where to draw, Alberti writes: "I inscribe a quadrangle of right angles, as large as I wish, which is considered to be an open window through which I see what I want to paint." Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 57.

⁴⁰⁶ Elkins, *op. cit.*, 52.

⁴⁰⁷ Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Anamorphic Art*, tr. W. J. Strachan (NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1976), 55.

⁴⁰⁸ Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (New York: Zone Books, 1991). On 'perspective windows,' see Elkins, *op. cit.*, 49.

Huska's sketch echoes such principles of perspective drawing structurally.⁴⁰⁹ As the title of the sketch indicates, it is concerned with more than just a *Blick* into the *Heimat*. At stake is rather the *Blick* across (*über*) the border, which is delivered to the viewer in terms of a perspectival scheme. The drawing does not erase the Iron Curtain to indicate that the border does not count for the Sudeten German eye, as suggested in one of the above-cited accounts.⁴¹⁰ Rather, it depicts the *Blick* as an act of 'looking through', a process that engages the border to render it transparent and incorporate it into the visual regime of new pilgrimage sites such as Mähring. By representing the *Blick* quite literally in perspective, the sketch provides the viewer with much more than what is tangible and therefore visible. As Huska's thick black lines map elements that "the eye cannot perceive"—a proper task of linear perspective, according to James Elkins⁴¹¹—they also capture an otherwise immaterial *Blick*.

Contrary to W. J. T. Mitchell's recent assertion that "walls and gates [are] things we build around ourselves to obstruct the view," Huska's drawing configures the role of the Iron Curtain in terms of amplified attention to visibility and invisibility on Cold War terrain.⁴¹² It is not simply that walls and divides are, as Jeffrey Garrett remarks, "morphologically identical" to optical devices in their interplay between walls and openings.⁴¹³ Huska's sketch both inscribes Sudeten German Cold War

⁴⁰⁹ Huska's depiction of the *Blick* is similar to the left half of Lacan's diagram of what Lacan calls the scopic register. However, Lacan uses his scheme to discuss the social function of the gaze and not its pictorial representations. Lacan, *op. cit.*

⁴¹⁰ Kluhs, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹¹ Its concern with what is *not* visible (orthogonals, transversals, viewing and vanishing points, etc.), necessary for accurately representing that which "can be seen" (Alberti 43), distinguishes linear perspective from the so-called *perspectiva naturalis*, or optical perspective. Known already in antiquity and widespread in the Middle Ages, the latter was concerned "with everything visible," "the universe of things seen, which can be captured on paper 'with correct proportions, widths, thickness, and lengths'." Elkins, *op. cit.*, 48. According to M. H. Pirenne's definition, natural perspective is "more general in scope than linear perspective" and is not defined by intersection with another surface (namely, the picture surface). M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting & Photography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 57. Representing sight and underscoring the intersection between visual rays and the Iron Curtain, Huska's image belongs in the tradition of linear rather than natural perspective.

⁴¹² W. J. T. Mitchell, "Christo's Gates and Gilo's Wall," *Critical Inquiry* 32 (summer 2006): 587.

⁴¹³ Jeffrey Garrett, "'Teichoscopy' in the Wall Novels of Peter Schneider and Uri Orlev," in *Languages of Visuality: Crossings between Science, Art, Politics, and Literature*, ed. Beate Allert (Detroit: Wayne

visual practices into the contested terrain of modern pictorial tradition in the West and historicizes this tradition at the same time. Huska's *Blick* shown in perspective is much more than a predictable reflection on control and domination. It demonstrates that anxious efforts of Sudeten Germans to make their Heimat and themselves visible thrive on denaturing, delimitation, and, above all, distortion—qualities that have accompanied the theory and practice of linear perspective since Alberti and have been at the crux of its twentieth-century theoretical critique and partial artistic rejection.⁴¹⁴ Distortion in particular forges yet another compelling link between the expellee use of perspective to nostalgia.

A closer look at the relationship between the interior structure of the Neualbenreuth *Turm der Heimat* and the exterior view it is to provide demonstrates how the regime of linear perspective buttresses nostalgia's distorting capacities. If, in the words of a Sudeten German poet, Neualbenreuth can claim its origins in "Sehnsucht, die Türme baut," how does this alleged nostalgic agency figure in the tower's visual workings?⁴¹⁵ As I have already pointed out, expellee responses to their borderland trips gesture to the alleged irrelevance of the distinction between past and present—here better paraphrased as one between actual vision (*Blick in die Heimat*) and nostalgic image (*Bild der Heimat*). This seeming irrelevance has been the focus of nostalgia's numerous critics. Yet even more significantly, the *Bild* and the *Blick*, frequently collapsed into one another, are not only key rhetorical terms in which Sudeten Germans recorded their borderland culture during the Cold War. They are first and foremost principles organizing their practices *in situ*.

State University Press, 1996), 216.

⁴¹⁴ Damisch makes several references (as well as formulates his objections) to treating perspective as a form of ideology. *Op. cit.*, xivff.

⁴¹⁵ Heinz Schauwecker, "Am Heimatturm von Neualbenreuth/Die Oberpfalz an die Egerländer," *Der Egerländer* 13:10 (October 1962), 231.

Walking up the tower's long stairwell, which only rarely allows for a glimpse of its exterior setting, the Neualbenreuth visitor arrives at a large octagonal viewing platform equipped with telescopes aiming at the *Heimat* from behind clusters of three windows on each of the platform's eight sides. Yet instead of offering an unbounded landscape to be surveyed, as the setting initially suggests, the platform denatures, organizes, and mediates the viewers' visual experience. The platform subordinates vision to the direction indicated by eight plaques, each carrying the name of a *Heimat* locale placed above each window cluster (Figure 25).



Figure 25. "Eger," a plaque over a window, Heimat Tower, Neualbenreuth.

Rather than extending visual rays "to infinity," as Alberti's drawing techniques would have suggested,⁴¹⁶ Neualbenreuth windows frame *Heimat*. In this regard, their scope is reminiscent of Huska's visual rays, which do not go past the *Heimat* landmarks they uncover. Rather than being a method applied to structuring pictorial representation (Damisch xv), linear perspective here governs vision itself.

⁴¹⁶ Alberti, loc. cit.

Yet, as Joel Snyder observes, linear perspective reproduces not what we actually see but how the results of our vision are artificially organized.⁴¹⁷ It is then based not on veracity but on a systematic distortion of our actual vision. Rendering vision as picture, the Neualbenreuth windows stratify and organize layers of *Heimat* into a pictorial composition that bears echoes of the interplay between the near and the far in several previously cited expellee accounts contemplating *Heimat*. By having the viewer in situ enact a step constitutive of linear perspective as a representational practice—that is, by assigning him a fixed role in an artificial scheme that “does not imitate vision”⁴¹⁸—the tower blurs distinctions between physical vision and representation, between what we actually see and how we perceptually see it, and consequently between *Blick in die Heimat* and the nostalgic *Bild der Heimat*.

6. Deictic Monoculism

The structural bond between nostalgia and perspective brings with it the question of whether monocular vision, on which linear perspective is premised, conflicts with frequent references to expellees looking into their *Heimat* through binoculars. Despite the ostensibly polyfocal optics of border pilgrimage, singularity permeates structural elements of physical sites such as Neualbenreuth as well as the vocabulary used by expellees to describe vision at the border.⁴¹⁹ Singularity is manifest not only in bronze plaques that mark distinct locations of *Heimat* allegedly visible from windows of the Neualbenreuth tower. Neither is it restricted to such terms as *Ausgangspunkt*, a single reference point for visual orientation shared by multiple borderland visitors, or the singular undertones of *Einzelziele* to which the expellees direct their eyes. As they face the double task of capturing the image of

⁴¹⁷ Snyder, op. cit., 505ff.

⁴¹⁸ Damisch, op. cit., 43.

⁴¹⁹ I discuss optics in its literal sense, as part of optical technology involved in viewing processes.

Heimat and picturing expellee vision itself, numerous snapshots of Sudeten German border tourists subjugate the binocular vision of their subjects to the monocular regime of the camera lens.



Figure 26. “Grenzlandfahrt 13.7.1963.”

Still, perspective figures in more than just the optical properties characteristic of the camera as an apparatus. As I have already indicated, photographs of the *Blick in die Heimat* compositionally rely heavily on harnessing both human bodies (Figure 26) and elements of the border itself (Figure 27) to function as orthogonals that cross the photographic surface to create a structural sense of linear perspective that no camera alone could provide. On snapshots developed in the wake of Sudeten German borderland trips, forceful gestures point to *Heimat* as a vanishing *Einzelpunkt* that knows no plurality. These pictures thus retain what Jean Baudrillard called “the moment of disappearance” on three levels.⁴²⁰ Figuratively, they carry a proverbial photographic trace of the real; literally, they circulate as documents arresting that which the expellees described as “sterbende Heimat”; and structurally, they align this

⁴²⁰ Cf. his “Every photographed object is simply the trace left behind by the disappearance of everything else.” Jean Baudrillard, “The Art of Disappearance,” *Art and Artefact*, ed. Nicholas Zurbrugg (London: Sage Publication, 1997), 30 and 28, respectively.

demise of *Heimat* with the vanishing point of the composition.⁴²¹

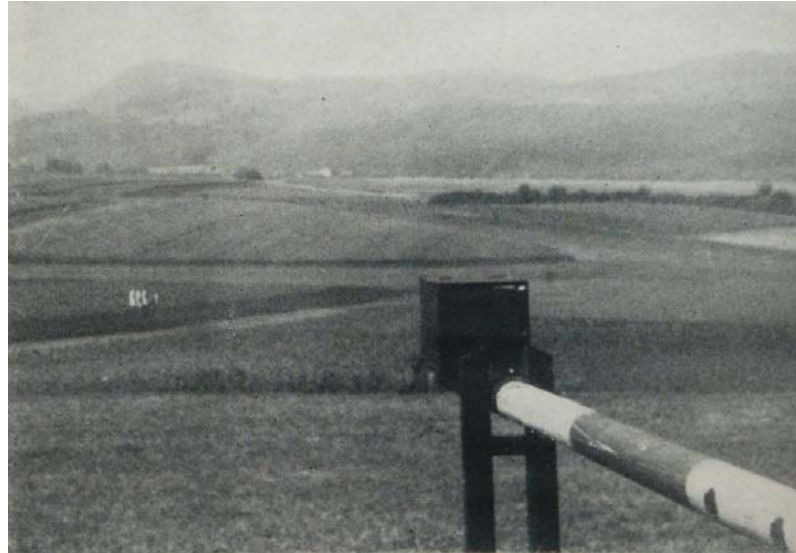


Figure 27. Untitled, *Grenzland* (1952), 1.

Accompanying one such image, a succinct caption underscores the pointing gesture that is to lend *Heimat* its unmistakable signature (Figure 28): “Dort ist die Heimat” is a statement that places additional emphasis on the assertive gesture of an expellee subject. The diagonal of the man’s arm culminates in a pair of binoculars that his outstretched hand thrusts as far forward as possible, as if to cast away or altogether reject the superfluity of bifocal vision.

⁴²¹ On of the best-known examples emphasizing the link between disappearance/death and photography is Roland Barthes’ *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, tr. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). The slow death of *Heimat* became a subject of numerous Sudeten German writings, such as “Sterbende Heimat: Ein Atlantis im Herzen Europas?” *Jahrbuch der Egerländer* (1959): 97-98 and a Kurt Klaus’ poem “Die Heimat stirbt,” *Egerer Zeitung* 33, no. 6 (June 1982): 92.



Figure 28. “Dort ist die Heimat.”

However, while in the eyes of the photographic subjects *Heimat* is either eminently visible or wishfully imagined, and therefore independent of optical prosthesis, it is entirely foreclosed for the viewer of the picture. At this juncture the image physically gestures to the relationship between the *Blick in die Heimat* and *Bild der Heimat* that can be best understood via the concept of deixis, closely related to both monoculism and perspective as discussed here. It is with regard to pointing out singularity that deixis—or “speech about perceptual things,” as Karl Bühler, one of its earliest and most thorough theorists described it—becomes significant here.⁴²²

It creates a nexus between ways in which borderland photography and writing

⁴²² Karl Bühler, *Theory of Language: The Representational Function of Language*, trans. Donald Fraser Goodwin (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1990), 95. The original title, *Sprachtheorie*, appeared in 1934. Bühler’s text indicates that he considered departure from a static monocular subject, implied in the construction of linear perspective, directly relevant to what he dubs “spatial vision,” an extension of his general concern with the location of signification systems in space. Yet he adds that spatial orientation is never “an affair of the visual sense conceived in isolation” (144). John Lyons in his now classic work defined deixis as follows: “By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it [...]” John Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), vol. 2, 637.

capture the *Blick in die Heimat* and therefore becomes a site where Sudeten German textual and visual responses jointly acquire meaning. As Stéphane Robert put it, “through [...] anchoring of speech in a specific time and place, language is related to the extra-linguistic world.”⁴²³ Spatial deixis, also known as deixis of place, typically expressed by the demonstrative *here/there*, gains special significance whenever it comes to portraying the visibility of *Heimat*. Akin to perspective in Sudeten German responses to their border visits, it locates coordinates of expellee subjectivity on Cold War terrain and performs a limiting function.⁴²⁴ Even more emphatically than perspective, deixis links the subjects captured in expellee texts and images of the borderland, on the one hand, with their readers/viewers, on the other. A recurrent motif in written and pictorial sources made public in the expellee media, deixis pivots on intersubjective communication that extends the visual experience of the *Blick in die Heimat* far beyond its fleeting duration in situ and disseminates it across time and space. In other words, deixis helps assimilate the *Blick* to the interiorized *Bild der Heimat* and has the potential to function across spatial and temporal/generational divides within Sudeten German constituencies.

Bühler observes that through deixis physical markers of space—and the signpost gesture in particular—enter the linguistic sphere to leave their lingering imprint. This gesture imparts directionality by casting “the role of the sender as distinct from the role of the receiver” and maps the space between them as a “deictic field”⁴²⁵—an area synonymous with a context in which deictic words, otherwise

⁴²³ Stéphane Robert, “Deictic Space in Wolof: Discourse, Syntax and the Importance of Absence,” in *Space in Languages*, ed. Mayan Hickmann and Stéphane Robert (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006), 156.

⁴²⁴ Bühler sees its limits encoded already in repetitiveness of its vocabulary across languages: “speaking persons cannot point in an infinite number of ways, but rather always hit upon the same idea [...], they can do nothing that one who knows the deictic field could not predict, or, when it turns up, classify.” Bühler, op. cit., 98.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 94.

‘empty’ signifiers, acquire their meaning.⁴²⁶ Yet even as translation from visually expressive corporeality into language is complete, the latter never lets go of the former. In Bühler’s words, “although the index finger, the natural tool of ocular demonstration, may well be replaced by other deictic clues, although it is even replaced in speech concerning things that are present, the assistance it and its equivalents provide can never completely cease and simply be dispensed with [...]” (94). Without the gesture, “demonstratives such as *this*, *here* and *I* [...] could not have developed; and once they were developed and in use they would not be able to receive their final fulfillment within the situative clues.”⁴²⁷ Therefore, “the expression ‘indication’ (*Hinweis*) must be understood here both in its literal sense and in the analogical sense” and connected to “gesture-like factors [...] that function as *addresses*.”⁴²⁸ Therefore, considered through the prism of deixis, borderland photography is doubly indexical. While metonymically connecting the signifier with the signified, in accordance with the Peircean definition of the ‘index’, it also performs indexicality and makes it a constitutive feature of images and texts that owe their emergence to visits at the Iron Curtain.

As if attuning Albertian metaphors to his study of language, Bühler notes that the finger gesture “is a sort of guide rope that only needs to be followed to find something present in the concrete speech situation” (111).⁴²⁹ Within the deictic schema, “*da* and *dort*” map intersubjective coordinates in a manner reminiscent of

⁴²⁶ With regard to the role of context, in his authoritative study Levinson writes: “Essentially, deixis concerns the ways in which language encodes or grammaticalizes features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance.” Stephen Levinson, *Pragmatics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 54. According to his study, context functions both socially, “encoding [...] social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles,” and discursively, “encoding [...] reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance is located” (62).

⁴²⁷ Bühler, op. cit., 111.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Ensuing verbalization is, however, far from superfluous. To Bühler, the fact that markers such as *here* are verbalized means that “what normally is a matter of course is no longer a matter of course and requires emphasis.” Bühler, op. cit., 108.

linear perspective. They “name the geometrical location, [...] an area around the person now speaking within which what is pointed” (104) and thus allocate positions to the sender, the recipient, and the object of the *Blick*. However, unlike conventional deixis which, in Bühler’s observation, positions the sender vis-à-vis the recipient, the editorially added caption *Dort ist die Heimat* turns senders with their back to their implied viewers. The caption eliminates what Bühler describes as

competition between the sender’s being directed to the receiver and his being directed to the object to be pointed at. For there are double claims on the sender if he is supposed to point to both, and he solves the problem either successively or by dividing himself, as it were: successively, by first attacking the receiver with his finger or his eyes and then sweeping the receiver’s gaze along towards the object.⁴³⁰

The photograph also negates the distinction between proximal deixis (close to the sender) and its distal kind (close to the recipient), as *dort* remains equally removed from the viewers in as well as of the picture. Erasure of this difference results in the overlapping directional orientation of senders and implied recipients; it helps produce a unified viewpoint and presupposes that *dort* is their shared vanishing point.

However, even though perspectives of the viewers inside and outside the image merge into one, their conflation does not yet directly place *Heimat* into a deictic field that includes the outside viewer. Although *Heimat* is deictically represented and unmistakably pointed to, it is not fully present for those outside the image. Yet how is it that the latter become engaged by images where deixis plays a prominent role? Bühler’s observations regarding a split within deixis—he terms the resulting modes “ocular demonstration” (pointing to the visible) and “imagination-oriented deixis” (pointing to the invisible)—help us elaborate upon the

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 112.

intersubjectivity of viewers within and outside the image.⁴³¹ Whereas the first type seems to govern representation of actual vision (*Blick in die Heimat*) in the photograph, the second type articulates a close link between the signpost gesture and the *Bild der Heimat*, motioning the outside viewer into the deictic field. It is precisely these two modes that, it follows from his *Sprachtheorie*, make deixis a determinant of presence and absence. In Bühler's own definition, corporeality and materiality, from which linguistic deixis derives its potency, "can never completely cease and simply be dispensed with." Precisely for this reason the following words fully apply to the visual sphere:

The narrator leads the hearer into the realm of what is absent and can be remembered or into the realm of constructive imagination and treats him to the same deictic words as before so that he may see and hear what can be seen and heard there [...]. Not with the external eye, ear, and so on, but with what is usually called the 'mind's' eye [...].⁴³²

Absence, in Bühler's view, thus characterizes both the object of imagination-oriented deixis as well as the very event of pointing. In his words,

[o]ne who is being guided around the phantasy [sic] product in imagination cannot follow with his eyes the arrow formed by the speaker's outstretched arm so as to find something *there*; he cannot use the spatial source quality of the voice to find the place of a speaker who says here [...]. And still, these and other deictic words are offered to him in great variety in a visual account of absent objects, and they are sometimes offered by absent narrators, too.⁴³³

Yet *Dort ist die Heimat* both offers the event of pointing and linguistically

⁴³¹ Bühler also considers the third type of deixis commonly known as anaphoric (occurring "in speech removed from the situation" and pointing to a communicative moment where its object has already been articulated).

⁴³² Bühler, op. cit., 141.

⁴³³ Ibid.

describes it in the caption. It then asks the outside viewers not only to retrieve *Heimat* as a *Bild* imprinted in their minds but, as I have already noted, to abandon their frontal viewing point and position themselves right behind the photographed subjects. Because the alignment with the camera's viewfinder fails to simulate the *Blick in die Heimat*, the expellee audience can only access the latter as an anamorph waiting to be reconstructed. Following the definition of anamorphic perspective, such a shift in the viewpoint allows for "the apparent images to disappear and at the same time the hidden outlines to appear."⁴³⁴ The tension between two modes of deixis suggests an exercise of "re-forming"—and David Topper emphasizes the etymological derivation of anamorphosis from the Greek *ana* (again) and *morphoun* (to form)⁴³⁵—that reconstructs and restores not only what is not immediately accessible to the eye, but also that which is absent, razed, or no longer available. To see *Heimat*, one therefore needs to look sideways, in a manner that echoes Boym's remark that "[n]ostalgia itself has a utopian dimension, only it is no longer directed toward the future. Sometimes nostalgia is not directed toward the past either, but rather sideways."⁴³⁶ In the deictic field, the intersubjective encounter between the photographic subjects and their expellee audiences necessitates a perspectival reshuffling implicit in anamorphosis. Moreover, rather than allowing for multiple perspectives—a polyfocality that has attracted a broad spectrum of intellectuals from Lacan to

⁴³⁴ Baltrušaitis, op. cit., 11. Anamorphosis has been used primarily as a pictorial technique that relied on the rules of linear perspective to achieve a carefully calculated distortion of one image within another. Its main task was therefore to introduce an additional viewpoint into an otherwise frontally viewed canvas. Its subjects were often symbolic images frequently referencing implicit religious themes that either complemented or contrasted the subject matter of the painting. A classic anamorphic image could only be grasped in its entirety after the viewer abandoned his central position in front of the image and reconstructed the anamorph looking through a physical groove commonly located on the left or right side of the frame. The technique is best known from Hans Holbein's painting *The Ambassadors* (1533). Here I use anamorphosis to refer to the principle behind viewing, rather than construction, of images.

⁴³⁵ David Topper, "On Anamorphosis: Setting Some Things Straight," *Leonardo* 33, no. 2 (2000): 115.

⁴³⁶ Boym, op. cit., xiv.

Todorov⁴³⁷—the deictic mode stresses that only one of them can be meaningful, because only one of them can deliver the image of *Heimat*.

7. A Writer of Nostalgia: Adalbert Stifter and the Postwar German Literary Canon

That deixis also steers vision in a single direction is apparent from a 1952 poem titled *Blick vom Großen Osser*. Written by a little-known Sudeten German author Franz Lorenz, the poem fashions the deictic moment into a geographic as well as poetic pinnacle and at the same time inscribes deixis in the visual *sehen*. Like so many other pieces inspired by their authors' trips to the Iron Curtain, the poetic lines summon the familiar trope of "verwaiste Heimat"—irregular patches of dactylic tetrameters lend the poem an almost epic quality that gloomily reflects an uncanny visual experience of a depopulated *Heimat* described *ex negativo*—and positions nostalgia as a mechanism to regulate proximity and distance. The poem opens with situating the lyrical 'I'/eye on a mountaintop, the Osser in the Bavarian Forest. The mountain's anthropomorphized height, communicated in the opening, outlines an experience that appears uplifting physically, raising the 'I' above the deadly rifts of Cold War, as well as emotionally, saturating the lines with the pathos of proximity to the divine, embodied in *herrschtgewaltiger Faust*, fulfilled in the final lines of the poem:

Dank Dir, Böhmerwaldriese,
Großer Osser,
Daß Du mich hobst mit herrschtgewaltiger Faust
Ueber [sic] die Enge der Täler,

⁴³⁷ Tzvetan Todorov, op. cit., 33, relies on the use of anamorphosis in art to draw attention to the appeal of the plurality of literary perspectives it offers: "We need merely recall those *anamorphic* pictures, coded compositions, incomprehensible when seen straight on, the most frequent point of view; but which, from a particular point of view (usually parallel to the picture), offer the image of familiar objects. This distortion between a point of view inherent in the work and the most frequent point of view emphasizes [sic] the former's reality as well as the importance of visions for comprehension of the work."

Ueber die Grenzen, von Menschen gezogen,
Wachturbewehrte Zone des Todes...

The elevated position of the 'I' also delivers three critical visual moments specific to the borderland, here emphatically encoded in Cold War terrain *par excellence*. The first is the lifting of the Iron Curtain in the second stanza, which echoes the origins of the term in theater parlance where it was used to denote a "safety curtain separating a theatre [sic] stage from the spectators' hall."⁴³⁸ Here, the repetition of *heben* transforms the elation of soaring over the boundedness of valleys into the plummeting negativity of the "cruel spectacle" of the continental rift and the *Heimat's* orphan-like abandonment. As if to amplify the jarring effect of the latter, in the first four lines of the strophe the concentration of tropes is at its highest in the poem, which is otherwise densely packed with verbs:

Also hob sich der Eiserne Vorhang
Grausamen Spiels auf der Bühne Europas...
Heimat sah ich, verwaiste Heimat,
Dörfer und Höfe, geschmiegt an die Wälder...
Aber es stieg kein Rauch von heiligen Herden,
Pflügte kein Bauer;
Nirgendwo lockte der Bäuerin Ruf,
Und die Glocken der Kirchen schwiegen, des Leides stumm...

In the scheme of the poem's vertical thrust, *es stieg kein Rauch von heiligen Herden* is antithetical to the reassuring *heben* in the preceding lines; its disavowal of verticality flattens out the terrain to introduce a horizontal plane. Inscribed in the coordinates of proximity that escalates in the comparative *näher*, this is the dimension in which nostalgia unfolds:

⁴³⁸ Andrea Komlosy, "The Marshall Plan and the Making of the 'Iron Curtain' in Austria," in *The Marshall Plan in Austria*, ed. Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dieter Stiefel (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 99. See also Christian Koller, "Der 'Eiserne Vorhang': Zur Genese einer politischen Zentralmetapher in der Epoche des Kalten Krieges," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 54, no. 4 (2006): 372.

Als ich in Sehnsucht,
Mehr noch der köstlichen Heimat zu schauen,
Näher dem Grenzstein trat,
Sah ich den Posten auf feindlichem Turme
Fingern an seinem Maschinengewehr...

Sehnsucht for a *Heimat* that is *köstlich*, or mythically unscathed (“unversehrt,” as Sudeten border travelogues described it), is thus anticipated to proffer the second visual moment.⁴³⁹ Yet nostalgia’s drive to deliver more fails to recuperate the wishful *Bild der Heimat*. Instead, it potently bares *Heimat* at its most uncanny. *Sehnsucht*, occupying a central position in the poem, becomes a turning point at which vision is amplified and reconfigured. Due to the growing tension that pivots when the lyrical I spots a Czech border guard, the text reads almost as a dramatic piece, with an exposition in the first strophe, rising action in the second, climax in the third and fourth, falling action in the fifth, and denouement in the final two strophes:

Gütiger Osser, mächtiger Gipfel,
Der Du durch Wolken hindurch Zwiesprache hältst mit Gott, dem
Lenker des Schicksals,
Künd’ uns, ob uns die Heimat für immer verloren,
Ob dieser Tod an Menschen-Grenzen
Ewiges Urteil letzter Vernichtung!

Siehe! Da rissen die grau-schweren Wolken;
Himmlicher Sonne Strahlenhand
Zeigte verklärend die Heimat des Dichters...
Adalbert Stifter.

⁴³⁹ In one of Sepp Skalitzky’s stories, a young man stealthily returns to the *Heimat* in order to fetch a crib for his newborn. This is how the narrator describes the contrast between distant and proximate views of *Heimat*: “Unzerstört und unversehrt schien das Dorf zu schlummern. [...] Die Sonne lugte über den Rand der Ferne, das Dorf aber regte sich nicht. Aus keinem der Häuser stieg Herdrauch, kein Hund schlug an, kein Hahn krächte. Als wären sie verflucht oder verwünscht, so unheimlich und trostlos lagen die Wohnstätten der Menschen und Tiere vor dem Mann, der heimlich die Heimat besuchte. [...] Entsetzen malte sich auf seinem Angesichte. Was aus der Ferne unversehrt ausgesehen hatte, zeigte dem Wanderer jetzt das grausam entstellte Antlitz.” Skalitzky, “Die alte Wiege,” *Dornenkrone der Heimat*, 75-77.

Der Du in Größe und Wucht der Wälder
Wie im Kleinsten der Blätter, Falter und Blumen
Gleiche Gesetzte göttlicher Schöpfung erkannt,
Sanfte Gewalt des Ewigen Willens,
Ord nende Macht des göttlichen Richters...!

Ja, nun glaub' ich,
Daß wir, lebend nach diesem Gesetze,
Ueberwinden das Grauen, die Feinschaft des Todes...

Dank Dir, Böhmerwaldriese,
Großer Osser,
Hüter und Zeuge von Schicksal und Zukunft.

Recurrent ellipses encourage such segmentation and allow the author to forego transitions between fragments, each one of which remains as though suspended in uncertainty and rarely anticipates those that follow. An instance of such disconnection is evident especially in the fifth stanza, which shocks the reader with the abrupt deictic *Siehe!* The shortest sentence of the poem, it is also its most ambiguous one: whereas earlier forms of direct second person address targeted the Osser and its privileged link to the heavenly realm, here the implied *du* appears to come closest to engaging the reader. It is therefore significant that at this juncture the poem is poised to resort to a *deus-ex-machina* effect in order to resolve the tension inscribed in the landscape of polar Cold War tropes. While the final accords of the first four strophes convey death (*Tod*), suffering (*Leid*) and, finally, extermination (*Vernichtung*), the denouement anticipated by *Siehe!* dissipates anxiety that these words generate by postulating their definitive *Überwindung*.

Optical undertones of the interjection usher the poem's third visual moment: the unveiling of Stifter's *Heimat*, a referent that suggests both the Bohemian Forest, still haunted by the writer, and the *Himmel* as the final destination of Stifter's ultimate *Heimgang*—his death. *Sehen* is here both grammatically and semantically different from its precedents in the concrete *Heimat sah ich* (stanza one) and *sah ich den*

Posten (stanza three). Bathed in sunlight, seeing in the fifth strophe suggests the Enlightenment link between vision and insight, designating Stifter as a carrier of this tradition in the Cold War context. The archaic tinge of the recurrent clause beginning with *Der Du* no longer applies to the Osse, as it does in stanza four. This temporary change of addressee is an indispensable moment for the visual schema that emerges in the course of the poem. The already familiar shift from the enormity characterizing earlier interlocutors of the ‘I’ and deriving from both the landscape and the godhead, to the praise of Stifter’s dedication to representing the most microscopic (*Kleinste[s] der Blätter*), completes the poem’s construction of perspective. The latter now proceeds from the exaggeratedly immense scale of the *mächtiger Gipfel* to that which is most distant and diminutive. Beginning with the *Blick* into the *verwaiste Heimat* and ending with the imagined *Bild* of the *Heimat des Dichters*, the text reflects both compositionally. Without Stifter’s unanticipated appearance, the poem’s perspectival mode would be forever deprived of its vanishing point, and the reader left without deictic orientation offered by *Siehe!* Instead, spotlighted by sunrays, Stifter’s *verklärte Heimat* puts forth his “sanftes Gesetz” as a prescription for overcoming both the denatured state of *Heimat* and “Grauen, die Feindschaft des Todes,” paired with the Cold War. Here Stifter’s appearance itself becomes a form of *Überwindung* that delivers a promise to the reader.

