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On Memory and Trauma

in selected works of Norman Manea and Herta Müller

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MPhil
University of Edinburgh
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Abstract of Thesis

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The thesis conducts a complex analysis to reveal the representations of trauma in Norman Manea's and Herta Müller's selected novels. Romanian's post-communist period brought from the twilight of extremist ideologies of fascism and communism a body of literature that epitomises trauma as part of the everyday life during the Second World War or under the regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu, and that exercises relentless attention to the relationship between the language(s) and trauma. Manea and Müller write fiction, memoirs, and essays to describe trauma as a symbolic and historical linguistic representation. They portray the social and political circumstances were, living under traumatic conditions of the Holocaust and communism, they had experienced humiliation, dispossession of goods, torture, silence, physical injury, mourning, and finally exile.

The associations between trauma and language(s) made me argue for a bilingual understating of the authors' novels as centrifugal and centripetal linguistic practices that take place on the cognitive level; I contend for a palimpsestic understanding of trauma to create a parallel between trauma as an original event and trauma as a literary event; I impose a historical interpretation of the socio-cultural context of the authors to determine the ontotopological framework of trauma; and finally, I do a comparative analysis of Manea's and Müller's representative novels to show the similarities and dissimilarities in representing the Holocaust and communist traumas from the perspective of two different linguistic systems. I finally resume that trauma determines the literary techniques, the form and content, and the poetics of the novels thus, it behaves like a literary genre.

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This research contributes to trauma theories, the studies of Manea's and Müller's multifaceted narrative, and unlocks new critical approaches on the post-communist literature from Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, I follow a three stages method to understand how the cognitive function when it deals with two languages in the determination of a narrative built on the traumatic transformation of the language.

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My ideas, wellbeing, and peace of mind were inspired during my often trips to Vienna, the sporadic walks through Lowlands and Edinburgh, and playing golf with Silke. I am grateful to have such a great wife next to me in all my irrational actions. I also need to thank Byron Taylor for his constant and inspiring discourse about the past and present of world literature and his valiant predictions.

To talk about memory and trauma in Norman Manea's and Herta Müller's novels is like exploring the past to which I candidly belong. It was the most courageous thing I did because I discovered parts of my history and identity that were buried deep down in the unconsciousness of Romania.

I thank my family for their love and care, for their foolishness and skepticism.

Introduction

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 have brought into light an important body of literature from Central and Eastern Europe[1] based on the Holocaust and communism trumas. Norman Manea and Herta Müller are part of the new wave of literature, and they are, in a way, followers of the experimental literature of Kurt Vonnegut, Bernhard Schlink, Stefan Zweig, Günter Grass, or Graham Greene who explore the moral, traumatic, and political issues of the Second World War and its aftermath. The authors criticise the forms of ideological reasoning that led to the formation of the Nazi or Soviet regimes and describe the circumstance in which the marginal and marginalized individuals were subjected to eugenics, genocides, or constant persecution. They also enquiry if there is still needed for cardboard symbols in modern times and explore the role of religion in the current society from a humanistic perspective. These literary topics are formed mostly during the East-West European division and anticipate the emergence of the traumatic literature from the soviet struggle of Eastern Europe.

The novels published in the post-communist Central and Eastern Europe explores the artistic and intellectual life under the pressure of totalitarian regimes with tragic and dark humour allusions. Authors like Milan Kundera, Lenka Reinerová, Imre Kertész, or Czeslaw Milosz describe their life under soviet oppression, take an active stand against radical ideologies, and keep alive the rich tradition of the Czech, Hungarian or Polish literature. To discuss about such a literature seems in essence easy, a comparative analysis would suffice to gain a response to their writing. Yet, their personal experience of the communism and Nazism, their deportation, imprisonment,

[1] In the last century, Europe has been divided several times due to the geopolitical concepts that changed over time. I understand by Eastern Europe the part of Europe defined by the Warsaw Pact, the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the end of the Cold War, while the Central and Eastern Europe encompassing the countries in Central Europe, the Baltics, Eastern Europe, and the Balkans. Later, I will use the concept of *Mitteleuropa* to describe the territory and countries influenced by the German language and German and Austrian culture.

and exile have added something new to the post-war novels, something that I would like to describe as a traumatic nuance. Is the same situation for Manea's and Müller's literature: the incoherence of the traumatic experience of the Holocaust or communism required an empathic understanding between the author and the reader. Those implied in the communication of trauma have the moral and civic duty to express or to receive the truth, and they also must acknowledge that trauma must not be impersonalized. The literature of the mentioned author has an ethical ground. A succinct analysis of their novels will show us that the authors usually use the first-person narrator who condemns the totalitarian regimes and describes how fear and anxiety became part of the everyday life. Their traumatic circumstance has led to a personalized language, as it is in the case of Müller, or to an enhanced literary discourse, as in the case of Manea. This says that people who have experienced extreme pain are characterized by a personalized language where words can portray their sufferance. We will see later how language becomes part of a personal pain and that to communicate this pain it is required a specific and traumatizing language. The purpose of the authors is to create characters with powerful moral features and tragic destinies that appeal to the reader's imagination and empathy to automatically complete the authors' purpose to describe how was life under the Holocaust and communism. In this way, Eastern Europe's literature unlocks the possibility of the avatars of communism to declare the victory of trauma over the chaos of history and the ruins of time.

This being said, I start my inquiry on the role of trauma in literature without leaving aside the influence that literature has on trauma in its original experiences. Manea and Müller are people who have experienced the Holocaust and communism and are authors who write about these traumas. Their experience of trauma is conjectural to their own background and its understanding requires an introspection into their personal lives. Thus, Manea and Müller were both born in Romania, and they represent the Jewish and German-Swabian minority respectively. Manea was born in 1936 in Suceava and was deported as a child in 1940 to the concertation camp in Transnistria together with his entire family. He writes mostly in Romanian about the Holocaust and the communism under Nicolae Ceaușescu's dictatorship and gives some precious insights about the Romanian novel during the totalitarian regime through his memories, correspondences, and author-portrayals. He left Romania for Berlin in 1986 and since the beginning of the 1990s lives in New York where he is a professor and writer in residence at Bard College. On the other side, Müller was born in 1953 in

Nițchidorf, a village that was inhabited until 1989 by German Swabians. She writes mostly in German and occasionally uses Romanian mainly in her collage poems. Müller's main topics circle around the Swabian community, the social oppression under communism, and personal experiences during her studies in Timișoara. She also pays special attention to the exile from Romania and settlement in Germany creating an analogous image between two different political systems. Both authors emphasise the disturbing, historical, and linguistic references that define Romanian society during the Second World War and the communist regime. The Holocaust and communism are explained through descriptions of their personal experiences, which are often link to their ethnic background and literary activities. They present trauma as an outcome of the totalitarian regimes and as a source for their writing. They describe trauma as an irreversible damage to oneself and to language. The relationship between trauma and language is self-determinative: this means that trauma requires a specific linguistic practice while language frames is literary representation. Starting from this assumption, I will future describe their writing as trauma novels.

The literature that was written in the post-communism Romania explains the transition from totalitarianism to democracy, from peripheric to central culture, from oppression to freedom. This transition is portrayed by Manea and Müller through the means of languages. Manea's narrative is defined by the Romanian-English linguistic pair since he continues to write in Romania in her stay in New York. The English language acts as a continuing influence on the syntactic and grammar levels and shadows the story and enhances its meaning by transposing the story into an American cultural image. The correlation between the German and Romanian language is more visible in Müller's novels since she transfers the meaning or symbol from Romanian words or expressions into German syntax producing a bilingual effect of the narrative. Language is their main device to fight against the totalitarian regimes and against amnesia. The linguistic space between English, German, and Romanian reflects the transition of trauma's meanings, symbols, and representations between different landscapes. Manea's and Müller's traumatic experiences are not only narrated, but they are also transposed from a Romanian to an American and German cultural framework. Thus, Anne Whitehead's paradox[2] is enhanced by a bilingual representation of trauma.

[2] According to Anna Whitehead trauma is both an overwhelming experience that resists the language and a narrated fiction. Cf. Anne Whitehead. *Trauma Fiction*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp. 3-4

The question I raise here is not what or how a traumatic event is remembered but rather how a traumatic event influences the language and how language represents trauma. When Whitehead analysis show how trauma is represented in a novel, she reaches a series of literary devices that questions the term trauma fiction from a genre perspective. Whitehead continues the theorization of trauma fiction from a medical standpoint, underlying the importance of the post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in the development of trauma from an early age until adulthood. My interpenetration of trauma in literature starts from a reciprocal self-determination between language and trauma and how this relationship is represented in literature.

Trauma theory started to gain an academic importance with Cathy Caruth and Shosana Feldman, while after 2010 the presence of trauma in literary studies commenced to be more and more present with Anne Whitehead's or Michelle Balaev's theories. Trauma is often analysed as being hidden in the literary discourse, as having no real representation in a fictious image, or as a comparison with the narrative. Firstly, Caruth emphasise the trans-disciplinary nature of trauma. On the same specific path also goes Dominik LaCapra underlying the importance of trauma in the polysemy of the scientific discourse. For Caruth trauma is not an experience or an event is the occurrence of a repetitive[3] feeling which causes a profoundly crises of history. Trauma is more a haunting shadow than a factual experience since Caruth uses the PTSD as a pathological symptom where the personal or historical symptoms rejects each an actualization. The truth of a testimony stands in what is known and unknown[4] of our action or language. Such an understating of trauma is embraced also by Shoshana Felman or Dori Laub who describes the Holocaust trauma a linguistic incoherence. Most trauma theories pay a specific intention on Freud's concept of *Nachträglichkeit* (afterwardsness), which describes an ambiguous temporal trajectory that, whenever it is used, can step up the ground for a new interpretation of the relationship between

[3] For Caruth repetition is "the very attempt to claim one's own survival." She continues by saying: "If history is to be understood as the history of a trauma, it is a history that is experienced as the endless attempt to assume one's survival as one's own." Cathy Caruth. *Unclaimed Experience. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University, 1996), p. 64.

[4] The truth of testimony of a traumatic experience coexist in what is known and what is not known. She says: "This truth, in its delayed appearance and its belated address, cannot be linked only to what is known, but also to what remains unknown in our very actions and our language." Cathy Caruth. *Unclaimed Experience. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University, 1996), p.4.

trauma and memory. I extend this relationship to another Freud's experiment the 'Mystic Wring-Pad' to show how memory transforms trauma into a (literary) event that can be reach at any point in time. My plan is to create a relation between trauma and memory in such a way that I can put further a disjunction between thinking and writing, which will have as a starting point Caruth's understanding of trauma as a disjunction of temporality: the past is presented in the present as a hounding ghost.

My theoretical position is that the past can be accessed through a specific literary technique and that the experience of trauma that the author has experienced has a linear temporality and can be accessed at any time by its bearer. Moreover, professional authors not only can use techniques to describe their own traumatic experiences, but they can collect and assimilate into a type of trauma that is used fictionally in their novels. In this way, Norman Manea and Herta Müller are authors that describe their trauma, they collect the traumatic experiences from their Jewish and German communities, and they reproduce it into a 'fictive' image. My approach on trauma does not deny Carruth's hunting trauma, it just made it possible to dissect and underside its content through its literary representation. The novels are examples of how trauma can be accessed through a literary level to achieve what Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub calls "crises of truth."[5] Now, a trauma that is regarded as a historical event and that has been experienced by the authors is can only be differentiated in repetitive and fragmented image of representation because trauma lacks a linear temporal continuity. Thus, Manea's and Müller's novels bears traces of repetition, fragmentation and multiple literary techniques developed from traumatic historical discontinuity like alterations or intertextuality.

1. Motivation, Research Questions, and Contribution

My interest is to integrate Manea's and Müller's literature into the collective memory of Romanian as part of the country's literary heritage because it helps us to understand the transition of Central and Eastern Europe from communism to democracy and from persecution to vindication. Their literature explains the conditions of *Mitteleuropa* as a continuous correlation between cultures, languages, and their historical traumas. The

[5] Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub. *Tetsimony. Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and Hsitory.* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 5-6.

classification of their literature as 'national' Romanian comes along within their diverse and polygenetic structure as a whole.

Manea writes about his life in Burdujeni, a neighbourhood of Suceava, he describes how life was as a child when in 1941 he was deported to the concentration camp in Transnistria, he remembers how life was in Fălticeni where he returned in 1945 with his family, he also portrays how life is in New York, a city that he often calls the 'paradise.'[6] Before leaving Romania for Berlin in 1986, he had published already ten volumes in Romania that made the eligible authorities suppress his work. The memoir book *Întoarcerea huliganului* (*The Hooligan's Return*) from 2003 contains Manea's experience before and after his exile. In his novels, Manea engages in discussions about the Holocaust, communism, exile, cultural heritage, intellectual narrative, ethnic and cultural belonging. His novels are a collective remembrance of important cultural figures and authors that were subject of traumatic experience. Language does not only play a stylistic role, but it is also an important cognitive and moral stimulus for memory.

By contrast, Herta Müller's stories revolve around the Banat region describing the life of the Swabians under the totalitarian regime of Romania. After she leaves Nițchidorf to study German studies and Romanian literature in Timișoara, she leaves behind the traditional lifestyle of the Swabian village and gets more accustomed to the city's cosmopolite atmosphere defined by several religious, ethnic, and linguistic minorities such as Jews, Roma, Hungarians, Serbs, and Germans. In 1982 she wrote her first novel *Niederungen* (in English translated as *Nadirs*) and then, in 1986, she published *Der Mench ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt* (lit. translation "The Man is a big pheasant in the world"; in English as *The Passport*) in Berlin. Because of the topics, she addresses in her novels Müller was closely followed by Securitatea[7] who proposed to her to work for them as a *colaborator* (collaborator), a proposal that she rejected. Manea and Müller are conjectural traumatic authors that stand between a totalitarian regime and its convulsive persecution upon minorities and the linguistic transformation in meaning and reference.

The literature of Manea and Müller describes in detail the Romanian transition from communism to democracy, the society under communism, the impact of the

[6] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated by Angela Jianu. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p. 5.
[7] Securitatea is the popular term for the Department of State Security, the secret police agency of Romania during the communist regimes.

Holocaust on the Jewish and Romani minorities with its effects on the country's collective memory. Their literature offers a full portrait of the full transition of *Mitteleuropa* through the example of Romania. Besides, their novels are examples of how trauma influences the writing and the representation of recollected memories. We can see that Manea and Müller play a crucial role in understanding the traumatic history that Romania must acknowledge easing its transition towards a global world. Besides, the linguistic diversity which their novels display is proof that their personal trauma has an unquestionable influence upon the language, historical perception, and society. Trauma is described through a bilingual representation, an innovative literary technique that will raise a series of questions like: Does the self-determination between bilingualism and trauma reveal a new type of literature? What is a palimpsest for memory theory and how does it work in the case of the Romanian language? What is the role of socio-cultural background in their novels? And finally, if trauma defines Manea's and Müller's writing style can we talk about a trauma novel that holds trauma as a genre?

The literature of Manea and Müller is elusive and abounds in topics that require rigorous research. For example, we can talk about their literature as being Romanian, German, or even American to some extent, whereas their composition is dealing with trauma, memory, minority, testimony, or civic duty in Romania. The associations between the geographical spatiality, themes, and languages impose an explanation for trauma's function in literature. My contribution is given by the fact that I will analyse the relationship between trauma and memory from a bilingual standpoint and I investigate the possibility to approach trauma as a new writing style, hence as a genre. Manea's and Müller's literature is the result of a polytropic process of multiple cultural and linguistic expansions that create a special attitude to represent trauma with its deepest psychological effects.

2. Theoretical background

Manea and Müller describe the effects of the Holocaust and link them to the collective memory of the country, they talk about the late communist and early post-communist periods and present the situation of the minorities and those persecuted by the totalitarian regime. The authors are constructing their fiction as a critical reaction

against politicisation of literature and impose it as a moral and civic factor, which defines the nature and purpose of their writing.

Their literary discourse exposes a sort of post-communist mentality because their novels describe the transition from a constrained to a free social and cultural life, without excluding their revolt and dissidence during the totalitarian regime of Ceaușescu. Their literature presents a clear and impressive narratological and geocritical interest, a literature that can generate a clear understanding of the Romanian's transition from monarchy to communism and from communism to democracy, making it an example for Central and Eastern Europe of how the transition between ideologies is portrayed in literature in the late twentieth century.

Usually, Romanian dissidents like Emil Cioran, Mircea Eliade, or Eugen Ionescu adopted in their writings the language of their new country. Surprisingly, Manea is a contra-example because even after living for three decades in New York he continues to write in Romanian, which makes me question how does the Romanian language function in the American socio-cultural setting. Manea rewrites parts of his novels, rearranges their chapters, and publishes their translation in German, Italian or French before appearing in the original language. Manea is using Romanian while he is defined by the English linguistic landscape and adopts his native language to multiple morphological interconnections. The Romanian language is used as a centrifugal force by progressing through new meanings and references despite the new lexical challenges from the U.S. By contrast, Müller wrote in German in Romania and continues to write in the same language in Berlin. She has only one book of poetry, *Este sau nu este Ion* (in English: *It is or it is not John*) (2005) written in Romanian by using the collage technique. Her German is defined by the Swabian dialect and by the way it absorbs the Romanian proverbs, words, metaphors, or lexeme. Müller's language functions as a centripetal force by returning always to the original linguistic experience of her story, which is the Romanian language with all of its meanings, symbols, or representations. The way Manea and Müller are using language is defined by the narrative force of describing their traumatic experiences. This is why I will examine Manea's use of language as a form of centrifugal force by which Romanian shades understanding on the English language through mental instant translation. Manea confesses serval times how he believes that everyone in New York speaks Romanian since he considers that everyone speaks the language, e.g., when the porter greets him with 'Good Morning'

what he hears is the Romanian equivalent 'Bună dimineața.'[8] He calls this a dream coming true indicating his involuntary translation of the English language while he is processing the meaning of the words. Similarly, Müller's reiteration of her memories is done in Romanian in which the past makes sense, while her experiences are written mostly in German. The metaphorical system of Müller is defined by a centripetal force by returning to the core of her linguistic experiences, which she eventually puts in a German-dominated narrative. Therefore, Manea's and Müller's literature is an example of a bilingual narrative where languages work together to create an actualization of their traumatic experiences.

The authors succeed to transform the original event that took place in Romanian into a literary trauma that makes itself known through the linguistic meaning, symbol, and literary representation within its socio-cultural conditions. The linguistic centrifugal and centripetal approach make the novel have a bilingual characteristic. In this case, bilingualism must be understood not only as the use of two languages in their narrative but also as the influence of two distinct regions and countries with their cultural and social differences on their novels. Bilingualism takes place on the cognitive level and its influence on literature must be determined by the authors' historical contextualisation. Manea's and Müller's literature is so complex that only an interdisciplinary approach that is intertwining between literary studies and cognitive sciences could generate useful results. Hence, the cognitive theory will demonstrate that the narrative is predisposed to linguistic changes since the cognitive activity is embodied by traumatic experiences. Bilingualism will establish that the meaning of a word is not arbitrary nor impersonal but determined by traumatic experiences of perception and understanding. Therefore, bilingualism is the determination of their linguistic and socio-cultural background, a literary phenomenon that has cognitive determinations since the "cognitive theory posits concepts that are not simply determined by the symbolic order in which they exist; instead, meanings are formed by an interaction of the physical world, culture, and human cognitive systems."[9] Further, the cognitive theory will allow the palimpsestic process to take place as a transition

[8] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 324.
[9] Mary Thomas Crane and Alan Richardson. "Literary Studies and Cognitive Science: Toward a New Interdisciplinary." In: *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (June 1999), pp. 123-140, (p. 128).

between the original and literary trauma and will represent the mnemonic mediation between the fact and the word.

I plan to start my comparative analysis from the existing theoretical sources, interviews, doctoral theses, or book reviews. Thus, Manea's work and life were more presented in articles and doctoral thesis that are dealing with topics like exile, Holocaust, happiness, or explaining the meaning of a series of keywords such as the 'hooligan' or the 'snail', words that are crucial in Manea's work, as I will explore later. These varieties of issues are presented in articles written by Ariel Dorfaman (2003), Larissa MacFarquhar (2003), Carla Baricz (2014), Carmen Ghinea (2004), or by Tess Lewis (2012). Moreover, successful Ph.D. theses are constituting the major theoretical sources from where we can extract important views on how the exile can be explained through *alo*-image and *infra*-images (Anamaria Felecan (2010) and Anamaria Falus (2014)); we can get a deep grasp on the influence on the aesthetic and ethical elements that govern Manea's stylistics done by Claudiu Turcuș (2012); while Mihaela Simonca (2014) brings into discussion the influence of the American spirit and lifestyle in Manea's narrative. Starting from this theoretical framework, I will argue that the relation between trauma and memory unveils in Manea's novel the centrifugal force where the memories are liberated from their socio-cultural space, where they took place and are becoming universal symbols that can be adapted to foreign cultures and can endorse remote empathies.

The translation of Manea's books into English is usually a source of confusion because of several reasons. Firstly, the books are often composed of multiple chapters translated and published previously in international journals or magazines. The book *On Clowns. The Dictator and the Artist* is an example of such a collection of articles for which the Gaber and Gaber publishing house has got permission from several publishing houses and journals to publish the edition from 1994. Moreover, the book *October, Eight O'clock* appears as the work of six translators with often syntactical differences between chapters. Secondly, there are cases when the translation is done by natives in English or Romanian creating an inconsistency between the original and the translated versions, e.g., the novel *Captives* (2015) is translated by Jean Harris, native American, while *The Hooligan's Return* is translated by Angela Jianu, native Romanian. Lastly, a consistent part of Manea's work remains untranslated and I did the translations where necessary keeping the original quotation for comparison. Except for *The*

Hooligan's Return, all the other books are used during my research in the original language to keep an inner structure of Manea's thought and literary syntax.

The fact that Müller writes in German and that she won the Nobel prize in 2009 made her novels enjoy wider attention for theoretical research. Lyn Marven (2005) and Katrine Kohl (2013) believe that Müller creates a series of linguistic experiences that enables her to create a series of metaphors with more profound meanings. Generally, these metaphors are the translation of the Romanian words into German affecting their presentation and meaning, e.g., the Romanian word for the palate is *cerul gurii* (mouth sky) and is used by Müller literary as *Mundhimmel* instead of the standard German word *Gaumen*. Müller's poetics is formed from a continuous metaphoric system of broken images and sensations that looks to elevate trauma's meanings and representations. Trauma is seen as a unifier concept between the "body, language, and narrative, and leads to their fragmentation."[10] Müller appeals to a synthesis between human senses to create a trauma that cannot only be read but also seen and felt. For this reason, she uses the collage technique in her poetry, often described as broken porcelain (*Scherben*), while she prefers to write her novels within a discontinue fragmentation.

Bettina Brandt and Valentina Galajar's *Herta Müller: Politics and Aesthetics* (2013) is emphasizing the importance of the German and Romanian languages in Müller's work from a political and social perspective. The book discusses the importance of topics like ethnocentrism and communism propaganda in her fiction, the consequences of Romanian literary censorship on Müller's early publications, the everyday life of Swabians influenced by the surrealism of communism, and the traumatic experience of Müller. Brigid Haines' and Lyn Marven's volume called simply *Herta Müller* (2013) alternates whole chapters based on her novels' in-depth analyses with chapters that revolve around major ideas like reception, poetics, trauma, translation, and aesthetics, which constitute Müller's main interest. The volume makes significant reference to the importance of Müller's novels for the Holocaust literature and for traumatic literature in Romania in general by transforming the communist trauma into poetical prose full of meanings and symbols. These two volumes are representative for Müller's reception in the anglophone theoretical landscape.

[10] Lyn Marven. *Body and Narrative in Contemporary Literatures in German: Herta Müller, Libuše Moníková, and Kerstin Hensel*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 53.

The German theoretical perspective is diverse and abundant and accentuates the importance of the author for German literature. The 'Handbuch' (2017) on Müller edited by Norbert Otto Eke is presenting a diverse analysis of Müller's topics, with a particular focus on the aesthetic method and pathological writing. Nevertheless, the volume is a major work of reference in the German-speaking research field without mentioning any bilingual aspect of Müller's literature. Lastly, Paola Bozzi's book *Der fremde Blick: Zum Werk Herta Müllers* (2005) provides us with an innovative perspective since she argues for Müller's particular gender-specific prose and multidimensional identity caught within a cultural and linguistic parallel between Romanian and German societies.

The poetical style and fragmentism create a variety of difficulties for translators, yet they are the ones that grasp how Müller's bilingual narrative functions. The Czech writer and translator Radka Denemarková describes Müller's translation as 'implacable' and describes Müller's experiences as follows:

> With Herta Müller you can't just translate individual words; you have to make sure the language evokes the same lyrical images in Czech as it does in German. Otherwise, the translation won't work. I translate the way I hope other translators translate my books – by hugging and caressing them, by putting my finger on the emotion and the rhythm. It is not about literal translation by rather about achieving an affect in the target language that is the same as in the source language.[11]

The 'source language' should be used in the plural since the versatile understanding of the words is caused by Müller's constant references to Romanian meanings of the German words. *Herztier* becomes an exponential novel that shows how the poetical fragments with double meaning function. Its paragraphs are 'like cut diamonds, out of chronological sequence […] The urgency of the writing increase with the amount of information supplied, like a pupa cocooned in metaphors and images from which an uncanny world is about to spring forth, a world of the powerful and the powerless."[12] Müller is using a highly stylized literary form that denotes the implication of a second

[11] Radka Denemarková. "On translating Herta Müller." In *Asymptote Journal,* translated by Julia Sherwood. (Spring, 2012). Accessed online in Autumn 2018: https://www.asymptotejournal.com/criticism/radka-denemarkova-on-translating-herta-muller/.
[12] Ibid.

language beneath the German meaning of her sentences. The Romanian language starts to be seen slowly as a *Hintersinn*, which means that it functions as a hidden meaning behind the German narrative.

Romanian translators Nora Iuga, Alexandru Al. Șahighian, and Corina Bernic unanimously declare that Müller is re-inventing her language. While translating the book *Atemschaukel* Șahighian says: "[…] o spune chiar Herta: 'nu pentru orice există cuvinte […] adeseori tocmai despre lucurile esențiale nu se mai poate spune nimic'. Și-atunci Herta Müller își inventează propria-i limbă."[13] Müller's language works as a centipede force that makes the languages to turn upon themselves by gathering together meanings and symbols from German and Romanian languages. The translation sometimes disturbs this linguistic resemblance between languages, which might induce translators into error. As example, when Corina Bernic translates *Reisende auf einem Bein* (in English: *Traveling on One Leg*) (1989) she talks about the expression *zwielichtige Engel* as if it has no clear correspondent into Romanian. However, the word *zwielichtige* has many equivalences in Romanian and Bernic goes for *tulbure* that in German would be *trüb* (English: muddy), which actually a better translation would have been *umbrit* (English: shady) because the word describes the presence, at the same time, of light and shade that can make the angel 'seedy' (Romanian: *zăpăcit*).

Following the critical sources, we become aware that we are dealing with a very complex literature due to the two linguistic systems used by authors between two cultures and societies to describe their traumatic memories experienced under the Holocaust and communism. My original approach will stand in describing the relation between trauma and memory from a bilingual perspective from which I can extract a new understanding of trauma and the new functionality of trauma as a genre. To understand trauma as a new genre in literature means to see bilingualism as a result of the authors' traumatic experiences and then, in turn, trauma becomes a new expression of bilingualism because trauma and bilingualism coexist into a self-determinative relationship.

[13] "[…] even Herta says: 'there isn't a word for everything […] sometimes we cannot say anything about the essential things. And because of this, Herta Müller is inventing her own language." The translations from German and Romanian are mine until otherwise stated. Ana-Maria Onisei. "Traducatori despre Herta Müller." In *Adevărul* (September 2010). The article was accessed in November 2018: https://adevarul.ro/cultura/istorie/traducatorii-despre--herta--muller-1_50ba044a7c42d5a663b00f02/index.html

3. A brief overview of the authors' lives

Manea and Müller create a perfect symbiosis between their personal stories and the historical facts, which make their writings a true source of knowledge of the traumatic past in communist Romania. For this reason, I cannot resist the temptation to take into account the life of the authors as the source of their stories. In this way, I will make several references to their correspondences, interviews, or essays where they explain their personal experiences and what exactly they mean for their personal lives, and how they represent them in their writings. My intention is not to go into biography theory but to analytically explore as much as possible the authors' personal experiences and their literary representation in their novels to create a coherent connection between trauma as the original experienced event and trauma as the literary event.

Personal experiences bring authenticity and verifiability to the accumulated knowledge in the novels, they give meaning to the daily routine lived under totalitarian regimes and can become moral and civil examples. A comparison between biographical and fictional forms might reveal different varieties of using stylistics and might show a transformation of the language used to describe the traumatic event. When the traumatic event is described in a biographic form the language might be less metaphorical and steadier stylistically speaking, while a fiction form might reveal more inventiveness of the language and more complicated stylistics. Manea's memoir and Müller's autofiction are literary techniques associated with the autobiography which tends to precede the subjective nature of their stories and reach a more general role for understanding the Holocaust and communism. The authors become famous after the end of the totalitarian regime in Romanian for which reason they are often considered part of the post-communist literature. The transition from the totalitarian regimes to post-communist and, later, when the right hand of Ceaușescu, Ion Iliescu,[14] finished his last presidential term in 2004, to a democratic society made them authors of what Eva

[14] Ion Iliescu served as President of Romanian from 1989 to 1996 and from 2000 until 2004. He did not renounce Communist ideology and his program after the revolution was not a switch to capitalism and democracy. Iliescu's political practices made Silviu Brucan claim that the revolution was not against communism but against Ceauș escu. Vladimir Tismaneanu. "Cine a fost Silviu Brucan? Marele maestru al mistificarilor." In *Contributors*. April 2013. Accessed in March 2021: https://www.contributors.ro/cine-a-fost-silviu-brucan-marele-maestru-al-mistificarilor/

Hoffman calls the "era of memory."[15] The memoir is an intimate contemplation of the author's life determined by a certain time and location and involves personal feelings and emotions that emphasise the implication of trauma on one's life and the collective memory of a society or nation. The fictional elements of autobiography are usually built on imaginary characters that tell the story on the first-person narrator and often explore the external experiences of the protagonist. Hereafter, to be able to analyse the relation between memory and trauma accurately to the historical facts to which the authors were subjected, we need a more comprehensive understanding of the lives of the authors.

As I already said, Norman Manea leaves Romania in 1986 for Berlin and in 1988 he leaves Germany for the U.S. with a Fulbright Scholarship. In 1987, Herta Müller leaves Romania with her then-husband Richard Wagner and settles in West Berlin. Given these historical facts, I consider that the exile is a precondition of their lives in Romania, as members of the country's minorities, and that it becomes a turning point for their lives in the adoptive countries. Their literature deals with protagonists' wartime experiences, Holocaust, communist oppression, persecution, and marginalisation. Their novels criticise the totalitarian regime and everyone who supports it: the traitors and betrayals, murders, suicides, and the failed attempt to confront the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*)[16] in the post-communist society of Romania. Exile is their continuous trauma that links their memories of the past with their experiences in Germany and the U.S. The authors represent the Jewish and Swabian communities of Romania, they live abroad, and they continue to write about the atrocities of Nazism and communism that took place mainly in Romania.

The genuine facts in a novel tend to reconstruct the traumatic event within a defined historical and socio-cultural framework. The historical context of the described facts in the narrative depends to some degree on the legitimate exploitation of style, which means that some novels are defined directly by an important event from the

[15] The 'era of memory' describes the time during the Second World War and its aftermath until the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Hoffman. *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust*. (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 15.

[16] I use the word in the same way as Mary Cosgrove, as a form of melancholy that can be identified as a feature of literature that deals with the aftermath of National Socialism. Very often Müller combines the tradition of the German Swabs with the traumatic experiences of Nazism and its repercussions. Mary Cosgrove. "Reinventing Invented Tradition: *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and the Literature of Melancholy." In *Edinburgh German Yearbook 8: New Literary and Linguistic Perspectives on the German Language, National Socialism, and the Shoah*. Eds. Peter Davies and Andrea Hammel. (Suffolk, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 107-124.

author's life. For example, when Manea leaves Romania for the U.S. he writes after eleven years the *On Clowns: The Dictator and the Artist* (1997) to describe the conflict between the 'dictator' Ceaușescu and the 'artist' Manea, and how the tyranny oppresses the creativity; or when he decides to return to Romania he decides to write the book *The Hooligan's Return* (2013), a project that triggered the entire traumatic memories from the experience of the concertation camp from Transnistria, his assumed exile, and return to Romania. Likewise, Müller writes *Barfüßiger Februar* (1987) to describe how she leaves Romania in a heavily snowed February, or she writes *Reisende auf einem Bein* (1989) to describe again the exile from Romania but also how she settled in West Germany, and then she writes *Atemschaukel* (2009) to portray the deportation of Oskar Pastior to forced labour in the USSR. The later novel was originally planned to be written by Müller and Pastoir, an idea that did not happen since Pastior died in October 2006. We see that the narrator's character is a source for the authenticity of the story, and from a historical perspective is important because it helps to give a sense to the narrative that is based on a real experience in life. Trauma as the original experiences will regard these historical facts that triggered the novel's topic and are represented as fiction 'realities.'

Exile plays a major role in the authors' writings. For Manea and Müller, exile is the persistent traumatic condition that sustains and multiplies the effects of the Holocaust and communism. We find in their novels a representation of the relationship between the past and the present of their correlation to their origins, not only in the sense that the past might be reflected in the present but rather in understanding the past and the present as two historical stages that define themselves. This is why Müller, as a Swab from Banat, describes her youth and adulthood through direct association with the 'mother nation' (Germany) whenever she describes her 'condemnation' to live into a perpetual sentiment of exclusion and periphery. The sense of conviction comes from the fact that the Habsburg monarchy decided to populate the eastern provinces by sending families of Germanic backgrounds to settle in Transylvania and Bukovina. Going further, Manea says that the exile has for Jews a metaphysical comprehension that goes well back in history until the 'Babylonian Exile.' The association imposes the assumption that Manea's exile is defined by the inter-generational sin (according to the Jerusalem Talmud) narrated in the prophetic stories of *Kings* (2) where is described how the king Nebuchadnezzar II destroys Solomon's Temple and initiates the Babylonian captivity, and in *Genesis* (11: 1-9) where is explained why the people speak

different languages. Manea describes his exile as an ontological problem since he believes that it is the mere condition of existence. The authors try to reconfigure the past to unmask the present and their interest exposes their novels exploring the history and memory of a minority while they experienced traumas of a totalitarian state.

It is very probable that Müller has roots in the few who arrived from the Swabian regions of what was known as *Vorderösterreich* or *die Vorlande* (Further Austria). The majority of Swabians come from Ulm, and they were transported on the Danube with the *Ulmer Schachteln* (disposable ship) to Timișoara and Budapest. During Maria Theresa's reign, impressive waves of immigrants settled in Bukovina, among them Germans and Jews. The Swabians from Banat were suffering from the Magyarization politics from 1893 when vast numbers of Germans emigrated to Bulgaria. After the fall of the Austrian Empire in 1918, the Banat Swabians under Romanian rule had again German-language schools for the first time since 1868, a theatre in Timișoara, and several newspapers. Besides, in 1921 a cultural association called the *Verband der Deutschen in Rumänien* (Union of Germans in Romania) was founded, which had the purpose to conserve and continue the Swabian tradition, dialect, and culture. The percentage of Germans in Timișoara until the Second World War exceeded 50%, while in Suceava, at the beginning of the twenty century, there were 18.7% Jews, 13.9 % Germans, and 61.5% Romanians. From 1891 to 1914 Franz Ritter von Des Loges, a prolific Austrian politician, was the mayor of Suceava transforming the city from a traditional Moldavian town into a prosperous imperial city of the Austrian-Hungarian empire. Until 1918 61.5% of the inhabitants of Suceava declared that their first language is German and only 25.38% were speaking Romanian.[17] We become aware that the background of Manea and Müller is defined by multiculturalism and polyglotism with a completely different socio-cultural context than the one that is nowadays.

The Jewish community from Moldova has been well established for hundreds of years and this can be proved by the *Sinagoga Mare* (The Big Synagogue), founded in Jassy in 1695, and by the opening of the *Teatrul Verde* (The Green Theatre) in 1876 by Abraham Goldfaden as the first theatre in the world where the plays were entirely in Yiddish. Western Moldova played a crucial role in the modern history of Jews

[17] *Gemeindelexikon der Bukowina, Bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1900.* Bukovina. K. K. Statistischen Zentralkomission. (Wien: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907).

particularly for the Zionist movement since Ukrainian pogroms started to be more often and more brutal, especially the ones from Kyiv from 1881, 1905, and 1919 that forced huge numbers of Jews to seek refuge in Moldovia where they prospered until the beginning of the Second World War. Therefore, there is no coincidence that Hatikvah is based on the Moldavian folksong *Caru cu boi*[18] (The Ox-Driven Cart), which was a very popular song during the building of the railways in the nineteenth century. We see again that the regions of Bukovina and Moldavia are traditionally known for their multiculturalism where Italians, Greeks, Russians, Tatars, Germans, and Jews were living alongside Romanians for more than half of a millennium. The historical context of the Jews and Swabs in Romania shows that the exile is a predecessor traumatic fact for Manea's and Müller's experience of the Holocaust and communism and can be understood as the post-factual trigger for the new experiences caused by leaving Romania for the U.S. and Germany respectively.

Furthermore, the representation of trauma in literature is determined by shocking experiences suffered during their time spent in Romania. Manea is sent to the concertation camp in Transnistria when he was only five years old and returns to Romania four years later in 1945. The everyday experiences in Romania under the permanent surveillance of the Securitatea, the censorship of his novels, and the departure from Romania are described by Manea as traumatic experiences that have changed his life and have guided his writing style. These are some examples of the original experience of trauma that happened in reality and are now portrayed in novels within a fictionalized form. Müller is more concerned with her past, as a Swab left in Banat, with her father who was a member of the *Waffen SS*, of her mother who was deported to Siberia in 1945 at the age of seventeenth, or of her dismissal from her job

[18] Hatikvah's lyrics are adapted from the nine-stanza poem *Tikvatenu* (Our Hope) by Naftali Herz Imber. Its first version was composed in Jassy where Imber was a Jewish scholar. Shmuel Cohen, who is born in Moldova, near Ungheni, adapted the music for Hatikvah on the melody of a song he had heard in Jassy. The following quotation is an example of how the Moldavian song is perceived by the Israeli culture: "Then, in 1888, Samuel Cohen composed a melody based on a Romanian folk song which "fit Hatikva like a glove," Israeli musicologist Dr. Natan Shahar told *The Times of Israel*. Cohen likely adapted his tune from a nostalgic Romanian ditty called 'Carul cu boi,' which translates as 'Cart with Oxen.' This melody, in turn, was a modification of a seventeenth century Italian composition by Gasparo Zanetti called "La Mantovana." (La Mantovana was also modified, a few years before Cohen, by Czech composer Bedrich Smetana in his piece "Die Moldau," whose central theme bears a striking similarity to Hatikva's melody.)" Ilan Ben Zion. "How an unwieldy romantic poem and a Romanian folk song combined to produce 'Hatikva'." In: *The Times of Israel.* (16 April 2013). Accessed in September 2020: https://www.timesofisrael.com/how-an-unwieldy-romantic-poem-and-a-romanian-folk-song-combined-to-produce-hatikva/.

as a translator for an engineering factory because she refused to cooperate with the Securitatea, and her exile from Romania while the country was still under the rule of Ceaușescu. All these events are described and explained in her novels in the poetical and metaphorical form, which transforms the original event into a literary representation. Finally, the post-exiled life did not stop their presence in the Romanian literary environment, on the contrary, they started to be condemned, banned, or accused to collaborate with foreign secret police against Romania. Their images as dissident authors started to shape up and only in the later years, they have found their place in the cultural and literary context of Romania.

The themes of trauma and memory are often interrelated in the novels with the topic of identity. The authors represent these themes by correlating their novels to some certain actual facts that the narrative style and literary technique reflect the profound impact of the Holocaust and communism on shaping their past but also their present history.

4. Theoretical structure, limitations, and the trauma novel

The psychoanalysis trend started by Cathy Caruth with her *Unclaimed Experiences: Trauma Narrative, and History* (1996) describes trauma as an unsolvable problem and that causes a linguistic ambiguity whenever it is discussed in a novel. Caruth's statements made me question the role of literature in a violent world and its power to shade knowledge and understanding of past traumatic experiences. This is because Manea's and Müller's writings made me aware that trauma has a pathogenic influence on the linguistic layers of the story when they are confirming their experiences. This made me believe that that the language they use is carefully chosen to be able to testify their experiences and to introduce them like a puzzle piece in the bigger picture of the Holocaust and communist traumas. The landscape of trauma theory is moving is transitory from a Freudian method to a theoretical position that uses different theoretical tools which regards trauma as a linguistic matter subjected to a more critical practice to describes trauma's complex role in literature. Scholars like Anne Whitehead's *Trauma Fiction* (2005), Ruth Leys' *Trauma: A Genealogy* (2000), Michelle Balaev's *The Nature of Trauma in American Novels* (2012), or Dominick LaCapra's *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (2001) use psychoanalysis to create a framework that may emphasise the variety of trauma's influence on the language, individual, and society. The scholars

represent trauma as a relevant tool used to rethink history and to explain how novels that explore trauma present morphological and synthetic alterations. I plan to expand on the latter idea to enable clarifications on the bilingual, palimpsestic, and socio-cultural attributes that trauma manifests in the composition of the novel whenever uses trauma as a source for inspiration. Thus, my original approach is to ascertain the conditions under which we can make claims for the presence of the trauma novel and describe trauma as a literary genre.

When we read a novel, we become aware that trauma belongs to an individual and that it happened in reality in a specific way with a devastating outcome for one's family or with an irreversible impact on society. Holocaust and communism are traumas that happened to society, they express the condition of living under traumatic circumstances. Literature does not compare the traumas, nor do they impose a topographic case study; it simply portrays how life was under extreme ideologies and what are their consequences. We become aware that literature imposes a distinction between direct and indict action and that it has the power to universalize the experience of trauma to make it durable over time and make its remembrance accessible. The represented trauma has literary qualities and makes the authors responsible to take civic action. This is why Manea and Müller do not only write novels, but they write essays to explain why they write, how they use their memories, or how language function in their case, they give interviews and are publicly engaged to condemn any form of political coercion that limits the freedom in our society.

The novels hold a testimony for personal and collective traumas and that they confront their meaning and acknowledgment in the post-communist society. The narrative testimony can be seen as proof of preserving the empirical existence of the original traumatic event in the form of a symbol or image. The authors confess their traumatic experiences and witness the trauma of both a minority and a nation. As soon as we go deep into the reading of the novels, we see how the explication of traumatic experiences becomes more complex and harder to understand. The authors use a series of stylistic techniques like metaphors, alliterations, and intertextuality to create the post-traumatic effects that the traumas of the Holocaust and of communism have not only for themselves but also for the collective memory of a nation. The trauma that they describe receives fictional attributes and imposes a linguistic difference between the original and literary experience of trauma. When the Holocaust and communism are testified and witnessed in writing it imposes a moral responsibility upon novels because

they hold a moral authority. Literature holds the remembering experience of trauma into a perpetual possibility of repetition: each time a novel is read the traumatic event reactivates itself within the literary condition, a process that can elucidate the aporetic condition of trauma. In other words, literature overpassed Adorno's dictum, which says that "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric,"[19] by describing and representing trauma that was believed to be ungraspable. Literature must speak the trauma knowing that will fail in doing so, while within its 'barbaric' failure will continue its legacy to produce a historical consciousness.

Going further, I understand testimony as a personal declaration of a witness, while trauma in literature is a representation of everyone's trauma. Literature has the power to reset trauma as a shared symbol that has a traumatic meaning for individuals from a given community, in our case from Romania. This is how Manea creates out of the word 'hooligan' a symbol that stands for everyone who stood against the totalitarian system, or how Müller creates the word symbol 'Herztier' to describe the transformation of the individual who lives in the communist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu. Thus, literature requires a specific language that can describe trauma and its implications on the narrative structure without diminishing the role of testimony. For literature "testimonies are significant in the attempt to understand experiences and its aftermath, including the role of memory and its lapses, in coming to terms with – denying and repressing – the past,"[20] while trauma is defined by testimony's effects which the reader can understand only through empathy. Manea's and Müller's testimonies require an empirical reconstruction of facts and events, which, on a narrative level, will produce what Dominick LaCapra names *genre-in-the-making*.[21] To be able to hold on to an accurate empirical reconstruction we need to enter into the universe of symbols that are shared between languages, countries, cultures, and religions. The linguistic symbols and meanings that circulate between Romanian, English, and German are subject to transformations that transpose trauma into an empathetic experience from the reader who is invited to take part in the understanding

[19] Theodor W. Adorno. "Cultural Criticism and Society." In *Prisms*, 17–34. (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1983), p. 34.
[20] Dominick LaCapra. *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), pp. 86-87.
[21] LaCapra describes the process of using the survivor testimony into literature and research as a 'problematic' genre that will require to clarify the conditions and experiences of victims' trauma and, also, their response to them. Ibid., p. 110.

of trauma. The reader is experiencing trauma through linguistic codes of meaning, which makes him reach the original experience of trauma that took place in the Romanian language. In literature, trauma is determined by language as a specific cultural phenomenon, whereas the original event of trauma will continue instigating the disjunction between the text and experience under the form of an aporia.

To be able to reproduce the original experience of trauma each testimony must retain a consistent socio-cultural description of the event to define its historicity and must anticipate or describe the event's psychological effects. On a linguistic level, such an effort will need to transform trauma into the concepts that correlate to each research structure in part, i.e., trauma becomes an event, symbol, and representation. The three alterations of trauma are possible only because it is testified and remembered through the means of memory. This pluralistic approach to trauma will enable us to analyse its literary feature and to continue to make several connections to the original experience of trauma or to integrate it into the Holocaust and communist context. The linguistic and neurobiological contexts, the palimpsestic process, and the socio-cultural determination will convey the variable meaning of trauma and will identity its function for the trauma novel. The empirical, psychoanalytical, and historical methods will pay attention to the specificities and recollection of trauma

My approach to trauma will be structured according to the following table:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">TRAUMA</td><td>Empirical => Symbol => Representation => Event</td><td rowspan="3">MEMORY</td></tr>
<tr><td>Psychoanalytical => Representation => Event => Symbol</td></tr>
<tr><td>Historical => Event => Symbol => Representation</td></tr>
</table>

The empirical method implements an observation and acknowledgment of the traumatic data described by Manea and Müller in their essays, correspondence, or interviews. These facts will be used to establish a coherent correlation between the symbolic image defined by places like the region of Transnistria presented by Manea as a 'symbol' for his maturation, or words and expressions like 'Barfüßiger Februar' that Müller uses to pronounce best the historical fact of her departure from communist

Romania in a snowy month like February. The psychoanalytic methodology is the introspection of the mnemonic process through which a historical event is represented as a personal and intimate fact that stands as a symbolic remembrance for personal trauma. Lastly, the historical interpretation of the original event reveals the symbolic feature of trauma experienced by a specific ethnicity or nation. Trauma is represented in literature as a symbol for its preservation and perpetuation of the collective memory. These three theoretical methods have the purpose to interrogate the relationship between trauma and memory in literature under three distinct instances: trauma as a symbol, trauma as a representation, and trauma as an event. In the first chapter, I will apply the empirical method to interpret the role of bilingualism in the traumatic narrative; in the second chapter, I will impose a palimpsestic introspection by using the psychoanalytic method to identify the difference between the original and literary trauma; while in the third chapter, I will use the historical method to explain the socio-cultural conditions in which trauma has occurred.

