Languages of Trauma

History, Memory, and Media

EDITED BY PETER LEESE, JULIA BARBARA KÖHNE,
AND JASON CROUTHAMEL

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Acknowledgments

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Introduction: Languages of Trauma

PETER LEESE, JULIA BARBARA KÖHNE, AND JASON CROUTHAMEL

Trauma initiates an inner imaging, a disjointed process of creating images that are sometimes clearly remembered, sometimes subtly obscured. These images resist logic, explanation, or dissolution. Such traumatic recollection or intrusion is not static. It is a dynamic, malleable, mediated expression of the rememberer's present. In some cases, trauma causes silence, or a void,[1] but if it is beyond representation, how can we speak of its different languages? There is a distinction between trauma's representational problems, which are connected to its inherent, intrapsychic tendency to disguise itself, and its striving for articulation. Both might even happen simultaneously. The parts of the traumatic content that are seeking articulation take on the shape of a myriad of languages (in all media formats). Thus, seeming "unrepresentability" is actually followed by a vivid productivity of languages that appear in all kinds of representational forms. As Robert Dale notes, quoting Polina Barskova in his essay in this volume on Red Army veterans and representations of traumatic memories, "historical trauma leads not only to silence – unrepresentability – but also to a creative quest for a changed discourse and the emergence of a new poetics."[2] To more fully understand the representation of traumatic imagining, we must investigate its cultural and historical particulars, circumstances of family, community, and politics – a complex, volatile range of moods, emotions, and mediated forms.[3] This volume traces the distinct cultural languages in which individual and collective forms of trauma are expressed in diverse variations – be it a body or psyche showing signs or symptoms, or literature, photography, theatre plays, or cinematic images. These media forms transform and allegorize the past of the traumatized, and might themselves re-enact, re-animate, or activate traumatizing situations.

The essays in this volume collectively follow the view that traumatic memory never leads entirely to silence.[4] Rather, psychic traces of

negative, violent events are embroiled in a struggle towards meaning and coherence, which is at times hopeless, or even takes place in a state of muteness. The difficulties of hearing are often due not to a difficulty of representation, but instead of audibility, translation, recognition, and acknowledgment. This collection listens for varied idioms and dialects of trauma-in-articulation and considers some of the collaborations and contradictions that result. *Languages of Trauma* explores how traumatic memory strives to be articulated. How are traumatic memories narrated, or transformed into media? What different forms of language are used to recall, process, and define trauma across time? How can scholars in different fields uncover these elusive 'languages of trauma'? How do historical and cultural contexts as well as different media (oral articulations, writing, stage performance, art practice, film, comics, music, and other narrations) mirror, construct, or challenge subjective traumatic memories?

The unifying argument of this collection is that traumatic memories are frequently beyond the sphere of medical or state intervention. The prerequisite conditions for such treatment (including relevant medical practice, adequate institutional framework, political and financial means to take responsibility, positive cultural expectation) are in many cases absent. Moving beyond medicalized definitions of trauma, one might encounter subjects who often use broader, culturally richer, and polyvalent registers to express the complexity of their fluctuating subjective states. If trauma is too overwhelming and its clinically defined version too blunt a category to express these emotional histories, it is equally unlikely that direct references would be made to fear, hatred, resilience, shame, or rage. The identification and exploration of these and related emotions is nevertheless central to how subjects 'diagnose' their traumatic memories, not in a single, straightforward statement but often in a longer, continuing, and complex process. Consequently, the success or failure of this 'processing' – for example acknowledgment, coping procedures, successive retelling, stage re-enactment, collective activity such as singing – also takes place informally as social and imaginative expression.

The languages through which trauma is articulated or conveyed are diverse and are expressed in at least three categories. The first of these, which is the most familiar, registers as a medicalized, clinical, and institutionalized reading of trauma. Medical classifications, pension records, official documentation and letters, patient records, and clinical reports on individuals or groups fall within this category. The language of the clinic and its associated bureaucratic apparatus, often connected to the state, matters greatly, as it has the power to change lives through its moral, financial, and social effects. It helps grant or deny a legitimate

diagnosis, a pension, acceptance or rejection within a community. This perspective has been the most widely explored, particularly in historical scholarship, because it reveals how medics, institutions, and bureaucracies understood their task, and what kinds of categories and interactions took place. Such sources also obliquely register the ways in which carriers of traumatic memory were represented, and how they represented themselves. While medical, therapeutic, and bureaucratic professionals produced languages of trauma that changed both immediate circumstances and distant interpretations, doctors and policy-makers were and still are also interpreters of the symptoms endured by victims who live with the fluctuating effects of traumatic recollection first hand.

The second category of traumatic memory representation incorporates a wide range of personal encounters with trauma and a variety of uses of language. In the immediate aftermath of troubling events or circumstances, possibly at many months' or years' distance, there are instances of non-articulation, incoherence, and dialects expressed – besides bodily and mental expressions as functional or conversion symptoms – for example through writing culture. It is a widespread, non-institutional use of language in relation to trauma, which can have strong prophylactic and recuperative functions.[5] Likewise writing, or singing for that matter, can be understood through its social, emotional, and sense-making functions – via letters, diaries, poetry, hybrid fiction-memoirs as well as ephemeral fragments of text – to have a somewhat stabilizing, reparative effect on mental health. What matters in these individual, self-directed processes is the 'thinking through' of difficult events: the capture of ongoing mental processes in an externalized form. While facilitators are not necessary, there are also interesting instances of collaborative accounts that to some extent speak 'on behalf of.'

Third, there are those outside the professional sphere of medical or therapeutic expertise who do not necessarily have 'direct' experience of trauma but may be connected to it indirectly via relatives or community or through the wider conditioning of a particular cultural and social inheritance. Alison Landsberg calls subjective imprints "prosthetic memories" that would be disseminated by the mass media and culture – radio, film, television, or the internet: "Prosthetic memories are adopted as the result of a person's experience with a mass cultural technology of memory that dramatizes or recreates a history he or she did not live."[6] Such representations are widely present in popular culture as well as in varied aspects of the arts and imaginative expression, for example through film. Film expresses different aesthetics and points of view in relation to traumatic memory, each of which is constituted via audio-visual, dramaturgical, investigative, and commercial considerations. Whereas a letter,

play, or group performance has a relatively personalized and local production process, film culture is entangled with an industrialized production process – in the technologies required to record and edit it that make its final form, as well as in the ways it is advertised, distributed, and commercialized. Any given film's relation to traumatic memory is in this respect masked to a higher degree (whereas traumatic memory itself already serves as a mask covering up the original traumatizing situation, or sequential traumatization). Writing, film, and theatre all highlight the constructed nature of trauma representations, which can incorporate individual direct expression or highly commercialized and conventionalized cyphers.