The suggestion that Stifter was an effective remedy against many an ailment that Sudeten Germans detected in postwar Europe and West Germany alike is not unique to Lorenz’s piece. In the wake of the expulsion Stifter, along with Franz Kafka and Fritz Mauthner, became a figure through whom Sudeten Germans consistently related to the canon of both German and, in their own words, *Weltliteratur*.⁴⁴⁰ Yet in contrast to the highly contested figures of Kafka and Mauthner whose reception, as I

⁴⁴⁰ Offizielle Homepage des Deutschen Böhmerwaldbund e.V., <http://www.dbb-ev.de/sudg/sudg09.html>, 29 October 2006.

discuss in Chapter Three, was instrumental in framing “Sudeten German literature” as distinct from the German canon, Stifter served as a vehicle for cultural reconciliation between Sudeten expellees and their German hosts.⁴⁴¹

As Brenda Melendy points out, Stifter was “a relatively unknown figure to most West Germans” in the early postwar years, whereas among Sudeten Germans his status grew progressively more iconic.⁴⁴² Ever since their arrival in Germany, the expellees advocated canonization of the writer who for a long time, as Rolf Selbmann notes, “weder als deutscher Klassiker noch als österreichischer Nationalpoet zu vereinnahmen war.”⁴⁴³ In his comprehensive discussion of contemporary “Sudeten German literature,” Sudeten German literary critic Wilhelm Formann predicted Stifter’s thus far elusive yet eventually unavoidable influence on literatures nurtured outside the Bohemian Forest:

Die Wirkungen Adalbert Stifters auf die kultivierte Welt sind kaum abzusehen; schwer aber, sie in anderen Literaturen nachzuweisen. Hingegen sieht eine bedeutende Zahl sudetendeutscher Dichter in Ehrfurcht zu ihm auf, wieweil ihnen erfreulicherweise die unangenehme Last des Epigontums zu tragen erspart geblieben ist. Auf seinen Geist darf sich die noch lebende Generation der sudetendeutschen Autoren mit Recht berufen.⁴⁴⁴

Stifter’s inclusion in the Valhalla on the Danube, a monumental pantheon that has

⁴⁴¹ Contemporary Sudeten German *Heimatspfleger* also credit Stifter with reconciliation between Czechs and Germans. See Susanne Habel, “Apostel der Versöhnung zwischen Tschechen und Deutschen,” *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, 25 April 2003, 9.

⁴⁴² Brenda Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 51. For an outline of Stifter’s revival among Sudeten Germans in the interwar years, see Peter Becher, *Adalbert Stifter: Sehnsucht nach Harmonie* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2005), 228ff and “Unser sudetendeutscher Klassiker... Aspekte der deutschböhmisches Stifterrezeption 1918-1938,” in *Adalbert Stifter: Studien zu seiner Rezeption und Wirkung II: 1931-1988*, ed. Johann Lachinger (Linz: Adalbert-Stifter-Institut des Landes Oberösterreich, 1995), 84-96.

⁴⁴³ Rolf Selbmann, “Späte ‘bunte Steine’. Die Denkmäler für Adalbert Stifter,” *Jahrbuch des Adalbert Stifter Institutes des Landes Österreich* 3 (1996): 111. The article contains a thorough account of most Austrian and German efforts to cast Stifter’s figure in stone.

⁴⁴⁴ Wilhelm Formann, *Sudetendeutsche Dichtung heute* (Aufstieg-Verlag, München, 1961), 20.

served to reinforce parameters of the German-speaking cultural canon since the first half of the nineteenth century, loomed large on the agenda of the expellees.⁴⁴⁵

Their efforts, albeit not singular, were singularly successful. Already in 1942 the Viennese *Adalbert-Stifter-Gesellschaft* had made the first attempts to enshrine the author in a place he had once described as “empörend und ekelhaft” in its deification of the “Todten, die man im Leben gekreuzigt hat, und noch immer kreuzigt.”⁴⁴⁶

However, having initially welcomed the request, the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* proceeded to delay Stifter’s apotheosis, finally complicated by the loss of the original bust in the final battles of World War II.⁴⁴⁷ As was the case of several other contemporaneous candidates to immortality,⁴⁴⁸ the Nazi-era origins of Stifter’s slow advance to the shrine on the Danube provided fertile ground for some of the first postwar controversies over the canon of German culture. Yet whereas marble replicas of those other potential classics were never to enter the Germanic hall of fame, be it due to financial strain entailed by their incorporation, unsuitability of the Nazi iconography of their already available portraits, or their sculptors’ implication in the art scene of the Third Reich, few objections were in the way of Stifter’s promotion. Its lightning-fast speed stood in stark contrast to the habitual red tape around new admissions. Its sculptural execution, entrusted to Otto

⁴⁴⁵ Bavaria’s Ludwig I commissioned Leo von Klenze to work on the architectural setting of the Valhalla from 1830 to 1842. The monument, conceived as a response to the recent French presence in German states and provinces, was meant to commemorate the “rühmlich ausgezeichneten Teutschen.” Over time, the understanding of “German” has fluctuated between “Germanic” (in the nineteenth century, a number of figures of Flemish and Russian-German background joined the ranks) and “German-speaking” (in postwar Germany, both Edith Stein and Albert Einstein qualified as “deutsch”). At present Valhalla houses one hundred twenty-seven busts of politicians, writers, composers, painters, etc. and sixty-four plaques mainly dedicated to various princes and rulers. The number of busts is constantly growing, since any German interest group can petition for and, if endorsed by the Bavarian state, finance the inclusion of their candidate.

⁴⁴⁶ Quoted in Emanuel Schmid, “Viele Wege führen in die Ewigkeit. Adalbert Stifters Einzug in die Walhalla,” in *Adalbert Stifter: Dichter und Maler, Denkmalpfleger und Schulmann. Neue Zugänge zu seinem Werk*, ed. Hartmut Laufhütte und Karl Möseneder (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), 539.

⁴⁴⁷ Schmid, *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ One of the most vibrant examples is the candidacy of the nineteenth-century economist Friedrich List, discussed in detail in Schmid, *op.cit.*, 540-541.

Hajek, a young modernist sculptor of Sudeten German origin, provided for a clean start in the postwar mappings of the literary canon.⁴⁴⁹

Kept in constant circulation by two Sudeten organizations founded in the late 1940s, the *Witiko-Bund* and the *Adalbert-Stifter-Gesellschaft*,⁴⁵⁰ in expellee circles Stifter's name referred to a "Dichter, Erzieher und Schulmann in jenem umfassenden Sinne, der [...] nach 1945 zu einer Leitfigur unseres Strebens wurde," to cite Walter Becher.⁴⁵¹ In such accounts Stifter's role as a writer was inseparable from his function as a pedagogue and a one-time proponent of *Abendland*, a concept that both facilitated Germany's postwar fusion with the West and positioned it as the ultimate bastion against communist threat from the East.⁴⁵² If his canonization, in Selbmann's words, "paßte [...] bruchlos in die Zeit der christlichen Restauration nach 1945, für die Stifter als katholischer Literaturzeuge gegen die gottlose Moderne aufgeföhren wurde," it was also perceived to combat a much more massive threat of 'godlessness communism'.⁴⁵³ And it was with the latter that the expellees, Germany's self-proclaimed experts on things East European, were most familiar and concerned. Stifter's relevance to these geopolitical coordinates, in turn, made Sudeten Germans borderland culture, rooted in their seemingly obsolete *Grenzlanddeutschum*, newly pertinent to the new rifts on Cold War terrain. Stifter's ascent to the national shrine was a symbolic affirmation of the presence of a non-threatening, *German East* in postwar West German culture. It was also an assertion of Sudeten German cultural

⁴⁴⁹ Schmid, op. cit., 546-551, provides a wealth of background information about the role of the artists' Nazi past in the search for a sculptor to execute the commission. On Stifter's reception in the Third Reich, see Martin Sturm, "Adalbert Stifter im Spiegel der völkisch-rassischen Literaturwissenschaft. Zum Stifterbild bei Franz Koch und Adolf Bartels," in *Adalbert Stifter: Studien zu seiner Rezeption und Wirkung II: 1931-1988*, 104-115.

⁴⁵⁰ Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 70ff.

⁴⁵¹ Walter Becher, "Das Sudetenland—eine pädagogische Provinz europäischen Ranges und deren Ausstrahlung in die Gegenwart," *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 40, no. 1 (February 1993): 17, emphasis mine.

⁴⁵² On circulation of the term *Abendland* in postwar Germany, see Stephen Brockmann, "Germany as Occident at the Zero Hour," *German Studies Review* 25, no. 3 (2002): 477-496.

⁴⁵³ Selbmann, op. cit., 121-122.

equality and even superiority vis-à-vis other expellees in the wake of a phase when their political status was in was by no means certain.⁴⁵⁴ “Während der Osten im ganzen ganz spärlich vertreten ist,” wrote a 1954 correspondent, “können sich die Sudetendeutschen folgender bedeutender Männer, die in die Walhalla aufgenommen wurden, rühmen: der Komponisten Gluck und Schubert, und der Feldherren Wallenstein, Fürst Schwarzenberg und Radetzky.”⁴⁵⁵

One therefore cannot attribute the significance of the speed of Stifter’s acceptance into the Valhalla exclusively to the “bayerischen Vertriebenenpolitik der fünfziger Jahre, deren hilfreiche Ideologie der heimatvertriebenen Sudetendeutschen als Bayerns viertem Stamm [Stifter] stützen sollte.”⁴⁵⁶ The scope of their intervention relied on the broad ideological framework of the Cold War and was not restricted to provincial boundaries within Germany. On the contrary, by participating in a project that was national as much as transnational—and Valhalla, hosting the likes of Jan van Eyck, Hans Memling, and Peter Paul Rubens, was conceived as a Germanic endeavor—Sudeten Germans extricated Stifter from the literary periphery where he previously existed either as a “schwierig einzuordnende[r] Dichter” or, from the viewpoint of many Germans, an Austrian writer.⁴⁵⁷

The text of the 1952 Sudeten German petition to the Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture strove to broaden the reach of Stifter’s significance. Top Sudeten German activists and members of the Social Democratic *Ackermann-*

⁴⁵⁴ As I discuss in the preface, the provisional (West) German Constitution of 1949 automatically granted citizenship only to persons who had once inhabited Germany within its 1937 borders.

⁴⁵⁵ R. S. L. Barrett, “Adalbert Stifter in der Walhalla,” *Der Volksbote* (2 October 1954): 3.

⁴⁵⁶ Selbmann, op. cit., 122. Selbmann also accuses the sculptor Otto Herbert Hajek, whose modernist portrait was widely denounced in a variety of Sudeten periodicals as a radical departure from Walhalla’s representational canon, of conforming to the monument’s standards and stylizing Stifter to the point of unrecognizability. For more information on Sudeten German protests against the portrait, see Peter Becher, *Adalbert Stifter*, 234.

⁴⁵⁷ Selbmann, op. cit., 111. Stifter’s own affinity to transnational themes has been noted by Pavel Eisner, one of his earliest Czech scholars, who in 1933 praised Stifter’s monumental oeuvre *Witiko* as a “Geburt eines großen historischen Romans mit böhmischem Thema unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Übernationalität.” Peter Becher, *Adalbert Stifter*, 232.

Gemeinde in charge of endorsing the petition, its authors began by introducing Stifter as the “größten deutschen Erzähler” and concluded by emphasizing his role as a “Hüter des christlichen Abendlandes.”⁴⁵⁸ Apparently unaware that the composer Max Reger had entered the German hall of fame in March 1948, Pater Paulus Sladek, chairman of the *Katholische Arbeitsstelle für Heimatvertriebene*, and a *Bundestag* member Hans Schütz wrote about breaking what they thought was a fifteen-year-long hiatus in the Valhalla’s expansion. Emphatic attention to Stifter’s candidacy on the part of Bavarian authorities matched their erroneous yet portentous conviction that he was the first postwar figure to join the pantheon.

As he foregrounded Stifter’s connection to the dyadic Heimat, “old” and “new,” the Bavarian Minister of Culture Josef Schwalbers explained the speed and facility of Stifter’s ascent to the Valhalla by virtue of the fact that “das geistige Schaffen bedeutender Persönlichkeiten der Heimat der Vertriebenen betont und die innere Verbundenheit zwischen der alten und der neuen Heimat gefestigt werden.”⁴⁵⁹ As Schwalbers continued, he recognized that Stifter may signal, as his name suggests, a rapprochement between the expellees and their West German hosts. “Ich entspreche diesem Antrag um so lieber,” he stated, “weil er Gelegenheit bietet, die hohe kulturelle Bedeutung und Leistung des deutschen Ostens durch ein sichtbares Zeichen anzuerkennen und dem ganzen Volke vor Augen zu führen.” His remarks reaffirmed the Sudeten German intent of translating “their” “sudetendeutsche[n] Klassiker” (Peter Becher) into an “unbedingte[n] Parteigänger des übernationalen Staatsgedankens”⁴⁶⁰ and a foremost *German* classic. “Das Werk dieses großen Dichters,” suggested Schwalbers in his correspondence with the Ackermann-

⁴⁵⁸ Cited in Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*.

⁴⁵⁹ Schmid, 545. See Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 21 ff, for an extended discussion of various meanings attached to old and new *Heimat*.

⁴⁶⁰ “Bohemismus und deutscher Volksgedanke,” Offizielle Homepage des Deutschen Böhmerwaldbundes e. V., <http://www.dbb-ev.de/sudg/sudg09.html>, 29 October 2006.

Gemeinde, “ist aber nicht eine Sache von lokaler Bedeutung und Eigentum eines einzelnen Stammes, es gehört vielmehr zum kostbaren Besitz der deutschen Kultur überhaupt” (Schmid 545).

Underscoring the timeliness of the author’s “Wiederentdeckung” (Schmid 545), an enthusiastic response from an official of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences to the *Ackermann-Gemeinde* funneled Stifter into longings current to the country’s postwar recovery. “[D]ie Welt seiner Werke,” announced the text, “hat etwas von ursprünglich heiler Natur und auch von ‘neuer Schöpfung’ an sich” (Schmid 545). On the verge of the economic miracle, the appeal of reconstituting original intactness reflected West Germany’s own situation as a new political formation (*neue Schöpfung*). At the same time, the allure of preternatural integrity attributed to Stifter’s writing simultaneously resonated with the expellees’ efforts to recuperate their unscathed *Heimat*, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Yet there was more to the expellee reception of Stifter’s life and work that facilitated his fashioning into an agent of cultural integration. Whereas the figures of Kafka and, more indirectly, Mauthner, stood in the midst of metalinguistic debates among the readers of Sudeten German periodicals described in Chapter Three, and cemented, via an exclusive link to language, the distance between the Sudeten expellees and West Germans, Stifter’s role may have benefited from perceived linguistic deficits of his prose. The tenuousness of language in his works, prominent already in Walter Benjamin’s remark that Stifter “kann nur auf der Grundlage des Visuellen schaffen,” may have influenced his postwar reception, which was especially conditioned by both visual and spatial quality of his work.⁴⁶¹ Given that

⁴⁶¹ Benjamin’s comment refers specifically to perceptual paucity of Stifter’s writing, which in its use of language fails to engage senses other than visual. See Walter Benjamin, “Stifter,” *Gesammelte Schriften* II:2, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), 609. For a differentiated approach to Benjamin’s critique, see Eva Geulen, *Worthörig wider Willen: Darstellungsproblematik und Sprachreflexion in der Prosa Adalbert Stifters* (Munich: Iudicum-Verlag, 1992), 50-52.

language, as I show in Chapter Three, appears to have been a prominent point of cultural contention between the Sudeten expellees and their German hosts, Stifter's alleged lack of linguistic expressivity, which was funneled instead into visual conduits, may explain the relative facility with which appropriating Stifter helped Sudeten Germans relate to—and relay—the German canon.

The visual or, to be more precise, the optical streak of Stifter's writing did not escape mainstream literary scholars variously familiar with Benjamin's judgment. A precursor to the relatively recent renewal of interest in Stifter's pictorial heritage at the intersection of his roles as an "erzählender Maler" and "malender Dichter,"⁴⁶² Gerald Gillespie dubbed him as "a man of the 'eye'" already in his 1964 study.⁴⁶³ The scopic moment in Stifter's texts is, in Gillespie's view, most pronounced in "his favorite device to establish a perspective, so that we may no longer feel trapped in time but survey it and comprehend it" (Gillespie 125). Through the "use of an 'outside' or 'distanced' narrator," the author can place "his tales inside one or more 'frames' which foreshorten certain parts of a story" (Gillespie 122). That is, not only does "in Stifter's works the mind perceive through the senses, and higher 'vision' depends literally on eye-sight" (Gillespie 128) but "the author regulates the emotional tensions by means of what we can call, metaphorically, a 'telescopic' method." The latter becomes, as in Todorov's observation cited earlier, most frequently embodied in the narrator through whom the reader perceives the text (Gillespie 126). In this manner, concludes Gillespie, "whether by means of a narrator [...] or any other instrument, Stifter peers through a glass that can foreshorten reality or rather, lengthen it" by stretching "the finite man's mind" (Gillespie 129).

⁴⁶² Eszter Szalaics, "Adalbert Stifter: Der dichtende Maler—der malende Dichter," in *Geborgenheit und Gefährdung in der epischen und malerischen Welt Adalbert Stifters*, ed. Jattie Enklaar and Hans Ester (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2006), 95-106.

⁴⁶³ Gerald Gillespie, "Space and Time Seen through Stifter's Telescope," *The German Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (March 1964): 125. Further cited parenthetically.

Unwilling to limit the telescopic moment to sheer metaphoricity, Martin Selge proposes that the aesthetic meaning (*ästhetische Potenz*) of narrative perspectivism can only be understood in its scientific and historical contexts (*naturwissenschaftliche[r] Funktionszusammenhang*).⁴⁶⁴ Focusing on *Der Hochwald*, one of Stifter's best known stories where a telescope plays a prominent role, he stresses that the text's seventeenth-century setting does more than highlight the early "Bohemian phase" of the Thirty Years War: it "liegt zeitlich dicht an den revolutionären Taten Galileis und Keplers um 1610," a time when the telescope was still young.⁴⁶⁵ Indeed, the plot of the novella evacuates sisters and protagonists Johanna and Clarissa into a wilderness that is a safe harbor compared to their father's castle ravaged, much as the rest of Bohemia, by the early years of the Thirty Years War. Along with their more conventionally feminine pursuits, the young women go on regular excursions to a rocky mountain top or. From there a view of their home is more or less readily available to their naked eye; so that they, in Selge's words, "aus der Emigration die Heimat in verfremdeter Gestalt erblicken und [...] an Heimweh leiden" (22). Knowing that their eyes are prone to fall prey to illusion and cannot deliver sufficient precision of detail, they use a telescope to engage in a process of visual exchange with their father who, in turn, has his telescope directed at the place of their sojourn.⁴⁶⁶ Although the telescope mediates "zwischen Exil und Heimat," it is reflexively directed at the sisters' own world (25). This "emigratorische Inversion"

⁴⁶⁴ Martin Selge, *Adalbert Stifter. Poesie aus dem Geist der Naturwissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1976), 34.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁶⁶ Eric Downing calls this exchange "telescopic vision" and draws on the Foucauldian linkage between vision (as surveillance) and power. He understands Stifter's model of "telescopic vision" to impose a "peculiarly patriarchal, or at least male program of lawful order": "By constantly fixing their gaze back on the father's house, Johanna and Clarissa ensure that they themselves will constantly remain fixed by its gaze, while seeming the free and controlling subjects of telescopic vision, immanently desirous of sustaining communication, they nonetheless remain the determined, controlled objects of their father's surveillance." Eric Downing, *Double Exposures: Repetition and Realism in Nineteenth-Century German Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2000), 77.

amplifies rather than resolves the tension between the observer and the observed (25).

Given Stifter's own fascination with telescopes, Selge finds that geometricity of the story, evident in particular in the recurrent use of the word *Punkt*, transforms Keplerian ellipse into literary ellipsis. Both, in his view, share a structural schema. Akin to ellipse, which relates two points on the same line to a given point on an orbit that twice crosses this line, the women's hiding place and their *Heimat* can be seen "als Brennpunkte einer Ellipse [...], deren lineare Exzentrizität die teleskopische Sehlinie imaginär beschreibt."⁴⁶⁷ Ambiguity, a trait of literary ellipsis, also underlies the depiction of visual encounters with *Heimat*. What appears deceptively whole to the naked eye is transformed into a smoldering ruin by the lens. This is how Stifter's third-person nineteenth-century narrator describes the sisters' encounter with their home's telescopically magnified end:

Johanna war die erste am Gipfel des Felsens, und erhob ein lautes Jubeln; denn in der glasklaren Luft, so rein, als wäre sie gar nicht da, stand der geliebte kleine Würfel auf dem Waldesrande, von keinem Wölklein mehr verdeckt, so deutlich [...], als müßte [man] mit freiem Auge seine Teile unterscheiden [...]. Clarissa hatte inzwischen das Rohr befestigt und gerichtet. Auf einmal aber sah man sie zurücktreten [...]. Sogleich trat Johanna vor das Glas, der Würfel stand darinnen, aber siehe, er hatte kein Dach, und auf dem Mauerwerke waren fremde, schwarze Flecken. Auch sie fuhr zurück— aber als sei es ein lächerlich Luftbild, das im Augenblicke verschwunden sein müsse, drängte sie sogleich ihr Auge vor das Glas, jedoch in derselben milden Luft stand dasselbe Bild, angeleuchtet von der sanften Sonne, ruhig starr [...].⁴⁶⁸

The telescopic moment thus delivers only the final scene of destruction and is incapable of capturing a much broader context leading to the devastation. As Selge asserts, *Teleskopie (Fernsehen)* is in many respects antithetical to *narratio*

⁴⁶⁷ Selge, op. cit., 33

⁴⁶⁸ Adalbert Stifter, "Der Hochwald," *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1959), vol. 1, 304.

(*Erzählen*).⁴⁶⁹ And whereas Selge accuses both *Teleskopie* and *narratio* of communicative insufficiencies, Eva Geulen draws attention to communicative surfeit that allows for a chiasmic relationship between representation of natural history and a particular moment in human history.⁴⁷⁰ In her opinion, the double punctuality observed by Selge is responsible for a doubling of perspectives, a pattern inscribed in the representational structure of the text. “Im ‘Hochwald’,” she suggests, “erscheint nur, was doppelt erscheinen kann.”⁴⁷¹ Within this visual structure (*Blickstruktur*), “jedem gesehenen Punkt der Punkt korrespondiert, von dem aus er zu sehen ist.” In this view, the landscape itself becomes an eye and looks back.⁴⁷² Consequently, adds Geulen, “[w]o alles Erblickte zurückblickt, beginnt nicht nur Natur zu sprechen, auch menschliches Sprechen steht im Zeichen des Blicks.”⁴⁷³

Selge’s attention to self-referential inversions of vision and Geulen’s emphasis on the *Doppelpunkt* as a representational paradigm running through Stifter’s text bear striking structural similarities to the artifacts of Sudeten German borderland culture discussed above. And in the eyes of those who conceived of Stifter as a *Landsmann*, *Der Hochwald* assumed privileged status among his works. Taking its cues from the very first Bohemian Forest monument dedicated to the author as the “Dichter des Hochwald [sic]” (1876-1877), his Sudeten German appropriation thrived on an ambiguity in this title. Referring both to the literary text and a geographic

⁴⁶⁹ Selge, op. cit., 34

⁴⁷⁰ Eva Geulen, *Worthörig wider Willen. Darstellungsproblematik und Sprachreflexion in der Prosa Adalbert Stifters* (Munich: Iudicum Verlag, 1992), 92ff.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 94.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 97 and 95.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 97. Stifter’s recourse to monocularism, a mode of vision that buttresses perspectival doubling, appears to be nostalgic. Set in the first half of the seventeenth century and published in the first half of the nineteenth (1841), the plot of *Der Hochwald* puts its characters at the mercy of monocular vision of the Keplerian and Cartesian tradition exactly when this paradigm is being abandoned in favor of new and exciting possibilities of binocularism. In his account of discontinuities in the Western optical tradition Jonathan Crary singles out the period from 1810 to 1840 as the time of “uprooting of vision from the stable and fixed relations incarnated in the camera obscura” and of breaking with the rigidity of the perspectival model. See Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 14.

location, the obelisk, as Selbmann remarks, “bezeichnet optisch eine Stelle, die der gebildete Leser nach der Lektüre von Stifters Werken (hier: *Der Hochwald*) gleichsam in Wirklichkeit aufsuchen konnte.”⁴⁷⁴ In Sudeten German circles, familiarity with *Der Hochwald* as a story became tantamount to familiarity with *der Hochwald* as *Heimat*, or so suggested a 1955 questionnaire, “Kennst du deine Heimat?”⁴⁷⁵ Targeting those who hailed from the Bohemian Forest, Stifter’s area of origin, the questionnaire predicated passing the *Heimat*-test on naming “die wichtigsten Örtlichkeiten der Erzählung ‘Hochwald’.”

As it turns out, lines from *Der Hochwald* accompanied the author of the questionnaire in his exodus from his *Heimat* to the pages of a Sudeten German periodical from the Cold War era. Written twenty years prior to their publication in a 1956 issue of *Böhmerwäldler Heimatbrief*, his musings about a sojourn at Stifter’s birthplace (Oberplan), had a transhistorical thrust that made it easy for the reader to reframe the passage in the context of the Cold War:⁴⁷⁶

Vom Stifterdenkmal, bei dem wir im Schatten alter Föhren Rast halten, schauen wir hinaus in die liebliche Landschaft, die vor uns liegt, und ergriffen erinnern wir uns an des Dichters Worte aus seinem ‘Hochwald’: “Da ruhen die breiten Waldesrücken und steigen lieblich schwarzblau dämmernd ab gegen den Silberblick der Moldau; — westlich blauet Forst an Forst in angenehmer Färbung und manche zarte, schöne, blaue Rauchsäule steigt fern aus ihm zu dem heiterem Himmel auf. Es wohnt unsäglich viel Liebes und Wehmütiges in dem Anblicke.”

Ein seltsames Gefühl ergreift mich stets, wenn ich von dieser Stelle Ausblick hielt in das weite Land [...].

⁴⁷⁴ Selbmann, op. cit., 111. In his discussion of the impact Stifter’s writing had on the tourist culture, Paul Praxl notes that after the story appeared as a monograph in 1852, the Bohemian Forest became crowded with readers discovering the landscape with the book “in der Tasche.” Paul Praxl, *Adalbert Stifter und die Entdeckung des Böhmer- und Bayerwaldes: Ausstellung im 100. Todesjahr* (Passau: Gogeißl, 1968), 17-19.

⁴⁷⁵ Fritz Huemer-Kreiner, “Kennst du deine Heimat?” *Böhmerwäldler Heimatbrief* 78 (February 1955): 266.

⁴⁷⁶ Idem, “Erlebter Böhmerwald, Im Erinnern an das Heimathaus in Oberplan,” *Böhmerwäldler Heimatbrief* 92 (April 1956): 342.

For the expellee reader, the views of *Heimat* that Huemer-Kreiner invokes exist in three temporal dimensions. The first is borrowed from the narrator of *Der Hochwald*, the second stems from the author's own experience of the landscape prior to the expulsion, and the third resonates with its post-expulsion reader-cum-pilgrim closely familiar with a "seltsames Gefühl" of looking at *Heimat* across the Iron Curtain. The awkward slippage between tenses in the very last sentence of the passage (*ergreift—hielt*) facilitates transfer of visual experience across historical periods. The Thirty Years War in particular appears to have lingered in transgenerational memory in ways that have assisted temporal approximation between Stifter's seventeenth-century plot and Sudeten German iconographies of destructive consequences of World War II and the Cold War.⁴⁷⁷ "Jede Generation hat ihre eigenen Schrecken," reminisced an expellee woman decades after the expulsion:

Für mich war es jene Lautsprecherdurchsage, die am sonnigen 10. Mai in Karlsbad verkündete: "Die Rote Armee befreit die Stadt!" Im Dreißigjährigen Krieg hingegen eilte den marodierenden und brandschatzenden Heerhaufen in Böhmen der Ruf voraus: "Die Schweden sind kommen!" Das, was danach passierte, muß so schlimm gewesen sein, daß auch noch heute, nach ca. 370 Jahren, ein im gesamten Egerland bekannter Kinderreim davon Kunde gibt.⁴⁷⁸

Such folkloric transmission of the "Schwedenkrieg, der in Verslein und dunklen Geschichten weiterlebte,"⁴⁷⁹ as Sepp Sakalitzky put it in his 1961 collection

⁴⁷⁷ Norman M. Naimark highlights some of the uses of the Thirty Years War in making decisions regarding the expulsion of ethnic Germans from postwar Czechoslovakia. See his *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Jackson School of International Studies, 1998), 27. Bradley Adams cites an example of Clement Gottwald's speech from June 23, 1945, calling for the "undoing the results of the Battle of the White Mountain (odčinění Bílé hory)" in the borderlands. See Bradley Adams, "Morality, Wisdom and Revision: The Czech Opposition of the 1970s and the Expulsion of the SD," *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, 9, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 238.

⁴⁷⁸ Edith Schmidt, "'Die Schweden sind kommen,'" *Karlsbader Zeitung* 50, no. 6 (June 2000): 214. Schmidt does not reproduce these nursery rhymes in her contribution.

⁴⁷⁹ Sepp Skalitzky, "Die Wegzehrung," *Dornenkrone der Heimat* (Buxheim/Allgäu: Martin Verlag,

of short stories, ties together Sudeten German responses to their postwar expulsion, the state of *Heimat* circa 1945, and Cold War destruction witnessed from the border, to shape cultural echoes of the distant conflict. They resonate in a contribution by F. R. [Franz Reipirch], a frequent Mähring visitor already familiar to us, to a regional Sudeten German periodical. Chronicling the *Heimat*'s progressing devastation, his narrative voice shudders as if to shake off a sensation of a historical déjà vu:

Sobald der Weg nach rechts steil ansteigt, schauen wir zurück, eine weite Waldwiese, auf der im Frühling Obstbäume blühen, auf der im Sommer, Herbst und Winter Verlassenheit herrscht, zeigt den Platz an, auf dem einst Mugl stand. Ein Dorf, zerstört im Dreißigjährigen Krieg, nein, ein Heimatort, mutwillig zerstört nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg.⁴⁸⁰

Whereas postwar winds that once forced Sudeten Germans into their diasporic dispersal preserved some skeletal remains of *Heimat* that one could mourn from a distance, the much more violent cyclones of the Cold War, according to Reipirch, erased *Heimat* without a trace:

Noch vor zwei Jahren knarrten die offenen Scheunentore im Wind und schien der Mond durch offene Dächer, jetzt herrscht dort 'Ordnung', nichts mehr ist zu sehen, nur die weißen Pfosten des Stacheldrahtzaunes oberhalb der Wiese am Waldesrand zeigen, hier ist Grenzland. [...] Noch einmal schauen wir auf die Waldwiese hinüber, auf der einst das Dorf Lohhäuser stand. Hier wurde es ebenso still, wie in vielen Orten unserer Heimat, seit die Austreibung die hier wohnenden Deutschen in alle Winde zerstreute.

Perhaps it was a realization of irrevocable change that fashioned Johanna and Clarissa into kindred spirits of the Sudeten German expellees. In an odd topographic coincidence, the Dreisessel, a mountain that served as a constant reference point in

1961), 44.

⁴⁸⁰ F. R., "Am 'Eisernen Vorhang' entlang," *Heimatbrief für die Kreise Plan-Weseritz und Tepl-Petschau* 5, no. 53 (January 1953): 207. Further quotations, loc. cit.

the sisters' seventeenth-century excursions, was in the Cold War the southernmost point in the Sudeten German *Gebetswall*.⁴⁸¹ “Noch weiter vermag der Blick von Dreisesselberg zu schweifen” was a caption that accompanied a photograph of a steady stream of Sudeten expellees going up and down a narrow passageway to enjoy the *Blick in die Heimat* (Figure 29); but it could well have been a quotation from Stifter's story. An early Cold War account of a trip to the area underscores the mountain's currency that, just as in the case with the Tillenberg, appeared to its Sudeten German visitor to persist despite centuries of historical change:

“Zur Heimat” heißt ein Wegweiser unweit Haidmühle, der dem Besucher des 1312 m hohen Dreisessels den Weg zum Gipfel weist. Es gibt wohl wenig Berge mit einer solchen Bedeutung wie gerade den Dreisessel, in dessen Nähe sich die Grenze dreier Länder Bayern, Österreich und Böhmen schneiden. [...] Wer aber glaubt, daß Dreisessel verwaist ist, irrt. Er ist zu einem Wallfahrtsort derer geworden, die einst über die Grenze wohnten und von hier einen Blick in ihre heimatlichen Gefilde von Prachatitz, Schüttenhofen, Bergreichenstein, Krummau, Kaplitz, Budweis werfen wollen, um, wenn auch nicht ihre Heimatorte, so doch in ihrer Nähe liegenden Berge zu sehen [...].⁴⁸²

Invoking Stifter's “Grenzknoten, wo das böhmische Land mit Österreich und Baiern zusammenstößt,” memorable from the opening of *Der Hochwald*, the above contribution was one of several Sudeten German attempts to communicate also the rhythm of Stifter's prose.⁴⁸³ In the 1950s and 1960s in particular, expellee periodicals stylistically blended Stifter's own writings and Sudeten German lyrical musings on their borderland visits.