My interpretation of trauma will be limited by some factors. Firstly, I analyse authors that deal mostly with the experience of the Holocaust and communism in Romania, which offers us a limited and well-defined geographical space. However, I plan to take the authors' literature as a potential model to interpret how these two historical events have developed in Central and Eastern Europe. Secondly, I tend to interpret trauma from a literary perspective with the risk to enter into a series of contradictory theories like interpreting trauma as a pre-linguistic and, at the same time, as a linguistic phenomenon. Thirdly, I do not make a comparison between the Holocaust and communist traumas to describe their similarities or dissimilarities, I use them as a form of reality in which the authors were constrained to live. In this way, trauma has a subjective understanding from where I will extract the narrative practices of the authors, which I will further describe as the centrifugal and centripetal forces.

The trauma novel of Manea and Müller raises worries about the durability in time of the historical event, which "cannot be reduced […] to a simple mastery of facts and cannot be located in a simple knowledge or cognition, a knowledge that can see and situate precisely where the trauma lies"[22] but it can be rebuilt by a series of words that can pass on from one generation to another trauma under the form of a story. The

[22] Cathy Caruth. *Unclaimed Experiences. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. (London & Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 111.

novels hold words with meanings and symbols that can represent trauma within the ontopological gap between cultures and languages of Romania and, more generally, of the Central and Eastern Europe post-war time. For this reason, trauma as a literary genre has a finite nature defined by historical and geographical conditions.

5. The plan of the thesis

In the first three chapters, I focus on the empiric, psychoanalytic, and historic methods to describe the three instances of trauma as a symbol, symbol, and representation, while in the fourth chapter I conduct a traditional comparative analysis between the novels *The Hooligan's Return* and *Herztier to* reveal the implications of trauma in the literature on more extensive analysis. Trauma is linguistically conceptualized without eliminating its prelinguistic understanding of an incomprehensible event.

The first chapter starts with an empirical method to establish and define cognitive bilingualism as a process of synthesizing images between language and thought. I will use concepts from stylistics and narratology to explain the textual structure of the bilingual novel and the cognitive development to identify the meaning and symbol of a series of words used in the novels to emphasize the effects of trauma. The collaboration between narratological structures of the text and their meaning can potentially enhance the linguistic importance of the meaning of the 'bilingual' writing as a key to understanding trauma in the context of memory studies. Bilingualism and trauma coexist in a continuous self-determination relationship. The language pairs Romanian-English and Romanian-German will reveal an inner textual logic with acute alterations on the meaning and symbolic level, which will eventually conduct to a specific aesthetic narrative.

In the second part, I will apply a psychoanalytic method on Manea's and Müller's writings to demonstrate the palimpsest effect of trauma and the role of the Romanian language in transforming trauma into a fictitious reality. Romanian, as a palimpsest language, will open new linguistic perspectives and will create a world of different meanings and representations. From a memory theory perspective, the Romanian language works as an instrument of recollecting past experiences; it is the language of the perpetrator, of the original traumatic experience, and the *palimpsest* of

the recollected trauma. The palimpsestic effect will enforce the bilingual feature of the novel and will argue for trauma as a new literary genre.

The series of keywords, meanings, and symbols will be interpreted by analogy with the socio-cultural elements that define the factual context that determines the novels. In this way, the third chapter will look at trauma determined by socio-cultural factors. Trauma will be expanded to a wider historical context to reveal universal empirical facts. Finally, in the last chapter, I will conduct a direct comparative analysis between Manea's and Müller's most important work, *The Hooligan's Return* and *Herztier*, respectively, to show how trauma functions as a genre.

In the concluding part of the thesis, I synthesise the findings of my research and explain what I understand by trauma as a genre by position Manea's and Müller's literature next to authors of different centuries that addressed traumatic issues and led to a better understanding of their times. Traumas of the Holocaust and communism have a finite quality because they express a specific time and geographical space and determine the opportunity to continue further investigations in the post-communist literature of Eastern Europe.

Chapter I: The word between memory and trauma

Manea opens the beginning of the novella 'On Exiled Language' with a reference to a Bible's verse, which says that "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1) to underline the importance of the word and language for himself. He writes: "In the beginning was the Word, the ancients told us, in the beginning for me, the word was Romanian."[1] The language never stops on the country's topology, but it follows Manea into his exile. Similarly, Müller questions the naturality of the languages that she speaks and keeps her memories alive. In *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern* (in English: *My Fatherland was an Apple Core*) she writes: "Oft hat sich herausgestellt, dass die rumänische Sprache mein Naturell mehr als das im Kopf mitgebrachte Deutsche ist, dass ihr Lebensgefühl besser zu mir passt."[2] She goes on by saying that her German become luckily very demanding (*sehr anspruchsvoll - zum Glück*) because of the Romanian language. These are just a few examples that made me question the importance of the language in their writings and how do the linguistic layers of meanings and symbols develop in the narrative. Further, I plan to implement an empirical method to demonstrate how do bilingualism and trauma work together in literature.

Bilingualism was studied by psychologists like Jean Piaget or Lev Vygotsky to understand its implication in the theory of cognitive development. I will follow their line of argumentation with the remark that in literature bilingualism behaves differently from education. This distinction is necessary because the investigation will start from the bilingual effects during the learning process. Scholars like Bialystok & Hakuta (1994), Bialystok (2003), and Kroll de Groot (2005) try to apply the bilingualism analysis from education also in literature. The scholars' hypothesis that second-language acquisition imposes a connection between linguistic and cognitive factors advantages younger learners will be used as a critical reflection on Manea's and Müller's literature from a syntax and meaning standpoint. This means that a literature

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[1] Norman Manea. *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 161.

[2] "It has often turned out that the Romanian language is more of my nature than the German I have in my head, that its attitude towards life suits me better." Herta Müller. *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern*. An interview with Angelika Klammer. (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2014), p. 42.

bilingual enhancement will present a new set of rules, principles, and meanings given in a language. Such an investigation is possible only when we take into account the cognitive implication of two or more languages on a narrative. To do that we need to understand the circumstances in which the authors learned their languages. Manea says that he learned Romanian at home, when he spent his time with Maria, "the lovely young peasant woman who took care of me and spoiled me in Romanian."[3] He learns English out of need since he decided to live in New York. We already see a difference in the applicability between English and Romanian. Likewise, Müller says she learned Romanian at the age of fifteen when she arrived in Timișoara for her university. She learned a Swabian dialect in her village and later, in kindergarten and in school she learned standard German. The learning process imposes an alteration between understating and using the languages. This distinction made Müller say: "cursing in German is not as enjoyable as cursing in Romanian, because the vocabulary won't help you."[4] The languages appear to have social practicability, a diglossic use to be precise, but in the writing process the languages entangle and lead to the appearance of a bilingual narrative. Empirical data, based on word and paragraph analysis, will show a positive influence of bilingualism in the narrative. The authors' testimony enforces this assertion and relates their bilingualism to their traumatic context. We will see that bilingualism is determined by trauma while their testimony of what they have witnessed has a bilingual representation.

The bilingual perspective is determined in Manea's writing by the Romanian and English, and in Müller's writings by the German and Romanian languages. Both authors are defined by a year that marks their exile and pushes them into a complete bilingual form. As we already know, Manea leaves Romania in 1986 for Germany and settles in New York by 1988 and Müller arrives in Germany in 1987. Following the evolution of their works, I noticed how the novels written after their assumed exile became more expressive by the enhancement of the meanings and symbols of their story, which had the purpose to represent trauma as best as possible.

The exile implies two types of linguistic practices. Firstly, one might use a specific and intimate language within his family and in this case, we deal with a

[3] Manea. *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 161.

[4] Răzvan Chiruță. "Herta Muller: 'Cursing in German is not as enjoyable as cursing in Romanian, because the vocabulary won't help you'." In *Filit Festival Brochure* (Jassy: 4.10.2014). Accessed during 2018: http://filit-iasi.ro/en/2014/10/04/herta-muller-cursing-german-enjoyable-cursing-romanian-vocabulary-wont-help/

language that is emotional, intimate, and familiar. Secondly, the exiled individual is forced to use the language of his adoptive country, this language is more formal, pragmatic, and functional. Social linguistic barriers define institutional boundaries. Manea and Müller were (and probably still are) part of a minimum of two linguistic systems that impose a diglossic difference between the languages. Therefore, diglossia is either a linguistic situation where the language variations like regional dialects are determined by codified pronunciation, spelling, and meaning connotation reflected in a formal language for general education or, as a multipurpose situation where two or more languages are used with a well-defined purpose. Manea is born Jewish but raised in Romanian with few Hebrew and German lessons. Müller is defining herself as a Germanic Swab who has lived in Romania according to the Swabian tradition and learned the Swabian dialect. The ethnic background is essential in understanding the further progress of their linguistic development and gives us the earliest hints why their narrative is so complex from a cultural perspective. We can assume for now that bilingualism is the socio-cultural occurrence of literature that appears under a form of cultural and linguistic symbioses across borders.

When Manea arrived in Berlin he said that "Germania a fost primul meu domiciliu lingvistic în exil" [5] announcing his transformation and, above all, his predisposition to linguistic transformations. Despite all odds, he kept Romanian as the first and single language for writing his stories. This does not mean that his writing did not suffer linguistic alterations on the cognitive level, on the contrary, the English language imposes a continuous influence on his narrative as I will show further in this chapter. By contrast, Müller is a bilingual author par excellence since her life is not only defined by German and Romanian, but she masters the meanings and symbols of words, expressions, and idioms of Romanian origin and she can transfer their content into German narrative. Müller creates her own language determined by the bilingual enrichment.

We arrive at the point when we can ask how exactly bilingualism functions in a narrative that is written in a sole language? If a novel is written in only one language and some words from a different language are used, is this a sign of bilingualism? The answer to these questions stands in the relationship between memory and trauma, which

[5] "Germany was my first linguistic home in exile." Norman Manea. *Laptele negru*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2014), p. 240.

will reveal that bilingualism is a traumatic condition of their novels. This means that the meaning is transferred from one language to another as a sign of assimilation and integration in the new community. The assimilation of words or different meanings of the same word is possible according to Noam Chomsky because humans are genetically encoded with universal grammar, a basic understanding of how communication is structured, and the imaginative association between symbols, meanings, and presentations are eased by the cognitive process of memories. [6] The imaginary association between words and meanings is possible due to the progression of the ability to think and reason acquired after learning two or more languages. This process is called cognitive development[7] and has been shown how it works in the learning process but not yet in the narrative composition. Nevertheless, several studies talked about the cognitive differences that the bilingual or multilingual authors have from monolinguals, variances caused by the cerebral structure for language as it happens in Samuel Becket's play *Waiting for Godot*[8] or caused by wider linguistic creativity as an outcome of the bilingual development process[9] as it is the case in Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Ada*, which paves the way how bilingual investigation is done in literature.

For literary studies and cognitive science, language is analysed together as a mental act and linguistic artifact that has implications on the phenomena of reading or textual patterning. Through the relationship between bilingualism and cognition, we can investigate how the figures of speech, prosody, or intertextuality take place in narrative practices. The bilingual-cognition association is important because it can rethink the history of literature and culture from a cognitive standpoint, and it can uncover new literary traumatic structures. My purpose is to impose cognitive

[6] Cf. Naom Chomsky. *New horizons in the study of language and mind*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[7] Piaget has developed four universal stages (sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete, and formal operational) for the cognitive development of using language to express one's thoughts and feelings. On the other hand, Vygotsky believed that the learning process of using a language is the outcome of the social process and thinking out loud. For him, social interaction is definitory for using language effectively. Cf. Jean Piaget. *The origins of intelligence in children*. (New York: Routledge 2001). Cf. Lev Vygotsky. *Thought and language*. (Cambridge, MA: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1986).

[8] Maria Kager. "Comment Dire: A Neurolinguistic Approach to Beckett's Bilingual Writings." In *L2 Journal*, Volume 7 (2015).68-83.

[9] Rita Safariants. "Literary Bilingualism and Codeswitching in Vladimir Nabokov's *Ada*." In *Ulbandus Review*, Volume 10. (2007). 191-211

bilingualism as a detailed approach to trauma's representation, meaning, and symbol, and to show why it plays a major role in Manea's and Müller's literature.

1. The complex relationship between bilingualism and trauma

Literature is a practice of language. The language is used to describes and create literary techniques and figures of speech that contribute to the body of a novel. In the case of authors like Manea and Müller, who are defined by the use of two or more languages, the linguistic practices might behave differently from monolingual authors. Bilingualism in literature refers to two languages that come in contact in the context of a literary narrative with the fact that two codes of meaning can be used during the process of writing. This is caused by the authors' bilingualism, which means they have access to two linguistic systems with direct implications on their cognitive abilities.

There were several attempts to analyse literature from a bilingual perspective. For example, Reuven Tsur believes that language has a sequential activity associated with the left cerebral hemisphere, where emotion processes are typically associated, the connection between language(s) and emotion produces what he calls cognitive poetics.[10] The linguistic and information activities of the brain organize subjective experiences, which means that cognition includes phenomena such as memory, perception, meaning, thinking, and representation which articulate the composition of literary texts. Likewise, Norman Holland presented an important interest in human thought, action, and feeling and their representation in the literary text.[11] Holland succeeded to create a line of direct influences between the brain and literature, being one of the first who has used neuroscience to interpret the literary narrative. Finally, Ellen Bialystok talks about the advantages and "the cognitive impact of bilingualism"[12] in the early stages for children who learn a second language assuming that cognitive advantages will persist throughout their entire life. These theories do not discuss the direct implication of bilingualism on literature, rather the relation between bilingualism and cognition and its effects at the level of expression and writing. The effect of bilingualism is not only linguistic but has also a cultural and social feature of life with

[10] Cf. Reuven Tsur. *Toward a Theory of Cognitive Poetics*. (Westham: Sussex Academic Press, 2008).
[11] Cf. Norman N. Holland. *Literature and the Brain.* (Gainesville FL: The PsyArt Foundation 2009).
[12] Ellen Bialystok. *Bilingualism in Development. Language, Literacy, and Cognition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 182.

great influence on cognition. Hence, bilingualism in literature is not restricted to languages, but it is enlarged with references to the socio-cultural background and the authors' traumatic experiences.

The first chapter from *The Hooligan's Return* called suggestively 'Barney Greengrass' describes meticulously that in the paradise (New York) "one is better off than anywhere else."[13] The paradise immediately is mirrored by the Old World and describes life without worries. Among the goods that paradise offers, Barney Greengrass has all 'the memories of the ghetto' and even though it "offers acceptable surrogates of East European Jewish cuisine, it is not enough to add fried onions or to affix bagels and knishes to the menu to produce a taste of the past."[14] The paragraph ends abruptly and brings into the narrative the tragedy of Ioan Petru Culianu who was assassinated in Chicago in May 1991 for supporting the monarchy to get in charge in Romania to the detrimental of the neo-communist party NSF[15] founded after the Romanian Revolution from December 1989. The reminiscence experience that Manea has in Barney Greengrass shows how the past mingles with the present, how the memory becomes present through the means of traditional food, how language adapts itself in the 'paradise' under the names of food dishes, bread, humous, or cakes. Manea takes the reader from the beginning of the novel into Lacan's mirror stage,[16] where he starts to reconstruct the past with the help of memory. The recognition and reconstruction of the past start in a different linguistic landscape from his memories which makes Manea's self-perception to be linguistically transformed – it is a bilingual alteration. Likewise, Müller starts and ends the novel *Herztier* within the same inducement "wenn wir schweigen, werden wir unangenehm,"[17] where silence is not the absence of speaking, but a different way of using the ability to observe and to

[13] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated by Angela Jianu. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p. 3.
[14] Ibid., p. 8.
[15] The National Salvation Front (NSF) was a political organization that took over the power of Romanian immediately after the Execution of Nicolae Ceauș escu and his wife, Elena, on the 25th of December 1989. It soon became a party under the leadership of Ceauș escu's right hand, Ion Iliescu, who won three presidential campaigns in 1990, 1992, and 2000.
[16] The Mirror Stage is the reconstruction process of the Ego through identification with a secular image of the same Ego. According to Lacan, the result will be a product of misunderstanding. Cf. Jacques Lacan. *Ecrits. A selection*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. (London: Routledge, 2005).
[17] "When we don't speak, we become unbearable." Herta Müller. *Herztier*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2007), pp. 7/252.

understand. Müller says "wir horchten mehr mit den Augen als mit den Ohren"[18] and creates already a cognitive receptivity of the traumatic actions. Next to trauma, language finds its own limits because it cannot describe it naturally and as soon as we speak of it, we become fools as Müller says "wenn wir reden, werden wir lächerlich".[19] Trauma requires a new and adapted language to the new condition of the authors, a language that can represent trauma. Müller knows that neither being 'silent' nor 'speaking' will make any good, and she starts to combine the language of her memories (Romanian) with the language in which she writes (German) to offer the reader a complex narrative formed from words with multiple possible meanings, images, and presentations from where trauma can be grasped and known. Both authors use words and expressions with a consistent amount of emotion because they want the reader to feel their traumatic experiences through empathy.

Manea and Müller create a bilingual narrative that has something to do with the linguistic pairs of Romanian and English and Romanian and German respectively and with the traumatic traces of cognitive development. The narrative position itself between languages, cultures, traditions, and ways of life, it has an inter-view on how trauma develops from one region to another. The inter-cultural and inter-lingual transition of words and ideas is a predecessor for bilingualism, this has led to the creation of words into and universal understanding such as the German word *Zeitgeist* or the Romanian *Mineriad*. The first word means the 'spirit of the age' that has shaped humanism in the eighteen century, while the latter is used to refer to violent and traumatic protests of miners in Bucharest during the 1990s. In English, these loanwords hold a token for the bilingual process of language and present the original meaning always shifting between logical leaps and grammar structures. This process of adopting or incorporating words describes Manea's and Müller's writing practices.

I analyse bilingualism in association with diaspora, exile, or expatriates and in interaction with people that communicate in a different language from their mother tongue. Such disproportionate use of linguistic diversity leads to different levels of

[18] "We listen with our eyes more than with our ears." Herta Müller. "Wenn wir schweigen, werden wir unangenehm – wenn wir reden, werden wir lächerlich." In *Der König verneigt sich und tötet.* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2008), p. 74.

[19] The expression is used in the opening and at the end of the novel *Herztier* and is part of the title of the essay "Wenn wir schweigen, werden wir unangenehm - wenn wir reden, werden wir lächerlich" and underlines the difficulty to describe a traumatic experience. Müller. *Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, pp. 74-105.

competence in using two or more languages, but it has also a cognitive effect on the user. There is a determinative association between languages and their praxis, which can reveal some cognitive processes that have a neurologic impact associating the ability to speak, listen, and write with the biological needs of safety, emotion, or self-actualization. Language holds an emotional feature that works while easing the communication between people.

There is a clear difference in emotional intensity between the language that we use at home, with our family and the language that we use in society for pragmatic reasons. For this reason, Manea could never leave his native language, Romanian, the language of his birth, childhood, and adulthood, while Müller's Romanian becomes her 'second nature' since the Swabian German could not be replaced. It becomes clearer that languages wrap events in different meanings and that the representation of the same event implies a gradual linguistic cognitive affection. The event is not only linguistically defined it is also culturally constructed and belongs to a nervous and sensory system. The literary structure of the event cannot be separated from the socio-culture heritage that they make it possible.

Bilingualism does not stand only in the fluency or proficiency performance of two languages it appears always where two languages or cultures intersect. In this matter, Susanne Döpke distinguishes between 'productive bilinguals' when someone can use actively two languages and 'receptive bilinguals'[20] when someone is subject to a second language without producing it. In both cases, the second language still has its cognitive implications, which means that bilingualism is an effect of cultural manifestation. This is a diglossic situation that describes how, and which language is used in specific social settings. Ellen Bialystok defines diglossia in rapport with the individual's purpose: "In diglossia, one form of the language is used as the vernacular for informal and social purposes, and another is used as the institutional form for formal, educational, or religious functions."[21] The languages hold a psychological dimension that can profoundly affect the cognition of its user. The diglossic condition of language establishes also religious, ethnic, and cultural affiliations. We can see that the multidimensional aspects of bilingualism make things harder to establish the circumstance in which bilingualism is present.

[20] Susanne Döpke. "A bilingual child's struggle to comply with the 'one parent-one language' rule." In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13:6, 1992, pp. 467-485.
[21] Bialystok. *Bilingualism in Development. Language, Literacy, and Cognition*, p. 5.

For this reason, to determine and prove bilingualism and the bilingual narrative of Manea and Müller a methodological application on bilingualism is necessary. The methodological process implies the historical perspective on literature, this means that the traumatic event is interpreted as the source of the meaning, symbol, and representation. The empirical perspective regards the symbol and its meaning with similar attributes and mental representation. The psychoanalytic perspective analyses the linguistic circumstance in which the event is represented. The traumatic perspective of a bilingual text is, therefore, a correlated connection of meanings between the event, symbol, and representation.

We see that in everyday use bilingualism is defined by a diglossia, but in Manea's and Müller's literature bilingualism is determined by trauma and stands concerning its traumatic content throughout the entire novels. Manea's and Müller's bilingual narrative is defined by alteration of meanings and emotional comprehension since empathy creates the disjunction between thought and language. Emotion makes a difference between the original trauma of the event and the literary trauma which is acknowledged by the reader. The similarities between the original trauma and the literary trauma are given by the symbolism of the use-in-practice of memory through language. Memory is a cognitive activity of remembering past experiences that are described or discussed through the means of a language. Memory activates the language of trauma and makes out of trauma the main catalysator to define bilingualism.

Historically, trauma is developed in Romania gradually in rapport with the use of languages for communication or for literary purposes. In Transylvania or Bukovina, bilingualism was caused by political and cultural affiliations since the Romanians or Hungarians were rendered to the Austrian culture and German language with progressive change in their cultural, traditional, and economical lifestyles. German was the foreign language imposed in all social and cultural aspects of these regions. Bilingualism comes into effect between minorities and between language's peripherical and central use. For these reasons, for Manea and Müller the bilingualism has a traumatic determination.

Trauma is a social and cultural condition and comes as an effect caused by ideological conditions. The language shifts were done by local or national administration either through cultural affiliation or through national programs. For example, the Jews from Czernowitz that were more inclined towards Austrian culture were mainly integrated as Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer say:

> […] assimilated into the German-speaking culture assimilation into the German-speaking cultural universe with progressive change and favourably contrasted the enlightened benefits of metropolitan modernity against the economic backwardness and cultural obscurantism that predominated among most people in the region (including some of the more traditionally oriented Jews)."[22]

This *Kulturreich* (cultural realm) imposed the 'foreign' language as the main language of society, it coordinated all social and cultural aspects of the city and led to a 'Germanized' effect between minorities. Marianne Hirsh and Leo Spitzer describe this influence as the 'Germanization' of North Bukovina that has affected all aspects of life. They say:

> *Sich Deutsch kleiden*, for example — to dress in German-style — was presented and encouraged as the model of 'acceptable' attire in society, the preferable alternative to the clothing, traditional head and hair coverings, and general outward presentation of unemancipated Jews.[23]

Further assimilations of minorities in Romania were conducted by the fascist or communist ideologies. For example, when Octavian Goga, the prime minister of Romania between 1937 and 1938, introduced the *numerus clausus* in universities, he limits the number of minorities and establishes a percentage that varied between 70% and 80% from vacancies for Romanians while the minorities had to learn Romanian to be able to study. Ion Antonescu implanted the same practices between 1941 and 1944, especially against Jews and Romas, a bit later, Nicolae Ceaușescu has limited academic courses, presentations and shows, and newspaper publication in minority languages.[24]

The monolingual paradigm, to imagine that the complexity of life and "social formations are imagined possessing one 'true' language only, their 'mother tongue'," [25] persists as a connection between the native language and ethnonational identity of the writer. Manea's and Müller's literature overpasses this paradigm by showing that a language can encompass multiple references, meanings, and symbols that belong to two

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[22] Marianne Hirsch & Leo Spitzer. *Ghosts of Home*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. 28.
[23] Idem.
[24] Cf., Florin Constantinoiu. *O istorie sinceră a poporului roman*. (Bucharest: Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1997).
[25] Yasemin Yildiz. *Beyond the Mother Tongue. The Postmonolingual Condition*. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), p. 2.

languages. Literature has its originality and creativity in the authenticity of the thought. This means that the literature produced by one language can be determined by cognitive bilingualism. The bilingualism of Manea and Müller does not stand in exchanging the language from German to Romanian, or from Romanian to English, but rather in the bilingual meanings, symbols, and references of their narratives.

2. Manea's literature as the outcome of the intersection between trauma and bilingualism

In the chapter 'The Exiled Language' Manea says:

> Pentru scriitor, un exilat prin excelență, limba este placenta sa. Mai mult decât orice 'străin' în propria țară, limba este pentru scriitor nu doar o lentă și exaltată cucerire, ci legitimarea, domiciliul spiritual. Prin limbă, se simte înrădăcinat și liber, doar astfel înfrățit cu virtualii săi interlocutori de oriunde. Limba reprezintă adevărata cetățenie, simțul apartenenței – casa și patria scriitorului. A fi exilat și din acest ultim și esențial refugiu înseamnă cea mai brutală descentrare a ființei acea 'ardere de tot' (*Holokaustos*) care atinge miezul însuți al creativității.[26]

> For the writer, an exile par excellence, language is his placenta. More than any 'foreigner' in his own country, language is for the writer not only a slow and exalted conquest, but legitimation, a spiritual home. Through language, they feel rooted and free, only thus twinned with his virtual interlocutors from everywhere. The true language of citizenship, the sense of belonging - the writer's home and homeland. To be exiled from this last and essential refuge after the most brutal decentralization of the being that 'burning of everything' (Holocaust) that reaches the very core of creativity.

Romanian was part of his birth, family, and childhood, and was the most important language among German, Yiddish, Ukrainian, Polish, and Ruthenian that were part of his community. It was only when Manea was five years old when he was deported to Transnistria, that he started to acquire a second language since in the concentration camp the Romanian was banished. In Transnistria the language is the single object that Manea still beholds, it is the language that reminds you who you are and where you belong. To forget the language of birth is a resemblance of the Holocaust burning practice, after which is nothing left. The trauma of the Holocaust taught Manea that he

[26] Norman Manea. "Limba exilată." In *Laptele negru*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2014), p. 239.

lives in a language and not in a country because he was deprived of Romania when he was sent to Transnistria. The loss of his native language would mean for Manea his personal *Holokaustos*, which is the total depravity of the human being by the fact that he can no longer express himself freely in his language. This childish (*copilăros*) thought made him to hold on the native language during his exile as a 'snail's shell' as a space for surviving. The Romanian language has a more profound and intimate connotation than it has for any other, Manea's language is already traumatic alternated and 'reaches the very core of creativity' (*atinge miezul însuți al creativității*).

Each new language that Manea has started to learn (Yiddish, Ukrainian, French, Russian, German, and lastly English) has made him aware that he could understand them only through the Romanian absorption of their meaning. The "new words and new meanings were absorbed by Romanian into 'an amorous discourse'."[27] He realized that languages can be forgotten without knowing really what was left from the forgotten language in his unconsciousness. Settling in the U.S. resumed his linguistic experience only in two languages: Romanian and English. He continues to experiment with his writing in Romanian under the guidance of an American life, where imagination and representation are distorted by everyday life activities. After living for several years in New York he realizes that cognitive flexibility is essential to understand and to prove the evolution of cultural significance of trauma, its permanent changing and literary representations. Regarding this, he says: "I will not serve that in which I no longer believe," because he refused to become a fictional character, and that he "will try to express himself in some mode of life or art as freely as *I* [he] can."[28] Manea lets the past be the past and embraces the present of his life defined by English and Romanian languages. Trauma made Manea create intuitively a cosmopolitan cognition, even though "he feels at home in only one language"[29] – Romanian.

2.1. The imaginary republic of the bilingual authors

[27] Norman Manea. "The Exiled Language." In *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 255.
[28] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 127.
[29] Norman Manea. "The Exiled Language." In *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 254.

For Manea, bilingualism is a human condition of and for the exiled person because it legitimizes the foreign words that he or she uses. In this way, "the word 'exile' has revealed its true meaning."[30] All new beginnings imply a cognitive transformation that makes the beholder to start fresh, as Manea says: "I believe in today's theory of information and cognition, where we begin from a point in a vacuum and move toward variations that dispute their own messages and logic."[31] He becomes aware that the languages work together in a unique way in his cognition and approach towards his traumatic memory. This is why his first encounter with American soil meant a new type of Holocaust with a new meaning and logic. He refers to a new linguistic dislocation, one that "reached all the way to the center of being, the language, the fathomless depths of creativity."[32] The displacement is challenged by the need to adapt to the new socio-cultural and linguistic circumstances. The effort will end up the individual into a bilingual understanding of the present and past, i.e., the past starts to be understood through the means of the new language where the present is always explained through the lengths of the old language.

Manea's need to belong to a country made him create an imaginary republic, which is formed by authors with similar backgrounds from Central and Eastern Europe. Firstly, he makes several remarks to his countrymen: Paul Celan, who wrote in German, Benjamin Fondane, who wrote in French, or Mihail Sebastian, who wrote in Romanian. They all had mastered a minimum of two languages and had intensified their narrative by using two linguistic systems. The first two poets, who at the end of their life were living in Paris, were affected by the Holocaust: Celan's parents died in Transnistria while he was imprisoned in a work camp until 1944; Benjamin Fondane died with his sister in Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944. Sebastian died in 1945 hit by a track after years of discrimination and condemnation done by the Romanian secret police and intellectuals. As we can see, their linguistic abilities are defined throughout their life and literature by traumatic incidents.

Secondly, Manea creates links to Franz Kafka's life and portrayals of his 'absurd' life in Prague, to Stefan Zweig's exile and turbulent life in Vienna, to Bruno Schulz from Galicia and Lodomeria, who was shot and killed by a German Nazi office

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[30] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 127.
[31] Norman Manea. *The Lair*. Translated by Oana Zanziana arian. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 58.
[32] Norman Manea. "The Exiled Language." In *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 253.

in November 1942 on his way to Drohobycz Ghetto because he had a loaf of bread under his coat. The exile receives positive connotations since those who could run from their homes (like Zweig or Celan) survived the fury of Nazism, those who could not end up in concentration camps or were killed. Manea creates an imaginary republic for both, the exiled and dead authors who did not have the chance to finish telling their testimony. A positive interpretation of exile is given in *Lapte negru* (2014) where Manea talks about it as a privileged trauma (*traumă privilegiată*)[33] because only in exile they were able to become the eternal 'solitary pilgrim' and to avoid death.

Manea refuses to believe that the immigration into a known language will never be completed, he says: "Fondane nu a devenit cu adevărat francez, nici Celan German."[34] Their exile reinforces their historical Jewish heritage, and the exile receives other values than traumatic ones. They refuse to be considered Jewish poets and they remain the poets of the birth country and of the language of their poetry in which they acclaimed the importance of Judaism. Their action seems to be a paradox of their indemnity or confusion caused by their continuum exiled. The interpretation of their texts has cognitive implications on the linguistic level since they realize their historical specificity. Their exiled condition becomes an evident source of linguistic transformation, one that defines thoroughly how cognitive bilingualism operates at the narrative level alongside their traumatic experiences.

2.2. The intellectual approach between trauma and bilingualism.

Manea's bilingualism is a form of intellectual belonging in the sense that he critically and carefully chooses the authors for his imaginary republic. The 'intellectual' quality of bilingualism is what brings together, under the same linguistic experience, authors from a geographical space whose mapping starts from Bohemia and extends as far as to Galicia and Bukovina, to which he adds the importance of the cities like Vienna, Bucharest, Jassy, and Bucharest. The adjective 'intellectual' must be understood as a general responsibility, whereas the intellectual author is defined as a person that challenges the boundaries of language, culture, and literature. Manea's bilingualism is an intellectual feature of its traumatic exile. Manea's condition is defined by his status as a witness of trauma who enforces the civic responsibility to describe the Holocaust

[33] Norman Manea. *Laptele Negru*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2014), p. 123.
[34] "Fondane never become French, nor Celan, German." Ibid, p. 277.

and communism traumas to the readers. For this reason, I consider that in Manea's case bilingualism is a cultural belonging instinct.

The nature of bilingualism is very complex and behaves like a cultural and linguistic acquisition or as an intellectual belonging effect. Manea says that he feels "at home in only one language,"[35] and pursuing a writing career seems childish. He realises the importance to have an overview of the traumas of the Holocaust and communism and putting them into a linguistic and socio-cultural context to be able to overpass the banality of the trauma. Bilingualism is for Manea his own maturation, he becomes linguistically subjected in the Transnistria camps which made his language "anaemic, hesitant, and confused, it needed, as I did, the nutrients of normality." [36] The transformation of his 'home' language made Manea realize that he could approach the 'normal reality' from a traumatic view. The new perspective imposed a difference between the feeling of belonging: he cannot belong anymore to a country but to the language itself – his snail's house,[37] a language that does not belong anymore to the real country of Romania but his own experiences and his American life. Thus, bilingualism defines the traumatic memory which recalled experiences that happened in Romanian within an American context, their narration will always have a linguistic mirror effect that is present throughout Manea's post-exile literature.

The bilingual authors are the rebels against their own destiny, they are the hooligans, as Manea says, that use the nomadic language. Language is the continuous confinement of the author: "language promised not only a rebirth but also a form of legitimization, real citizenship, and real belonging."[38] The effect of bilingualism is a "never-ending instability," while the author is "always a 'suspect' as Manea thinks and continues by strengthening his arguments quoting Thomas Mann who says that an author is "an exile par excellence, conquers his homeland, his placenta through language."[39] Now it becomes clearer that for Manea bilingualism is not only the writing effect of two languages but a cognitive development of two languages, depending on each other's personal condition that has influenced the author's way to approach traumas. Bilingualism takes place in Franz Kafka and Paul Celan who have decided to

[35] Norman Manea. "The Exiled Language." In *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 254.
[36] Ibid., p. 255.
[37] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 200.
[38] Ibid., p. 208.
[39] Manea. *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 20.

write in German in countries where the national languages were Czech or Romanian respectively, but bilingualism is also part of Norman Manea and Mihail Sebastian who have chosen to write in Romanian, while their life was demarcated by a second language like English and French, respectively. Bilingualism sets up a language to replace the abyss left by their exile, it cancels the Babylonian Exile as Manea says: "exile from this ultimate place of refuge would have been the most brutal form of extirpation, would have touched the very fiber of my being."[40]

We need now to clarify how the Romanian language function within this cognitive development of bilingualism. Romanian is the author's intimacy that evolves in meaning, symbol, and representation alongside English. For Manea, the Romanian language shapes cultures and individuals, and we will see later that for Müller the Romanian language is hidden in the power of metaphor and poetic motifs. For Manea, the Romanian language has a cosmological meaning since it is the language in which he can grow old and can find his sense in the world. In an interview with Elianna Kan, Manea says:

> My language tried to be faithful to a closed society, rather than an open one. The language was coded, sometimes quite obscurely, and differed greatly from the language of newspapers or party slogans. The characters were usually marginalized - people who were foreigners in their own land.[41]

His Romanian has suffered mutation and was adopted in a way that could serve Manea's writing practices. Romanian is the single reality he knows, and he is aware that the language, like himself, has been transformed because in the US it speaks and functions differently from Manea's previous socio-cultural and traumatic circumstance in Romania. Yet, Romanian remained loyal since, as Manea says, it never betrayed nor did leave him: "wherever the shipwreck would toss me, the snail's shell, the juvenile refuge, was still to be my true home."[42] As such, Romanian is the language of memory and trauma, it is the language that follows Manea in his exile assuming its endurance

[40] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 208.
[41] Elianna Kan. "One Writing, the Illness, and the Therapy: An Interview with Norman Manea." In *The American Reader*, 2014. (https://theamericanreader.com/on-writing-the-illness-and-the-therapy-an-interview-with-norman-manea/)
[42] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 208.

in foreign countries, in which it plays a specific role for Manea, it is his faithful confidant.

> I write almost exclusively in Romanian. As I said, I came late. In your native language, you grow with the language—from childhood to maturity and you harbour within yourself the language of all these ages, which changes over time. Here, I learned the language of daily living, but I don't know the language of all ages.[43]

We see that bilingualism is assumed while the Romanian language becomes a personal necessity for living. When Manea says that his 'second' language is not known to 'all ages' he implies a dissimilarity between language and their practicability. In this case, bilingualism that "is characterized by parallel sets of concept-word pairs." [44] Bilingualism presents two linguistic systems where the second language is learned alongside the old linguistic conceptual structure. As a result, such a learning process changes and adapts cognition for the new reality, for the new way of living. On the cognitive level, trauma is present out of the necessary condition of learning the new language. The psycholinguistics of bilingualism imposes a clear emotional distance between the first and the second language, this difference stands in the experience of the languages. The ambiguity of the emotional distance is given by the fact that the experience of trauma replaces the language's nativity with the language's experience. Trauma becomes the core of Manea's literary bilingualism. The use of two linguistic systems in literature engages ideas that could transmit emotional dosage only with the help of the original linguistic experience. The use of code words, such as *Securitatea* or *huligan* might be interpreted as taboo words that define emotional materials for the original novel's language. Moreover, the words can be seen as emotional words that follow their representation in the native language or, in our case, in the experienced language. This makes me believe that Manea, as a multilingual author, is emotionally attracted to languages, which allows him to express his own experience in the most original way possible.

Manea describes how language suffers transformations through the impact of the traumatic event and he also describes that the process of remembering the original event of trauma is done through this 'affected' language. We became aware that

[43] Kan. "One Writing, the Illness, and the Therapy: An Interview with Norman Manea." In *The American Reader*, 2014.
[44] Ellen Bialystock and Kenji Hakuta. *In Other Words*. (New York: Basic Books, 1994), p. 111.

bilingualism is interconnected with trauma, and it is determined by the relation between trauma and memory. Manea's novels are a unique example of how literature written in a Central and Eastern European language overpasses its borders with universal representations of trauma. His literature is "incisive, beautiful and demanding as anything that has come out of Europe in the recent decades."[45] Trauma makes his works to be an example of the post-communist literature from Central and Eastern Europe which is often linguistically and metaphorically encoded. In literature, trauma is related and determined by deep linguistic and syntactic layers, and I will further plan to show how it affects Manea's literature.

Moreover, Manea's literature is often a re-examination and verification of the authors' experiences in communist Romania and is creating bridges of similarities between authors with the same background by explaining their literary specificity. In *Plicuri și Portrete* (Envelopes and Portraits) he says about his fellow Romanians Emil Cioran and Benjamin Fondane that "nu mai suportau să trăiască într-o colonie a culturii franceze, doreau metropola însăși."[46] For them the exile is an assumed traumatic condition, it is a linguistic dislocation that has influenced their transition from Romania to France. The writing style is defined by fragmentation and aphorisms, often with hermetic meaning, while the writing style, especially for Cioran, was a combination of extreme feelings that were abruptly moving from exuberance to desperation and always ending up in pessimism. The exile imposed them to shade a second linguistic system on their cognitive daily attributes of seeing, observing, reflecting, and writing.

The Holocaust and communism traumas are not assumed but imposed, a process that creates a consistent difference between Cioran's and Manea's use of language. This means that the latter author was persecuted by Nazis and reduced to silence by the communist regime; his exile is a condition of freedom and not a choice. For him, bilingualism is traumatic not acquired. Manea describes Nazim as "a terrible derailment of history, of society, of the psyche (which is to say of humanity itself)," which had a great impact on one's consciousness, dignity, and life and has led to "gradual extinction–through terror–of civil society and the transformation of everyday life into

[45] Robert Boyers. "Norman Manea." In *Salmagundi*, Vol. 113, 1997, pp. 59-133. (p. 63).
[46] "They could no longer bear to live in a colony of French culture, they wanted the metropolis itself." Norman Manea. "Întâlnirea cu Cioran." In *Plicuri ș i Portrete* (Jassy: Polirom, 2014), p. 292.

a state of siege."[47] Manea's dislocation is an assumed bilingual perspective of the Holocaust that he portrays in his literature not to be forgotten. The author has to write about it, because "memoria marii tragedii îşi află astfel şi o prezentare memorabilă, durabilizând, prin artă, ceea ce nu trebuie uitat […]."[48] On the other side, communism is an outstanding process of moral constraints that has an 'astounding capacity for mystification' and transformation of the individual and his native language. In a way, Manea suggests that communism created the language of doubt: if everything that yesterday had a precise meaning, nowadays has the opposite meaning.

For Manea, trauma transforms the human identity and defines the linguistic content of literature. Trauma is a wound that generates constant remorse and emotion present throughout his literature. We can see this in the novel *The Lair* (2006) where the protagonist tries to build a new life in America, but the traumas of the past are impossible to overpass. The characters are unstable and in constant search of something that can give them enough power to seek their voice in the New World. Manea's writing style fluctuates between describing the character's lives and displaying the contended correspondence between them. The result is a profound insight into the traumatic event in their lives, language, and society. The individual is nothing more than an impostor of the new and old words and the single connection between them is the traumatic content of the character's memories. To escape trauma, they need 'mental fantasy' they need a language that can construct the narrative of their new condition. Thus, the novel becomes an expression of a fantastic language with magic words that can create a labyrinth through the characters' lives. But the novel reveals the individual's true enemy, which is memory. Manea says:

> In the novel, the true enemy is memory, the trauma imposed on identity. The terms of the biography become the morbid impulse. To incorporate past trauma into new system doesn't require breaking down barriers, but rather to ignore its existence. To have a child, for example? Or to lose yourself in the labyrinth of sexuality.[49]

[47] Norman Manea. "Romania." In *Review of Contemporary Fiction*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2010, pp. 21-35, (p. 21).
[48] "The memory of the great tragedy thus finds a memorable presentation, perpetuating, through art, what must not be forgotten." Manea. *Laptele negru*, p. 56.
[49] Manea. *The Lair*, p. 159.

The exile is thought of as being between the 'anxiety of liberation' and 'the shock of estrangement', a space of redefining oneself and a source of rebirth, a space defined by the trauma of the unknown. Trauma is the beginning of a new language; it presents its bilingual potentiality. Trauma is an expression of neurosis that forms the new person more aware of his reality and existence, and its beholding aspiration. Trauma puts the language in alteration, as Manea says: "the exile becomes, one might say, a kind of expert in transition."[50] The exile trauma is not the single trauma that making possible changes, but any traumatic experiences can push the person and language to reinvent themselves. For Manea, trauma is a guidance, a path of modelling the evolution, firstly of himself, and then of an entire generation, through the means of language. For example, in *October, Eight O'clock* (1992) he describes the evolution of an infant inmate's life from the ghetto conditions of imprisonment to the concentration camp experience until his survival and return to Romania. The story is told from the perspective of a child, who is the main protagonist and cannot explain the actions from the concentration camp that he witnessed. Manea is using the child protagonist to create a narrative that abounds in ambiguous realism where the brutal actions of the guards exceed rapidly the child's naïve descriptions and reveal the natural resistance of any prisoner against the "terrors that were defeating us, degrading us, separating us, mocking us," started as a nightmare indicating the recurrence of a profound trauma that distorts reality through the presence of "the dogs, the guards, the uniforms, the hunger, the lice, the bullets […]."[51]

The experience of the Holocaust as a child and the memories as an adult are considered traumatic experiences with irreparable content. Judith Kestenberg divides the Holocaust into three main categories: the adult survivor who understands the role of the Holocaust and his memories are assumed; the children of survivors, who are affected by the post-memory; and the child survivors, who experience the Holocaust before having sense of their identity.[52] The childhood trauma impact on adult identity is a question of age-related cognition affected by trauma and influenced by memories and autobiographic narratives. The memories that Manea already has at the age of nine make him an adult without making him to understand the traumatic event.

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[50] Manea. *The Fifth Impossibility: Essays on Exile and Language*, p. 51.
[51] Norman Manea. *October Eight O'clock*. (London: Quartet Books, 1993), p. 23.
[52] Judith S. Kestenberg. "Adult Survivors, Child Survivors, and Children of Survivors." In *Children Surviving Persecution: An International Study of Trauma and Healing*. Edited by Judith Kestenberg & Charlotte Kahn. (London: Praeger Publishers, 1998), pp. 56-66, (p. 57).

> Little Noah was initiated into life, as well as its opposite while in Transnistria. First death claimed my beloved grandfather, Avram, then my maternal grandmother, striking twice within three weeks. The sudden magic of lifelessness: the afterlife, a dead grave without a name … I was alive thinking about my own death, but what I understood then was that crying and hunger, cold and fear belonged to life, not to death.[53]

Death is a 'complete' trauma and is often described by Manea through the short story 'We might have been four' from *October Eight O'clock* (1993) and comes as a sort of guilt, which defines the adult writer's psyche. The childhood traumatic memories are a continuous presence in adult Manea in all forms and frames of life. Trauma has changed irreversibly his identity and, with it, has altered language into a bilingual cognitive process.

2.3.'The home of the being' – how Manea becomes aware of his bilingualism

There is a continuous juxtaposition between the Romanian and English languages and between Romania and America in Manea's writing. The associations have a bilingual ending and consists in which way Manea approaches each language or country in part. The language can be 'nocturnal,' 'nomadic,' or the home of the authors. The country is always 'faraway'. In the short story 'Nocturnal Language' the narrator says:

> 'Out there' no linger means, as it did until a few days ago Romania, the 'faraway country.' The faraway country is now America, the homeland of all exiles, which greets me once more with the exiles' salute: *Hypocrino*![54]

The exiled transformed Manea into a Hyporcino or a hybrid who speaks a language that functions for survival. As an exiled, Manea believes he needs to pass the Hypocrino Test. Without naming the language we become aware that the exile pushes the author to learn one that is defined by the word *hypocrino*, which "has a set of meanings sliding from simple speech, to orating, to acting on stage, to feigning or speaking falsely."[55]

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[53] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return,* pp. 227-8.
[54] Ibid., p. 290.
[55] Idem.