To address these different but often intertwined modes of trauma language, this volume places in proximity a variety of disciplinary approaches to foster debate, to suggest the possibilities of cross-disciplinary investigation, and to provoke new insights. This approach is needed because prevailing (psychoanalytical or psychotraumatological) definitions of "trauma" can best be understood according to the particular cultural and historical conditions within which they exist. Such definitions need to be revised, refined, and adjusted when transferred to other sociocultural contexts. *Languages of Trauma* is exceptional because it explores what this means in practice by scrutinizing varied historical moments from the First World War onwards, and particular cultural contexts from across Europe, the United States, Asia, and Africa – striving to help decolonize the traditional Western-centred history of trauma, dissolving it into multifaceted transnational histories of trauma cultures.[7]

Trauma Theory: New Directions

Reflecting on the longer arc of trauma scholarship and the place of this collection within its development, we understand the particular mix of subjects and themes selected for *Languages of Trauma* as a strategic, critical intervention. As editors we wanted to choose and develop a group of contributions that amount to a 'collection' in the strong sense: a coherent, concentrated, and sustained effort to explore a focused but vital set of themes. These themes relate to the position of individuals and communities as they live with the aftermath of traumatizing events, who demonstrate both vulnerability and resilience as they attempt across the remainder of their lives to come to terms with psychic wounds referring to a traumatic past. We have also sought out contributions that reflect on the wider position of trauma representations as they are manifested in the public sphere, and especially in popular culture. Varied

psychological, psychoanalytic, literary, sociological, anthropological, and historical perspectives have expanded and questioned the nature of traumatic expression since the 1990s, as have trauma theory debates. In our view, the trauma concept has become one of the defining preoccupations of our time, but to make further progress in defining its past and present, a more collaborative, interdisciplinary, and transcultural exploration is now required.[8] This calls for an investigation into the cultural constitution and limits of trauma concepts with substantially greater contributions from outside the Anglo-American academy. To this end our collection deliberately cuts across disciplinary boundaries and cultures, since past and present manifestations of trauma can only be understood by combining these complementary perspectives.

Languages of Trauma is not a general amalgamation of perspectives – there is a particular agenda that we seek to address through the combination of essays. In our view, the wider discussions around trauma theory, trauma discourse, and historical traumas have paid too little explicit attention to the perspective of the traumatized. This goes beyond the requirement to explore traumatic environments, survival strategies, or hospital regimes – the starting point, for example, in much of the historical research. Rather, and especially in the first half of the collection, we seek a radical reorientation of perspective. This begins from the life course of those who recall traumatic events or relive them via psychic repercussions. Such an approach equally pays close attention to the expressive resources and procedures of post-traumatic adaptation, and it situates the individual at the centre of the research question within a located set of social, cultural, and political conditions.

While the social history of medicine and related contemporary perspectives are represented in *Languages of Trauma*, and while this and many other aspects deserve much greater and more systematic attention, as editors we are also concerned here with the opposite end of the spectrum, namely artistic interventions that have social, communal, and therapeutic significance. For this reason, Part 1 gives special attention to individuals and small groups, and in Part 2 we consider how public performance and community engagement has achieved new ways to define, address, and find release from the traumatic past. These expressions are outside the normal sphere of therapeutic definition, beyond the institutional confines of medical, military, or political establishments, and stress organic, community-based resilience-making processes. It is our contention that these essays document ways of coping with traumatic stress that long predate (or transcend) contemporary definitions beginning with *DSM-III* (1980), where post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)

was first defined. Likewise, there are earlier parallels to the codependent notion of resilience, as it has been newly defined in the 1990s and 2000s. These social contextualizations of the traumatic past cannot be a substitute for clinical expertise in the present, but they do point to the strength of organic, collective approaches to trauma, and to other ways of coping (or their failure) that exist outside the present-day PTSD-oriented therapeutics.

Parts 3 and 4 of *Languages of Trauma*, by contrast, deal with related aspects of what we might refer to as the 'trauma boom.' This last phrase relates to Jay Winter's notion of a "memory boom," and the two movements run in surprisingly close parallel from the later nineteenth into the early twenty-first century.[9] One aspect of the memory boom in its later manifestations is the rise of visual cultures and representations, and the many ways in which individual testimony, subjectivity, and creative processing accompany the rise of new digital media technologies. If we understand the trauma boom, and particularly the concept of traumatic memory, as a subcategory within the wider rise of interest in memory, there are two effects that demand special attention. First, thirty years on from the rise of present-day interest in trauma, we find the concept continuously popularized, trivialized, and proselytized across social media, entertainment industries, and, for example, celebrity memoirs. In many respects it is, as Thomas Elsaesser put it in his chapter for this collection, "the new normal." In our selection of essays on this theme, we attempt to address some of the questions this new set of conditions raises, not least because the trauma concept is often left unexamined, and the ways in which the term is used remain highly variable and vaguely defined. Second, popular cultural representations of trauma have proliferated. Readings of how trauma is currently conceptualized and employed are readily acceptable in the medium of cinema. The conjunction of moving image and psychological disruption is not new, but in *Languages of Trauma* film offers an especially visible insight, and the opportunity for a closer case study, into the creative interpretation, exploitation, and community engagement with trauma in diverse fiction and semi-fictional accounts.

One of the fascinating outcomes of trauma studies is the positive way in which it has already brought varied disciplinary approaches into play, enabling research into difficult social but also environmental circumstances as well as their diverse and often harmful psychological and physiological consequences. The relevance of trauma as a concept is unlikely to diminish. If anything, it is likely to increase. This is all the more reason to critically examine its manifestations and preconceptions, and to consider its workings also in light of our own emerging environmental crisis, as E. Ann Kaplan points out in the Coda to this volume.