⁴⁸¹ Lackenhäuser, a place at the foot of the Dreisessel close to the Rosenberggut, where Stifter worked on his *Witiko*, now hosts a monument commemorating the expulsion of Germans from the Bohemian Forest.

⁴⁸² gkm, “Dreisessel—Schnittpunkt dreier Länder,” *Volksbote* 4, no. 1 (5 January 1952): 7.

⁴⁸³ Stifter, op. cit., 207.



Figure 29. “Noch weiter vermag der Blick vom Dreisessel zu schweifen.” Obliquely drawing attention to the lineage of the *Blick in die Heimat* supposedly reaching back to Stifter, a 1955 issue of *Marienbad-Tepler Heimatbrief* reprinted a poem it attributed to the author.⁴⁸⁴ It appeared without commentary. Further elaboration on its subject matter, style, and, finally, its place within the cultural scope of the *Heimatblatt* may have seemed superfluous to the editors because the piece, in a sense, replicated the expellees’ own contributions:

Sehnend sitze ich hier und hefte das Aug’ in die Ferne.
 Dort, wo des Himmels Blau sanft sich mit Bergen vermischt,
 dämmert das freundliche Land der verlassenen Heimat herüber,
 dorten der neblichte Streif, oh, ich erkenne ihn gut,
 dort ist hochaufragend der Wald, der die Heimat beginnt.
 Glänzendes Jugendland! Wär’ ich doch wieder in dir!
 Oh, es war schön, da der Baum, worunter ich spielte,
 schön, da des Vaters Haus, schön, da das heimische Tal
 meine Welt war...

⁴⁸⁴ The poem does not appear in the Insel Verlag edition of Stifter’s *Gesammelte Werke*. However, in the present context ascertaining Stifter’s authorship is less important than the fact of the attribution.

Hier, im fernen Land, hier werde ich nimmermehr glücklich.⁴⁸⁵

Both the fact that this poem was reproduced and the manner in which it was presented to the readers suggest that Stifter's Sudeten German admirers believed that nostalgia shaped much of Stifter's life and *œuvre*. Consequently, this belief facilitated a seamless incorporation of his writings into the corpus of mottled expellee works published in similar media.⁴⁸⁶ Not only Johanna and Clarissa's longing, but also perceptions of nostalgia's preponderance in Stifter's own biography propelled him into the ranks of postwar Sudeten German patron saints. It was "Heimweh [...]," wrote Fritz Huemer-Kreiner, the author of the *Heimat*-test, "das im Herzen Stifters zu keimen begonnen hatte, als er, ein junges Studentlein, nach Kremsmünster gekommen war, und Heimweh war es, das ihm nach langjährigen Vorstudien die Kraft zur Gestaltung des 'Witiko' gab."⁴⁸⁷

Already prior to the publication of the poem attributed to Stifter, at the early formative stage of their *Gebetswall*, Sudeten Germans used nostalgia to forge genealogical links between their visual practices and Stifter's persona. It was as if the author and the expellees could become one by looking through the eyes of his niece:

In einem kleinen bayerischen Dorfe [...] lebte in einem kleinen Stübchen die Großnichte des Dichters Adalbert Stifter, Fräulein Emma Stifter [...]. Ueber endloses, flaches Wiesen- und Ackerland suchten ihre Blicke Tag für Tag den Bayerischen Wald, der an klaren Tagen als ferne Silhouette den Ausblick abschließt. Rasch tauchte dann in sehnsuchtsvollen heimatlichen Traumbildern der Böhmerwald mit dem Geburtsorte Adalbert Stifters, Oberplan, auf. [...] Als ich das erstmal Emma Stifter besuchte, da sagte sie [...]: "Mein Großonkel wird wohl nie daran gedacht haben, daß einmal die Großnichte [...] aus der

⁴⁸⁵ *Marienbad-Tepler Heimatbrief* 8, no. 86/11 (November 1955): 203.

⁴⁸⁶ Although politically distant from the expellee circles, Peter Becher's recent Stifter biography draws places emphasis on the title of Stifter's last painting, "Sehnsucht."

⁴⁸⁷ Fritz Huemer-Kreiner, "Adalbert Stifter und Böhmen," *Böhmerwäldler Heimatbrief* 79 (March 1955): 301.

Heimat vertrieben würde.⁴⁸⁸

On the one hand, framed by the rhythm of recurrent diminutives reminiscent of Stifter's prose, the passage stylistically approximates Emma Stifter's strenuous attempts to catch a glimpse of her *Heimat* to those of the heroines of *Der Hochwald*. On the other hand, the fact of her expulsion and her use of landscape for mnemonic projection, i.e. her substitution of vision (*Blick*) with representation (*Bild*) coded her as a participant in the Sudeten German borderland culture. In the passage she functions as a temporal mediatrix between her distant ancestor and Sudeten Germans. At the same time she is also a genealogical extension of her uncle, who was to circulate as a proxy between the expellees and West Germans. Through Sudeten German periodicals of the early 1950s, the visual streak of Stifter's writing, buttressed by nostalgia's perspectival regime, evolves into an account of Emma's modest postwar existence to create a direction of looking that unifies both the expellees and their hosts. Whereas sociological writings in the tradition of Georg Simmel attribute to the eye "the einzigartige soziologische Leistung" of "Verknüpfung und Wechselwirkung der Individuen," here it is rather the visual trajectory that both groups share that produces a form of connection between them, a connection that becomes culturally manifest in Stifter's 1954 ascent to the Valhalla.⁴⁸⁹ The last lookout tower built as part of the Sudeten German *Gebetswall* sprang up in the Bohemian Forest (Stadlern), in close proximity to sites haunted by Stifter and his characters. Notably a work of both "Heimatvertriebene und Einheimische," according to an expellee reporter, the tower let eyesight usurp functions commonly attributed to language, morphing into a tangible and "visible

⁴⁸⁸ R. Adolph, "Abschied von Emma Stifter. Die Großnichte Adalbert Stifters heimatvertrieben in Bayern verstorben," *Der Volksbote* 3, no. 60 (17 November 1951): 7. Adolph's interventions in postwar discussions of language among Sudeten Germans will be discussed in Chapter Three.

⁴⁸⁹ Georg Simmel, "Exkurs über die Soziologie der Sinne," *Soziologie*, 723.

expression” of nostalgia:

Nachdem das Land an der Grenze mit seinen Bergen [...] wenigstens den Blick über den ‘Eisernen Vorhang’ freigibt, lag es nahe, dem Gedanken an das frühere Zuhause sichtbaren Ausdruck zu verleihen. So kam vor einigen Jahren die Idee auf, einen [...] Turm zu errichten, um sich gewissermaßen mit den Augen der früheren Heimat zu erinnern.⁴⁹⁰

In this last tower, the visual moment indeed succeeded in merging perspectives of a self-proclaimed diaspora and the nation, for which Stifter’s canonization constituted a literary precedent. Perspective, which Damisch described as “characterized by the conjunction, the bringing together [...] of lines” (xxi), here joined two initially opposing collectives. Like other multimedial documents of Sudeten German borderland culture, the tower simultaneously located Sudeten Germans in the *Mittelpunkt* of Cold War Europe and on the periphery of the nation. This suggests that diasporicity may have been complementary, to some extent, rather than strictly antithetical to the nation.

8. Coda

The interplay between locations at the center of Europe and on the periphery of West Germany and the Cold War West at large was characteristic of much of the Sudeten German borderland culture discussed in this dissertation. This conjuncture raises many questions regarding the relationship between spatiality and diaspora. Scholarly evaluation of this relationship, especially in anthropology, has articulated two opposing views. The first strand that I am about to discuss suggests that diasporas are, in a sense, despatialized entities. The second, with which I will conclude,

⁴⁹⁰ Anon., “Böhmerwaldaussichtsturm: Weit geht der Blick ins heimatlich-vertraute Land. Auf dem Gartenfels (896 m) bei Stadlern: Gemeinschaftswerk Vertriebener und Einheimischer.” *Volksbote* 36, no. 30 (27 July 1984): 5.

criticizes the excessive spatialization of diaspora, at least within the academic framework of diaspora studies.

James Clifford's influential work on travel and translation, which includes discussion of diaspora, illustrates the former approach by advocating despatialization as a defining feature of diasporic formations. Clifford compares various approaches to border cultures and diasporas and finds differences rather than similarities to be at the core of their disciplinary rapport:

Border theorists have recently argued for the critical centrality of formerly marginal histories and cultures of crossing [...]. These approaches share a good deal with diaspora paradigms. But borderlands are distinct in that they presuppose a territory defined by a geopolitical line: two sides arbitrarily separated and policed, but also joined by legal and illegal practices of crossing and communication. Diasporas usually presuppose longer distances and a separation more like exile: a constitutive taboo on return, or its postponement to a remote future. Diasporas also connect multiple communities of a dispersed population. Systematic border crossings may be part of this interconnection, but multilocal diaspora cultures are not necessarily defined by a specific geopolitical boundary.⁴⁹¹

For diasporas, which are, in Clifford's definition, transnational formations, borders matter only in so far as they exist in order to be constantly overcome. In Clifford's view, both the legitimacy and meaning of diaspora derive from the border-crossing moment. However, if "a territory defined by a geopolitical line" has no place in this paradigm, how is one to assess Sudeten Germans as a self-proclaimed diaspora in the light of their attachment to a boundary that separated not only their home and 'host' country, but also the Cold War-era blocs? Moreover, how is it possible to interpret their diasporicity in tandem with their pre- and postwar self-definition as *Grenzlanddeutsche*? Contrary to Clifford's definition, the proximity and accessibility

⁴⁹¹ James Clifford, op. cit., 246.

of *Heimat* defies “longer distances.” Yet over time proximity and accessibility of *Heimat* helped Sudeten Germans validate their diasporic claims in nostalgic visual practices. While undoubtedly conceiving themselves as a “multilocale diaspora” culture, Sudeten Germans consistently made the border—not less than *Heimat* itself—into a reference point through which they defined their diasporicity.

However, my most important point is not that the border itself performed the work of definition. This boundary derives its significance from the fact that was more than just a border. The border’s pivotal role in shaping visual cultures of the Cold War brings me to the second approach, which privileges space at the expense of, for instance, cultural circulation of embodiment or, perhaps, time. In Brian Axel’s opinion, both precede and condition spatial categories, which end up being, in the case of the Sikh diaspora he examines, mostly secondary and derivative.⁴⁹²

Anthropological approaches that have formed the core of diaspora studies, he argues, suffer from a “fetishism of origins,” characterized by the alleged supremacy of ‘homeland’ as the constituent without which diaspora is unthinkable.⁴⁹³ The scholarly desire to distinguish one diaspora from another by genealogically tracing them to their respective spatial origins, the need “to put people in their proper place,” results in cementing ‘homeland’ in recent academic discourse.⁴⁹⁴ This suggests that ‘homeland’ is not a referent that emerges from within actual diasporas.

Precisely because it is difficult, if not impossible, to think about Sudeten Germans without giving consideration to their engagement with spatial categories—*Heimat* and *Grenze* being the most prominent among them—one may need to rethink the status accorded these spatial terms. For what matters most is perhaps not *that* their culture—which they describe as a borderland culture in spatial terms—uses space but

⁴⁹² Brian Keith Axel, “The Context of Diaspora,” *Cultural Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (2004): 28-32.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

how space is being used. As discussed in this chapter, nostalgia's perspectival mode assigns *Heimat* the role of a visual vanishing point and construes the Iron Curtain as a surface that regulates visibility and invisibility in ways that Cold War ideology cannot capture. This model largely denatures space as much as it denatures vision. In the present context one can no longer unproblematically take *Heimat* to mean a physical place of origin to which Sudeten Germans desire to return—a desire most expellees no longer have. Rather, under the conditions of the Cold War, *Heimat* becomes an indispensable constituent in a series of visual encounters between East and West, expellees and West Germans, center and periphery—a constituent nostalgically synthesized at the intersection between the *Blick* and the *Bild*.

CHAPTER THREE

WRITING ON THE BORDERLANDS: “SUDETEN GERMAN LITERATURE” IN POSTWAR LITERARY CRITICISM

1. Languages of Postwar Germany

In March 1953, seven years after the first ethnic Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia arrived in Germany, an article titled “Allerlei Sprachliches. Haben Einheimische und Heimatvertriebene zweierlei Schriftdeutsch?” set off alarm among readers of an expellee paper.⁴⁹⁵ The foremost concern of Alois Reinl, its Sudeten German author, was a jarring incongruity between two kinds of German circulating in the postwar Federal Republic. Alongside the vernacular familiar from the *Heimat*, Reinl detects its disturbingly distinct West German counterpart: “Beim Rundfunkhören und Lesen von Zeitungsberichten fallen mir immer wieder sprachliche Formen auf, die in meiner sudetendeutschen Heimat nicht gebraucht wurden.” Derived from the author’s relatively recent exposure to the West German media, his observation first appears to suggest that the disjuncture he perceives is nothing but a clash between the Sudeten German *Muttersprache*, saturated with the colorful *Heimat* idiom spoken on the Bohemian or Moravian periphery, and a less vibrant and more standardized German into which he and his fellow expellees arrived after 1945. Yet it turns out that his concern with detecting, documenting, and exposing the alienating and “unfamiliar forms of expression”—“*diese fremde Ausdrucksweise*,” as Reinl dubs them—is anything but the reaction of a mere provincial transplanted into a cultural center. When Reinl declares: “*Wir* haben in diesen Fällen anders gesprochen und geschrieben,” he proceeds to make it clear that “wir”—i.e. Sudeten Germans—spoke and wrote not only in High German but in the

⁴⁹⁵ Alois Reinl, “Allerlei Sprachliches. Haben Einheimische und Heimatvertriebene zweierlei Schriftdeutsch?” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6:9 (28 February 1953): 5. Further quotes, loc. cit.

highest German conceivable.

Reinl's notes offer not only an insight into the formal properties of these two languages; they function also as a vignette of German society after the war. Numerous examples straddling a broad spectrum of lexical, grammatical, and phonetic usage—both oral and written—support the author's troubling discovery of two forms of German. Their cultural content, saturated with references to legal terms and procedures, comments also on the formative years of the Federal Republic and a prominent role assigned to legislation in the burgeoning West German state:

Es wurde beispielsweise ein neu erschienenes Gesetz oder eine neue Verordnung besprochen. In dem Bericht darüber las ich u.a.: *In ihm* (gemeint ist das Gesetz) "heißt es" [...]. Wir würden [...] sagen: "Darin heißt es...". Die Worte "vielfach" und "mehrfach" gebrauchen wir in den folgenden Sätzen, die ich sehr oft hörte und las, nicht: "Der Angeklagte ist *mehrfach* (*vielfach*) vorbestraft" [...]. Wir gebrauchen in diesen Sätzen das Wort "mehrmals"; denn der Angeklagte ist doch mehrere Male vorbestraft worden [...].

Recurrent mentions of a generic category of people accused (*Angeklagte*) under a nonspecific law (*Gesetz*) point to a panoply of literal and figurative trials that (western) Germany was to undergo in the first postwar decade. These ranged from the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1945-1946 to the difficult task of integrating millions of newly arrived expellees. In the early 1950s, the *Lastenausgleichsgesetz* (Equalization of Burdens Law, 1952) and the *Bundesvertriebenengesetz* (Federal Expellee Law, 1953) were both eagerly anticipated by Sudeten Germans as some of these laws' most direct beneficiaries. Reinl's 1953 piece thus points to laws to be observed, not violated.⁴⁹⁶ Yet these real-life laws find only faint echoes in the abstract *Gesetz* quoted in his article,

⁴⁹⁶ As I note in the introduction, the *Bundesvertriebenengesetz* defined such categories as *Vertriebene* and *Heimatvertriebene* inclusively rather than exclusively (i.e. no longer restricted to residence within German borders of 1937), making Sudeten Germans full-fledged citizens of the Federal Republic.

being instead invoked merely as linguistic examples. The author's criticisms target not the content of the proceedings to which he alludes and not even their immediate form. Drawing attention to the language in which proceedings were discussed, his own legal idiom serves to expose putative crimes of language. Reinl's relapsed criminals are West Germans themselves. Their use and abuse of language allegorically constitutes, in the eyes of the author, the ineloquent record of their repeated offenses.

Linguistic distinctions that Reinl brings to the fore add a new dimension to the commonly accepted postwar dichotomy between the so-called "alte Sprache," or the "language of the Third Reich," so effectively described by Victor Klemperer in his *LTI; Notizbuch eines Philologen*, and the purging simplicity of a "neue Sprache," which finds its way into "rubble" and "Kahlschlag" [clear cutter] literature of the late 1940s and early 1950s.⁴⁹⁷ Yet at stake in Reinl's emphatic lament is not a diachronic caesura that symbolically marks a passing of one historical period and an advent of paradigmatic change deemed capable of ushering in a new era.⁴⁹⁸ His argument aims to resurrect a pristine linguistic whole rather than reinvent a language from meager scraps (the "Rest[e] der Sprache, die unzerstört geblieben waren, nicht korrumpiert durch den Gebrauch der Nazis," Guntermann 17). Reinl embraces such scraps in order to point to the massive scale of destruction and corruption. Yet he brackets such reconsiderations inaugurated by historical change in order to draw attention to disparities in cultural synchronicity as encapsulated in syntagmatic differences. At the same time, Reinl's complaints literally translate concerns with the postwar condition

⁴⁹⁷ Victor Klemperer, *LTI; Notizbuch eines Philologen* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1947). Hermann Glasner, *Kleine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945-1989* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1991), 133-134.

⁴⁹⁸ I refer to Gruppe 47 and its mythologies of starting from square one, well encapsulated in such terms as "Stunde Null," "Kahlschlag," and "Trümmerliteratur." For a critical re-evaluation of the Group 47, see Klaus Briegleb, *Missachtung und Tabu: eine Streitschrift zur Frage: "Wie antisemitisch war die Gruppe 47?"* (Berlin: Philo, 2003) and articles in Stephan Braese, ed. *Bestandaufnahme: Studien zur Gruppe 47* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1999).

of language into preoccupations with the role that language would play in the Cold War and division of Germany. His remarks thus gesture to the significance of the postwar and the Cold War eras as distinct periods, which is a theme I articulate and explore in more detail in the epilogue to this dissertation.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, his account suggests that divisive fault lines of the new period, political and cultural alike, may not neatly coincide with or be confined to the rift between East and West Germany alone.⁵⁰⁰

Accusing West Germans of the oddities of their newspaper speak, Reinl relies on rhetorical reiteration of a binary of mismatched speech parts to distinguish between two kinds of German. In the article, a territorial “hier” refers to a geographically proximate but ostensibly culturally distant West Germany and conflicts with a personal, heartfelt “wir.” The asymmetrical pairing of the rhymed “hier” (rather than the plural “sie) and “wir” (rather than “dort”) introduces the displacement of the Sudeten German expellees in the FRG:

Hier wird ausnahmslos ‘lediglich’ statt ‘nur’ verwendet. Wir verwenden das schlichte ‘nur’. Z.B.: ‘Es hat sich *lediglich* um einen Ausnahmefall gehandelt’ statt ‘Es hat sich *nur* um einen Ausnahmefall gehandelt’. [...] Bei uns wird in dem Wort ‘Gas’ das ‘a’ lang, hier kurz gesprochen, wie Gaß. Das ‘u’ in ‘Geruch’ sprechen wir lang, hier wird es kurz gesprochen. [...] Bei uns hat die Mehrzahl von ‘Erlaß’ ‘Erlässe’, hier ‘Erlasse’. Die Mehrzahl von ‘Lager’ heißt hier ‘Läger’, bei uns ‘Lager’. Also Einzahl ‘das Lager’, Mehrzahl ‘die Lager’.

Yet just how dissimilar is the idiom used by Reinl’s “we” from the language circulating “here,” in West Germany? The range of verbal illustrations to his case

⁴⁹⁹ For an extensive analysis of this topic, see Horst Dieter Schlosser, *Es wird zwei Deutschlands geben: Zeitgeschichte und Sprache in Nachkriegsdeutschland 1945-1949* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2005).

⁵⁰⁰ By East and West Germany I refer to occupation zones that would in 1949 become the GDR and FRG, respectively. In expellee terminology, however, *Ostdeutschland* refers to the former German territories in the East, while *Mitteldeutschland* is reserved for the GDR.

suggests that these signification systems may have been much more proximate that Reindl was willing to admit. They converged on the level of content, rather than form. Although his examples do draw a line between the “simple” (*schlicht*) German of the Sudeten expellees and its unnecessarily complex version spoken by West Germans, they at the same time obliquely acknowledge that both forms reflect their speakers’ shared past. While echoes of the Third Reich never rise to the status of the proper object of the author’s scrutiny, they resound uncannily in his notes. Despite efforts to distinguish, lexically, paradigmatically, and phonetically, the language of his *Landsleute* from that spoken in West Germany, Reindl’s examples nevertheless imply that Sudeten Germans and their hosts were both haunted by the semantic specters of the Nazi past. The passage’s amalgamation of vocabulary which, according to Heidrun Kämper, circulates in discourses of both victims and perpetrators in the wake of World War II, implicitly dates Reindl’s piece and situates the Sudeten German expellees in postwar Germany.⁵⁰¹

Nevertheless, the phonetics and morphology of Reindl’s examples trump their semantic function in a particular historical moment, he suggests. In the language imagined as a sequence of examples showcasing linguistic variance, meaning becomes not only secondary to form but altogether dispensable. His discussion decontextualizes the “Geruch” of “Gas” and “Lager,” whatever their vowel length or plural form, to the extent that it could refer equally to war-time extermination of Jews or postwar living conditions among expellees.⁵⁰² It is as if, by eliding content-

⁵⁰¹ Heidrun Kämper, *Der Schuldiskurs in der frühen Nachkriegszeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sprachlichen Umbruchs nach 1945* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005) and *Opfer—Täter—Nichttäter: Ein Wörterbuch zum Schuldiskurs 1945-1955* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007). Kämper argues that the issue of guilt is the singular element that unifies three distinct postwar discourses of victims, perpetrators, and bystanders (*Nichttäter*). Otherwise, “diese drei Subdiskurse [sind] eigenständige Systeme [...] hinsichtlich der jeweiligen Fokussierung des Themas ‘Schuld’, der Argumentation und der lexikalischen Register.” See *Der Schuldiskurs in der frühen Nachkriegszeit*, 10.

⁵⁰² See Brenda Melendy, “Expellees on Strike: Competing Victimization Discourses and the Dachau Refugee Camp Protest Movement, 1948-1949,” *German Studies Review* 28, no. 1 (February 2005): 107ff.

specific meaning, Reinl unwittingly becomes part of the “postwar population of Germany” that Margarete and Alexander Mitscherlich once characterized as neurotically blocking re-presentations of the immediate Nazi past.⁵⁰³

Reinl is thus hardly interested in exploring how this shared past may transpire through language. In the course of his article, the unacknowledged similarity between Sudeten Germans and (West) Germans becomes a mere platform for re-asserting difference. The author’s observations not only anticipate Wilhlem Pleyer’s programmatic “Das Deutsch aller Deutschen: Aus Böhmen,” featured in an eponymous essay of 1967.⁵⁰⁴ Rather than making a historical claim that positions his *Heimat* as the cradle of High German—a view prevalent in Prague prior to the 1890s—Reinl designates the Sudeten expellees as singular present-day carriers of its unadulterated form.⁵⁰⁵ Instead of conforming to the widely accepted image of the expellees “preserving disappearing folk arts” materialized in “dialect, traditional costumes, folksongs” under the banner of their now proverbial *Heimat* cult,⁵⁰⁶ Reinl and his future interlocutors turn this cliché topsy-turvy. *They* are the surviving carriers of the disappearing High German form, whereas their hosts speak little more than a dialect. Once again, periphery and center trade places, and the shift in their roles codes the borderlands as culturally focal rather than marginal.⁵⁰⁷ It is as if,

⁵⁰³ Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior*, tr. Beverley Placzek (New York: Grove Press, 1975), 17.

⁵⁰⁴ Wilhelm Pleyer, “Das Deutsch aller Deutschen: Aus Böhmen,” *Europas unbekanntes Mitte: Ein politisches Lesebuch* (Munich and Stuttgart: Bogen-Verlag, 1967), 75-77. Pleyer, an influential Sudeten German author and activist well known for his consistent right-wing sympathies, connects Prague as “the cradle of modern High German” with the periphery. Allegedly, help from Mattäus Goldhahn, a “Sudeten German” (a term Pleyer uses anachronistically) from Komotau/Chomutov in northwest Bohemia was instrumental to Martin Luther’s efforts to translate the Bible into the German vernacular.

⁵⁰⁵ Around this time, according to Scott Spector, “[t]he crystalline High German that Praguers were thought to have spoken seemed suddenly an outrageous, artificial creation, a stage German, a theater prop, with no relation to the *real* spoken German.” See his *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka’s Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 75-76.

⁵⁰⁶ Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 25 and 22.

⁵⁰⁷ In his brilliant study of nationalizing language frontiers in Austria-Hungary around 1900, Pieter Judson comments on a much earlier political parallel that “endowed [language frontiers] with a

miraculously preserved within the confines of interwar *Sprachgrenzen*, the *old* language of the Sudeten German periphery were emerging unscathed and pure from the postwar rubble. Rising from the ashes, it is untouched by the ongoing search for a *new* usable language, a pursuit that had preoccupied postwar West (and, in different ways, East) German intellectuals since the late 1940s. A phoenix reborn, the High German of the expellees takes on the mission of castigating and possibly even delivering West German speakers of “irgendeiner Mundart,” for whom “Läger” constituted a linguistic norm.⁵⁰⁸

Judging from a stream of letters to the editors of *Der Sudetendeutsche*, a periodical that strove to position itself as a non-partisan expellee organ, Reinl’s *Landsleute* nodded in overwhelming agreement. Introducing one of the responses, the editors note: “[d]ie zustimmenden Leserbriefe [...] waren so zahlreich und angefüllt mit gleichen oder ähnlichen Beispielen, daß wir uns freuen [...], es doch ‘einmal gesagt zu haben’.”⁵⁰⁹ The readers’ letters eagerly broadened the scope of differences between the *Heimat* way of speaking and the state of language in the young FRG, both written and spoken. At the same time they made few distinctions between the German of Prague and the Sudeten German borderlands. The phonetic challenge of “geröntgt” (rather than “röntgenisiert”) constituted one such vivid example. In the words of Heinrich Helm, a former Prague resident in considerable command of the Czech “strc [sic] prst zkrz [sic] krk,” his “wohldurchtrainiert[e] Zunge” proves incapable of mastering ‘das vertrackte ‘ntgt’.”⁵¹⁰ As if to suggest

particular significance as the premier sites of national conflict.” See his *Guardians of the Nation*, 14.

⁵⁰⁸ For a concise discussion of Bohemian *Sprachgrenzen* between Czech- and German-populated areas as they evolved since the early twentieth century, see Spector, *op. cit.*, 73-75.

⁵⁰⁹ G. David Stelzig, “Um die Einheit der deutschen Sprache. Ein Artikel im SUDETENDEUTSCHEN und das sprachliche Babylon unserer Zeit,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 11 (14 March 1953): 5. Further quotes, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹⁰ Heinrich Helm, “Der Artikel des Tages,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 11 (14 March 1953): 5. Further references, *loc. cit.* “Strč prst skrz krk,” a tongue-twister meaning “stick your finger through your neck,” is a proverbial example of the sparing use of vowels (whose function is taken on by the liquids such as “r”) in Czech.

gastronomic unpalatability—mixed with haunting foreignness—of such West German idiosyncrasies to that very tongue, G. David Stelzig, another peeved respondent, complains: “[d]ie hiesige Hausfrau [...] kocht gern ‘*Frikasse mit Chamignons*’ und reicht dazu eine ‘*Sosse*’, die ‘schön’ oder ‘lecker schmeckt’ und wahrscheinlich mit drei ‘s’ geschrieben wird.” With disgruntled sarcasm Stelzig’s article places various thwarted syntagms and flawed grammatical paradigms encountered by the expellees in West Germany under the looking glass for Sudeten German scrutiny.

“You like potato, I like potahto”—Ira Gershwin’s memorable summary of a seemingly unbridgeable, if not strictly phonetic gap—finds a sonorous echo in the following lines from Stelzig’s letter:

Meinetwegen mögen sie reden, wie sie wollen, unsere Ohren haben sich in sieben Jahren schon an manches gewöhnt. Aber daß es Landsleute gibt, die [...] unsere guten, altbewahrten Erdäpfel verleugnen und nur noch Kartoffeln essen, weil es ‘mein Mann nicht will, daß ich noch Erdäpfel sage’, wie ich kürzlich von einer Bekannten aus der Heimat zu hören bekam, das könnte mich zur Raserei bringen. Zu diesen ‘Ungelernten’ zählen auch alle jene, die nur ‘Kleidchen’ und ‘Blüschen’ tragen, auch wenn sie Größe 52 benötigen [...]. Wenn sie wüßten, wie lächerlich diese ‘Wörtchen’ und ‘Sätzchen’ sich im ‘Mündchen’ eines Sudetendeutschen ausnehmen, würden sie vielleicht doch lieber so reden, wie ihnen der Schnabel gewachsen ist. Mich wundert nur, daß ihre Zungen sich nicht sträuben, so zu sprechen. Meine wenigstens tut es.

On the one hand, Stelzig appears to be most concerned with putting an end to the immediate concern of his title, the “sprachliche Babylon unserer Zeit”—a communicative chaos perceived to reflect the postwar condition linked, in this case, not to the arrival of millions of expellees but to the sorry state of German they have come to find in their so-called *neue Heimat*. Indeed, under the Cold War conditions of German division, such linguistic disparities appeared subversive and threatening to a

group that devoted at least as much attention to the question of German unity as it did to the recuperation of *Heimat*.⁵¹¹ Given the unrivaled role assigned to language in this reconstitutive (and no doubt revisionist) project, it was not without bitter reproach that Heinrich Helm conceded regarding the efforts to restore “einiges Deutschland und [...] Einheit”: “zusammengeschweißt hat uns [...] bisher nur die Sprache allein.” However, while seemingly attempting to reinstate this sole link between expellees and West Germans, the interventions of 1953 ended up unwittingly foreshadowing another significant “communicative dissonance”—Patrick Stevenson’s term for linguistic inflections of the German east-west divide—in Germany’s Cold War culture.⁵¹²

Stelzig’s heading—“Um die Einheit der deutschen Sprache. Ein Artikel im SUDETENDEUTSCHEN und das sprachliche Babylon unserer Zeit”—thus translates the Sudeten German dilemma into a Cold War preoccupation with German unity. However, as I discuss in more detail in the epilogue, Sudeten German engagement in the Cold War goes beyond a clear-cut German-German binary. The focus within the debate of 1953 on the Sudeten expellees as a third party in the equation of

⁵¹¹ Matthias Stickler, op. cit., 123. This overlap existed in the administrative structure of the Federal Republic, where until 1969 *Gesamtdeutsches Ministerium* had at least partial responsibility for both the German-German relations and for the affairs of those expelled from the so-called German territories in the East. Stickler, as many other historians and political scientists, tends to see the expellee *Heimatpolitik*, focused on the return to *Heimat*, as an exclusive hinge in the relationship of the expellees to West Germans. By turning to discussions of language, I hope to expand Stickler’s scope beyond political programs of the expellee leaders and to observe some particularities of the expellees’ contradictory culture.