The learning of the second language fulfills the needs of the country for the exiled person but does not replace the 'home' language, or at least not for Manea. A few pages later he reveals how bilingualism functions for him. While he is watching TV, he tries to switch to a different channel when suddenly he realizes:

> On each – there was no mistake – everybody spoke Romanian! I switched off the TV and went to the bathroom. The mirror told me I was in a state of jubilation; I had an idiotic smile pasted on my face. […] 'Good morning, sir' he would greet me every day, in his Spanish-accented English. This morning, nodding his head in the usual way, he said "Bună Dimineața, domnule!" […] Pedro, too, was speaking Romanian. But not only Pedro but also O. J. Simpson and Johnnie Cochran and Marsha Clark and President Clinton and Magic Johnson, all of whom I had seen, only a few minutes before, on TV, along with Barbara Streisand, Diana Ross, and Ray Charles all singing, if such a thing could be imagined, in Romanian. 'Doamne Dumnezeule,' I found myself muttering convinced that God spoke Romanian, too, and could understand me.[56]

The centrifugal force of the Romanian language floods the American atmosphere in such a way that Manea understands the characters from TV or Pedro in Romanian. In other words, English is perceived in the Wernicke area of the brain (where the language is perceived) as the Romanian language the comprehension of the spoken language is accessed through its meaning in Romanian. This means that Manea involuntarily comprehends the sound of English in Romanian: when Pedro says, 'Good Morning' Manea receives the greeting unconsciously in Romanian as 'Bună Dimineața.' He calls this 'textual ambiguity', but he explores the bilingual artifice as follows: "Romanian will be declared the American national language."[57]

When Manea becomes aware that he understands the English through the meaning of Romanian, like a mental rapid translation of the English sentences, he questions if the 'home being' belongs to what kind of language: 'disabled', 'alienated', 'insomniac' or the Greek *hypocrino*. The language is a masque that can cover any form of expression, any meaning, any symbol, and any representation. What he tells us is that the language can lie it can be fake and it cannot have a stable meaning. He immediately asks if the unstable language is not an expression of a universal exile, after all, he lives now in America, the land of the exiled people. He asks: "had exile become

[56] Ibid., p. 323.
[57] Ibid., p. 324.

universal exile?"[58] rhetorically, since he is aware that bilingualism comes hand in hand with exile, it is a mere expression of trauma.

By the end of the chapter 'The Home of Being' from *The Hooligan's Return* he says that he reads his thoughts comfortably through the American milieu in his 'own language' one that has a more precise meaning and gives sense to his exiled life in New York. But immediately he doubts the coherence and wholeness of his exotic language, Romanian. He becomes aware that the logic of the Romanian language is affected, and it is also predisposed to mental translation, as English is. He says: "Do I write in an easily translatable language, with a vocabulary that travels effortlessly across international borders?"[59] Manea becomes aware of his situation as living between language and as soon as he starts to read *The New York Times* his entire spirit becomes 'transfix' and the words start to have again captive and stable meaning. But his was just a memory while he is reading a new sparer in Bucharest about the posthumous journal of Mihail Sebastian recently published in Romania.

In the end, we can say that Manea coexists between the ambiguity of languages, and he accepts his situation by continuing to believe in his beloved Romanian as the single language that continued to make sense to him in an exiled life. He finishes the story like this: "Nobody could take away my coherence and my wholeness. Nobody and nothing, not even that dream that had suddenly turned into reality."[60] The acknowledgement of trauma as his reality is his acceptance of his bilingual enhancement produced in the US without forgetting that the language he carries has been continuously transformed since his maturation in Transnistria breaking all the linguistic barriers as a centrifugal force.

3. The silenced bilingual effects in Müller's poetic narrative

With Herta Müller, we experience a new type of bilingualism, a more practical one since she creates words and phrases with dual meanings, one in Romanian and one in German. The creation of these lexeme proves her bilingualism and imposes a series of linguistic 'ambiguities' to her narrative caused by two important factors. Firstly, Müller is using Romanian and German directly by having books written in both languages,

[58] Idem.
[59] Ibid., p. 326
[60] Idem.

which means that the meaning of words can cross simultaneously each other from both languages. Secondly, the Romanian idioms, expressions, or words are very often presented literally in German without any adaptation to German's grammar, which gives the impression of a direct translation of the Romanian content. Having this said, Müller's bilingualism will be further explained through a metaphor *fremden Blickes* (foreign gaze) which she loves to use to describe her special German language acquired in her Swabian village that she later combined with the Romanian language.

Müller creates a literary career in Romania as part of the *Aktionsgruppe* and *Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn* literary circles and makes her debut with *Niederungen* (1982). In Romania she publishes *Drückender Tango* in 1984 and *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt* in 1986. Müller's writings were censored, and she is put under surveillance by the Romanian Secret Services (*Securitatea*)[61] because the novels describe the discreditable Swabian life in Banat, and she criticizes the communist regime in Romania. The political allegation started with her refusal in 1979 to work for *Securitatea* and continued also after her German exile. Müller's experience of *Securitatea*'s oppression, threat, surveillance, and interrogation are described in *Herztier*. The novel abounds in metaphors, has a special morphology, and presents bilingual stylistics. The atmosphere of incessant angst, the anthropomorphic descriptions, and the tension of fear are narrated through the means of a Romanian linguistic symbolism which is embodied in the German narrative. Müller is using Romanian and German-Swabian linguistic meanings and symbols to represent her personal trauma as part of a greater collective trauma, as an additional effect, her literary technique has led to a bilingual narrative.

The novel *Herztier* challenges the public ignorance, denounces the communist horrors instigated by Securitatea, and portrays the condition and destiny of the Romanian Swabs. The testimony of the author and protagonists witness a vicious terror of the communist dictatorship and emphasize the malevolent suspicion that everyone might collaborate with Securitatea. The entire atmosphere of the novel is contaminated with terror and its protagonists are delusional with its monomania. Terror is the main sentiment that abounds in symbols and affects all aspects of life by maximizing or

[61] In Müller's novels, the term often appears as *Securitate*. I use the definite article 'a' for two reasons: firstly, the article distinguishes Romanian from other Romance languages been attached at the end of the noun, and secondly, it is the accurate form of the word on nominative and accusative cases, as it is used in this thesis.

minimizing [62] any kind of encounter (important or not) to create confusion and insecurity in society. The fear of the 'other' and the fear of Securitatea are growing until paranoia becomes part of life.

Müller appeals to language's deepest meanings and representations to enable a convoluted understanding of trauma and its effects on society, she wants to describe "everything that can be expressed by words."[63] The importance of language in Müller's novels is well discussed either as a metaphorical instrument to escape the "akute Einsamkeit des Menschen"[64] (acute loneliness of the human being), as a memory collage "which features language as the site of memory work," [65] or as "kombinatorischen Demontage" [66] (combinatory dismantling) between words and meanings. Müller likes to experiment with the relationship between words and meanings either through a collage technique, especially in poetry, or through a metaphorical and referential technique that combines linguistic elements from the German and Romanian languages. The socio-cultural landscape [67] of Romania facilitates the transfer of meaning between the German and Romanian languages and shapes the aesthetics of Müller's novels. As such, a world dominated by terror where abnormality and fear are present in all aspects of life cannot be personified by common speech. Following these ideas, we can argue that the narrative of *Herztier* presents a

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[62] When they did not have any clear reasons *Securitatea* used to interrogate people on simple things like why they have yellow jackets, or why they have long hair, or why they smile. This procedure was done reversely in the case of collaborators, when they were doing something major, a criminal offence, like embezzlement, *Securitatea* was considering these allegations less important for investigation.

[63] Herta Müller. "When we don't speak, we become unbearable – When we do, we make fools of ourselves." In *Christina and Her Double*. (London: Portobello, 2013), p. 165.

[64] Brigid Haines. "Die akute Einsamkeit des Menschen in Herta Mu□ller's *Herztier*". In *Herta Müller. Politics and Aesthetics*. Eds. By Bettina Brandt and Valentina Galajar. (London: University Press of Nebraska, 2013), p. 188.

[65] Monika Moyrer. "In Transit. Transnational Trajectories and Mobility in Herta Mu□ller's Recent Writings." In *Herta Müller. Politics and Aesthetics*. Eds. By Bettina Brandt and Valentina Galajar. (London: University Press of Nebraska, 2013), p. 188.

[66] Paola Bozzi. *Der fremde Blick. Zum Werk Herta Müllers*. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), p. 144.

[67] Mark Bru□ggemann and Iulia-Karin Patrut are emphasizing the influence of the socio-cultural landscape of Romania on the *Minderheitensprache* (minority language) and its relation to the *Staatssprache* (national language). The presence of two languages in the region of Banat meant a diglossic use of the languages, e.g., Romanian was used for everyday activities, while German was used with family or in restricted groups. The interferences of meanings and representations between the use of two languages generate a linguistic phenomenon specific for Eastern Europe described by Müller as the *anderen Augen* (other eyes) who look across European cultural and literary areas. See Bru□ggemann, Mark: Zwischen den Sprachen, and Iulia-Karin Patrut: Deutsch-rumänische Sprachinterferenzen. In: Herta Mu□ller Handbuch, ed. by Norbert Otto Eke. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag 2017, pp. 118-129, (p. 119).

neurological aspect of approaching the words and their meaning, as the author confesses; "ich fand im Schädelzerspringen jeden verschwundenen Satz aus Lolas Heft. Ich sagte ihn laut."[68] The words are intertwined to the brain rather than to reality and the common words lose their meaning when they are conveyed by a certain sentiment of terror. Trauma opens the possibility of multi-representation of words without fallacy and brings into question the bilingual enhancement of the narrative. Therefore, Müller's meaning of trauma has been transferred from an "overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, the uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena"[69] to a cognitive condition of mind produced by such an event.

Literature imposes a double nature of trauma, as an 'original' experience and as a 'literary' description. The original experience of trauma is the 'unaffected' fear of the narrator, Edgar, Georg, Kurt, Lola or Tereza's personal destiny. The literary trauma is expressed through the reader's empathy and holds a literary interpretation of the original experience. The original experience of trauma takes place in Romanian, while the literary trauma takes place in German. Consequently, we can see that the traumatic syntax of *Herztier* has a bilingual comprehension of its words, meanings, and representations.

There is no surprise that almost all titles of Müller's novels hold hidden meanings or linguistic malformations, like *Herztier*. She explains the use of the Romanian language and how it mingles with the German language in *In Every Language There are Other Eyes* (2013). As a second language, Romanian was learned by Müller pragmatically and, in a way, to express feeling and reason at the same time. Accordingly, Müller says: "Romanian was like my own language. But in contrast to German, the words were astonished when I found myself involuntarily comparing them with my German words."[70] This testimony echoes the arbitrariness of language and allows the bilingualism to take place on a morphological and referential level, e.g., the word *lily* is feminine in German (*die Lilie*) but masculine in Romanian (*crin*). Müller understands that two languages look and interpret the same object differently. The

[68] "In the crevices of my skull, I found every missing sentence from Lola's notebook. I would say each out loud." Herta Müller. *Herztier*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), p. 44.
[69] Cathy Caruth. *Unclaimed Experience. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 11.
[70] Herta Müller. "In Every Language There are Other Eyes." In *Cristina and Her Double*, p. 32.

words are transformed not only on a gender level but also on the representational one. Beverley Driver Eddy takes collage 97 from *Die blassen Herren*[71] as an example of how the meaning of the word *Mundhimmel* (mouth sky) is taken from the Romanian expression 'cerul gurii,' which in German could be translated simply as *Gaumen*.[72] Going further, Stefanie Schramm and Claudia Wüstenhagen describe how the meaning of the word *Schwalben* (swallows) is transformed by Müller by appealing to the Romanian word *rândunică* into *Reihensitzchen*.[73] The Romanian word for the birds alludes to how they are sitting perched in 'rows' (*rânduri*) on telegraph cables during the summer. The examples show how Müller uses the intuitive knowledge to create the best word or expression for her poetical image by creating German words based on Romanian meaning. The collages describe the relation between word and image in visual form and they express more clearly how Müller's written texts absorb the Romanian meaning through fragmentation and metaphor. The Romanian metaphorical description makes Müller approach the Romanian language through a fairy-tale representation of the human being. These linguistic intersections make out of Müller's novel an example of a bilingual narrative. Moreover, Müller is using words that shade meaning on other meanings by using a linguistic comparative process of representation. This writing technique opens the possibility of interpreting the Romanian language as a palimpsest of the narrative meaning. In our case, the palimpsest does not respect the traditional process of re-writing, in the same language, but it is a cognitive process where trauma is remembered through the original linguistic means of its experience (Romanian) and told in another language (German).

The bilingualism is present on the parataxis and lyrical level and is enforced by the references to Romanian folksongs and literature. The use of the original words of 'Dictator' and 'Securitatea' is done to catch the original experience of terror and to maintain a fear of being punished, imprisoned, or killed. The irreversible impact of trauma on *Herztier*'s characters is expressed by multiple references and repetitions of

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[71] Cf. Herta Müller. *Die blassen Herren mit den Mokkatassen*. (Munich: Hanser, Carl GmbH + Co. 2005).

[72] Beverley Driver Eddy. "Wir können höchstens mit dem, was wir sehen, etwas zusammenstellen: Herta Mu□ller's Collages." In *Herta Mu□ller: Politics and Aesthetics*, (eds.) Bettina Brandt and Valentina Glajar/ (Lincon & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2013). 178. Further interpretation can be consulted at Michael Naumann. "Mundhimmel. Herta Müller hat mit ihrem Essayband eine Poetik über Dichtung in Diktaturen verfasst." In: *Die Zeit*, 5. 2. 2004.

[73] Stefanie Schrammand Claudia Wüstenhagen. *Das Alphabet des Denkens: Wie Sprache unsere Gedanken und Gefühle prägt*. (Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 2015), p. 244.

words (e.g., 'grass', 'mulberries', or 'father') that make the reader to empathise with them. The involuntary 'traumatic sentiment'[74] is an emanation of the consciously willed linguistic phrases of the novel. In this way, we can agree that Müller's metaphors are signs of pre-logical thinking of trauma through which she connects with the reader's emotional consignment. The metaphors can veil and unveil meanings, secrets, and feelings of the traumatized human nature. Müller develops her metaphoric technique from Lucian Blaga's philosophy,[75] where metaphor is perceived and used as a *producer* since "man itself is a metaphor."[76]

3.1.The language of trauma

Language replaces the feeling of loss and describes the traumatic experience. In the essay *Heimat ist das, was gesprochen wird* (in English: Homeland is what is said) (2001), Müller says that language can have multiple representations, which are generated by the social and linguistic context. She gives many examples of how the Romanian expressions or words create a specific meaning when written in German but also, she compares her Swabian dialect with the standard German. For Müller, each language has its unique way to describe the simple things of everyday life and she intentionally uses them in her texts as a symbiosis of meanings and images. She says:

> Im Dialekt des banatschwäbischen Dorfes, in dem ich aufgewachsen bin, sagte man: Der Wind geht. Im Hochdeutschen, das man in der Schule sprach, sagte man: Der Wind weht. Und das klang für mich als Siebenjährige, als würde er sich wehtun. Und im Rumänischen, das ich damals in der Schule zu lernen begann, sagte man: Der Wind schlägt, *vintul bate*. Das klang damals, als würde er anderen wehtun. Und genauso unterschiedlich, wie das Wehen ist das Aufhören des Windes. Auf Deutsch heißt es: Der Wind hat sich gelegt. Auf Rumänisch aber: Der Wind ist stehen geblieben, *vintul a stat*. Dieses Beispiel vom Wind ist nur eines von den ständig verschiedenen Bildern, die zwischen zwei Sprachen für ein und dieselbe Tatsache stehen. Zwischen allen Sprachen tun sich Bilder auf. Jeder Satz ist ein von seinen Sprechern so und nicht anders geformter Blick auf die Dinge. Jede Sprache sieht die Welt anders an, hat ihr

[74] Müller's metaphorical technique is a way of forming a sentiment, a kind of remapping of trauma into a recast empathy of events. 'Trauma sentiment' refers to the reader's experience and influence of *Herztier*'s content.
[75] Lucian Blaga is important to mention because he had influenced the philosophic and literary movements from Banat and Sibiu at the beginning of the twentieth century and most probably also the authors from Aktionsgruppe Banat.
[76] Lucian Blaga. *Geneza metaforei ş i sensul culturii*. (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1994), p. 27.

> gesamtes Vokabular durch diese andere Sicht anders gefunden - ja sogar anders eingefädelt ins Netz seiner Grammatik. In jeder Sprache sitzen andere Augen in den Wörtern.[77]
>
> In the dialect of the Banat Swabian village in which I grew up, they said: the wind is going. In standard German that was spoken at school, they said: the wind blows. And that sounded to me as a seven-year-old like he was hurting himself. And in Romanian, which I started to learn at school, they said: the wind is beating, *vintul bate*. At the time it sounded like he was hurting others. And just as different as the blowing is the cessation of the wind. In German it says: the wind has died down. But in Romanian: the wind has stopped, *vintul a stat*. This example of the wind is just one of the constantly changing images that stand for the same fact between two languages. Images open up between all languages. Every sentence is a view of things shaped by its speakers in one way and no other. Every language sees the world differently, has found its entire vocabulary differently through this different view - even threaded differently into the web of its grammar. In every language the words have different eyes.

Müller underlines not only that the Swabian expression *der Wind geht* (the wind goes) differs from the standard German one *der Wind weht* (the wind blows) but also that the verb *wehen* (to blow) implies that the wind hurts because she makes references to the noun *Weh* (sore). The beating attribute of the wind is taken from the Romanian expression *vântul bate* (wind hits/kicks), which has intertwined with the Swabian expression. The differences between these expressions are what give Müller's novels a bilingual comprehension and their particularity. She goes on by saying that the word *rose* in Romanian is *trandafir* and is masculine, while in German is feminine (*die Rose*) and this imposes a clear difference between how we look at things in each language: "Sicher schaut die Rose einen anders an als der Rose. Man hat es auf Deutsch mit einer Rosendame, auf Rumänisch mit einem Herrn zu tun."[78] Such alternations define Müller's ability to use the metaphoric nature of figuration to determine new representations and meanings of trauma.

In *Herztier*, language is in a continuous relation of self-determination with trauma. We can understand this relationship as a contextual result of multiple social and cultural entities that constitute the standpoint for Müller's novel. Firstly, language is very important for Müller because she wants to describe her personal trauma in detail and, as much as possible, to recreate the original experience of trauma. Secondly,

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[77] Herta Müller. *Heimat ist das, was gesprochen wird*. (Blieskastel: Gollenstein, 2001.), pp. 23-4.
[78] "Surely the (feminine) rose looks at you differently than the (masculine) rose. In German, you are dealing with a lady of the rose, in Romanian with a gentleman." Ibid., p. 24.

trauma takes place originally in Romanian, which means that Müller's personal traumatic experience is bound to a language that continues to influence her at the cognitive level. Trauma is defined by the Romanian in the sense that it has taken place in this language, it is remembered in it, and it is narrated in German by using Romanian meanings and expressions. This idea will lead further to the interpretation of the Romanian language as the palimpsest for traumatic experiences. The feeling of terror is built on the Romanian linguistic core, with all its morphological and phonetical implications, and the memory of her experiences belongs geographically to Romania. Subsequently, Müller's German is affected by the traumatic experiences that took place in Romanian and have emerged into a metaphorical language of intimate expression. The relationship between the language and author is described by Müller in 'Heimat' as being 'radical' and she compares how language(s) influenced Paul Celan, who has decided to write his poetry in the language of his perpetrators, and Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt, a Jewish writer persecuted under the Nazi regime, who relinquished to write in the language of his perpetrators, even though it was his native language. For Müller, Goldschmidt was deprived of his *Heimat* and language. By contrast to Celan and Goldschmidt, Müller combines Romanian and German linguistic meanings in her writing through the means of metaphor. Müller's bilingualism is a result of her traumatic linguistic experience, and she apprehends language as "[…] kein unpolitisches Gehege" [79] ([…] not an apolitical enclosure) but rather the language ties up the political situation as a common memory with the private experience of the author.

3.2.From trauma to bilingualism and back

The distinct linguistic aspect of Müller's novels starts from her first novel *Niederungen* (1982) where she uses the Danube Swabian dialect to understand its hidden meaning and makes out if it the 'familiar' language that keeps together the people from the German village. The language becomes a form of resistance against the totalitarian state, against the fear spread by Securitatea, and against self-denial. For this reason, Müller needs to stay alert and not to act irrationally, as she describes her grandfather's advice: "Der Großvater, der sagte, vom Ringelgras wird man dumm, das darf man nicht essen.

[79] Müller. *Herztier,* p. 4.

Und du willst doch nicht dumm werden."[80] The fear of becoming foolish is related also to insects *Käfer* (beetle) or actions against her grandfather's will. The language that Müller uses through the image of her grandfather is in norms and mindset for the guidance of the young ones in line with the German culture and traditions. The important feature of language that Müller has developed from the beginning of her literary career is that language is bound to emotion; it guides a person through a selection of emotions that affects the individual but keeps the community together. The Danube Swabian dialect also bears the ideological influence and persuasion upon one's mind. In the story, *Die Grabrede,* the image of the father in a *SS* uniform completes the image started once with the singing of the *Heimat* songs. For Müller, language has the power to create a 'community' for the family but also a 'community' for ideological purposes. The slogan 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer' (one people, one empire, one leader) promotes the equivalent idea of community that each 'grandfather' is imposing in their home and line of tradition. The idea of 'community', as a linguistic result, is present in almost all her novels and its use differs depending on the context and the purpose of presentation.

The Danube Swabian dialect develops like any other language starting from the practicability of the words and becomes richer in meaning and symbols once the author is engaged in the 'national' linguistic life. The influence of the Romanian language and culture upon this dialect is paramount in *Herztier*, where language continues to be a community for Edgar, Kurt, Georg, and the protagonist, but also a form of resistance since "the language that upholds totalitarian power mechanism can bring shelter from them."[81] The language starts to cultivate new meanings and is prepared to face the regime's oppression through codes, poems, songs, and symbols.

> (...) Du mit deinem schwäbischen Herztier, lachte er. Seine Speicheltropfen spritzten mir ins Gesicht. Ich senke den Blick und sah Georges Finger unter meinem Kinn stehen. (...) Unsere Herztiere flohen wie Mäuse. (...). Ein Satz mit Nagelschere für Verhör, sagte Kurt, für Durchsuchung einen Satz mit Schuhe, für Beschattung einen mit erkältet. Hinter die Anrede immer ein Ausrufezeichen, bei Todesdrohung nur ein Komma. (...) Diese Bäume wußten nicht,

[80] "The grandfather said: curly grass makes you stupid; you mustn't eat it. And you do not want to become stupid, do you [?]." Ibid. p. 42.
[81] Anna Hermann. *Language is not Heimat on the Politics of Language in the works of Herta Müller*. In *Doxa,* 2015, 1, pp. 66-74.

> warum Edgar, Kurt, Georg und ich den Fluß entlanggingen. Alles um uns herum roch nach Abschied. Keiner von uns sagte das Wort.[82]

> (…). You, with your Swabian heart animal, he laughed. His saliva drops sprinkled into my face. I lower my eyes and see George's fingers under my chin. (…). Our heart animals fled like mice. (…). A sentence with nail scissors for interrogation, said Kurt, for searching a sentence with shoes, for surveillance, a *sentence* about having a cold. Behind the salutation always an exclamation mark, just a comma if your life is in danger (…). These trees did not know why Edgar, Kurt, Georg and I were walking by the river. Everything around us smelled like farewell. None of us said the word.

Müller's language coexists between the totalitarian influence of the communist regime and the Swabian community. Behind these spheres of influence, the Romanian language pervades the morphology and meaning of *Herztier*'s language. The complexity of Müller's linguistic development is described as a determination between *Heimat* (home) and its linguistic experience.

> Man muss ihr ablauschen, was sie mit den Menschen tut. In jedem Kontext trägt sie ihre Absichten vor sich her. Wenn man hinhört, kann sie nicht verbergen, was sie mit Menschen im Sinn hat. Und was sie mit Menschen tut, war und bleibt das einzige und für jeden von uns unabdingbare Kriterium, Sprache zu beurteilen. [83]

> One must learn from it (language) by listening to what it does to people. In every context, it carries its intentions upfront. If you listen, it cannot hide what it has in its mind for people. And what it does to people, was and remains the only and indispensable criterion for each one of us to judge language.

Bilingualism is significant for representational purposes and meaning determinations. For Müller, language needs to access common representations of memory to re-collect traumatic experiences and fears that are presented as language-specific meanings. The precise use of language is given by her the late learning of Romanian. Müller learns Romanian in adolescence to prepare for student life in Timișoara, hence the Romanian language is for her functional and logical. The languages have a specific purpose and impose a diglossic feature for each one in part. The Romanian-German duality defines Müller's uniqueness of her testimonial literature. In this aspect, Anooshian and Hertel

[82] Müller. *Herztier,* pp. 89-90.
[83] Herta Müller. *Heimat ist was gesprochen wird*. (Merzig: Gollenstein Verlag, 2001), p. 42.

said: "If one particular language prevails in the contexts for establishing meaning, that language becomes integral to the structure of meaning or to the processes of its use."[84]

3.3.The multiple meanings of the title *Herztier*

Müller follows a certain pattern in choosing the titles for her novels. Almost all of them represent a fable or idiom from Romanian which in German sounds gothic, mystic or fantastic. Titles like *Der Teufel sitzt im Spiegel* (1991), *Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger* (1992), *Immer derselbe Schnee und immer derselbe Onkel* (2011), or *Atemschaukel* (2009) have specific meanings in Romanian literary history, folksongs, or traditions, which are transposed into German making out of them hermetic titles to describe the traumatic suspense. For example, the novel *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt* (1992) is a great example of such linguistic transformation. We know that the pheasant cannot fly for long distances, and it is one of the most hunted birds. When in Romanian you say 'you are a pheasant' it means that you are an easy prey, one that does not know how to behave when the hunter comes. This is how Müller explains the title of her book:

> Wenn ein Stern fällt, sollen die Deutschen sich was wünschen, die Rumänen sagen, es ist jemand gestorben. Oder der Fasan: Der Fasan ist ein Vogel, der nicht gut fliegen kann, er verfängt sich im Gestrüpp und ist eine leichte Beute. All das steckt in der rumänischen Redewendung "Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt." Auch der Mensch ist eine leichte Beute, kann sich nicht durchsetzen, er zahlt drauf, ist dem Leben nicht gewachsen. Im Deutschen jedoch ist der Fasan ein Prahler. Das Deutsche hat das Äußere des Vogels zur Redensart gemacht, das Rumänische seine Existenz. Der traurige rumänische Fasan ist mir näher. Darum hat eines meiner Bücher den Titel "Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt."
>
> When a star falls, the Germans should make a wish, the Romanians should say someone has died. Or the pheasant: the pheasant is a bird that cannot fly well, it gets caught in the undergrowth and is easy prey. All of this can be found in the Romanian saying: "The human being is a great pheasant in the world." Humans are also easy prey, cannot assert themselves, they pay extra, are not up to life. In German, however, the pheasant is a braggart. The German made the appearance of the bird a form of expression, the Romanian its existence. The sad

[84] Anooshian, L. J./Hertel, Paul T.: Emotionality in Free Recall: Language Specificity in Bilingual Memory. In*: Cognition and Emotion*, 8 (6), 1994, pp. 503-514, (p. 507).

> Romanian pheasant is closer to me. That is why one of my books has the title "Man is a great pheasant in the world."[85]

Nearly all of Müller's titles can generate a similar linguistic analysis. What we learn from this is that Müller creates a perfect bilingual analogy between two languages and two meanings. The multiple meanings of a sentence, word, or song create a linguistic uncertainty specific for trauma narrative, which resemblances Manea's ambiguity of languages when he describes the atrocities from Transnistria through the eyes of a child.

The Romanian influence on the novel can be spotted starting from the title and the novel's epitaph. The novel is inspired by Gellu Naum's poem *Lacrima* (The Tear); here the poet describes the sentiment of fear and the 'animalic' indifference against empathy. Like most of her novels, *Herztier* is a portrayal of Müller's biography and her experience of Securitatea and its action that causes fear and, eventually, trauma. *Herztier* also depicts essential ideas, such as 'friend' and 'friendship', 'terror', and 'loneliness', and emphasises the condition of the oppressed people during the totalitarian regime of Ceaușescu.

The idea of 'friend' and 'friendship' is defined in the epitaph and then is used in the entire novel. The epitaph is a stanza from Gellu Naum's poem *Lacrima*; Müller used it as a code for the protagonist and her friends.

[...] jeder hatte einen Freund in jedem Stückchen Wolke	[…] everybody had a friend in every little bit of cloud
so ist das halt mit Freunden wo die Welt voll Schrecken ist	that's how it is with friends when the world is full of terror
auch meine Mutter sagte das ist ganz normal	even my mother said that's pretty normal
Freunde kommen nicht in Frage	friends are out of the question
denk an seriösere Dinge[86]	consider more serious things

Friendship comes hand in hand with betrayal without condemning or judging any act of duplicity. Betrayal gets a new connotation in the novel; it becomes part of the 'normal' life and must be accepted as a symptom of the communist society. Friendship

[85] Müller. *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern*, p. 42.

[86] For consulting the poetry in Romania: "avem câte un prieten în fiecare bucăţ ică de nor/de fapt aş a sunt prietenii când e atâta spaimă în lume/mama spunea ş i ea că e normal ş i că nu acceptă să mă fac prieten/mai bine m'aş gândi la ceva serios". Gellu Naum. *Copacul-animal*. (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1971), pp. 51-52.

is continuously tested to discover who is loyal and who is betraying. Each character, from Lola, the *Mitläufer* (follower), until Tereza, who was put by Securitatea to spy on Müller, ends up in duplicity. The Romanian verse *să mă fac prieten* used by Müller as *Freunde kommen nicht in Frage* gives a dissonance in meaning: Naum says that the mother forbids him to become 'a friend' and not to question 'friends' or 'friendship'. The destiny of the protagonist is described by Naum's approach on 'friendship', which means that when one wants 'to become a friend' he is also assuming his destiny, that that he might betray her friends. In this way, Valentina Galajar brings into discussion the Romanian *Hintersinn*[87] as the hidden meaning of Müller's prose. The meaning that stands between 'friendship' and protagonists like Lola or Tereza is given by the hidden meaning that stands beneath the sentence *nicht in Frage*, a Romanian obliteration for friendship, or in the imperative sentence given by the urge to 'become not' what the state wants.

Likewise, the notion *Herztier* is a Romanian concept transposed in German, its meaning can be associated with some mythological creatures. *Herztier* is a linguistic transportation of Naum's poetry collection *Copacul-animal* (The Tree-Animal) (1971). Furthermore, the first and last sentence of the novel, "Wenn wir schweigen, werden wir unangenehm, sagte Edgar, wenn wir reden, werden wir lächerlich,"[88] holds a very close meaning to one of Naum's poems from the collection *În general* (In general).

> În general nu se știe nimic précis dacă e bine sau nu să vorbim despre lucrul
> acela surghiuni despre ciudatul
> bine știut pe care îl știam singuri
> despre migrările spre labirinturi blânde în care gemetele pot sa aibă valori inestimabile.[89]

> In general, we do not know precisely if it is good or not to talk about the thing
> that relegates, the weird
> well know, that we knew alone
> about migrations to gentle horizons were groans can have invaluable values.

[87] Cf. Valentina Galajar. "Banat-Swabian, Romanian, and German: Conflicting Identities in Herta Müller's 'Herztier'." In: *Monatshefte*. Vol. 89, No. 4. (Winter, 1997), pp. 521-540.
[88] "When we don't speak, said Edgar, we become unbearable, and when we do, we make fools of ourselves." Müller. *Herztier*, pp. 7/252.
[89] Cf. Cellu Naum. "In general." In: *Copacul-animal*. (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1971).

Herztier is a sentiment of insecurity that the reader experiences 'singur' (alone), it is a process of defining, evaluating, and re-evaluating social values and re-thinking the human inter-relations, it is indefinable and floats around characters' private space spreading uncertainty and fear, which, in the end, become the new values in the communist society.

Finally, the idea of *Herztier* has a bilingual interpretation that shows the cognitive implications on the narrative level. The linguistic system shapes cognition in such a way that the representation of meaning and symbol is hidden, and this is the effect of the Romanian palimpsest. When the main protagonist searches for *Zungen* und *Nieren* (tongues and kidneys) she imagines a *durchsichtigen Mann* (transparent man) who has stolen the organs to live:

> Ich sah sein Herztier. Es hing eingeschlossen in der Glühbirne. Es war gekrümmt und müde. Ich schlug den Kühlschrank zu, weil das Herztier nicht gestohlen war. Es konnte nur sein eigenes sein, es war häßlicher als die Eingeweide aller Tiere dieser Welt.[90]

> I saw his heart-beast. It was trapped in the light bulb, coiled and tired. I slammed the fridge door shut because the heart-beast hadn't been stolen. It has to be his own, it was uglier than the organs of all the animals in the world.

The entire description of *Hertzier* comes exactly before her father's death of cirrhosis, "Seine Leber ist so groß wie die Lieder für den Führer."[91] Müller intentionally creates here confusion between death, song, Hitler, and Ceaușescu to invite the reader in the macabre dance of fate of totalitarian ideologies. There is a clear allusion also to Müller's father who was enrolled in the *SS* troops during the Second World War. The relation between songs and *Herztier* is finally revealed by the singing grandmother who "weiß, daß jeder ein Herztier hat."[92] *Herztier* is the major metaphor that stands un-deciphered, as it should since it defines the indefinable dark side of the human being. *Herztier* is an anthropomorphic word that does not have a clear translation, it comprises the Romanian and German meaning into a single concept. Through *Herztier* Müller can understand the complete meaning of her mnemonic experience, probably this is why she

[90] Müller. *Herztier,* p. 70.
[91] "His liver is as big as the songs for the Führer." Ibid., p. 71.
[92] "Knows that everyone has a heart-beast." Ibid., p. 81.

remembers the word at Georg's grave, where she realized that everyone might have become a heartless animal.

3.4.The role of folk songs

Müller's novels often refer to Romanian literature and sometimes incorporate lyrics from poems and folksongs, especially from Maria Tănase (1913-1963).[93] The folk lyrics define Müller's system of metaphors that resonates in her entire work. The lyrics are very spontaneous and describe a story through analogous concepts such as good and bad, and always reveal, in the end, a sort of a morality of the tale. The main themes of these songs are based on love, death, work, drunkenness, wine, joy, sorrow, mother, or country. The lyrics have a morphological structure where the primaeval intention is not clear, the hymns or odes about love and happiness do not always have a positive end, but rather they hold a satirical perception and leave the listener to interpret them accordingly to his or her own experience. For example, in *Herztier* when the student grungy dormitory is described they start satirizing their situation by singing "Mi-a zis mama că mi-o da" (My mother said she would give me):[94]

Meine Mutter sagt	Mi-o zis mama că mi-o da	My mother said she will give me
sie gibt mir	Văleleu Văleleu	of of of of[97]
wenn ich einmal heirate	Zestre când m-oi mărita	when I get married
zwanzig große Kissen	Văleleu Văleleu Văleleu	of of of of
alle voll mit Stechmücken	Douăzeci de perne mari	Twenty big pillows
zwanzig kleine Kissen	Văleleu Văleleu Văleleu	of of of
alle voll mit Ameisen	Toate pline cu țânțari	All full of mosquitoes
zwanzig weiche Kissen	Văleleu Văleleu Văleleu	of of of
alle voll mit faulen Blättern[95]	Douăzeci de perne mici	twenty small cushions
	Văleleu Văleleu Văleleu	of of of
	Toate pline cu furnici	All full of ants
	Văleleu Văleleu Văleleu	of of of

[93] Maria Tănase was a Romanian singer and actress who became a symbol for Romanian culture and music. She is equally important as Édith Piaf is for France or Amália Rodrigues is for Portugal.
[94] The Romanian version of the song adds a great impact on how Müller describes trauma, as a constant and abundant presence of sufferance.
[95] Müller. *Herztier*, pp.11-12.
[97] I use the repetition of the word "Văleleu" from the original song to express better the satirical tone of the song.

Douăzeci de perne moi	Twenty soft cushions
Văleleu Văleleu Văleleu	of of of of
Toate pline cu gunoi[96]	All filled with rubbish

The tension of the poem is given by the interjection 'văleleu', a powerful word in meaning that denotes at the same time sadness, astonishment, and admiration (used in a serious or ironic way). The irony of songs is a common pattern for Romanian folk music. Also, the songs hold a mixture of extreme feelings and meanings, of abstract concepts such as hate – love, life – death, serious – ironic, and social condition as poor – rich, clever – stupid, sober – drunk. But for Müller, the role of the folkloric songs is to offer hope and power to overcome the conditions in a totalitarian state.

The folk song is bound to Naum's poem *Lacrima* which is transformed in the novel into a folk song when Captain Pjele asks: "Wer hat das geschrieben?" (Who wrote that?) and he is being answered: "Niemand, es ist ein Volkslied"[98] (Nobody, it is a folk song). When Captain Pjele recites the poem, he replaces in the second verse the word *Freunden* (friends) with *Huren* (whores) making the protagonist unsure about the meaning of the lyrics. With this transformation, Naum's *Lacrima* becomes a *Volkseigentum* (public property). The folksongs influence the relationship between meanings and words and between words and feelings. The metaphorical meaning is a condition of the folksong and a possibility of morphologic hybridity. The Romanian culture and language shadows the meaning throughout the entire novel and adds angst and terror alongside any chiasm that occurs in the structure of the novel's lyrics.

Furthermore, the office women, full of jealousy against Tereza because of her dresses and jewellery from abroad, are cursing her by singing Maria Tănase's melody *Cine iubește și lasă* (He who he loves and leaves).

Wer liebt und verläßt	Cine iubește și lasă	He who loves and leaves
den soll Gott strafen	Dumnezeu să-i dea pedeapsă	shall feel the wrath of God
mit dem Schritt des Käfers	(cu) pasul gândacului	(with) the pinching beetle
dem surren des Windes	vâjâitul vântului	the howling wind
dem Staub der Erde [99]	pulberea pământului[100]	the dust of the earth

[96] Maria Tănase. *Mi-a zis mama că mi-o da*. Electrecord Romania. Bucharest. Vol. 1. (January 1994).
[98] Müller. *Herztier,* p. 104.
[99] Ibid., p. 218.
[100] Maria Tănase. *Cine iubeş te ş i lasă*. Electrecord Romania. Bucharest. Vol. 1. (January, 1994).

At the end of the novel when the protagonist talks with Kurt about Tereza's destiny she realizes that everyone was cursed by Tănase's song.

> Was immer man sagte, es wurde endgültig. Mit den Worten im Mund soviel zertreten wie mit den Füßen im Gras, so war jeder Abschied.
> Wer liebt und verläßt, das waren wir selber. Wir hatten den Fluch eines Liedes auf die Spitze getrieben: den soll Gott strafen/ Gott soll ihn strafen/ mit dem Schritt des Käfers/ dem Surren des Windes/dem Staub der Erde.[101]

> Whatever we said became final. The words in our mouths do as much damage as our feet on the grass – every goodbye was like that. Who loves and leaves turned out to be us. We had come under the curse of the song: God Shall punish him/ with the pinching beetle/ the howling wind, the dust of the earth.

The folksongs are present under the entire symbolism and meaning of the novel and they are repeated in key moments to remind the reader of their meaning. The folksongs are about different themes from everyday life, they carry on and foster a cultural heritage of sentiments and sorrows, habits, and traditions, that belong to the people of Romania. Since Müller's original experience of trauma took place in Romanian, she narrates her story through the lens of German without leaving the heritage of Romanian music tradition. The folksongs modulate the entire structure of the novel, make the metaphoric system possible, and give flow to the confusing ideas which are changing repeatedly by the fear of the totalitarian ideology of communism. They also put the characters in a shield of irony to make them go endure their survival in a hostile environment, in this way the Romanian culture and language are unanimously present in the key structure of the novel functioning as a palimpsest for the German meaning.

3.5.Metaphor and meaning

Herztier is a story caught between *schweigen* (keeping silent) and *reden* (speaking). Trauma spread such a disorder and confusion that the protagonists are in continuous doubt of sharing or not their personal experiences. To 'speak' one's trauma means to reveal the most intimate fear of a person, to be naked in front of an audience, to be

[101] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 241.

lächerlich (becoming a fool). The constant access to Romanian culture and language makes Müller's trauma more believable and closer in description to the original experience of trauma. Through the metaphors and symbols that she uses, Müller interprets the communist reality and creates linguistic structures of perception, symbolism, and meaning for collective memory. The apparent ambiguities created by metaphors open the possibility to read between meanings and symbols. Müller knows the importance of language for trauma and knows that only through a genuine recollection of memory she can tell her experiences as testimonies and ideas that can be communicated only through metaphors to reveal the true sources of meaning-making. The entire novel abounds in 'words-meaning-making'[102] that creates the insecure atmosphere from where the reader can experience trauma as it was inflected by communism. For example: "Ich kann mir heute noch kein Grab vorstellen. Nur einen Gürtel, ein Fenster, eine Nuß und ein Strick. Jeder Tod ist für mich wie ein Sack."[103] The words *Gürtel, Fenster, Nuß,* or *Strick* (belt, window, nut, rope) create the fear of death. The meaning of these words can be found while reading the novel, Müller invites the reader in her world, but she does not reveal the tension of trauma, she leaves it to be discovered. In this process, the words start to be identified with the deaths of Lola, Georg, Kurt, and Tereza. The 'word-meanings' are also connected to the *Diktator*:

> Nur der Diktator und seine Wächter wollten nicht fliegen. Man sah es ihren Augen, Händen, Lippen an: Sie werden heute noch und morgen wieder Friedhöfe machen mit Hunden und Kugeln. Aber auch mit dem Gürtel, mit der Nuß, mit dem Fenster und mit dem Strick.[104]
>
> The only ones who didn't want to flee were the dictator and his guards. You could see it in their eyes, hands, lips: today still and tomorrow again they will make graveyards, with dogs and with bullets. But also with the belt, the nut, the window, and the rope.

In the same manner *Nüsse, Maulbeerbäume, grüne Pflaumen, Unkraut, Haare, Nagelschere,* or *Gras* (nuts, mulberry trees, green plums, weeds, hair, nail scissor, or grass) gain specific meanings when used in other purposes than intended. For Müller, it is very important that she must be believed in her attempt to describe the communist

[102] I believe that Müller creates words like *Herztier* or *Atemschaukel* to create a new or deeper meaning of trauma. For this reason, I refer to these terms as words that can create meaning.
[103] "To this day, I can't really picture a grave. Only a belt, a window, a nut, and a rope. To me, each death is like a sack." Müller. *Herztier*, p. 7.
[104] Ibid., p. 56.

trauma, the oppression, and the angst in which she lived. Therefore, she needs to recreate the entire atmosphere by returning to the instruments, words, plants, trees, and original experiences; in one word, to the Romanian language – to give voice to her experience in communist Romania. This narrative process of Müller can be understood as a bilingual return to the language of her original experience, the recollection of her memories is done through the dynamic interplay between Romanian and German languages.

The refuge to Romanian language and songs recurs in the novel and must be seen as an attempt to keep the reader in the atmosphere created by Müller's testimony. Lola's death is remembered for the first time with the help of a 'rumänisches Lied' from Maria Tănase, *Asară vântul bătea* (Last night the wind blew):

Gestern abend schlug der Wind	Asară vântul bătea,	last night a gust of wind
mich dem Liebsten in den Arm	Da di da di da da	lalala
wenn er mehr geschlagen hätte	Badea-n brațe mă strângea	my love in his arms tightened me
wär im Arm ich abgebrochen	Da di da di da da	lalala
so ein Glück der Wind blieb	De-ar fi bătut vântul mult,	had it gusted any harder
stehen[105]	Da di da di da da	lalala
	M-ar fi strâns de m-ar fi rupt,	he would have snapped me in two
	Da di da di da da	lalala
	Dar noroc că vântu-a stat[106]	good thing that the wind stood still

Moreover, Georg's melancholic being and wish of fleeing the country is revealed also with the help of the Romanian song *Canarul* (Canary) by the rock band *Transsylvania Phoenix* (1968) who were forced to leave the country because of their 'anti-system' music.

Gelber Kanarienvogel	Canarul galben	Yellow canary bird
gelb wie das Eigelb	ca un gălbenuș	yellow as a yolk
mit weichen Federn	cu pene moi	with feathers so soft
und abwesenden Augen [107]	și ochii duși[108]	and eyes so far away

[105] Ibid., p. 34.
[106] Maria Tănase. *Asară vântul bătea*. Electrecord Romania. Bucharest. Vol. 1 (January 1994).
[107] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 68.
[108] Transylvania Phoenix. *Canarul, Vremuri EP*. (Bucharest: Electrorecord Romania, 1968).

The presence of bilingualism can be seen between the interpretation of words, e.g., the metaphor 'abwesenden Augen' is different in meaning from its English translation 'far away' but also from Romanian *ochii duşi*, which literally means more 'absent (distracted) eyes',[109] whereas the original Romanian syntagma denotes the 'death' of the bird.

4. Final remakes on bilingualism in Manea's and Müller's narrative

Manea's and Müller's literature demonstrates that bilingualism is a traumatic problem. Traditionally speaking, the authors from Central and Eastern Europe have been bilingual for decades simply because their mother tongue is not the majority language of their country of birth. Besides, the exile pushes the authors to express their thoughts and to write their stories in the language of the new home country. For many years now Samuel Beckett's bilingualism received plenteous critical attention trying to demonstrate how bilingualism had influenced his writing. Also, Vladimir Nabokov has been described as a beholder of a polylinguistic matrix[110] that has influenced his life and art, while his novel *Ada* has been described as a "psychedelic bubbles of English font."[111] The Romanian French playwright, Eugen Ionesco, holds a bilingual quality for his writing, which is attributed to the alienation of exile and language's absurdity.

Historically speaking, we have multiple varieties of bilingual authors. Firstly, there are authors who wrote directly in their second language, like Joseph Conrad, Eva Hoffman, Aglaja Veteranyi, or Joseph Brodsky. Their bilingualism is determined by the exile caused, in most cases, by a political reason or catastrophic events. Secondly, we have authors who decided to write also in a second language: Oscar While, Samuel Beckett, Vladimir Nabokov, Eugène Ionesco, or Tristan Tzara are just a few examples of who have chosen to write in a different language than their native one. Their motivation is related to linguistic affinity, personal persecution, or personal decisions.

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[109] Michael Hofmann prefers to translate *abwesenden Augen* as 'eyes so far away,' which does not hold the implication of death. Cf. Herta Müller. *The Land of Green Plums*. Translated by Michael Hofmann. (London: Granta Books, 1999).

[110] Cf. George Steiner. *Extraterritorial: Papers on Literature and the Language Revolution*. (New York: Atheneum, 1976)

[111] Rita Safariants. "Literary Bilingualism and Codeswitching in Vladimir Nabokov's 'Ada'." In *Ulbandus Review*. Vol. 10. (2007), pp. 191-211, (p. 191).

Thirdly, few authors are born in a country that has a different language than their native one. Their novels can be considered either as minoritarian, regional, or part of the national literature. Herta Müller belong to the latter group of authors alongside authors like Elias Canetti, Franz Kafka, Johannes Urzidil, or Lenka Reinerová. All of them wrote in German while they were born in a country with a different majority language. Lastly, others have left their native country but continued to write in the language of their birth. Form this section of bilingual authors makes part Norman Manea, but also Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, and, more recently, Peter Handke and Michel Houellebecq. They all represent the literature of a country in which they do not live but in which language they write. What I would like to emphasis with these examples is that bilingualism is not an isolated case related to trauma, but a complex historical phenomenon present in the history of literature for ages.