Historiographical and Contemporary Contexts

Our purpose in conceptualizing and editing this volume has been to advance the conversation in trauma studies on how to uncover and analyse historical and contemporary aspects of trauma that tend to be tabooed or neglected. This project originated in discontent with the current fractured state of debate on both historical and contemporary aspects of trauma studies, and the often contradictory notions of trauma across the human, social, and natural sciences. Despite this fragmentation in the field, there is a common dilemma that scholars from a variety of disciplines and approaches have recognized: the subjective and culturally diversified languages through which trauma is expressed have largely eluded scholars, who are still struggling with finding methodologies for studying the more complex and sometimes seemingly incomprehensible modes of representation, narration, and remembrance.

Mark Micale, a leading expert in the history of mental trauma, has observed that trauma studies has moved past medical diagnosis and state treatment of soldiers in the First and Second World Wars (the 'first wave' of historical trauma studies).[10] This 'first wave' that focused on medical authorities and state conceptions of trauma was initiated by historians and scholars of the history of psychiatry[11] and defined by the groundbreaking collected volume co-edited by Mark Micale and Paul Lerner, *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930*.[12] Micale and Lerner argued that trauma is a central experience in the social and cultural history of modern Western societies. Their volume focused primarily on how medical representatives constructed, diagnosed, and treated trauma, demonstrating that beyond just being event based, trauma was also an act of personal and collective remembering.[13] This work influenced an explosion of scholarship focusing on psychiatric constructions of trauma, including 'shell shock' and 'war hysteria,' and their effects on politics, welfare, gender roles, and memory, in the wake of the twentieth century's seminal trauma, the First World War.[14]

The 'second wave' of trauma studies expanded the frame of reference beyond combat experience. The focus shifted to new populations, sources, and types of traumatization, including economic deprivation, sexual violence, and dislocation experienced by women and children.[15] Scholars examined 'vicarious' and 'secondary trauma' and the chain reaction of symptoms, memories, and experiences that affected subsequent generations, with innovative approaches to the long-term impact of the Holocaust influencing new research.[16] This second wave placed trauma into the larger context of the history of emotions, which allowed

scholars to analyse traumatic experiences and accompanying emotional responses more subjectively, outside of strictly medical and state paradigms of definition and categorization.[17] This new approach also inspired innovative methods for evaluating ego-documents and symbiotic emotional relationships between men and women traumatized by mass violence, perhaps most notably in Michael Roper's essential work *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War*.[18]

The goal of our volume is to define and spearhead a 'third wave' of trauma studies, which uncovers previously unexplored languages for describing traumatic injuries, moving beyond PTSD and other medicalized frameworks for defining mental trauma. In Cathy Caruth's new 2016 afterword to her influential work *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, she calls on scholars to develop more innovative ways to uncover individual traumatic memories, and to expand attention beyond collective constructions of trauma reflected in medical and political spheres.[19] In *Languages of Trauma*, we seek to illuminate these subjective sites where individuals narrate trauma dynamics in diverse ways. Building on Caruth's thesis about the centrality of written language in understanding how trauma is culturally constructed, we aim to break new ground by exploring beyond literature but also in film, art, theatre, music, comics, letters, and diaries where individuals subjectively refer to and process traumatic memories. We are also influenced by Jay Winter's recent *War Beyond Words: Languages of Remembrance from the Great War to the Present*, where he argues that memory construction is diverse, subjective, and mediated through varied social and cultural contexts. He calls on historians to be particularly sensitive to the different languages in which memory is mediated.[20] Our project builds on a central question identified by Winter: What different forms of language are used to remember, process, and describe trauma? At the same time, our volume is distinct because it uncovers forms of language not identified by the historian, which reveal 'hidden' or taboo sites of traumatic memory and memory-building.

Identifying subjective narratives of trauma poses considerable challenges, and theorists have pointed out that the term 'trauma' itself, while expressive for diverse experiences with violence, is often vaguely used and ultimately elusive.[21] The concept of 'cultural trauma,' or 'collective trauma' in particular, has come under fire as a misleading and imprecise category of analysis that conflates complex individual encounters with trauma, which indeed is subject to changing social and cultural forces, and distorts representations of the traumatized and their psychological experiences.[22] Thus it is not surprising that several scholars have shied away from defining 'trauma' and what it means to be traumatized. At the

same time, theorists have tried to open up dialogue across disciplines to interrogate how trauma can be described, and how we can listen to narratives through which it is processed, remembered, and medialized.[23]

New approaches to ego documents have enabled us to uncover these subjective spaces. Letters and diaries reveal how trauma was often processed informally and in private. Outside psychiatric clinics and asylums, traumatized individuals worked through their haunting memories, flashbacks, and intrusions, and writing became a form of self-therapy. In the case of published memoirs and war novels, private memories entered cultural spaces. This did not necessarily mean these texts shaped collective memories; rather they placed individual traumas, as Jeffrey C. Alexander suggests, out in the open where they could be socially mediated and influence societal constructions of traumatic memory.[24] In this volume, we expand the scope of privately transmitted memories and go beyond written narratives to also examine narratives of trauma in art, theatre, and film. The subjectivities of these trauma narratives are often difficult to decipher. Though they enter into cultural spaces and play with the latter through performance and staging, the ways in which these narratives are perceived and reviewed are myriad, and elude categorization, collective reception, or even shared language.

Audiovisual Representations of Trauma: New Approaches

The languages of trauma in diverse audiovisual media, including film, feature films, documentaries, animés, cartoons, art house films, theatre, music, and performance art, also present significant challenges to scholars. This is due to the frequent medial transfer between, first, cultural representations of the past, which are, for example, poured into filmic or theatrical recreations of trauma and violence histories; second, the ever-changing trauma theory landscape; and third, memory politics and national identity constructions.[25] Trauma movies in particular come from a variety of national and representational contexts, as well as different decades of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries aiming to depict historical traumas and traumatic memories with regard to content, narration, and aesthetics.[26] In order to communicate and imitate shocking events from the past or present and their traumatic expressions within psyches and bodies, they 'invent' complex artificial languages.[27] The latter echo invisible elements of the traumatized inner self as well as visible outer symptoms, thus contributing to the widening of the spectrum of collective imaginary.