For a summary of sociolinguistic views on the mother tongue as “the foundation of identity” and it is a critique of this views’ ideological appropriations in the German context, see Christopher Hutton, *Linguistics and the Third Reich: Mother-Tongue Fascism, Race, and the Science of Language* (London: Routledge, 1999), 285ff.

⁵¹² Stevenson derives his term from Victor Klemperer’s 1954 publication focused on the “gegenwärtige[n] Sprachsituation in Deutschland.” Patrick Stevenson, *Language and German Disunity: A Sociolinguistic History of East and West in Germany, 1945-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3 and 32. On extensive citations regarding discussions of “*Sprachspaltung*” between East and West Germany in the 1950s, see pages 31-34. An overview of the historical relationship between the question of language and national unity appears on pages 15-24. For an analysis of the formative stage in the “deutsch-deutsche Sprachdifferenzierung” and the role of political caesurae in the context of linguistic usage, see Schlosser, op. cit., passim.

Germanness complicates the inter-German dynamic, which can no longer be reduced to a conflict between East and West Germans. Its repeated invocations of unity notwithstanding, the polemic points to rifts in Germanness that cannot be attributed only to ideological polarities characteristic of the era or to borders between states or ideological and political blocs. Likewise, the “communicative dissonance” is not confined to the fault lines between the East and the West. Stelzig’s alarming critique brings the communicative gap much closer to home. It suggests that the singularly important linguistic foundation of national unity is jeopardized not by an external or even internal other. Rather, it is threatened already by cultural practices common among the very citizens of the Federal Republic, West Germans who subvert linguistic norms.⁵¹³ Consequently, overcoming disunity entails more than combating the ideologically tinged East-West vocabularies that Stevenson so convincingly profiles. It mandates defending the language from the onslaught of the emerging postwar consumption culture and its suite of fashionable diminutives such as “Kleidchen” and “Blüschen.” No matter how strong or desirable the impact of the economic miracle may be it should have minimal consequences for the language standard, according to Stelzig.

At the same time, although his title suggests that purging postwar vocabularies will foil yet another rift between expellees and their hosts, in his despondent conclusion Stelzig leaves the latter to “speak as they wish.” The separation between “sie,” i.e. West Germans, and “Landsleute,” whom he instructs to continue to speak “wie ihnen der Schnabel gewachsen ist” becomes entrenched in his text as no other element of his rhetoric. In this discourse, self-preservationist undertones discussed in

⁵¹³ Helm, furthermore, dates such encroachments upon the purity of Sudeten German language practices to 1939, when the Sudetenland was annexed to the Third Reich. In his view, impurities infiltrated Sudeten German usage concurrently with the entry of German troops: “Machen wir uns nichts vor: Schon vor 15 Jahren mußten wir uns, wenn auch anfangs kopfschüttelnd, auf höheren Befehl ins ‘Benehmen’ setzen, ‘Scharkow’ mutete uns etwas spanisch an, und die ‘Waggongs’?” Helm, loc. cit.

Chapter Two have little to do with safeguarding the folkloric authenticity of either “Stammesart und Brauchtum,”⁵¹⁴ for which the expellees have become and remain popularly known, or of “das Regionale und Besondere,” characteristic of *Heimat*-bound cultural production in general.⁵¹⁵ On the contrary, participants in the discussions of 1953 tend to caution against such manifestations of the Sudeten German “Eigenart” as dialects. In Helm’s poetic words, the latter “gleichen dem Blumentepich in Gottes freier Natur, der auch seine Blütenpracht aus der heimatlichen Scholle schöpft und damit unser Herz erfreut.” But, in contrast to High German, they require little care—“sie pflegen sich hinreichend selbst.” Together with linguistic abuses that Sudeten Germans detect among the populace of the Federal Republic, dialects represent another significant internal threat: “Indessen sollten wir uns davor hüten, daß unsere Liebe zu ihnen nicht zu einer Affenliebe ausarte.”

The task of both Helm and Stelzig then lay not only in minimizing the impact of “sprachliches Babylon,” an expression used in reference to humankind’s post-deluvian unity run amok. The undercurrent of their writing was also meant to reverse some of the deleterious outcomes the Babel-like condition often had on social perceptions of Sudeten Germans held by others.⁵¹⁶ Even though preaching to the choir, the authors never tire of reminding their readers that emphasis in the word *Sudetendeutsch* is to be placed first and foremost on “deutsch.” Responding to the widespread cliché of a distinctly backward, inarticulate, and undoubtedly

⁵¹⁴ Stickler, op. cit., 359.

⁵¹⁵ Elizabeth Boa, “Sprachenverkehr. Hybrides Schreiben in Werken von Özdamar, Özakin und Demirkan,” *Interkulturelle Konfigurationen. Zur deutschsprachigen Literatur von Autoren nichtdeutscher Herkunft* (Munich: Iudicum Verlag, 1997), 116. Boa’s words apply to regional literature within Germany.

⁵¹⁶ Already four years earlier Bruno Brehm, one of the most prominent interwar and war-time Sudeten German nationalist writers and political activists, wrote along similar lines on the pages of the same periodical: “Außerdem sollte das Wort ‘Sudetendeutscher’—einmal geographisch gesehen—die Herkunft zeigen, zum anderen sollte die Silbe ‘deutsch’ zumindest innerhalb der Zonen keine Verwunderung mehr auslösen, daß wir Vertriebene aus der Tschechoslowakei ‘sogar’ deutsch sprechen, lesen und schreiben können.” Bruno Brehm, “Heimat ist Arbeit”, *Der Sudetendeutsche* 1, no: 1 (20 Juli 1949): 3.

criminalized refugee from the East—a stereotype neither new nor restricted to ethnic Germans—Helm explains:

So las ich z. B. vor ungefähr vier Jahren einen Steckbrief, dessen Verfasser den gesuchten Übeltäter aus der Masse der Unbescholtenen dadurch hervorzuheben glaubte, daß er in der Rubrik ‘besondere Merkmale’ anführte: ‘Der Gesuchte gebraucht beim Sprechen slawische Ausdrücke und Redewendungen, wie das im sog. Sudetendeutschen üblich ist’.”

Helm’s contribution, as well those made by numerous other respondents to the discussion, aims not only to debunk that stereotype, but ultimately to negate the very relevance of the “so-called Sudeten German parlance” as a form distinct from High German. Together, these individuals participate in the long-term process of “reranking Germanness.”⁵¹⁷ In the words of Winson Chu, they rearrange “discursive hierarchy” of who is more or less German while giving a nod to the instability and heterogeneity of Germanness as an ethnopolitical category.⁵¹⁸ At the same time, contributors to *Der Sudetendeutsche* fashion Sudeten Germans into a mouthpiece of linguistic homogeneity absent in and possibly unattainable for the rest of the nation. In their perception, ‘*ostdeutsch*’ does not just unproblematically merge into or equal ‘*gesamtdeutsch*’: it surpasses the latter.⁵¹⁹ This reversal of linguistic competence and

⁵¹⁷ Winson Chu, “‘Volksgemeinschaften unter sich’: German Minorities and Regionalism in Poland, 1918-1939,” in *German History from the Margins*, ed. Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 115 and 109, respectively. Chu employs his terms to suggest ethnic German diversity, rather than the unconditional national uniformity often attributed to the “Volksgemeinschaft,” in his study of permutations of the “Lodzger Mensch”—a cosmopolitan confluence of Germanness, Jewishness, and Polishness in interwar Łódź.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁵¹⁹ I refer here to Matthias Stickler’s study, which takes an expellee pronouncement (“Ostdeutsch heißt gesamtdeutsch”) as its point of departure to trace intersections between the work of “stammesbewußte” regional associations of expellees, on the one hand, and broader goals of West German politics from the Adenauer era to Willy Brandt’s *Ostpolitik*, on the other. The desire of Sudeten German activists to surpass the nation faintly echoes Stickler’s outline of their efforts to position themselves in the national vanguard of politics, in particular with regard to revision of Germany’s eastern borders (Stickler, *op. cit.*, 123). However, while their political work appears to have been inclusive, their approach to language does little to embrace West Germans.

the uncanny idiom, strange yet recognizable, that Sudeten expellees supposedly transport onto German soil lie at the core of cultural differences to be discussed here. Rather than furnishing a predictable importation of yet another dialect, authors and readers of *Der Sudetendeutsche* take it upon themselves to repatriate, albeit belatedly, linguistic echoes that, in their mind, should be more than familiar. As they extricate themselves from the ranks of social and linguistic transgressors and turn the tables on their West German hosts, Sudeten German activists single themselves out as a minority stripped of its conventional attributes, such as ethnic otherness, a possibly substandard command of the language spoken by the majority, and a political agenda alternative to or conflicting with that of the host country.

An oblique comment on the debates accompanying expellee integration—which long served as a framework for assessing the absorption of millions of newly arrived ethnic Germans—such self-reinvention shares in the vocabulary widely used to capture and define these complex social processes. After the war, terms of this vocabulary were not restricted to the economic aspect of incorporating these Germans. Their circulation allowed to pose questions no less fundamental: What is expellee culture? Is its preservation desirable and, if so, would it slow down or even prevent integration? What status should it receive in West Germany? Expellee particularity (*Eigenart*) was at stake whenever the question of integration came up. How did the West German society (and its laws, in particular) interpret this *Eigenart*? And did these definitions retain their validity for the Sudeten German participants in the discussions of 1953?

Conventional narratives of *Eigenart* unfolded along the following lines. West German laws stipulated that as “gleichberechtigte Kulturbürger,” the expellees were free to safeguard their “kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Eigenart” or, in legal

terminology, the “Kulturgut der Vertriebenen.”⁵²⁰ Inscribed in §96 of the *Bundesvertriebenengesetz* (1953), “die Pflege des Kulturgutes der Vertriebenen” was broadly understood as an assemblage of regional practices in need of being preserved in area-specific libraries, museums, and archives. Committed to supporting the publication of obscure historical studies, dictionaries of dialects, collections of music and dialect literature (*Mundartdichtung*), among others, the law’s definition of cultural heritage distances the latter from the standard.

Nevertheless, sonorous echoes of perennial expellee complaints about their “nicht erfolgte Gleichstellung” in socio-economic, political, and cultural terms resonate in the discourse of 1953, whereas allusions to the expellees as “Bürger zweiter Klasse” extend well into the 1980s.⁵²¹ Although correspondents of *Der Sudetendeutsche* adopted such a position of alterity, presumably temporarily vacant after the erasure of German Jewry and before the arrival of guest workers in the mid-1950s, they maintained that otherness was *more*, not less. The discussions of 1953 digressed from official definitions of *Eigenart* and *Kulturgut* and invested the vocabulary of integration with meanings radically different from those commonly attached to these cultural assets. Self-preservation, as Reinl, Stelzig, and Helm postulate it, paradoxically inheres not in sustaining traits unique to Sudeten German expellees (i.e. their *Eigenart*), but rather in their exceptional position to nourish the supposedly vanishing standard High German culture and language. In this regard, the labor of self-preservation goes far beyond the cultivation of the “altbewahrten Erdäpfel,” a task focused on the narrow contours of the group and commonly associated with the first generation of the expellees in the Federal Republic—coincidentally, the generation of Reinl, Stelzig, and Helm.⁵²² Resistance to the

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 123

⁵²¹ Wilfried Schlau, “Zur kulturellen Gleichberechtigung der Flüchtlinge und Vertriebenen,” *Sudetenland* 30, no. 1 (1988): 44.

⁵²² The content of the debate runs contrary to conventional sociolinguistic findings regarding the

diminutives of cultural cooptation, expressed on the pages of *Der Sudetendeutsche*, indeed suggests a slippage between—if not reversal of—impulses commonly associated with major and minor cultural forces. This resistance demonstrates that the expellee logic of what is major and minor—if these are indeed subject to a logic—is uncoupled from both ethnic alterity and linguistic mastery.

Size—a superficial yet persistent quantitative determinant of things “minor” and “major”—here comes to matter only on the morphological level of word formation. While the terms “major” and “minor” remain integral to the expellee debate, they are re-defined in categories that share little with those that have become widely accepted in postcolonial studies or studies of minor(ity) literatures and cultures. In this world turned upside down, the disadvantaged “minor”—and I will speak of its terminological salience in some detail further on—becomes infused with the mission of sifting through the German language to distill its purest and also the least hybrid essence.⁵²³ Rather than playing by the rules of the “major” discourse, it sets its own parameters by not just appropriating language, but aggressively expropriating language mastery altogether.

As the discussions of 1953 stress such expropriation, they recast the “major” in the terms usually reserved for a quantitative minority. The language spoken by West Germans turns out to be literally minor in the view of the expellees, i.e. insignificant: West German “little mouths (*Mündchen*)” can produce only “little

expellees, according to which especially the first-generation expellees (the so-called *Erlebnisgeneration*) insisted on maintaining the dialect. See Albrecht Lehmann, *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhaus. Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in Westdeutschland 1945-1990* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 73.

⁵²³ Hybridity, ever since Homi Bhabha’s *Location of Culture*, has become an inalienable part of defining marginal or, to speak with Deleuze and Guattari, “minor” cultural production. Scott Spector usefully comments on a case of analytical futurity of “hybridity” as a term predominantly associated with writing emerging among ethnic minorities. His case in point is Jewish-German literature of the Habsburg monarchy, which he uses to expose hybridity as a concept built on racialist paradigms and essentialist expectations (with purity as its opposite), which it claims to debunk. Scott Spector, “Hybridity and the Habsburg Jews,” *Spaces of Identity. Tradition/Cultural Boundaries and Identity Formation in Central Europe* 6, no. 1 (2006), http://www.yorku.ca/soi/_Vol_6_1/_HTML/Spector.html, 14 April 2008.

words (*Wörtchen*)” and “little sentences (*Sätzchen*).” Embraced, both statistically and historically, by a majority population practicing a dominant culture, this communicative system is ostensibly constrained by its miniature syntax and stifled by pervasive suffixation. Such miniaturization is not seen here as an example of *multum in parvo* (saying much with little) or showcasing the “ability of language to ‘sum up’ the diversity of the sensual, or physical, world of lived experience.”⁵²⁴ Instead, it is presumed to dwell on the negligible. The linguistic apparatus concealed within such *Mündchen* is incapable of producing a coherent system of signification or evoking any context beyond a jumble of disjointed *Sätzchen*—with the possible exception of the context of emerging consumerism, materialized in “Kleidchen” and “Blüschen.” While “Wörtchen” may result in “Sätzchen,” the latter—and, by extension, West German culture of the period—are not seen as producing any cogent narrative.

Precisely this then becomes the task of Sudeten German activists profiled in the discussions cited above. Confounding established hierarchies, the Sudeten German stance indicates that in the first postwar decade some of them thought of themselves as more, not less, than their host nation. Their opinions on language debunk the persistent sociolinguistic convention that equates “small-group interaction” with regional dialects subordinate to “large-group membership” in a standard language community.⁵²⁵ In the 1950s and 1960s, Sudeten German alterity lies not in this group’s radical divergence from the standards of German culture. On

⁵²⁴ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). See also Carl Zigrosser, *Multum in parvo: An Essay in Poetic Imagination* (New York: G. Braziller, 1965).

⁵²⁵ Joshua Fishman, *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1970), 21-25. The question of diglossia—concurrent yet situationally distinct use of a (H)igh (standard, formal, written) and (L)ow (non-standard, informal, spoken) languages that may or may not be closely related—could warrant some attention in the present context. See Fishman, *op. cit.*, 73ff. However, since Harold Schiffman in his summary of work on diglossia states that the H-form never serves as a mother tongue, I do not pursue this suggestion further. See Harold Schiffman, “Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation,” <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/messeas/diglossia/node1.html>, 1 April 2008.

the contrary, it inheres in these expellee's consistent and allegedly unmatched conformity to the standards. It is also anchored in their belief in their unparalleled command of these standards in the face of the standards' supposed erosion. No longer imaginable as a tangible mound of soil treasured by many expellees and their ethnographers alike in the wake of the expulsion, *Heimat* now turns into an immaterial source of prescriptive normativity.⁵²⁶ A province no more, *Heimat* grounds linguistic legitimacy for Sudeten Germans in postwar Germany. By designating themselves as sole bearers of High German language, Sudeten German expellees quoted here counter the widespread cliché of an inarticulate, rural expellee forever enthralled by the soothing length of *heimatliche* diphthongs and unpredictable consonant changes. At a critical confluence of postwar and Cold War moments they reposition themselves as guardians of a culture they perceive as threatened simultaneously by the communist East and disintegration from within.⁵²⁷

2. *The Question of "Sudeten German Literature"*

Yet what is the larger significance of one ethnic German group claiming to command German better than German nationals? What cultural importance should one attach to these discussions of language if they appear amidst the more profound cultural repercussions of much more ethnically diverse migrations that have been unsettling—or in Zafer Şenocak's words, extending—the notion of Germanness since the mid-1950s?⁵²⁸ Furthermore, why does the expellee debate on language count

⁵²⁶ On the significance of *Heimaterde* for most expellee groups, see Georg R. Schroubek, op. cit., and Karasek-Langer, "Brauchtumswandel in Bayern."

⁵²⁷ After the proclamation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the role of Sudeten Germans as a bulwark for the German *Volksstum* in the East started gaining ground, although Pieter Judson eloquently chronicles the difficulties that this rhetoric, often imposed by nationalist from imperial centers, faced prior to having taken root. His study documents how "nationalists succeeded brilliantly in nationalizing perceptions of the rural language frontier by 1914 but largely failed to nationalize its populations." Judson, op. cit., 5.

⁵²⁸ Zafer Şenocak, "Deutsche werden—Türken bleiben," in *Deutsche Türken—Das Ende der Geduld. Türk Almanlar—Sabrin Sonu*, ed. Claus Leggewie and Zafer Şenocak (Reinbek:Rowohlt, 1993), 11.

when in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s Germany faced the challenge of other ethnic Germans frequently speaking less, not more than the standard?⁵²⁹ In this chapter I suggest that the importance of the metalinguistic discussions conducted on the pages of *Der Sudetendeutsche* lies precisely in their emergence in the first decade in the history of the Federal Republic, on the cusp between the postwar period and the Cold War. What started as a public debate on questions of language—with contributors far from limited to the ranks of prominent political functionaries or cultural elites—was to become an early commentary on large-scale recalibrations of Germanness.

Although foreign labor recruitment and subsequent migration, which officially began in 1955, were a decisive factor in reconsiderations of German identity after the fall of the Third Reich—Rita Chin describes these processes as “the most important and enduring question of the postwar period”—international migration had a precursor in the westward migration of ethnic Germans expelled from Eastern Europe.⁵³⁰ The influx of the latter did not only temporarily resolve Germany’s labor force deficits, providing a transition between the forced labor legacy of the Third Reich and international labor recruitment of the 1950s and 1960s.⁵³¹ Neither is the

⁵²⁹ Unlike postwar expellees, ethnic German migrants from a number of Eastern European countries, including Romania, Hungary, or the Soviet Union and its successor states, have been both embraced by and involved in discussions of migrant/minority/intercultural literature. See, for example, Carmine Chiellino, *Interkulturelle Literatur in Deutschland: Ein Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000) and Manfred Durzak and Nilüfer Kuruyazıcı, eds., *Die andere Deutsche Literatur: Istanbul Vorträge* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004).

⁵³⁰ Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7. Chin rightly acknowledges that conditions for a non-homogeneous society emerged in Germany very soon after the end of World War II, although one could easily question postulations of ethnic and cultural homogeneity in decades and even centuries prior to that. However, she attributes these conditions exclusively to labor migration (whether wartime or postwar), which she predicates on ethnic alterity. This assumption seems to disqualify ethnic sameness from producing a similar set of cultural problems, which I outline here. In her most recent book, Leslie Adelson points out that labor migration need not be pivotal to the literature of migration. See Leslie A. Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a Critical Grammar of Migration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 23. On the specific role of Turkishness in “evolving Germanness,” see Tom Cheesman, *Novels of Turkish Settlement: Cosmopolite Fictions* (New York: Camden House, 2007), 12.

⁵³¹ Ulrich Herbert and Karin Huhn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers in the Federal Republic: From the Beginning of Recruitment in 1955 to Its Halt in 1973,” in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968*, ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 187.

precedent they represent significant only due to the numerical strength of Germans who inundated all four zones of occupation, Sudeten Germans alone accounting for about three million. I argue instead that their impact stems mainly from the concerted efforts of expellees to vocalize and formulate the nature of cultural differences—no matter how unorthodox—that they perceived vis-à-vis their hosts.⁵³² In this chapter I attempt to place the first postwar decade—a period that usually gets short shrift in writings on German migrant/minority cultures—on the map of events and texts that shaped such cultures. Overlooked by those scholars of migrant/minority literature in Germany for whom ethnic constructions of Germanness prior to reunification remain unproblematically “defined by common culture and history,” these differences, I suggest, are essential for understanding subsequent decades.⁵³³ In this respect, the debate in *Der Sudetendeutsche* is a tremor anticipating the earthquake of the cultural reshuffling that resulted from subsequent (labor) migrations to Germany.⁵³⁴ Thus, “the insistence on proficiency in a language and a literary culture,” “a stance against German ethnic homogeneity [,] and a challenge to nineteenth-century notions of literature as a national institution” are impulses characteristic of German minority literature even prior to the second half of the twentieth century.⁵³⁵

By this I do not necessarily mean that Sudeten Germans *were* among the first

⁵³² It is also worth noting that, while the debates on the validity of *Volkstum* among ethnic Germans from the former Eastern territories and the Sudetenland was by no means new (having been an especially integral part of interwar politics promoted, among others, by the *Verein für das Deutschtum in Ausland* since 1908 and the Stuttgart-based *Deutsches Auslands-Institut* since 1917), in the early 1950s these discussions both stopped being an exclusive province of cultural elites and spilled over into broad discussions of culture that went far beyond associating difference with folkloric peculiarities. On the outline of racial considerations of ethnic Germans, see Isabel Heinemann, “Die Rasseexperten der SS und die Volksdeutschen” in *Die “Volksdeutschen” in Polen, Frankreich, Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei*, ed. Jerzy Kochanowski und Maike Sach (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2006), 170-177 and 257-272, respectively.

⁵³³ Fachinger, op. cit., 3.

⁵³⁴ Katharina Gerstenberger, “Writing by Ethnic Minorities in the Age of Globalization,” in *German Literature in the Age of Globalization*, ed. Stuart Taberner (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2004), 210.

⁵³⁵ Gerstenberger, op. cit., 210.

minorities to have inhabited postwar Germany—although their publications provide evidence to support such an argument.⁵³⁶ As is apparent from the above introduction, in the present context such terms as “minority” and “minor” acquire unstable connotations. These diverge from and at times run even contrary to parameters of “minor” and “minority” more widely accepted particularly in contemporary literary criticism and cultural studies. The scope of these two terms in Sudeten German usage is therefore not fully synonymous to the meaning usually attached to them in present-day academic discourses. Yet it appears that debates initiated by the *Heimat*-conscious in the early 1950s grappled with and anticipated some of the questions, vocabulary, and even analytical apparatus articulated in theoretical conceptualizations of migrant and minority literature decades later. Sudeten German debates problematized the confluence of language and literature. As I am about to explain, they operated at a meeting point of metalinguistic and metaliterary discourses strikingly similar to methodological models that gained impetus in the wake of the seminal *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.⁵³⁷ While the discovery of linguistic differences between Sudeten Germans and their

⁵³⁶ It is well documented that, despite their allegedly fast-paced economic integration, German expellees neither always received a warm welcome in postwar West Germany nor were unconditionally perceived as ethnically German. Economic and fiscal concerns of the locals, for many of whom the expellees were nothing but “lästige Fresser,” “Habenichtse,” and “Faulpelze,” came to unsettle ethnic definitions of who is German. See Peter Zeitler, “‘Politik von Flüchtlinge—für Flüchtlinge’: Leben und Wirken zweier oberfränkischen Nachkriegspolitiker,” in Endres, op. cit., 99. In 1953 Ernst Lehmann went as far as trying to convince his *Landsleute* not to see “our ‘Czech’ in Germans (*in Binnendeutschen unsern ‘Tschechen’ zu sehen*)” and not to misinterpret “seine Gleichgültigkeit oder Verständnislosigkeit als Vernichtungswillen,” see Ernst Lehmann, “Schach der ‘Zerländerung’ der Sudetendeutschen!” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 6, no. 21 (23 May 1953): 4. For further evidence of tensions in ethnic and cultural definitions of Germanness, see also Herbert and Kuhn, op. cit., 188, Rainer Schulze, “The German Refugees and Expellees from the East and the Creation of a West German Identity after World War II,” in *Redrawing Nations*, 309-311, and Lehmann, op. cit. For instance, contributors to *Der Sudetendeutsche* responded to complaints in the Munich paper *Merkur* about the “Bevorzugung der Vertriebenen” due to which “in zehn Jahren nur noch volksfremde Elemente in den maßgeblichen Spitzenstellen des Staates und der Verwaltung tätig sein werden.” See the editorial “Vertriebene volksfremd?” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 7, no. 41 (9 October 1954): 2.

⁵³⁷ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Further page references in the chapter will be provided parenthetically.

hosts in the 1950s was a far cry from proclaiming a separate ‘Sudeten German language,’ in the 1950s and 1960s this discovery prefaced, accompanied, and oftentimes clashed with discussions of “Sudeten German literature”—“sudetendeutsche Literatur” or “sudetendeutsche Dichtung.” One of my concerns in this chapter is, on the one hand, to investigate the polyvalence of the conjunction between language and literature in these literary critical projects. On the other hand, it is to interrogate the relationship between Sudeten German metalinguistic and literary critical writings of the 1950s and 1960s and much later conceptualizations of minor literature, especially as sparked by Deleuze and Guattari. As in the work of Deleuze and Guattari, the status of Prague German and Kafka as one of its practitioners played an important role in the Sudeten Germans polemic. Yet this attention to Kafka and the language of Prague yielded a very different interpretation of the author’s role and the osmotic link between language and literature. This chapter explores how and why these differences transpire and what they entail for our understanding of *Kafka* as one of the key texts of the contemporary literary criticism.

Redundant as it may seem, a selective recapitulation of Deleuze and Guattari’s chapter “What is Minor Literature?” will help highlight the vocabulary and outline the themes that resonate with discussions of “Sudeten German literature” that I am about to outline. Methodologically, the essay postulates an emergence of a certain kind of literature from a certain kind of language. Fundamentally, a “minor literature does not come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language” (16). Once these parameters are established, language and literature exist in a symbiotic relationship. The former encourages and breeds the latter. The latter is able to arise, or derive, from the former.

This methodology has a number of theoretical ramifications that pertain to the resulting aesthetic. Despite the nesting-doll inscription of “minor” into “major,”

categorical distinctions between them do not dissipate. Rather, they remain fundamental to Deleuze and Guattari's programmatic essay as well as for its various interpretations. And although "minor" remains tightly connected to "major" through language shared in distinct ways, their relationship clearly replicates a social rift in which the major establishes power structures that shape the platform where the minor is to reinvent itself.⁵³⁸ How does this reinvention occur and what characterizes a minor literature? Deleuze and Guattari indicate that this literature is rarely blessed with talent and thus not accountable to either "a literature of masters" (17) or "languages of masters" (26). Inextricably linking the individual and the collective, according to Deleuze and Guattari a minor literature gestures toward transformative becoming, toward a "possibility to express another possible community" (17). It is a literature with a revolutionary momentum, a momentum that first revolutionizes language and proceeds to translate this transformation into literary and political changes. This impetus is at the core of its aesthetic.

How does it ripen into a force "within the heart of what is called great (or established) literature" (17)? What Deleuze and Guattari designate as "the language of minor literature"—also termed at times a "minor language" (23)—is this literature's most instrumental and indispensable precondition. The language of minor

⁵³⁸ While their essay stipulates that "minor literature" is indeed the work of a minority, this relationship is not to be reconstructed conversely. That is, by far not every minority literature can be described as "minor." However, Deleuze and Guattari's concurrent use of both "minor" and "minority" throughout the essay has blurred this distinction in the eyes of many scholars. This may explain why indeterminate lines between minor and minority literature remain a persistent characteristic of writings on the topic. See, for example, Chin, op. cit., and Azade Seyhan, "From Minor Literature, Across Border Culture, to Hyphenated Criticisms," in *Reading the Shape of the World: Toward an International Cultural Studies*, ed. Henry Schwarz and Richard Dienst (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 15-29. For a clear distinction between the two, see Christian Jäger, who argues that "minor literature" does not perform either the integrating or the oppositional function often linked to the political term "minority" and, above all, to resolving minority problems in contemporary societies. Politics, via power structures exercised by the majority, sets parameters for minor literary forms, which in turn merge back into the political in a circular rather than linear system. Christian Jäger, *Minoritäre Literatur: Das Konzept der kleinen Literatur am Beispiel prager- und sudetendeutscher Werke* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag, 2005), 15. Further cited parenthetically.

literature is the ground on which the relationship between the literary and political bears fruit. Based on the Prague German of Kafka's prose as interpreted by Klaus Wagenbach (one of the author's best-known biographers and commentators) and then broadened to encompass other writers in and beyond Prague.⁵³⁹ Deleuze and Guattari's theory offers an ambiguous portrayal of the language of minor literature, last but not least because of their conviction that "[o]ne language can fill a certain function for one material and another function for another material" (24).⁵⁴⁰ On the one hand, Prague German is a "deterritorialized" language (17), in Deleuze and Guattari's terminology. That is to say, it is a language devoid of localisms and ideally suited for a vehicle of becoming. It is "vehicular," rather than "vernacular" (23). It is also, centrally for this chapter's argument, "cut off from the masses, like a 'paper language' or an artificial language" (16), bureaucratically sterile and emptied of color and therefore "appropriate for strange and minor uses" (17). In Scott Spector's words, it functions as "an indigestible particle" deposited into a major language by the minor use of it (Spector, 28). This then becomes the main source of "subversiveness" (Chin, 130). Importantly, a minor language becomes the platform for literary experimentation that thrives on stripping language of its etymological richness and metaphoricity. Kafka, Deleuze and Guattari posit:

will opt for the German of Prague as it is and in its very poverty. Go always farther in the direction of deterritorialization, to the point of sobriety. Since the language is arid, make it vibrate with new intensity. Oppose a purely intensive use of language to all symbolic or even significant or simply signifying usages of it. Arrive at a perfect and

⁵³⁹ See, for example, Spector's *Prague Territories*, 29.

⁵⁴⁰ See Stanley Corngold for an argument against extending Prague German to "Kafka's own German" (as well as against deriving the entire theory of minor literature from Kafka's work) and Ritchie Robertson for an elaboration on the "myth of Prague German". Stanley Corngold, "Kafka and the Dialect of Minor Literature," *College Literature* 21, no. 11 (February 1994): 89-101; Ritchie Robertson, "Fritz Mauthner, the Myth of Prague German, and the Hidden Language of the Jew," in *Brückenschlag zwischen den Disziplinen: Fritz Mauthner as Schriftsteller, Kritiker und Kulturtheoretiker*, ed. Elisabeth Leinfeller and Jügr Thunecke (Wuppertal: Arco Verlag, 2004), 63-77.

unformed expression, a materially intense expression (19).

“Strange poverty” (23), inherent in and freely borrowed (without citing the source) from Fritz Mauthner’s now classic coinage *papiernes Deutsch*, with its “withered vocabulary, an incorrect syntax” (22), lays language open to new creative uses. Prague German, it follows, is synonymous with a “paper language” and is therefore an example of a language of minor literature. A paper language is universal in its sterility. For Deleuze and Guattari, it vocalizes a revolutionary aesthetic, rather than an ethnically or regionally defined system of signification.