We can see that bilingualism in literature is not a simple narrative representation in two languages, which obviously it can be, but mostly a historical and traditional fact determined by various reasons. The analysis is focused on the cognitive aspects of languages and their effect in real life. Manea's ambiguous reality, one that he often identifies as a dream that becomes reality might be a sign that authors with bilingual backgrounds might possess higher cognitive flexibility than monolingual authors. Müller's strategy to give multiple meanings to a word or expression is proof that the bilingual author might hold a unitary system for linguistic practices. For both authors, bilingualism starts from word-symbols and ends in an allegorical and anthropomorphic narrative. Manea says that the Romanian covers the meaning and even the phonetics of the English language, that when he hears someone speaking in Romanian, he assimilates the meaning of the words into his brain in Romanian. The instant 'translation' of the English language to Romanian takes place on the mental level through cognitive processing and anticipation of the person's gesture can be, e.g., a greeting, suggestion, or description of the water. He anticipates the meaning of a linguistic performance in his native Romania, which describes an instant bilingual cognitive process. For Müller, the Romanian language functions as a cognitive revelation of the linguistic world with a specific morphology that sometimes creates phantasmagorical images, as the words *Atemschaukel* or *Herztier* suggest. The title, the folkloric songs, and the metaphorical system are examples of how Romanian and German influence each other in meaning for the best possible representation of trauma. The use of languages presents a linguistic disjunction between meaning and thought

that enacts the alteration between trauma as a linguistic experience and trauma as a cognitive experience. The meaning is given by their historical, cultural, and social contexts, while the thought is governed by the implication of bilingualism on the cognitive development of the author, without excluding the traumatic pretext of the bilingual actuality.

Chapter II: The palimpsest of memory and its literary effects

Literature that is based on memories and personal experiences expresses a palimpsest as a transition between two periods of time, two social and cultural contexts, two languages (or within the evolution of one), and two historical times. The memories that are transcribed into narrative impose a difference between the temporal and topological circumstances of the traumatic event. The original event that is determined by a geographical and historical localisation becomes a symbol and a literary representation whenever it is transformed into a written story. The alteration of the original event imposes a palimpsestous reading, one that makes a difference between the historical event and its literary representation. Though, the potentiality of the traumatic event to be represented in multiple and sometimes different ways is caused by the cognitive production to remember the past. This means that whenever a 'memory' is written it receives a set of linguistic meanings, symbols, and mental representations which convert the original and historical event into a fictional illustration that I describe as the literary trauma. In other words, the author's testimony holds multiple layers of reality as a direct effect of the palimpsest. I plan to use the palimpsest to establish patterns of similarity between the historical event and its literary representation and since we know from Sarah Dillon that the "palimpsest refigures concepts,"[1] I will highlight the preservation and continuity of the historical event under a new fictional form. In this way, I believe that in literature the palimpsest emphasises its inclination to preservation more than its intention to destroy the original event.

Manea and Müller often write and rewrite their stories. For example, Manea writes his experiences in Transnistria in *October Eight O'clock* (1993) from a more fictional perspective, and later the same story is retold in *The Hooligan's Return* (2003) as a memoir. Likewise, Müller is describing her life in *Niederungen* (1982) and only a few years later she is redescribing her village-life in *Drückender Tango* (1984). Müller is even transferring entire stories from one novel to another one, e.g., the stories 'Faule Birnen' or 'Dorfchronik' are present in Müller's first novels. The authors are reusing

[1] Sarah Dillon. *The Palimpsest: Literature, Criticism, Theory*. (London: Continuum, 2007), p. 4.

their memories until they find the best form that can express their meaning. Moreover, Manea and Müller make often references to other authors' literature or include other authors in their novels. Their action is to spread awareness that their experiences of the Holocaust and of communism are not singular cases, but there is part of a bigger picture, which once witnessed can have a greater impact on the collective memory and can generate an ethical responsibility from the parties involved. In literature, their attitude can be regarded as a palimpsest effect or palimpsestic palimpsest, which is a narrative inspired by memories, testimonies, or documents that end up in fragmented literature. The palimpsestic palimpsest is generated through Müller's collage technique and Manea's intertextuality. Henceforth, the palimpsest operates as a metaphor for memory that is used in the narrative and becomes an integrated effect in the linguistic layering of the novels regardless of the language in which is written.

In general, traditional theories use the palimpsest as the process through which one can reuse a scroll or book that has the text scarped yet, I plan to use the concept 'palimpsest' as a mental process to recalling past experiences. My intention is to follow Sigmund Freud's experiment described in the story 'Mystic Writing-Pad'[2] where he wanted to explain how the human brain works. The experiment consists of three layers: a transparent celluloid sheet on top, a sheet of wax paper in the middle, and a wax layer at the bottom. When the stilus scratches the surface (symbolising the human experiences) it leaves traces on the wax paper (memory).

> At this point which the stilous touches, it presses the lower surface of the waxed paper on the wax slab, and the grooves are visible as dark writing upon the otherwise smooth whitish-grey surface of the celluloid.[3]

When we removed the paper, the celluloid sheet is blank, but the scratches are preserved on the wax slab. Hence, the 'Mystic Writing-Pad' is a metaphor for the palimpsest and an experiment that shows how human memory works. What the palimpsest unveils is the possibility to re-trace memories while others are registered. Following this line or argument, we will further analyse the manifestation of the palimpsest in literature.

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[2] Cf. Sigmund Freud. "A note upon the 'Mystic Writing-Pad'." In *The Ego and the Id and Other Works,* volume XIX translated by James Strachey. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1961), pp. 227-232.
[3] Ibid., p. 229.

In Manea's and Müller's literature the description of traumatic events starts from an original and true event which is literalized and communicated in a fictionalized manner. The literary style covers the original event with metaphors and with word-symbol. The psychoanalytical method transforms the representation of trauma from the 'real' to the 'symbolic' presence. The reality of the traumatic event is remembered while its existence is linguistically recorded. The palimpsest of Manea and Müller stands in the method of remembering the traumatic event and testifying it with the help of the language.

The idea of a palimpsest in trauma studies enables two perspectives of the original experience to which the authors were subjected. Firstly, we have the historical events of the Holocaust and of communism that can be empirically testified like Manea's deportation to Transnistria, or Müller's constant persecution by Securitatea described in the 'Cristina' file.[4] These are the original traumatic experiences, which the authors remember and use in theirnarrative. Secondly, the novels hold a transformed version of the original traumatic event, one that can be psychoanalytically interpreted since the original event is re-told in a metaphorical form. The palimpsest effect of the original event is the transformation of trauma into a fictionalized actuality. The instances of the trauma event impose further differences between Manea's and Müller's palimpsests. We assume that the traumatic experiences of both authors have occurred in Romanian, which means that Manea's palimpsest is nothing more than a re-writing of his experiences into the same language of the original traumatic event, while for Müller the traumatic experiences that have occurred in Romanian are told mostly in German. As a result, Müller's palimpsest is metaphorical and poetical due to the linguistic exchange that takes place between the Romanian and German languages, or the palimpsest has an extra layer of metaphor. In both cases, Müller's palimpsest represents a case of multiple interpretations reminding me of Genette's theory of meaning that receives sense through its continuous circulation, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

[4] 'Cristina' file started in 1983 by Securitate who pursued and repressed an author, forcing him or her to take refuge in the West. Ten years later the was revealed that the file was about Herta Müller. Cf. Julia Encke & Diba Shokri. " Herta Müller über Europa: Sie ersticken die Grundrechte". In *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 27.05.2019. The article was accessed several times during 2020 at: https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/herta-mueller-im-gespraech-sie-ersticken-die-grundrechte-16205746.html

Furthermore, we need to clarify what is the palimpsest is and how does it function in Manea's and Müller's novels. The palimpsest is the mnemonic process of recollecting the traumatic event, it transforms the original trauma that has happened as an individual and singular experiences into a literary trauma, which holds universal meaning and representation. The palimpsest eases the transformation of the historical action of the Holocaust and communism into symbols and representations for the remembering process. Manea uses the palimpsest when he describes in *The Hooligan's Return* (2003) his 'past as fiction' and he dedicates the chapter "The Beginning before the Beginning" to his first memories before the manifestation of any traumas. He says: "A memory preceding my birth, a memory of the beginning I was before I came into being – the legend of a past before the past."[5] Manea claims that the memory of the 'idyllic time' before the truth birth (the Holocaust experience) was nothing left for fiction other than "a sloping street and the entrance to my grandfather's bookstore."[6] The palimpsest of settled times does not say much, whereas the memory of trauma is a constant and vivid presence that will conclude in his 'true birth', thus he bounds the palimpsest to the traumatic experiences. On the other side, for Müller, the palimpsest is not only a transposition of experiences from real to symbolic clothes but is also a linguistic alteration. The palimpsest effect is possible because the words allow it. She says: "wörter können alles. Die können schikanieren und die können schonen und die können einen besetzen und die können einen leerräumen. So was haben die Wörter schon. Potentiell haben und können sie alles."[7] The words give a new expression to the original event and this is possible only through the palimpsest process, which brings it into actualization. Her childhood is a land of magical and gothic stories which is challenged by the palimpsest of trauma where the single goal is to survive. This is how Müller's narrative becomes an original conflict between magical and, sometimes, even naïve images antagonised by brute and repetitive traumatic experiences.

[5] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated by Anglea Jianu. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p. 62.
[6] Ibid., p. 65.
[7] "Words can do anything. They can bully and they can spare, and they can occupy you and they can empty you. Words have something like that. They can potentially have and can everything." Herta Mu□ller. *Lebensangst und Worthunger*. (Munich: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2010), p. 51.

We become aware that the palimpsest is a complex concept which enables memories before and after the traumatic event. As De Quincy[8] said, the palimpsest function as the ultimate metaphor for memory by leaving traces of each writing back to the initial story. He goes on and creates an allegory between the palimpsest and Phoenix by saying:

> Even the fable of the Phoenix […] is but a type of what we have done with Palimpsests. We have backed up on each Phoenix in the long regressus, and forced him to expose his ancestral Phoenix, sleeping in the ashes below his own ashes.[9]

Like De Quincy, Manea creates his palimpsest in the image of the snail's house with its shell full of memories kept in the membranes of the Romanian language, while Müller envisions herself as an *Apfelkern* (apple core) letting loose the metaphors of her memories. The concepts take place between the memory and narrative which linguistically holds trauma's description. This means that trauma is re-experienced through multiple linguistic meanings.

1. Manea's assumed palimpsest and the 'snail's house' of memories.

In the Romanian common perception, the 'snail' signifies patience in life and is described as an animal that undergoes resurrection after a long period of draught. The snail's shell is depicting the spiral shape that moves further away as it revolves around a point. The snail never outgrows the shell, the shell is part of the snail's development from an early time and grows along with the snail in a spiral shape. The snail never leaves the shell: the centre of the spiral represents the young age while the outer part grows while the snail gets older. The snail's shell represents Manea's centrifugal attitude in his narrative, an author that drags his native language with him in exile while Romanian adds meaning and symbols on its upper layers during the author's new adventures. Furthermore, the snail's shell represents Manea's single property, it is the

[8] Cf. Thomas De Quincy. *The Palimpsest: Literature, Criticism, Theory*. (London: Continuum Literary Studies, 2011).
[9] Thomas De Quincey. "*Suspiria de profundis*: Being a Sequel to the Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." In *The Works of Thomas De Quincey*, vol. 15, ed. Frederick Burwick. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), p. 174.

'house of his language' that compensates for the house he lost, the "house of their dreams [Manea's grandparents] was gone; now the socialist state owned all the houses and all the inhabitants."[10] We learn from *The Hooligan's Return* that the house is 'relegated to memory,' a house that has its memory forgotten. The memory starts with the 'initiation,' the concentration camp from Transnistria, only after that time recovered Manea.

The story 'The Snail's Shell' introduces us to the first form of palimpsest that Manea describes indirectly. The memory of the Holocaust is rewritten on the childhood's memory, they are the one that lasts. The traumatic memory represents Freud's slate while Manea's first memories are finite and exhausted. A slate can be used for a longer time, but it does not last forever. This is when Manea decides to record his memory in more than twenty volumes. The traumatic events, observations, journeys, love stories, student years, flats, and cities are told and retold until the palimpsest of his narrative becomes unalterable, it establishes traces for memory.

The palimpsest is a temporal condition for the remembered stories, which means that it is defined by historical materialism. Returned from Transnistria Manea finds himself in Fălticeni in a room at his relatives' house, the Riemers. He says:

> I recall a room in semidarkness, an imperialist bed, with its iron bedstead, old-fashioned cushions, and a bedspread of yellow plush, whitewashed walls, a round black table, two chairs, a narrow window covered by heavy curtains, for the first time I felt at home.[11]

The time spent by his relatives marked the beginning of 'something different,' the world opens to him, and he starts to understand it by observing how it stands aside him. Very soon after that, the words are becoming his 'new family' until they grow on his back into the metaphorical shell house. We see that the palimpsest emerges from knowledge and awareness, both being epiphenomena of material processes and that the palimpsest footprint is built on the external observations that construct the literary meaning and symbol of trauma. The palimpsest seeks to establish metaphorical connections between the actual presence of the text and the memory from the past to achieve the harmony of conformist historiography.

[10] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return,* p. 201.
[11] Idem.

Manea's first novel *Captives* first published in 1970 and then republished with additional corrections in 2011 is the book that I think expresses finest how the palimpsest functions in the narrative. The stories are narrated in first, second, and third-person voices divided suggestively in 'She', 'You', and 'I' chapters. Each character's story is a metaphorical symbol that replaces the losses from the Second World War in a totalitarian communist regime. For example, the narrator's sister is born just to replace the children lost during the Holocaust. Yet, everyone is co-existing in a hostile and dangerous environment where communism does not let them recover from the Holocaust trauma but urges them to acclimatize to the new rules of the totalitarian regime. The palimpsest origins disappear and its memories merge with the new traumatic experiences. The terror of the Holocaust is amplified by the communist trauma and pushes the characters on the verge of their existence. This is why the narrator says:

> I can't stand myself anymore, and I can't stand any of you anymore, either. I want something else . . . like you, frightened of your own awareness . . . impossible as it may seem, I want something desperate: poems, grenades, fires . . . and on top of that, songs and flowers — naïve songs and innocent flowers, peaceful, old-fashioned flowers, wildflowers, flowers in bad taste, flowers in the hands of parents, beggars, neighbours, colleagues, teachers, directors of one thing or another — flowers growing out of typewriters, shutting them up and striking them dumb.[12]

Manea believes that the single way to cope with the Holocaust trauma in the communist regime is to collect stories that fight against amnesia. He compares post-Holocaust time with a continuing coma in which the protagonist/narrator could conserve himself. The songs, books, and flowers are nothing more than memories that have rotted in his mind. The palimpsest monopolises his understanding of trauma and makes the protagonist obsessed with the representation of trauma that diminishes in time.

Captives is Manea's first authentic historical mapping of his memories, it is the first palimpsest of his life's story and a model, which is followed in *October, eight o'clock* (1981) and *The Hooligan's Return* (2003). The model consists of using a word with a given meaning and symbolism in such a way that the personal experiences of trauma can be represented as much as possible close to the real one, e.g., the words:

[12] Norman Manea. *Captives.* Translated by Jean Harris. (New York: New Directions Paperbook, 2014), p. 9.

'captive' for *Captives*, 'hooligan' for *The Hooligan's Return*, or '8 pm' for *October, eight o'clock*. Manea's traumatic experiences are told and retold making out of his palimpsest a precise collection of stories that always covers new angles of perceiving them. The novel reveals also a new procedure of making the connection with other stories, it builds its symbolism on the story of *Der Tod in Venedig* (in English: *Death in Venice*) (1912) and the way Thomas Man describes the heroism of the weak. The correlation to well-consecrated authors or important novels becomes Manea's distinguished rhetoric to eliminate the singularity of his stories, to create a sentiment of belonging, and to give a sense of universality to his literature. The story stands now between the metaphorical and material palimpsest and becomes a recurrent image that has multiplied its meanings and symbols whenever it is represented.

Having this said, we can now go further to see how the palimpsest functions in Manea's novel. Very soon we learn that Manea creates in *Captives* the heroism of the defeated and to be able to expose this allegory he describes three protagonists: a schoolteacher, Monica Smărăndescu, who is a dreamer despite her constant humiliation; the daughter of a war criminal; and an engineer, the narrator, who is delirious and believes his sister Dona long dead in Transnistria is the Captain Zubcu's daughter. All three charters are wounded and their continued resistance against the communist hostility transforms them symbolically into heroes. Their bravery is materialized when they successfully describe communism, and they shape an image of how the communist trauma is represented in society. In other words, the characters, through their continuous humiliation as post-traumatic disorders caused by the Holocaust, continue to collect stories with meaning and symbols that demask the communist trauma. The 'long limousine snake' releases the "little lunatic barbarians slamming the limousine doors like cruel slaps" to invade Monica's mind like "wandering ghosts."[13] The party's secret police are guilty and all their members, who are 'vagabonds' and 'improvised assassin,' will have their actions recorded "among bedtime stories for kids."[14] What Manea is telling us is that memory writing is the palimpsest as a material fact. For example, Monica Smărăndescu is "the third person, inventing her language in columns of typed text, between missives, souvenirs, cries, sufferings aligned in the typewriter, in two or three of Covalschi's copies."[15] The objects are intertwined with feelings to

[13] Ibid., p. 38.
[14] Idem.
[15] Idem.

create an ultimate physicalism: the palimpsest considers the materiality and signification of gender.

In the 'Introduction' Manea confesses that the novel *Captives* serves as 'a document of the epoch' that is "depicting the manner in which a self perceives itself in language and is organized by language."[16] The language is the recording instrument of the communist traumatic action and a shield against the 'wooden discourse' of the party's ideology. Communism is defined through conjuncture actions until, by the end of the novel, the reader can understand its traumatic effects as an absolute lack of freedom of choice which manifests itself in society through ambiguities, corruption, double-talk, double-dealing, double-standards and, the most devious, by giving information to Securitatea about your closest friends. *Captives* reveals that the memory of communism stands in the linguistic recreation of the traumatic event.

The memory of trauma and its linguistic re-creation is not an easy task. The recollection of the past actions implies a transition from the historical event to the symbolic event. This means that the palimpsest divides the trauma into an event that can be empirically and historically investigated and into a literary representation. *Captives* passes slowly from the reality of the Holocaust and communist trauma and enter into a world where the palimpsest becomes a puzzle of linguistic symbolism that the reader must solve. In this case, the original event of the Holocaust and communism receives a fictional representation, which enables us to talk about it as the literary trauma. The Holocaust and communist traumas are described by using *Captives*'s palimpsest mapping model to produce textual structures. This is Manea's pattern in reiterating the past impression of traumatic experiences which he will use in his future novels.

The next important book *October Eight O'clock* (1993) is a collection of short stories that marks the transition from an impersonal description to a more intimate and assumed portrayal of the Holocaust and communist traumas. The fifteen short stories, which are comprised in the English edition of the book, combine the documentary with the memoir style. Trauma is presented as a testimony. During these stories the Holocaust is assumed and described through the memories of a boy (the protagonist), which, captured in Transnistria, is imaging the warmth of a multicolour sweater. Manea

[16] Ibid., p. 5.

attempts to rebuild the sentiments a young boy has experienced during his deportation and captivity. Is from these stories that we can extract one of the first understanding of the Holocaust as a continuous struggle for survival. Even though Manea gently avoids any general characteristics of the Holocaust we can extract from the stories 'Death' or 'We Might Have Been Four' some distressful impressions. For example, when Lică takes off his shirt we witness the presence of death. The author describes this scene like this:

> He got it right in the chest. The first thought, even before he opened his eyes: "There was no sound, there was no shot." Nothing.
>
> He could hear the buzzing nearby, on his chest, He felt the needle buried deep and the place where it had entered. He trashed his arms about convulsively, he screamed. This was death, it would not last more than a few moments, everything was collapsing, there was no more time.[17]

The Holocaust is not only a life consumer, but it also affects the behaviour and habits of loved ones. When Lică goes to his mother to show her where the bullet has entered, she says: "It's nothing, a bee, it's nothing."[18] The calm of his mother's voice is the traumatic effect of the Holocaust, which evokes hostility even when the war is over. In the end, the book is indirectly describing the traumas of the Holocaust and communism, while the author describes with precision the struggle for survival in hostile times. Manea does not ask for sympathy he just describes how life was, is, and might be. The absence of time and places is nothing new, we already had experienced in *Captives* the fact that we do not know where the action takes place since neither Romania nor Transnistria is mentioned. This is because the palimpsest of the traumatic event is a linguistic practice to extract meaning from memories. The atemporality of trauma's reiteration is the sign the traumas of the Holocaust and communism become a literary expression of mnemonic practice.

Manea had experienced the Holocaust and communism in Romanian. The imprisonment in Transnistria, the traveling with the train, the return home after the war to a 'normal life', the life and work are determined by the linguistic interpretation of the Romanian words, like the 'hooligan' or 'Burdujeni'. Even his migration to the U.S. was mediated by his wife's sister who spoke with them in Romanian. Likewise, his

[17] Norman Manea. "Death." In *October Eight O'clock*. (New York: Quartet Books, 1993), p. 19.
[18] Ibid., p. 20.

novels are written in Romanian. This means that the palimpsest takes place in Romanian and that the entire process of remembering and the traumatic past are mostly done in this language: Romanian was the condition of his trauma and is the medium of the palimpsest.

The book *Variante la un autoportret* (2008) describes his literary sketches and short stories as hypothetical parts of an entire image, part of a Bildungsroman. Manea is using intertextuality stylistics to alternate the personal experiences as an ontic part of a greater whole idea, and by its use of the Romanian language entails its hidden palimpsest as *memoria marii tragedii* (the memory of the great tragedy) which has a "reprezentare memorabilă, durabilizând, prin artă, ceea ce nu trebuie uitat […]."[19] The transposition of meaning is done from the experience of language through traumatic means into the remembrance of the experience of language. The content of experience has a linguistic re-presentation that takes place on the cognitive level. Trauma is the cause of the Romanian palimpsest which explores the illusion of literary vindication by literary figures that are not in common use. The diachronic aspect of the language is also an aspect of palimpsest: language and emotion are mutually determined by the traumatic atmosphere and the separate evolution of language and emotion loses this atmosphere, which is recreated in literature through the intensity of linguistic description. In this case, the palimpsest is a traumatic re-writing of the original experience.

In the short story, "Incompatibilitățile" (The Incompatibilities) Manea talks about the importance of Mihail Sebastian's *Journal* and ends his consecration with what he calls *terapia adevărului* (the truth therapy) saying:

> Ce am putea conchide din lectura lui Sebastian și din cariera sa postumă? Măcar atât: mișcarea înainte a Europei de Est trebuie evaluată nu doar prin capacitatea de a moderniza structurile politice și economice, ci și prin aceea de a clarifica istoria recentă și a adresa întregul adevăr. Nu este o sarcină ușoară, dar este, mai ales și înainte de toate, menirea intelectualilor, nu a politicienilor.[20]

[19] "a memorable representation, lasting, through art, that which must not be forgotten." Norman Manea. *Variante la un autoportret*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2014), p. 56.

[20] What have we learned from Sebastian's reading and his posthumous career? At least this: the forward movement of Eastern Europe must be evaluated not only by its ability to modernize political and economic structures, but also by clarifying recent history and addressing the whole truth. It is not an easy task, but firstly, and above all, it is the task of intellectuals, not of politicians. Ibid., p. 195.

Manea believes that the future can be understood only through understanding the past and the past can be understood only by adapting it to the present conditions, a process that will end in finding answers. In literature, to re-write the past is a palimpsestic method, as Manea calls it *confuzia, ca metodă* (confusion, as a method) which will lead to *estetica infidelității* (the aesthetics of infidelity). This postulation perpetrates the palimpsest as an intellectual attitude of deciphering the past and is creating literature (as the single space where the past can be judged ethically) to create a symbolic belonging because "*terapia adevărului* rămâne esențială pentru societățile necicatrizate din Europa de Est."[21]

If we go back to the chapter 'The Snail's Shell' from *The Hooligan's Retrun* (2003) we become aware of how language works. The story of Manea's language starts from his grandparents and the activities from the bookshop. The early memories were affected by amnesia since Manea has no memory of his childhood language and he cannot describe the four years in the labour camp, nor the house where he lived, with his family, in Bessarabia. The return in the "fair-tale normality" enables Manea to recover and his experience in Transnistria starts to "acquire shape."[22] Manea's life started to gain an identity in the socialist buildings of 'Jormania' and the language becomes the 'shell' of his struggles against the nomenklatura from Romania. In Bucharest, he is pressured to change his location too often, which makes him present his cause in front of a "panel of four comrades […] Culture, Ethnic Minorities, Security, and, who knows, maybe even Foreign Press."[23] The effort to receive the right to a decent life by getting a flat for a longer time makes him realize that the word 'home' is nothing more than a linguistic symbol, which is later envisioned in his native language, and that his life's purpose is to become an author, a 'dissident writer.' The Holocaust effects are described as the physical absence of a permanent home that pushes Manea to notice that "the hooligan had not forgotten the hooligan war or the years of hooligan peace."[24] Manea is presenting the transgression line between two worlds, one in which one tells the story another one in which one hears the story. Manea's narrative becomes

[21] "*Truth therapy* remains essential for unhealed societies in Eastern Europe." Ibid., p. 201.
[22] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 201.
[23] Ibid., p. 205.
[24] Ibid., p. 207.

a clear example of metalepsis[25] that occurs between the extradiegetic level and the diegetic level. The palimpsest intervenes as a remembering tool that differentiates the narrator's world from 'Manea's life' and ends up representing 'Manea's trauma.' The process of approaching trauma through language makes Manea aware of his 'true home'. He says: "language promised not only a rebirth but also a form of legitimization, real citizenship, and real belonging."[26] Manea's memories are linguistic encryptions that grow alongside his story, which he carries as a "snail's shell on my (Manea's) back."[27]

If we follow Genette's approach on the palimpsest we see that Manea is using the Romanian language accordingly as to the palimpsest method of the *trans*modalisation[28] through which the past is transposed into a new temporal space to reinterpret the condition of the author in the world. The palimpsest is the modality of setting the story in multiple linguistic sentences to offer the representation of trauma as much as possible as an actualization of the original event. In this way, literature is presenting the past as a continuous mental present representation through stylization. Trauma has the power to adapt to new conditions as memory has the means to tell the story within a metaphorical interpretation. That is why for Manea the Romanian trope is a matter of perspective as a common cognitive and communicative practice that uses the past as a continuous practice in the space of contiguity. Manea's practice reminds us of Hans Drößiger description of movement, he says: "the key terms that can be taken suitable for metonymical movements within a mental space of contiguity are here 'common formal features', 'pragmatic features' because of 'attitude that underlies the utterance'."[29] The metonymical movement is the expression of an alternative reality without losing its real historical event. The 'formal' and 'pragmatic' features are shaping the stylistic content for Manea's metonymy and literary portrayal of trauma.

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[25] The term 'metalepsis' is coined by Genette and plays a major role in understanding the narrative as a discourse between extradiegetic and intradiegetic narrators. He defines narrative metalepsis as "any intrusion by the extradiegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe (or by diegetic characters into a metadiegetic universe, etc) or the inverse". Genette Gerard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method.* Translated by Jane Lewin. Ithaca. (New York: Cornell University Press. 1980), pp. 234-5.

[26] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 208.

[27] Idem.

[28] Cf. Gérard Genette. *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré.* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982).

[29] Hans-Harry Drößiger. "On Palimpsests: How to Use this Concept for Translation Studies. In Memoriam Gerard Genette (1930-2018)". *Athenes Journal of Philology*. Vol. 5, Issue. 4, pp. 261-284, (p. 267).

2. Müller's metaphorical circuit between memory and trauma

Reading Müller's novels, I started to notice that her narrative persuades the reader for an intense acknowledgment of the traumatic past. The original event is described in detail not only as it has taken place but especially as it is received by her characters and by the narrator. In this case, the story of the past is a palimpsestuous because tends to an absolute fictionalization of the original event: the palimpsest is read and not remembered. It seems that Müller follows Walter Benjamin's idea of total interpretation through remembrance.[30] This means that the remembrance (*Eingedenken*) looks simultaneously at the historical facts of memory and at the mnemonic aspects of history. Such a detailed description of the traumatic past is an expression of a deeper sadness that motives Müller to go down deeper into her memories for accuracy and detailed narration of her experiences. The sadness of her stories and the dark tone of her title-metaphors (e.g., *Herztier, Hunger und Seide, Der Teufel sitzt im Spiegel*) is most likely defined by what Benjamin calls *Traurigkeit*,[31] profound melancholia that defines the author's writing style. Further, I believe we can classify Müller's novels in three stages: the *Dorfgeschichte* (*Niederungen*, *Drückender Tango*), the exile experiences (*Barfüßiger Februar* and *Reisende auf einem Bein*), and trauma novel (*Herztier*, *Atemschaukel*). The pattern of the palimpsest function is established in the *Dorfgeschichte* stage while its practice continues in her further novels with the determination of the new context of trauma. *Niederungen* (1982) functions similarly to Manea's novel *Capitves*, it establishes a palimpsestic model to reiterate past actions and to create out of them a meaning of trauma for the reader. The mode of using the palimpsest will be alternated further with the collage technique and the project of the novel *Atemschaukel* (in English: *The Hunger Angel*) (2009) where Herta Müller is using Oskar Pastior's story of deportation from Sibiu to Siberia and his five years of imprisonment.

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[30] Cf. Walter Benjamin. "Über den Begriff der Geschichte." In *Erzählen: Schriften zur Theorie der Narration und der Literarischen Prosa*. ed. by Alexander Honold. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkmap, 2007), pp. 129-140.
[31] Ibid., p. 132.

The palimpsest is concerned with the description of memory and very little if not at all seek to portray the relationship between a text and its context. We can understand Müller's written practice if we appeal to Julia Kristeva's literary theory who believes that each text holds a variety of texts which eventually leads to intertextuality. This means that in the space of a text several utterances that holds the description of the remembered event intersect and produce textual violence, which reveals the conjunctive nature of the palimpsest. Kristeva says:

> The text is, therefore, a productivity, and this means: first, that its relationship to the language in which it is situated is redistributive (destructive-constructive), and hence can be better approached through logical categories rather than linguistic ones; and second, that it is a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another.[32]

What Kristeva says is that intertextuality enhances the interpretation of a text and its utterances and that the remembering process of a past event can be described only into a metaphorical image. The palimpsest is present in the linguistic layers of the text and takes place in the abundance of meanings that Müller establishes with her metaphoric system. The fact that the original trauma took place in Romanian and that Müller tells her story mostly in German amplifies the intersection between meanings and symbols of the text that is remembered. The abundance of these utterances with multiple meanings and symbols made Müller construct her narrative like Manea, around several words of meaning an effort that we see in Müller's mode of choosing the titles for her novels like *Drückender Tango*, *Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger*, *Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger*, or *Atemschaukel* to repeat a few. Each title holds a significance from where the palimpsest can start to gather meanings and symbols to textualize trauma and to make it possible for representation.

The palimpsest has a cognitive function since it takes place on abstract support and while is linked to the memory of an event. The mystery of the palimpsest is enabled by the memory's potentiality to re-enact past events. Like in Freud's experiment with the mystic writing pad, Müller experiments in her texts by producing traces of memory while she accepts new information about the past traumatic event. Hence, the

[32] Julia Kristeva. *A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Translated by Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 36.

palimpsest enables the possibility to narrate a story, one that holds traumatic content, and not in a traditional way by correcting the original writing, but within a complex structure of linguistic layers of meanings, symbols that lead to the desired representation of trauma. The literalization of trauma is the palimpsest assertion that the original action of trauma can be eternally preserved.

Müller's writing practice is similar to Manea's when she is engaged in autobiographical stories meaning because she is creating a narrative prototype that will evolve with time. For example, the novel *Niederungen*, composed of short autobiographic stories, which are published two years later put under a different title *Drückender Tango*, becomes a model of description of trauma for her future novels. What is interesting about this novel is that the palimpsest is not only a cognitive exercise of memory to narrate trauma, nor the rewriting of a selection of stories under a different title, but also the fact that the novel creates an imaginary bridge with Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn's novel *Die Glocken der Heimat*[33] (first published in 1911) which is often remembered in her essays. The church bells and their sound mark the topographically protective space where the values and traditions of the village are preserved. Though, the traumatic atmosphere makes itself notice as soon as Müller replaces the church's belles with the image of the nearby swamp. While Manea is creating an imaginary republic formed with Jewish authors from Mitteleuropa, Müller is developing a feeling of belonging to the minority literature of the Germans from Banat.

Trauma starts to submerge the texts' ambiance when in the story 'Faule Birnen' Müller creates a metaphorical sense of 'zu Hause' describing how moving away from home meant actually getting close to it. When the family leaves the village, Müller uses the possessive pronoun 'uns' in the expression 'bei uns zuhause' to express the belonging space which they decided to leave. The feeling of belonging is also expressed by *die Maulbeerbäume, die Akazienbäume, die Pappeln* (the mulberry, acacia, and poplars trees) the same that Müller-Guttenbrunn describes in his novel. The 'home' village from the lowlands is yet again flooded with cold, hostile, strange, eerie, oppressive, and frightening sentiments. By the end of the novel, we become aware that the cognitive function of the palimpsest is a reflection of the self and a description of one's experiences that will enable what Sarah Dillon refers to as the "spatialization of

[33] Cf. Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn. *Die Glocken der Heimat*. (Berlin: Inktank Publishing, 2018).

temporality."[34] What Dillon wants to say is that even though the palimpsest takes place in a present time, whenever is activated, it describes a non-contemporaneity with the present time or, in other words, the present of the palimpsest is a literary construction of texts with ideas from the past hence the palimpsest projects the spectrality of trauma. *Niederungen* holds a complex palimpsest that combines the traumatic experiences of the narrator with the demythes of Banat's village image constructed by Müller-Guttenbrunn in his novel. Herta Müller deconstructs the image of a harmonious atmosphere shared by the Swabian villages and constructs a perverted image of the village and Swabian tradition. Hence, she uses the palimpsest to rewrite a story that was well impregnated in the wellbeing of the Swabs from Banat for around a century. Memory guides Müller into an archaeological deconstruction of the myth. The cognitive palimpsest swirls around the village's traditional image and transforms it into a gothic story where the church bells announce sermons or deaths. What is important to notice in *Niederunged* is that Müller creates a poetics of memory that topographies the psyche. This is a palimpsestic pattern that we will encounter in almost all her novels. *Niederungen* and *Drünkender Tango* establish Müller's palimpseistic model to recollect the trauma and Swabian village and introduces the reader into her family story in a gothic atmosphere when she says: "Wir gehen durch das Friedhofstor. Das Dorf sinkt in sich ein und riecht nach Tannengrün und Farn, nach Chrysanthemen und nach wächsernem Gestrüpp."[35] The same description is used by Müller in her first two books (*Niederungen* and *Drückender Tango*) and, interestingly, she connects the story to what she calls a 'waxen maze' (*wächsernem Gestrüpp*)[36] as if the palimpsest was already activated as the remembering the image of a second cognitive palimpsest. Müller text is an example of hypertextual imagination that reconfigures the trauma and its unforeseen depths. Memory now guides the reader into the structure of meaning and symbol of trauma and represents the past as palimpsests of the mind. As we go further in the short story "Drünkender Tango," we encounter sentences like "das Dorf ist

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[34] Dillon. *The Palimpsest: Literature, Criticism, Theory*, p. 14.

[35] "We walk through the cemetery gate. The village caves in and smells of evergreen and fern, of chrysanthemums and of a waxen maze." Herta Müller. *Nadirs*. Translated by Sieglinde Lug. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 88. The German version of the quotation: Herta Müller. *Drünkender Tango*. (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), p. 26.

[36] The expression *wächsernem Gestrüpp* refers to natural vegetation dominated by shrubs since *Gestrüpp* means 'scrub' and not 'maze.' Müller implies that as we move forward in time, the memories are growing in different shapes and forms and occupy the cognitive space quite rapidly.

schwarz. Die Wolken sind aus schwarzem Damast,"[37] which announces her poetics of memory functioning as a perpetual production of meaning and symbols to put trauma into multiple representations. The value of these metaphors is that they acknowledge that all traumatic stories might achieve a point of actualisation. The end of the story is a palaeontologic exploration for meanings and symbols that hold individual descriptions for each member of her family in part:

> Großmutter rasselt mit dem Kranz aus weißen Steinchen. Mutter zerdrückt meine Finger in ihrer Hand.
> Vater ist unsere tote Seele. Vater hat heute Kerwei und tanzt am Dorfrand vorbei.
> Mutters Strumpfhalter schneidet sich tief in ihre Hüften.
> Vater preßt im drückenden Tango seine Schenkel an eine Wolke aus schwarzem Damast.[38]

This is a metaphorical image for autobiography suggesting that Müller is constructing it within the *Dorfchronik* (village chronicle) as part of her early traumatic experiences. To be redemptive, the past must be symbolic (*weißen Steinchen*, *tote Seele*) because only like this the character of a palimpsests process for remembrance is not losing their actualization. What is left for the reader is only the information of their action that constantly shadows Müller's memories to create layers of meaning. These details of characters are exactly what the absolute origin is supposed to deliver: a sense of how trauma takes place.

When Genette analyses the palimpsest as part of hypertextuality he believes that there is a hierarchy of linguistic senses, which he identifies as *hypos* and *hypers* that coexist into a circle of meaning (*circuit de sens*).[39] Likewise, Müller is creating an exact circuit of meaning between her characters and their habits creating a metaphorical system that enables the circulation of their constant remembrance, which is the palimpsest. She is a master of creating a metaphorical image for memory that resides

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[37] "the village is black. The clouds are like black damask." Müller. *Nadirs*, p. 89. The German version of the quotation: Müller. *Drünkender Tango*, p. 26.
[38] "Grandmother rattles the wreath of white rocks. Mother squashes my fingers in her hand. Father is our dead soul. Father is having a festival today and he is dancing alongside the village. Mother's grater cuts deep into her hips. In the oppressive tango, father thrusts his thighs against a cloud of black damask." Herta Müller. *Nadirs*. Translated by Sieglinde Lug. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). 89. The German version of the quotation: Herta Müller. *Drünkender Tango*. (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), pp. 26-7.
[39] Gérard Genette. *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré.* (Paris : Éditions du Seuil, 1982), p. 558.

less in the ontopology of the traumatic event and more in the representation of the conditions of its reiteration.

With *Barfüßiger Februar* and *Reisende auf einem Bein* we enter the exile narrative, which represents the literary transition from abstract poetry to fictionalized autobiography to which Müller refers as 'autofiction.' The images and metaphors of these novels are sentiments reiterated in a new narrative and applied to the experience of the exile. They completely overtake the *Dorfgeschichte* and they fuse them to all the other traumatic experiences that previously lead to her exile. The memory continues to function in metaphorical images to finally continue the palimpsest as the circuit of meaning that gives sense to the story.

Müller's settling in Germany coincides with the experimental prose and poetry through her literary collage. The new literary practice is the mechanical practice of the palimpsest since the presentation of trauma is based on the transformation of pre-existing linguistic elements. The language itself is subject to disjointing the meaning with a new traumatic sense. The collage is the ultimate practice of the palimpsest, which is transfigured into an endless reiteration of meanings, symbols, and representations. The narrative describes the action of the traumatic event, while the collage technique symbolises the dissociation and fragmentation of the memory of trauma. The collage amplifies the palimpsest desire of actualization by reproducing the structures of trauma on a fictional level. The representation of trauma is determined by the image of the word, colour, and its meaning thus, its palimpsest is potentially 'more' actualized memory.

Following Müller's literary techniques, we become aware that the palimpsestous metaphor operates on different levels and that a complete communication of trauma can be done through a lecture between different linguistic layers of meaning and symbol and between different layers of represented experiences. The circulation of meaning cannot be done without the metaphor, because the metaphor is the single one that can articulate differences between experiences and literary representation. Interestingly, Müller is using the collage technique in Germany for her essay *Der Teufel sitzt im Spiegel* (1991) to explain and codify the fragmentation of the past. But the collage also announces her further novels since the book's subtitle *Wie Wahrnehmung sich erfindet* (how perception invents itself) introduces the reader into a universe of constructed realities. 'The devil sits in the mirror' because this is what Müller learned from her grandmother, this proverb alludes that fear is perceiving

subjectively but it is expressed and transmitted over as a metaphorical knowledge that holds more an 'irrational' than a description of fear. In this way, the palimpsest is closer to actualization but never present. Thus, the language is the origin of trauma while the palimpsestic view is the fictional image of trauma. The palimpsest establishes the condition of the literary trauma which will be dominating the next novels, especially *Herztier* and *Atemschaukel*.

In the interview with Angelika Klammer, Müller talks again about how memory becomes part of fantasy because of the poetical meaning of the Romanian language. When she was called for interrogation by Securitatea she said: "Mein Vaterland ist ein Apfelkern, man irrt umher zwischen Sichel und Stern."[40] Romania is the *Vaterland* and the poetic reality is the single one that can state how crappy (*beschissen*) life was. The palimpsest is Müller's way to bring into reality the past, and it is her single reality. The language frees Müller from every distressful situation. The palimpsest of the Romanian language is Müller's way to testify her traumas. The *Apfelkern* symbolises the centripetal force of narrating, it is a return to the inner side where she meditates on the external reality, on her life and traumas. The palimpsest of her memory is a well-thought description of her life, is a single reality that Müller knows because the "Umwege sind die richtige Wege."[41] Müller takes refuge in the deepest meaning of her language where her experiences are imprinted in her mind as they come: absurd and fantastic. She says:

> Ich muss doch, um einen Satz zu schreiben, aus den sprachlichen Gewohnheiten der Wörter ausscheren, die Wörter finden sich aufgrund von Takt und Klang, und sie werden auf unerwartete Weise genau und sagen, was ich nicht wusste, dass ich es weiß, zum ersten Mal. Die wirklichen Tatsachen werden nicht außer Kraft gesetzt, sondern verdeutlicht. Es ist doch wahr, es stimmt sogar als Tatsache, dass das Vaterland mit Sichel und Stern ein Apfelkern ist.[42]

> In order to write a sentence, I have to diverge from the linguistic habits of the words, the words are found on the basis of rhythm and sound, and they become precise in an unexpected way and say what I did not know, that I knew first time. The real facts are not overridden, but made clear. It is true, it is even true as a fact that the fatherland with a sickle and a star is an apple core.

[40] "My fatherland is an apple core; one wanders between sickle and star." Müller. *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern*, p. 29.
[41] "Detours are the right ways." Ibid., p. 30.
[42] Ibid., pp. 30-1.

The palimpsest is not an 'außer Kraft gesetzt' but a true and real description of the original event. The 'Apfelkern' is the sickle and hammer between the wheat spikes which are engraved on the communist flag. Hence, the palimpsest is the actualization of memory within the parameters of reality that Müller has experienced.

The Romanian language plays a 'painful' role in Müller's palimpsest. In the previous chapter, we saw that the novels' titles have multiple meanings, which are hidden most of the time in their cultural context. This could be a sign that Müller's palimpsest takes place on the cognitive level in Romanian to resonate with her original experiences. The memory activated through the language of the original event of trauma and its palimpsest is done mostly through German. The linguistic transition of trauma from Romanian to the German language is not only a sign of Müller's bilingualism but also of her metaphorical system that defines her poetology. The palimpsest re-enacts the recollection of memory and redresses the literary style in a specific direction. Trauma governs the narrative logic only to be able to be re-actualised in a literary context. What the palimpsest is doing is to put a Germanic layer of meaning on the Romanian lexis of trauma.

3. The use of the palimpsest in trauma literature

I decided to use the expressions 'snail's shell' and the 'Apfelkern' to define how Manea and Müller deal with their experiences before putting them into words. They represent the metaphoric process through which the traumatic experiences and impressions are disseminated and assimilated only to be narrated at a certain time when the authors felt that their representation would be possible. The actualization is nothing more than bringing into actuality the personal mnemonic experiences – the books that stand as their personal testimonies. As Freud's 'Mystic Pad' shows, when we lift the celluloid and the waxed paper of the wax slab the writing disappears, and the surface is clear to receive new impressions. The old experiences leave traces on the wax slab and only some special light could detect that engraved words. Maybe, it is the same is Manea and Müller's case, which means that only some specific words and phrases can put into light the deeply traumatic experiences. Their mental support does not only resemble the slate but also hold eternal traces that only through special techniques can be told. The palimpsest describes the mysticism of memory, which can hold despite the passing of

time and the peril of amnesia traces that can be brought into light through special linguistic practices.

Manea and Müller share an important aspect of the palimpsest: the recollection of the original traumatic event is done by performing tropological reconstruction of characters. They both use prosopopeia to describe the representation of a dead or absent person by simply amplifying the fact that the past can be reinvented in words. These characters express a high quality of using the metaphor and with it, the entire palimpsest relies on the expressiveness of the words. Manea's mother represents the main reason for his return to Romania because he wants to say a kaddish at her grave. The 'return' to the past and the birth country is a palimpsests method in collecting allegories from a past that wants itself actualized. *The Hooligan's Return* holds the literary motif of the absence of his mother, which Manea could never acknowledge due to his exile in the U.S. Likewise, Lola's death from *Herztier* generates the reason for the protagonist and her friends to decide not to keep silent anymore. The prosopopoeia marks the difference between the palimpsestuous and palimpsest through the memory and traumatic texts. The palimpsestuous is a figurative and metaphorical process to recollecting the past, while the palimpsest is the expression of self-reflection and critical interpretation of the original event.

There is a consistent transformation of the original event in meaning, symbol, and representation and only its palimpsest discourse can disclose some hidden meanings. For example, the novels *The Hooligan's Return* and *Herztier* hold a historical palimpsest in their titles. Firstly, *The Hooligan's Return* is a *re*-writing process of Mihai Sebastian's[43] understating of the term 'hooligan' as a Jew that is against the totalitarian regime. The association is deliberately chosen by Manea to emphasise the belonging feeling to the same group of authors persecuted by the system. Manea says: "it was no accident that I came across the volume in 1950 when the hooligans' war was over and the hooligans' peace was in force."[44] The anti-Semitism was assimilated into an idea, the ideology was transformed into a literary motif that

[43] "[…] încerc să descopăr acel *Cuvântul* huligan, antisemit, reacţ ionar, provocator de pogromuri ş i agent de persecuţ ii, despre care vorbeş te astăzi literatura bunilor mei polemiş ti" [I try to discover that "Word" hooligan, anti-Semitic, reactionary, provoking pogroms, and agent of persecution, of which speaks today the literature of my good polemicists]." Mihail Sebastian. *De două mii de ani. Cum am devenit huligan*. (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2006), p. 120.

[44] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 71.

now plays like a concept with multiple layers of meaning. Likewise, *Herztier* is the result of a similar palimpsest, only the background of the idea is different. Müller is influenced by Gellu Naum's poem *Copacul-Animal* (The Tree-Animal) and she re-writes the idea of 'friendship' as an existence between loyalty and betrayal. The 'friend' is misshaped by communism's dynamisms of scattering a cunning world where there can be no difference between good and bad. The confusion is so great that the protagonists are hiding beneath a false image of "friendship". The 'hooligan' and 'friend' are palimpsestic motives that bear the Romanian topology of meaning and elapses into a variety of meanings in German, English, and Romanian. The palimpsest interpretation of the novels' can be done to almost all novels of Manea and Müller. These kinds of titles resemble, in a way, the classic painting that its reading starts from its title: the elusive meaning of their novel shades in the post-face of the novels' titles.

The palimpsestic introspection of the traumatic literature can be done in two different ways. Firstly, we use the idea of palimpsest to define the difference between original and literary trauma. The latter one attempts to emanate similitudes with the first trauma through literary means such as a figure of speech, references to other kinds of literatures or study cases, or linguistic expressions. Secondly, since the original trauma takes place in the Romanian language then the language is used by authors as a pre-existing text description of their experiences. For Manea and Müller, the Romanian palimpsest does not function as translation or chronologic primary text but as a cognitive affection of physical and mental disposition. Finally, we can assume that the palimpsest, like bilingualism, is caused by trauma and its mnemonic description.