As indicated above, in many cases 'trauma' causes a gap between the traumatizing event and memory processing, which interferes with direct

and adequate forms of representation and communication, resulting in a communicational and representational vacuum. However, this very specific form of 'absence,' or systemic void, creates a whole variety of secondary imagery like nightmares, intrusions, delusions, daydreams, hallucinations, and other spectres embedded within a particular kind of time structure including latency, deferred action, and repetition. Interestingly, the traumatic time structure resembles the specific timeline and narrative strategies of film on multiple levels, as Thomas Elsaesser and others have pointed out.[28] Films that deal with traumas develop certain narrative techniques and aesthetics while attempting to translate psychological forms of injury, irritation, suffering, and pain (which can also affect the body in the form of, for example, conversion, psychosomatics, or "negative performativity")[29] into filmic language.[30] Several of the essays in this volume decode filmic trauma languages by borrowing from the vocabulary of classical trauma theory, or by thinking of innovative forms of describing moving trauma imagery.

Film can be highlighted as an audiovisual medium that produces a surplus of symbols via its unique ways of representing, analysing, and interpreting 'traumas': including filmic means as "backstory wound," flashbacks/cutbacks, close-ups, split screen, slow motion, blurred optic, or fade to black. This surplus can also provide phantasmal imaginaries of healing that function as "cultural patches" (see E.M. Hunter's notion of "healing scripts"), and which attempt to close unhealed traumatic wounds on a cultural level, influencing the social body and its perceptions of traumatic memory cultures.

In the analyses of trauma film cultures, cross-national perspectives[31] need to stand side by side, while particular film nations that have shaped discourse, such as the rich Israeli-Palestinian cinema, can be emphasized.[32] After a decades-long concentration on victims' trauma, in the last few years a new field of trauma film studies developed that focused on the difficult question of 'perpetrator trauma.' Film scholar Raya Morag has been a leading expert in this research area as she detected the Israeli cinema to be among the first to extensively turn to the perpetrator side, acknowledging its quasi-traumatic imprints. In fact, the question of perpetrator trauma is not a new one, as it has been part of psychological trauma discourse for decades. The latter concentrated on "traumatic restagings" ("*traumatische Reinszenierungen*," Franziska Lamott), "perpetrator introjections" ("*Täterintrojekte*," Mathias Hirsch), or perpetrator-victim inversions, which already had been theorized by Sigmund Freud ("The Aetiology of Hysteria," 1896), Sandor Ferenczi, and Anna Freud ("identification with the aggressor," in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*) in the 1930s.[33] Also, more recent positions claim to

not want to neglect the perpetrator side just to feel morally on the safe and just side. Saira Mohamed embraces 'perpetrator trauma' as an analytical tool in the realms of international criminal law and human rights, which enables a search for unconventional solutions in the context of genocides and mass atrocities and consequently strive for truth and reconciliation.[34] Mohamed demands that we disconnect 'trauma' from the victim category, and states that it could also be experienced by perpetrators, whom she thinks should not be perceived as "wild monsters" or "inhuman demons," but whom she generally accords "humanity" and "ordinariness." This volume will discuss these complex and ambivalent questions by giving space to analyses of film cultures dealing with this delicate issue.

Other forms of audiovisual media dealing with trauma require new approaches to understand how they challenge audiences with complex symbols and modes of representation. Music, theatre performance, and visual arts provide unique, subjective spaces for trauma survivors to represent and recreate impressions, emotions, and experiences. Recent work by scholars like Michelle Meinhart reveal how music, for example, was used by families to express the trauma of loss in the wake of the First World War.[35] While these performances interact with broader narratives of trauma inflicted by war, genocide, and migration, they offer a glimpse into layers of individual identity construction, shifting the focus from collective memory to more subjective constructions. As theorist Miriam Haughton argues, "Staging performances addressing and exploring instances of trauma, including the historical, the testimonial, as well as the functional and mythical, publicly centralizes and illuminates these spaces and experiences of darkness."[36] Performance, whether through art, music, or theatre, gives audiences an insight into the process by which individuals 'work through' traumatic memories, a process that otherwise occurs in fragmented and elusive private spaces.

In non-Western contexts, which are addressed in several chapters here, performances that emphasize the subjectivity of trauma survivors are particularly valuable because they confront the cultural and political power that has often concealed or repressed cultures and individuals. In the case of the Dialita choir in Indonesia, which is the subject of Dyah Pitaloka and Hans Pols's chapter in this volume, music gives voice to individuals who are often marginalized and stigmatized, and unable to process their experiences and memories through prevailing systems of mental health. Performance thus allows the building of social relationships and communication between otherwise isolated groups, enabling the construction of shared identities and solidarity.[37] These are the extremely personal spaces where the 'archives' of memories are transmitted

between generations, requiring artists to engage localized cultures and families, and to move beyond familiar narratives into hidden languages and landscapes of memory. Thus, music and theatre performance bridge public and private encounters with trauma, connecting individual struggles with trauma to collective experiences in unique ways.

Organization of the Volume

Part 1: Words and Images

The first section of *Languages of Trauma* focuses on major historical moments from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and incorporates studies of writing by individuals attempting to represent their own traumatic memories, as well as studies of medical and media representation. If they are considered as a whole, what immediately becomes apparent in these five essays is the elusiveness of any single traumatic event and the importance of later circumstances in shaping subsequent recollections. Just as no two moments of traumatic experience are identical, so too there is a breadth of reaction and interpretation, a range of imaginative procedures that continually rework understanding of trauma. Reconstructing the particularities of circumstance and interpreting representations of subjectivity are critical to such readings.

Bridget Keown's study of private writings by British and Irish nurses in the First World War highlights the devaluation and neglect of women's experiences, and attempts to theorize different emotional constellations constituted according to individual temperament, but also to the position of women within the existing social and power structures of the early twentieth century. Letters, diaries, and unpublished memoirs here provide a counter-archive with accompanying distinctive narrative forms. The fluctuation of subjective states relates to changes in the medical profession, the extraordinary character of First World War experience, and the emphatically gendered, relational expectations wartime imposed on both women and men. In conditions of unprecedented self-sacrifice there was clearly a resilience-building and therapeutic role to private writing, and simultaneously severe difficulty with any attempt at coherent meaning-making. While physical danger was common to all participants and some civilians during the war, the danger of sexualized and gendered forms of violence was a stronger theme for women.

