

## “FAMILY SILVER” OR ARTEFACTS (IN) MEMORIES OF FORCIBLY DISPLACED GERMANS

**SANDRA KREISSLOVÁ, JANA NOSKOVÁ**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2478/se-2019-0009>

© Ústav etnológie a sociálnej antropológie SAV

© 2019, Sandra Kreisslová, Jana Nosková. This is an open access article licensed under the Creative Commons

*PhDr. Sandra Kreisslová, Ph.D., Provozně ekonomická fakulta, Česká zemědělská univerzita, Kamýcká 129, 165 21 Praha 6 – Suchbát, Czech Republic; e-mail: kreisslova@pef.czu.cz; Mgr. Jana Nosková, Ph.D., Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno, Veveří 97, 602 00, Brno, Czech Republic; e-mail: jana.noskova@iach.cz.*

The study deals with the transmission of family memory in three three-generation families of Germans forcibly displaced from Czechoslovakia, in which the oldest generation, the so-called generation of experience, actually experienced the migration movement after the end of World War II. In the study, the family is seen as a specific social framework in which the past is retrieved. Generations are characterized in a biological sequence, with only the oldest “generation of experience” defined by Karl Mannheim. The research of generational family memory focuses on the actor’s reception through an analysis and interpretation of narrative and oral-history interviews with representatives of generations while exploring the way family memory is mediated. Specifically, the authors inquire into the role the memory media play in their materialised form, i.e. artefacts that act as an impulse and source of remembrance narrative, in the process of generational transmission of memories in families. The focus here is on remembrance narratives related to the forced displacement, which thematise material artefacts, with the focus being not only on what artefacts there are in connection with the recollection of this historical process and what stories are related to them, but also the effort to uncover the meaning and the function of these artefacts during family remembrance.

*Keywords:* memory, family, generation, displaced Germans, artefact

*How to cite:* Kreisslová, S., Nosková, J. (2019). “Family Silver” or Artefacts (in) Memories of Forcibly Displaced Germans. *Slovenský národopis*, 67(2), 165–184, <https://doi.org/10.2478/se-2019-0009>

### INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on a project in which we focused on the transmission of family memories and the representations contained therein of forced migrations after World



*Photo 1 – A look into a private “home museum” with objects reminiscent of the former homeland. Author: Sandra Kreisslová, 2017*

War II in the three-generation families of the German expellees and their descendants.<sup>1</sup> While exploring the contents, mechanisms and strategies of the transmission of memories through the narrative constructions of the past, we were linguistically and, in some cases, physically “touching” the artefacts that the narrators remembered or through which they remembered. We were literally surrounded by communicative memory tied to various objects. The narrators showed us the so-called home corners in their homes<sup>2</sup> (Heimatecken; Köstlin, 2002: 14) – places specially designed to display almost sacred objects that either came from the “old homeland”<sup>3</sup>, or reminded it or referred to it in some way. In some cases, we were even allowed to enter rooms that resembled “home museums” with their own private collection of such objects. We therefore believe that it is relevant to inquire about the meaning and function that these objects have in the context of family remembering or forgetting. (Photo 1)

1 The research was carried out within the grant project GA CR 16-19041S Mechanism and strategies of generational transmission of family memory in the selected social groups (2016–2018).

2 There is a parallel with the so-called holy corners in rooms, which were located in the corner part opposite the door and had a magical and ceremonial function (Vařeka, 2007: 1006). The “home corners” are not thus spatially designed and do not fulfill the mentioned functions. But it is common to both of them that it is a place of honor in the house and the items displayed there play an important role in the owner’s family.

3 The generation of experience, that is, in our case, the generation that experienced the forced displacement from Czechoslovakia during its youth or childhood, constructs at least two homes in its biographies: the “old home” as the place of origin and the “new home” of the current residence. On the dual concept of home with German expellees cf. Fendl, 2007.