On the other hand, Deleuze and Guattari speak of “the German language in Czechoslovakia” (whether Kafka wrote in it or not) in a slippage that seems to suggest that we are no longer restricted to Prague German.⁵⁴¹ This German language remains tinged with features that are very much alive and vibrant. Rather than being deterritorialized, it is now a product of mutual contamination among three different languages in a particular area (20). This German is, paradoxically, “a fluid language intermixed with Czech and Yiddish”—a characterization that prompts Stanley Corngold’s disgruntled reference to the “dialect” of minor literature.⁵⁴² The slippage between these two contradictory conceptual claims acts to resolve the tension inherent in a paper language that collapses into dialect-tinged expression. As a vehicular connection to the new, the fluid slippage allegedly permits “the possibility of invention” (20).⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ Kafka’s relationship to Prague German, as well as the typology of Prague German as such, remain passionately debated subjects. A detailed outline of these debates lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Spector’s book provides a historically differentiated perspective on a variety of views that account for both. Spector, *Prague Territories*, 75-82.

⁵⁴² According to Spector’s summary, already late-nineteenth-century linguists writing on the subject ascribed the fertile cross-pollination among Czech, Jewish, and German elements to a period irrevocably lost, although early twentieth-century writers such as Egon Erwin Kisch made it their renewed focus. *Ibid.*, 76-77.

⁵⁴³ Articulating a critique of the numerous applications of Deleuze and Guattari’s approach “across the board to minority or ethnic literatures,” Azade Seyhan pointedly remarks that “deterritorialization does not characterize the status of English, French, and German works written by a multiplicity of migrant

Situating Deleuze and Guattari's *Kafka* within the continuum of their work, Christian Jäger applies their overall analytical apparatus to Sudeten German and Prague German literature. In doing so, Jäger seems to be inspired by in the extension of Prague German discussed above into “the German language of Czechoslovakia.” Critical of conventional literary historical boundaries drawn between the literature of the Sudetenland and the corpus of works produced in Prague between 1900 and the end of World War II, his study goes beyond regionalist impulses. His juxtaposition of the “finstere Blut-und-Boden-Literatur neben prager-deutsche [sic] Sprachkunst” demonstrates that these texts “really coexisted, competed on the same market over the same period of time and stem from the same cultural landscape, cross each other's paths in journals such as *Witiko*, where Kafka, too, is treated as a Sudeten German author” (Jäger 544-545). Restrictive impulses to choose between either “pragerdeutsche[n] Humanismus oder Heimatverbundenheit der Sudetendeutschen,” he argues, result merely from the desire of literary critics to orient themselves in a highly heterogeneous field (548). Not the continued separation of two literatures—artificially propagated in particular by postwar scholars—but a search for elements connecting them guides the author in his endeavor to discuss the applicability of Deleuze and Guattari's theories within the works themselves.⁵⁴⁴ To describe each work in its singularity (10), to trace the origins of these singularities in and their

groups living in the United States, England, [...]; by Arabs and Africans in France; and by Turks, Greeks, Arabs, Italians, or Portugese in Germany. They do not use a deterritorialized major-status language but one that still occupies its natural territory and has, therefore, annexed the minor literary territory of the nonnative speaker who contributes to the literary history of the host country in the currency of its native language” (Seyhan 1996, 16). Yet it is worth noting that such slippages inhere in the theory itself, since Deleuze and Guattari's own examples beyond Kafka point to a very general list of authors coincidentally always marked by ethnic difference vis-à-vis the environment in which they situate themselves—and a linguistic milieu that is not in any explicit way defined in terms of deterritorialization. Their examples include a Czech Jew writing in German, an Uzbek writing in Russian, or an Irishman or Frenchman writing in English and thus invite flawed approaches of the kind critiqued by Seyhan.

⁵⁴⁴ Jäger acknowledges that, while commonalities between corpora of works by the various examined authors exist, these intersections are characterized by vagueness that severely limits the comparative thrust (549).

influx back into the collective (13), and to accept multiplicities as a theoretical point of departure are steps that coalesce into a system with which Jäger aims to test Deleuze and Guattari's ideas (11).

In Jäger's opinion, the theory and practice of writing symbiotically feed off each other, and the production of minority literature is a project that is simultaneously territorial, social, and theoretical (17). He traces pervasive longing for a different kind of existence at a particular moment by considering disparate authors under the common denominator of shared historical and social influences. Among the most significant influences cited by the author are World War I, with its upswing of nationalism and ensuing ethnic conflict, and economic downturns of the 1920s and 1930s.

Minor literature, with its visionary aesthetic of becoming, of arriving at "something new and beneficial for everyone" (23), of revolutionary change that concomitantly bestows literature with political relevance, appeals to Jäger because it offers a paradigm that avoids, actively combats, or transcends the all too frequent categorical imperative of "Differenzierung oder Integration" (15), alternately reformulated as "Auflösung oder Folklore,"—an imperative that haunts political realities of minority existence (16, 17). That is, rather than being interested in the two limited alternatives customarily offered to a political minority, Jäger tracks a single—albeit much less predictable—path that is above all available to the minor mode of literary expression. This is a route of constant transformation—in both the form, i.e. linguistic expression (*Ausdrucksform*) and in the form of content (*Inhaltsform*). According to Jäger, the transformation proceeds from the literary or textual into the political. By analyzing each author's works in their entirety, he comments on a set of tensions spanning the texts. These unfold between a desire to escape the minor and another to uphold its cause of furthering a vision of change (118), between de- and re-

territorialization prompted by political and economic lulls and crises, respectively. “Moveability of writing” (546) and irregularity of creative trajectories that Jäger observes in each of his subjects, who go back and forth between the traditionalist/*völkisch* and avant-garde/neo-romantic elements, strike the minor chords at play in his study.

How accurate, useful, or productive is Jäger’s thoughtful adaptation of Deleuze and Guattari for the period after rather than before World War II? Even more specifically, can it accommodate the rapidly changing circumstances in both life and cultural labor of ethnic Germans from Bohemia and Moravia after 1945? First of all, Jäger admits to operating in a scholarly vacuum of sorts, which he justifies with the alleged lack of comparable analyses (544). A general mention of prewar literary critical studies authored by Prague or Sudeten German scholars does figure in his text. Yet with the exception of Josef Mühlberger’s work, these are promptly dismissed as both limited and limiting in their strict distinction between Sudeten German periphery and Prague center. The uniqueness of Jäger’s project is meant to derive from a methodology focused on deterritorialization, the very approach that helps eliminate boundaries otherwise dictated by geographical, ethnic, and cultural factors. However, perhaps unwittingly, his study seems to cement chronological frontiers. In the broad picture painted by Jäger, 1945 looms large as a year heralding the end of relevance of the very problem field that he demarcates. It suggests an abrupt closure to be explained or justified not by aesthetic, methodological, or theoretical concerns but only by political factors such as the end of World War II, the expulsion of Germans, and the appeal of a mono-ethnic state to postwar political leaders in Eastern Europe.

From Jäger’s study it follows that after 1945 Prague German literature and Sudeten German literature alike exist as mere exempla from the past, only

occasionally revived for theoretical causes such as his. His discussion posits a caesura separating the prewar from the postwar—a caesura that, I argue, is not at all clear-cut. What permits Jäger to postulate this rupture? The break between these two eras emerges in part from his dismissal of locally produced literary criticism contemporary to prewar fiction located at the center of his attention. Yet precisely this body of work experienced a vigorous revival in West Germany after 1945; if considered, it could shed light on potential continuities between the periods. Yet what prompts Jäger's readiness to cast 1945 as a point of no return for the two literatures that he commingles—which it in many other respects undoubtedly was—and why should this readiness be at all significant? An extension of his reticence to engage literary criticism, this willingness may stem from his unquestioning use of the term “Sudeten German literature.” Although its blurred contours communicate with and share in the themes and cycles affecting Prague German literature as, in his study it nevertheless is invoked as distinct entity with ill-defined periodicity.

Interventions of this chapter attend to this twofold gap in Jäger's study. In categorical terms, this chapter fashions literary criticism, rather than literature itself, into its subject. Then, to interrogate chronological discontinuities, it considers literary critical works on “Sudeten German literature” produced by Sudeten Germans *after* 1945. This postwar revival of the prewar literary critical tradition is important for several reasons. First, it suggests that chronological continuity uncovered here does not yet signal continuity in content and scope between those who wrote on “Sudeten German literature” before and after the war. Second, it unsettles the seemingly stable category of “Sudeten German literature,” since participants in this postwar wave of Sudeten German *Literaturwissenschaft* failed to provide a uniform account of their subject's past or even set a standard for its goals in the future. The postwar project of “Sudeten German literature” was thus not a musty recycled tradition but a dynamic

polemic. Its dynamism demonstrates that Sudeten German expellees were not a monolith: as any other group, they disagreed upon and negotiated directions of their culture. Finally, the revival at stake here generated a metaliterary pendant to metalinguistic discussions that raged in 1953. Yet their link, in contrast to the links forged by Deleuze and Guattari and much later Jäger, does not suggest a clearly defined procession of “Sudeten German literature” from the kind of language attributed to postwar Sudeten Germans in 1953.

“What is Sudeten German Literature?”⁵⁴⁵ This is both the central question of this chapter and the question that Sudeten German literary critics felt compelled to pose in the early 1960s. That they assumed this interrogative stance is significant, as it implies that interwar scholarship either failed to chart the outlines of this literary terrain or that those contours no longer reflected the postwar situation. The question may also suggest that literary critical boundaries between “Sudeten German literature” and other literatures in the region were not as readily visible as Jäger’s critique portrays them. Vital for the swiftly evolving nationalism and escalating *Grenzlandkampf* in the Sudetenland, the interwar years following the proclamation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 produced key theorizations of the cultural apparatus to dovetail with fledging political categories.⁵⁴⁶ After the designation “Sudeten German” became common currency and an umbrella term aimed at forging a single political and cultural identity for a number of diverse groups of ethnic Germans in the borderlands of Czechoslovakia, a host of literary histories followed suit in the second

⁵⁴⁵ Rudolf Mattausch, “Sudetendeutsche Dichtung—Heute?” *Sudetenland* 4, no. 4 (1962): 244. In his recent redressing of the question, Peter Becher offers a brief suggestion that Sudeten German literature (his term) refers to two emphatic points of identification: the “ideological” prewar/wartime period (1935-1945) and the “sorrowful” (*leidvolle*) postwar era that lasted only through the 1960s. In his consideration of postwar texts, Becher does not list a single literary historical study and relies exclusively on fiction. Peter Becher, “Sudetendeutsche Autoren—sudetendeutsche Literatur?” *Sudetenland* 42, no. 3 (2000): 311-314.

⁵⁴⁶ I limit my account to German sources; the rich spectrum of Czech critical works is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

half of the 1920s and early to late 1930s. “Sudetendeutsche Literatur” (or “Sudetendeutsche Dichtung”)—and my use of quotation marks around it is meant to point to its circulation as a literary historical term adapted by its theoreticians who had coined and propagated it, and not to a sum of literary works authored by Sudeten Germans or my own effort to describe Sudeten German literary production—was thus not a postwar phenomenon.

In a number of recent publications, Andrea Hohmeyer extensively chronicles its beginnings in early twentieth-century circles of predominantly Prague-based *Germanisten* who frequently doubled as writers to be included in the very accounts of “sudetendeutsche Dichtung.”⁵⁴⁷ Associated with voluminous literary histories as much as short seminal articles by Josef Nadler, Rudolf Wolkan, Josef Mühlberger, Herbert Cysarz, and Adalbert Schmidt, to name a few, the scope of these studies, in Hohmeyer’s words, “die gesamte deutsche Dichtung umfasst und politische Grenzen bewußt übergreift.”⁵⁴⁸

Yet already then there were significant differences and disagreements among these authors’ conceptualizations of the horizons that were taken to define “Sudeten

⁵⁴⁷ See, in particular, her dissertation ‘*Böhmischen Volkes Weisen*’ and a helpful synopsis in “Die deutschsprachige Literaturgeschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Ländern zwischen 1938 und 1945,” in *Literatur unter dem Hackenkreuz: Böhmen und Mähren 1938-1945*, ed. Peter Becher and Ingeborg Fiala-Fürst (Prague: Vitalis, 2005), 34-54. Her main point of critique addresses the insistence of interwar literary critics on the paramount role of *Grenzlandkampf* at the expense of examining a much more polyvalent coexistence of Czechs, Germans, and Jews in Bohemia prior to the early 1900s (Hohmeyer ‘*Böhmischen Volkes Weisen*’, 36ff).

⁵⁴⁸ Hohmeyer ‘*Böhmischen Volkes Weisen*’, 35. Josef Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften* (Regensburg: Verlag Josef Habel, 1912-1928), fully revised in the fourth edition as *Literaturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1938-1941); Rudolf Wolkan, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Böhmen und in den Sudetenländern* (Augsburg: Johannes Stauda, 1925); Josef Mühlberger, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Böhmen 1900-1939* (Munich: Langen-Müller, 1981) (his dissertation, *Literaturgeschichte der Sudetendeutschen in den letzten 50 Jahren*, appeared in 1929); Herbert Cysarz “Lebensfragen des sudetendeutschen Schrifttums,” *Dichtung und Volkstum* 35, no. 3 (1934): 323-348 and “Deutsches Schicksal im jüngsten Sudeten- und Ostmarkenschrifttum,” *Dichtung und Volkstum* 40 (1939): 61-73; and Adalbert Schmidt, *Die sudetendeutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart* (Reichenberg: Franz Kraus, 1938). Later authors, such as Cysarz and Schmidt, were well familiar with earlier sources and each other’s work; see Schmidt, op. cit., 9 and 10. For a detailed commentary on these and other works, see Hohmeyer, “Die deutschsprachige Literaturgeschichtsschreibung.”

German literature.” While in the late 1920s Mühlberger, a prominent writer and translator of Czech classics, embraced the entire spectrum of Prague Jewish literature, Schmidt, who writes in 1938, the year when the Sudetenland was annexed to the Third Reich, purges his accounts of “volksfremd[e] Elemente,” both Jewish and Czech (10). Such definitional discontinuity is of paramount importance for imagining “Sudeten German literature” across more than one decade. It is also instrumental for productively de-familiarizing its scope to yield more than a monolith all too easily written off as perennially revisionist and thus thoroughly well-known. Despite these staggering differences, which will have a bearing on the polemic of the 1950s and 1960s, interwar accounts did share a sentiment that “Sudeten German literature” as an “unbestrittener Bestandteil der deutschen Kultur” (Hohmeyer 2005, 36) belonged within a larger German literary whole. If specters of such planned or “paper” languages as Volapük and Esperanto, whose un-German cosmopolitanism was to become increasingly undesirable in the Third Reich, haunted literary criticism, they did so mostly to produce—rather unsurprisingly—a counterpoint in the rootedness of the *Volk* to which Sudeten Germans undoubtedly belonged.

By the late 1930s, on the eve of the annexation of the Sudetenland and at the peak of interest in surveying the current state of Sudeten German literary affairs, the vanguard of the Sudeten German intellectual elite cast their *Volksgruppe* as a belated mirror of the greater German *Volk*. To substantiate the intrinsic nature of this link, a volume identifying Sudeten Germans for broader audiences bore a stamp of approval from a Berlin-based publishing house and cemented the reflective nature of this relationship:

Das Bekenntnis zur Schicksalsgemeinschaft der Sudetendeutschen verbindet das vielfältige Volkstum der Sudetendeutschen zu einer politischen Einheit, die als eine neue Volksgruppe in die Geschichte unseres Volkskampfes an der Grenze eingeht. So spiegelt im Kleinen

das neue Sudetendeutschtum das Bild des deutschen Gesamtvolkes,
das eine Einheit in der Vielfalt ist.⁵⁴⁹

Sudeten Germans in fact belonged to more than just political “Mehrern des deutschen Volksbodens.”⁵⁵⁰ As a “schicksalhaft bestimmte Schaffensgemeinschaft,” they were seen as having a contribution to make to the “gesamtdeutschen Schrifttum.”⁵⁵¹ From this self-imposed calling emerged a literary landscape in tension with the past and the future, between having been (*gewesen*) and coming into being (*neu erstanden*).⁵⁵² In 1934, while finishing his monograph on *Die dichterische Phantasie Friedrich Schillers*, Herbert Cysarz, a rising star of *Germanistik*, an ardent advocate of relentless *Volkstumskampf*, and August Sauer’s influential successor at Prague’s German University, proclaimed that “Sudetendetsches Schrifttum ist [...] ein Ding von morgen, nicht von gestern” (Cysarz 1934, 323).⁵⁵³ In his highly influential articles, he pointedly stripped it of too much *angedichtete* pastness (Cysarz 1934, 323), peeling away the burdensome k. u. k. legacy that, as he stated, detrimentally neutralized the language and provincialized the literary content (Cysarz 1934, 333). “Sudetendeutsches Schrifttum” was thus open to greater German venues (Cysarz 1934, 324). Euphoric proclamations of political as well as aesthetic becoming, singled out as the fundamental feature of Sudeten German literature and culture—“schon der Name Sudetendeutsch weist in ein Kommendes” (Cysarz 1934, 324)—thus effortlessly coexisted with and even merged into Cysarz’ pursuit of the time-honored classics of the German canon. Classicism, more than any other literary

⁵⁴⁹ A. Hillen Ziegfeld, “Vorwort des Herausgebers,” in *Wir Sudetendeutsche!*, ed. Hans Krebs and Emil Lehmann (Berlin: Edwin Runge Verlag, 1937), 4.

⁵⁵⁰ Krebs and Lehmann, op. cit., 9

⁵⁵¹ Schmidt, op. cit., 9. Symptomatically, postwar commendations of Sudeten German contributions to German literature focus exclusively on the pre-war period. See a speech by Gerhard Storz, a Minister of Culture in Baden-Württemberg (1958-1964): “Der Beitrag des Sudetenlandes zur deutschen Literatur,” *Sudetenland* 5, no. 3 (1963): 162-167.

⁵⁵² Cysarz, “Deutsches Schicksal,” 61. Further references to Cysarz’ articles appear parenthetically.

⁵⁵³ For biographical information on Cysarz, see Hohmeyer 2002, 241 and <http://www.ostdeutsche-biographie.de/cysahe96.htm>, 21 February 2008.

epoch, fused the universal (*allgemeine Geltung*) with the particular (*besondere Herkunft*, Cysarz 1934, 325), according to this scholar, who localized creative forces (*Schöpfertum*) on the soil (*Erde/Boden*). It is under the sign of such a confluence that the Sudetenland was incorporated into “the pan-German circuit of life (*Lebenskreislauf*)” and re-rooted in the very soil allegedly once tilled by Goethe and Schiller. Therefore, even when interrogating the lines that demarcated Sudeten German literature from its greater German counterpart, Cysarz used the word “parenthesis (*Klammern*)” as if to suggest inclusion of the former into the latter, rather than their mere juxtaposition. For Cysarz, German literature welcomed Sudeten German writing into its parenthetical embrace.

Cysarz’ “Sudetendichtung” was plagued by the “difficulty of formal articulation,” and sometimes even caught in a “Bann der Zunge.” Yet he labored hard to make his readers believe that this characterization captured the young entity in the process of becoming and not in a state of arrested development. Its fledgling traits assigned “Sudetendichtung” a specific function within German literature. Cysarz emphasized that the former challenged one with the “yet uncoined” and appeared “at its most eloquent in the unspeakable” (Cysarz 1934, 326). Commingling Romantic undertones and Nazi ideology, he claimed that it could therefore vocalize the allegedly unarticulated *Volkstum*, understood in ethno-nationalist terms as an earthy, *vertical* force imbibing its energy from the soil (Cysarz 1934, 335) and sure passage into the “volksdeutsche Ganze” (Cysarz 1939, 61). Yet provincializing was not part of this mission. On the contrary, provincialism, the bane of “Sudeten German literature,” distributed *horizontally* and therefore weak, arose not from being relegated to geographical border areas (*Randgebiete*, Cysarz 1934, 332) or from shouldering a cultural debt to folkloric forms of expression. Rather, it was an effect of having consistently lost cultural cadres to a brain-draining cultural center—notably

not Prague but Vienna (Cysarz 1934, 332). Mired in the bureaucratic provincialism of the k. u. k. monarchy, the German language itself has become, in the eyes of Cysarz, “entselbstet” (Cysarz 1934, 333), diffused, drained of its vitality. It has turned into “das Volapük von Mittel- und Osteuropa” (Cysarz 1934, 333), a middleman’s lingua franca—or, in the words of Fritz Mauthner a “paper German” of sorts.⁵⁵⁴ In Cysarz’ evolving vocabulary, this language approximated the permutations of features in the language of Kafka, who, although not a regular in the Sudeten German pantheon, was a recognized literary authority. From the “entirely neutral (*völlig neutral*)” German easily translatable into Esperanto, which Cysarz highlighted in 1934 (Cysarz 1934, 344), it turns into the negatively coded “Deutsch [...] als [...] Volapük” in Cysarz’ 1939 study (Cysarz 1934, 66).⁵⁵⁵

How was effaced language faced by “Sudetendichtung” to recover its own self? This was Cysarz’s concern. He commends the advent of “Sudeten German literature” with its literal reterritorialization of the language “zugunsten eines durch und durch geprägten, keinesfalls unzugänglichen und selbstgenügsamen, sondern ebenso widerstandshärteren wie ausgleichsmächtigeren Volkstums” (Cysarz 1934, 333). Immediately interjecting the notion that regional “Besonderung heißt nicht Absonderung,” he underscores that this regional literature is an indispensable organ of the German cultural body. It is this body’s “deutsche[s] Auge” in the East, or rather a prosthesis extending Germany’s senses both east- and westwards (Cysarz

⁵⁵⁴ Esperanto as well as Volapük are constructed or planned languages. For a brief history of Esperanto, see “Esperanto,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://www.search.eb.com/eb/article-9033024>, 13 August 2008. For information on Volapük, see “Volapük,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://www.search.eb.com/eb/article-9075656>, 13 Aug. 2008. The article’s authors note that the grammar of Volapük was almost as difficult as that of Latin.

⁵⁵⁵ The complete quote is “Kafka schreibt Deutsch, als wäre es Volapük.” Toward the late 1930s, Sudeten German attitudes toward Kafka—whose literary talent was recognized by Sudeten German critics such as Cysarz early on—experienced a change. While Cysarz’ 1934 piece praises Kafka for being the only recent great writer who could be translated “without any detriment whatsoever” into Esperanto or at least Latin (Cysarz 1934, 344), figurations of Volapük in the 1939 article assume a much more sinister tone.

1934, 335). No matter how specific, it is, for him, thinkable only a “Glied des größten Ganzen” (Cysarz 1934, 333).⁵⁵⁶ Under the banner of writing “unverfälscht und unbezwinglich deutsch unter sudetischem Schicksal” (Cysarz 1934, 333) Cysarz assembles such varied authors as Adalbert Stifter, Fritz Mauthner, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hans Watzlik, Gustav Leutelt, Wilhelm Pleyer, and Franz Leppa, among others (Cysarz 1934, 336). On its way into futurity when “das sudetendeutsche Antlitz sich ausgeformt haben wird” (Cysarz 1934, 336), his “Sudeten German literature” delivers a glimpse of “Heimat und Weltall” fused into one (Cysarz 1934, 347). Given this promise, it would not have seemed too far-fetched to assume that after the annexation of the Sudetenland the very notion of a “Sudeten German literature” was to dissolve into its national counterpart.

It is surprising to discover that some years after the expulsion, this notion was once again alive and well. But was it the same? The largely literary historical thrust of this chapter elaborates on several suggestions. First, and most obvious, 1945 marked a reconfiguration rather than a wholesale disappearance of the term “Sudeten German literature.” Second, “Sudeten German literature” in the interwar period and its postwar incarnation were neither identical nor based on the same understanding of language instrumental for writing. Rather than returning to the centrifugal interwar draw toward German literature as a whole, in the aftermath of the expulsion “Sudeten German literature” came to resemble an entity centripetally digressing from this formerly undisputed attraction or, at the very least, interrogating its force. While in the interwar period “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” was largely seen as part and parcel of German literature *par excellence*, its postwar manifestation suggests that it may have been an entity at times opposed to the latter.⁵⁵⁷ Its Germanness, rather than being an

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. one of the first compilations on the subject published after 1938: August Friedrich Velmede, *Sudetendeutsche Dichtung der Zeit; mit einem Geleitwort des Reichskommissars Konrad Henlein* (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1938).

⁵⁵⁷ This observation does not rule out Sudeten German investment in questions of German unity as the

unquestioned premise of this literature's very existence, was now probed and contested. "Dichtung," although suggestive of the weighty authority of the national canon, now sometimes strayed from following in Goethe's footsteps.

Postwar literary critics could not reach a consensus on either their assessment of the interwar legacy of "Sudeten German literature" or its postwar mission. Rather than thinking of themselves as direct heirs to the nationalist teleology gradually espoused by their predecessors in the *Heimat* over the late 1930s, they find themselves in a field of inquiry with few certainties. Instead of insisting on a linear path toward Germanness, their writings meander back and forth regarding the topic. These approximations and digressions appear to respond not only to increasing acculturation of the expellees but also to alternating cycles of Cold War tension between the two Germanys or, conversely, its relief. The tension, peaking around 1961, instills a sense of cultural unity between Sudeten Germans and their West German hosts and seemingly compensates for the growing distance between the two German states. The relief, spanning the 1950s, de-emphasizes such solidarity. It instead places an increasing emphasis on inscribing "Sudeten German literature" in a broader cultural landscape that transcends the national: its reference point is not Germany, be it fragmented or unified, but the world. This change of direction owes its impetus to discussions of language on a continuum with a preoccupation with literature. Debates on language that I outline in the introduction to this chapter—the

first step en route to re-establishing Germany in its prewar borders.

Among the sources known to me, Anton Willimek remains a lone postwar voice to advocate that "[d]ie SD Dichtung [...] immer nur als Teil der gesamtdeutschen Dichtung verstanden werden darf und niemals von ihr scharf abgegrenzt werden kann." See his "Auswirkungen der Vertreibung auf die sudetendeutsche Dichtung," *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 7, no. 3 (July 1960): 19. He is also one of the few critics to assume a territorial approach to literature and equate the return to the Sudetenland with effective preservation of "Sudeten German literature": "Was heute noch in der Erinnerung weiterlebt und im Dichtwerk Gestalt annimmt, ist aber zu allmählichem Ausklingen verurteilt, wenn es nicht gelingt, diese Räume wieder zurückzugewinnen und mit deutschem Leben zu erfüllen. Schon das wäre ein schmerzlicher Verlust für unsere gesamtdeutsche Dichtung, der heute noch nicht so recht empfunden wird, weil wir noch immer von geistigen Reserven zehren können." Willimek, *op. cit.*, 20.

language used in everyday interactions with West Germans as well as *Schriftsprache* most appropriate for literary pursuits—accompany the postwar renaissance of the term “sudetendeutsche Dichtung.”

Enunciating these changes and ensuring a postwar afterlife of “Sudeten German literature”—now uncoupled from the realities of cultivating the *heimatliche Scholle*—were concerns that appeared in *Der Sudetendeutsche* as early as in 1950. Tallying losses and gains under the portentous title “Lebensfragen unserer Dichtung,” R. Adolph was one of the first postwar critics to draw attention to “Sudeten German literature” (*Dichtung* or *Schrifttum*) as a set of challenges rather than givens.⁵⁵⁸ As the chronicler of this literature, he above all needed to confront its constant permutations, for “[d]ie Konstellation des sudetendeutschen Schrifttums hat sich seit 1919 einige Male gewandelt.” Yet the interwar development of this literature merits hardly more than a sentence in his account and appears to be secondary to Adolph’s concerns.⁵⁵⁹ The urgency of his intervention pertains to the postwar moment and is unambiguously summed up in the interrogative: “Wie ist die Situation heute?”

Adolph’s forecast anticipates views to be articulated in the debate on language three years later. His piece anxiously communicates unease about the juncture between the political effects of the expulsion and the future of Sudeten German culture. Contrary to what is frequently assumed about expellee activism, Adolph insists that *Heimat* could be a liability at least as much as a source of inspiration. Foreshadowing ambivalent attitudes to dialects manifest in the discussions of 1953, Adolph warns: “[d]ie ständige Rückschau nach der verlorenen Heimat läßt die Gefahr aufkommen, daß sich sudetendeutsches Schrifttum als ‘Heimatlidung’ verbreitet

⁵⁵⁸ R. Adolph, “Lebensfragen unserer Dichtung,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 3, no. 24 (15 July 1950): 4. All following quotations, loc. cit.

⁵⁵⁹ Echoing Cysarz in the lament of such literature’s provincial dead ends (“*Versackung in einem Provinzialismus*”), Adolph at the same time unrepentantly extols its resistance against “Czech rule,” which he considers successful as long as literature does not stiffen (“*erstarren*”) in political polemic.

und verliert.” Portrayed as weeds in no need of special care, inbred dialects and *Heimatsdichtung* alike in Adolph’s view threaten linguistic and literary forms that lie beyond folklore with extinction.⁵⁶⁰ Only mistakenly taken to connote inimitability, staple themes of “Maibaumfällen, Wirtshausraufereien, Veränderung des Bauertums durch Industrie, Landflucht, Antipode Stadt und Land,” Adolph argues, really recur in various other cultural contexts having little to do with the specificity of the Sudeten German past, present, or future. While “regional writers (*regionale Heimatschriftsteller*)” may continue writing their earthy prose, only “true poets (*wirkliche Dichter*)” will deliver “Sudeten German literature” from its otherwise inevitable decline.

What kind of *literati* should be designated “true poets,” what would they need to accomplish, and how? To escape folkloric monotony, these men of letters and especially their critics would need to develop a completely different set of standards to ensure postwar survival of “Sudeten German literature,” Adolph contends. World literature rather than national German literature (Adolph omits the latter from his account altogether) is to serve as a beacon of hope for the purposes of rescuing “sudetendeutsches Schrifttum” from imminent oblivion. Taking his cue from economic breakthroughs by Sudeten expellees on international capitalist markets—the jewelry manufacturer Gablonzer Industrie (Kaufbeuren-Neugablonz), for example—Adolph argues that “Sudetendeutsche Dichtung” should likewise be “in die Optik der Weltliteratur gestellt und so schärfsten Auslesebedingungen ausgesetzt.” Although Adolph explicitly brackets Sudeten German participation in a specifically

⁵⁶⁰ Sudeten Germans who considered dialects a form of poetic language, such as a well-known *Mundartdichter* Otto Zerlik, strongly disagreed. Zerlik remarked that “die Schriftsprache allein zur Erhaltung unseres Volkstums [nicht] ausreichen würde. Die Mundarten haben hier einen wesentlichen Beitrag zu leisten, denn die bilden die eigentliche Muttersprache. Eine jede Mundart (wenigstens im deutschen Lebensraum) ist gewöhnlich bildhafter, mannigfaltiger, klangreicher als die Schrift- oder Kunstsprache.” Otto Zerlik, “Mundartdichtung und Mundartdichter. Das stärkste Mittel heimatliche Verbundenheit,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 3, no. 41 (18 November 1950): 4. As I discuss below, Zerlik’s views overlap with Fritz Mauthner’s suggestions.

German canon, he implicitly references this canon in his repeated evocations of world literature. Entrusted with the task of creating works distinct from those produced by the German classics thus far, “Sudeten German literature” for Adolph is at the same time inconceivable beyond what was developed by these very “masters,” to use Deleuze and Guattari’s term. Thoroughly indebted to Goethe, Adolph’s use of the term “world literature (*Weltliteratur*)” uncannily echoes the voice of the classic that sometimes stands in emblematically for “major” cultural forces.⁵⁶¹

To come a step closer to a global canon of *belles lettres* means to avoid the politicization almost inevitably incited by compulsive redressing of “experiences in the *Heimat* since 1945.” Such pervasive political undertones, Adolph imagines, trap “Sudeten German literature” in yesteryear and further conjure the musty air of “Verharren im Gestrigen” [being arrested in the past], which is frequently associated with expellee culture. Radically reconfigured since Cysarz, who inextricably equates the soon-to-be with the political *Gleichschaltung* of the Sudetenland, Adolph’s postwar futurity is emptied of political content. The timeless demands of the world’s literary treasury have little tolerance for the evanescence of political slogans and agendas. “Politisches Schrifttum,” Adolph warns his reader, “auch das unserer Klassiker, wird am frühesten in der Rumpelkammer der Weltliteratur verramscht. Lassen wir die Politik den Politikern, die Erhaltung des Brauchtums den Volkskundlern, und erinnern wir uns wieder der Forderung der Gesamtliteratur.”