Jason Crouthamel's research into the uses of religious language by German soldiers maps the complex fluctuating dynamics of trauma representation across the course of the First World War. Like Keown, Crouthamel investigates diaries and letters to track the language of faith

as it enabled resilience, coping strategies, and the processing of trauma. Expressions of faith became a cultural resource deployed early on in the war by church and state to promote nationalist, state-sanctioned narratives of war engagement and persistence. However, state rhetoric failed in the face of first-hand experience. Under stress, faith language was reworked into hybrid combinations of traditional faith and individual interpretation as soldiers struggled to piece together meaning in the chaotic environment of total war. The language of religion as it was used by German soldiers during the First World War simultaneously expresses existential crisis and psychological stress. Even if they moved away from Judeo-Christian belief systems, the persistence of faith language enabled processing and agency as individuals tried to exert some control or influence over traumatic experiences.

Body language reveals another dimension of how victims of total war narrated trauma. In Ville Kivimäki's account of wounds, wounding, and the traumatic body among Finnish soldiers of the Second World War, he views psychological shock and pain as an act of "unmaking." Following Elaine Scarry, Kivimäki considers medical practice as an attempt to remake meaning through its associated rituals and artefacts. Both brain chemistry and culture constitute a particular version of traumatic memory. The most common symptoms were those closely associated with the First World War: brain concussion-like, sensory and motor dysfunctions, somatic responses, various inexplicable palpitations, most of all epilepsy-like seizures. Kivimäki's conclusion is that wound-inducing treatments – insulin coma or electroconvulsive therapy – constituted an assault on the inarticulacy of psychic injury. In the absence of conventional spoken or written sense-making procedures, traumatic memory expressed itself physically through the body of its carrier or rememberer.

Like both Keown and Kivimäki, Robert Dale reads source material, in this case the memoirs of Red Army veterans, for the culturally conditioned ways in which it attempts to make sense of traumatic experience. Dale's study reads Aleksandr Sobolev's *Efim Segal* (2006) as the fictionalized memoir of a Red Army veteran to suggest traumatic memory was present in late Soviet culture but continually pushed to the margins. The particularities of cultural conditioning matter greatly here, as there has been extensive attention to professional discourse and scientific categorizations or, for example, political terror. Yet there is far less attention, present or past, to individual volition, patient experience, or life beyond the consulting room. Investigating the social and cultural histories of late socialism, Dale suggests, makes it possible to access therapeutic spaces for the processing of trauma. Such cultural responses were not necessarily public or permanent. He concludes that the absence of identifiable

collective traumatic memory does not nullify the significance of the many individual cases.

To conclude this section, Jennifer Bliss analyses a popular form of contemporary media, the graphic novel, to explore chaotic, disjointed representations of subjective memory. Focusing on Art Spiegelman's *In the Shadow of No Towers* (2004), Bliss illuminates intricate connections between personal trauma and collective trauma. Though Spiegelman, who also grapples with the legacy of his better-known work *Maus* (1986), portrays his graphic novel as an attempt to process his reaction to the 9/11 terrorism attack, Bliss argues that the text actually reveals the author's deeply conflicted oscillations between individual and collective experiences and memories, a conflict that is mediated through competing, often clashing and oppositional, images. *No Towers* is distinct because it resists transforming trauma into a narrative, and instead embraces multiple languages that reinforce a non-linear, fragmented way of thinking. As Bliss demonstrates, reading this chaotic narrative is extremely difficult, underlining the inaccessibility of subjective memories that even the subject struggles to process.

Part 2: Music, Theatre, and Visual Arts

The second section moves from individual and often intensely private or personal expressions of traumatic memory to more collaborative and public work that is nevertheless unregistered by clinic or state bureaucracy. Such forms of traumatic memory may be developed as community initiatives by those who have a strong, often publicly unacknowledged sense of difficult pasts. For example, memory may be related to a major event that has been systematically repressed, such as the mass killings in 1965–6 Indonesia, or to an intimate family story of displacement and forced migration. Outside facilitators, artists for example, may have a critical role here that enables communal discussion, collaboration in the production of a performance or other text. Such initiatives can also be the result of grass-roots activism and self-help.

Dyah Pitaloka and Hans Pols's essay describes this approach through the case study of the Dialita choir in Jakarta and activities of the Teater Tamara. They focus on activism among a group who were stigmatized and unable to officially describe their violent experiences in the mass killings of 1965–6 until after the death of Suharto in May 1998. Noting the lack of attention to initiatives by groups of traumatized people who are not reliant on mental health professionals or on psychological and psychiatric theories, Pitaloka and Pols stress the importance of the "culture-centred approach." Health and illness are in this view "continuously negotiated

by cultural communities." The authors also highlight a common theme throughout this collection, namely the need for more serious attention to the voices and opinions of survivors. Performances by the choir and theatre have wider functions: the making of dialogic space and social identity, the forging of affective, emotional alliances between the performance groups and their audiences, and education of and discussion with young audiences whose only understanding of the massacres is through state propaganda. Audiences and performers co-construct emotions and alternative narratives of the past collaboratively through an artistic community.

Building on the theme of traumatic memory transmitted across generations, Katrina Bugaj considers history and the difficulties of knowing the past, and the record of how varied pasts and present concerns coalesce into a theatrical performance. In choosing a diaristic, highly personal communicative form, Bugaj invites readers to engage with the subjectivity of 'bad events' and to reflect on the form of our knowledge production. As a researcher of migration narratives and memories, and as a practitioner in the performing arts, the author brings together disparate concerns, including an interest in her Polish grandmother's time in a German displaced persons camp after the Second World War. The resulting essay is at once analytic and very personal. It may be read as an enactment of traumatic memory not because its author was traumatized, but because it expresses the processes of continual memory renewal, the procedures whereby a 'difficult past' is continually renegotiated in relation to the requirements and preoccupations of the present. Similar to Pitaloka and Pols, Bugaj draws on Sara Ahmed's concept of "encounters," which she understands as both performative and archival, personal and structural.