Referring to the German ethnologist Konrad Köstlin, we perceive these artefacts as part of the “museum of life” (Lebensmuseum) used to activate memories. However, their meanings only open to those who know their stories that evoke other associations. We may ask whether these “small memorials” (kleine Denkmäler) work in families as a means of canonising events and history, whether they create and socialise what we refer to as recollection (Köstlin, 2002: 16–17) – even if only within the family’s social memory framework. We are interested in what kind of artefacts in the family act as a source and an impulse to remember the experience of the forced displacement. According to the German ethnologist Elisabeth Fendl, even trivial things can be of great importance because of the connection with a certain experience (Fendl, 1993: 233), they assume an “investment of meaning”. In addition, Fendl also points out how the “brought baggage” often doubled over time by absorbing things that did not belong to them at home (Fendl, 1993: 240). Also, we focus on the stories attached to these artefacts and the meanings attributed to them. Last but not least, we look at the role that the objects and the related stories play in transmitting memories to next generations, inquiring into how they are interpreted by other family members, and what particular functions they perform (not only) during this transgenerational transmission.

#### **FAMILY MEMORY IN STORIES AND OBJECTS – THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL ANCHORING OF THE STUDY**

In the theoretical and methodological area of exploring family memory, we rely mainly on foreign research conducted by sociologist Harald Welzer and his research team (Welzer, Mollerová, Tschuggnallová, 2010). In line with Welzer, we follow the concept of collective memory as defined by Maurice Halbwachs (2009; 1985) and further elaborated in the form of communicative memory by Jan Assmann (2001). From this position, we understand the family as one of the basic subjects that carry the social framework in which past events, experiences, customs and rules are retrieved and communicated. Halbwachs (1985) describes the family as an intimate and confidential commemorative community that preserves and hands down its own specific memories that are not merely “images” of the past, but also models and examples that reflect the group’s overall attitudes, quality and weaknesses (Halbwachs, 1985: 209–210). Memories shared (synchronously) and handed down (diachronically) therefore ensure family coherence and continuity of family traditions and that is why they are not unchanging; the past is re-constructed in accordance with the current interests and needs of the family so that it works in its favour, promoting identity and consolidating the worldview. This also applies to narratives tied to various commemorative artefacts that we are primarily interested in this study.

Similarly, Welzer considers family memory to be a reflection of the general consensus of family members on what to consider as their history and the importance of being attached to individual events. Representatives of the younger generations acquire knowledge of the family’s past in the process of socialisation through narrating, listening, inquiring and handing down stories of previous generations. The intimate character of the family, the sense of belonging to the relatives and the associated loyalty requirement influence the content of these memorial stories, which is highly selective. Above all, they keep and update “good” family history, as the results of the aforementioned



*Photo 2 – Photo album as a source and impulse of remembering. Author: Sandra Kreisslová, 2017*

multi-generation research by Welzer and his colleague on recollections of National Socialism and the Holocaust in German families have shown. It does not mean that the content of inter-generationally-narrated stories is identical with the individual family members, the subsequent generations interpret and modify their ancestors' narrative in their own way, but family memory creates a framework that gives the impression that they remember the past the same way (Welzer, Mollerová, Tschuggnallová, 2010: 18).

Intergenerational transmission of memories in the family is done through ritualized family stories. The situations in which they occur are analysed by the German sociologist Angela Keppler (1994). Family celebrations and meetings, which create space not only for the transmission of memories, but also for their exchange, comparison and replenishment, prove to be the most significant. This process can take place using materialised forms of memory. Often, according to Keppler (1994: 162), these are photo albums, which in these cases serve both as a medium for the transfer of memories and as an illustration of family history.<sup>4</sup> Photo albums, or photos, can certainly be considered the most important “mediator” activating memories. However, during our research, we also encountered other material objects that, through the

<sup>4</sup> Family amateur photography as a mechanism for the selective recording of family memory and photography as a means of enhancing social cohesion through documenting particularly positive experiences and eliminating what family members could separate is examined by Jindra Tichá (2010), following the findings of Pierre Bourdieu (1990). According to her, it is mainly remarkable moments of everyday life that are immortalized (celebrations, holidays, meetings of relatives, trips, etc.).