⁵⁶¹ Goethe is counted among the first proponents of the coinage “world literature.” In his letter to A. F. C. Steckfuss from January 23, 1827, Goethe writes: “Ich bin überzeugt, daß eine Weltliteratur sich bilde, daß alle Nationen dazu geneigt sind und deshalb freundliche Schritte tun. Der Deutsche kann und soll hier am meisten wirken, er wird eine schöne Rolle bei diesem großen Zusammentreten zu spielen haben.” See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke. Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche*, (Frankfurt/Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1993), vol. 10, part 1, 443. The term is also chronicled in various late writings since 1827 as well as in conversations with Johann Peter Eckermann. See also Dieter Borchmeyer, “Literatur im Zeitalter der Globalisierung. Goethes Utopie der Weltliteratur,” *metamorphosen* 28 (1999): 8-13. As I indicate in the epilogue, an extended version of this dissertation will devote a separate chapter to cosmopolitan notes in Sudeten German culture.

From the nationalistically overdetermined interwar “Mehrern des deutschen Volksbodens”⁵⁶² Sudeten German men of letters are, in Adolph’s opinion, to rise to cosmopolitan “Mehrer der Welt.” His early postwar account is, like no other study afterwards, a call for an irreversible exodus from *Heimat*. It is a significant contribution to the polyphony of voices and opinions that chimed into the process of negotiating Sudeten German culture and literature as this culture’s perhaps most widely disseminated constituent. Adolph suggests a departure from *Heimat* whose metaphors evoke the language of martyrdom and survival common among German expellees at the time: “Der Gang aus der Heimat in das weitere Deutschland, nach Europa und die Welt fällt nicht jedem leicht. Diese geistige und seelische Luftveränderung fordert härteste Entscheidung, ist manchmal eine Krisis auf Leben und Tod.”

Lessons drawn from the fates of various recognized classics, apparently far from immune to the forces of oblivion, become a leitmotif that guides and encourages the postwar pantheon of Sudeten German writers. Adolph’s essay communicates a sense that “Sudeten German literature” shares its predicaments and highlights with the now undisputed world literary canon and is poised to make the great leap in joining it. Cautionary tales of the likes of Adalbert Stifter, whose territorially anchored classification as the bard of the Bohemian Forest allegedly hindered, for a long time, “die Betrachtung seines Werkes in der Schau der europäischen, ja der Weltliteratur,” ward off regionalism and prime the ground for an “Ausbruch aus dem Kräwinkel enger Landschaftsdichtung.” De-politicized and liberated from regionalism, Adolph’s “Sudeten German literature” was to become an antipode of its interwar self.

This breakthrough, however, depends entirely on fastidious identification of

⁵⁶² Krebs and Lehmann, op. cit., 9.

agents of “Sudeten German literature.” In an attempt to define “true poets” with greater precision, Adolph instructs: “Das Prädikat ‘sudetendeutsche Dichter’ möge doch vorsichtiger verliehen werden.” At the center of this delimiting endeavor stands Franz Kafka. Kafka and Fritz Mauthner, another influential albeit unnamed source for Deleuze and Guattari’s theory of minor literature, loom large as figures indispensable for postwar “Sudeten German literature” to a much greater extent than they were for its prewar counterpart. The shifting ethnic categorizations ascribed to Kafka—“Klassifizierungs-Groteske,” in Adolph’s words—as a Prague, Sudeten German, Czech, or European writer—make him a fundamental if contentious cornerstone of the discussions I address here. Whether postwar chroniclers and critics of “Sudeten German literature” eagerly embraced Kafka and the language of his prose as “Sudeten German” or openly disqualified them from being adopted as such, nearly every study of “Sudeten German literature” now defined its object either via a negative or a positive relationship with this writer.

The unavoidability of Kafka’s presence in accounts of “sudetendeutsche Dichtung”—and through him the unavoidability of Prague as a cultural hub—frequently remains the only link in otherwise inconsistent and frequently mutually exclusive interpretations of the term, which I present below. While Jewishness played a decisive role with regard to assessing the new place of Kafka, considerations of Mauthner’s legacy consistently downplayed such ethnic or religious background in favor of profiling his engagement with the notion of *Grenzlandkampf*. For Adolph, Kafka’s Jewishness became a decisive hurdle to his inclusion in the Sudeten German literary pantheon.⁵⁶³ Others passionately opposed the embrace of Kafka while

⁵⁶³ Sudeten German critics of the 1980s appear to be more prone to usurping Kafka. According to one of them, if Kafka wouldn’t have been “von den Nationalsozialisten vergast,” he would have most certainly fallen victim to the expulsion (“im Jahre 1945 von den Tschechen ausgesiedelt worden, da er sich zum Deutschtum bekannte”). “Dieses Schicksal ist ihm erspart geblieben,” and he now belongs to the world, “doch sind wir, seine deutschböhmischen Landsleute, wohl dazu aufgerufen, auch für seine Heimatstadt Prag, uralten deutschen Kulturboden, zu sprechen.” Friedrich Indra, “Gedanken zu einer

appealing to the familiar distinction between the provincial Sudetenland and urban Prague. Honing in on the precision of the term “Sudetendeutscher,” allegedly jeopardized in our “Zeit der Begriffsverwirrungen” [epoch of conceptual confusions], a well-known writer Robert Hohlbaum took an almost personal offense at those who promote “Kafka, Werfel und Brod als die frühen ‘sudetendeutschen’ Dichter [...], die natürlich allein Weltbedeutung besitzen, während allen anderen [...] nur eine ‘territoriale’ Geltung zugebilligt ist.”⁵⁶⁴ Although their Zionism was indeed incompatible with “Sudetendeutschtum,” Hohlbaum insisted that his dismissal of these three authors is not a question of “race.” “Es gab Juden,” he continued, “die sich zu dieser Schicksalsgemeinschaft bekannten. Der gewiß als Dichter kleinere Fritz Mauthner, der den ‘Letzten Deutschen von Blatna’ schrieb [...] gehörte in den Rahmen des Sudetendeutschtums.”

Presumably writing against Adolph’s cosmopolitan impetus and against Cysarz’ pan-German fervor, Hohlbaum sings the praises to provincialism. Werfel, Brod, and Kafka were for him without doubt Praguers—yet “Sudetendeutschtum war Provinz, war der Böhmerwald Watzlicks und Leppas, das Isergebirge Leutelts, das Erzgebirge Pleyers, das Egerland Brehms. Es war auch das Prag Strobls und Mallys, das aus deutschem Geist gewachsene; das Kafkas war es nicht.”⁵⁶⁵ Rather than belonging to the literary *salon des refusés*, where Adolph relocated it, territorial

Franz-Kafka-Ausstellung in Meran,” *Sudetenland* 25, no. 4 (1983): 291.

⁵⁶⁴ Robert Hohlbaum, “Sudetendeutschtum. Ein Begriff und seine Verwirrung,” *Der Sudetendeutsche* 7:8 (20 February 1954), 8. Although he spent most of his life directing libraries in Germany (including the Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek in Weimar), in Sudeten German circles Hohlbaum is well known as one of the most committed authors of *Grenzland* prose, a laureate of the Adalbert Stifter Award for literature (1951), and one of the writers prominently featured in Wilhelm Forman’s extensive account of “Sudetendeutsche Literatur,” discussed below. See Forman, *op. cit.*, 47-50. Following references in this chapter are cited parenthetically.

⁵⁶⁵ A similar sentiment resonates almost three decades later in an article by Friedrich Prinz, a well-known expert on all things Sudeten German: “Für die Deutschen aus den Böhmisches Ländern ist die Frage nach dem natürlichen Mittelpunkt ihres Kulturbewußtseins nicht so einfach zu beantworten.” Resolutely, he adds: “Prag war es jedenfalls nicht.” Friedrich Prinz, “Der Anteil der Sudetendeutschen an der modernen deutschen Kultur,” *Sudetenland* 25, no. 2 (1983): 89 and 91, respectively.

writing re-emerges as a repository of authenticity, a quality often attached to provincial *Heimat* as an antonym of alienating modernity.⁵⁶⁶ Hohlbaum's Kafka, instead of being cast as a liberating voice of minoritarianism familiar to us from Deleuze and Guattari, turns out to be nothing but an oppressive classic of world literature, an antipode to the "more minor (*kleinere*)" authors better suited as subjects for Sudeten German literary sympathies.

Rather than appropriating the classics of Prague German or Prague German Jewish literature, postwar Sudeten German criticism set itself the task of ensuring that "die literarische Leistung der Deutschen in den Sudetenländern" shines brightly "in its own right (*auf sich selbst gestellt*)" (Formann 10). Yet approaches to how these accomplishments should emerge victorious in the literary competition of the time differed widely. In his definitive account of "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" published in 1961, the year when the Berlin Wall literally cemented Germany's division, Wilhem Formann affirmingly intones Adolph's refrain: "[d]ie neue sudetendeutsche Dichtung zeigt europäisches Format" (8). At the same time he digresses from earlier postulations of the world literary heritage as the ultimate destination of Sudeten German letters. Rather than being directed exclusively toward the world, he claimed, this literature was first and foremost "deutsch schlechthin" (8). Formann thus symbolically declares its Germanness at a politically crucial moment—a moment cementing Germany's division. This *German* literature was, in Formann's view, foreign to "eine Dichtung der Sudetenländer, die der modernen Weltliteratur angehört" (8), i.e. to Prague German Jewish literature. His study attempted to disentangle "Sudeten German literature" from this link to the world which he saw as based on a parasitic rather than symbiotic relationship. Distancing "Sudetendeutsche Dichtung" from the world thus equaled divorcing it from the German literature of

⁵⁶⁶ See von Moltke, op. cit., Blickle, op. cit., and Hüppauf, op. cit.

Prague written by Jewish authors. In Formann's opinion, Sudeten German appropriations of these author's names and works appear both naive and unfair: "Das Unterfangen, die aus Böhmen stammenden Dichter vom Range eines Werfel, Kafka, Kraus, Brod, Perutz für das Sudetendeutschtum zu reklamieren, wäre ebenso kindisch wie infam. Ihre Zugehörigkeit zum jüdischen Volk darf die Wertung ihrer überragenden Leistungen nicht beeinträchtigen [sic!]" (9).⁵⁶⁷

Formann's introduction already zooms in on ethnicity as one of the main criteria for defining a particular literature. While both the origin of Sudeten Germans and their "politische[r] Wille" [political will]—in other words, territorial beginnings marking both a spiritual and a physical destination—appear clear, Formann posits that their cultural concerns and traditions remain in need of clarification (7). Although the reader first meets Sudeten Germans defined as a political minority deprived of statehood—"dem Sudetendeutschtum [war] ein eigener Staat niemals gegönnt"—Formann immediately interjects that this political fact alone does not suffice to ensure lasting scholarly interest in his *Landsleute* (7). Not their failure to transform

⁵⁶⁷ He reiterates the same thought, cf.: "Versuche, jüdische Dichtung, die in den Sudetenländern entstand, kurzerhand als 'sudetendeutsch' einzugemeinden, erfolgen meist gegen den Willen der Betroffenen" (10).

The depropriation of Kafka provoked strong objections on the part of some of Formann's reviewers. In his response to Formann's book, Anton Willimek exclaimed: "Nun ist es aber sicherlich [nicht] 'infam und kindisch,' [...] wenn man deutsch-sprachige Schriftsteller jüdischer Herkunft im Rahmen einer Betrachtung sudetendeutscher Dichtung [...] würdigt. Im Gegenteil, das erscheint sogar [...] erforderlich, denn diese Dichter lebten und schufen ihre Werke weitgehend nach den Gesetzen dieses Raumes und wirkten in seine geistige Atmosphäre hinein. [...]" While leaving the political or aesthetic "rules of this space" unexplained, Willimek suggested that, of course, one could not simply present them as Sudeten German authors. They had to be marked "in ihrer besonderen völkischen Eigenart auch mit den ihnen anhaftenden Mängeln [sic!]. Stünde man auf Formanns Standpunkt, dürfte man ja Namen wie Kafka, Werfel, Brod usw. auch nicht in einer gesamtdeutschen Literaturgeschichte erwähnen. Wo aber sollten sie behandelt werden?" Here his voice assumed a mocking tone: "Etwa im Rahmen einer meines Wissens noch nicht geschriebenen national-jüdischen Literaturgeschichte?" Anton Willimek, review of *Sudetendeutsche Dichtung heute*, by Wilhelm Formann, *Sudetensland* 4, no. 2 (1962), 154.

On this point, cf. also Rudolf Mattausch: "Wir würden uns vor denen, die im Namen des deutschen Volkes, wenn auch unter verbrecherischem Mißbrauch dieses Namens, Unrecht und Verfolgung, Ausweisung, Verschleppung und Tod erleiden mußten, noch einmal ins Unrecht setzen, wollten wir sie einfach für die sudetendeutsche Dichtung reklamieren und mit der weltweiten Bedeutung etwa Kafkas oder Werfels als Aushängeschild für unser kulturelles Erbe und Heimatrecht 'hausieren' gehen" (247).

themselves into a uniform national body, but by contrast, their enduring heterogeneity (“das Fehlen der stammesmäßigen Einheit”) will continue to fascinate ethnographers.

Formann’s study is itself fascinated with the here and now of “Sudeten German literature.” “Heute” not only prominently figures in the title of the book, it also establishes that after decades of being *en route* “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” has finally arrived at its destination. For Formann, it is a literature significant not because of its future or past alone, but because of the present moment in which, he hopes, his readers can watch this literature unfold. Formann’s study in 1961, a year that counts the Berlin Wall and the subsequent labor recruitment treaty with Turkey (October 30) among important milestones, thus also involves “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” in a specifically German contemporaneity. Formann abandons futurity, once paramount to treatments such as Cysarz’, in favor of rectifying the bond between past and present. His work is a chronicle or, more accurately, catalogue of rather disjointed entries on authors that reflect “[w]as sich an jungen Kräften regt, was der Krieg verschlang und was im Zusammenhange mit der Vertreibung verstummte.” Yet despite the prevalence of the narrative past tense, Formann’s focus on the “bedeutende[...] Lebende[...]” and “survivors” of the expulsion (7 and 10) is explicitly *not* retrospective.

The author only fleetingly glosses over the interwar period. Whereas the general “geistigen Auseinandersetzungen Österreichs und später Deutschlands” did constitute this literature’s dominant themes, prior to World War II “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” reached Parnassus only once (8). Formann could not be less concerned with this ascent. Accomplishments worthy of the world literary treasury are peripheral to his search for his subject’s more contemporary “selbständige Töne” (8). We soon discover that the newly acquired “europäisches Format” of “Sudeten German literature” stems from this scarcity of widely recognized talent. Far from

being a liability, this scarcity is one of this literature’s advantages, since “[w]as ihr an Höhe mangelt, ersetzt sie durch Eigenart [...]” Resisting what he considers a stale air of musealization, Formann instead erects an “Ehrentempel” to the present. In it he for the first time assembles those who, in an implicit contrast to the writers of the Prague Circle, “niemals vereinigten sich [...] in einem eigenen Kreise oder gar einer Schule, besaß ja die die Volksgruppe selbst weder einen eigenen Staat noch ein gemeinsames kulturelles Zentrum” (101).⁵⁶⁸ For the first time perhaps, Formann’s compilation lends “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” its own center—a center located in the present and qualitatively distinguished from the literature’s past. The assonance of “vereinigten sich [...] in einem eigenen Kreise” emphatically conveys not only the superfluity, for “Sudeten German literature,” of circle-like unity encapsulated in the verb *vereinigten*. Diphthongs resonating in the phrase shift the weight onto *eigen* instead. By highlighting their lack of formal unity, Formann retrospectively awards those who had little of their own (*eigen*) an indisputable *Eigenart*.

Yet the incredulous paraphrasis “Sudetendeutsche Dichtung—Heute?” was to haunt the collection of Formann’s confident assertions. Formann’s reviewer Rudolf Mattausch wrote in this interrogative tone—the rising pitch a leitmotif of his article—to indicate his own resistance against the temptation of “seeing the past rather than the present” [*eher das Gewordene zu sehen als das Gegenwärtige*].⁵⁶⁹ Reflecting upon to the title sentence and its focus on the present, he has to labor hard to imagine whether

dieser Satz in voller Schwere auch für die Literatur, die ohne die spontanen, genialen Impulse zum öden Dahinvegetieren verdammt wäre [gilt]. Gilt der Satz vor allem für die literarischen Bemühungen einer Volksgruppe, die entwurzelt wurde und verworfen in ein Land

⁵⁶⁸ In Formann’s words, Sudeten Germans fully lived up to their alleged reputation as individualists par excellence (101). Further in this chapter I explore the refrain-like circulation of “eigen” in more detail.

⁵⁶⁹ Matthausch, *op. cit.*, 242. Further cited parenthetically.

gleicher Sprache und eng verbundener Kultur? Wie lange können Bildung und Tradition der verlassenen heimischen Erde und ihren Menschen verpflichten, in anderer, aber eben nicht ganz anderer, Umwelt wirksam zu bleiben? (242)

In the course of his review, Matthausch's voice turns increasingly skeptical of Formann's focus on the present. In Matthausch's mind, one should instead express more concern with sustaining cultural presence by means of preservation of the past. The critic's skepticism pertains first and foremost to the ability of "Sudeten German literature" to fend for itself. What is "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" once it stops being part of another literature?—this question is implicit in Matthausch's review. While the literature concerning "Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien"⁵⁷⁰ used to be, in Matthausch's mind, nearly always identical with "greater Austrian literary expression" [*gesamtösterreichisch[e] Aussage*], he regards current "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" as a neologism is yet to withstand its most difficult test:

Was ist aber 'Sudetendeutsche [sic] Dichtung?' Gibt es sie überhaupt? Können wir von ihr mit der gleichen Selbstverständlichkeit sprechen wie von bayerischer, schwäbischer, österreichischer Dichtung oder von—aber hier stock' ich schon—von badischer oder gar hessischer? (244)

A regional literature exists outside the national German canon ("Gemeingut der deutschen Dichtung"), forfeits the cosmopolitan ambition prevalent in Adolph, and foregoes inclusion of such classics as Rilke or Kafka (247). Moreover, after the expulsion "Sudeten German literature" may not have a here and now: Matthausch finds it difficult to imagine a regional literature without an immediate cultural and political presence in its region. A literature that does not maintain such a presence may not have a present and is therefore best accounted for in the past tense, according

⁵⁷⁰ "Schlesien" here refers to Teschen, part of an area divided between Poland and former Czechoslovakia.

to Matthausch. For him, “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” is an unlikely neologism not because the term itself is new but because Formann (as well as Adolph, whom Matthausch does not mention) invest it with postwar currency and a sense of autonomy it previously did not have. Its newness thus derives from the entirely new set of circumstances in which it has to function. Yet “Sudeten German literature” is anything but a recent development: Matthausch dates it back to the proclamation of the Czechoslovak state in 1918. This literature used to be, in his mind, saturated with borderland investments of its men of letters and most prominently with “Bewußtsein zum Schicksal und zur eigenen Art” (245). It pivoted in the then “new genre of a borderland novel” [*der neue Typus des Grenzlandromans*], becoming crystallized in this eloquent “Ausdruck der Sorge um die Heimat, um Eigenwert und Eigenrecht der Sprache und nationaler Kultur” (246).⁵⁷¹ This expression entailed a cultural commitment with an attendant political stance (“politische Apologie”). Yet because such political sentiment was on the wane in postwar Germany, for Matthausch the chances of “sudetendeutsche Dichtung” to carry on its embattled survival were negligible. In conclusion, he ponders:

Gibt es sudetendeutsche Dichtung? Sicher, aber sie ist nur eine – und zwar zeitbedingte und zeitbegrenzte – Episode des größeren Phänomens, nämlich der dichterischen Aussage aus und über Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien in deutscher Sprache. Wenn sie “sudetendeutsche” Dichtung bleibt, wird sie sehr bald die Literatur einer immer älter werdenden und einmal aussterbenden Generation sein.

[...] Es zeichnet sich heute deutlich ab: das Ende der apologetischen Epoche, in der das entstand, was ich als sudetendeutsche Dichtung zum Unterschied von der viel umfangreicheren und innerlich viel reicheren

⁵⁷¹ Examples include Fritz Mauthner’s *Der letzte Deutsche von Blatna* (1885), Robert Hohlbaum’s *Grenzland* (1921), Wilhelm Pleyer’s *Die Brüder Tommahans* (1937) and *Der Puchner: Ein Grenzlandschicksal* (1934), Gottfried Rothacker’s *Das Dorf an der Grenze* (1936), as well as others. For a survey of the tradition of *Grenzlandromane*, see Wolfgang Reich, “Kalter Zweifrontenkrieg: Ein Grenzlandroman konservativer und (prä-)faschistischer Autoren der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in *Literatur der Grenze—Theorie der Grenze*, ed. Richard Faber and Barbara Naumann (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1995), 115-135. See also Hohmeyer, ‘*Böhmischen Volkes Weisen*’, 388.

deutschen Dichtung aus Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien bezeichnet wissen möchte. (249)

Despite the shift of his emphasis to the present tense, Mattausch glumly forecasts Sudeten German literature's imminent demise. Rather than celebrating its becoming, in the vein of Cysarz and his contemporaries as well as, in different ways, Adolph, or its arrival at its own present moment, Mattausch punctuates his account with a full stop. Sooner than most critics anticipate, he suggests, "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" will become history.

3. Coda: Vicissitudes of Eigenart

Yet Mattausch's requiem for "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" is much less dissimilar to its more optimistic postwar precursors than it first appears to be. Already Formann re-injects his account with specters of *Eigenart*, a term on which his interpretation of "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" hinges. Absent from early accounts of "Sudeten German literature" and from the 1953 discussions of language, variations of "eigen" traditionally saturate writings on the "Pflege der eigenen Kultur" and especially on dialects, whose authenticity heavily depends on the *Arteigenes* and "die sorgsame Wahl der mundarteigenen Stoffe."⁵⁷² Yet whether it is absent (de-emphasized) or present (continuously stressed) in this traditional sense, *Eigenart* is a cornerstone of postwar Sudeten German deliberations on what should define the group's cultural identity. An implicit negation of "eigen" elements in some discussions considered above raises the troubling question about the properties of

⁵⁷² Hans Komar, "Um die Zukunft der Sudetendeutschen," *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 21, no. 3/4 (July/August 1974): 80. Expounding on the eminent role of dialects in self-preservation of Sudeten Germans, Otto Zerlick (loc. cit.) writes: "Mundartdichtung und Mundartdichter verdienen allerdings nur dann Anerkennung, wenn es sich tatsächlich um Könner und Arteigenes handelt." A Sudeten German contribution from the late 1970s suggests, along similar lines, that Sudeten Germans are defined not just by their place of origin but by their "eigene Lebensart" with "eigene, lebenswerte Daseinsformen, Verhaltensweisen." See Karl Welser, "Noch lebt die Volksgruppe," *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 25, no. 2 (April 1978): 226.

culture, literal (i.e. occupying or possessing a territory) and figurative (i.e. this culture's characteristics). As participants in the metalinguistic exchange of 1953 and literary critics such as Adolph indicate, after the expulsion these properties cannot be simply derived from the group's folkloric belonging and its anchor to *Heimat*. That is, claiming a certain territory no longer translates into ownership of this territory's cultural and, narrowly, linguistic expression.

Positive emphases on "eigen" components in Mattausch's *eigene Art*, *Eigenwert* and *Eigenrecht* appear to be caught in a time warp unresponsive to postwar realities. Yet these accents similarly inscribe his piece in a larger continuum that relates language in particular to ownership. How can one best describe this continuum? Late writings by Fritz Mauthner, arguably the author of the first *Grenzlandroman* and hence (in the eyes of Robert Hohlbaum) a true Sudeten German or at the very least a kindred spirit, are among the most eloquent examples to foreground the bond between language and ownership in a way relevant to critical studies of "Sudeten German literature" as much as to Deleuze and Guattari's essay. As Scott Spector observes, Mauthner's perhaps most frequently cited passage from *Prager Jugendjahre* comments on his early years in Prague to flesh out the relationship between language, territory, and property:⁵⁷³

[...] für die Wortkunst fehlte mir das lebendige Wort einer eigenen Mundart. [...] Die dicht beieinander wohnenden Deutschen der böhmischen Grenzgebiete, die Deutschen des nordöstlichen, des nordwestlichen und des westlichen Böhmens haben ihre lieben und echten Dialekte. Der Deutsche im Innern von Böhmen, umgeben von einer tschechischen Landbevölkerung, spricht keine deutsche Mundart, spricht ein papiernes Deutsch, wenn gar nicht Ohr und Mund sich auf

⁵⁷³ Fritz Mauthner, *Prager Jugendjahre* (Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1969); originally published in 1918. Further cited parenthetically. For additional citations of the passage in the context of Mauthner's borderland writings, see Gilbert Ravy, "Mauthner und Prague" and Katherine Arens, "Colonialism in Austro-Hungary: Fritz Mauthner's Bohemian Novellas," in *Brückenschlag zwischen den Disziplinen: Fritz Mauthner als Schriftsteller, Kritiker und Kulturtheoretiker*, ed. Elisabeth Leinfeller and Jörg Thunecke (Wuppertal: Arco Verlag, 2004), 19-49 and 149-166, respectively.

die slawische Aussprache eingerichtet haben. Es mangelt an Fülle des erdgewachsenen Ausdrucks, es mangelt an Fülle der Mundart, es mangelt an Fülle der mundartlichen Formen. Die Sprache ist arm. Und mit der Fülle der Mundart ist auch die Melodie der Mundart verloren gegangen. Es ist bezeichnend dafür, daß der Mensch auch zu seiner eigenen Sprache keine Distanz hat: die Deutschböhmen bilden sich ein und sagen es bei jeder Gelegenheit, daß sie das reinste Deutsch reden. Die Ärmsten! Als ob die Mundarten unrein waren! (49)

Couched in an antinomy between dialects and regulated language forms, Mauthner's commentary on language is instrumental for my analysis of tensions between postwar theorizations of "sudetendeutsche Dichtung" and parallel discussions of language conducted in Sudeten German circles after 1945, on the one hand, and for the challenge these tensions pose for the confluence of language and literature in Deleuze and Guattari, on the other hand.⁵⁷⁴ A poster child of Jewish assimilation—Fritz's father went so far as to deplore *mischen* as too evocative of the "verhaßte Judensprache" and enforce the use of *melieren* instead (31)—in his autobiography Mauthner bemoans the years spent "without a language and without a religion" (47ff). Allegedly responsible for shortcomings in his own writings, the absence of a "mother tongue" and "mother religion" (50)—the former one of the foci of Mauthner's writing around the end of World War I—by extension menaces all German-speakers of Bohemia.⁵⁷⁵ His self-critical scrutiny points to a clash between

⁵⁷⁴ To an extent, Mauthner's memoirs extend his theoretical *Sprachkritik*, which was also partially focused on the dwindling capacity of language to serve as a means of communication in urban environments. Christine Kaiser illuminates this theme in her essay "'Die Sprache ist geworden wie eine große Stadt': Fritz Mauthners metaphorisches Sprachen im Zeichen der Großstadt und des modernen Verkehrs," in *Fritz Mauthner—Sprache, Literatur, Kritik. Festakt und Symposium zu seinem 150. Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Henne and Christine Kaiser (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 133-144.

⁵⁷⁵ Mauthner regrets that his Prague childhood in the Jewish milieu evacuated both the "Erde" [soil], a force endowing language with the "highest and deepest," and the power of religious "Haß" [hatred] a precondition for and symbol of "struggle" undercut by his atheist upbringing (50-51). Struggle, and ethnic conflict between Czechs and Germans in particular, are most forcefully illuminated in Mauthner's supposedly pioneering border novel *Der letzte Deutsche von Blatna* (1885). For an assessment of his concerns about the decline of German in Bohemia, see Ravy, *op. cit.*, 38ff. In his *Muttersprache und Vaterland* (Leipzig: Dürr und Weber, 1920), Mauthner accounts for an affective link between *Muttersprache* and *Völkerhaß* as well as for the role of mother tongue in shaping

an uprooted German pervasive in insular urban centers of Cisleithania, on the one hand, and the vibrant expression of so-called *Sprachgrenzdeutschen* and their non-German neighbors, on the other.⁵⁷⁶ In contrast to the plethora (*Fülle*) of verdant forms associated with the oral, the idiom surviving in German language islands is arrested by the stiffness of paper. Its shriveled forms, like those of herbarium plants, reproduce the material dryness of the medium itself. The affective paucity that later thrills Deleuze and Guattari, who in their work on Kafka appropriate Mauthner's coinage "paper Deutsch" to endow it with a singularly positive and uniquely creative literary meaning, here stands for the impossibility of writing as a creative practice. "Papiernes Deutsch" is, in Mauthner's own experience, a hindrance on the thorny trail toward "Wortkunst." In line with Robert Hohlbaum's later speculations on Sudeten Germanness, Mauthner's own writings portray himself as Kafka's antipode rather than just his lesser twin.

Like Mauthner's bifurcated configurations of possessing a language—"eigene Mundart" connotes territorial expanse unthinkable without earthiness, while "eigene Sprache" suggests the stifling air of close quarters—his "paper German" has become an ambiguous term. One of his last publications, a political essay *Muttersprache und Vaterland* (1920) sheds light on the materiality from which he derives his views on language in Bohemia. The text is dedicated almost solely to explicating affective roles of "Muttersprache" [mother tongue] in both preceding and shaping the national collective to yield a marriage with its gendered counterpart, "*Vaterland*"

Nationalgefühl and thus paving the road to national unity. See in particular pages 60 and 48-52, respectively.

⁵⁷⁶ Mauthner spent the first years of his life in such areas, near Sadowa/Sadová in northeast Bohemia, a place "nicht weit von der deutsch-böhmischen Grenze" (Mauthner 1920, 5), best known from accounts of the battle of Königgrätz. Although by the time of the battle Fritz's family relocated to Prague, Prussia's victory in one of the most decisive encounters of the Austro-Prussian war (1866) was formative for Mauthner's views on the deficiencies of the k.-u.-k. monarchy. For more on this as well as on Mauthner's negative views of Prague German summed up in his *Prager Jugendjahre*, see Ravy, op. cit., 23-31 and 41, respectively.

[fatherland].⁵⁷⁷ Like Cysarz, Mauthner is resentful of the stifling provincial parameters of Austria-Hungary with its *Landessprachen* and *Landesvaterland*. Allegedly, these for centuries circumscribed ethnic German horizons in Bohemia to the lifeless refrain “Gott erhalte,” meant to symbolize their loyalty to the monarchy (7). In contrast to the “natural fatherland” fostered by Czechs and nourished with the folklore of their liberation struggles, for example, Germans in Bohemia, according to Mauthner, had only an artificial (“künstlich”) fatherland. Mauthner believed that the vast panorama of a true fatherland—a nation-state—could hardly be accommodated in small-scale k. u. k. visions:

Unsere Heimat kannten wir freilich, das Hügelland, das sich südlich gegen die Elbe abflacht und nordöstlich mit dem grauen Kamm des Riesengebirges und dem Gipfel der Schneekoppe seinen Abschluß findet. Dort war die Welt mit Brettern verschlagen, dort lag Deutschland, das ‘Reich’. Das hieß niemals unser Vaterland. (6)

Despite inherent invocations of land, the term *Landesvaterland* refers for Mauthner to an area where invented cartographies and their limited territorial expanse receive significance on paper only. How else could “der doppelt papierne, der packpapierne Begriff Cisleithanien die Bedeutung von Vaterland gewinnen” (6)? As in Mauthner’s 1918 remarks on Prague German, the amplified density of paper models—Cisleithania appears to refer to an even less appealing but more durable “packing paper”—conveys the menace of withering vigor facing political and cultural aspects of Germanness. From this point onward, “paper” figures in Mauthner’s text as a cipher for that which the author considers to be most threatening to the conjunction of mother tongue and fatherland.