Chapter III: The social and cultural aspects of trauma and their mnemonic significance

Manea and Müller's literature represents trauma as an extreme experience and describes it through analogous observations. As soon as Manea arrives in New York (the paradise) he notices that the city lacks nothing: "food and clothing and newspapers, mattresses, umbrellas, computers, footwear, furniture, wine, jewelry, flowers, sunglasses, CDs, lamps, candles, padlocks, dogs, cars, prostheses, exotic birds, and tropical fish."[1] It is not very clear if Manea refers to the communist or Nazi period, however, both regimes are defined by the absence of vital existential needs like bread or water, while the Holocaust represents the absence of life. We understand that trauma is a manifestation of the absence or restriction of one's existential conditions. By contrast, in Müller's novel, *Der Mench ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt* (2009) trauma is presented as a psychological challenge and physical oppression, a situation in which the characters try to keep themselves alive and sane. In *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt* (2009) she says that the man is a *Fasan* (pheasant) to metaphorically describe the innocence of people and how easy they can be 'hunted' by the communist regime of Romania. Later, in an interview with Angelika Klammer, which later become the book *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern* (2014), she says that the use of the metaphor "*Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan*" is meant to form of differences between the Germans and Romanians since the latter transformed the expression into a living condition: "Das Deutsche hat das Äußere des Vogels zur Redensart gemacht, das Rumänische seine Existenz."[2] Her trauma is the struggle to overpass the condition of the pheasant because Müller does not accept her condition under the communist regime and she is willing to fight against the 'hunter'. She says:

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[1] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated by Angela Jianu. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p. 5.

[2] "The German made the appearance of the bird a form of expression, the Romanian its existence." Herta Müller. *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern*. An interview with Angelika Klammer. (Munchen: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2014), p. 42.

> Leise und kauend sagt der Nachtwächter: „Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt.“ Windisch hebt den Sack und legt ihm auf Fahrrad. “Der Mensch ist stark”, sagt er, “stärker als das Vieh.”[3]

For Müller, trauma is a psychological struggle against the communist system, practice to keep one’s dignity, and a power to emigrate from Romania. Müller is very eager to create trauma as a result of a political instrument of persuasion. The literary reaction of the traumatic event is, on the one side, an incessant critique of the communist society and, on the other side, a form of protection by listening to forbidden music and writing poems. We can assume that trauma affects every aspect of the novel, in a way it is a literary genre that holds a specific atmosphere in describing the social and cultural circumstances of the authors’ experiences. I further plan to use the historical method to investigate the socio-cultural condition in which Manea and Müller had traumatic experiences and, later, wrote about them.

The examples above describe the general practice of how Manea and Müller represent and describe trauma in general. Variations of its description occur only on symbolic and representational levels and very rarely on the meaning level. The historical event of the traumatic experience cannot cause alone the collective awareness of trauma, nor could acknowledge the implication of trauma in our everyday life. The meaning of trauma arises from the collective understanding of the traumatic experience. This means that trauma has a cultural and social understanding. Firstly, the cultural understanding of trauma is given by the impact of the literature in the society where it occurred and by its literary meaning as a genre since it establishes a specific style for their literature. For example, Manea’s refusal of being considered a Holocaust writer ends up in his awareness of his Jewishness as a result of his traumatic experience, his trauma becomes a reason of belonging next to those who suffered similar experiences because of their Jewishness hence he can be considered a Holocaust author. Comparably, for Müller the traumatic literary motif has one sole purpose, to offer the reader the possibility to experience her communist trauma. Secondly, the social

[3] "Still chewing, the night watchman quietly says, “A man is nothing but a pheasant in the world.” Windisch lifts the sack and lays it on the bicycle. “A man is strong,” he says, “stronger than the beasts.” Herta Müller. *The Passport*. translated by Martin Chalmers. (London: Serpent's Tail, 2009), p. 9. For German version: Herta Müller. *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt*. (Frankfurt am Main: Ficher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), p. 8.

understanding of trauma is given by the meaning of the event rather than its intrinsic nature, which means that the social feature of trauma is defined by the collective understanding of the Holocaust and communism. The social and cultural background of the authors envisage the traumatic outcome which only through memory can become part of the public sphere. In this way, we can assume that the socio-cultural dimension of trauma is determined by its representation and understanding in the collective memory.

1. Differences and similarities between *verwanzten Wohnung* and *Konzentrationslager*

From a social perspective, the Holocaust and communism are defined by a spatial difference given by the terms *verwanzten Wohnung* (bugged flat) and *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camp). When Müller describes the influences of Securitatea's oppression power on her language she becomes aware that her traumatic experience described by the terms of *Unsicherheiten* (incertitude/s) and *Todesangst* (fear of death) had a different meaning from Oskar Pastior's portrayal of the *Arbeitslager*[4] (labour camp). The *verwanzten Wohnung* could still give her the possibility to write, she should still have a type of freedom that was controlled by the *Securitatea*'s members. The big provocation was to resist the regime's oppression and what Müller calls *Staatssprache*' (the state's language) - an ideologized language with the sole purpose to transform the individual into sympathiser of the regime. The metaphor *verwanzten Wohnung* describes Müller's flat that is under constant surveillance and has hidden microphones. The flat represents her space of controlled freedom since she must be careful that her actions or words would not lead to her persecution since *Securitatea* knew everything that was happing inside. The *verwanzten Wohnung* describes the absence of direct physical contact or abuse and introduces the reader to an indirect way of psychological torment. The word *verwanzten* describes only one method of controlling and tormenting the people, while the *inamicii statului*

[4] Herta Müller. *Lebensangst und Worthunger*. (Munich: Suhrkamp, 2009), pp. 11-3.

(the state's enemies) were imprisoned or 'kidnaped' from their lives and were never seen again.

The Communist Party of Romania had implemented in the '50s the re-education prisons[5] with the purpose to re-educate the intellectuals, authors, political dissidents, or any person that was disobedient towards the regime. The *Pitești Experiment*, called by Alexander Solzhenitsyn "the most terrible act of barbarism in the contemporary world,"[6] represents one of the re-education prisons that functioned, apparently, in a similar way with the Nazi's concertation camps. Nevertheless, there is a consistent difference between the prison and the concentration camp: the communist prisons were built to re-educate and to transform irreversibly the mentality and behaviour of the individual, while the camps' purpose was to eliminate the 'enemies' of the Third Reich. The end of the re-education prisons and the Nazi camps revealed a second difference between them: the communist authorities stopped the re-education process, condemned it, and abolished all these prisons by 1980; in the case of the concentration camps, the prisoners were liberated by the Allied troops who also condemned the perpetrators. In the case of the re-education prison, it is very hard to identify the guilty ones since the perpetrators are accusing between themselves without anyone willing to assume the guilt. In the end, the condemnation of some wardens did not reveal the implication of the communist system and the party members in the creation of the re-education prison. Also, passing the guilt from one person to another one without revealing the real intention of the communist party has created confusion in identifying the perpetrators. The Communist Party of Romania has never been condemned for the atrocities of the re-education camps. In the case of the concertation camps, the guilt belongs to the Nazis who were condemned at the Nuremberg trials.

These being said, the sensation that the expression *verwanzten Wohnung* gives it exactly this confusion and lack of trust in the others expressed by the re-educational prisons. The communist regime achieves the ability to make everyone presumably guilty. Even though the prison from Pitești was closed in 1951 other prisons continued

[5] During the Communist rule in Romania several prisons were re-education experiments were taking place. The prisoners were mostly young political activists of the ultra-nationalist Iron Guard Party, Zionist members, or supporters of other parties than of the Communist Party of Romania (PCR). The prison from Pitesti, called 'Pitesti Experiment', was considered by Virgil Ieruca the "most intensive brainwashing torture program in the Eastern Bloc". Virgil Ieruca. *Fenomenul Piteş ti*. (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011), p. 6.

[6] Cf. Jacob D. Lindy and Robert Jay Lifton. *Beyond Invisible Walls: The Psychological Legacy of Soviet Trauma, East European Therapists and Their Patients*. (London: Routledge, 2001).

their activities under different names or far from public awareness. The Romanian revolution from December 1989 stopped, probably, the evolution of these prisons to reach the amplitude of the Soviet Gulags or of the modern-day situation in China of the Xinjiang[7] re-education camps where more than one million Uyghurs are imprisoned.

The social implications of *verwanzten Wohnung* seem to be similar to the situation of the Jewish community before the Second World War and resemble the Jewish ghettos. The communist regime succeeded to control the population of Romania by creating collaborators who were working for Securitatea. Their role was to create a sense of anxiety that if they were saying something against the totalitarian regime they could be punished. Securitatea succeeded to create a form of 'psychical abuse' as a form of force exercised indirectly without physical force but with fear and concern that made people to be controlled, manipulated, or falsely accused. Comparably, the physical absence defines the time when Jews were marginalized and their shops were sabotaged and were erased once with the *Kristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass) during the night between 9th and 10th November 1938 when 267 synagogues were burned or destroyed, more than 7000 Jewish businesses were burned or damaged, and around 30,000 Jews were arrested and imprisoned in concentrations camps. The *Kristallnacht* does not only cancel the physical absence but also announces the beginning of the Holocaust.[8] The violence of the *Kristallnacht* can be found in the communist practices since they abolished other political parties, imprisoned the 'enemies of the state,' restricted and controlled the freedom of people, and promoted a new type of mentality. These radical ideologies had a huge impact on the social and cultural levels: the entire values of society were changed and the cultural activities, lectures, theatre performances, or films were prohibited or restricted while specific books were burned.

By comparison to the re-education prisons, Müller's *verwanzten Wohnung* was still given the opportunity to the individual to own objects where the *Arbeitslager* has dispossessed the individual of all his belongings. The absence of objects and the complete absence of the possession of objects transforms the individual, it is limiting his existence, and makes the individual not belong to himself anymore. She says: "Gar

[7] Cf. Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley. "'Absolutely No Mercy': Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims". *New York Times*. 16.11. (2019).
[8] The data is taken from the digital collection offered by "Yad Vashem. The World Holocaust Remembrance Center." The website can be consulted at the following web address: https://www.yadvashem.org.

keinen Gegenstand besitzen: Dadurch ist man sich fast von selbst weggenommen."[9] According to Müller people could possess objects under communism, even though was in a limited and controlled way. In *Herztier* she is describing the *verwanzten Wohnung* as follows:

> Ein kleines Viereck als Zimmer, ein Fenster, sechs Mädchen, sechs Betten, unter jedem ein Koffer. Neben der Tür ein Schrank in die Wand gebaut, an der Decke über der Tür ein Lautsprecher.[10]

Müller describes the poverty and the social situation in which she and her classmates had to live within the freedom to possess dressings, jewellery, food, or notebooks. The 'loudspeaker' becomes the centre of their residence life, because it "sehen und hören alles was wir tun,"[11] it controls life and limits freedom, yet the protagonists could still act from free will within their limits.

The *Arbeitslager* neutralizes completely the idea of possession. Manea describes his traveling to Transnistria like this: "Night, shots, screams, plunder, the bayonets, the dead, the river, the bridge, could hunger, fear, the bodies – the long night of Initiation."[12] The idea of 'objects' is absent and it is replaced with the feeling of the object, the "Jews were the object"[13] where all other objects, that could be possessed like "old cigarette pack, burned candle" were nothing more than "strange objects."[14]

The relation between objects and trauma of the Holocaust and communism describes perfectly how Swabians and Jews were seen from a social standpoint, how they were controlled and dispossessed of their goods and identity. The transformation of the individual, through the presence or absence of objects, is reflected during the entire novels of Manea and Müller and makes us understand that each author talks about themselves from a different point of view, of being nothing or of having nothing. Müller

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[9] "To not own any objects: through this is one taken almost from himself." Müller. *Lebensangst und Worthunger*, p. 27.
[10] "A little cube of a room, one window, six girls, six beds, under each a suitcase. Next to the door, a closet built into the wall' in the ceiling over the door, a loudspeaker." Herta Müller. *Herztier*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), p. 11. Fort the English version: Herta Müller. *The Land of Green Plums*. Translated by Michael Hofmann. (London: Granta Books), p. 4.
[11] "Sees and hears everything we do." Herta Müller. *Herztier*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 2009), p.11.
[12] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 65.
[13] Ibid., p. 191.
[14] Ibid., pp. 113-4.

says: "Ohne private Gegenstände und Rückzugsmöglichkeit ist man nicht nur ein Ich-habe-nichts, sondern ein Ich-bin-nichts."[15] The difference between 'having nothing' and 'being nothing' describes a long-lasting psychological implication of trauma on one's personality. The literary way of conserving and passing this traumatic experience from one generation to another reveals its social and cultural impact on the collective memory.

2. The cultural and literary understanding of trauma

The cultural investigation of trauma will be done from a double perspective. Firstly, the cultural background of Manea and Müller's literature is determinative for their style, purpose, and ideas. When Manea becomes a member of the Union of Romanian Writers in Bucharest being a constant presence at the literary circles and meetings of the Union, integrates himself in the flow of Romanian literature. By contrast, Müller represents the minority literature of the Swabs from Timișoara and frequents the literary circles of 'Aktionsgruppe Banat' and 'Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn'. Secondly, trauma implies a certain type of storytelling, making the authors use literary techniques of intertextuality and autofiction to describe a sober and anxious atmosphere, to create metaphors to portray trauma, or to depict the traumatic experiences suffered in exile or concentration camps. Trauma imposes a specific way of narrating and because of this, it defines a specific type of literature thus, trauma functions as a literary genre. This means that literature transforms the original experience of trauma into a new type of trauma, which is the literary trauma. The new linguistic stylistics and technique practices that are preceded by trauma leads eventually to identify the writings of Manea and Müller as trauma novels. In this case, trauma affects the literary text on the stylistic and representational levels. We see that trauma is not only the source of bilingualism and palimpsest but becomes essential for Manea and Müller's literature.

The original experience of trauma is transformed once it is narrated and, therefore, becomes a cultural, or in our case, literary trauma. The differences between the original event of trauma and literary trauma are essential and we need to understand them to be able to describe how trauma works within a literary text. If the original

[15] "Without private objects and possibility to retreat, one is not only an I-have-nothing but I-am-nothing." Müller. *Lebensangst und Worthunger,* p. 27.

trauma is linked to the historical events that were experienced by Manea and Müller, the literary trauma is the fictionalized event that can generate the appearance of the trauma novel. The 'literary trauma' becomes part of the entire narrative theory that, in time, can stand alone as a generic feature for such literature. The literary enhancement of trauma is an effect of its cultural feature that "occurs when members of a collective feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways."[16] To read Manea's and Müller's literature from this perspective means to miss out on the event of its literary motif, in other words, we are eligible to get into false understating of the traumatic event.

The original experience of trauma, before its literary enhancement, suffers already a mutation on the cognitive level because of the palimpsest process. The memory of trauma is already the first transformation of the original experience, whereas its testimony suffers a linguistic transformation, which for translation practices can suffer further transformations. To discuss the evolution of trauma and the differences between its representations, we need to start by defining its very own context with all its cultural and social implications.

Literary trauma is a sign that the authors have been subject to an experience that left permanent marks upon their consciousnesses creating their memories and transforming their identity irrevocably. This means that literary trauma is based on the original trauma experienced by the authors. Literature can puzzle our approach to trauma and its authentic meaning. The metaphors and poetic images are only some of the literary qualities that guide trauma within its narrative. This is why the literary condition of trauma can be understood in two ways. Firstly, the literary attributes can present trauma in such a way that the reader can experience it him/herself. Manea and Müller's fragmentism can disclose a reconstructed self, the collage, memoirs, or auto-portraits are symbolic images of literacy that can be felt by the reader. Literature invites the reader to experience trauma through empathy. Secondly, trauma can suffer alteration and become a fictional trauma. In this case, the authenticity of traumatic experience is under question and the literary features disconnect the reader from the

[16] Jeffrey C. Alexander. "Towards a Theory of Cultural Trauma." In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. edited by J.C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka. (Berkley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 1-30, (p. 1).

original experience of trauma. The latter representation of trauma jeopardizes the understanding of the genuine trauma and its moral implications in the collective memory of our society. Literature questions the fidelity between the original experience of trauma and literary trauma, whereas the ethical condition of the Holocaust and communism imposes to discover the original event of the traumatic experience.

As I said in the first chapter, literature can distort the truth from the witness' testimony however, it stands on the side of the original experience of trauma. The socio-cultural methodology will reveal the circumstance of the traumatic experience. Trauma in literature is created on the original event with traumatic implication, which makes the literary trauma hold a historical fact that can be empirically proven. The bilingualism of Manea's and Müller's novels precipitates the representation of trauma, and it can distort its true meaning if the narrative is not understood correctly. Also, the palimpsest effect shades multiple meanings on the historical event and generates different interpretations of trauma. These aspects of literacy must be analysed from a socio-cultural perspective in order to establish the correct premises in which trauma has occured.

3. The social aspect of trauma

Manea's and Müller's ethnicity plays an important role in understanding their traumatic experiences. Their literature portrays a personal trauma that, through its conjecture, belongs to a larger community. The fact that Manea and Müller represent the Jewish and Swabian minorities of Romania respectively makes us question the social implications of their novels and their ethical role for the collective memory in Romania. The ethnic background of the authors can shade a better understanding of the source of their persecution and the literary meaning and purpose of trauma.

Fascism and communism are ideologies that have persecuted people because of political and religious reasons. The suppression of minorities was a constant practice of the totalitarian regimes from Romania that have led, eventually, to several pogroms, deportations to concertation camps, or surveillances. From this perspective, Manea's and Müller's persecution is part of a bigger picture, the meaning of the collective memory of their traumas. Their texts can be viewed as social documents that describe and examine life under a totalitarian regime and can give clarifications on the situation of minorities in Romania. Ethnicity plays a consistent role not only as one of the sources

of trauma but also as an aftermath of reconciliation and recognition. For example, West Germany considered that Müller has been politically motivated and that she has assumed the role of a *politische Instanz* (political instance)[17] just to flee Romania. Müller does not facilitate at all that she is a German Swab in Germany, while in Romania her main reason for persecution is caused by her ethnicity. By contrast, Manea's integration in the U.S. was facilitated by the Jewish community through Philip Roth, who introduced him into literary circles, and Leon Botstein, who offered him the opportunity to be a professor and a writer in residence at Bard College. Apparently, the settlement of Manea in the U.S. was transitioned smoother than Müller's integration in Germany.

The authors believe that their traumatic experiences have played different roles. As I already said, Manea refused to be considered a 'Holocaust writer,'[18] instead, he had presented himself as an author of the Romanian language who talks about personal experiences and believes, but also as an essayist who describes the life of authors that share the same experience as him, the cultural and moral situation in Romania, or reflecting on the general perception of the Holocaust. Manea's arrival in New York and his integration into the Jewish community of the city made him aware of his 'Jewishness'. This is a turning point in Manea's attitude towards trauma, he feels responsible that his own Holocaust and communist experience must be transmitted and explained to future generations. He assumes the history of the concept 'hooligan' and implements a civic dialectic that needs to be followed by any witness of traumas of the Holocaust or communism. Manea is changing the representation of trauma from *October Eight O'clock*, where trauma is presented factual to *The Hooligan*, where trauma is assumed and becomes psychological. The new attitude from his novels is defined by understanding that if the trauma is caused by extreme ideologies, then trauma is also the begging of a new type of life. For Manea, trauma is caused by political and social reasons and it is determining also as a social effect, a new social condition for life. He says:

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[17] Lyn Marven. *Body and Narrative in Contemporary Literatures in German. Herta Müller, Libuse Monıkova, and Kerstin Hensel*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 2.
[18] Jeanine Teodorescu. "Norman Manea: "I am not a Writer of the Holocaust." In *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*, eds. Valentina Glajar & Jeanine Teodorescu (Berlin: Springer, 2011), pp. 175-194.

> Fascismul românesc – care se proclamă 'creștin' și 'moral' - a profitat de confuzia unei demorații parlamentare fragile, pentru a-și căuta o bază electorală în rândul tărănimii frustrate și neglijate social […]. Mișcarea răspundea acelorași premise ca și național-socialismul hitlerist: *căutarea identității* (care, în condițiile acelei perioade confuze, era de înțeles, și pentru români, și pentru germani) și *construirea unei mitologii* (în cazul României, ortodoxismul creștin ca ideal de puritate fraternitate utopică ș.a.m.m).
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> Romanian Fascism – proclaimed itself 'Christian' and 'moral' – took advantage of the confusion of a fragile parliamentary democracy, in order to seek an electorate based among the frustrated and socially neglected peasants […]. The Movement responded to the same premises as the Hitlerist national-socialism: the *search for identity* (which, under the circumstance of the confusing period, was understandable for Romanians and Germans), and the *construction of a mythology* (in the case of Romania, Christian orthodoxy as an ideal of purity brotherhood utopian etc.).[19]

The social conditions of trauma deal with the 'ambiguity' and search for identity and with the outcome of the traumatic terror and fear, a refuge where the people could live within the new political and social rules.

On the other hand, Müller's narrative discourse seems to follow congenial Caruth's description of trauma as an unsolved "problem of the unconsciousness"[20] that clarifies the intrinsic inconsistency of experience and language. Müller's trauma is an absence of a 'normal' life, it is an experience of an unwanted terror, a source of knowledge of extreme experiences that affects, on the narrative level, its own linguistic representation. Müller's metaphors change the psychological understanding of trauma and its experience by the reader as well as the semiotic and social concern. Manea's refusal of being a Holocaust author is Müller's constant proclamation that she is a dissident. The entire social implication of Müller goes under this concept – dissident – which implies a factual and ethical action from individuals against a totalitarian ideology.

The social effect of Manea's and Müller's novels reveals, again, the centrifugal and centripetal influential differences. The difference stands in the skills of representing society and trauma. Manea's narrative does not refer directly to the traumatic facts, the trauma of the Holocaust and communism are implicit in his novels. The centrifugal

[19] Norman Manea. *Despre Clovni. Dictatorul ş i Artistul*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2013), p. 138.
[20] Cathy Caruth. *Unclaimed Experiences. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. (London & Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 17-8.

narrative orbits around trauma and represents it as a social effect of ideological coercion. In *October Eight O'Clock*, *Compulsory Happiness*, or *The Hooligan's Return* trauma is never central to the novels, it is present in each aspect of the protagonists' actions. Manea represents the communist and fascist societies with accuracy, while the everyday life and personal trauma emanate from the description of traumas as a form of terror, ambiguity, ethnic marginalization, or as a simple act of hate. The central force of storytelling stands in representing the society as gravitating circularly around trauma leaving space for judging and imagination to the reader. The finesse of Manea is that he is not influencing the reader and the society is not personalized, Manea is leaving space for narrative affliction and self-judgment. This delimitation defines Manea's ethical attitude and moral duty of transmitting his story and his knowledge to the reader. For Müller the representation of the narrative action is centripetal, and trauma takes a central role in her narrative. The entire society is representing through a traumatic vision, the language is affected and stands in a metaphorical key or cryptology, while terror and fear are constant sentiments of Müller's society. The narrative is a personalized society, one that is defined by words and visions that have a personal meaning. For example, in 'Always the Same Snow and Always the Same Uncle' she describes her departure from Romania that takes place in February 1987 as a 'silver spoon'. She says: "I called it silver spoon. And that was the simplest, most precise way to describe the whole event."[21] Her 'tears,' her friends 'back shimmered,' or the 'winter sun' all remained in Müller's consciousness as extreme sentiments of the acute experience of leaving the country where she was born. Müller's trauma is personal, and her narrative is constructed in a way of representing society as she was seeing it or as she experienced it. In the same essay, Müller's exile trauma was put in contrast with her mother's trauma of deportation to the Soviet Union for forced labour in 1945. Because Müller's mother was deported also in February, she describes the snow as 'betraying,' since she could never forgive the snow that revealed tracks that led Securitatea to her hidden place and, ultimately, to her capture. Society is represented as a personal extreme experience, and it must be understood through the intersection between traumatic experiences: Müller's snow from her departure in February 1987 was 'the same' as the snow of her mother's deportation. The continuous comparisons

[21] Herta Müller. "Always the Same Snow and Always the Same Uncle." In *Cristina and Her Double*, translated by Geoffrey Mulligan. (London: Portobello, 2013), p. 3.

between personalized traumatic experiences are what define Müller's centripetal narrating force.

The ethnic group, the cultural background, and the political ideology are the social qualities that define the source, impact, effects of the Holocaust and communism in the Romanian landscape. Since the literary trauma is a construction, we can assume that the "cultural traumas are socially mediated processes."[22] Manea's traumatic discourse starts from the description of social transformation caused by extreme ideologies and explores the condition from which trauma can be grasped, by contrast, Müller's trauma is present in any social aspect of her life, she personalizes the object, action, person, and nation to reveal the massive and irreversible impact of trauma. The comparative approach on Manea and Müller blends into a complex claim on how social reality is transformed by extreme injury and it represents "an exclamation of the terrifying profanation of some sacred value, a narrative about a horrible destructive social process, and a demand for emotional, institutional, and symbolic reparation and reconstitution."[23]

4. Trauma as social and cultural instance in Manea's novels

For a very long time, Manea refused the label of the witness-author but when he sees his name in the book *Jewish Writers of Romanian Language,* he becomes aware of his 'Jewishness'[24] which, until that point, it was never an important topic for his novels. Even though he talks about the Holocaust in many of his novels especially in *The Hooligan's Return* and *October 8 O'clock*, he emphasizes that the Shoah is only a part of his writings without dominating the narrative discourse. He believes that the expression 'Writer of the Holocaust'[25] is easily used and, in many cases, defines authors that have nothing remarkable to say. Manea's ethnicity becomes more present in his

[22] Jeffrey C. Alexander. *Trauma. A Social Theory*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), p. 63.
[23] Ibid., p. 16.
[24] Cf. Petreu, Marta. "Dialog peste ocean. Interview with Norman Manea." In *România literară*. (October 1992). No. 25: 31/. 7.
[25] Jeanine Teodorescu. "Norman Manea: 'I am not a Writer of the Holocaust'." In Valentina Glajar and JeanineTeodorescu (eds) *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust. Studies in European Culture and History*. (New York" Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 176.

cognitive self-representation with *The Hooligan's Return* where ethnicity and citizenship become the main topics of the traumatic discourse. Finally, we can state now without retention, that after some unsettled times, Manea's novels reflect the social condition of the Jewish author within the cultural background that animates the circumstances of his journey.

The chapter 'Romania' from the book *On Clowns. The dictator and the Artist* (1994) offer an overview of the simple lifestyle, cultural values, and Western influences in Romanian literature during the communist regime. Romania's social and cultural values start to change once with the appearance of the extreme political ideologies, as Eugène Ionesco says: "In Legionnaire, bourgeois, nationalist Romania I saw the demon of sadism and stubborn stupidity incarnate before me."[26] The mixture of 'paranoia and disorientation' governs the entire society of Romania and as soon as you assumed the role of an author "they've got their eye on you."[27] Between 1965 and 1975 Manea talks about a 'liberal' decade when Romania was prosperous economically and culturally, yet "the memory of that time has a tonic vibrancy"[28] because the historians and critics could not congest the valuable cultural actions and published book during that time.

The Black Envelope (1986) and *On Clowns. The dictator and the Artist* (1994) show that Manea is interested in identifying the influence source for Romanian literature, defining the social and cultural values, and linking them to a more general concept, such as *Mitteleuropa* (Eastern-Central Europe) with the purpose to determine the cultural identity for this region. For Manea, *Mitteleuropa* is defined by a 'distinctive skepticism' and he believes that Romania cannot be understood aside from the neighbourhood countries, even though after 1975 the communist regime drove Romania's politics closer to China and North Korea, an action that has questioned the country's indemnity. *Mitteleuropa* is defined by Manea through the words of Václav Havel from his book 'The Anatomy of Reticence'[29] quoted by Manea as follows: "a bit mysterious, a bit nostalgic, often tragic, and even at times heroic."[30] Cultural and social

[26] The are several structural and compositional differences that the Romanian and English editions present. For example, the story *Blasfemie ș i carnaval* (Blasphemy and Carnival) is present only in the Romanian version. I will further continue to use both versions to offer a more complex understanding of Manea's novels. Norman Manea. *On Clowns. The dictator and the Artist*. (London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994), p. 3.
[27] Ibid., p. 9.
[28] Ibid., p. 41.
[29] Cf. Václav Havel. *The anatomy of reticence: Eastern European dissidents and the Peace Movement in the West*. (London: The Charta, 1985).
[30] Manea. *On Clowns. The dictator and the Artist*, p.16.

emancipation is defined through the term 'glasnost' used in the 1980s by Mikhail Gorbachev[31] as a political slogan for 'openness and transparency'. According to Manea, *glasnost* was "the implicit program of art and literature, before the terror of a frightening, hysterical censorship stifled in recent years [after '80s]."[32]

Manea's literature integrates itself perfectly in *Mitteleuropa*'s glasnost. It is concerned with the past, present, and future of the 'special' literature that Eastern-Central Europe can produce. For Manea, Bucovina remains a nostalgic impulse that feeds his inspiration and constant interest in deciphering *Mitteleuropa*'s destiny and reflecting on the Western – Eastern oppositions, which shifts the moral directions of Romania. The cultural attitude that he holds is reflected through Paul Celan's speech on the award ceremony of the literary prize of the city of Bremen when he talks about Bucovina as "a little-known landscape' and Romania as 'a country inhabited by people and books."[33]

Since the Holocaust and communism are the main traumas treated in his novels, the Holocaust brings his novels on the same side with Elie Wiesel's *Night*, Aharon Appelfeld's *The Story of a Life*, or Gregor von Rezzori's *Memories of an Anti-Semite*, while the Communist trauma puts him next to Herta Müller. However, the literary development of Manea is not definitory for minority literature, he becomes part of Bucharest's literary circles and gets involved in the activities and publications from the 'Writers' Union' of Romania. Several books of essays are dedicated to the stories with different authors offering us a very detailed atmosphere of the literary circles, from which I would like to underline the importance of the book *Plicuri și portrete* (Envelops and Portraits) published in 2014. The book represents a clear and detailed analysis of the novels published during the communist regime.

The fact that Manea has chosen to continue to write in Romanian after his exile makes him a singular case in the history of the Romanian language. This affects his writing not only linguistically, but also through the cultural flux information that the language provides. No wonder that even after more than thirty living in New York he continued to describe, in detail, the Romanian society and its cultural landscape. Decisively, another social and cultural aspect of Manea novels and essay combines the

[31] David S. Mason. "Glasnost, perestroika and Eastern Europe." In *International Affairs*, Volume 64, Issue 3, Summer (1988), pp. 431–448.
[32] Manea. *On Clowns. The dictator and the Artist*, p. 25.
[33] Ibid., p. 23.

typological interpretation of the north-eastern part of the former Austrian Empire, from Bohemia to Bucovina, and the conception of the imagination and memoirs in the writing of Franz Kafka, Paul Celan, or Mihail Sebastian to determine a comprehensive revision of traditional grounds in both the literature and life of the authors.

4.1.The postbellum period

Romania became the Popular Republic in 1947 when the Russian secret intelligent services have supported the Communist Party to take over the power. The country faces a post-war period of heavy and irremediable social and cultural changes. The postbellum[34] becomes a symbol of restructuring and reorganization of the whole country. Literature was used to serve the party's purpose and those who refused entered into a cultural form of 'resistance'. This is why I believe we can talk about two types of literature: the 'communist' literature that praised the worker, the socialist power, and the regime realisation and the 'resistance' or 'dissent' literature concerned with the restoration and integration of identity and reflection on the new humanism after the war, and strong criticism of the regime. The literature of the regime, the 'political novel' "will strive to find a balance between the contradictions of socialism and the unrestrained unity around the single party"[35] and it resembles complete and severe literature of social propaganda. By contrast, the dissident and resistance were behaving socially differently, "facing censorship, dissidents try to assume an oppositional public voice and activity, whereas those in internal exile tend to withdraw from politics and even from the world."[36]

The postbellum period produces a series of emigrations and exiles for authors that could not or did not want to adopt the new socialist realism in their literature, like Isidore Isou, Andrei Codrescu, Gabriela Melinescu, or Aglaja Veteranyi. The public discourse was controlled by the totalitarian regime and replace, in the 'underground' society with a marginal discourse. Manea is one of these authors that fled Romania not

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[34] The postbellum describes the post-war intellectual period of Romania when literature starts to experience new (nationalist) socialist values. Cf. Eugen Negrici. *Literatura română sub communism*. (Bucharest: Editura Fundaţ iei Pro, 2006).

[35] "se va strădui să găsească un echilibru între contradicţ iile socialismului ş i unitatea de nezdruncinat din jurul partidului unic." Eugen Negrici. *Literatura română sub comunism. 1946-1964*. Volume 1. (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 2010), p. 27.

[36] John Neubauer and Borbála Zsuzsanna Török (eds). *The Exile and Return of Writers from East-Central Europe a Compendium.* (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), p. 18.

only because of the social conditions under a totalitarian regime but also because in the West he could pursue a writing career, which he eventually did. His exile confronted him with the New World, with the 'Paradise' envisioned as New York where he encountered the freedom of thought and speech. The adaptation to the new values, the linguistic difficulties, and psychological acclimatisation to a new mentality created a sort of melancholy present in the post-exile novels.

The exile made him rethink, reorganize, and find a meaningful purpose for his literature. Between 1986 and 1997 Manea supports the translation of his short stories and novels into German, English, and French. The essay collection book *On Clowns: The Dictator and the Artist*' (1994) announces a reorganization of his writings by combining his experience in the concentration camp from Transnistria, the socialist regime under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, and describes the life during the socialist nationalist years under Nicolae Ceaușescu. We can see that Manea assumes the palimpsest of his memory even after he reiterates his story into literature, he feels the need to re-write it to offer a clearer representation of the traumas of the Holocaust and communism.

The major books published by Manea in Romania like *Capitvi* (Captives) (1970), the short fiction *October, Eight O'clock* (1981), and the essay book *Pe Contur* (On the Edge) (1984, 2014) describe the silent 'witness' of his traumatic experience, which is an indisposition towards the communist regime and presents the incipient idea of culture and identity that can stand for the emancipation and historical memory of Romania. The books are also an example of how the social condition of the authors influenced his writing. In *On the Edge*, he says that "unitatea spirituală a unui popor este, înainte de orice, una de limbă," the word becomes the spiritual purifier "din însăși harta țării, căreia cuvântul condiționează și isotria și Geografia."[37] For Manea, the 'word' must be honoured through 'devotion to the truth' (*devoțiune față de adevăr*), which for him means a higher devotion 'to peers and to oneself' (*față de semeni și față de sine însuși*).[38] He is emphasising a moral duty with civic implications for the book, critique, and the reader because the "primirea abordării artistice este, desigur, legată de public."[39] Manea's urge for civic action that resemblances Hans Joas and Wolfgang

[37] "The spiritual unity of a nation is, above all, about language […] From the very map of the country, to which the word conditions its history and geography." Norman Manea. *Pe Contur*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2014), p. 8.
[38] Ibid., p. 9.
[39] "The reception of the artistic approach is, of course, linked to the public." Ibid., p. 12.

Knöbl's idea of "civic humanism", which is understood as a consequence of the totalitarian society and as a "narrower concept of action."[40] When he is talking about the role of the novel, critique, and the reader he believes that the relationship between all the aspects of culture has, as sole purpose, the avoidance of the 'misunderstanding' (*neînțelegerea*). The book is the 'defeated disease' (*boala învinsă*) which makes itself available for the 'unpunished vice' (*viciul nepedepsit*) of the reader. These metaphors accentuate Manea's spiritual engagement for literature, as a superior form of art that is necessary for individuals and for the nation.

Going further, the novel *Captive*s is an examination of the post-war (interbellum) period in Romania and presents the society and the characters under the enormous lack of identity, of traumatic experiences, and their slow process of adapting to a life crushed by the weight of everyday problems. The novel also emphasis the submission of the narrator to the totalitarian state. In the 'I' chapter he says:

> And so I advanced monotonously along uniform spirals and uniform hours, alongside uniform people heading toward uniform cities, submissive, too, like the one beside me — the double, my indifferent twin.[41]

The pre-exile work of Manea is a sort of submission only to the incipient idea of creating better literature, to create a 'modern mythology' (*mitologie modernă*)[42] that can stand for new and authentic literature.

> Importanța rămâne după opinia noastră, asigurarea unui climat cultural autentic, în care arta, literatura (deci și receptarea creației) să se mențină vii, într-un climat favorabil creației umane în genere, sub imperativul valorii, deci a spiritului critic, fără de care viața însăți eșuează în staticul degenerativ al apatiei.[43]

Manea believes that alongside other authors of that time (Nicolae Velea Teodor Mazilu, George Bălăiță, or Marin Preda) could create 'experimental' literature that could

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[40] Hans Joas and Wolfgang Knöbl. *War in Social Thought: Hobbes to the Present*. Translated by Alex Skinner. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 37.
[41] Norman Manea. *Captives.* Translated by Jean Harris. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), p. 206
[42] Manea. *Pe contur*, p. 27.
[43] "In our opinion is important to ensure an authentic cultural climate, in which art and literature (and thus the reception for the creation) are kept alive, in a climate favourable to human creativity in general, under the imperative of value, hence of the critical spirit, without which life itself fails in the degenerative state of apathy." Manea. *Pe contur*, p. 19.

produce 'important' novels that could have 'a little impact' on the historical course of Romania. This does not mean that Manea was supporting the nationalistic idea of the regime, he was just part of the cultural project that seemed to revive the Romanian literature until the presence of the 'political novel'. In the chapter 'Showcase' from *Pe contur* is presenting the cherished novels that appeared between 1965 and 1979 of authors that "au reușit să dea o expresie originală, înaltă și durabilă asumării depline a condiției scrisului […]."[44] Manea is not interested in the novels that promote the socialist realism that glorifies the regime and the proletariat's struggle towards social progress, even though some of the authors mentioned by him did write books or articles in this way. For Manea, it is important that the authors assume the 'condition of the writing' and whose fidelity for aesthetics is an ethical circumstance while their consciousness must be truly responsible and engaged in civic duty. Manea is an author who bounds himself to the French slogan from the early nineteenth century *l'art pour l'art* (art for art's sake), an author that is in search of the 'true' value of literature and cautiously transmits the meaning of its content to future generations.

The postbellum period of Manea is extremely important for the development of the Romanian novel because he makes his fellow Romanian authors aware of the difference between the larger context of the world and literature and the smaller context of the nation and closed society. This 'median context' of the Eastern-Central European literature shows similar experiences and history between countries that "brought them together, at different times, in different configurations and within a shifting, never definitive, borders."[45] The importance and influence of Manea for Romanian literature resemblances the effects of the literary contribution of Czesław Miłosz in Poland, Milan Kundera in the Czech Republic, Danilo Kiš in Serbia, or Ismail Kadare in Albania. On the other side, during the postbellum period, Manea developed his literary style and topics, that will become more frequent in his novels discussed in his essays, like the originality of describing the tumultuous reality of the artists and the destiny of art in *Cartea Fiului* (Book of the Son) (1976; 2012), the intellectual approach on questioning the reality for communist reality in *Zilele și jocul* (The Days and the Game) (1977;

[44] "They managed to give an original, high and lasting expression to the full assumption of the condition of writing […])." Manea. *Pe contur*, p. 31.
[45] Milan Kundera, *The Curtain*. Translated by Lind Asher (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. 46.

2012), or the dialect of 'raccourci', to envisage and solve the core problem of the traumatic Self in *Atrium* (1974; 2008).

4.2.Manea's exile and 'returns'

When Manea left Romania for the U.S. he started to think about his condition as an author and as a victim of the Holocaust and Communism. Manea's first years of exile are defined by severe melancholia that he describes as an 'anamnesis' time. Manea starts to recollect his memories, to reflect on their purpose and meaning, and on what would be the best way to write about them and for what purpose. He wants to avoid the peril to become *just* a witness of what he calls 'the worst time in history,' to get the feeling of "peeling away one's skin, layer after layer, in competition with the tell-all confessions of television talk shows or the self-revelations of group therapy."[46] On the other hand, Manea's 'return' does not only represents his journey to Romania, but it also defines an entire mental process of re-writing and re-thinking his entire traumatic experience of the "transit camps, the sorting centers, the graves planned by the Marshal [Ion Antonescu]" [47] of his 'resistance' against communism, and the danger that 'Jormania' still represents for the "classic public enemy, the other."[48] For Manea, the death of Iona Pentru Culianu immediately after the revolution made him believe that Romanian did not escape from the communist syndrome of annihilating its 'enemy' even by committing a new murder. Manea returns to Romania guided by this feeling of continuous threat, which is the reason why he returns only on the side of a well-known conductor, Leon Botstein.

After Manea leaves Romania in 1986 he publishes some sporadic short stories in German like 'Roboterbiographie und andere Erzählungen' (Robot-biography and Other Stories) in 1988 or 'Fenster zur Arbeiterklasse' (A Window to the Working Class) in 1989, but more importantly, he engages himself in the translation of his postbellum work that appears all around the world (United States, Mexico, Israel, England, France, and Italy). *On Clowns: The Dictator and the Artist* (1992; 2013) is first published in Romania in 1997 and a new revised and complete version appears at Polirom, in Jassy

[46] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 224.
[47] Idem.
[48] Ibid., p. 19.

in 2013 after it has been published in the U.S. (1992), England (1994), Italy (1995), Germany (1998), Poland (2000), Hungary (2003), Greece (2003), Spain (2006), China (2007), France (2009), and Estonia (2012). The presence in the Romanian cultural space of the complete version of 'On Clowns' (2013) comes after Mihail Sebastian's *Journal* and Mircea Eliade's *Portuguese Journal* were published. These editorial presences are very important because they confirm the verifiability of Manea's books, of his acute analyses of the intellectual atmosphere before and after the condition of the Jews in Romania, and the transformation of the totalitarian (absolute) discourse.

The 'return' defines a new reflection upon trauma and a new form in which Manea wants to describe his own experience, far away from metaphors like 'Initiation' or 'Trans-tristia.'[49] Manea's return to his trauma and his native Romania is a condemnation to hooliganism, to a personal 'Jewish guilt'. The 'return' is a mere confrontation with his own traumas. The interviews collection *Casa melcului* (The Snail's House) from 1999 and the memoir *The Hooligan's Return* (2003) states explicitly that the narrator is a Jewish survivor of the Holocaust and that the communist period of Romania was his period of marginalization and censorship. The return is a reinforcement of the autobiographical motif as we can see that starts to be accentuated in the revised books, e.g., *October Eight O'clock* originally published in 1981 is revised with new biographical elements and republished in 1997 in *Apostrof* Magazine. The biographical elements are also present in *Compulsory Happiness* (1999), the first important book published after his exile. The short story 'Composite Biography' states the purpose of Manea's return:

> For a long time now, we've become unable to understand ourselves except in relation to others. Only this approach, apparently, can lead us to any meaningful conclusions. In the same way, we cannot look to the future before learning who we are.[50]

On Clowns. The Dictator and the Artist (1994) does not only liaise the postbellum books with the post-exile ones, but it shows and explains Manea's purpose in literature. Manea talks about the communist period as a 'human reality' that can always revive as

[49] 'Trans-tristia' is a word play for 'Transnistria' that describes the 'sadness' of 'trans'.
[50] Norman Manea. *Compulsory Happiness*. Translated from French by Linda Coverdale. (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1994), p. 49.

ideology and social structure. Manea is making communism understandable, an existential condition that is not absurd anymore, but potential and possible anywhere in the world. This is why the narrator is not affiliating himself to a 'national' collective memory or trauma but represents each experience as singular, and each individual must know how to protect himself from totalitarian regimes or any other political 'kitsch'. The first years of exile meant for Manea a psychical movement from 'captivity', where he had experienced sufferance, terror, but also resistance, solidarity, and hope, to 'liberty' where Manea becomes responsible for 'humanism' and writes out of civic duty. After the liberation from the concertation camp, in 1945, Manea experiences language through a book of Romanian fairy-tales (*bazme românești*) and acknowledges the 'word as a miracle' (*cuvântul ca miracol*), later, under Communism and through exile, he discovers the 'word as a weapon' (*cuvântul ca armă*)[51]. Manea, like Müller, develops a logocentric discourse because the word can represent what the speaker cannot and transforms the experience into a cultural and political signification. The use of the 'word' implies a certain symbolic and meaning interpretation since "the narrative form allows psychological identification, and such emotional attachments allow the extension of new cultural-cum-political frames."[52] For Manea the 'word' has a literary expression and a civic reason within the use of it, it must solely serve the virtues of the personal aspirations and a free society. 'On Clowns' describes the exile and its acute experience, the Romanian communist society, the intellectual society formed by the most prestigious authors of that time, and most importantly, it shows a new type of reading. In the subchapter 'Referatul cenzorului' (The Censor's Report) Manea shows how the book *Plicul negru* (The Black Envelope) was analysed by a censor from Securitatea. The sentiment of fear and terror is reinstalled and resemblances the experience from Transnistria where the possibility of negation of life was possible. This report comes exactly when several Romanian authors were imprisoned, or they just disappeared without a trace. The ambiguity of the circumstance of the dead of Marin Preda[53] starts to mark the book with extreme feelings. The censor reminded Manea that

[51] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 202.
[52] Alexander. *Trauma. A social Theory.* , p. 153.
[53] Marin Preda was one of the best-known authors of the interbellum period, supported often by the regime in his writing. In 1980 he published 'Cel mai iubit dintre pământeni' (*The most Beloved Earthling*) regard as an extreme critique of communism. When the regime becomes aware of the meaning and the implication of the novel on the collective awareness of Romanians, they decided to withdraw the novel from the public space and to ban its republication. On 16th May 1980 Marin Preda was found dead at the Writers' Mansion of

he is now, again, a "forbidden existence"[54] but not because of his Jewishness, as in the case of the Holocaust, but as an author. Manea's exile and life in the U.S. start with the censor's report that made Manea aware of Thomas Mann's words: "libertatea e un lucrum ai complicat decât puterea."[55] The books published during the American experience come with a thoughtful contemplation on moral responsibility and civic duty for freedom.

For Manea, the author is responsible for his writing and his social implication. From this point, there is no surprise that *On Clowns. The Dictator and the Artist* has the essay 'Felix Culpa' where Manea presents the social and cultural situation of one of the most important Romanian intellectuals of the past century, which is Mircea Eliade. Manea blames Eliade for the lack of responsibility of his public discourse pro Mussolini and his 'demystification' (*demistificare*) [56] in the realization of the totalitarian ideology. Manea never contests Eliade's value rather he reaffirms it, and he underlines Eliade's remorse under 'melancholic and sufferance' reverberations.

> Găsim la 19 noiembrie 1983 următoarea mărturisire tulburătoare: „Nu pot ridica din rafturi cărțile grele, nici nu port scormoni printre dosare ... Să fi fost pedepsit pentru – și prin – ce-am iubit toată viața: cărțile, scrisul?". Melancolia este legată de impasul vitalității. „În loc să-mi văd de lucru, melancolia provocată, ca de obicei, de ... ce-ar trebui să fac acum imediat" (31 martie 1979).
>
> On 19 November 1983, we find the following disturbing confession: "I cannot lift the heavy books from the shelves, nor do I carry routs among the files […] To have been punished for – and through what I have loved all my life: book and writing?"[57] Melancholy is related to the impasse of vitality. "Instead of seeing my work, the melancholia caused, as usual, by […] what should I do now immediately"[58] (13 March 1979).[59]

Mogoș oaia Palace. Even though the official cause of death was asphyxiation, there are several obvious clues that show the implication of the regime in Preda's death.