emotional link with narrators, acted as media of recalling, such as old books, dishes, paintings, badges, small furniture such as chests, various garments, or documents referring to the family's origins (cf. Fendl, 1993: 233). (Photo 2)

Being researchers, we could hardly become a part of everyday family meetings, during which the story of the family's past, would spontaneously develop. However, we could observe, and include in our analyses, joint conversations of family members that preceded or followed interviews with individual members of the family.<sup>5</sup> We tried to capture the communicative family memory mainly through individually conducted narrative interviews (Schütze, 1983) and oral history interviews. Narrative interviews helped us focus on the narrator's auto/biography, which was based on the individual's life story, including the interpretation of socio-historical conditions and events on the one hand, and the inner psychic development of the subject on the other (Alheit, Dausien, 1990: 8), oral history interviews then mainly focused on forced displacement.

We proceeded from the assumptions generally shared in social sciences that by telling stories about their own past, the narrator negotiates their own position of I/We – re-constructing their ideas about who they were, are and will be. Therefore, narratives are never only retrospective, on the contrary, they target the present and the future, they are prospective. This aspect allows regarding biography as a “narrated identity” (Konopásek, 1994), or rather as a narrative construction of identity (Hamar, 2008), which plays a vital role in the process of constructing personal and collective identity and memory.

For the purpose of this study, we chose three families in which we interviewed representatives of the oldest generation born before 1945 and members of the subsequent generations of children and grandchildren.<sup>6</sup> This choice was determined by the fact that narrators (at least in one of the generations) referred during their family history narrative to certain items that proved to be the pillars of joint family remembrance, or served a consolidating function – it was through them that some family members realized their belonging to the group and affirmed ties with their relatives (Tichá, 2010: 95). Herein, we have identified materiality as an essential component of the narrative re-construction of the past, and a functional and, above all, symbolic dimension was recognisable in particular artefacts, i.e. objects through which materiality manifested itself (Miller, 2010). We thus attribute to these artefacts an active contribution to the re-construction of social reality, or that of the past, as the case may be. Not only do they become objects of remembrance, artefacts also activate remembrance while influencing what is recollected. Based on the analysis of the following empirical material, we will try to reveal the material dimension of selected narrative interviews. In the process, we are interested in materiality as part of these interviews – as part of what is told to us, not the material aspect of ethnographic/oral history practice – that is, recoding the interviews and converting them into text (cf. Wundrak, 2015: 356–357).

5 In this way, in some cases, we also participated in “conversations at the table” (Tischgespräche) (Keppler, 1994), which we recorded in our research diaries along with other information about meetings and interviews with the narrators.

6 We use the concept of generation in the context of the so-called generation of experience with reference to Karl Mannheim (2007: 11–14), who defines the generation as a group of people with a specific location in the historical-social space, i.e. a group of people not only linked by the date of birth, but also by an opportunity to participate in the common life stories of a historical-social unit. However, in the case of the following generations in the selected families, we are already working with a generation based on biological continuity in the generational sequence.

## “EXPULSION” IN THE CHRONICLE – ON FAILING TO RECALL MEMORIES THROUGH THE FAMILY CHRONICLE

A representative of the oldest generation we interviewed, narrator Helmut,<sup>7</sup> was born in 1942 in Cheb (Eger in German) in Western Bohemia. Right at the beginning of his narrative, he points out that, due to his date of birth, he does not consider himself to be the “proper” generation of experience, which he considers to include his parents and grandparents. Specifically, it was his mother and grandmother who, unlike him, had been expelled in their adulthood so they had to deal with the painful loss of their “home” and start a “new” life in Hessen. Helmut has only vague memories of these events. It is photos and family stories he tells us that are his support and source of memories of the “old home” and information about it. Not only do the photographs stimulate memories – according to the narrator, his memories are “emerging” through them – they also significantly participate in shaping and creating them, as we know from the field of psychology. These materialized photographic images of the past are riddled with the so-called second-hand stories (Lehmann, 2007: 58), i.e. stories of the family members of the previous generations that the narrator refers to and that allow him to participate in the common past and family experience, albeit predominantly in a mediated form.