⁵⁷⁷ Pieter Judson draws attention to the fact that since the 1870s, Austro-Hungarian definitions of nationality (documented in the imperial census) eschewed either the term “nationality” or “Muttersprache” in favor of polling respondents on their “Umgangssprache” [language of daily use], which government officials equated with the standard for measuring national belonging (14).

“Sprachen von Pappe” [cardboard languages]—constructed languages such as Volapük, approximately coeval with Mauthner’s *Der letzte Deutsche von Blatna*—appears in Mauthner’s eyes to be the most immediate and potentially devastating peril. Citing Helmuth von Moltke’s aphorism that perpetual peace is a dream and not even a beautiful one, Mauthner extrapolates that this dictum accurately describes efforts to unite humankind under the sign of one language (18). No more than a specter of Latin, the lifeless paradigms of which, as we know from his memoirs, induced consternation already in the young Fritz, Volapük haunts Europe and Germany in Mauthner’s imagination. Fleeing the internationalism that is supposedly keen on eliminating nation-states and mother tongues (24), Mauthner ponders that to study languages based on purely theoretical, contrived grammar would be as perverse [“verkehrt”] as “die Anatomie von Auge, Herz und Ohr nach schematischen Darstellungen aus Pappe studieren zu wollen, anstatt nach der Natur [...]” Extending his corporeal analogy to encompass language, he continues: “[S]o verkehrt wäre es, in die Geheimnisse etwa der deutschen Sprachbildung mit Hilfe einer Sprache von Pappe eindringen zu wollen. Nein, noch verkehrter; die Vergleichung würde erst stimmen, wenn das pappige Schema von Auge, Herz und Ohr möglichst getreu den menschlichen Organen nachgebildet würde” (19).

Mauthner’s anatomical parallels resound in his image of a *Muttersprache* ravaged by the aggressive theoretical tools with which the “cardboard language” is so well endowed. Like anatomy, languages should be studied not on models “aus Pappe” but “nach der Natur” (22)—and what could be more natural than one’s familiar bond to a mother tongue? Instead of longing for an artificial yet artlessly contrived universal “panacea” [*Allheilmittel*] offered by “Volapükists, Esperantists, Idists,”⁵⁷⁸ Mauthner suggests focusing attention on the pursuit of a mother tongue shared

⁵⁷⁸ Ido emerged around the turn of the twentieth century as a reformed version of Esperanto. “Ido,” Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <http://www.search.eb.com/eb/article-9042031>, 13 August 2008.

naturally and nationally.

Nevertheless, Mauthner's idea of a "gemeinsame Muttersprache" poses a challenge, since his text suggests that a mother tongue cannot in fact possess any consistent sameness. Far from a uniform practice, it is unthinkable "without the dialect tinge" [*mundartliche Färbung*] and appears to absorb dialects by osmosis: "die Grenzen zwischen der gemeinsamen Muttersprache und den vielen Mundarten [sind] nicht scharf gezogen" (48). To lend these various shades a common denominator, nations therefore resort to "eine Sprache der Übereinkunft, eine nicht künstliche, aber doch gewählte, die man sich gewöhnt hat, 'Schriftsprache' zu nennen. Wir hätten keine Gemeinsprache, wir hätten nur Mundarten, wenn das Schreiben nicht erfunden worden wäre [...]" (48). *Schriftsprache*, despite its paper-bound written form, is therefore anything but a "cardboard" or "paper language." On the contrary, it provides fodder for national literature—itsself nothing but a "künstlerisch geformte Sprache," most immediately connected to and deriving from the mother tongue as a "great national treasure" (59). *Muttersprache*, made widely available as *Schriftsprache*, ascends for Mauthner to the status of the "gemeinsame Besitz alles dessen, was [dem Menschen] teuer und unverlierbar ist an den Gütern der Kultur und Geistes" (60). Coming full circle, this newly proclaimed "Gemeinsamkeit der Muttersprache" allows Mauthner to revisit the conjuncture between language and property by means of which he first raises the question "papiernes Deutsch."

How exactly do Mauthner's speculations inform my discussion of the juncture between language and literature in postwar musings in Sudeten German publications? To answer this question, I must to revisit Deleuze and Guattari's study by focusing on Mauthner's instrumental role in the method that their essay advances. In the concluding segment of this chapter, I interpret the disjuncture in Sudeten German views of their language and literature as posing a challenge to the unproblematic

union of language and literature. This feature is, as I have already pointed out, a fundamental methodological hinge in the theory of minor literature as we know it from Deleuze and Guattari's writings. For my purposes, I trace figurations of Mauthner's term "paper German" in the 1953 discussions on language and comment on the relationship of this term to *Schriftsprache* or, more accurately, *Schriftdeutsch*—my original point of departure.

The most passionately disputed points and keywords of the 1953 language polemic—questions of territoriality; a nearly unavoidable nexus of literature and politics; the omnipresence of Kafka; collective expression; scarcity of talent; tension between Sudeten German "Dichtung" and the German literary canon; conflict between becoming and being—anticipate the minor keys to which Deleuze and Guattari attune their readers. Given the limelight that the question of language receives with the upsurge of interest in "Sudeten German literature" in the 1950s and 1960s, one might be tempted to conclude that these critical works team to produce an exemplary illustration of what would become "minor literature" in Deleuze and Guattari's definition. As reflected in such criticism, after World War II "Sudeten German literature" did take on uncertain outlines that did not always blend smoothly with the more general directions of German *belles lettres*. As if to underscore this discontinuity, two distinct sets of linguistic conventions were noted by Sudeten German observers in 1953. These linguistic differences may likewise seem to gesture toward these observers' portrayal of a minor Sudeten German practice of a major language, a practice constituting an expressive validation of an alternative literary practice—a minor literature. If one were to adopt this view, one would consider Sudeten Germans to have carried a phantom of a deterritorialized language, "a stranger estranged from itself" returning to haunt its alleged 'natural' German

home.⁵⁷⁹

To what extent do Sudeten German critics anticipate Deleuze and Guattari's theory of minor literature and to what extent do they challenge some of its assumptions? The point of posing this question is not only to raise the issue of wide-ranging and frequently problematic application of Deleuze and Guattari's theory, already noted by scholars,⁵⁸⁰ but also to suggest the lines along which a historical and methodological re-evaluation of this theory could take place. The following questions indicate potential trajectories for such reconsideration. First, how important does Prague remain as a site the history of which permits Deleuze and Guattari to formulate their theory? In other words, do linguistic and literary practices that Deleuze and Guattari describe in their essay's opening easily lend themselves to the kind of deterritorialization (and de-historicization) that the theorists suggest toward the end of their text? Second, to what extent does Deleuze and Guattari's approach hinge on but does not acknowledge authors other than Kafka, who is the focus of their essay and the entire book? Had these authors been given a thorough consideration, would it have prevented Deleuze and Guattari from formulating an aesthetic continuity between a minor language and a minor literature? Third, how may alternative views of Kafka destabilize their interpretation of this focal author?

My first point pertains to Kafka, whose ambivalent position in the literary critical debates of the 1950s on the postwar role to be played by "Sudeten German literature" already sets limits to a theory that has been so closely tied to one author. Yet the conceptual problem that I wish to elucidate lies less in Kafka's frequent postwar exclusion from the ranks of Sudeten German authors: Sudeten German literary critics based their arguments against Kafka's adoption mostly on his ethnic affiliation rather than the quality of his works. The problem, in my view, lurks in their

⁵⁷⁹ Seyhan, "From Minor Literature, Across Border Culture," 15.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

portrayal of Kafka as an oppressive classic and an overpowering master, anything but a patron of minor writing. Studies of “Sudeten German literature” invoke Kafka’s name as a touchstone to draw a literary critical borderline between the center and periphery, between Prague and a provincial Sudetenland, between great authors and those who, in Hohlbaum’s words, were “more minor” and therefore closer to this literature’s scope. Removing Kafka from the horizon of “Sudeten German literature,” its purveyors seem to reject or at best express considerable ambivalence toward the influence of Prague in general. Prague becomes for them anything but a proper ground on which Sudeten German literature could be situated, be it in de- or re-territorialized form.

Yet no matter how important Kafka’s figure is for Deleuze and Guattari, from their persistent invocations of language we also know that a literary critical rejection of the author alone is not yet a sufficient indicator of (in)applicability of their theory to disputes around Sudeten German language and writing after 1945. Minor literature, the theorists’ study reminds us time and again, arises from a specific practice of language, and “only expression” and its analysis can furnish their method (16).

It is to my second point, one pertaining to language, that I would like to turn here. Deleuze and Guattari arrive at their approach to Kafka *only* with the help of Fritz Mauthner’s coinage “paper German,” paraphrased as “paper language” for their purposes. Yet their use of this term, which they do not attribute, locate historically, or explain in much detail, is at the same time the site of the greatest methodological tension in their essay. On the one hand, “paper language” for Deleuze and Guattari is the language of the socio-cultural context that they are out to decipher, a language of “an oppressive [German] minority” inhabiting Prague, and the first characteristic of minor literatures to be listed in their essay. On the other hand, they indicate that it is not just a language per se but also a *pattern* of language circulation transposable to

other contexts having nothing to do with Prague. Especially in this regard it is important that the term, as they understand it, is interchangeable with an “artificial language” severed from the masses (16). Yet in Mauthner’s texts, this conflation signals an impenetrable barrier for literary production rather than a conduit for revolutionary writing. Indeed, I would suggest that interchangeability of these terms in Deleuze and Guattari performs the parallel between “paper German” and “cardboard languages” such as Volapük, a parallel established in Mauthner’s *Muttersprache und Vaterland*. For all its exaggerated dryness, a “paper language,” if traced back to Mauthner, is thus not a transmutation of a standard thriving on repeated if subtle violations and transgression of norms, which is the interpretation that Deleuze and Guattari seem to prefer. Instead, it is the excessive codification of such a standard, which ultimately renders it unsuitable for creative purposes.

Mauthner’s term appears less relevant to Deleuze and Guattari’s theory if one considers that they proceed to commingle their version of a “paper language” with other languages. They collapse Prague German into “the German language of Czechoslovakia” and portray it as a “fluid language intermixed with Czech and Yiddish” and devoid of Mauthner’s original associations with stiffness and formality (20). In Mauthner’s impressions of “papiernes Deutsch,” notably not primarily based on German spoken by Jews (its speakers are “Deutsche im Innern von Böhmen”), Slavic elements can seep in rather superficially only through pronunciation (*Aussprache*), but *not* actual expression (*Ausdruck*). Such circumscribed interference can only have a very limited effect on animating “papiernes Deutsch.” It is important to keep in mind that the very purpose of Mauthner’s “papiernes Deutsch” is to draw a boundary between the allegedly lifeless German of Prague and the vivacious dialects inhabiting a highly territorialized periphery. Considered historically, “paper German” is expressly *not* the all-inclusive “German language of Czechoslovakia” but rather a

language ascribed only to a relatively small fraction of its German-speakers.

These internal contradictions and radical departures from Mauthner's definition characterize Deleuze and Guattari's work. However the theorists are not alone in conflating Prague German and the language of the periphery. The overlap of these two language is additionally vividly present in the ouster of dialects from the debates about the language of Sudeten Germans in 1953. However, despite its seeming similarity to the tensions within Deleuze and Guattari's theory, on the part of Sudeten German cultural critics this move yields strikingly different results. Confluences between the language of Sudeten Germans and High German invite us to reconsider what it means to put a major language to minor uses and whether such efforts necessarily lead to the emergence of a minor literature. In Deleuze and Guattari a minor practice of a major language is, despite its sterility, tinged with dialect. In contrast, postwar Sudeten German critics are censors of *Mundarten* who consider their *Landsleute* to be the highest authority on the German language standard in its most meticulously vetted textbook form. While they do resist a sharp distinction between Praguers and Sudeten Germans strictly speaking, especially since respondents to the debate clearly hail from and address both constituencies. However, in contrast to Deleuze and Guattari's later theory of minor literature, Sudeten German reflections on the subject in the 1950s do not stress the role of insular Prague. Instead, they have the periphery assume traits typical of Prague. Sudeten German critics enthusiastically embrace a formal, codified version of German, whether a linguist could identify it as Prague German with certainty or not. This is a codified version of German stripped of its many local colors. In implicit contrast to Mauthner's distinction between "papiernes Deutsch" and "Muttersprache" (the former being antithetical to the latter) in the 1950s Sudeten German activists paradoxically affirm a variety of "papiernes Deutsch" as their mother tongue.

Sudeten German critics initially believed to share this mother tongue with their West German hosts. They envisaged that this foundational relationship with should ideally rest on a common *Schriftdeutsch*, or *Schriftsprache*, to use Mauthner's term. However, already the mention of this written language at the opening of Reinl's article communicates a sense of anxiety about this shared foundation. The interrogative stance of "Haben Einheimische und Heimatvertriebene zweierlei Schriftdeutsch?" gestures toward a fracture in any hopes of cultural unity. Rather than proving that "Vertriebene aus der Tschechoslowakei 'sogar' deutsch sprechen, lesen und schreiben können" (Brehm 3), the polemic of 1953 mostly demonstrates expellees they can do it better than their hosts. At the same time, by adopting Mauthner as a "more minor" writer, they suggest that the term "minority" is not entirely irrelevant to the directions of postwar Sudeten German culture. In their perceptions, minority is recalibrated from being less to more; their minor practice of German a major language translates into the project recuperating the grandeur of this language's lost standard. Sudeten German exchanges of the 1950s and 1960s both undermine and corroborate Mauthner's views on language and literature. On the one hand, Sudeten German participants in these discussions overthrow Mauthner's irreconcilable opposition between mother tongue and "paper German": their language in the wake of 1945 appears to be both.

On the other hand, literary critical debates about the postwar directions of "Sudeten German literature" follow Mauthner's thoughts on the impossibility of a procession from a "paper German" to a literary practice. The linguistic disjuncture posited between Sudeten Germans and their West German hosts is reflected in the rift we observe within Sudeten German culture itself. There appears to be an unbridgeable gap between this culture's "paper language," divested of its *Eigenart* and empowered by the transcendence of *Heimat*—if *Heimat* embodies "das Recht auf

das Eigene und Eigensinn”⁵⁸¹—and theorizations of “Sudeten German literature,” which compulsively returns to these very idiosyncrasies. Obvious in relationship to Prague—the literary critical rejection of Prague culture diametrically opposed to its adoption in metalinguistic discussions—this division cannot possibly produce a “minor literature” as understood by Deleuze and Guattari. Moreover, such discrepancy between linguistic practices and literary critical desiderata cautions us against a priori theoretical assumptions about the connection between literature and language. Rather than extending one another in opposition to a major cultural practice, the contours of which Deleuze and Guattari see as clearly defined, in Sudeten German discussions language and literature fail to constitute each other and do not form a cohesively functioning whole. This failure has several consequences for our conceptualizations of major and minor cultural forces alike, and especially for the lingering influence of Deleuze and Guattari’s theory of minor literature. This failure makes the obvious point that “major” and “minor” may not be the most useful terms of cultural analysis, especially if they come to be used in contextually non-specific (deterritorialized) ways, as is the case with Deleuze and Guattari’s theory. As terms, they eschew clear definitions, since parameters of what is major and minor are highly variable and dependent on concrete historical referents. To wit, Sudeten German deliberations on language eloquently show that the linguistic standard may not necessarily belong in the orbit of what it culturally major. Consequently, a minor practice of a major language need not evince itself in the subversion of this standard: it can focus on this standard’s preservation instead. Sudeten German literary critical acknowledgement of Mauthner’s significance appears to extend the instability of major and minor. In Sudeten German writings, Mauthner as a “more minor” author not only displaces Deleuze and Guattari’s Kafka. Kafka’s demotion in itself appears

⁵⁸¹ Hüppauf, op. cit., 132.

to indicate that, terms such as “minor” and “major” require further qualifiers and, if at all employed, can function only within gradations.

EPILOGUE
'POSTWAR' OR 'COLD WAR'?

“Das hört nicht auf. Nie hört das auf.”⁵⁸² Günter Grass’ much cited dictum from his novella *Im Krebsgang*, points not only to the generally endless course of history and the hyperlinked circulation of memory. The also invokes a chronological instability peculiar to the German era of *Nachkriegszeit* (postwar). “Kriege enden [...]. Aber wann endet der Nachkrieg?” muses the historian Klaus Naumann in his reflections on the uncertain duration of that era.⁵⁸³ For decades, specters of the ambiguous term “postwar” have haunted some of the most contested milestones of periodization in modern German history as well as discussions of their appropriate representation. Literary scholars, historians, journalists, and political analysts alike have linked the ambiguous chronological contours of the postwar era to the contentious issues of normalization, cultural echoes of German reunification, and various aspects of twentieth-century commemoration and musealization. When did the postwar era end? Did it end? And what would be some of the interpretive ramifications of its passing or perhaps its tenacity?

These ongoing discussions appear to suggest that the postwar era *would not* end. Yet it was thought to have come to a close many times. Although in this epilogue I suggest that periodicity need not be central to defining the postwar era, preoccupation of scholars with its chronology warrants some attention here. Prophecies of the era’s impending finitude accompanied practically every caesura in West German history: the currency reform of 1948, the protest movements of 1968, West German recognition of the two German states in 1973, and the national

⁵⁸² Günter Grass, *Im Krebsgang* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2002), 216.

⁵⁸³ Klaus Naumann, “Die Frage nach dem Ende: Von der unbestimmten Dauer der Nachkriegszeit,” *Mittelweg* 36 8 (1999): 21.

reunification in 1990, to name a few.⁵⁸⁴ Yet with each such “Nullposition”, the end appeared ever more elusive.⁵⁸⁵ Rather than being an exceptional episode, a mere epilogue to a grand conflict parenthetically couched between 1945 and 1989 (Tony Judt) or bracketed between 1945 and 2001 (Eva Hoffmann),⁵⁸⁶ in the German context the postwar period remains an open-ended.⁵⁸⁷ The indeterminate length of this era allude, Naumann suggests, to diffuse definitions of the war it references, a war that likewise remains “vieldeutig, fragmentiert, und [...] kaum in einen Singular zu bannen.”⁵⁸⁸

Its chronological indeterminacy notwithstanding, the predominance of the term “postwar” in the West German public sphere and academic writing remained mostly unchallenged until the early 1990’s. Yet in the wake of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union with the subsequent restructuring of European and world alliances, another significant marker of periodicity seemingly came to unseat the common designation of postwar Germany from its privileged position. Increasing references to the Cold War era, at that point the world’s most recent all-encompassing conflict, involved a chronology that coincided uneasily with that of the postwar period. Once a mere double of the latter,⁵⁸⁹ the Cold War signifier, to judge from a sudden upsurge in its use, was poised to become emancipated from its erstwhile synonym. Widespread references to the Cold War era pointed to the kind of rifts that designation “postwar” either did not convey or conveyed differently.⁵⁹⁰ Yet

⁵⁸⁴ Klaus Naumann, “Einleitung,” in *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, ed. Klaus Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 11.

⁵⁸⁵ Naumann, “Die Frage nach dem Ende,” 29.

⁵⁸⁶ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London: Penguin, 2005), 2. Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs: 2004), 242. Neither Judt nor Hoffman provide reasons for suggesting the period’s end.

⁵⁸⁷ Naumann, “Einleitung,” 22 and 26.

⁵⁸⁸ Naumann, “Die Frage nach dem Ende,” 25.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 24

⁵⁹⁰ Robert Moeller, for example, speaks of distinct periods as he outlines paths “that allowed both German states to move from war to post-war and from post-war to a Cold War.” Moeller, “The Politics of the Past in the 1950s: Rhetorics of Victimization in East and West Germany,” in *Germans as*

despite a growing semantic gap between of terms, “Cold War” appears to have adopted the same chronological vagueness attached to “postwar.” As scholars continue to probe the historiographic limits of the former, not only the period’s ends, but its very beginnings remain only indistinctly defined: When did the Cold War era end? Did it end? And when did it begin?⁵⁹¹

While period experts such as David Caute have pointedly lamented the term’s lightning-fast popularization and the “bogus attachment of the fashionable label ‘Cold War’ to some work of literature, cultural event, artistic movement or film sequence which could have equally well happened even if the Romanovs have [...] ruled Russia for a further fifty years [...],” its awkward parallelism to “postwar” seems to have gone largely unnoticed.⁵⁹² Resorting to the often synonymous use of the terms in recent studies of Germany (Steege) and of European history (Judt), scholars have not foregrounded, explained, or interrogated their terminological relevance and relationship of the two terms.⁵⁹³ What distinguishes these periods—which may well have overlapped in time—from one another? What lends ‘postwar’ and ‘Cold War’ analytical potential as distinct cultural terms, rather than vague chronological references? How does their terminological significance inform our remembrance of the historical periods in question? This epilogue suggests that both German Studies and Cold War studies may profit from a more refined articulation of these eras’ referential scopes. Perhaps the question should be less *when* they unfold but rather *what* they mean.

This epilogue therefore brackets the question of periodicity and concentrates

Victims, 39.

⁵⁹¹ Patrick Wright speculates on what he calls a “longer Cold War,” dating back at least to the 1920s. See his *Iron Curtain: From Stage to Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 16ff.

⁵⁹² David Caute, “Foreword,” in *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, ed. Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (London: Frank Cass, 2003), n. p.

⁵⁹³ Steven Belletto observes proliferation of terms referring to the same period, but does not further explore it in “Curbing Containment: Cold War Studies in the Twenty-First Century,” *Contemporary Literature* XLVIII, no. 1 (2007): 150-164.

the meaning these eras could have in the context of Sudeten German restructuring of *Heimat*. It appears that “postwar” and “Cold War” may share more than elusive chronologies. In the following pages I suggest one of many paths toward understanding their relationship not in merely temporal terms, as either an epochal overlap or a succession of periods, but as a productive tension in their cultural and political import. This tension resides in their respective implications for the concept and weight of *Heimat*. This dissertation on Sudeten German expellees brings this tension into critical focus.

How do Sudeten Germans figure in the postwar and the Cold War periods as political actors or cultural contributors? It is hardly surprising that the postwar era has been a rubric of history into which Sudeten Germans find undisputed entry. After all, they have been counted them among the culprits as well as casualties of the war and National Socialist policies such as the resettlement, deportation, imprisonment, and genocide of other groups. These measures mobilized and benefited large numbers of those whom we now describe as ethnic German expellees; largely, they were among the policies that lead to the expulsion.

Since their arrival in the Federal Republic, the expellees have been located at points where multiple vectors defining the postwar era had converged. Thus, in the mid- to late 1940s, expelled Germans appeared to be walking signifiers for “Hunger und Not, Vertreibung und Obdachlosigkeit.”⁵⁹⁴ The mid-1960s witnessed their importance in Ludwig Erhard’s proclamation of the end of postwar. He drew on “jene vielen Integrationsgeschichten, die vom Verschwinden der Kriegsbeteiligten und – betroffenen in der Zivilität der bundesdeutschen Gesellschaft,” among them, prominently, the expellees who finally bid farewell to their “Notunterkünfte.”⁵⁹⁵ Modernization, another interpretive paradigm for the postwar period, has likewise

⁵⁹⁴ Naumann, “Die Frage nach dem Ende,” 21.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

hinged on the expellees, whose familiarity with small- and large-scale industry was instrumental for turning such vast agrarian landscapes as Bavaria into prosperous sites of the economic miracle.⁵⁹⁶ In protest cultures of the 1960s—the Oberhausen manifesto signed by a new generation of German filmmakers (1962) would have been as impossible without the 1950s *Heimatfilme* as critical artistic and literary dissections of *Heimat* would have been unlikely without Siegfried Lenz, Günter Grass, or Horst Bienek—the expellees were negative and but nevertheless crucial referents. Around 1989/1990 they made a forceful appearance in the process of German re-unification and legal discussions of Germany’s eastern borders. One could say that the life of Germans expellees in the Federal Republic, and Sudeten Germans among them, provides us with a detailed record of the milestones associated with the postwar era. In this function they have repeatedly drawn attention to Germany’s inward-directed, if not always introspective concerns with the appearance, salience, and importance of their lost *Heimat*. Although it has continued to influence Germany’s relations with its Eastern European neighbors, this postwar concern with *Heimat* as a site of loss and suffering of ethnic Germans seems to have been reserved for internal consumption within the nation.

The connection of Sudeten Germans to the Cold War, on the other hand, has been neither self-evident nor widely noted in academic writing, where they remain anchored to World War II. In many ways this has to do with interpretations and memories of the conflict itself. To some, the alignment of the two Germanies with respective blocs in the Cold War appears to have been coterminous with the end of “Allied pressure for German self-examination and reform,” of which the legacy of German expellees would have been part.⁵⁹⁷ A kind of amnesia perceived to have been

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 22-23.

⁵⁹⁷ See, for instance, Wulf Kansteiner, “Losing the War, Winning the Memory Battle: The Legacy of Nazism, World War II, and the Holocaust in the Federal Republic of Germany,” in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, ed. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, and Claudio Fogu (Durham,

inaugurated by the onset of the Cold War polarity and its renewed emphases on locating the adversary in the East is anathema to those scholars who focus on cyclical patterns of confronting the past in the Federal Republic. Among various constituencies German expellees have been least associated with the ability and willingness to take a critical stance vis-à-vis the past, and the dubious right of sharing in this Cold War culture of forgetting has been granted to them even more begrudgingly than to other Germans.

Whenever scholars such as Rainer Schulze admitted the expellees onto Cold War battlefields, such inclusion was usually a tribute to the fiercely anti-communist stance invariably associated with the pronouncements of expellee *Landsmannschaften*.⁵⁹⁸ In this context the so-called *Heimat im Osten* has merited scholarly attention mostly as the era's antidote to the German Democratic Republic, Germany's communist East.⁵⁹⁹ Implicated in the East-West polarization, the expellees figured and continue to be described as "a useful example of Soviet aggression," arrested in "Lagerdenken des Kalten Krieges," and occasionally instrumentalized by the West German state for its own geopolitical agendas.⁶⁰⁰ Attention to their self-proclaimed struggles against "Asiatic communism," "bolshevist conquest plans," and "satanic visions of the Kremlin," documented by Bernd Stöver in the only systematic analysis of expellee Cold War politics to date, ensures their being remembered as the most dedicated 'cold warriors' even after the *détente* had set in toward the early 1970s.⁶⁰¹ The fateful year 1945 thus marks not only the onset of the postwar period writ large. It captures as well a starting point for the "'latent Revisionismus' der

NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 108 and 111.

⁵⁹⁸ Schulze, "The German Refugees and Expellees from the East," 319.

⁵⁹⁹ Hahn and Hahn, "Flucht und Vertreibung," 341.

⁶⁰⁰ Wittlinger, op. cit., 71, Faehndrich, op. cit., 191, and Ahonen "The Impact of Distorted Memory," 267, respectively.

⁶⁰¹ Bernd Stöver, "Pressure Group im Kalten krieg. Die Vertriebenen, die USA und der Kalte Krieg 1947-1990," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 53, no. 10 (2005): 897-884.

deutschen Ostflüchtlinge”—revisionism often posted at the heart of many a Cold War tension.⁶⁰²

Historically the above points are beyond doubt. Various sources considered in this dissertation deliver ample evidence for Sudeten German political investments in the conflict. First and foremost, their interventions concerned Germany’s division. The fault lines ran not only between East and West Europe, as standard historical accounts would have it, but between West (FRG), Middle (GDR), and East Germany (the so-called lost territories in the East and the Sudetenland), to put it in terms of expellee geography. These were the rifts to which Sudeten Germans considered themselves uniquely sensitive. After 1945 the “Sudeten German question” (*die Sudetenfrage*)—initially phrased in 1918 to redress the future of Sudeten Germans as an uncooperative minority in interwar Czechoslovakia—re-emerged to parallel the “German question” posed with regard to the country’s postwar reconstitution and debated by the Allies.⁶⁰³ Considering that revision of the Czechoslovak-West German border did not figure in even the most audacious Anglo-American designs for the future of Germany,⁶⁰⁴ the degree to which Sudeten Germans collapsed Germany’s division into their own agenda was extraordinary. More than any other expellee group, argued an activist and border visitor, Sudeten Germans were “dazu ausersehen, immer wieder Mahner und Rufer zu sein, wenn wir unseren Brüdern und Schwestern in Ostdeutschland helfen wollen.”⁶⁰⁵ Liberating “brothers in the East” (here the author means the German Democratic Republic) was thus a “Verpflichtung gerade für [...] die Sudetendeutschen.”⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² Ibid., 897.

⁶⁰³ Cf. Hermann Raschhofer, *Die Sudetenfrage: Ihre Völkerrechtliche Entwicklung vom ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Isar Verlag, 1953).

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. Stöver, op cit., 898.

⁶⁰⁵ W. Moelle, “Das Signal steht auf Halt. Mit dem Bundesgrenzschutz am ‘Eisernen Vorhang’,” *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* 13, no. 25 (21 June 1963): 9. Further references, loc. cit.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

Tours along the entire length of the Iron Curtain constituted an activity quite widespread among Sudeten Germans and further encouraged within *Ostkunde*, a new school discipline they had co-founded.⁶⁰⁷ In the Cold War context, knowing ‘the East’ was once again important, and Sudeten Germans touted themselves as experts with first-hand experience. Disciplinary curricula, developed in the initial absence of textbooks on the pages of such ‘how to’ professional journals as *Deutsche Ostkunde*, *West-ostdeutsche Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht* and *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief*, focused on the fusion between teaching the Cold War and popularizing already familiar *Ostforschung* agendas. These study plans were designed to get across to the young generation the significance of Eastern Europe for German cultural and political history, inform students across the Federal Republic about the diversity of ‘ethnic Germanness’ and its heritage (*Erbe*), explain the importance of the return to those territories, and educate them about the dangers of communism.