Emily Mendelsohn documents further theatrical encounters with traumatic memory, questioning how global south and north constitute a set of power relations that are reproduced in the understanding and attention paid to, for example, the Rwandan genocide. Mendelsohn's position lies between community initiatives such as the Dialita choir and the research/performance-based work of a 'conversational community' of artists, cultural and community workers in the United States, Uganda, and Rwanda, and in particular productions of work by Deborah Asiimwe, Erik Ehn, and Doreen Baingana. The author's claim is that the playwrights are engaged variously in efforts to illuminate and move beyond the traumatic legacies of colonialism by their use of contemporary ritual, oral storytelling, and performance. Political power relations are important to bring to mind here, as the contexts for performance include a theatre production connected to a United Nations refugee settlement in

Uganda, and the prolonged United States support for the dictatorship regimes of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Maj Hasager also details two of her recent community engagements, this time from the perspective of a visual artist. She explores the 'inherited' recollection of eleven pre-1948 home villages among younger Palestinians using both photographs and texts. She also documents through a collaborative film the intersection of two pasts connected to the migration and current location of a Filipino community in Italy. As with Mendelsohn and Bugaj, she develops collaborative 'thinking together' methodologies on site. This gradual development of relationships and knowledge leads eventually to the production of relevant artefacts. Hasager's anthropological and socio-historical approach also stresses the ways in which visual arts articulate local, community-based ways of knowing.

Part 3: Normalizations of Trauma

In the third section of *Languages of Trauma*, scholars in philosophy, psychology, film studies, and literature explore how the concept of trauma has acquired different meanings in popular culture and media. This section explores questions related to the historical and contemporary uses of trauma to consider historical developments of the concept and its uses in contemporary mass culture. How has trauma been decontextualized, especially in popular discourse, and given different meanings by culture industries and audiences? How can scholars reconstruct these different meanings and trauma languages?

Providing an overview of the myriad trauma discourses that have emerged since the late nineteenth century, Ulrich Koch investigates different meanings attached to the notion of 'trauma,' especially in popular narratives. He contends that whether scholars shy away from or try to deconstruct various trauma discourses, they inevitably have to ask the fundamental question: what does it mean to be traumatized? Koch argues that the medical sciences and humanities have largely disagreed on this question, debating whether trauma is an exceptional, but universal category of analysis or a construct whose nature is contested. He argues for a reconciliation between the sciences and humanities, calling on both to acknowledge the limitations in their definitions of trauma, and the need to recognize that trauma is a lived experience that can be narrated through many languages, which require different disciplinary methods in order to elucidate its individual meanings.

One example of why it is important for scholars to be sensitive to different meanings of trauma, and the particularities of experience and

context, can be found in Thomas Elsaesser's essay. Reflecting on a question first posed by Sigmund Freud and Walter Benjamin, Elsaesser asks whether or not trauma could under certain circumstances be considered a 'solution' rather than a 'problem.' He finds in the dark comedy *Nurse Betty* (dir. Neil LaBute, 2000), and other examples from popular cinema, a lens through which audiences can perceive symptoms of trauma as potentially empowering or healing, allowing an individual to function and adapt to the chaos unleashed by a traumatic event. If popular culture can define 'being traumatized' as the "new normal," and this resonates with audiences and reflects broader cultural trends, theorists must perhaps reconsider whether trauma could conceivably be conceptualized as a positive experience as well.

Marzena Sokołowska-Paryż approaches constructions and perceptions of trauma in popular entertainment from a different perspective. She examines the powerful ways in which post-war cinema, specifically the war film genre, has misrepresented traumatic experience and the traumatized, in particular victims of sexual violence. What is the overall effect cinematic representations of rape have on audiences? Sokołowska-Paryż argues that popular war films, which are compromised by ideologically driven conceptions of gender and nationalism, have given audiences ethically and historically distorted representations of rape. Using a variety of case studies, she demonstrates that the cinematic language used by filmmakers to depict sexual trauma has been inadequate, and historical context and reasons for why and how rape occurs in war have been insufficiently addressed. Ultimately, the representational strategies and visual languages used to depict the trauma of rape have reinforced and encouraged a pornographic male gaze rather than critical analysis of the trauma of rape.

Part 4: Representations in Film

While the previous section highlights some of the ways in which cinema reinforces cultural assumptions about trauma, if it is distorted, normalized, or sanitized, Part 4 turns the focus on ways in which films challenge, disorient, or disrupt cultural assumptions about individual and collective trauma. Scholars in this section analyse the ways in which subjective traumas of individuals are translated into film languages and projected onto the screen and, in the course of this, influence the shaping of collective memories. This last section of the volume also addresses one of the more difficult emerging topics in trauma studies – the question of what some scholars address as 'perpetrator trauma,' that is, symptoms found in perpetrators that to some extent seem to match the symptomatological signs

of "post-traumatic stress injuries." Looking at symptoms in perpetrators that, regarding their intrapsychic dynamic and somatic display, in some ways resemble victims' trauma symptoms, the two final chapters in the volume demonstrate the importance of cinematic language in revealing, representing, and contesting this complex category from different perspectives.

Adam Lowenstein explores cinema's potential for reflecting 'collective trauma' and 'individual trauma,' defined by Cathy Caruth as violent, publicly recognized mass events versus subjective, less historically recognized forms of trauma.[38] Lowenstein focuses on the influential work of George A. Romero to examine distinctions between individual and collective trauma. Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) famously illuminated US experiences with collective trauma in the wake of mass atrocities in the 1960s, especially the Vietnam War. However, Lowenstein turns his attention to Romero's lesser-known film *Martin* (1978), which presents something altogether unexpected for the horror genre. It reveals how the vocabulary of horror cinema, with its graphic depictions of violence and gore, can also uncover and articulate individual trauma. *Martin* disrupts what we expect from the horror film genre, pushing audiences to see how subjective traumas are integrated into collective trauma, as the film's main character experiences an individual crisis that is melded into US-America's collective traumas in the wake of Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement.