Significantly, the expellees who spent the time of forced migration in childhood were only intensely interested in their family history when they were out of the daily routine of catering for existential needs, which opened a space for reviewing, looking back (cf. Kreisslová, Nosková, 2018): *I was occupied with other things, not just home, expulsion. I was about to start my studies, my family, and so on, and so on. And then one also tried to make some provisions oneself.*<sup>8</sup> In his testimony, the narrator squeezed the family history into two main categories – “home” and “expulsion” became the leitmotif of his entire family history narrative. These two concepts are basically analogous to the key concepts of the expellee Sudeten German culture of remembrance – the narrator, along with his wife, whose family originally comes from South Bohemia and is also burdened with the experience of “expulsion”, are also members of a regional compatriot Sudeten German group, actively participating in the discourse of displacement.

As in interviews with other narrators, research revealed that the tensions associated with the loss of the “old home”, which in addition to the social and emotional aspects also includes the material one in the form of confiscation of property, is offset by the inclusion of the story of a new start in Germany. It was the family house that became a symbol of the revival process of the family or of a whole group of expellees, proving the improving economic situation and the existential stabilization. The story of its construction renews order and certainty in life. According to the narrator, at least two factors contributed to the improvement of living conditions: 1/ partial aid from the outside due to 1952 laws applied in the Federal Republic of Germany to recompense Germans who fled their homelands, including Czechoslovakia, for their lost properties

7 The names of the narrators were anonymized. Recordings and transcripts can be found in the collections of the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS, v. v. i., Brno.

8 Original: *Da war ich natürlich dann halt auch mit anderen Sachen beschäftigt, nicht nur mit der Heimat, Vertreibung, ja. Sondern, man hat ja dann das Studium vor sich gehabt, hat dann eine Familiengründung vor sich gehabt usw. usw. Und dann hat man sich auch versucht was zu schaffen.* (Interview with Helmut, December 2, 2017).

(the so-called Lastenausgleich), 2/ help from inside the group – *The expellees then helped themselves, no two ways about it.*<sup>9</sup> Helmut continues to develop the second point in particular. He accentuates the coherence of the people suffering from the same “expellee” (Heimatvertriebene) fate<sup>10</sup> who were willing to help each other in a “foreign” country where they were often seen by the majority society as “unwanted” (Lehmann, 1991 and Kossert, 2011, among others). They were perceived by the local population as a foreign element, differing culturally, religiously and linguistically from their community. The narrative of building a new existence, in which the family house plays a central role, goes beyond the liminality stage (Turner, 1969) that the group went through after World War II. The German expellees were pulled out of their former fixed place in the social structure and were not yet incorporated into the new structure. However, their adaptation to the new social environment and integration into the new society was not only related to the approach of the majority. According to Helmut, the expellees had to cross the mental border and accept that the return to their homeland would no longer be possible: *And so some people thought it [forced displacement, author’s note] would be just a temporary affair, you know, that they may have been expelled, but it wouldn’t stay that way. That they would somehow get back, that it’d only be temporary. But later it was clear that it was definitive. And so, one tried to build something here [in Hessen, author’s note].*<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, the widespread interpretative pattern of stigmatised groups on how to cope with the crisis period has emerged in this context (Hlaváček, Horáková, 2013: 268). It was the “dexterity” and “diligence” of the expellees that allowed self-construction of entire residential areas. The narrative of diligence, through which the expellees were able to overcome adversity, turns their roles of victims of forced displacement into those of heroes. A whole group of expellees are made heroes in the interview, more specifically the mother who, despite the absence of her husband who fell in the war, managed to build a new existence for her family. Therefore, the family house acquires high emotional and symbolic values for the narrator. Maintaining it means preserving the family legacy, family history.<sup>12</sup> The same motif led him to write a family chronicle, in which he framed the family’s history into the wider history of Germans in the Czech lands. The chronicle is a space designed to immortalize his knowledge and memories. Using written documentation, he wants to preserve the past of the family/Germans from the Cheb region, or more precisely from the Czech lands, to ensure the transmission to the next generations, as follows from the introduction of his work, which he reads: *This chronicle is intended to enable all members and descendants of the Müller family to learn about the history of their ancestors and to find out where their roots are. After the expulsion and death of many family members after*

9 Original: *Die Heimatvertriebenen haben sich dann selbst geholfen, ja, ist klar.* (Interview with Helmut, December 2, 2017).