[54] Manea. *Despre Clovni. Dictatorul și Artistul*, p. 118.

[55] "Freedom is a more complicated thing than power." Ibid., p. 119.

[56] Ibid., p. 125.

[57] The extracts are from the English version of Eliade's journal and Manea makes comparisons to the Romanian version published in 1993 by Humanities from where several passages (condemnable) are missing. Mircea Eliade. *Journal IV, 1979-1985*. Translation by Mac Linscott Ricketts. (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1990). 75. Cf. Mircea Eliade, *Journal, II, 1970-1985*. Edited by Mircea Handoca. (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1993).

[58] Mircea Eliade. *Journal IV, 1979-1985*. Translation by Mac Linscott Ricketts. (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1990), p. 10.

[59] Manea. *Despre Clovni. Dictatorul și Artistul*, p. 127.

'The History of an Interview' (*Istoria unui interviu*) from *On Clowns. The Dictator and the Artist* promotes the same idea as in 'Felix Culpa' the authors have a civic duty and a moral responsibility. Manea says: "Scriitorul – acea dreaptă conștiință în care semenii săi să poată crede."[60] The Chapter 'Blasphemy and Carnival' (*Blasfemie și carnaval*) describes not only the situation and duty of the author but also the differences between countries, ideologies, or between home and exile.

> Exilații nu sunt singurii care recunosc, azi, primejdiile despotismului, manipulând utopia și teroarea. Omul occidental este, acum, semenul lor, cum și ei sunt semenii săi.
>
> Today, the exiles are not only the single ones who can recognize the dangers of despotism, manipulating the utopia and terror. The western man is now their partner, as they are his fellows.[61]

The responsibility of the author stands in his awareness of the fragility of freedom and in rejecting the illusion that the totalitarian ideology cannot come back anymore. For Manea, freedom brings the illusion of 'impossible' rebirth of the past. To avoid this 'danger' Manea urges the authors to be vigilant and responsible towards their freedom. The incompatibility between the past and the present, the totalitarian and democratic regimes depend on the re-evaluation of the totalitarian regimes, their understanding, and acceptance of differences of society.

Manea confesses that he left Romanian twice, in 1941 "sent to death by a dictator and an ideology' and in 1986 exiled "by an ironic symmetry […] because of another dictator and another ideology."[62] The national-socialist doctrines condemn the author to estrangement, to a mere absence from society, which in essence, resemblance death. *The Hooligan's Return* (2003) reintroduces Manea in the collective memory of Romania. It shows a clear and unique alternative in literature not only through his own biographical life but also through mirroring the post-communist society to the pre-war situation. Manea challenges the ethical attitude of the authors (like Mircea Eliade and Constantin Noica) that constitute a national pride for Romania, to create awareness of what blind ideologies can do.

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[60] "The writer – the true consciousness in which his peers can believe." Manea. *Despre Clovni. Dictatorul ş i Artistul,* p. 201.
[61] Ibid., p. 242.
[62] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return,* p. 181.

The civic duty of the author is a constant topic in Manea's books and because of the moral evaluation of the important figures of Romania Manea was and still is marginalized and left outside the cultural discourse of Romania. From this perspective, Norman Manea is treated like Adrian Marino, accused unjustly of collaboration with Securitatea (as Müller was also).[63] The exile of the authors made them not experience the post-communist period, which is described as a transition from a nationalist realism to a lethargic nostalgia. Manea or Müller are slowly introduced in the Romanian post-communist transition as authors from diaspora, and the presence of their books and essays in Romania was often a source for public debate because they present an alternative reality of the Holocaust atrocities committed in Romania and communism time than the one built within the country's boundaries by those who ruled the country after Ceaușescu.[64]

5. The social and cultural aspects in Müller's work

Manea's narrative discourse starts from the beginning of the Second World War, the communist period of Romania, and continues in the post-communist collective memory, while Müller's narrative settles its main attention in Nicolae Ceaușescu's final ruling years from 1980 until 1989. From this perspective, the social and cultural features of the novels are wider and more complex in Manea's texts than they are in Müller's. The importance of such literature is given by the social and historical relevance before and after the fall of communism in Romania. The social and cultural conditions of Müller are not only a linguistic matter but regards her ethnicity since she becomes active in the German literary group *Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn* and then *Aktionsgruppe Banat* from Timișoara and the experience of the communist trauma.

Müller's situation as a German-Swab Romanian who writes in German in Romania about her experiences of Romanian communism is not singular in Eastern-Central Europe. The social context affiliates Müller to other cases that occurred in *Mitteleuropa*. For example, Libuše Moníková (1945-1998) born in Prague wrote exclusively in German about the Czech communist period. Her novels *Pavane für eine*

[63] Cf. Adian Marino, *Viata unui om singur*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2010).
[64] Post-communist political life is defined by a turbulent period where political leaders tried to hide any traces of the Holocaust committed by the Romanian army or of the crimes of the communist period. This phenomenon took place because the leaders of post-communist Romania were members of the old nomenklatura.

verstorbene Infantin (1983) or *Treibeis* (1992) do not only represent a similarity to Müller's novels, but it defines also a metaphorical alliance of symbols. The similarities of topics in the median context of Eastern-Central European countries denotes that the case of bilingualism process is not isolated but rather it is a literary form generated by the traumatic experience of authors of the communist period. This raises the question to interrogate trauma as a potential genre that defines this kind of literature. In this way, Jeffrey C. Alexander talks about social groups of authors whose suffering "becomes a matter of collective concern, cultural worry, social panic, gut-wrenching fear, catastrophic anxiety."[65] Müller is constructing her trauma in such a way that can be shared through a cultural interpretation.

By contrast to Manea, Müller starts her writing career as part of minority literature. Similarly, Müller is not an example of a pure exiled author in the sense of Vladimir Nabokov or Milan Kundera who left their country and mother tongue, Müller left only the native community for the sake of her mother tongue. Because of this, "she thereby constitutes a counterpoint to the classic model of exile; her case exposes the limitations of the figure of the exile as an outsider by reminding us that notions of belonging are elusive and often lose their consistency on closer scrutiny."[66] The fear, tension, and anxiety that the communists were instigating in the country produced in society the same 'confusion' and 'ambiguity' that also Manea described. For Müller, the communist atmosphere corrupts the minds of the people that live in denial. The abjuration attitude of her countrymen made her write *Niederungen* as a repulsion against what Müller refers to a dishonoured mentality. Müller describes communism in *Niederungen* as a *lebensfeindlich* (hostile to life) while in *Herztier* she describes it as being against life. The social background of Müller becomes complex and implies a psychological trauma often expressed as a marginalization from her native country and from her village, and later, from her adoptive country, Germany. If for Manea language becomes his citizenship and home, for Müller language is mischievous and a 'negotiation' between multiple linguistic perspectives. Manea finds in the Romanian language stability since he realizes that he cannot be deposed of it, while Müller is

[65] Alexander. *Trauma. A Social Theory*, p. 3.
[66] Thomas Cooper. "Herta Mu□ller: Between Myths of Belonging." In John Neubauer and Borbála Zsuzsanna Török (eds.). *The Exile and Return of Writers from East-Central Europe.* (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), p. 475.

extracting from Romanian and German the best linguistic expressions to help her to communicate her feelings.

Müller's socio-cultural background is an expression of (self) marginalization and rational isolation. The stories of the village, the Swabian customs and traditions, and the communist dogmatic ideas operate as the mythological source for Müller's poetical description of trauma. The first story from *Niederungen*, 'The Funeral Sermon,' finds the protagonist accusing her father of murder, rape, and adultery, whilst in the rest of the stories Müller creates an extremely denigrating image of Swabian people from Banat. The same traumatic discourse directs towards the Romanian society flooded by mistrust and betrayals because of the communistic practices. It seems that Müller chooses solitude where she can 'cultivate' her traumatic feelings. Socially speaking, for Müller life and trauma are two complementarians of the same unity that is resembled in everyday life experience. Lastly, the socio-cultural context of Müller is defined by the term *Aussiedler* (ethnic German emigrant), which expresses the ambiguities captured in the word 'German' (citizenship and ethnicity) and 'dissident,'[67] as a form of resistance against the communist regime and political situation in Romania.

5.1.The Swabian village under communism

The literary background of Müller is well tied up to the Swabian literary circles (*Literaturkreis*) from Timișoara. The most important literary group where Müller was reading occasionally was *Aktionsgruppe Banat* (Action Group Banat). The 'group' was founded in 1972 as a cultural and intellectual organization that was protesting against the totalitarian regime. In its three years of existence, the literary group managed to create some very important writers such as Richard Wagner, Ernest Wichner, or Anton Sterbling. The literary texts produced by the *Aktionsgruppe* were mostly against Ceaușescu's regime and were promoting a new and free lifestyle. The attitude of its

[67] Müller often refers to a model of dissident in the person of Rau Filipescu and Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa. They both being persecuted and imprisoned by the communist authorities because they had public activities against the regime. Cf. Florin Abraham. *Romania since the Second World War: A Political, Social, and Economic History.* (London: Bloomsbury Academy, 2016).

members ended, eventually, in a constant surveillance and security investigation[68] of the writers. Securitatea's constant indictment and intimidation against *Aktionsgruppe* and the emigration of Ernest Wichner and Anton Sterbling to West Berlin in 1975 led, ultimately, to the dissolution of the literary group. From 1977, Müller becomes officially a member of the literary circle 'Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn,' a society affiliated to Timișoara Writer's Association.

Aktionsgruppe Banat was more than a literary group, it was a political movement that, ironically, was promoting a socialist vision on life, incompatible with the extreme socialism of Ceaușescu. Their ideas were closer to the hippy movements from the United States during the early 1960s. The main activities could be described in two ways: firstly, they envisioned cultural experimentation particularly in literature, secondly, they were imposing a new attitude and a lifestyle originating in the American and British rock stars, such as Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, or Mick Jagger. However, the general intention of the 'group' was about freedom and is defined by Richard Wagner's poetry 'Freiheitstatue in New York' (The Statue of Liberty in New York):

până și pe libertate	even the freedom
au înțepenit-o într-o statuie	they stuck it in a statue
să nu îmbătrânească [...]	not to age […]
să nu cumva	no to, somehow
să facă cu ochiul cuiva[69]	blink at someone

The purpose of the 'Aktionsgruppe Banat' was explained by Richard Wagner, the leader of the group, as a "[...] o anumită atitudine în faţa lumii – cea a omului reflexiv, nu a credinciosului."[70] The reflection process of the 'group' regarded the regime from Bucharest, the Marxist socialism, and also, the individual action of people. The literature of the group is defined by Wagner as an exercise "zum Versuch, die

[68] In 2010 Helmuth Frauendorfer and Michael Baum presents in Berlin the documentary "An den Rang geschrieben – Rumäniendeutsche Schriftsteller im Fadenkreuz der Securitate". The film presents the importance of the *Aktionsgruppe Banat* for Romanian in the '70s and describes its members as important activists for freedom of speech and democratic society.

[69] The poetry is extracted from an anthology of the 'Aktiongruppe Banat' edited by Corina Bernic and Ernest Wichner, followed up by a critical reception of the book with an article of Ioan Ş erbu. Cf. Corina Bernic & Ernest Wichner (ed). *La început a fost dialogul. Grupul de acţ iune Banat ş i prietenii*. (Jassy: Polirom, 2011); Cf. Ioan Ş erbu. 'Cât costă poezia?' In *Timpul*. (Jassy. 24.02.2015).

[70] "[...] certain attitude towards the world – of the reflective man, not of the believer". Ioan Ş erbu. "Cât costă poezia." In *Timpul*. (Jassy. 24.02.2015).

Umklammerung der Provinz und das kommunistische Verbot gleichzeitig zu überwinden."[71] The main message of the texts was outlined under the idea of 'resistance' they were manifests of 'dignity' against the humiliation and persecution provoked by Ceaușescu's regime. The texts published in several anthologies[72] are not only a socio-cultural resistance to the totalitarian regime, but they are also examples of a new type of bilingual narrative combining the Romanian and German languages. The literary experiment of *Aktionsgruppe Banat* defines Müller's novels and holds the key to understating her encrypted metaphoric discourse. Richard Wagner talked of the literary group's experiment as Romanian-German literature which "maybe it was able to do more than the Romanian one, but it also dared more."[73]

Aktionsgruppe Banat and *Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn* circles represent regional literature of the Swabian minority that became significant for the local community because it provides a sense of identity and promotes tolerance and respect for the other. What is exceptional about these literary movements is that they are experimenting with a bilingual perspective on literature, incorporating linguistic and literary elements from both German and Romanian cultures. The correlation between Romanian and German linguistic and cultural perspectives will generate, in the post-exile novels, the appearance of the 'foreign view', e.g., Müller's alienation becomes preeminent since she feels like a stranger in Germany as she used to be in Romania. The literary groups represent Müller's moment when she began to exploit her bilingualism and express her palimpsest since their pattern is to "combine values on social and linguistic dimensions, taking account of both the minority or majority status of each language and the linguistic input received [in our case] by the authors."[74] The Romanian and German languages were used in literature by the group members as a symbiosis of meanings and ideas, which resembles Alexander's 'structures of meaning' caused by the socio-

[71] "[…] to try to overcome the clutch in the province and, at the same time, to ban the communism." Wagner, Richard. 'Die Aktionsgruppe Banat. Versuch einer Selbstdarstellung". In Wolfgang Scholtt. Wortreiche Landschaft. *Deutsche Literatur aus Rumänien – Sibenbürgen, Banat, Bukowina. Ein Überblick vom 12. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. (Leipzig: Blick Punkt Buch – Sonderheft Rumänien, 1998), p. 163.

[72] Cf. Ernest Wichner (ed.). *Ein Pronomen ist verhaftet worden. Texte der Aktionsgruppe Banat*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1992; Ernest Wichner (ed.). *Das Land am Nebentisch. Texte und Zeichen aus Siebenbürgen, dem Bant und den Orten Versuchter Ankunft*. (Leipzig: Reclam, 1993).

[73] "[…] a fost poate în stare de mai mult decât cea română, dar a ș i îndrăznit mai mult' (m.t.). Corina Bernic & Ernest Wichner (ed). *La început a fost dialogul. Grupul de acț iune Banat ș i prietenii*, p. 18.

[74] Ellen Bialystok. *Bilingualism in Development, Language, Literacy, and Cognition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 3.

cultural process of the "minority."[75] Because of this, I believe that Müller's background reflects the traumatic discourse of minority culture which is formed by the Swabians from Banat. The identification of Müller's literature with the literary practices of the mentioned literary groups, as an example of literature for the Swabians from Banat is not singular, on the contrary, it is similar to Manea's ontopological attitude to create an imaginary republic defined by authors with related background and traumatic circumstances.

The literary societies from Banat were creating, in general, a literature of resistance against the totalitarian regime and literature of belonging to the Germanic culture and language. Trauma is also expressed as a singular and isolated sentiment that occurs as a rejection of the Communist regime and as a forn of unsatisfaction having Swabian heritage. Her first novels, written before her exile, are a poetical exposition that describes the customs of the native village, the *Dorfgeschichte*, a precarious sentiment of guilt and consciousness remorse because of Müller's father Nazi past, and of anger because of communist persecution and her mother's forced labour imprisonment. It becomes clear that Müller's representation of trauma is related to her personal experiences.

The social and cultural context of Müller is well described in her first novel, *Niederungen*, first published in 1982 and then in 2010 with additional changes, where she explains her native village as a world of corruption, superstition, violence, and extreme religious beliefs and practices. For Müller, the Swabian village is "the first dictatorship which I knew."[76] The story 'Das Schwäbische Bad' (The Swabian Bath) had created several controversies due to Müller's critique of the Swabian society. The story describes how an entire family takes a bath using the same water in the bathtub. She says: "Grandpa drains the bathwater from the bathtub. The Little grey rolls of Mother, of Father, of Grandma, and of Grandpa are whirling around the drain."[77] Delius says that for Müller the German villages are a 'hell-on-earth' while her childhood is described as if she grew up in 'the Empire of Barbarity'[78]. Müller's incipient description

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[75] Alexander. *Trauma. A Social Theory*, p. 15.
[76] Bridgit Haines. *Herta Müller. Contemporary German writers*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), p. 17.
[77] I use the English version of the second edition of *Niederungen* published in 1988 by Rotbuch Verlag in Berlin. Herta Müller. *Nadirs*. Translated by Sieglinde Lug. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 7.
[78] Christian F. Delius. "Jeden Monat einen neuen Besen." In *Der Spiegel*. 21 July (1984), pp. 119-23.

of trauma symbolises and represents the collective identity of in the Swabian village. The fact that Müller reconstructs the trauma that she lived in her village means, in Jeffrey Alexander's words, that she is in search of a re-remembering the collective past that still defines the contemporary self since "identities are continuously constructed and secured not only by facing the present and future but also by reconstructing the collectivist's earlier life."[79]

The reception of *Niederungen* in Germany is often associated with the left-leaning intellectuals, which makes it no surprise that the book was firstly published by Rotbuch Verlag,[80]a left-leaning publishing house. At the same time, in the anglophone space, the interest in Müller's novel is based on her criticism of communism.[81] A surprising fact is that in the story 'Die Meinung' (The Opinion), criticism on the communism-totalitarian regime was, unexpectedly, included in the Romanian edition but not in Rotbuch's edition.[82] Another curious fact is that after Müller's exile to Berlin she describes the *Obszönitäten*[83] (obscenities) of the Swabian community from her first novels as being pure fiction. Regardless of how we want to approach Müller's first novels, we will end up in a conflictual debate on her writing and intentions and this is, probably, how Müller's fiction recreates the trauma of communism, namely as a continuous ambiguity and fear that penetrates our consciousness as readers.

The relation between the text and reader is done by Müller in her essay 'Such a Big Body and Such a Small Engine' from *Cristina and her Double* (2013). Müller's reflection on her joining the Securitatea is described parallel with her father joining the *S.S.* since she noticed that "once you get entangled it never stops, that you constantly treat yourself and others badly."[84] As soon as she becomes aware of her father's crimes, Müller starts to create a 'distance' between herself and the love she had for her father, and implicit, from the Swabian community. The traumatic remorse that stands in her

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[79] Alexander. *Trauma. A Social Theory*, p. 26.
[80] Wiebke Sievers. "Von der rumäniendeutschen Anti-Heimat zum Inbild kommunistischen Grauens: Die Rezeption Herta Müller in der BRD, in Großbritannien, in Frankreich und in den USA." *German Monitor 68* (2007), pp. 299-316.
[81] This is a judgment based after reading Herta *Müller: Politics and Aesthetics*, eds. Bettina Brandt and Valentina Glajar and *Herta Müller*, eds by Brigid Haines and Lyn Marven.
[82] Wiebke Sievers. "Von der rumäniendeutschen Anti-Heimat zum Inbild kommunistischen Grauens: Die Rezeption Herta Müller in der BRD, in Großbritannien, in Frankreich und in den USA." *German Monitor 68* (2007), pp. 299-316.
[83] Anton Scherer. *Geschite der donauschwäbischen Literatur von 1848 bis 2000*. (Munich: Donauschwäbischen Kulturstifung, 2005), p. 54.
[84] Herta Müller. "Such a Big Body and Such a Small Engine." In *Cristina and her Double*. Translated by Geoffrey Mulligan. (London: Portobello, 2013), p. 156.

poetic and traumatic discourse from *Niederungen* is the process of creating separation, a moral delimitation from the repercussions of her own father's actions. She says:

> My father has been dead for thirty years, and I continue about his life. Or should I say: over his life. And precisely because I know mortal fear for political reasons through my own baggage, I reproach him for belonging to the Waffen SS, for hounded others into mortal fear. Why shouldn't I? This reproach is the least of it. He believed in Hitler, wanted Hitler to win the war, even though he was a witness of those crimes. He is part of the Master from Germany that Celan portrayed in his 'Death Fugue'. I read books. […] He is one of those who brought fear to Jorge Semprún, Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt, Jean Amery, Aharon Appelfedl, Imre Kertész, Ruth Klüger, Louis Begley. To Primo Levi, Paul Celan, and Walter Hasenclever. He did armed service, he wore the uniform that spelled death for those I have just named. What can I do but reproach him for it.[85]

Müller is aware of the effect of fear and trauma on writing and on the human spirit. What she wants to create in her pre-exiled books is the same traumatic sentiment defined by fear and anxiety but reversely. Literature must communicate trauma, must expose its source, and act upon it through the reader's acknowledgment and action against it. For Müller the writing is the single way to describe and to talk about her experiences, this is why for trauma to "emerge at the level of the collective, […] social crises must become cultural crises."[86] The representation of her events is done through the cultural understanding of one's identity.

The same tendency of describing life under the communist regime and local habits continues with *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan aus der Welt* (1986) (The Passport) and *Barfüßiger Februar* (1987) (Barefoot February). The book collection *Drückender Tango* (1984) (*Oppressive Tango*) combines entire short stories from *Niederungen* and *Barfüßiger Februar*. This is a common practice for Manea who restructure the several books adding of taking short stories or entire chapters. Müller and Manea's process of describing and representing trauma arrives at new levels of difficulty which are overpassed through literary techniques of fragmentism or collage.

In Müller's case, the social description of the novels transgresses from the *Dorfgeschichte* style towards a more preeminent criticism of the totalitarian regime and personal exile. The novels offer a general impression as arrangement social critique and

[85] Ibid., p, 157.
[86] Alexander. *Trauma. A Social Theory*, p.15.

metaphorical poetry, an imaginary that has the purpose to portray the individual within its personal trauma. Müller's personal experience in the totalitarian regime starts to concretize under continuous criticism of everyone that supports the regime from Bucharest or betraying themselves by working for Securitatea. At this stage, for Müller people are either *dumm* (stupid) or *immer bereit, zu verzeihn* (always ready to forgive).[87] Müller's desire to emigrate to Germany comes with an acute antipathy of unforgiveness against Romania and those who caused her pain. The analogy between her trauma and her mother's resentment that she "never forgave the snow,"[88] since it reminded her of the deportation in 1945 to the Soviet Union for forced labour, becomes a constant pattern of the novels written outside Romania.

The post-exile stories hold a social and cultural background that will determine the future writings of Müller. The social condition of the Swabian peasant and the mysticism of the village's practices will continue to define Müller's poetical style and the powerful images full of meaning that can deceive the reader from discovering the true source of the communist trauma. The short stories from this period describe also how Müller becomes the consciousness of her existence under a totalitarian regime and what exactly this means for her and how it changes her perception of life and happiness. In the story, 'Ein großes Haus' Müller describes the situation of the entire people during communism. When Amalie hangs the map of Romania on the wall, she starts to describe the situation in Romania as follows:

> Alle Kinder wohnen in Wohnblocks oder in Häusern […] Jedes Haus hat Zimmer. Alle Häuser bilden zusammen ein großes Haus. Dieses große Haus ist unser Land. Unser Vaterland.
> […] Das ist unser Vaterland', sagt sie. Sie sucht mit der Fingerspitze die schwarzen Punkte auf der Karte. 'Das sind Städte unseres Vaterlandes…Die Städte sind die Zimmer dieses großen Hauses, unseres Landes. In unseren Häusern wohnen unser Vater und unsere Mutter. So wie unser Vater im Haus, Jedes Kind hat seine Eltern. So wie unser Vater im Haus, in dem wir wohnen, der Vater ist, ist Genosse Nicolae Ceaușescu der Vater unseres Landes. Und so wie unsere Mutter im Haus, in dem wir wohnen, unsere Mutter ist, ist Genossin Elena Ceaușescu die Mutter unseres Landes Genosse Nicolae Ceaușescu ist der Vater aller Kinder. Und Genossin Elena Ceaușescu is die Mutter aller Kinder. Alle Kinder lieben den Genossen und die Genossin, weil sie ihre Eltern sind.[89]

[87] Herta Müller. *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt*, p. 9.
[88] Herta Müller. "Always the Same Snow and Always the Same Uncle." In *Cristina and her Double* p. 4.
[89]Herta Müller. *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt*, pp. 61-62

> All children live in blocks of flats or in houses […] Every house has rooms. All the houses together make one big house. This big house is our country. Our Fatherland. […] 'This is our fatherland', she says. With her fingertip searches for the black dots on the map. 'These are the towns of our Fatherland […] The towns are the rooms of this big house, our country. Our fathers and mothers live in our houses. They are our parents. Every child has her/his parents. Just as the father in the house in which we live is our father, so Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu is the father of our country. And just as the mother in the house in which we live is our mother, so Comrade Elena Ceaușescu is the mother of our country. Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu is the father of all the children. And Comrade Elena Ceaușescu is the mother of all the children. All the children love comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu and comrade Elena because they are their parents.[90]

The German paragraph shows perfectly the style and amalgam of subtitle meanings that Müller will continue to master in her post-exile novels. The voice of the narrator is almost naïve while they believe in the dictators and their importance for the country is portrayed as 'familial' love. Müller's feelings are honest and her expectations from the country and Ceaușescu resemblances Amalie's undoubted love for Ceaușescus since 'they are their parents'. Later in *Immer derselbe Schnee und immer derselbe Onkel* (2011), she describes her disappointment in her country and the cruelty of Ceaușescu that made her wish to escape the country at any cost. Müller's assumed exile received direct criticism and an endless condemnation of the communist regime of Ceaușescu and towards anyone who supported or did not do anything against it. Once with the exile, Müller's trauma is defined by the impossibility of forgiven a country, a nation, and a dictator.

The Passport does not only describe the efforts of a Romanian-German family to emigrate to Germany, but it shows also an increase in her criticism against the totalitarian regime, while her writing style becomes more political than in *Niederungen*. Moreover, the novel innovative style and political inclination announce the more personalized discourse that will start with *Reise auf einem Bein* (1989) (in English: *Traveling on one Leg*) and will reach its maturity with *Herztier* in 1994. It seems that with her exile to Germany, Müller becomes more aware of her traumatic past and its repercussions that stole her youth and condemned her to a constrained life. Topics like love, family, friendship, hate, faith, fashion, loneliness become more preeminent alongside her strong criticism against the totalitarian regime.

[90] Müller. *The Passport*, p. 51.

5.2.The 'foreign view' and familiar trauma

The importance of Müller's metaphor 'foreign view' is similar in meaning to Manea's use of the word 'return.' The expression describes Müller's feeling of estrangement that she carries on to Germany. After her constant experience in Romania where she was called 'German,' she discovers that in Germany she is named 'Romanian.' The 'foreign' become an attribute of Müller's social identity and inflicts a cultural alteration of a literary style that Müller starts to develop with *Reisende auf einem Bein* (1989). The 'foreign view' is describing Müller's exile in West Germany explained as *Angekommen wie nicht da* (arrived as never there) in *Barfüßiger Februar* (1987) or as *Ausländerin im Ausland* (foreigner in a foreign country) in *Reise auf einem Bein*. The 'foreign view' becomes the impersonal writing style of her personal trauma of her novels that are written after the exile. The terms 'foreign' or 'stranger' will become a common topic in novels like *Reisende auf einem Bein*, *Herztier* or *Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, which present autobiographical elements that portray Müller life in different situations, under the communist regime in Romania, or as an exiled individual in Germany.

The notion of 'foreign view' is especially a sign of Müller's bilingualism which is very well expressed in *Reisende auf einem Bein* when Irene feels as much as a stranger in West Germany as in Romania. The feeling of *Fremdheit* (strangeness) is expressed in the exemplary narrative of hidden meanings that are in a continuous movement from Romanian to German mentality and back. The *Fremdheit* is also the experience as a *Außenseitertums* (being an outsider) described by Müller in the essay "Der fremde Blick oder Das Leben ist ein Furz in der Laterne"[91] (The Foreign View, or Life is a Fart in a Lantern). Müller talks about the transmutation of the 'foreign view' from the Romanian landscape to the German one, which puts her in a continuous experience as an outsider. The 'foreign view' is also the reason why Müller becomes

[91] Cf. Herta Müller. 'Der fremde Blick oder Das Leben ist ein Furz in der Laterne'. *In Der König verneigt sich und Tötet*. (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003).

unsure and insecure about language subsequently saying in 'Always the same snow' that she "doesn't trust language."[92]

Müller's exile to West Germany is the beginning of a personal approach[93] to politics and especially to totalitarian regimes. The 'subjectivism' of her novels created certain controversies in the Romanian landscape. Probably the most important one is the claim of Radu Tinu, who has admitted to spying on Müller, that she 'has a psychosis, and has no contact with external reality' or that 'she wasn't interrogated nearly as often as she has claimed', and finally that she was treated with "kind gloves," because she was "surrounded by German secret service." [94] The accuses of Müller that she exaggerates in her novels cannot be proven, whereas her subjectivity in describing her life under the communist regime can be interpreted also as a PTSD effect of her traumatic experiences. However, Müller's trauma is personalized, and she is personalizing the trauma of victims (*Atemschaukel*) to construct the tragedy of communism. Sterbling describes Müller's narrative as different and the unknown, as overpassing the obvious.

> Die Gesellschafts- und Herrschaftsmechanismen dieser [Ceaușescu-] Diktatur wie auch deren Stützen und Schwächen finden sich in der Literatur Herta Müllers in einer ebenso eindringlichen wie betroffen machenden, scharfsinnigen wie schonungslosen Weise enthüllt.[95]

The 'subjectivism' understood as the personal experience of Communism and the neurosis of totalitarian regimes or personal behaviour is portrayed, for the collective memory of Romania in the film *Vulpe-vânător* (Hunter-Fox) directed by Stere Gulea in 1993. The main character of the film, Irina, is a non-conformist and independent teacher who is spied upon by the Securitatea. The fact that Irina could behave and speak freely could have given the impression that there was light oppression from the

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92 Herta Müller. "Always the Same Snow and Always the Same Uncle." In *Cristina and her Double*, p. 3.

93 Ferguson argues that Müller started to develop a personal approach on politics in general, once with her emigration to Western Germany. Cf. William Ferguson. "Books in Brief: Fiction 'Traveling on One Leg' by Herta Müller." In *New York Times*. (21 February 1999).

94 Cf. Kate Connolly. "Herta Müller 'has a psychosis', claims Romanian agent who spied on her." In *The Guardian*. (26 November 2009).

95 "The mechanism of society and rule of this (Ceauș escu) dictatorship, as well as its supports and weaknesses, are revealed in Herta Müller's literature in a way that is as haunting s it is concerning, ingenuous and relentless." Anton Sterbling. "Das Wesen und die Schwächen der Diktatur. Nachgelesen in den Romanen von Herta Müller." In Thomas Kron and Uwe Schimank. *Die Gesellschaft der Literatur*. (Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2004), p. 170.

Securitatea and that the communist regime was not so severe as it is presented by Müller's novels. When the Ceauşescu family was arrested Irene becomes very optimistic about her future; however, her happiness fades fast away since she finds out that she did not escape from her spies. In post-communist Romania, Securitatea was still active and was used by the post-communist leaders to control the country by forbidding King Mihai I to enter Romania in 1990,[96] or they were involved in the death of Ioan Petru Culianu, who supported the Romanian monarchy. Based on the political events from 1990 Irina's feeling of being spied upon seems to be based on real danger coming from the transitional presidency of Ion Iliescu. The film *Hunter-Fox* announces that the fight for freedom and normal life is not done and the Romanian Revolution from 1989 was just the beginning of a long process of social and cultural transformations.

The post-revolutionary social and cultural life of Romania is not portrayed very often in Müller's novels. Instead, she creates an auto-fiction in her more representative post-exile novels. In *Reisende auf einem Bein* (1989) she emphases the *fremde* feeling that becomes a long-lasting anguishing situation for her. Trauma becomes part of the collective identity of Müller and her friends. She decides to replace the social pain and the communist oppression with the imaginary society which will be acquired through clandestine migration, with Romanian folksongs that alleviate the sufferance, "it comes to me [Müller] just as maybe prayers come to others,"[97] and with the 'unbearable' situation of being silent. Müller is creating out of her collective trauma a cultural instrument that floods all the social aspects of her and her friend's life. Fear becomes a constant part of existence and is present even when the word is entirely avoided. After her exile, her fear becomes a painful feeling of complete social alienation.

The exile made Müller experience disturbances in understanding herself, as a Swab born in Romanian and living in Germany. We can see this especially in *Herztier* where she reconstructs the collective trauma to resolve future social problems of collective memory. Müller rarely identifies the perpetrator, and she prefers to generally

[96] *Securitatea* becomes in 1990 SRI (The Romanian Intelligence Service). The first director of SRI was Virgil Măgureanu who secretly met with KBG chief, Yevgeny Primakov, without informing the political authorities of Romania, and who was directly involved in denying King Michael I of Romania to enter Romania. Cf. Mihnea-Petru Pârvu. "Omul care a ş tiut totul (I). (The man who knew everything (I))." In *Evenimentul Zilei*. (16 April 2019).
[97] Herta Müller. "When We Don't Speak We Become Unbearable – When We Do We Make Fools of Ourselves." In *Cristina and her Double*, p. 168.

name it communism, seldom she is referring to the *Diktatur* or 'National Socialism'. This is because Müller is not interested in the source of trauma, rather in the life and sufferance of the ethnic Swabian Germans. The perpetrator is not an isolated case (Romanian Communism) but is the source of collective trauma. Müller's narrative attitude suggests that "collective traumas have no geographical or cultural limitations."[98] This is the case of *Atemschaukel* (2009) where is described the life of Oskar Pastior after his deportation to the Soviet Union. The individual experiences of Pastior are metaphors for the collective trauma that belongs to the Eastern-Central European countries subject to a constant and penetrating fear of deportation.

Finally, the relation between trauma and language is definitory for Müller as it is for Manea. If for Manea language is his new citizenship, for Müller her language is the result of unremitting hunting of her past, but for both authors, their languages are the bearers of traumas. For Müller, not the language, in which she writes and speaks, is her country but the content of what is written or spoken. Müller brings into notice in *Der König verneigt sich und tötet* (The King Bows and Kills) (2003) that the individual in general needs to know and to understand the content of his life, of the society where he lives. Trauma cannot be grasped without a social consciousness and a cultural grasp of its determination. No wonder that her traumatic discourse constantly refers to Romanian cultural symbolism and Swabian tradition to produce trauma as a cultural identity. Trauma is guiding Müller in perfecting her style, which is a combination of two linguistic systems under a singular representation that is always foreign to the German or Romanian reader. The novels *Herztier*, *Atemschaukel*, *Heute wär ich mir lieber nicht begegnet*, or the essay book *Der König verneigt sich und tötet* hold a cultural and traumatic melancholy that feeds the *fremde Blick*.

6. Brief exposition of the traumatic discourse and the independent variable of its cultural and social content

Manea's and Müller's literature encloses initially the individual psychological trauma, but their novels become part of a society, a community, or a culture and makes trauma part of a collective memory of a community. This is why trauma can occur at the community level just as it does on the individual level, the collective trauma creates an

[98] Alexander. *Trauma. A Social Theory,* p. 30.

ethos, a cultural representation, that presents a social difference from all the original experiences of trauma. Manea and Müller are presenting a shared trauma that can serve as a source of communality similar to how languages or common background can. This is why trauma works as a centripetal and centrifugal force sending individuals apart from each other, and at the same time pulling them towards persons who can emphasise better with them.

The traumatic event remains as a continuous remembering experience at the cognitive level. Its representation cannot be otherwise than logocentric. Cognition is defined by social interaction, culturally based activities, and linguistic abilities that accentuates, eventually, a personalized psychologic development. Trauma is not only determined by the socio-cultural background of the authors, but it is also defined by it. Trauma is 'cultural' because it invokes meaning and identity, representation and symbolism, and its social because it is a communal ontotopological phenomenon.

The Swabian and Jewish ethnicities have a massive implication on how trauma is regarded and how the author presented it. For Müller the Swabian origin is bound to soviet deportation in *Cristina and her Double*, it is a type of abomination in *Niederungen*, a strangeness in *Herztier*, and persecution in *Atemschaukel*. The Swabian-Romanian duality is what describes Müller's foreignness, as an author defined by two cultures and two languages. For Manea, the Jewishness is an assumed 'eternal guilt' and a perpetual exile that becomes part of a bigger traumatic experience. The Jewishness is also Manea strongest sentiment of belonging to an imaginary republic made of Ashkenazi authors that range from Franz Kafka's Prague to Stefan Zweig's Vienna, Bruno Schultz's Galicia and Lombardia, Paul Celan's Chernivtsi to Benjamin Fondane's Jassy, Mihail Sebastian's Bucharest, and Manea's very own Suceava. Manea and Müller's background are signs of severe and old traumas from which the Holocaust and communism start to be portrayed through their original traumatic lenses. If for Manea the exile is a transgenerational trauma, for Müller her father's Nazi background introduces her into a 'family' trauma before the experience of communism. For both authors, trauma is a precondition of their personal experiences.

The ethnicity defines also the bilingual comprehension of their literature. Hebrew, German, Romania, or English were the languages that not only defined their cognitive representation of the world but also the experience and description of their trauma. Their origin is a precondition of the authors' exile and their palimpsestic writing: if for Müller the exile is reunification with the main country of Germans, for

Manea it is a condition of the Jewish existence before the founding of Israel, while the palimpsest is the cognitive meaning of the exile's experience described in their literature.

Chapter IV: The relation between trauma and literature in *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return*

To visit Romania is a return to "the legend of the past before the past,"[1] and to speak about Romania feels like we mow the grass as Müller says: "das Gras steht im Kopf […] wenn wir reden, wird es gemäht."[2] These words describe not only the stories of the novels *The Hooligan's Return* and *Herztier*, but they also reveal how literature is affected by trauma through memory. *The Hooligan's Return* refers to the actual return of Manea to Romania: trauma is presented through the political and ideological context of the events from 1940 until the fall of communism in 1989 and highlights a series of cultural and social outcomes in the post-communist society. *Herztier* describes Müller's student life, her relationship with her friends, and the tragic outcome of the totalitarian regime in which they live. The novels are examples of how trauma functions at the linguistic and representational levels through the memory process. In the case of Manea and Müller, trauma affects literature on structural and compositional levels and imposes a series of literary techniques that shapes the *form* of the novel. Likewise, the *content* of the novels is defined by trauma and its significance cannot be dispossessed of its traumatic meaning. Since the form and content of novels are changed through the traumatic content of their story, I will argue in favour of understanding trauma as a genre, which means that we can refer to the mentioned novels as trauma novels. Overall, *The Hooligan's Return* and *Herztier*'s analysis will attest to the effects of bilingualism and palimpsest on literature as an unremitting relation between trauma and memory.

1. The form and content of the trauma novel

The multiple roles that trauma and memory present in fiction make us inquire about the way trauma influences the structure and content of the novel. Manea and Müller are using their experiences of the Holocaust in Transnistria, the continuous surveillance by

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[1] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated from Romanian by Angela Jianu. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p. 62.
[2] "Gets mowed the grass from the head." Herta Müller. *Herztier*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), p. 8.

Securitatea, or the fear emanated by the communist regime of Romania as the main inspirational source for their writing. Since *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* describe how traumatic events dislocate connections between the self and other, or between the self and society by stimulating essential discussions about moral and civic actions, the novels are highly representative for trauma fiction. We know already from Whitehead that trauma is an important source for contemporary literature and transforms the novel on the formal and compositional levels. To interpret the novel, not as fiction, but as a form of fiction that has its bases on a real event, means to understand its characteristics central to its traditional, peripheral, or traumatic experience. It is my belief that Manea and Müller are the promoters of the trauma novel in post-communist Eastern Europe, which is based on a new form of fiction, one that combines traumatic biography (by experiencing the Holocaust and communism) with fiction. To be able to understand the effects of trauma in literature it is required an understanding of how the novels are structured and how they can serve the witness's testimony. The structure enables the narrative testimony, the novel's epistemological validity and moral purpose, while the content will reveal trauma as a source of knowledge, a testified event that had irreversible changed individuals, cultures, or societies.

1.1.The narrative structure between trauma and memory

Trauma fiction transfers images of personal experience into textual images to make them part of a larger, national, continental, or generational trauma. Trauma's novelty in *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* stands in the representation and symbolism of their literary descriptions of the endured tension between the individual and the collective trauma. *Herztier* represents metaphorically the animal inhabited in every one of us that perturbs the human intercommunication and *The Hooligan's Return* uses symbolically the word 'Hooligan' as the undesirable *Other* that now demands justice and historical restoration of his image.

After the Second World War, the literature from Central and Eastern Europe is mostly influenced by traumatic events because testimony is influencing the main plot of the novels. The importance of testimony in literature made Elie Wiesel say that "if the Greeks invented tragedy, the Romans the epistle, and the Renaissance the sonnet,

our generation invented a new literature, that of testimony."[3] But the novels that are defined by the narrated testimony present a paradox: they hold the 'real' event as a source for justice and truth and they express a 'fictional' perspective on the event defined by aesthetic and moral representations. For this reason, testimony becomes the action that activates the fictional feature of literature that has traumatic qualities. Personal testimony becomes traumatic as soon as there is a collective acceptance of the novels' content that can teach further generations the result of extreme ideologies. The swing from testimony to trauma literature brings with itself new changes from the omniscient narrator to a traumatic surrogate-narrator, from an aesthetics of beauty to an aesthetics of macabre, or from a knowledge of good to a knowledge of evil. This type of (traumatic) literature "challenges us to reconnect fragments, to reconstruct history, to make meaning of present symptoms in the light of past events."[4]

Herztier and *The Hooligan's Return* are genuine examples of how trauma is represented in literature and how it influences the narrative text. Literature is not concerned with what is remembered, but rather with 'how' and 'why' a past traumatic event is remembered. The representation of the traumatic event in literature links cultural memory to studies of war, violence, recognition, and healing. For several years already, Manea's *The Hooligan's Return* has stood for the historical injustice, the violation of human rights, and the sole destiny of the persecuted individual. The novel raises a series of questions for memory and trauma studies, but most importantly, it stands as an example of the 'trauma' narrative. As Manea says: "What once was the painful 'destiny' of the poet had now become a collective destiny."[5] Likewise, *Herztier* portrays trauma as a disease that lasts for a long time even after the terror of communism has ended. The characters endure the burden of trauma through a distorted image of the past, present, and also their future and emphasize the importance of dissidence and resistance in life and literature.

Herztier and *The Hooligan's Return* have a different narrative structure of their testimony. Müller uses the auto-fiction technique to describe the traumatic experiences of the protagonist and her friends, while Manea uses the memoir technique to offer a historical description of the Holocaust and communist periods of Romania from a

[3] Elie Wiesel. "The Holocaust as Literature Inspiration". In Elie Wiesel and Elliot Lefkovitz. *Dimensions of the Holocaust*. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1977), p. 9.
[4] Judith Lewis Herman. *Trauma and Recovery. The Aftermath of Violence-From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. (New York: Basic Books, 2015), p. 3.
[5] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 30.

personal view. The comparative analysis between Manea and Müller's narrative techniques prompts Ricœur's concept of narrative identity that can describe simultaneously the individual's change and durability. "He [Ricœur] begins by dividing identity into two categories *idem* and *ipse*. *Idem* refers to a notion of identity based on Sameness whereas *ipse*, described as Selfhood, can incorporate change within a recognizable entity."[6] In our case, the narrative of Müller is defined by the similar trauma shared by her characters, and Manea's narrative is expressed by a subjective description of traumatic experiences. The differences in how trauma is narrated are present on the structural level: *Herztier* is a fragmented narrative, each paragraph has a poetical resonance due to the abundance of metaphors and alliterations, and *The Hooligan's Return* is a well-organized book into parts and chapters following a time and space order of events.

Firstly, Manea structures the novel in a way that he prepares the reader for the traumatic content analogously to the evolution of the protagonist in preparing himself for the 'return' to Romania. From a psychoanalytic point of view, the novel's structure creates a 'mirror stage' where the protagonist becomes a symbolic apperception after a long period of living in New York. When he wants to celebrate "nine years of life in Paradise, the cafe shop 'Barney Greengrass' is transformed into an imaginary symbol that has all memories of the ghetto, pure cholesterol, *Oy mein Yiddishe mame*. The old world and the old life."[7] The repetition of words 'good, good', 'never, never', 'enough, enough' emphasizes the struggle in which the protagonist coexists between the two worlds. The structure of the novel allows Manea to insert huge parts of historical events into the novel, e.g., he describes the events of the Chernobyl incident from 1986 or he gives clarifications why Bucovina is a multicultural and multilingual region since it was part of the Moldavian Participate, Hapsburg Empire, and then of Romania. The 'Preliminaries' are preparing the narrator for the journey and emphasise the reoccurrence of the sentiment of angst. Manea is creating a significant and symbolic narrative around the author-protagonist who describes his past in Romania. He is assuming the past as the main image of the infant that still inhabits his body and the "'Other' as the traumatic "mask […] glued to my face."[8] The novel's two parts create

[6] Patrick Crowley. "Paul Ricœur: The Concept of Narrative Identity, the Trace of Autobiography." In *Paragraph*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (November 2003), pp.1-12, (pp.1-2).
[7] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 8.
[8] Ibid., p. 19.

the double effect of memory: 'The First Return (The Past as Fiction)' is the remembrance of the persecution under the Nazi and communist regimes until Manea's exile and the second part, 'The Second Return (Posterity)' describes Manea's reminiscence of the past experience as a visitor in post-communist Romania. In the New World, the protagonist remembers the traumatic experiences from Romania while, back in Romania, the remembering process is doubled by the traumatic experience of the exile. Manea enforces a meta-memory that underlines the complexity of the relation between trauma and memory and its effects on the protagonist. For example, when he is on the plane, repeating Baudelaire's words like sort of a *mantra*, "you have the honour of being detested,"[9] the protagonist becomes aware of his condition as a survivor and how different the New World is from the Old World: "should I appear onstage as a public enemy or as the victim of Fascism and Communism, or as the shy, retiring writer applauded by the Americans? I am an intruder, that's all, and all I want is to be ignored."[10] The second part, except the chapter 'En Route' testifies on a daily routine Manea's visit to Romania from 21st April until 2nd May 1997 when he flies back to New York satisfied that he finally has found his audience. He claims that his "thoughts have now expression"[11] and that the return did not restore him but allowed him to "continue his wanderings" because a "snail serenely accepts its density."[12] The structure of the novel enables Manea to create a novel full of historical and personal facts that eventually serve his purpose: to stand as a witness for past collective traumas.