Film offers a unique language for representing symptoms and psychosomatic imprints of trauma. Julia Barbara Köhne and Raya Morag explore this language for articulating trauma by examining, from complementary perspectives, depictions of 'perpetrator trauma,' or what Köhne calls "post-atrocity perpetrator symptoms." Köhne's chapter sketches the essay film *The Act of Killing* (2012) as a communicator of knowledge about post-atrocity perpetrator symptoms as well as the perpetrators' practice of theatrically re-enacting past extreme violence on camera. Thus, it resonates with neuropsychiatric, psychotraumatological, and therapeutic concepts, challenging the boundaries of conventional forms of 'historical consciousness.' Köhne focuses on the experimental and dissident film's portrayal of male perpetrators who participated in the historiographically long-neglected 1965–6 Indonesian genocide who have not been punished for their deeds and are glorified as cult figures to this day. The analysis of *The Act of Killing* shows how the perpetrators immerse themselves in their past as mass murderers commissioned by the government and army, proudly re-narrating their deadly acts. Köhne explores which narration techniques, dramaturgical strategies, and aesthetic means *The Act of Killing* plays out to open up new avenues towards a

complex memory of the Indonesian massacres. How do the levels of individual and collective memories intersect in the film diegesis and beyond?

Raya Morag argues that film studies experts must recognize that in the warfare of the twenty-first century, a new, almost indecipherable set of paradigms have emerged from the unprecedented targeting of civilians as a key military strategy. The major shift that has taken place is from the "victim trauma paradigm" to the "perpetrator trauma paradigm," the latter being fraught with problems of representation and meaning. Morag affirms the notion of 'perpetrator trauma,' taking into account the level of serious (traumatic) effects deriving from the ethical self-injury a violent deed sets into motion. While trauma theorists may struggle to acknowledge these paradigms, Morag shows that post-Iraq (and Afghanistan) War American documentary cinema (2006–16) is uniquely poised to open up ways of seeing the effects of twenty-first-century violence and the differentiation between victim and perpetrator trauma, giving us the opportunity to critically analyse the ideological and psychological complexities posed by these two types of trauma.

Since one of the aims of this volume is to explore new directions, methods, and paradigms for reading trauma, we asked E. Ann Kaplan, whose path-breaking work shaped much of the scholarship here, to reflect on the future of the field. Kaplan makes the case that we are currently facing a particularly urgent challenge that requires us to re-evaluate how trauma is processed, narrated, and remembered. That challenge is climate trauma, which involves new languages for pain and thus the ability to listen to the processes in which individuals express that pain. Humans are increasingly dealing with a world that requires greater versatility to cope with chronic violence and dislocation caused by dwindling resources and collapsing infrastructures. Just as humans need to adapt to new conditions to survive, Kaplan suggests, so do scholars need to readjust and rethink how they describe and listen to those who are traumatized by this changing world.

NOTES

1 Michael Elm, Kobi Kabalek, and Julia B. Köhne, eds., *The Horrors of Trauma in Cinema: Violence, Void, Visualization* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), esp. 1–29.

2 Dale quotes from Polina Barskova, *Besieged Leningrad: Aesthetic Responses to Urban Disaster* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2017), 5. On ways in which historians confront silence and traumatic memory, see Jay Winter, "Thinking about Silence," in *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence*

in the Twentieth Century, ed. Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio, and Jay Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3–31.

3 Graham Dawson, "The Meaning of 'Moving On': From Trauma to the History of Emotions and Memory of Emotions in 'Post-Conflict' Northern Ireland," *Irish University Review* 47, no. 1 (2017): 82–102.

4 For a discussion of the theoretical history of the term "traumatic memory," which addresses senso-motoric elements and sensory (intrusive) imprints that can be triggered, as dominant over ordinary, conscious, cognitive, constructive, linear forms of remembrance, see Bessel A. van der Kolk, "Trauma and Memory," *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 52, no. S1 (1998), https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1046/j.1440-1819.1998.0520s5S97.x.

5 Shafquat Towheed, Francesca Benatti, and Edmund G.C. King, "Readers and Reading in the First World War," *The Yearbook in English Studies* 45 (2015): 239–61; Debbie McCullis, "Bibliotherapy: Historical and Research Perspectives," *Journal of Poetry Therapy* 25, no. 1 (2012): 23–38; Jesse Miller, "Medicines of the Soul: Reparative Reading and the History of Bibliotherapy," *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 51, no. 2 (June 2018): 17–34.

6 Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 28.

7 Michael Rothberg, "Decolonizing Trauma Studies: A Response," *Studies in the Novel* 40, no. 1/2 (Spring & Summer 2008), 224–34.

8 See, for example, Peter Leese and Ville Kivimäki, eds., *Trauma, Experience and Narrative: World War Two and After in Northern, Central and Eastern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming); Mark Micale and Hans Pols, eds., *Traumatic Pasts: Asian Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn, forthcoming).

9 Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 17–51.

10 Mark S. Micale, "Beyond the Western Front: Studying the Trauma of War in Northern and East Central Europe," keynote address given at the conference "Aftershocks: War-Related Trauma in Northern, Eastern, and Central Europe," University of Tampere, Finland, 25 October 2018.

11 See Peter Riedesser and Axel Verderber, *Aufrüstung der Seelen: Militärpsychiatrie und Militärpsychologie in Deutschland und Amerika* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Dreisam, 1985); George L. Mosse, "Shell Shock as a Social Disease," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 1 (2000): 101–8; Annette Becker, "Guerre Totale et Troubles Mentaux," *Annales : Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 55, no. 1 (January–February 2000), 135–51.

12 Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner, eds., *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

13 Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner, "Trauma, Psychiatry, and History: A Conceptual and Historiographical Introduction," in ibid., 1–28.

14 For a few examples of scholarship included in this wave of trauma studies: Peter Leese, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: History, Psychiatry and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Hans-Georg Hofer, *Nervenschwäche und Krieg. Modernitätskritik und Krisenbewältigung in der österreichischen Psychiatrie, 1880–1920* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004); Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely, *Shell Shock to PTSD: Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War* (Abingdon: Psychology Press, 2006); Jason Crouthamel, *The Great War and German Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009); Julia B. Köhne, *Kriegshysteriker: Strategische Bilder und mediale Techniken militärpsychiatrischen Wissens, 1914–1920* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2009); Stephanie Neuner, *Politik und Psychiatrie: Die staatliche Versorgung psychisch Kriegsbeschädigter in Deutschland, 1920–1939* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*: *Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain, 1914–1930* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Livia Prüll and Philipp Rauh, eds., *Krieg und medikale Kultur: Patientenschicksale und ärztliches Handeln in der Zeit der Weltkriege 1914–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014).