10 The literature describes the so-called fated community (Schicksalgemeinschaft), cf. Schroubek, 2008: 33.

11 Original: *Und da haben einige Leute gedacht, das kann nur eine vorübergehende Sache sein, wissen Sie, dass man einmal vertrieben wurde, aber das kann nicht so sein. Man kommt irgendwie wieder zurück dann mal, also das kann nur ’ne temporäre Sache sein. Aber nachher wurde es dann schon klar, dass das ist schon endgültig. Und dann hat man natürlich versucht, hier etwas zu schaffen.* (Interview with Helmut, December 2, 2017).

12 This motif no longer appears in an interview with other family members, the daughter and grandson interviewed live in another house near their grandparents/parents.

*World War II, much information fell into oblivion. In order not to forget even what I know, I have decided to write and structure everything I learned from earlier stories.*<sup>13</sup>

The preservation of the narrator's memory is becoming particularly important given the specific experience of forced displacement. Forced migration resulted in the destruction and loss of a number of papers and other artefacts linked to family history, which is now threatened even more due to the departure of the generation of experience. The following generations are only superficially oriented in their family history, which Helmut perceives as understandable due to lack of time and due to other interests so far (family, employment, study). The chronicle of over four hundred pages (including pictures, photographs and maps) was thus based on a thoughtful strategy to cover this deficit in the future. Through this material medium of written recorded memory, the descendants will be able to uncover the past of their predecessors and gain a deeper insight into their family memory. The book is supposed to become a piece of heritage and its passing on a tradition, so the narrator tried to ensure its physical stability (using quality printing, paper and binding).

The chronicle is considered to be the most important tool used to preserve family memory also by other interviewed family members – daughter Hedvig (b. 1970) and grandson Erwin (b. 1998). The chronicle works as an important intergenerational communication channel, its origin has prompted conversations about the past, which have not yet been customary: *When we were children, my brothers and me, there was not much said about the past, because there were other more important topics, I think: school, kindergarten, reconstruction of the house, house and my parents. My father used to travel a lot for business, so we didn't talk about it. It is only now that the parents have grown older and become interested in it and the idea of writing a chronicle emerged after all. So, we have started talking more about it, which I also find interesting. We don't have the chronicle yet. But we'll get it once, and then it will be a treasure, naturally. Then we'll know what it was like back then.*<sup>14</sup>

During the process of recalling memories over the chronicle, it was photographs that proved to be essential. Through them, Hedvig follows family continuity – comparing the similarity of different family members, while Erwin appreciates the opportunity to see the depicted family estate of his great-grandfather in Czechoslovakia. They both greatly appreciate their memory recordings of their predecessor, do not question its credibility, do not challenge the subjectivity of this ego-document. On the one hand, they mention its stimulating function, which aroused their curiosity and led to

---

13 Original: *Diese Chronik soll allen Mitgliedern und Nachfahren der Familie Müller die Möglichkeit bieten, sich über die Geschichte ihrer Ahnen zu informieren, um so zu erkennen, wo ihre Wurzeln liegen. Nach Vertreibung und Tod von vielen Familienangehörigen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg sind viele Informationen unwiderruflich verloren gegangen, leider. Damit nicht auch noch das, was mir bekannt ist, in Vergessenheit gerät, habe ich mich entschlossen, all das niederzuschreiben und strukturiert zu ordnen, was ich aus früheren Erzählungen erfahren habe.* (Interview with Helmut, December 2, 2017.)