Individual travel reports, produced within and beyond the *Ostkunde* framework, repeatedly linked Germany’s division with re-imaginings of the Sudeten German experience of the border. The German-German border provided a view of concrete pillars, corroded, overgrown train tracks, barbed wire, and watchtowers. It was a place where the world ended and narrative began:

Es ist derselbe Himmel wie ‘drüben’ und das Erschreckende wird deutlich, wenn man hinübersieht Richtung Osten. Vor einem meterhohen Prellbock enden die rostigen Schienen [...]. Dahinter sind die Schienen überhaupt nicht mehr vorhanden und den Bahnkörper bedecken bereits hohe Strauchgruppen, Gräser und Unkraut, so daß der Schotter nur noch zu ahnen ist. Wenige

⁶⁰⁷ For an example, see Alfred Camman, “Von Bremen an die böhmische Grenze. Studienfahrt einer Oberprima,” *Deutsche Ostkunde. West-ostdeutsche Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht* 10, no. 2 (June 1964): 27-28. On *Ostkunde*, see Rolf Meinhardt, *Deutsche Ostkunde. Ein Beitrag zur Pädagogik des Kalten Krieges 1945-1968* (Oldenburg: M1 Verlag, 1978); for a comprehensive survey of West German Cold War disciplines exploring ‘the East’, from *Ostkunde* to sovietology, Corinna R. Unger, *Ostforschung in Westdeutschland: Die Erforschung des europäischen Ostens und die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1945-1975* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007).

hundert Meter dahinter leuchten helle Betonsäulen, die sich mit Stacheldraht verflochten quer über den verwilderten Bahnkörper ziehen. Dort jedoch ist er ausgelichtet, doch nicht um Schienen verlegen zu können, sondern um Schußfeld für das MG auf dem unweit stehenden Wachturm zu bekommen.⁶⁰⁸

In the process of projecting Cold War divisions onto the terrain of Sudeten German *Grenzlandkampf*, the view appeared but a flashback to a Sudeten German visitor. In his account, borders inevitably separate Germans from their “brothers and sisters in the East,” whether the latter are citizens of the German Democratic Republic or ethnic German minorities:

Das ruft Erinnerungen an das Jahr 1938 wach. Standen wir Sudetendeutsche nicht auch einmal hinter solchen Draht Hindernissen, vor Betonbunkern und Schutzlöchern, die uns von den Brüdern und Schwestern trennten? Heute spürt man die Auswegslosigkeit der Lage und die Tragik, die dieser Grenze zwischen Deutschen und Deutschen anhaftet.⁶⁰⁹

To reduce distinct twentieth-century moments to a single inter-German calamity further, poems published in *Heimatblätter* appealed to a widespread Cold War motif of brotherly love gone awry. Lyrical musings highlighted the emotional agony of a brother on western side of the divide who unwittingly kills his sibling fleeing from the East. Familial constellations proved unspecific enough to perpetuate and extend the German-German logic to the expellees:

Die Mauern trennten Stamm vom Bruderstamme,
Im Schatten stand das feindliche Gesicht,
Erkannte so den eignen Bruder nicht
Und stand am unbezwinglich hohen Damme.
Was sagte uns der Riß auf unsrem Wege?
Dort, wo sonst friedlich Pflug und Egge ging,
War meine Heimat, die im Draht nun hing,
Hier Stacheldraht, dort blühendes Gehege.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ Moelle, loc. cit.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. Josef Pergher, “Blutende Grenze,” *Der Egerländer* 21, no. 1/2 (January-February 1970): 9.

Aggregations of *Heimat*, *Stamm*, brotherhood, and walled statehood saturated these texts to the point that tropes of the “bleeding border” seeped into the Cold War context. Conversely, images of Cold War division became instrumental for providing a more broadly appealing conceptual language that addressed Sudeten German longings for *Heimat*. To conjoin both was a central goal for *Ostkunde* pedagogues who wanted to re-present the loss of two different Easts—East Germany and the former eastern territories—contemporaneously. *Ostkunde* periodicals regularly published classroom strategies developed by Sudeten German teachers in order to convey the immediacy of Germany’s division to seventh- or eight-graders. Commonly, their approaches were hands-on. They focused on real or imagined field trips, anecdotes, and visual material. Such was a proposal for an imaginary visit at the German-German border by a R. Wollmann, a regular contributor. Wollmann made use of all means at his disposal and relied on a map of Germany, a colored drawing of a border segment (*Grenzstück*), and, above all, his own rhetorical skills imbued with heartfelt emotion. The course (*Ablauf*) of the simulated outing was as follows:

Wir fahren mit dem Interzonenzug, Namensklärung! Stationen! Der Zug besitzt eine besondere Luft: Viele Gepäckstücke; Tränen und endloses Winken bei der Ausfahrt; deutliche Verschiedenheit der Reisenden nach Kleidung, Schuhwerk u. dgl. Zunächst lebhaftes Gespräch um hüben und drüben; allmähliches Verstummen; Gesichter und Mienen werden gespannter; Unruhe kommt auf; nervöses Beschäftigen mit Ausweisen, Geld und Gepäck. Dabei sind wir mitten in Deutschland. Aber es naht die *Zonengrenze*. Ihr Verlauf wird an Wandkarte und Tafelskizze einzeln und im Chor gefestigt. Wir wandern zur Grenze, ein Stück an ihr entlang. Die Farbskizze wird aufgehängt. Anschauen! Berichten!

Ein brauner Erdstreifen, 5 m breit, geht von Lübeck durch Wälder, Felder, Ghöfte, Dörfer, Talsperren, Bergwerke 1300 km lang bis Hof a.d.Saale; von Vopos (Erklärung!) geschaffen und ständig neu geackert und geeegt. Wozu? Um Deutsche abzufangen. Und dies Mitten in Deutschland!
Ein Wachturm mit Scheinwerfer und Waffen.

Eine Vopo-Streife mit Spürhund. Verbrecher pflegt man mit solchen Mitteln zu bewachen. Hier aber jagt man unbescholtene Deutsche. Und dies mitten in Deutschland! (Als ständige Wiederholung künftig abgekürzt.) [...]

Doch weiter zum Schaubild:

*Unterbrochene Straße, demontierter Bahnkörper, Betonklötze, Stacheldraht, Unkraut, umfallende Elektromasten mit zerrissenen Drähten. Hundertfach diese Zerstörungen über 1300 km von Lübeck bis Hof. U. d. m. i. D.*⁶¹¹

Although Wollmann calls on pedagogues to explain, contemplate, and narrate, his approach relies on more than an appeal to reason. Tears, silences, and physiognomies that were to provide emotional counterpoints to the otherwise lifeless Cold War terminology are of paramount importance. The function of his refrain “Und dies Mitten in Deutschland!” was not only intended to underscore politically crucial points. Its escalating intensity was supposed to prompt students’ own emotional crescendos. In this regard, Wollmann’s reference to repeating key passages in unison is not accidental, since the German term, *Chor*, calls to mind associations with theater. Toward the end of the class, he would face a confounded, drained, distraught but overall purified audience. Tears, silences, and physiognomies would now belong not to imaginary train passengers but to his students: “Bereits während des Ablaufes hole man vorsichtig und sparsam die Jugendlichen nach ihren Gefühlen der Bestürzung, der Scham, der Trauer, des gerechten Zornes aus und lasse immer wieder den Wunsch nach der Wiedervereinigung aufklingen.” Wollmann’s lesson plan rests not on mere anecdotes or imaginary travel routes but approximates a dramatic work and rests on aesthetic principles of Aristotelian tragedy. Teaching Cold War division was, for its Sudeten German proponents, above all a carefully scripted performance of affect, and its tragedies were meant to provide cathartic experiences worthy of Euripides.

My emphasis on this performative undercurrent is not to compete with or

⁶¹¹ R. Wollmann, “Schule und Wiedervereinigung. Beiträge zur Unterrichtspraxis,” *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 6, no. 3 (July 1959): 13-15.

challenge the relevance of portraying Sudeten Germans (or expellees in general) as ‘cold warriors.’ Rather, it is to propose that they cultivated a cultural pendant to their Cold War politics. As Wollmann’s pedagogy and other anecdotes reproduced in this dissertation’s chapters demonstrate, between the early 1950s and late 1980s Sudeten German political stances as a “pressure group,” the “bulwark of Christianity,” the *limes* of *Abendland* in particular or the civilized world in general took an aesthetic turn.⁶¹²

Culture, high and low, remains a lacuna widely acknowledged and redressed by those who study the Cold War. To this day, remarks Paul Steege, Cold War studies privilege the focus on superpowers and key political actors.⁶¹³ Where culture did become an object of scrutiny, a division between “cultural cold war” and “cold war culture” soon came to the fore. The former, defined as “cultural diplomacy between the blocs, and within them, in areas outside what is ostensibly the direct state and government ambit, whether in the field of high culture [...] or popular culture,” has been “an important, but delimited area of investigation.”⁶¹⁴ Interrogations of it have relied on a finite number of sources. They have emphasized North American films, music, and art and often limited themselves to the study of political propaganda in cultural guise.⁶¹⁵ “Cold War culture,” on the other hand, in its “more anthropological

⁶¹² On the importance of religion in the study of the Cold War, see Dianne Kirby, ed. *Religion and the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁶¹³ Steege, op. cit., 12ff.

⁶¹⁴ Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, “Culture,” in *Cold War History*, ed. Saki R. Dockrill and Geraint Hughes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 240-241. Cf. also their *Across the Blocs. Cold War Cultural and Social History* (London: Frank Cass, 2004). Desiderata of scholarship on Cold War culture are also fleshed out in Musya Glants and Pamela Kachurin, “Special Issue: Culture, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 1 (winter 2002), 3-5. On film, see, for example, *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 1 (winter 2002) and Thomas Lindenberger, ed. *Massenmedien im Kalten Krieg: Akteure, Bilder, Resonanzen* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2006).

⁶¹⁵ Major and Mitter, “Culture,” 246-247 and Hans Krabbendam and Giles Scott-Smith, “Introduction: Boundaries to Freedom,” in *The Cultural Cold War*, 4 (1-11). For further bibliographic references, see Belletto, op. cit., 152. See also Douglas Field, *American Cold War Culture* (Edinburgh University Press, 2005).

sense, relating to less specific but wider-ranging concepts that everyday social existence may have been shaped by the global dynamics of the cold war,” has been something more elusive and fluid.⁶¹⁶ The term gestures toward “the idea that there is some sort of cross-bloc matrix of signification,” “a system of meaning and behavior shaped by the dynamic of the conflict.”⁶¹⁷

This dissertation contributes to the latter model. It develops approaches to an iconography of the Iron Curtain, medial criticism of *Heimat*, and Cold War performativity beyond state propaganda. While analyzing a Cold War aesthetic—emerging at an intersection of a wide range of international architectural, artistic, religious, and literary practices that productively engage key tropes of the Cold War (the Iron Curtain in particular)—this project also suggests that Sudeten German sources are but a fragment in this broader system. My focus on one constituency in West Germany is thus a point of departure for additional analyses. Leaving out other West German, West European, East European, and non-European perspectives, this dissertation does not intend to obscure these areas but rather points to the need for further contributions to the analysis of both postwar and Cold War aesthetics.

How can one chart the contours of Cold War *Heimat* with versatile Sudeten German investments in and contributions to both the political and aesthetic aspects of the era in mind? Is there a Cold War parallel to the postwar “need for Heimat” (*Heimatbedarf*, in Habbo Knoch’s words), a need that was, as I have mentioned, for the most part inward-oriented?⁶¹⁸ Anti-nuclear protests and environmental protection movements are vibrant examples of how Cold War realities affected the content and scope of *Heimat*.⁶¹⁹ However, despite belonging to wide international networks, these social currents continuously returned to the narrow and specific “geographies of

⁶¹⁶ Major and Mitter, “Culture,” 241.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Habbo Knoch, “Einleitung,” in *Das Erbe der Provinz*, 10.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Gebhard et al., op. cit., 44.

exclusion” characteristic of their distinct *Heimaten*.⁶²⁰ Rather than focus on such returns, in conclusion I speculate on how *Heimat* has evolved into an idiom of international law, and how this process has imploded the traditionally German boundaries of belonging symbolized by *Heimat*. The extent to which Sudeten Germans deemed themselves central to this transformation proves that their Cold War efforts did not reside with Germany’s division alone.

Indeed, Sudeten Germans considered themselves to have been not only “chosen” to relieve the plight of their German “brothers in the East,” but also uniquely susceptible to empathy across international borders. This capacity was, in the words of an *Ostkunde* expert, inherited rather than acquired:

Wir haben ein ererbtes Einfühlungsvermögen für die Motive der Bretonen, der Flamen, der Basken, der Iren, der Sizilianer, der Korsen, der Südtiroler, der Kroaten, der griechischen Cyprioten und der türkischen Cyprioten, ihrer aller, die aus dem Urbedürfnis und damit dem Unrecht nach Entaftlungsfreiheit gemäß der eigenen Art ihr Leben nach ihrem eigenen Willen gestalten wollen.⁶²¹

Throughout the Cold War, central Sudeten German periodicals and *Heimatblätter* alike expanded this already long list of minorities to include features on decolonization struggles in East Asia and Africa in the late 1950s and 1960s, struggles inextricably implicated in the polarization between the blocs and between the two German states in particular.⁶²² In the 1960s and 1970s the list came to encompass the Near East, including the ambivalent coverage of Palestinians addressed in Chapter One. What was at stake? How did a group so closely identified

⁶²⁰ See Moltke, op. cit., 11 on David Sibley’s *Geographies of Exclusion*.

⁶²¹ Karl Welser, “Noch lebt die Volksgruppe”, *Sudetendeutscher Erzieherbrief* 25, no. 2 (April 1978), 226-228.

⁶²² For a thorough coverage of connections between international diplomatic recognition of East Germany and East and West German involvement in decolonization and the conflict in the Middle East, see William Glenn Gray, *Germany’s Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969* (Chapel Hill, NH: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), esp. 87-173.

with the postwar *German* “community of victims” (*Opfergemeinschaft*)—whether this community existed or not—come to embrace heterogeneous agendas having no immediate connection to Germanness?⁶²³ One could certainly consider this turn as an early instance of cosmopolitization of victimhood characteristic of what Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, following Ulrich Beck, call “Second Modernity.”⁶²⁴ However, victimhood itself was not the hinge in these expressions of solidarity, described in terms of motivation rather than suffering. Their crux was a negotiation of *Heimat*.

Untranslatability has accompanied *Heimat* on its intercontinental journeys as one of its most frequent epithets.⁶²⁵ Despite multiple permutations, *Heimat* remains remarkably resilient against being trafficked into other languages. It is as if the peculiarity (*Eigenart*) attached to each physical or imagined *Heimat*, be it a real place or a utopia, as Ernst Bloch or Bernhard Schlink suggest, were being reproduced in the term itself.⁶²⁶ There has been at least one discourse, however, where its translation has posed few problems: the discourse of international rights. In the Cold War Sudeten Germans attempted to contribute to this discourse by translating *Heimat*.

The aforementioned Sudeten German capacity for empathy, a faculty instrumental for framing Cold War *Heimat* as a translation, had humble beginnings in interwar Czechoslovakia. The provenance of this inheritance went back to the so-called “March Fallen,” fifty-four casualties that resulted from a stand-off between Czech police and hundreds of Sudeten German protesters rallying for self-determination in some thirty-five towns along Czechoslovakia’s western frontiers on

⁶²³ On *Heimat* as German *Opfergemeinschaft* in the late 1940s and 1950s, see Knoch, “Das mediale Gedächtnis der Heimat,” 278ff. Given Sudeten German views on their precarious place in postwar Germany, they may have not always considered themselves to be part of this community of victims.

⁶²⁴ Levy and Sznaider, *op. cit.*, esp. 103.

⁶²⁵ See Blickle, *op. cit.*, 3-4; Melendy, *In Search of Heimat*, 20; von Moltke, *op. cit.*, 6; Hüppauf, *op. cit.*, 111.

⁶²⁶ Cf. Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1959), vol. 3, 1628 and Bernhard Schlink, *Heimat als Utopie* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2000).

4 March 1919.⁶²⁷ Although the U. S. and the *Entente* recognized Czechoslovakia in the Treaty of Versailles (1918), its western boundaries were not set until 4 April 1919. Referring to the temporary status suspension of these predominantly German-populated areas as a form of occupation, Sudeten German politicians declared the autonomy of ‘German Bohemia’ one day after Czechoslovakia was founded on 28 October 1918. They legitimated their political move, as well as the subsequent March confrontation, by referring to Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points (1918), which positioned Sudeten Germans among “[t]he peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured.”⁶²⁸ The document contained a provision that minorities—a status that did not sit well with most ethnic Germans, a former cultural majority in the empire—“should be accorded the free opportunity to autonomous development” (point X). Although Wilson’s plan did not explicitly refer to self-determination, since 1918 the latter has become one of the definitional concepts in international rights and one of the foremost legal terms in the Sudeten German vocabulary.⁶²⁹

Under the growing influence of self-determination, what used to be *Heimatrecht*, a nineteenth-century form of citizenship that consolidated localities into constituents of the state and, in due time, their inhabitants into state subjects, experienced a transformation into *Recht auf Heimat*.⁶³⁰ The latter, unlike *Heimatrecht*, described a programmatic vision and much less a status quo, becoming

⁶²⁷ Michael Walsh Campbell, “The Making of the ‘March Fallen’: March 4, 1919 and the Subversive Potential of Occupation,” *Central European History* 39 (2006): 1-2.

⁶²⁸ “Transcript of President Wilson’s 14 Points,”

<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=62&page=transcript>, 10 July 2008.

⁶²⁹ Although self-determination has origins reaching at least as far back as the Enlightenment, as a term it gained currency only in the twentieth century. On its history, see James Griffin, *On Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9ff and Costas Douzinas, *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2007), 15-26. *On the use of the Sudeten German case for demonstrating deficiencies of self-determination defined in ethnic and cultural, rather than democratic terms, see Michaeline R. Ishay, The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era (Berkeley: California University Press, 2004), 191.*

⁶³⁰ On nineteenth-century use of *Heimatrecht*, see Applegate, *op. cit.*, 8-9.

one of the forceful mottos of self-determination campaigns lead by minorities en route to political autonomy or statehood. At least since the early 1930s, *Heimat* (in its German version) was part of international discussions of nationalities and their rights.⁶³¹ *Das Recht auf die Heimat*, a stenographic copy of Chaim Weitzmann's 1936 report to the Royal Commission in Jerusalem published (in translation) by the German Zionist Association, pleaded for a Jewish state to resolve Jewish *Heimatlosigkeit*.⁶³² Its title suggested a tension between *Heimat* as an idea and a particular territory, i.e. *die Heimat*.⁶³³ At the same time, the German version of the report points to the growing significance and interchangeability of *Heimat*/home. This culturally rooted concept is captured in the process of leaving its narrow orbit. Its universal appeal is such that Weitzmann need not define it and, in turn, neither do the Jewish-German editors of the booklet: "Ich brauche Engländern wohl nicht zu erklären, was das Wort 'Heimat' bedeutet und was es—für uns wie für die Welt—nicht bedeutet."⁶³⁴ In Weitzmann's words, *home* had an unambiguous meaning not only for select ethnicities, cultures, or nations: it was understood around the globe. It was, as the booklet demonstrates, translatable.

Prior to Israel's establishment and after the proclamation of its statehood in 1948, trafficking in the idiom of homeland was on the rise in the Cold War world.⁶³⁵ At the same time, processes of decolonization, likewise rooted in Cold War politics, negotiated self-determination in South Asia and later, South East Asia and Africa.⁶³⁶

⁶³¹ Robert Redslob, "Le principe des nationalités," *Recueil des cours* 37 (1931): 1-82.

⁶³² Chaim Weitzmann, *Das Recht auf die Heimat* (Berlin: Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland, 1937), 5.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, emphasis mine.

⁶³⁵ On home and homeland as leitmotif in Palestinian culture in the wake of 1948, see Ilana Feldman, "Home as Refrain: Remembering and Living Displacement in Gaza," *History and Memory* 18, no. 2 (2006): 10-47.

⁶³⁶ Self-determination was inscribed, for example, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960) and in International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966). See Ian Brownlie, ed. *Basic Documents on Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29 and 114. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights centered on

Terminologically speaking, homelands in their various meanings could now be found everywhere from the Middle East to South Africa.⁶³⁷ In the 1970s, the currency of homelands was further strengthened by the rise of diasporic consciousness and academic attention to old and new diasporas around the globe.⁶³⁸ As I indicate in Chapter One, home appears unlikely, after all, to have been “the untold and silent story in international relations.”⁶³⁹

It was then less the end of the Cold War, as claimed by Levy and Sznajder, than its very duration that zoomed in on rights to self-determination and the homeland.⁶⁴⁰ Nowhere were conceptual ramifications of the right to the homeland expounded upon as thoroughly as in Germany, where postwar homelessness among DPs, bombed-out city dwellers, or expellees provided plenty of occasions to reflect upon the legal meanings of home and the (im)possibility of return.⁶⁴¹ German expellees were among the constituencies most frequently yoked to both sets of rights mentioned above. From these rights they intended to derive the entitlement to reclaiming their *Heimat* in Eastern Europe. Expellee interpretations of these legal frameworks thrived in the ongoing international discourse. Few issues of their numerous periodicals and pamphlets would not have contained at least a passing

individual rights and invoked the right of return, but not explicitly the right for self-determination. On the role of self-determination in decolonization, see Glenn Gray, *op. cit.*, 103-105, Ishay, *op. cit.*, 181-198, and Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise of Self-assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 295-359.

⁶³⁷ In South Africa of the apartheid era, ‘homelands’ designated self-government areas (*Bantustans*) that served to segregate the country’s black population rather than endow it with equal rights.

⁶³⁸ Gabriel Sheffer, “From Diasporas to Migrants—from Migrants to Diasporas,” in *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants*, 21-36.

⁶³⁹ Paul Sheeran, *Literature and International Relations: Stories in the Art of Diplomacy* (London: Ashgate, 2007), 72.

⁶⁴⁰ Levy and Sznajder, *op. cit.*, 100. My emphasis is here on post-1945 codification of self-determination and debates on the right to the homeland. See Douzinas, *op. cit.*, 9. As Patrick Hayden observes, human rights aspired to universalism already in their origins. See his *Cosmopolitan Global Politics* (London: Ashgate, 2005), 38.

⁶⁴¹ See, for example, Julius Doms, *Gedanken zum Recht auf die Heimat—nachgewiesen an den internationalen Dokumenten* (Düsseldorf: Verlag der Wegweiser, 1952); F.H. de. Buy, *Das Recht auf die Heimat im historischpolitischen Prozess* (Cologne: Verlag für Zeitgenössische Dokumentation, 1974); Kurt Rabl, ed. *Das Recht auf Heimat. Voträge—Thesen—Kritik* (Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche, 1965).

mention of these rights and the accompanying statements of solidarity with the struggles of other peoples around the globe.⁶⁴² In the mindset of expellees, neither the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights nor the overall human rights project of the United Nations was complete without codification of the right to the homeland.⁶⁴³ For the expellees, *Völkerrecht* (international law), which consistently delivered the framework of national self-determination, trumped *Menschenrechte* (human rights), which supposedly failed to make further provisions because they focused, to the chagrin of the expellees, on the protection of “human beings as persons rather than as citizens of particular states” or ethnic groups.⁶⁴⁴

As “Klassiker des Selbstbestimmungsrechts,” to cite Walter Becher, Sudeten Germans received a special place in these discussions.⁶⁴⁵ Their ranks furnished expellees with such invaluable “Nestors of international law” as Hermann Raschhofer, coincidentally a theoretician of the ‘Sudeten German question’ (Rehs 9). Raschhofer’s teaching post at the University of Würzburg attracted young Sudeten German academics-to-be and ensured that preoccupation with international law is generationally cultivated younger among *Landsleute*.⁶⁴⁶ One of Raschhofer’s students was Otto Kimminich, the foremost (West) German advocate of international and minority rights whose work was “clearly rooted in his own and other East-Central

⁶⁴² Foundational expellee charters, such as the Stuttgart Charter of the Expellees (August 1950) and the Detmold Declaration (January 1950) emphasized the rights in question. Articles in *Heimatblätter* and central newspapers are too numerous to be cited here. For an example of proceedings of one of many conferences on international law funded by the *Bund der Vertriebenen*, see Reinhold Rehs, “Das Recht auf die Heimat,” *Das Recht auf die Heimat—Eine Dokumentation zum Ergebnis einer völkerrechtswissenschaftlichen Tagung in Bonn am 28. und 29. Oktober 1961* (Bonn: Bund der Vertriebenen, 1961), 7-12. The booklet contains a collection of documents that, from the expellee perspective, foreground the rights in question.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁴⁴ Robert Post, “Introduction,” in Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 2.

⁶⁴⁵ Walter Becher, “Auf der Basis des Rechtes,” *Sudetenland* 11:3 (1969): 195-196.

⁶⁴⁶ Laura Wildenthal, “Human Rights Advocacy and National Identity in West Germany,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 22 (2000): 1056.

European Germans' experiences of expropriation and expulsion."⁶⁴⁷ His 1978 opus on the right to the homeland has withstood at least four pre- and post-*Wende* editions and thus punctuated both the closing phase of the Cold War as well as the first post-Cold War decade.⁶⁴⁸

The postwar world, according to Kimminich, has failed to protect its minorities adequately: "[w]eder das Recht auf die Heimat noch das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker, noch irgendein Gruppenrecht, das als Verankerung eines wirksamen Nationalitätenrechts hätte dienen können, wurde in der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte erwähnt."⁶⁴⁹ Indeed, the single-minded "Bewegung vom Minderheitenschutz zu den individuellen Menschenrechten" embodied, in his mind, in the United Nations, proved insufficient, since "individuelle Rechte den Gruppenschutz höchstens unterstützen, nicht aber ersetzen können" (116-117). Painstaking work done by a small number of "deutschsprachigen Wissenschaftlern, insbesondere Österreichern und Sudetendeutschen," notes Kimminich, has provided the only counterpoint to the otherwise exclusive pursuit of human rights elsewhere.

Kimminich concedes that minority protection and the rights of nationalities are not Sudeten German but globally salient legal issues (114). Yet periodic cycles of return of the "Weltöffentlichkeit" (global public) to minority rights have been

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 1056.

⁶⁴⁸ Otto Kimminich, *Das Recht auf die Heimat* (Bonn: Osmipress Verlag, 1978). Further printings followed in 1979, 1989, and 1996, appearing with a variety of publishing houses.

⁶⁴⁹ Otto Kimminich, "Der Beitrag der Sudetendeutschen zu einem Nationalitätenrecht," *Sudetenland 2* (1995), 115. Following page references are cited parenthetically. Further Kimminich notes: "Fairerweise muß daran erinnert werden, daß der Minderheitenschutz auch in den dunklen Jahrzehnten des offiziellen Schweigens über das Leid unterdrückter Völker und Völkergruppen nicht ganz in Vergessenheit geriet. Bereits am 10. Dezember 1948—an dem Tag, an dem die in dieser Beziehung so enttäuschende Allgemeine Erklärung der Menschenrechte verkündet wurde—verabschiedete die Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen eine Resolution mit dem vielversprechenden Titel 'Das Schicksal der Minderheiten.' Allerdings beschäftigte sich die Resolution trotz ihres Titels keineswegs mit dem Schicksal der Minderheiten, sondern enthielt lediglich den Beschluß, Minderheitenprobleme in der Menschenrechtserklärung nicht zu erwähnen" (128).

indebted, in his view, nearly exclusively to Sudeten Germans. Moreover, these legal topics have owed their re-emergence not to Kimminich's own work or the efforts of "individual Sudeten Germans" but to "die Leistungen der Sudetendeutschen, d.h. der Sudetendeutschen als Volksgruppe."⁶⁵⁰

Sudeten Germans have been, in Kimminich's eyes, trailblazers. Himself a 1989 laureate of the SdL European Karlspreis for the facilitation of understanding among Central European peoples and nations, he goes so far as to suggest that "the Sudeten German leadership, and not Woodrow Wilson, pioneered the international application of the principle of national self-determination."⁶⁵¹ With all due respect paid to the larger expellee collective for its input in promoting the right to the homeland, Kimminich nevertheless argues that "[i]m Rahmen der Verbände der Heimatvertriebenen kommt den Sudetendeutschen jedoch ein besonderer Platz zu; denn sie waren es, die ihre Arbeit sogar schon vor der Unterzeichnung der Charta der Heimatvertriebenen begonnen hatten."⁶⁵² In a nutshell, "[d]ie Sudetendeutschen waren die ersten, die sich mit völkerrechtlichen Problematik ihrer Situation intensiv beschäftigten."⁶⁵³ Yet they were not only harbingers of change who resuscitated minority rights in Germany and Europe. In Kimminich's interpretation, they have linked the local with the global, so that their contribution to "Fortentwicklung des Nationalitätenrechts auf globalen und regionalen Ebene" remains to be recognized by historians of generations to come.⁶⁵⁴ The emphasis of Kimminich's rhetoric on the global salience of *Heimat* appears to credit Sudeten Germans with having translated *Heimat* into a homeland on a global scale. Consequently, instead of continuing to circumscribe *Heimat* as "geography of exclusion," Kimminich's own participation in

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 117.

⁶⁵¹ Wildenthal., op. cit., 1058.

⁶⁵² Kimminich, op. cit., 118.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 129.

this translation project helped extend *Heimat* into a legally inclusive category.⁶⁵⁵

How is one to interpret this “völkerverbindend” legacy?⁶⁵⁶ Does it merit a place in ongoing debates on cosmopolitanism?⁶⁵⁷ How are Sudeten German fears of nomadism, echoes of diasporic nostalgia, their internally contested drive toward world literature, or concerns with their own rights and those of others implicated in “cosmopolitan empathy,” human rights as “the foundation of cosmopolitan global politics,” or diasporic existence “jenseits von Heimat und Nicht-Heimat”?⁶⁵⁸

Cosmopolitanism, recapitulates Jeremy Waldron,

has a number of different meanings. For some, it is about the love of mankind, or about duties owed to every person in the world, without national or ethnic differentiation. For others, the word ‘cosmopolitan’ connotes the fluidity and evanescence of culture, it celebrates the compromising or evaporation of the boundaries between cultures conceived as distinct entities; and it anticipates the world of fractured and mingled identities. For still others [...] cosmopolitanism is about order and norms, not just culture and moral sentiment.⁶⁵⁹

Characteristic of Sudeten German culture after 1945, tensions between minority

⁶⁵⁵ My emphasis on the role of rhetoric itself and on its international circulation brings me to conclusions different from those made by Salomon Salzborn, who focuses on *Heimat* exclusively as a localizable historical, political, and physical referent of the *Recht auf die Heimat*. In his critique of expellee territorialism he argues: “[w]hat is at stake is not that every human being should have a right to live wherever s/he happens to dwell but a concept of *Heimat* that is tied to a particular region or territory.” Samuel Salzborn, “The German Myth of a Victim Nation: Re-presenting Germans as Victims in the New Debate on their Flight and Expulsion from Eastern Europe,” in *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present*, ed. Helmut Schmitz (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 88.

⁶⁵⁶ Kimminich, op. cit. 129

⁶⁵⁷ For a variety of philosophical, historical, and sociological takes on cosmopolitanism, see Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006); Ulrich Beck, *Der kosmopolitische Blick, oder, Krieg ist Frieden* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004); Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jessica Berman, *Modernist Fiction, Cosmopolitanism and the Politics of Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Douzinas 151-176; Hayden 11-35, and, for a summary of various approaches, Robert Fine, *Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2007). Cosmopolitanism will merit a separate chapter in an extended version of my project.

⁶⁵⁸ See Beck, op. cit., 13ff., Hayden, op. cit., passim; and Beck, op. cit., 110, respectively.

⁶⁵⁹ Jeremy Waldron, “Cosmopolitan Norms,” in *Another Cosmopolitanism*, 83.

rights protecting collectives and human rights safeguarding personhood, investment in a broadly European project and desire to set clear boundaries, diasporic dispersal and much-dreaded uprootedness, Goethe's *Weltliteratur* and *Heimat* literature suggest that Sudeten Germans may not have been unconditional subscribers to or standard-bearers of these cosmopolitan values. However, their activities have effected a considerable recalibration of *Heimat* beyond its narrow geographic referents. In the course of the Cold War in particular, *Heimat* came to include for them not only a panoply of frequently superimposed media described in the introduction. It also harbored a broad variety of groups and virtual territories (e.g. Easts) and stretched its limits in an inclusive gesture that probes the salience of the bond between *Heimat* and Germanness in both cultural or political terms. To an extent, by talking about *Heimat* incessantly Sudeten Germans may have unwittingly undone it as *Heimat*, a *German* dream, and inscribed it in contexts ambiguously situated at a crossroads of disparate political and cultural territories.⁶⁶⁰ As W. G. Sebald once presciently noted, "Je mehr von der Heimat die Rede ist, desto weniger gibt es sie." His dictum points not only to the fact that one talks about *Heimat* in order to fill the void left by its ongoing disappearance.⁶⁶¹ The discourse of *Heimat* may itself contribute to its dissolution.

⁶⁶⁰ I here refer to the title and scope of the book by Boa and Palfreyman.

⁶⁶¹ W. G. Sebald, *Unheimliche Heimat. Essays zur österreichischen Literatur* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003), 12.

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