Secondly, the novel structure of *Herztier* is a poetical flow of paragraphs. Müller intends is to make the reader understand that her trauma is part of a collective trauma that regards the history of Romania, as Manea does, and to introduce the reader in the middle of the traumatic atmosphere of the narrative. Trauma as a new form of fiction in *Herztier* stands in the poetical flow of the paragraphs that create the traumatic experience for the reader. Müller's invitation comes with a certain series of rules, she puts the reader to choose between being silent or to speak and she often reminds the reader of the outcome of their choice: "the words in our mouths do as much damage as our feet on the grass. But so, do our silences."[13] *Herztier*'s paragraphs are constructed in a way that they can stand individually as poems that represent ideas, feelings, or

[9] Ibid., p. 256.
[10] Ibid., pp. 246-7.
[11] Ibid., p. 382.
[12] Idem.
[13] Müller. *Herztier*, pp. 7, 58, 252.

traumatic images (like the title *Herztier*). The novel re-enacts trauma as a personal experience every time it is read. Müller creates poetic images as she creates collage images in the book *Este sau nu este Ion* (Is He or Isn't He Ion): she finds a central word-image on which she constructs the idea of trauma. The rhythm of the novel is given by repetitive words (green plums, grass, barber, etc.) that replace the meter verses. The word repetition process aims to create what Freud calls *Nachträglichkeit* [14] (afterwardsness), an action by which Müller gives retroactively attributes of traumatic meaning to earlier events. In other words, memory is defined by a traumatic significance, and when it is accessed it shades a traumatic signification on the remembered contentment. Müller's novel is affected by the non-linear temporal relations to the past, the novel's structure becomes a synthesis of feelings and words, which implies a "radical rethinking of the causality and temporality of memory."[15]

Manea and Müller's novels deploy a completely different structural process that gradually portrays the individual and collective memory by coding it into narrative structures, symbols, representations, meanings, or metaphors. The comparative analysis of the novels shows that trauma functions differently from one author to another and that it influences the novel's structure accordingly to the author's intention. This process makes visible that the relationship between trauma and novel is characterized by its dynamic relationship to literary and memory concepts. From a narratological point of view, the literary trauma imposes a clear distinction between an 'experiencing I' and a 'narrating I' since "there is a difference between pre-narrative experience on the one hand, and, on the other hand, narrative memory which creates meaning retrospectively."[16] It appears that memory produces a reciprocal influence between literature and trauma that will influence the narrative at linguistic, syntactical, or representational levels. Finally, the relation between trauma and literature is

[14] Freud coined the concept *Nachträglichkeit* to describe the process of how someone becomes aware of his trauma *after* the event was consumed. The concept presents a very flexible meaning that depends on its use and application. For example, Jacques Lacan translates the concept into French as *après-coup* and maintains approximatively Freud's meaning, for Jean Laplanche the concept becomes central in his theory of general seduction. Cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Eickhoff. "On Nachträglichkeit: The modernity of an old concept," translated by Rod Koeltgen. In *Institute Journal of Psychoanalysis* (2006) 87: 1453–69.

[15] Anne Whitehead. *Trauma fiction.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 6.

[16] Astrid Erll. "Traumatic pasts, literary afterlives, and transcultural memory: new directions of literary and media memories studies". In *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*. (Vol. 3, 2011), p. 3.

accentuated by the prosthetic memory[17] that has ethical implications to produce empathy, social reputability, and equal chances for all races and genders. The biographical construction reveals great differences between the traumatic discourse of *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* and between the representations of the Holocaust and communist traumas. Trauma implies also specific descriptive techniques that enable the novels' new form of fiction: 'auto-fiction' (*Herztier*) and 'memoir' (*The Hooligan's Return*). The auto-fiction imposes a metaphorical and metonymic relation between trauma and the individual, while memoir imposes a synchronic and diachronic traumatic relevance. The structure is 'unlimited' in the way that the novels present cohesion of differential analogy between auto-fiction and memoir.

1.2.Testimony unfolds trauma in literature

The relationship between testimony and trauma is defined in literature by a difference of 'speech' between the two concepts: testimony resembles a monologue whereas trauma imposes a dialogue between the author and the reader. The impact of the Holocaust upon literature has imposed testimony as a new mode to approach traumatic events, it passed from a dialogue between the witness or survivor and his audience to a description of facts. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub define testimony as been "composed of bits and pieces of a memory that has been overwhelmed by occurrences that have not settled into understanding or remembrance, acts that cannot be constructed as knowledge not assimilated into full cognition, events in excess of our frames of reference."[18] If testimony is affected by the shocking experiences in such a way that it cannot be cognoscible, literature transforms testimony into a traumatic symbolism where objects, bodily and abstract parts hold a meaning.

Literature integrates testimony as trauma in a successional way. For example, when Müller talks about the sentences (*Sätze*) of Lola's notebook, she describes them as "*Aufschreiben ließen sie sich nicht*"[19]; testimony is a dream suited for speech (*in den*

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[17]Landsberg argues that memory might be linked to the new needs of modernity. She says: "This new form of memory, which I call *prosthetic memory*, emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site such as a movie theater or museum." Alison Landsberg. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 2.

[18] Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub. *Testimony. Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 5.

[19] "not letting themselves be written down." Müller. *Herztier*, p. 44.

Mund passen) and only by writing them down they could become real. Müller describes Lola's testimony as 'dreams' (*Träume*) in the same manner that Manea feels haunted in his 'dreams' (*visuri*) by his dead mother.[20] Müller's and Manea's testimonies start by discussing their traumatic experience with their friends, Kurt Edgar, Georg, and respectively, Philip Roth, Gellu Naum, and Leon Botstein, the latter even joining Manea on his visit to Romania. Manea's 'return' to Romania is creating a dialogue between the past and the present and resemblances Müller's need to investigate Lola's death to obtain the truth and to restore her image with the help of her friends. Manea writes down his testimony because he finds "fiction perhaps much more eloquent"[21] than memory, while Müller writes it by listening to the parts of her body "1 *Stirn*, 2 *Augen*, 2 *Ohren*, 1 *Nase*, 2 *Lippen*, 1 *Hals* (1 forehead, 2 eyes, 2 ears, 1 nose, 2 lips, 1 neck)[22] because she wants her readers to understand *Angst* (fear).[23]

When trauma is approached through fiction the original experience of the event becomes a testimony and presents a traumatic effect through the remembering process. And since the novel has the power to re-enact the story of the original experience it presents a traumatic effect on the narrative level. This is done by Müller with the help of the fragmentary technique and by Manea through intertextuality as stylistic keys of trauma literature. Fragmentation and intertextuality are used to refer to the particular ideas of presentation that help to form the novel's context. The stylistic forms are an example of radical metonymy that creates an entire symbolic structure in *Herztier* and paratextuality that integrates *The Hooligan's Return* into a given cultural and literary context. *Herztier* starts and ends alluding to the action of 'keeping silence' (*schweigen*), which, metonymically, describes the individuals who fear being punished by the totalitarian regime and by Securitatea. In this case, the term *schweigen* substitutes the effects of trauma, like fear, guilt, or sufferance. Likewise, Manea's paratextuality is present during the entire novel's body, it starts from the 'Preliminaries' and shades a double meaning to the book's two parts and culminates with the story 'The Viennese Couch'. The added elements and chapters guide Manea's testimony and shades a traumatic interpretation of the text by the reader.

[20] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 55.
[21] Ibid., p. 65.
[22] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 145.
[23] Ibid., p. 147.

The nature of testimony is defined by an epistemological vulnerability, it must be verifiable. The authors are concerned that the readers might believe that they are 'crazy', "wenn das jemand hört […], hält man dich für verrückt"[24] or that their testimony is superficial (*kitsch*)[25] or they might end up dead as Lola or Ioan Petru Culianu. Trauma enacts truth and without it, it cannot exist. This is the reason why Manea carefully creates the 'Preliminaries' where he introduces his personal experiences into a historical context to prepare the reader for his journey back into the protagonist's past. The reader is prepared conversely on how the protagonist gets himself morally ready for "such a pilgrimage [that] seemed premature for such a young and emotional person."[26] On the other hand, Müller believes that everyone can carry a true testimony in an obvious way since everyone with a traumatic past is very recognizable: "*was man der Gegend hinausträgt, trägt man hinein in sein Gesicht*."[27] Testimony and trauma are not statements or descriptions, but modes to access knowledge and truth and, in this case, literature becomes the witness that "speaks beyond its means, to testify – precociously – to the ill-understood effects and the impact of an accident whose origin cannot precisely be located but whose repercussions, in their very uncontrollable and unanticipated nature, still continue to evolve even in the very process of the testimony."[28] Trauma affects the novels' form and context and it can be interpreted as a new genre of the contemporary post-war novel.

Finally, the distinction between trauma and testimony is created by Manea and Müller through a *sense of caution* because testimony makes the authors nothing more than witnesses of the Holocaust or Ceaușescu's atrocities while trauma facilitates them access to a larger historical meaning. Their traumatic experience opened up a new understanding of the historical facts as Manea's describes the reasons and outcomes of the abdication of King Michael I on 30th December 1947, which marks the beginning of the communist regime in Romania, or Müller brings into question the repercussions of her father's involvement in the Nazi army. The parallel between testimony and trauma is the authors' impossibility of narrating adequately the trauma of others, even though Müller's *Atemschaukel* opens new possible interpretations such as the interpretation of trauma through the eyes of a different narrator. Also, literature imposes

[24] Ibid., p. 7.
[25] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 27.
[26] Ibid., p. 44.
[27] "Whatever you carry out of your province you carry into your face." Müller. *Herztier*, p. 10.
[28] Felman & Laub. *Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, p. 16.

an inter- and intra-personal dialogue for personal and communal vindication. The authors' testimonies are inviting the public to a dialogue through which their shattered images[29] can be restored. Literature resituates memory and identity as self-recognition over time. *The Hooligan's Return* and *Herztier* are dialogues with 'another' self and with the reader that becomes part of the narrative and claims "a story of their own which holds together the fragments of their [authors'] memory."[30] Manea and Müller are authors that cannot be 'silent' (*schweigen*) and the urge to say the 'truth' (*adevărul*) in their novels present the transition from testimony to trauma literature.

2. *Herztier*'s fragmentism from testimony to trauma

Herztier draws attention to the tension between the individual and collective trauma and consents imagination to provide perceptive representations on the inter-relational dialogue between characters and between the narrator and reader. The testimonial dialogue is defined by two main features. Firstly, the original experience of trauma takes place in Romanian while it is witnessed in German. This shift between languages will bring into question the palimpsestic and bilingual attributes of testimony. The author's memory appeals to literary qualities that might affect the way the story is told or remembered. Secondly, testimony is a singular experience that, with the help of literature (fragmentation, alliteration, hyperboles), it can join other testimonies of authors from different countries creating a better understanding of the communism influence in Eastern Europe. Müller's fragmentism has the power to modulate the story to represent common features of multiple stories, e.g., Lola's notebook is the main allegory that ties together the testimonies of all other characters into a common trauma.

2.1. The transfigurations of testimony

The novel *Herztier* is a testimonial accumulation of characters that ends tragically: Lola is found dead in the dormitory's closet, Georg falls from a window after he emigrates

[29] After Manea and Müller left Romania a series of attacks were launched against them being called either *traitors* or *spies*. Their public defamation is a topic often approached by the authors, especially in Manea's *Pe contur* (On the Edge) (1984) or Müller's *Der König verneigt sich und tötet* (The King Bows and Kills) (2003).

[30] Doris Laub. 'On Holocaust testimony and its 'reception' within its own frame, as a process in its own right: a response to 'Between History and Psychoanalysis' by Thomas Trezise', *History and Memory*, 21(1), pp. 127–50, (p. 139).

to Germany, Tereza dies of cancer, and Kurt is found hanged in his apartment. The death of Müller's characters reflects the traumatic life and tragic outcome of Ceaușescu's dictatorship. The victims' testimony is confessed by the survivor-witness of the first-person narrator and by Edgar. The death of Lola is read from a piece of paper in front of five girls: the student had committed suicide "*diese Studentin hat Selbstmord begangen*" while the authorities dispense themselves of any responsibility, they condemn her death and see it as a national disgrace: "*Wir verabscheuen ihre Tat, verachten sie. Es ist eine Schande für das ganze Land*."[31] After the announcement of Lola's death, the protagonist finds her notebook in her suitcase. Lola is post-mortem expelled from the 'Party' in front of hundreds of people "*Hunderte waren dabei*."[32] Lola's death is transformed into a national shame since she has 'deceived everybody' (*alle getäuscht*) and consequently, she needed to be abolished as a student of the country and as a member of the party (*sie verdient es nicht, Studentin unseres Landes und Mitglied unserer Partei zu sein*) (32). The protagonist becomes a witness of how Lola's death is misrepresented and how the mischievous discourse of the authorities of the university and the party is spreading fear. She becomes aware that she needs to investigate Lola's death when she sees how fear made everyone who was feeling sad "*allen zum Weinen* […] *zu bringen*" to applaud instead "*klatschten sie zu lange*."[33]

Müller is carefully creating the responsibility of the bystander from Lola's death. Each person becomes part of a common truth that must be said and protected even when the communist regime's secret police start to spread fear amidst Edgar, Kurt, and Georg so they all keep quiet "*bleiben stumm*."[34] But the protagonists feel the burden as a "*Kirschkern auf der Zunge liegen bleiben*"[35] of not being able to witness truthfully Lola's death. The silence of the characters must be overcome to create a testimony:

> Die Wahrheit wartete auf die gezählten Menschen und den Finger auf meiner eigenen Wange. Doch das Wort Tausend ging mir nicht über die Lippen.[36]
>
> The truth was waiting for me to count myself, for my finger against my own cheek. But the word one thousand didn't pass my lips.

[31] Müller. *Herztier,* p. 30.
[32] Ibid., p. 32.
[33] Idem.
[34] Ibid., p. 44.
[35] "Cherrystone on my tongue." Ibid., p. 44.
[36] Ibid., p. 44.

While the protagonist tells Edgar about her experience, she realizes that even though he had a pen in his hand, he did not write even a single word "*und schrieb kein Wort in sein Heft*."[37] Edgar could not write down the protagonist's version since he could not believe it, the truth was missing. Müller uses the leaves (*Blätter*) in a metaphorical way as the main common instrument that blocks one's truth. Georg advises against this 'process of silence' through the means of metonymy since he hopes that the story will become true instead "*das kann man im Kopf nicht fassen*,"[38] meaning that he hopes that the story will be told. The truth alone is not enough to have an effect and to restore Lola as a student and member of the party, the testimony needed to be shared and believed. The singularity of one's testimony can be overcome when it becomes part of a common trauma since only such a trauma has the power to restore the true story in the university and society. Lola's testimony reveals the pathologic pattern of the protagonist's friend's traumatic life and, I believe, it extends "the Freudian analysis of mourning to the traumatism of collective identity."[39] This means that the characters suffer because they are moved by Lola's faith and their mourning is to detach themselves from these feeling, which is possible only through the means of testimony. With Lola's death the literary fiction becomes, as Felman and Laub say, "a psychoanalytic dialogue, an unprecedented kind of dialogue in which the doctor's [protagonist] testimony does not substitute itself for the patient's [Lola] testimony, but resonates with it because as Freud discovers, it takes two to witness the unconscious."[40] The novel starts to shape trauma as an impossible feeling to restore or tell the truth, while trauma fragments the story to be able to symbolize its effects better.

Lola's death makes the protagonist aware of the complete danger. Before acknowledging Lola's death, the protagonist says:

> Vielleicht hieß ich in den ersten drei Jahren in diesem Viereck jemand. Weil alle außer Lola damals jemand heißen konnten. Denn jemand in dem hellen Viereck liebte Lola nicht. Das waren alle.[41]

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[37] Ibid., p. 44.
[38] Idem.
[39] Paul Ricœur. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. (London & Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2006), p. 78.
[40] Felman & Laub. *Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, p 15.
[41] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 19.

> Maybe, in those first three years in the little room, I was that someone. Because, except for Lola, everyone could have been that someone. And someone in the bright cube did not like Lola. That meant everyone.

Lola's death expresses the need to testify since the narrator feels the need to talk about Lola and she wants to preserve her testimony "ich wollte Lolas Heft im Kopf behalten"[42] and portrays the unfeasibility of testimony since as soon as she writes down Lola's sentences they disappear and become dreams. Müller needs to create a traumatic dialogue to share Lola's testimony, subsequently, she creates a trauma fiction. On the narrative level, the protagonist transforms itself from 'someone' (*jemand*) to an 'I' (*ich*) and as soon as Edgar, George, and Kurt ask her what happened to Lola, she becomes part of an 'us' (*wir*). The transformation of testimony's singularity into a collective trauma is produced and the investigation of the truth in Lola's death starts.

The quality of a witness becomes an essential part of the testimonial process since the witness is the single person who can pass the story to the audience. And this is the main purpose of Müller's literature, to pass the testimony on. *Herztier* stands as a novel that is witnessed for its protagonists' destiny, it is the medium that brings together multiple testimonies and stands as their sole witness.

> Wenn ich allein an Lola dachte, fiel mir vieles nicht mehr ein. Wenn sie zuhörten, wußte ich es wieder. Ich hatte vor ihren starren Augen in meinem Kopf lesen gelernt. Ich fand im Schädelzerspringen jeden verschwundenen Satz aus Lolas Heft. Ich sagte ihn laut. Und Edgar schrieb viele Sätze in sein Heft.[43]

> When I thought of Lola on my own, there were many things I could no longer remember. When they were listening, everything comes back to me. I learned from their staring eyes how to read what was in my head. In the bursting of my skull, I found every missing sentence from Lola's notebook. I would say each out loud. And Edgar wrote many sentences in his own notebook.

Müller is a witness, and she creates from her novel a new testimony that can be used to testify against the state's totalitarian regime. Lola's death made the protagonist investigate the source of her tragedy and be aware of the totalitarian regime's crime. Müller becomes aware of her role, that of a dissident, the one that needs to stand for

[42] Ibid., p. 42.
[43] Ibid., p. 43.

those vulnerable who cannot defend themselves. Müller's dissidence is to accuse the perpetrators and, to succeed, she needs to stay alive. The complex life of Lola and her sudden death can be understood only through the means of testimony and its full disclosure. Life becomes a condition to testify.

Lola's death is a turning point in the novel. Firstly, Lola's testimony from her notebook is shared through the means of the protagonist's testimony: the meta-testimony that Müller enforces is nothing more than the presence of trauma. Secondly, testimony and, later, trauma, start to affect the novels' structure on a linguistic level: the language is carefully used to tell the story. Müller is creating a difference between the German and Romanian languages, where Romanian is the language of the Dictator, the *Staatssprache*, yet she is going further to decipher the depths of her native German by differentiating literary German, in which she is testifying her trauma, from children's bedtime language, the *Kinderbettsprache*, in which she experiences trauma. We can see that bilingualism is not only a narrative technique of *Herztier* but becomes a direct effect of trauma, it unfolds the truth of testimony while keeping silent between those who cannot read German. Likewise, the palimpsest effect of the Romanian language can be sensed in the differences between 'literary' German and the 'childhood' German since they are not quite alike.

> Die Bücher aus dem Sommerhaus waren ins Land geschmuggelt. Geschrieben waren sie in der Muttersprache, in der sich der Wind legte. Keine Staatsprache wie hier im Land. Aber auch keine Kinderbettsprache aus den Dörfern. In den Büchern stand die Muttersprache, aber die dörfliche Stille, die das Denken verbietet, stand in den Büchern nicht drin. Dort, wo die Bücher herkommen, denken alle, dachten wir uns. Wir rochen an den Blättern und erwischten uns in der Gewohnheit, an unseren Händen zu riechen. Wir staunten, die Hände wurden beim Lesen nicht schwarz wie von der Druckerschwärze der Zeitungen und Bücher im Land.[44]

> The books in the summerhouse had been smuggled into the country. They were written in German, our mother tongue, the one in which the wind lay down. Not in the official language of the country. But not quite in the children's bedtime language of the village either. The books were in our mother tongue, but the silence of the villages, which forbids thought, was not in them. We imagined the land where the books come from as a land of thinkers. We sniffed at the pages and caught ourselves sniffing our own hands out of habit. We were surprised our hands did not blacken as we read the way it did from the ink in the newspapers and books printed in our country.

[44] Ibid., p. 55.

The palimpsestic attribute of the German language appears also to be a traumatic result that describes the transgression from experience-in-a-language to writing-into-another-language. When Müller refers to "*die dörfliche Stille, die das Denken verbietet*,"[45] she questions the innocence of the eyewitnesses of her village by regretting that she cannot include their indifference in writing. Then, the rhetoric of the poetic discourse of *Herztier* includes negating the impassibility of the eyewitnesses into the novel's trauma: the fact that Müller talks about not being able to describe the whole aspects of her trauma is a process of narrating the entire trauma. In a way, Müller keeps the villagers and students accountable for letting the communist regime spread fear, for bringing them into a world where they let trauma happen. Testimony made the protagonist aware that she wants to live to be a witness and to be able to survive the communist regime she needs to flee the country "*Fluchtgedanken*."[46]

Herztier discloses Müller's poetical ability which enables the presence of a meta-testimony: the characters' testimony is comprised by her testimony. Lola's testimony is kept in a notebook which is a testimony of a victim rather than of a survivor. Müller is using this process of testimony-of-testimony in other novels, like *Atemschaukel* (2012), and she describes her mother's traumatic feelings in the same manner in *Christina and her Double* (2013). The difference between the protagonist and Lola's testimonies stands in the intensity of the knowledge of death. Alvin Rosenfeld says that those who survived the Holocaust can create "the most lacerating writings."[47] From this point of view, *Herztier* is a slashing testimony due to the survival of the main protagonist who witnesses the trauma of the characters who die and are unable to tell their stories. The narrator, who survives Lola, becomes aware of the cause of her death and she is subject to the consequences that follow. The protagonist is acknowledging Lola's death during a continuous dialogue with Georg, Kurt, and Tereza, the inter-relationship process makes Lola's testimony become part of a larger context.

The distinctiveness of testimony is changed with the paragraph that introduces the summer house. Edgar and Georg are hiding their poetry and Kurt stashes his photos in the summer house. The protagonist becomes aware of the common effect of Edgar,

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[45] "The silence of the villages, which forbids thought." Ibid., p. 53.
[46] Ibid., p. 55.
[47] Alvin H. Rosenfeld. "The Problematics of Holocaust Literature". In *Confronting the Holocaust: the impact of Elie Wiesel*, Alvin H. Rosenfeld and Irving Greenber (eds). (London: Bloomington 1978), p. 6.

Kurt, and Georg by writing poems, taking pictures, and humming a tune "*Gedichte schrieben, Bilder machen und hier und da ein Lied summen*,"[48] would inspire hatred that might harm the guards, the graveyard diggers, and that this hatred could eventually make Ceaușescu lose his head "*Daß nach und nach alle Wächter und zuletzt auch der Dictator von diesem Haß den Kopf verlieren*."[49] From this point on, Lola's death becomes a symbol of a common trauma of all the characters and a representation of their resistance and their possible fight against the "plumsuckers." [50] The term 'plumsucker' is the symbol of abuse, death, and the nickname for the dictator: "Denn Pflaumenfresser war ein Schimpfwort. […] Auch den Diktator nannte man Pflaumenfresser."[51] Moreover, the plums are showing the impassibility and 'stupidity' (*Dummheit*) of the villagers that were eating plums noisily and in public, without being aware that they might cause death. Edgar, Kurt, and Georg also have eaten green plums when they were young, but they were doing that in hiding and none has thought them not to eat unripe plums. The narrative transforms 'plums' from a symbol of terror to a wordplay that defines each person's character: it does not matter if you eat green plums, it matters how you eat them, where and when. Through the means of 'plums', Müller shows that everyone should be accountable for their action and thought. Testimonial practices require social awareness of every detail and practice of its inhabitants.

Trauma starts to shape when fiction starts to de-familiarize everyday actions or objects. For example, Edgar, Kurt, and Georg become aware that their personal pain is actually part of a common trauma. Each of them receives letters from their mother persuading them to come back home and to visit them. Each letter's content is enforced by the authoritarian fathers' discourse, former *SS* soldiers, that they should not upset their mother anymore "*du darfst deiner Mutter das nie wieder antun*."[52] The protagonist, Edgar, Kurt, and Georg start to share a similar trauma, the coexistence in fear in a society defined by a troubled past that has transformed their homes and families and an eager desire to outlive the dictator and to 'flight' (*sic.*) (*Flucht*) in any country where the fear would disappear. Lola's death finally is dissolved into everyone's own drama

[48] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 58.
[49] Idem.
[50] Müller is using the word *Pflaumenfresser* translated by Michael Hofmann as 'plumsucker'. Concerning the poetic flow of the narrative, he also translates the *Flucht* with 'flight'. Cf. Herta Müller, *The Land of Green Plums*. Translated by Michael Hofmann. (London: Granta Books 1999).
[51] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 59.
[52] Ibid., p. 62.

and it is replaced in the novel by a symbolic word for trauma, the *Herztier* "*es hing eingeschlossen in der Glühbirne. Es war gekrümmt und müde*."[53]

For Müller, the link between childhood and adulthood experiences is very important because the whole occurrence of the dissenter child is replicated in the complex trauma of the adult dissident. The past-present and past-perfect tenses used in *Herztier* show how trauma can forestall the function of memory. The fact that Müller switches to a third person pronoun to describe her childhood experiences, implies that the child's world is objectified, and every action is analysed accurately. The first-person narrator and the third-person child create the two types of resistance against fear, oppression, and, in the case of the child, restriction, consequently showing a similarity between the child's 'dissenter' and the protagonist's 'dissidence'.

> Als die Mutter das Kind mit den Gürteln ihrer Kleider an den Stuhl bindet, steht vor dem Fenster das Teufelskind. Es hat an jeder Hand zwei Daumen nebeneinander. Die äußeren Daumen sind kleiner als die inneren. […]
> Deshalb sagt der Lehrer: Die Daumen gehören auf den Friedhof. Das Teufelskind muß mit dem Lehrer nach der Schule auf den Friedhof gehen und seine Daumen begraben.[54]

> When the mother ties up the child to the chair with the belts from her dresses, the devil's child is standing outside the window. It has two thumbs on each hand, side by side. The outer thumbs are shorter than the inner ones. […]
> So, the teacher says: the thumbs belong in the graveyard. After school, the devil's child goes with the teacher to the graveyard to bury its thumbs.

The present tense shows not only the forms of resistance of the 'dissenter – dissidence' concept pairs, but it also describes the absence of time that takes place in the remembering process. Trauma overpasses time and its effects are a continuous and actual disorder that, through the metaphorical technique, Müller makes it universal. The comparison between Lola's childhood and her death or between the protagonist's childhood and present experiences creates a comparative process of traumatic events from which, I judge, Müller wants to extract a general understanding of trauma.

The narrator's testimony is promoting also 'accidental' guilt since she and her friends, Edgar, Georg, and Kurt, represent archetypes of the German-Swab minority in

[53] "Which was trapped in the light bulb, bent and tired." Ibid., p. 70.
[54] Ibid., pp. 126-7.

Romania. All their fathers were *SS* soldiers while they, as children, had to live with the burden of the ideologies' victimization. As a dissident Müller needs to acknowledge her 'accidental' past, to confront it, and to stand against the injustice of the communist regime of Romania. The German-Swabs destiny is often described as an 'error' in history. Müller says:

> Sie spürten vielleicht anders als wir, daß der Diktator ein Fehler ist, sagte Edgar.
> Sie hatten den Beweis, weil auch wir für uns selber ein Fehler waren. Weil wir in diesem Land gehen, essen, schlafen und jemanden lieben mußten in Angst, bis wir wieder den Frisör und die Nagelschere brauchten.
> Wenn einer, nur weil er geht, schläft und jemanden liebt, Friedhöfe macht, sagte Edgar, dann ist er ein größerer Fehler als wir. Ein Fehler für alle, ein beherrschender Fehler ist er.[55]

> Maybe they felt differently than us that the dictator was a mistake, said Edgar.
> They had proof enough because even we considered ourselves a mistake. Because in this country, we had to walk, eat, sleep, and live in fear, until it was once again time for the barber and the nail-clippers.
> Anyone who makes graveyards just because he walks, eats, sleeps, and loves, said Edgar, is a bigger mistake than we are. A mistake of the first order, he is a dominant mistake.

Müller creates a distinction between the narrator and her friends, she is concerned about herself as a Romanian citizen more than as a German-Swab. The narrator's testimony is transformed from an 'error' guilt into an assumed 'guilt' since she participates in a public vote to erase Lola's name from the Communist Party. This form of betrayal against her status of dissidence and against her friend is explained indirectly by her shattered friendship with Tereza. The narrator's betrayal against Lola opens also another possible interpretation of how the individuals were 'irrationally' actioning under traumatic pressure.

2.2.From testimony and witness to trauma novel

[55] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Testimony becomes again trauma as soon as the characters start to think to leave Romania for Germany. Emigration demands their entire effort and attention which made them more vulnerable in front of everyday life's challenges. To be able to emigrate they had to obey the rules of the totalitarian regime to not expose themselves, hence they had no choice but to be offended, "*wir mußten uns kränken lassen*."[56] At this stage, Müller creates a dichotomy between the Swabian and Romanian identities: the Swabian attributes forgetfulness "*Vergesslichkeit*," impatience and waiting "*Eile oder Warterei*," penny-pinching "*Geldzählen*," clumsiness "*Klobigkeit*," hiccups or sneezing "*Schluckauf oder Niesen*" are used to create differences, "*die uns trennen*,"[57] between the protagonists as individuals and as a group. What kept them together was Gellu Naum's poetry *The Tear* as a form of resistance against the communist regime represented by Captain Pjele who is named as his own dog |*der so heiß wie sein Hund*."[58] The cultural and linguistic opposition Swabian-Romanian allows Müller to create a literary fiction, where trauma is not forthrightly referential, but a mediation for the reader to access the history and memory of the traumatic events. Literature intertwines with the traumatic sentiment because the referential truth or experience "is no longer opposed to fiction but is inextricable from it, providing the reader with radically new problems of interpreting and understanding."[59] The Swabian-Romanian discourse reveals the *Herztier* as the common symbol that binds the two nationalities together. The Swabian heart-animal (*das Schwäbischen Herztier*) (89) transforms the novel into a symbolic reference of the traumatic experience where memory "is a mode of learning in terms of memorization"[60] of the Swabians' tradition and habits. The novel *Herztier* does not only bear the testimonies of a group of Swabian students, but it also becomes a traumatic tale of their condition by opening a dialogue between them and the reader.

The encounter with the official of the communist regime marks not only the changes of the characters' destiny but changes also the traumatic fiction from a representational to a symbolic role. When Captain Pjele puts the protagonist to read his version of Naum's *The Tear*, where the meaning of the two verses is changed, she starts to sing without hearing her voice believing that she inherited dementia from her

[56] Ibid., p. 83.
[57] Idem.
[58] Ibid., p. 87.
[59] Whitehead, *Trauma fiction*, p. 13.
[60] Ricœur. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, p. 6.

grandmother "*Vielleicht war die Melodie aus dem Wahn meiner singenden Großmutter*:"[61]

> Ich hatte drei Freunde in jedem Stückchen Wolke
> So ist das halt mit Huren wo die Welt voll Wolken ist[62]
>
> I had three friends in every wisp of cloud
> that's how it is with whores where the world is full of clouds

The novel transforms the testimony from 'feeling full of doubt' into a 'feeling certainty of death.' The feeling of fear (*Angst*) is not impersonal anymore but becomes something familiar. The trauma fiction that *Herztier* presents searches for a new form of realism to be able to articulate the new form of reality determined by trauma. Lola's death does not haunt anymore the protagonist but expresses the protagonist's existential condition. Müller wants the reader to contribute to the novel's testimony because only in this way the traumatic knowledge can be fully communicated. The interpretation of the word *Herztier* as a creature, heart, and sentiment becomes finally, with the help of the reader, the symbolic reference for trauma.

The mirror (*Spiegel*) has the power to reflect Tereza's 'ugliness' (*Hässlichkeit*) or, when it could lose Tereza's reflection, she would become 'special' (*ungewöhnlich*): "Alles, was ich an Tereza sah, schaute im Ticken der Uhr häßlich zurück […] Gleich danach, ohne Spiegel, wurde das gewöhnlich Häßliche an Tereza ungewöhnlich. Schöner als bei Frauen, die sofort schön waren."[63] Once with Tereza in the middle of the narrative the process of overpassing from testimonial to traumatic narrative is completed. *Herztier* is not a medium of the traumatic literal transmission but an effect and a part of the communist events of Ceaușescu's regime. Tereza is not testifying, and she is not producing a material evidence of truth, she performs the trauma of communism, she acts under traumatic condition and infects the entire narrative atmosphere with feelings of 'hatred and insecurity' between the women from the factory who work in the office with her: "sie dachten: Alles was Tereza trägt, ist eine Flucht

[61] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 105.
[62] Ibid., p. 104.
[63] "Everything I saw in Tereza looked ugly back in the ticking of the clock [...] Immediately afterwards, without a mirror, what was usually ugly about Tereza became unusual. More beautiful than with women who were immediately beautiful." Ibid., p. 108.

wert. Sie wurden neidisch und traurig."[64] Tereza transforms the narrative from a time of testimony into what Caruth calls the "expected reality—the locus of referentiality—of the traumatic story"[65] since the protagonist and the reader are in search of the truth.

With Tereza, the idea of 'friend' and 'friendship' starts to fade away and is gradually replaced with a 'curse'. The song of Maria Tănase, 'The Curse', becomes central for the traumatic fiction since the first verse, 'God shall punish,' is addressed to Tereza. By the end of the novel, the curse will affect everyone and will touch anyone like an invisible disease. The curse is nothing more than the presence of trauma that affects *Herztier* not only structurally but on its referential and symbolic level. In one of the paragraphs, Müller poetically describes how the curse functions as a symbol to moulder and punish.

> Als das fremde Tier auf dem großen Platz mitten in der Stadt war, schlug es mit dem Flügeln, sagte Tereza. Die Menschen fingen an zu schreien und flüchteten vor Angst in fremde Häuser. Nur zwei Menschen blieben auf der Straße. Sie kannten sich nicht. Das Geweih flog vom Kopf des fremden Tieres weg und setzte sich auf das Geländer eines Balkons. Oben in der hellen Sonne leuchtete das Geweih wie die Linien einer Hand. Die beiden sahen in den Linien ihr ganzes Leben. Als das fremde Tier wieder mit den Flügeln schlug, verließ das Geweih den Balkon und setzte sich auf den Kopf des Tieres zurück. Das fremde Tier ging langsam durch die hellen, leeren Straßen aus der Stadt hinaus. Als es weg war aus der Stadt, kamen die Leute aus den fremden Häusern wieder auf die Straße. Sie gingen wieder ihren Leben nach. Die Angst blieb in ihren Gesichtern stehen. Sie verwirrte die Geschichte. Die Leute hatten nie mehr Glück.[66]

The description brings us into the middle of magic realism but the elements which Müller adds into the narrative are not magic, but traumatic. The two persons standing

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[64] Ibid., p. 118.

[65] Cathy Caruth. *Unclaimed Experience. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press 1996), p. 6.

[66] "When the stranger beast arrived in the big square in the middle of the city, it beats its wings, Tereza said. People began to scream and fled in fear into the houses of strangers. Only two people remained in the street. They didn't know each other. The antlers flew off the head of the strange beast and settled on the railing of a balcony. Up there in the bright sunshine, the antlers shone like the lines in someone's hand. The two people saw their entire lives written in those lines. When the strange beast beat its wings again, the antlers left the balcony and settled back on the wild animal's head. Then the strange beast trudged down the bright, empty streets, out of the city. When it was far away, the people emerged from the strangers' houses and went about their lives once again. The fear remained in their faces. It twisted their features. Those people were never happy again." Müller. *Herztier*, p. 118. The English version: Müller, *The Land of Green Plums*, p. 115.

alone on the streets might be even Tereza and the protagonist, but nobody asked who they are because the protagonist fears discovering the truth. The 'antler' (*Geweih*) did not only symbolise the danger for the two strangers, but they stand also for the complete transformation of society through trauma. The magic realism is transformed into a traumatic narrative as soon as Tereza exclaims that "no one will ever know /Who those two people might have been" "*wer die beiden waren/wird man nie erfahren*."[67] Within this very moment of traumatic tension where the 'unknown' people could be anyone, she draws attention to the relation between language and events. The presence of the 'fremde Tier' next to the two strangers symbolises the narrator's personal trauma. The narrator herself does not know any longer who she was, except through her testimony. The awareness of self-knowledge is neither a given before the testimony nor a residual substantial knowledge consequential to it. In itself, "this knowledge does not exist, it can only happen through the testimony: it only can be separated from it."[68] Trauma unfolds itself only through the process of testifying and cannot be possessed by either the protagonist, the characters, or by the reader outside of a dialogic activity.

Tereza is an example of one of those who work for the communist society and interposes herself between the main characters (the protagonist, Kurt, Edgar, and Georg), Frau Margarita, and Captain Pjele. Her immoral actions are impetuous reactions to traumatic memory. Tereza implodes the dialogue of betrayal, her own betrayal, and the protagonist's betrayal against Lola. Moreover, Tereza's death opens an inner dialogue that makes the protagonist "give her memory away" "*ich mein Gedächtnis weggeben*"[69] but she does not have a testifier. Judith L. Herman believes that the traumatic experience leads to involuntary acts of betrayal, and this action "gives the intrusive image [of trauma] their intense emotional power."[70] As such, *Herztier* implies the existential guilt of the survivor, which is an act of betrayal against those who died or could not heal.

The narrator's betrayal against Lola is mirrored by Tereza's betrayal against the narrator. If Lola is found dead under suspicious circumstances, Tereza dies because of natural causes (cancer), her death is enhanced by her collaboration with *Securitatea* against the narrator. As such, the narrator loses her friend Tereza twice, because of her

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[67] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 125.
[68] Felman & Laub. *Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, p. 51.
[69] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 162.
[70] Judith L. Herman. *Trauma and Recovery. The Aftermath of Violence-From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. (New York: Basic Books 2015), p. 69.

betrayal and because she dies. At this point, the narrative re-enacts the issue of survival. Tereza's betrayal could have led to the narrator's death instead, her death links trauma to a larger context of the communist's actions. In the interview for *Politiken* Müller says: "my friend said […] 'Hertha, I could never do anything that would hurt you.' […] 'That is precisely what you are doing', I answered. But she not believed it was really serious."[71] The awareness of Tereza's action of betrayal is described in *Herztier* under the metaphor of a 'nut':

> Die Nuß wuchs gegen uns. Gegen alle Liebe. Sie war bereit zum Verrat gefühllos für die Schuld. Sie fraß unsere Freundschaft, bevor Tereza an ihr starb.[72]
>
> The nut grew against us. Against all love. It was ready to betray us, it was impervious to guilt. It devoured our friendship before it killed Tereza.

The 'nut' starts for the transformation from a betrayal into a disease that will eventually consume the narrator's love and Tereza's life.

> Sie zeigte mir die Narbe unter ihrem Arm. Die Nuß war abgeschnitten. Ich hätte die Narbe in die Hand nehmen und ohne Tereza streichen wollen. Ich hätte meine Liebe aus mir herausreißen, auf den Boden werfen und zertreten wollen. Mich schnell hinlegen wollen, wo sie lag, damit sie mir durch beide Augen wieder in den Kopf hineinkriecht. Ich hätte Tereza die Schuld ausziehen wollen wie ein verpfuschtes Kleid.[73]
>
> She showed me the scar under her arm where they'd cut out the nut. I wanted to take the scar in my hand and stroke it, without Tereza. I wanted to rip my love out of me, throw it on the floor, and stamp on it. Quickly lie down where it was lying and let it crawl back through my eyes into my head. I wanted to pull the guilt off of Tereza as if it were a badly made dress.

Müller wants to understand and explain the sentiments that stand beneath her love for Tereza or her friend's betrayal, and ultimately her betrayal against Lola. The analogy between betrayal and cancer is Müller's interpretation of trauma, as a disease that spreads into all aspects of life, deteriorates it, strips out human dignity, and when nothing is left of one's self-esteem, it takes the soul out of the body. This reminds me of Dori Laub's distinction between trauma as a completed-event and trauma as an

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[71] Niels Barfod. "Der var ikke noget valg for mig". In *Politiken*. (6 February 1996).
[72] Müller. *Herztier*, p. 156.
[73] Ibid., p. 159.

uncompleted-event. The completed-event is later transposed into memories, while the uncompleted-event is the condition of the survivor. Müller's personal trauma is an uncompleted-event and therefore resembles the act of betrayal, but also a self-blaming traumatic condition. The unconsumed trauma of the narrator's event becomes the narrative trauma that waits to be witnessed. Because in the case of *Herztier*, the reader becomes an accomplice of Müller's trauma, since "the emergence of the narrative which is being listened to - and heard - is, therefore, the process and the place wherein the cognizance, the 'knowing' of the event is given birth to. The listener (the reader), therefore, is a party to the creation of knowledge *de novo*."[74] The reader is completing Müller's testimony and acknowledges her trauma.

Traumatic realism describes modes of knowing (but also modes of not-knowing), it defines the action of the novel and creates the archetypal witness for human sufferance and history. The focus of the novel is on the individual, its centripetal action is revealing not only the despair of the protagonist but unfolds also life under communist rules, one that the protagonist is longing to recover, an action that is traumatic since it cannot undo what was done – time has passed. *Herztier* proclaims the communist trauma as a "radical failure of representation, in both sense of the word: failure of representation in the senses of making present the event; failure of representation in the sense of truly speaking for the victim, whose voicelessness no voice can represent."[75] For this reason, in the graveyard, at Georg's gravesite, the protagonist finally realizes the meaning of 'transfinite', a word that Tereza liked to play with while she was searching for its reference. The transfinite symbolises Lola, Tereza, Kurt, and Georg's death and the inability to change their destiny: (*Ich hätte Tereza sagen können: Überendlich ist ein Fenster, das nicht verschwindet, wenn jemand hinausgestürzt ist*) (248). The poetical forms of traumatic realism partake the historical impossibility of creating a literary dialogue for the communist trauma by living, rather than bearing testimonies. In the last paragraph of the novel, when Edgar moves his head "*als würde er mitreden. Aber er schwieg*"[76] describes his respect and responsibility for the past and introduces a new type of silence, one that defines the personal trauma.

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[74] Doris Laub. "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening". In Doris Laub and Shoshana Felman (eds.). *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalyse, and History.* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 57.
[75] Felman & Laub. *Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, p. 197.
[76] "as if to say out a word, but he was silent." Müller. *Herztier*, p. 252.

Müller succeeds to create for a silenced generation of dissidents and persecuted "the possibility, the chance, of our *response-ability*."[77]

3. *The Hooligan's Return* between testimony, memoir, and trauma

The relation between trauma and fiction differs from one novel to another depending on the author's agenda. *The Hooligan's Return* presents a difference in the storyline from books like *Night* (2006) and *All Rivers Run to the Sea* (1995) by Elie Wiesel, or *Schindler's Ark* (1982) by Thomas Keneally, or *Blooms of Darkness* (2010) by Aharon Appelfeld because it combines the historical facts of a country, generation, and culture with the personal testimony which makes the novel to question the distortions of memory. The novel's testimony struggles to form a truthful representation of the past and to restore the dignity of the author and others that were persecuted. Norman Manea's testimony comes in the form of a *memoir* to establish trauma as an intergenerational condition of the human being in general. In this respect, *The Hooligan's Return* represents testimony, as Felman and Laub describe it in general, meaning: "composed of bits and pieces of a memory that has been overwhelmed by occurrences that have not settled into understanding and remembrance"[78] and represents memoir as the author's reminiscence of traumatic events. If the testimonial literature tells the story *of a life* (or *of lives*), then a memoir will tell the story *from a life* like a criterion event, to describe the historical development from a traumatic perspective. For Manea memoir moves the story from an observational Self within a historical o political context towards an understanding Self within a traumatic context of life.

The narrative structure of a memoir develops descriptive processes of intertextuality that explore the relationship between the historical context of social and cultural events and the protagonist's traumatic experiences. Memories help Manea to understand his role within the Romanian literary context, to improve his mental and physical health, and to question the moral conditions of thought and trauma. Manea does not limit his writing to the singularity of memoir, he appeals to the intertextuality, as part of trauma fiction, to explore trauma and to incorporate its effects into his writing.

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[77] Felman & Laub. *Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. 203.
[78] Ibid., p. 5.

The abundant use of literary figures such as allusion, pastiche, parody, or quotation, sheds a deeper and traumatic meaning to the novel and is also used to introduce the reader into a familiar context. Manea uses intertextuality also because he wants to give the reader the ability to anticipate the novel's story and to confront its validity. Consequently, *The Hooligan's Return* challenges the history of the Holocaust and communism as it was thought in Romania and tells an alternative perspective of how things have happened. In other words, Manea is interpreting the historical context and psychological impact of the two traumas differently from what was thought in Romania in the first two post-communism decades.

The literature of Manea is the first one that results from a Romanian and American cultural contact. *The Hooligan's Return* is a memoir written from the perspective of an American interpretation of Romania's communist past. The exile is the benchmark of Manea's remembrance of the past and shades a fictional appearance during Manea's first and second return. Romania is the rediscovered memory that, once remembered, serves as knowledge for Romania and America. From this perspective, *The Hooligan's Return* is a fictional narrative as much as a memoir, and it permanently shades a double mirror effect: it presents the reality of the two lands through the perspective of the other. The centrifugal narrative force of describing the past conveys bilingual practices to shape the traumatic reality between survivor and reader.

3.1.The influence of testimony and memoir in literature

The author surrogate describes his traumatic memories from the American standpoint of the 'New World' that contrast with the 'Old World': the exile focusses on the social and cultural differences and becomes the protagonist's existential condition. On the other side, Manea testifies for the Holocaust and communist atrocities proportionally equal, as he testifies how the cultural and literary society contributes deliberately to the presence of extreme ideologies in Romania. Manea's memoir is a 'cultural' or 'literary' testimony since it presents intertextual references to several important Romanian authors with the purpose to describe the source of Romania's ideologization. *The Hooligan's Return* holds a testimony that shows how knowledge is transmitted from one individual to another one, from one generation to another one, from one victim to another one, and, ultimately, from the author to the reader. Manea prefers to describe

his book as 'a memoir' even though he is using fiction to express the truth better and it allows him to challenge the structural and aesthetic feature of the narrative.

The title of the book announces already the process of returning to Romania to witness the traumas of the Holocaust and communism. The 'return' expresses metaphorically the physical presence of the author back in Suceava, Bucharest, or in any other city or region where he used to spend his childhood and adulthood. In this way, the word 'return' reforms the remembering process of the traumatic experience which is subject to 'critical memory' since Manea shades an ethical reflection on the perpetrators' actions. The presence of Manea in the Romanian social and cultural post-communist landscape restores the tradition of Mihail Sebastian's term: the hooligan. The author wants to revisit Romania to re-live the 'great history' of the hooligan's struggle against the "commemorative bulimia" of the "tyranny of memory."[79]

The first chapter from the first return, 'Barney Greengrass', ends with the discussion between Philip (Roth) and the protagonist about Ioan Petru Culianu's assassination and how a return to Romania can cure him "from the East European syndrome."[80] The return becomes a possibility in the chapter 'Jormania' where he advances the propagandistic image which the Romanian communists and post-communists have created: "I saw a continuity rather than a contradiction between the invectives – 'antiparty', 'extraterritorial' 'cosmopolitan' – which the Romanian Communist press had honoured me prior to 1989 and the post-Communist epithets – 'traitor', the 'dwarf of Jerusalem', 'American agent'."[81] He realizes that death would be the single impediment that would stop him from returning to the 'motherland'. Manea recognizes that he returns to Romania because he suffers from "Jormania's syndrome"[82] which is discussed in depth when he is using Freud's analytic therapy in the chapter about 'Anamnesis'. The 'East European' and 'Jormania' syndromes portray Manea's sickness, which he makes us understand through Paul Celan's words unveiled in the chapter 'The Circus Arena of Augustus the Fool' where Paul Celan asks: "what is the loneliness of the poet?"; to which he answers: "A circus routine that has not yet been announced."[83] Manea's idea of circus reminiscent of a mental sickness that can be only

[79] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, pp. 8/257.
[80] Ibid., p. 10.
[81] Ibid., p. 12.
[82] Ibid., p. 27.
[83] Ibid., p. 20.

caused by Dadaland, as he refers to his native country, "which I had not wished to forsake and to which I did not wish to return."[84]

The assumed role of the witness is described in the 'Preliminaries' where Manea creates an analogy with Ioan Petru Culianu's and Mihail Sebastian's destiny.