14 Original: *Also es wurde bei uns nicht, früher, als wir klein waren, meine Brüder und ich, haben nicht viel über Vergangenheit gesprochen, weil da waren irgendwie andere Themen, glaub' ich, wichtiger: Schule, Kindergarten, Umbau, das Haus und meine Eltern. Mein Vater [war] viel unterwegs beruflich und da haben wir nicht so drüber gesprochen. Das kam erst jetzt, wo meine Eltern älter werden, sich selbst wieder so damit beschäftigen und wieder die Idee reifte, dass er doch 'ne Chronik schreiben wird über die Familie. Da fing das dann so an, dass man mehr drüber gesprochen hat und, was ich auch sehr interessant finde. Die Chronik haben wir ja noch nicht. Aber die werden wir irgendwann ja bekommen und das ist natürlich 'n Schatz ja. Also wenn man genau weiß, wie das so mal war.* (Interview with Hedvig, February 9, 2018.)



storytelling. However, on the other hand, they point out at various places in the interview that they do not know much about their family history. Their interest in the “old home” is not particularly intense; because of their date of birth, they place their grand/parents’ roots to Germany, or more precisely to Hessen. However, they do not find it improbable that they would want to know more about their family history in the future. In this respect, they rely on the chronicle to refer to at any time, as they remind to the interviewer. The chronicle allows generations who no longer consider themselves Sudeten Germans and heard the stories of “forced displacement” “second hand” to “enter” into the memory of a family/group of Czech Germans. However, the question remains as to whether the written record of the past in this case did not overshadowed the oral transmission.

## “OLD HOME” TREASURES

Another approach and treatment of family history from an intergenerational perspective is represented by a family whose oldest living generation is narrator Hilde, born in 1931 in the village of Rájov (German: Rojau) near Mariánské Lázně, and her husband, narrator Rudolf, born in the same year in the town of Jiříkov (German: Georgswalde) in northern Bohemia. Both can be considered the generation of experience. They were caught by forced migration in their teenage years, and described the events and processes associated with it, as well as the subsequent beginnings in Hessen, in detail. While they both agree that it was mainly their parents who were shaken by the loss of property and the “old home”, recollections of the hardship suffered made the narrator cry. The family’s past is still strongly present, daughter Sabine (b. 1959) and grandchildren Maria (b. 1981) and Markus (b. 1985) show an active interest in the shared history. Through family narratives, joint visits to Czechoslovakia / the Czech Republic, literature or television documentaries, they try to understand the world of historical actors, her ancestors.<sup>15</sup> The intergenerational transmission of historical consciousness is facilitated by coexistence in a multi-generation house built after the forced displacement by both spouses who met in Hessen in the 1950s: *I suppose that living under one roof, we talk more about it [past, author’s note]. It would be different, if we lived elsewhere and met only on Sunday, then one talks about other things. This way, once in a while, for example as part of those travels, my children, you must have been told, they and their grandparents took part in such a bus trip to their home village, as well as to the other one. And you know, one asks questions if it’s like this.*<sup>16</sup>

The motif of building a house symbolising a “new beginning” has proven to be crucial for all generations. The interpretations associated with it are similar to the

---

15 This is also evidenced by the fact that the call to join the family memory and forced displacement project, which we had published in the local press, was responded to by narrator Sabine, i.e. the middle generation.

16 Original: *Ich glaube, dadurch dass wir alle in einem Haus sind, wird schon mehr darüber gesprochen. Das wäre jetzt anders, wenn wir jetzt weiter weg wohnen und nur mal zum Sonntag, da wird über Anderes geredet. So wird doch immer mal, oder gerade, wenn dann solche Fahrten anstehen, meine Kinder waren ja, das haben die bestimmt auch erzählt, die waren ja mit den Großeltern auch mit diesen Busreisen sowohl da in dem Heimatort, und auch in dem anderen Heimatort. Und da wird dann natürlich schon vorher gefragt und auch hinterher.* (Interview with Sabine, February 10, 2018.)

previous case study.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the new house is associated with the importance of consolidating post-war conditions between the expellees and the local population for the oldest generation – Hilde and Rudolf – the expellees have ceased to be a “burden” stigmatized by homelessness and poverty. During the interview, the house became a testament to the fact that they no longer have a desire to return to Czechoslovakia / the Czech Republic, as many Czechs suppose.