15 For a necessarily short list of this work, see, for example: John K. Roth, "Equality Neutrality, Particularity: Perspectives on Women and the Holocaust," in *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis and the Holocaust*, ed. Elizabeth Baer and Myrna Goldenberg (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003); Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); Erika A. Kuhlman, *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Michael Roper, "Subjectivities in the Aftermath: Children of Disabled Soldiers in Britain after the Great War," in *Psychological Trauma and the Legacies of the First World War*, ed. Jason Crouthamel and Peter Leese (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 165–91; Lisa Pine, "Testimonies of Trauma: Surviving Auschwitz-Birkenau," in *Traumatic Memories of the Second World War and After*, ed. Peter Leese and Jason Crouthamel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 69–93.

16 Most influential here is Ruth Leys, *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); see also, for example, Dora Apels, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

17 For theoretical approaches to the history of emotions and its relation to trauma studies, see, for example, Joanna Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History," *History Workshop Journal* 55,

no. 1 (2003): 111–33; Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2011); Ruth Leys, *The Ascent of the Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

18 Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). The challenges of reading ego-documents to uncover emotional responses to trauma have also been explored by Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Benjamin Ziemann, *Violence and the German Soldier in the Great War: Killing, Dying, Surviving* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Sophie Delaporte, "Making Trauma Visible," in *Traumatic Memories of the Second World War and After*, ed. Peter Leese and Jason Crouthamel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 23–46.

19 Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; rev. ed. 2016).

20 Jay Winter, *War Beyond Words: Languages of Remembrance from the Great War to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

21 Chris Brewin, *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Malady or Myth?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

22 One of the leading critics of 'cultural trauma' as a category of analysis is Wulf Kansteiner; see his "Genealogy of a Category Mistake: A Critical Intellectual History of the Cultural Trauma Metaphor," *Rethinking History* 8, no. 2 (2004): 193–221; see also Kansteiner's "Testing the Limits of Trauma: The Long-Term Psychological Effects of the Holocaust on Individuals and Collectives," *History of the Human Sciences* 17, no. 2 (2004): 97–123. On constructions of 'cultural trauma' as a process of diverse, often conflicting social narratives 'making meaning,' see Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

23 See, for example, the interdisciplinary interviews in Cathy Caruth, *Listening to Trauma: Conversations with Leaders in the Theory and Treatment of Catastrophic Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

24 Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Trauma: A Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 11. See also Alexander's "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma," in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 1–30.

25 Julia Barbara Köhne, ed., *Trauma und Film: Inszenierungen eines Nicht-Repräsentierbaren* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2012).

26 For the canonical work on trauma, history, and film, see Linnie Blake, *The Wounds of Nations: Horror Cinema, Historical Trauma and National Identity*

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); See also Marcia Landy, *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1985); Vivian Sobchack, *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (London: Routledge, 1997); E. Ann Kaplan, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Raya Morag, *Defeated Masculinity: Post-Traumatic Cinema in the Aftermath of War* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2009).

27 Adam Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation: Historical Trauma, National Cinema, and the Modern Horror Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

28 See Thomas Elsaesser, *Terror und Trauma: Zur Gewalt des Vergangenen in der BRD* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2006); Elsaesser, *Melodrama and Trauma: Modes of Cultural Memory in the American Cinema* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2006).

29 Thomas Elsaesser, "Postmodernism as Mourning Work," *Screen* 42, no. 2 (2001): 193–201.

30 Vera Apfelthaler und Julia B. Köhne, eds., *Gendered Memories: Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theater* (Vienna: Turia+Kant 2007); Frank Stern, Julia B. Köhne, Karin Moser, Thomas Ballhausen, and Barbara Eichinger, eds., *Filmische Gedächtnisse: Geschichte – Archiv – Riss* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2007).

31 E. Ann Kaplan and Ban Wang, *Trauma and Cinema: Cross-Cultural Explorations* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004).

32 Nurith Gertz and George Khleifi, *Palestinian Cinema: Landscape, Trauma and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005); Raz Yosef and Boaz Hagin, *Deeper than Oblivion: Trauma and Memory in Israeli Cinema* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); Raya Morag, *Waltzing with Bashir: Perpetrator Trauma and Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

33 Franziska Lamott, "Traumatische Reinszenierungen: Über den Zusammenhang von Gewalterfahrung und Gewalttätigkeit von Frauen," *Recht & Psychiatrie* 2 (2000): 56–62; Mathias Hirsch, "Täter und Opfer sexueller Gewalt in einer therapeutischen Gruppe – über umwandelnde Gegen- und Kreuzidentifikationen," G*ruppenpsychotherapeutische Gruppendynamik* 39 (2003): 169–86; Sandor Ferenczi, "Confusion of the Tongues between the Adults and the Child (The Language of Tenderness and of Passion)," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 30 (1949): 225–30; Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (London: Karnac Books, 1992 [1936]).

34 For an affirmation of the term 'perpetrator trauma,' see, for example, Saira Mohamed's 2015 "Of Monsters and Men: Perpetrator Trauma and Mass Atrocity," Berkeley Law Scholarship Repository, 115 Colum. L. Rev. 1157.

35 Michelle Meinhart, "Memory, Music, and Private Mourning in an English Country House during the First World War: Lady Alda Hoare's Musical

Shrine to a Lost Son," *Journal of Musicological Research* 31, nos. 1–3 (March 2014): 39–95.

36 Miriam Haughton, *Staging Trauma: Bodies in Shadow* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 208.

37 This phenomenon is explored by Judith Hamera in "Performance, Performativity, and Cultural Poiesis in Practices of Everyday Life," in *The Sage Handbook of Performance Studies*, ed. D. Soyini Madison and Judith Hamera (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2006), 50–1.

38 See Caruth, *Listening to Trauma*, 332.