> Death had prevented Culianu from returning to Romania and Sebastian from leaving it. With me, death, that nymphomaniac, had adopted a different game: she offered me the privilege of a voyage to my own posterity.[85]

The Hooligan's Return is a critical memory without which the centrifugal criticism and observation of the external world would be impossible. Testimony transforms the author-narrator's individual memory into collective memory, or as Manea likes to call it: a 'historical memory' (19). Manea's traumatic experience is transformed through its testimony into a parable, it becomes exemplary for the historical literature in the post-bellum period as well as for the post-communist literature. Literature, as part of the cultural memory, makes the transition of the testimony from the survivor - witness to the reader-witness possible, fulfilling the purpose of Manea's first return. Testimony is for Manea also a sign of an 'east-ethics' which is explained in *On Clowns. The Dictator and the Artist* (1992) is a type of ethics that "saves fiction in the same way as fiction saves history,"[86] an attitude that is specific for Western Europe. Manea insinuates that literature needs testimony to tell a story in the same manner, as testimony needs literature to preserve it. In this sense, Geoffrey Hartmann describes the relation between art and testimony as an amplification of the "constricted imagination" that can bring together "science and emotion."[87]

If Müller is afraid that her testimony will ridicule her in front of her perpetrators, Manea battles to avoid the transformation of his testimony into complete kitsch, as he says:

> The trivialization of suffering […] is mankind's endless enterprise. Only when it becomes a cliché does tragedy find a home in the collective memory. Memory must keep watch so that the horror is not repeatable, we have been told over and over. We must hold on to identity, shared

[84] Ibid., p. 22.
[85] Ibid., p. 12.
[86] Ibid., p. 46.
[87] Geoffrey Hartmann. "On Traumatic Knowledge and Literary Studies". *New Literary History*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Higher Education (Summer, 1995), pp. 537-563, (p. 538-7).

> memory, race, ethnicity, ideology. Having finally landed on the planet of pragmatism, you thought you might escape your past and your identity and become just a simple entity, as Gertrude Stein, the American in Paris, dreamed – only to find that Thursday's atrocities have become grist for the mottoes of Friday's T-shirts, an instantly markable product for the collective memory.[88]

This is why he appeals to the critical memory to denounce what Ricœur calls "ideologization of memory." [89] The 'haunting syndrome' of trauma that Manea denounces in the 'Anamnesis' part, puts his testimony at the risk of becoming trivial and stereotypical. Manea is afraid that by confessing his testimony, he will enter into a redundant repetition, one that will not be different from a TV serial with Holocaust witnesses. But his testimony has not only the purpose to spread knowledge of events, but it is also a process of self-vindication as we can see in the conclusion of the fictional dialogue with Dr. Freud from the Chapter 'The Viennese Couch'. The repetitions of memory mean, in fact, oblivion - or at least the sensation of living in "the present, in the ever-present past."[90]

In the chapter 'The Claw (1)' Manea describes how Botstein decides to accompany him in his travel to Romania, a country where he should "always be allowed in."[91] His fear of travelling alone to Romania is caused by the publication of several threatening and defamatory articles against him. The testimony cannot start without facing the fears that the 'new patriots' of Romania were "demanding *the extermination of the moth* – a Kafkaesque formulation indicating that the despised cockroach had somehow metamorphosed into a moth and flown away to exile, across the ocean, to Paradise." [92] Manea is aware of the danger he might face in Romania and, to communicate it to the reader, he writes in the 'Preliminaries' why he needed to flee the country in 1986, and what it means now to return. In a way, Manea makes us understand that the anxiety to return back to Romania is similar in intensity to the anxiety he felt when he was preparing to leave Romania ten years before. Moreover, the remorse caused by the fact that he could not attend his mother's funeral, of not keeping the promise he made right before his exile from Romania to his mother, was hunting his

[88] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 243.
[89] Ricœur. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, p. 103.
[90] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 244.
[91] Ibid., p. 45.
[92] Ibid., p. 49.

memories constantly, “as the gentle spirit of past fluttered its wings over my tired eyelids and forehead and alighted in a soft embrace over my shoulders.”[93]

The return becomes a reminiscence of the past, it must be prepared as an imaginary trip, (re)lived through memory. This is why in the chapters 'The New Calendar' and 'The Claws (I)', Manea is (re)living the past by narrating the journey of his exile: from Bukovina to Berlin, and from there to Paris, and finally to New York. The trip is described by Manea’s poem 'The Report on Paradise' and the pragmatic graffiti from New York’s building. The poem says: "In Paradise, the work is / fixed at thirty hours /the social system /is stable and /the rules are wise /really in Paradise one is better/ off than in whatever country”[94] while the pragmatic message entitles that "depression is a flaw in chemistry not in character.”[95] The confusion created by the verses is transposed by Manea in Ovid's[96] “transcended sadness.”[97] The return to Romania becomes pragmatic in 'The Claw (1 and 2)', it is set to visit his mother's grave, to meet his old friends, and to become a witness. And again, the return is enforced by his wish to visit his mother's grave, to (re)live the “familiar touch”[98] that he cannot let go. The return becomes a moral duty for understanding and knowing what has had happened after his mother's death.

Trauma affects literature with an evident dosage of uncertainty and ambiguity because any witnesses of traumatic events must be seen by the reader with a certain type of precaution. *The Hooligan's Return* "follows closely the whimsical flux of reminiscence and constantly breaks the main plot with unpredictable repetition and flashbacks."[99] Manea's way of writing and the continuous ambiguity of the textual truth has led to the appearance of the *aesthetic of uncertainty*, a personal concept that defines the entire work of Norman Manea. The ‘aesthetic’ has something to do with the presentation of the words and sentences to lead to a significative narrative with beautiful values, whereas the ‘uncertainty’ is determined by the instability of sabotages of time upon his memories.

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[93] Ibid., p. 55.
[94] Ibid., p. 41.
[95] Ibid., p. 44.
[96] Ovid is the Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso that lived under the reign of Augustus who banned him to Tomis, modern day Constanț a, a city from the Black Sea where he died.
[97] Manea. *The Hooligan’s Return*, p. 44.
[98] Ibid., p. 55.
[99] Anca Baicoianu. "'Our Homeland, the Text': Critical Belonging and Subversive E(a)sthetics in Norman Manea's writing on exile". *Diacronia*. (Bucharest 2012), p. 30.

Manea appeals to the subversion of time. The present is flooded by memories of the traumatic past. In the chapter 'The Beginning before the Beginning', Manea emphasise that memory is the (a)temporal condition of the human, "[a] memory preceding my birth, a memory of the beginning I was before I come into being – a legend of a past before the past."[100] The memory does not testify eloquently, it makes it possible for the action to reach past events, "memory does not say much about the way I was before the true birth, which was still to come. Much later, fiction was perhaps more eloquent." [101] The (a)chronological storytelling fragments that define the book's narrative, function as a mirror effect. Manea's memoir leans on Lacan's mirror stage theory[102] where the protagonist starts to recognize himself only when he confronts images and memories from his past. The child is identified with the 'hooligan' when Tarkovsky's film *Ivan*'s *Childhood* made Manea understand that memory must be a form of meditation upon the past events that are coincidently connected to external factors, like Sebastian's 'hooligan'.

Intertextuality functions for Manea as meta-testimony functions for Müller, it gives voice to the silenced victims and creates empathy for those unrepresented. The chapters 'Bukovina', 'Chernobyl 1986', and 'Within a budding Grove' are examples of how memoir mingles with testimony: each chapter describes an entire part of Manea's life, starting with this childhood and his experience of the Holocaust, adulthood, and the experience of the Chernobyl atomic tragedy, and describes his love life. The memoir puts the protagonist in the middle of a cosmological constellation that represents actual lives with the extreme challenges of the Holocaust, Chernobyl, or communism. *The Hooligan's Return's* narrative centrifugal force starts from Manea, as the singular and 'ignored' human, and sheds meaning, understanding, and interpretation on his own life by shedding light on his causal circumstance.

The second part of the 'First Return' is a propaedeutic journey of the narrator to discover his own sense in this life. Manea becomes aware that he will be an author with a "nomadic language."[103] The language defines the protagonist in the same way the protagonist defines the language. The chapter 'Nomadic Language' describes in precise words how bilingualism is present in Manea's book. In the hospital, the "old woman

[100] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return,* p. 62.
[101] Ibid., p. 65.
[102] Cf. Jacques Lacan. *Ecrits. A selection*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. (London: Routledge 2005).
[103] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return,* p. 115.

speaks only Romanian, but the unreal night is not erased by daytime realities."[104] Later when the daughter-in-law listens to her 'tensely' she has the impression that "it is a sort of hypotonic release of pain, in a nomadic language, the voice of an ancient oracle in exile, wrenching and forgiving, enhanced by the bizarre sounds of a barbaric, sectarian phonetics, electrifying the darkness."[105] The old lady was "making sounds like a mix of German or Dutch dialect, Slavic and Spanish inflexions, bible sonorities."[106] The fiction helps Manea to define the protagonist's own experience of exile, of living between cultures and languages, of mastering them and being deprived of them, of becoming confused, and at the same time getting the sentiment of belonging to an undefined land. Trauma becomes evident after the return is fulfilled and completed, Manea takes part in the Romanian present history, not as a 'hooligan', but as an uprooted, undefined, excluded, marginal, and misaligned (*dezrădăcinat, nedefinit, exlcus, marginal* and *nealiniat*) author.[107] Manea is aware of his condition and he metamorphoses himself into a mythical creature, the snail that is rectilinear, uncomfortable, and closed (*retractil, stânjenit,* and *închis*).[108] Manea does not only assume his condition as a Romanian author with all its implications, but he is aware that his testimony is uneasy and that nothing in his life is assured, "everything must be acquired, not only the present and future but also the past."[109]

The fictional perspective on trauma makes Manea adhere to an imaginary Republic, inhabited by those who have suffered traumatic experiences similar to Manea's trauma. The chapter 'Utopia' is a double reflection of the communist society prefigured by "the People's Combat" (*lupta poporului*)[110] but also the beginning of the imagined republic which starts for Manea from Kafka's fictionalism. Trauma fiction helps Manea to create a deep bond between the authors with a similar traumatic experience by appealing to their family history in part. Manea chooses to exemplify this by comparing the relationship between the child and the father. Manea's father is condemned to suffer, "for my father, imprisonment in Periprava meant not only confinement and humiliation but also the wreckage of his life"[111] Manea's father is

[104] Ibid., pp. 116-7.
[105] Ibid., p. 117.
[106] Idem.
[107] Ibid., p. 201.
[108] Ibid., p. 202.
[109] Ibid., p. 204.
[110] Ibid., p. 145.
[111] Ibid., p. 171.

different from Hermann Kafka, the 'brutal owner', from "the Great Magician and Improviser, Bruno Schultz's father, also known as Jakob, the Demiurge,"[112] because he sacrifices his dignity for his son's happiness. Manea's father's quality was *the humiliation*, he was suffering because "dignity, the guiding rule of his life, was his eleventh commandment, which for him confirmed the other ten."[113] Deprived of dignity, the father becomes a symbol of the communist trauma that re-enacts in people remorse and helplessness. Later, in 'The Claws (II)', Manea describes the similarities between his mother and the Jewish Jeanne-Clemence Weil, the mother of Marcel Proust. The fact that Manea never received what Proust's narrator describes as a 'good night kiss' is accounted by "the social, religious, geographic, and historical differences between them [which] were considerable."[114] By the end of 'The First Return', Manea does not only identify the trauma, goes into exile, and testifies for his family and friends, but he finishes a complete self-fictionalisation of his story. His story is a pure 'nostalgic' memoir because only through the practice of writing his memoir he can hold to his dignity.

The utopian society of trauma is built through intertextuality but also through alteration of the lives of Manea's father, Franz Kafka, Mihail Sebastian, or even Nicolae Steinhardt, the Romanian Jew converted to Christian Orthodoxy. The literary discourse is a 'memoir of a testimony': the story is told using past tense while the intertexts testify for Manea's life by using past perfect tense. Manea does literary research in the field of trauma and links it to the history of the European Jews. This makes us understand trauma fiction as an outcome "of an ongoing public discourse of memory as trauma theory becomes part of the ideology of history."[115] Müller creates a narrative that lingers for empathy and expresses the longing for conserving life to become not only a witness but also a dissident. For Manea, the meta-testimony is the realisation there is no more dignity in Romania, and the single way to keep his own dignity is to go into exile, but not before taking, metaphorically, the Romanian language as his *snail's house* with him.

3.2.The memoir of trauma and its fictional dimension

[112] Idem.
[113] Idem.
[114] Ibid., p. 209.
[115] Whitehead. *Trauma fiction,* p. 81.

The reader learns that memories are 'copies of reality' that stand in the past and that the traumatic events make them recur not as 'photographic copies' of the original event, but as a version of the original event. Manea is using the word 'version' to highlight that memoir transforms the original traumatic event into a literary trauma.

> No memories, not a copy of reality, as some superficial critics might think. A real-life portrait or self-portrait allows for creative, expressive versions far removed and even completely different from the original model, not at all a photographic copy.[116]

The creativity of the book can be seen in the figures of speech that Manea uses such as metaphor, alliteration, or personification, and in literary artefacts as repetition and fragmentation. The literary devices of repeating, transforming, or symbolizing a word or event make it clearer and more memorable.

> *The Hooligan's Return* is a memoir of a troubled soul. It is fragmented and somewhat repetitive. Manea keeps digressing, circling around an incident as he tries to make sense of it. He scrambles the chronology as well as his narrative strategies and point of view as he tries to make sense of his life. There are passages of lyrical prose and even magic realism. He is more persuasive when he tells his story straight.[117]

Manea's literary testimony receives traumatic attributes through its transformation into a significant story for the Romanian culture and nationality. The 'return' has a cosmological connotation and does not only reflect Manea's return from the U.S. to Romania but symbolises the 'Eternal Return' that links Manea's testimony to the myth of 'Expulsion from Eden' and, in this way, he transforms testimony into trauma. Manea's 'return' is the nostalgic and traumatic path of a perpetual wanderer and exiled. The traumatic connotation of *The Hooligan's Return* follows the storyline of the Torah: as the book of *Genesis* is followed by *Exodus*, so is Manea's birth followed by rejection. Trauma is conditioned by the simple existence of the individual. Therefore, Manea describes the 'mythical' dimension of exile through the reiteration of the original pattern. Moreover, Manea assumes the mythical figure of Noah, as a representation for the rupture between the 'I' and the 'world' and, therefore, the return is mystically interpreted: the return is never possible because "the achievements of exile are permanently

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[116] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 171.
[117] Charles Simic. "The Golden Age of Hatred". In *The New York Review* (23 October 2003), p. 43.

undetermined by the loss of something left behind forever."[118] When Manea decides to leave Romania he understands that time will not hold still, and he will experience the 'New World' as a transition from past to future. The exile made Manea lose his self-defining landmark, there is no more a 'real' time and a 'real' home, but rather a remembered 'time' and 'home'. For this reason, he interprets exile as the original sin. The exile comes after the first man tastes the fruit of knowledge and begins to understand and to assume his condition as a human being. As such, *The Hooligan's Return* is, adopting Michel Foucault's words, "an attempt to re-introduce the subject into historical fields of practices and processes within which he never ceased to transform."[119] For Manea, exile is not a factual condition of the human being, but a cosmological condition since "the exile begins when we leave the placenta."[120]

Following this line of argument, we can see why the traumatic aspect of *The Hooligan's Return* creates confusion between fiction and reality. The traumatic event functions equally as the real and the fictional fact. The personalisation of Noah, as the biblical hero who was never completely forced into exile, describes the metaphorical process of the 'Initiation' and 'Trans-tristria'. The real-fictional narrative of Manea's memoir states that the traumatic recollection "is characterized by the striking paradox, that while its re-enactments are disturbingly literal and precise, they nevertheless remain largely unavailable to conscious recall and control."[121] Even though the traumatic event will re-enact itself, the protagonist will (re)live it through the means of amnesia. Fiction must repair what testimony cannot do by challenging the effects of traumatic memory through narrative memory. As the narrator states:

> I preferred the mask of fiction. Yet the mirror is summoning, I can see there the routes followed by the deportees, the transit camp, the sorting centres, the graves planned by the Marshal (Ion Antonescu).[122]

Anamnesis introduces a difference between traumatic memory and narrative memory, which explains what Manea calls 'Jewish trauma'. In his imaginary dialogue with Dr.

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[118] Edward Said. *Reflexions on Exile and Other Essays*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 173.
[119] Michael Foucault. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*. Lectures at the College de France, 1981-82. (New York: Palgrave, 2005), p. 40.
[120] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 230.
[121] Whitehead. *Trauma Fiction*, p. 140.
[122] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*, p. 224.

Freud, Manea underlines the importance of the question of posterity. By contrast to Müller, who underlines what has happened and what has been lost under the traumatic events of Communism, Manea wants to know what one has gained after a traumatic event. He brings into discussion Lyotard's theory of "the double impotence of non-change and of change"[123] which on a personal level would be described as the differences between 'non-Jewish Jews' and Jews.

> At the age of five, in Transnistria, the little Jew was known as Noah, not Norma. At the age of fifty, on the eve of the new exile, the relation between self and Jew had become a complicated knot, one that could not fail to interest Dr. Freud. The psychoanalyst should be asked finally, to answer not only the questions he himself has asked but also the questions posed by posterity; not necessarily what is left after you have lost what you did not possess, but how you become a Jew after the Holocaust, after Communism, and exile. Are these by definition, essential Jewish traumas? Are these ignitions carved in your soul, not only your body, that makes you a Jew even when you are not one? A "non-people of survivors" is the name Lyotard gives the category of non-Jewish Jews, whose sense of community depends, according to him, "on a unique profoundness of an endless anamnesis," an endless recalling of things past.[124]

The endless questions and worries of the Jewish trauma and its cosmological implication make Manea find a solution in Kafka's advice to join the worlds' side, i.e., the side of the political ideology that is in power. He says: "in the struggle between yourself and the world, take the side of the world."[125] The reminiscence of the father's image comes as the core problem of Manea's understanding of trauma when he says to Dr. Freud that "the humiliation of being defined by a collective act of negation and by a collative catastrophe is not negligible."[126] Exile has given Manea back his honour but also 'the malady of liberty' that gives him the chance to choose to "return to the mother's grave."[127]

The 'second return' is an example of how testimony can be redone through the fictional perspective. Trauma functions only through symbolism and representation, from where the historical facts can be grasped. The return to the homeland is symbolised in the character of 'Augustine the Fool' who was accompanied by his friend Leon

[123] Ibid., p. 242.
[124] Idem.
[125] Ibid., p. 243.
[126] Ibid., p. 246.
[127] Ibid., p. 247.

Botstein, personified as the 'White Clown'.[128] The intention of Manea is to create a literary trauma as a source of knowledge and as a nostalgic reminiscence. "I am here I am there, neither here nor there, a passenger in transit, claimed by several time zones, and not only by them."[129] The 'nostalgic' testimony is written down into a blue-covered notebook. Romania enters into a mirror effect with America and produces the traumatic sentiment of a 'faraway country'. The memories and nostalgia made Manea realize that he does not possess anything - except, maybe, a "rented"[130] language that helps him to fictionalise his memories. For instance, in an interview with Leon Volovici in *The Exile Drawers,* Manea describes how he intends to use fiction to strip off someone's nationality, with the purpose to liberate trauma from its ethnical explication. "The litter girl in the story [The Sweater] is suggested to be Christian, thus not guilty, as we all are. In fact, she was as guilty as we are not. I intentionally used this trick to escape the strict ethnic aspect of suffering."[131] The absence of the names of his perpetrators defines Manea's intention to incorporate the 'Jewish suffering' into human suffering in general. *The Hooligan's Return* concentrates on the trauma of human existence, while his autobiography is nothing more than a historical context. Language starts to receive a nostalgic feature as soon as it is used, the Romanian language becomes nocturnal as a sign of meditative memory that brings back into the *present* the "nocturnal interlocutor."[132] Manea describes the native language as the intimate language which is used by its speaker in the most important and vital times of one's life. In other words, Manea thinks that if the sentiment of nostalgia and melancholia are expressed through the native language, then any traumatic recurrence follows the same pattern.

The nostalgic feature of Manea's memoir imposes another decisive difference between the first and the second return. The first return is the reminiscence of the traumatic past as testimony and memory, while the second return is a reflective action upon his visit and his potential re-acclimatisation to Romanian society and culture. The fact that Ken can see how Manea's "face lit up"[133] whenever he speaks Romanian induces the presence of nostalgia, not in the sense of sufferance, but in the sense of not

[128] Ibid., p. 253.
[129] Ibid., p.273.
[130] Ibid., p. 290.
[131] Norman Manea. *The Drawers of Exile. Dialog with Leon Volovici*. (Jassy: Polirom 2008), p. 322.
[132] Manea. *The Hooligan's Return,* p. 307.
[133] Ibid., p. 323.

belonging to a geographical space, to his "native language - the home of being."[134] The second return reflects the past in 1997 as if his own exile would have vanished and the U.S. become a very 'far away country'.

The trip to Suceava and Cluj for which he takes the train from Bucharest's *Gara de Nord* re-enacts the nostalgic traumatic feeling of 'travelling by train'. The train becomes a symbol for his long trips from Suceava to Bucharest and for his love, from Ploiești to Bucharest. It is the same train that brought him to Transnistria or the one that took him to visit his father in Periprava, or the train that brought him 'miraculously' back in 1945 to Romania, or the train that carried him for his "farewell journey" in 1986.[135] The same nostalgia of the 'train' enacts the way memory transforms the traumatic event into fiction:

> I try to remind myself of fairy-tale journeys of the past, youthful sleigh rides in a wintery Bukovina, train trips to smart Bukovinan summer resorts, that autumn train journey in an empty compartment when my mother divulged the secret of her wounded youth. Of course, somehow, I fall asleep again and wake up, with a sudden thought: the postcard of the Chagall painting, at which I had often stared, unable to understand who had sent it and why.[136]

The narrator's shifting pattern between past and present tense creates a reflective momentum upon the protagonist's traumatic experiences. This can be seen in the three most important key-stories of the novel. Firstly, the departure to Transnistria is described as a present action:

> Everybody in!' the guards had shouted. 'Everybody, all of you,' they had screamed, raising their shining bayonets and guns. There was no escape. 'Everybody in line everybody in, everybody.' We were shown into the car from behind, and we huddled together, ever closer until the car was sealed. […] The guards gave the signal for departure and the train's wheels began to turn, clanking rhythmically.[137]

The condemnation of the child Noah is not a past experience, but a continued condition of his Jewishness. Transnistria presents Manea's awareness of his maturity and manhood. Secondly, when he stands at his mother's grave in Suceava he feels how the past

[134] Ibid., pp. 322-3.
[135] Ibid., pp. 334-9.
[136] Ibid., p. 348.
[137] Ibid., pp. 346-7.

becomes part of his present. The death of his mother is not only a personal irrecuperable loss but also an advantage for Holocaust writings since due to his mother's death he was liberated by the moral duty to take care of her when he became most vulnerable.

> I hope to be the first to die,' she had said. 'Without Marcu, I'd be a burden for you. I'm difficult, not easy to live with. I've always been nervous, prone to exaggeration. It would be too hard on you.' […] Her prayer was fulfilled, she was the first to die, leaving behind a vacuum even greater than her overflowing presence had been.[138]

The death of his mother is not only eluding the son of his moral obligation for his elderly parents, but it defines also the impossibility of the reconciliation of her family situation. The past and present are transcendent by Manea through the condition of his father. Finally, his sick father settles in Jerusalem, looked after by a German young man "seeking to redeem his country's honour."[139] Manea's literature does not seek to be only a testimony witness, but also an authentic reconciliation between narrator, victim, and perpetrator which can be done through a fictionalized biography.

In the middle of Bukovina, with Stephan's the Great citadel afar from Manea's mother's grave, he starts to grasp that any testimony can lose value with time, and what is left, is just the nostalgia of traumatic events eased by the sound of "a *kaddish* from a nearby grave's mourner."[140] The confession of personal trauma cannot stand on strict terms, trauma cannot coexist without fiction because it will be forgotten with time. Symbolically, Manea must lose his blue notebook in Frankfurt on his journey back to New York. It is the blue notebook where he has taken notes of his second return, the notebook, where he combines present experiences with reminiscent events. Trauma will continue to be witnessed only through fiction.

4. Final remarks on the trauma novel

The comparative analysis of *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* shows that trauma influences the literary discourse without affecting the form of the novel and that

[138] Ibid., p. 375.
[139] Ibid., p. 379.
[140] Ibid., p. 380.

literature fictionalizes trauma for its better representation. Trauma defines literature in the same way the Holocaust or war defines the novel, based on the form and content of the novel's plot. But trauma holds a particularity in literature: it is enacted only through the means of memory; hence trauma and literature are defined by memory theory. Since the form and content of the novel are determined by trauma through the conventional use of memory, trauma can be regarded as a new genre within a historical determination.

Genre is nothing than a historical and finite classification that was developed over time because of external literary circumstances. We can take as an example the 'faction' genre that is used by Truman Capote to describe his book[141] *In Cold Blood.* The *faction* (fact and fiction) is a literary genre that describes real historical characters and real events that uses the storytelling techniques of fiction. Autofiction and memoir are nothing more than literary categories that classify novels by a pattern and the differences between these concepts depend on the authors' purpose. Consequently, if we want to identify the particularity of the trauma novel and to create a difference between trauma and faction, we need to investigate the purpose of the novels. *Herztier's* and *The Hooligan's Return* are a veritable source of knowledge about how the Holocaust took place in Romania and in Transnistria, how the communist totalitarian regime spread fear and terror between the Romanian citizens, and they explain the outcome of trauma on the individual's psyche. They also present the path of how dignity and justice for those persecuted can be gained through ways of testifying trauma in any form and fact. In a way, Capote's purpose in *In Cold Blood* fluctuates in the same space of interest. Yet the trauma novel generates awareness and knowledge about the collective effort represented by ideology against a targeted group because of their religion, race, or vision of life. The difference between trauma and faction is the difference between singularity and conformity of a historical event and the future impact on the collective memory of a nation, country, or culture. Trauma is enacted by memory and literature is representing its symptomology, its social and cultural effects, and individual transformations. The novels are influenced by trauma on structural and content levels, while trauma is transformed by literature into the original traumatic event and, through the means of memory, into a literary traumatic event.

[141] Further references and consultations were done on the book version from 1992. Cf. Truman Capote. *In Cold Blood.* (New York: Random House, 1992).

Memory brings into question the role of the psychological and psychical effects of trauma in literature. From a psychoanalyst perspective, *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* are neurotic expressions of traumatic events. The relation between trauma and literature can be thus pursued from Freud's concept of 'traumatic neurosis' and presents a reciprocal influence. Firstly, literary texts are mediums through which the nature of trauma is revealed by its survivors and witnesses. The trauma that the reader acknowledges will have a literary feature, which is expressed through the means of literary attributes. However, full knowledge of trauma requires an understanding of literary expression. Secondly, trauma is not exposed throughout literature without imposing a series of changes in the literary texts. The author-witness relies on a series of special tools to be able to enclose trauma in its original form. In this way, the continuous self-determination between literature and trauma will continue during the entire reading process and the reader will acquire certain knowledge about traumatic events.

Memory approaches trauma in two ways: historically, by remembering the original event, and psychologically, by describing the traumatic symptoms of the event. The double trauma hypostasis corresponds, "cognitively, to the literary distinction between theme and style."[142] Trauma determines the literary form and content, stylistically and consciously, since both Manea and Müller describe their literary techniques in essay books like '*Plicuri și portrete*' (*Envelopes and Portraits*, 2004), '*Pe contur*' (*On the Edge*, 1984), or '*Hunger und Seide*' (*Hunger and Silk*, 1995), and *Christina and her Double* (2013). The authors are consciously fictionalizing their traumatic experiences and link them, socially and culturally, to the collective memory of the traumatic event.

However, *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* present a series of similarities and dissimilarities that show how different trauma functions in literature. We agreed that both books are defined by testimony as an "act of being a witness of traumatic events."[143] Testimony in literature is a natural, vital, and moral answer to the ongoing process of traumatic history. We saw that testimony mingles with fiction and creates for Müller the 'auto-fiction' or for Manea the 'memoir'. The difference between autofiction and memoir is given by the difference between fragmentation and intertextuality. The

[142] Whitehead. *Trauma fiction*, p. 162.
[143] Felman & Laub. *Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, p. 3.

fact that Manea is using intertextuality as a tool to describe his experience with the help of historical and literary conjecture means his intention is to (re)structure the cultural memory through individual perspectives. It is not a coincidence that Manea returns to Romania in 1997 after Mihail Sebastian's *Journal* is published for the first time in 1996. For Manea, it is very important to restore the cultural memory by referring his experience to Sebastian's trauma. On the other hand, Müller's fragmentism keeps alive the psychological wound while she is telling her personal trauma from the perspective of a 'minority' group. These two examples show that the relation between trauma and literature is proof that history progresses alongside literature and that the novel will challenge sometimes the history we learn in schools.

The anamnesis creates symbolic bonds between languages, cultures, and countries. As such, bilingualism and palimpsest are effects of literary anamnesis: bilingualism as a linguistic transition between countries and cultures, and palimpsest as a rediscovered truth about one's past. The anamnesis permits Manea's fifth impossibility and Müller's personification of language. In June 1921, Franz Kafka writes to Max Brod a letter, where he places his literary production under the sign of a fourfold impossibility: "the impossibility of not writing, the impossibility of writing German, the impossibility of writing differently, and the impossibility of writing."[144] Kafka's idea of 'impossibility' denotes, in general, the author's feeling of frustration because through the literature he does not really express exactly and completely what he wants, nor does he use the convenient and desired instruments to approach trauma to his personal or collective memory. The 'impossibility' is not an impediment, rather it is an unavoidable literary situation when trauma is witnessed. The 'impossibilities' of writing sheds a reflective contemplation upon the author's linguistic relation between the victim and language, one that Kafka defines as *mauscheln* (*to whisper secretively*). The relation between author and language produces a generational conflict that psychoanalysis interprets as its source of conflict. Obviously, Kafka refers to the relation between Jewish authors and the German language as generational conflict, but here the connotation of his theory defines the correlation between the persecuted author and language(s). This relation is emphasised by Manea through a fifth impossibility: the impossibility of the native language to become a 'nomadic language'. Müller anticipates the fifth impossibility

[144] Michael G. Kevine. *Writing Through Depression: Literature, Censorship, Psychoanalysis.* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press 1994), pp. 149-177.

through the denial of the existence of language independently, the language exists within a continuous transformation only in relation to humans. The authors' approach to language has a traumatic interpretation which the psychoanalysis defines through dislocation in space, time, and language. With this, we see how trauma has an influence on the linguistic, content, and form levels, while literature uses its techniques to represent trauma as loyal as possible to its original experience.

The presence of trauma in literature is not original, nor innovative, it just (re)enacts the role of literature for the human condition. Trauma replaces literature on the core of human existence since it becomes the single medium by which knowledge can be transmitted. If we take a look at John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, or Romain Rolland's *Robespierre*, we can see how literature gathers traumas of their own century. What we learn from Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* (1947), Elie Wiesel's *Night* (1958), Charles Weinblatt's *Jacobs Courage: A Holocaust Love Story* (2007) or Herta Müller's *Herztier* and Norman Manea's *The Hooligan's Return*, is that Holocaust and communism have left an irreversible mark on human history.

Conclusion

I was always fascinated by the idea that novels are memory carriers that conduct, in a hidden way, a battle against amnesia. Contemporary narratives, fiction, and nonfiction describe the relationship between memory and trauma by offering new hypotheses about the association trauma have with literature. This reaction of criticism precedes the post-communist period of Central and Eastern Europe that begins with a political and cultural obsession to make known and to describe trauma and its effects. Novels from this region appeal to memory, which works as a literary discourse meant, to establish the national consciousness for each country in part, to acknowledge the historical traumas, and to make it part of the perpetual present. We see that memory and trauma find themselves in a determinative relationship that can replace the political critique and practices of the past. In this situation, literature imposes an indivisible connection between memory and trauma and makes possible the re-creation of the traumatic experiences. Thus, the post-communist period of Eastern Europe pushes forward a type of literature that activates memory against forgetting and highlights the social and situated context of trauma.

The comparative analysis between Norman Manea's and Herta Müller's novels reveals that there is a disjunction between thinking and writing and that the association between trauma and literature has a mutual determination. The relationship between trauma and memory that I discussed has its stimulating sources in theories discussed by Judith Herman in *Trauma and Recovery* (1992), Cathy Caruth in *Unclaimed Experiences: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (1996) or by Kali Tal in *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literature of Trauma* (1996), which generally describe trauma as an overwhelming experience with further shocking occurrences that affect the psyche and the collective memory of a country or historical period. Reading Manea's and Müller's novels I felt that the fictionalized narrative exposes trauma as a source of knowledge that could answer the questions of 'what' 'why' and 'when' something happened within an original and literary embodiment. In this way, I discuss the actual traumatic experience as the original event that has happened to the authors and protagonists and

the literary trauma as the fictionalized original event. The difference between these two types of traumas is determined by the cognitive process of remembering and writing the traumatic event. Memory has enabled the palimpsestic recollection of the traumatic event and transposed it into a literary form where its meaning, symbol, and representation are determined by the linguistic systems and literary artifacts used by authors within their socio-cultural ontopology, which links the values of being into a situation with the *topos* of a territory.

Following the mutual determination between trauma and literature, I could advance my original interpretation of trauma as a literary genre. The authors' experiences are literary testimonies that require a specific set of words to resonate with the original traumatic event, specific literary techniques that could grasp the disturbing experiences and their post-traumatic effects, and a description of the socio-cultural conditions in which the traumatic event has taken place. Literature is defined by the manner which enables the traumatic expression in a language characteristic for an author, historical period, nation, and trauma. In this context, Anne Whitehead examines trauma as a fictional element that mirrors the traumatic symptoms, which in change influence the narrative of a novel. For Whitehead, the novels of Pat Barker, Jackie Kay, Anne Michaels, Toni Morrison, Caryl Phillips, or W. G. Sebald present a common pattern: trauma as a theme has incorporated its structures into the novels. Whitehead does not identify trauma as a literary genre instead, she underlines trauma's double and contradictory nature as a content (the event) and form (symptoms)[1] which are described in literary terms. Trauma in literature is a broader experience with psychological, historical, and ideological implications that made Dominick LaCapra investigate the possibility in which we can approach trauma from a cross-disciplinary theoretical framework combining literature with history. Trauma as genre becomes a dialogue conducted by LaCapra between trauma's aporias and the emplotment [2] of historiography, which allows him to explore the connection between concepts, theories, and disciplines with the purpose to rethink the discourse among history, trauma, and literature. Hitherto, trauma does not function as a genre for literature, it is proposed only the interpretation of trauma as a potential genre in literature. Starting from Whitehead's and LaCapra's analysis of trauma I could map a new theoretical

[1] Anne Whitehead. *Trauma Fiction*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 162.
[2] Dominick LaCapra. *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), p. 15.

framework for trauma based on its literary meaning, symbol, and representation. Trauma as genre portrays rhetorically the recurring situations in a novel with social echoes that claim civic and moral responsibility. Trauma becomes a writing style that elucidates its first condition as an original event and its second condition as a literary expression, which is fulfilled through memory practice. Manea and Müller use trauma as a source of inspiration, they let themselves guided by specific 'traumatic' words, expressions, and linguistic systems that could describe their traumatic split psyche. Manea's and Müller's literature is an example of the traumatic genre that enables us to understand better the social implications and narrative representations of trauma, and it reveals a sense of moral obligation for an individual or country to remember trauma for an acknowledgment to not let it happen again. The literary interpretation of trauma as genre with its associative implications to the novels' bilingual comprehension, palimpsestic effects, and its socio-cultural contexts represents my original contribution to trauma studies. Trauma brings Manea's and Müller's novels within the same place as with the war and historical novels and they are characteristic for a specific historical time defined by the aftermath of World War Two, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In the first chapter, I have shown how Manea and Müller are using two linguistic systems to reconstruct their traumatic experiences. Trauma affects the language proportionally with how the language affects the representation of trauma into a fictionalized narrative. Manea's intertextuality and Müller's poetical technique transpose the original event into a literary comprehension of trauma, while trauma reveals the bilingualism of its linguistic representation. The cognitive comprehension of the linguistic understanding of trauma stands in the disjunction between thinking and writing that unveils memory's essential role in making trauma known. The dislocation between the word and thought eases the description of the traumatic experiences under the form of images embodied with symbols and meanings.

There is a consistent use of literary techniques and devices that amplify the meaning and representation of texts and create symbolic words that are related to traumatic effects. For Manea, Barney Greengrass is an imprecise version of Eastern Europe's atmosphere which describes metaphorically how language is inaccurate without its context. For Manea Barney Greengrass resemblances James Joyce's Bloomsday, both terms hold a reminiscence that the authors are what Manea calls

"chanters in fiction."[3] In this way, language has embraced the diversity of his exile and the words legitimize the anniversary day and protect his memory. Manea's Romanian is the language of his thoughts while English is the language of the newspapers, television, banking, and everyday life activities. The exile is the condition of bilingualism since the author is constrained to create a diglossic use of his native and acquired languages. The interaction between the languages is compared by Manea with the condition between individuality and uniformity, "their tension is not simply linguistic, but also geographic, historic, and psychological in origin."[4]

By contrast, for Müller language is a rhythmic equilibrium between discipline and stir: the words share the same purpose of presenting reality in its deceitfulness regardless of its Romanian or German background. Müller creates her narrative language where words, sentences, and even the narrative are affected by linguistic hybridity. Subsequently, we find words like *Mundhimmel* (mouth sky) used for *Gaumen* (palate), *Tintentrauben* (ink wine), *Antilopenschuhe* (Antilope shoes) for *Huf* (hoofs), or she uses Romanian words like *Securitatea* and *Dictator* and expressions like *mă cam doare bila* (my head hurts) just to emphasize how trauma merges the Romanian and German into a bilingual representation. In this chapter, I have shown that Manea and Müller are using languages diglossic and that the figures of speech used in their narrative have a bilingual comprehension determined by their traumatic experiences. Trauma stimulates the language of the novels to the same extent that the language determines the way trauma is represented.

In the second chapter, I have shown how the palimpsestic effects of the Romanian language make possible the literary trauma. The palimpsest describes a text that has been affected by a second overlapping writing. In our case, the palimpsest takes place on a cognitive level as a remembered experience, which is transformed into a literary text. For this reason, the palimpsest is a mnemonic activity with multi-layered significance determined by the words' meaning, symbol, and representation. Palimpsest is crucial to show how memory functions in literature since it accepts new information and experiences while it produces permanent traces of memory. The palimpsest links the inputs between the traumatic experiences and arranges them chronologically. Thomas de Quincey says: "What else than a natural and mighty

[3] Norman Manea. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated by Angela Jianu. (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2003), p. 7.
[4] Norman Manea. "On Exile." In *Salmagundi*, No. 141/142 (Winter-Spring, 2004), pp. 80-95. 93.

palimpsest is the human brain? […] Everlasting layers of ideas, images, and feelings have fallen upon your brain softly as light. Each succession has seemed to bury all that went before. And yet in reality not one has been extinguished."[5] The palimpsest is the condition that ensures memory operation and can describe the content of what is remembered. Romanian is the language through which the original event is remembered and stands as the original linguistic space of the trauma's occurrence. From a cognitive perspective, the Romanian language functions as a palimpsest, which means that the remembering process of the traumatic event is a cognitive function of memory. The palimpsest does not change the discourse, story, nor linguistic representations of a trauma, it deepens the layers of meanings and articulates a series of symbols that might link the reader to the experience of the narrated trauma. Thus, the palimpsest effect takes place on the symbolic and representational structures of the narrative. The relationship between bilingualism and palimpsest is self-determinative: the palimpsest is the effect of linguistic and cultural representation of the traumatic experience, while bilingualism is the process of working together of the meanings and symbols of two linguistic systems.

The palimpsestic meaning of the Romanian language functions as a centripetal and centrifugal force. For Müller, Romanian is the language in which she remembers her experiences, this is why it floods the German syntaxis at the meaning symbolic and representational level. Valentina Glajar emphasises that Romanian functions as a *Hintersinn*[6] (hidden meaning) since its palimpsestic effects store layers of meaning in her narrative. For Müller, Romanian works from outside and comes slowly into the middle of her narrative to claim its part in the representation of trauma. But Romanian is also the language in which some words always describe two different things at the same time. This is why she says: "Auch die gewöhnlichen Wörter Laden, Straße, Friseur, Polizist sagten im alltäglichen Gebrauch mit dem jeweils gleichen Wort etwas anderes, weil die Dinge, die sie gleich benannten, anders waren."[7] The memory of the

[5] Dillon, Sarah. "Reinscribing De Quincey's Palimpsest: The Significance of the Palimpsest in Contemporary Literary and Cultural Studies." In *Textual Practice* 19.3 (Fall, 2005), pp. 243-263.
[6] Valentina. Glajar. "Banat-Swabian, Romanian, and German: Conflicting Identities in Herta Müller's *Herztier*." In *Monatshefte* Vol. 89, No. 4, *Libuše Moníková / Herta Müller: Sprache, Ort, Heimat* (Winter, 1997), pp. 521-540.
[7] "Even the common words shop, street, hairdresser, policeman said something different in everyday use with the same word, because the things, which were named the same, were different." Herta Müller. *Hunger und Seide*. (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1995), p. 32.

traumatic event is described within multiple possible meanings and symbols to recreate the traumatic event. The German language accentuates a centripetal force upon the Romanian meanings to deliver the reconstructed traumatic event.

Manea wrote most of his novels originally in Romanian within the American socio-cultural landscape. For him, language functions as a centrifugal force by overpassing the English linguistic space of references and conjoining it into the bilingual cognitive process of the literary trauma. This means that the flow of the Romanian language is guided by the English linguistic tropes of meaning and expression. Following this argumentative line, we see that novels like *The Hooligan's Return*' or *The Lair* are recollected memories for the spectralization of the author. The palimpsest is the condition of non-contemporaneity of the traumatic event within the living present, it is the represented trauma through linguistic meanings and symbols. The palimpsest of the Romanian language is the proof that the present moment, which contains elements from the past, is nothing more than another linguistic layer that marks a new meaning for the past event. For both authors, the Romanian palimpsest has a fractious nature which eventually reveals the fictional realm of trauma. This chapter concludes that the palimpsest makes the literary trauma possible. If the original experiences are historical and empirical challenged, the literary trauma is psychoanalytically interpreted. The palimpsest movement allows the linguistic understanding of the traumatic experiences, it is what transfers trauma from the bodily memory into a narrative language

In the third chapter, I discussed the importance of the socio-cultural context that has determined the writing of the novels and led to the experience of the Holocaust and communism traumas. I argue that the geographical existence of territory cannot omit the Jewish or Swabian storyline. The cosmological interpretation of the geographical space has a co-existing meaning for Manea and Müller because in exile trauma is defined by the topographical absence. Literature reconstructs the geographical space shading reflection on the implications of the Holocaust and communist traumas in one's private and social life. The historical method reveals that autobiographic elements are a consistent part of the trauma novel.

I further create a comparative analysis of *Herztier* and *The Hooligan's Return* to show that trauma influences the literary discourse without affecting the form of the novel and that literature fictionalizes trauma for a better representation. Trauma defines literature in the same way the Holocaust or war does by affecting the form and content

of the novel's plot. We have now all the resources to consider that trauma has the faculty of a literary genre

Genre is nothing than a historical and finite classification that was developed over time because of external literary circumstances. Trauma genre defines a historical period and, in the case of Manea and Müller, has a regional understanding embodied by Eastern Europe. Let's take for example the war and historical novel. The nineteenth century is throughout defined by important wars that have shaped the world of the last century. Authors like Stendhal, Leo Tolstoy, and Stephen Crane describe in their novels the social implication of the battles, the atrocities of the war, and advance a series of vices and vices that the war has brought with it. This is how Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma* (1839) describes life in France and Italy under the Napoleonic era and, later, it had influenced important authors like Honoré de Balzac or Henry James, it becomes an opera, and was adapted into a film script and to TV series. Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1869) describes the French invasion of Russia and the aristocratic life in Moscow under the Napoleonic era. The historical context and language experiments have made out of the novel one of the most important resources in understanding Russian society in the nineteenth century. It has been adapted to film, television series, it has been used for opera scripts, theatre, and radio presentations. The novel is unique in itself and often overpasses the boundaries of the war genre. Finally, Stephen Crane's book *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) describes the American Civil War, it gives a perfect insight into how the American idea has been created from its own conflict. The novel stands as a source of inspiration and empirical devotion to the new country of the U.S. Like the previous novels, *The Red Badge of Courage* has been adapted and used as a source of inspiration for different art and cultural forms. What all these three novels have in common is the idea of war that makes us evaluate them as novels that overpass the boundaries of realism and naturalism, they offer the space for linguistic experiments and innovative styles, they bring allegorical and symbolic stories, they describe new principals like patriotism, honour, cowardice, heroism, and indifference that have shaped the twentieth century and, finally, they enforce the idea of nation. The novels describe the life, social, cultural, and political circumstances in a century defined by war and they shade understanding and knowledge over a time span while they influence the topic for the novels.

Manea and Müller want to make their trauma an example of how the Holocaust and communism have affected life in Romania. Their literature is an attempt to create

an archetype for the trauma genre that identifies the core of what the Holocaust and communism mean. Their literature invites the reader to participate in a mutiny against forgetting the past with its vicissitudes. The Holocaust and communist traumas have caused social transformations in Romania that serve now as cultural, social, and literary sources for the historical doubt. The post-communist society of Central Eastern Europe is more and more facing an increasing concern about historical surety, of social identity, and growing cultural amnesia that only a better knowledge of the past can shade some reasonable understanding on the present society. Manea's and Müller's literature demonstrates that traumatic experiences have a lasting effect and that it can be a source of knowledge. Literary speaking, they determine that trauma needs a period of maturation until it is acknowledged as a genre for literature that incorporates a testimony of the traumatic persistence in the collective memory of Romania.

The presence of trauma in literature re-enacts the role of literature for the human condition. The Holocaust has been seen as the trauma of the epicentre of group identity, while communism has widened the paradigm of hate. Literature identifies different types of traumas, e.g., Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987), who describes the slavery problem in the aftermath of the American Civil War; Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977) that presents the alienation and estrangement of Tayo, a Native American, after being captured by the Japanese army in the Second World War; or Wole Soyinka's *The Interpreters* (1965) who explores various aspects of life in the pre-civil war in Nigeria. Trauma as genre allows us to build the epistemological, historical, and psychoanalytic dimensions of trauma as an experience in literature in such a way that we can understand how overwhelmingly traumatic events influence our present lives and future generations. In this way, Manea and Müller's literature does not shed only light on the fascist and communist years of Romania but establishes also a coherent ground from where we can start to understand the evolution of Romania in the post-communist social, cultural, and political circumstances, and we can make out of it an epitome that establishes the conditions for further research in the post-communist literature of Eastern Europe.

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