The experience of material shortage in this family is encoded across generations. Material hardships due to expropriation and “expulsion” is present in all interviews, making the grandchildren adopt strategies to overcome any crisis by tendency to conserve and reserve: *You know, we would be at home all the time, we were taken care of, and what came to light later was a sort of heritage of the expelled generation. Making reserves, being self-sufficient in some form, for example, by cultivating crops, fruits in the back of our garden, to have some reserves, to be prepared for bad times. Somehow it was shown to us, so we adopted it too.*<sup>18</sup> Removing material need and the opportunity to build a new existence is reflected in the story of the gradual construction of the house. This narrative works across generations as a confirmation of diligence and the ability of ancestors to cope with the crisis caused by external interference of the “great” history.

Furthermore, the family’s memory framework in its materialised form also includes the “brought baggage”, as Fendl (1993) writes about it. More precisely, they are artefacts that the family members managed to “salvage” and bring to Germany. From the “old home”, they thus managed to preserve the great/grandmother’s sewing machine and the glasses smuggled by Hilde during the transport. While the mother/grandmother is heroised by the subsequent generations for her actions that put her in a dangerous situation, she herself interprets it as recklessness: *We hid them [glasses, author’s note], I could still go to the field to get them, they weren’t actually worth it, we weren’t allowed out [from the camp, author’s note], they could shoot us. (...) It was dangerous to hide them and bring them here.*<sup>19</sup>

Through the experience of forced displacement, “ordinary” objects of daily use turned into something “special”, having acquired a “cult” character (Köstlin, 2002: 19). They became family relics; their originally practical meaning was replaced with a commemorative meaning. A special place is reserved for both items, the glasses are displayed in a display case in the living room and are no longer used. Neither is the sewing machine used any more, having become a highly symbolically and emotionally prized decoration, as described by the granddaughter: *This includes these glasses, and that’s just that we know about the history, that they’re something special, that Grandma had to experience. There’s an old Minerva Bobbin sewing machine after my great-grand- mother upstairs, we can also show you that. And now we use it as a table, it’s upstairs as a decoration.*<sup>20</sup> The sewing

17 However, as we have pointed out, this motif appears there only among the oldest generation.

18 Original: *Man war immer daheim, man war immer umsorgt und halt auch, was man dann nachher festgestellt hat, was gleich auch so ein Erbe dieser vertriebenen Generation ist. Vorräte anlegen, versuchen irgendwo selbstständig leben zu können in der Form, dass wir hinterm im Garten, dass angebaut wurde, dass Früchte eingemacht wurden, so dass man Reserven hat, dass man auf schlechte Zeiten vorbereitet ist. Irgendwo ist das auch einem so vorgelegt worden, das hat man dann auch irgendwo übernommen.* (Interview with Markus, February 10, 2018.)

19 Original: *Die haben wir versteckt gehab’, das konnte ich noch am Acker holen, das war es eigentlich nicht wert, wir durften ja nicht mehr raus, da konnte man erschossen werden. (...) Das wahr gefährlich, dass ich das versteckt und mitgebracht habe.* (Interview with Hilde, February 10, 2018.)

machine stands in one of the rooms on the floor, with black and white photos from the “old home” and photos of family predecessors hanging on the wall around it. This space matches one of the possible forms of the “home corner” and serves as an expression of respect for ancestors and their own family history, a proof of family continuity and coherence, thus significantly interfering with the presence and future of the family. However, the commemoratives would lose their “sacrality” if there were no stories, they would become mundane things like any of those thousands in the world (Köstlin, 2002: 17) and would “go silent” for future generations. The significance of narrativization of material artefacts is also considered by Marie in her testimony: *They are [things, author’s note] where we know their history, and that’s just something special, because it is very important that we as grandchildren value these historical things. Not like when someone doesn’t know their history and then throws them away one day.*<sup>21</sup> (Photo 3)



Photo 3 – “Family silver”: a glass service that the family managed to “salvage” during forced displacement. Author: Sandra Kreisslová, 2017

## “OLD HOME” LANDSCAPE

The last case study deals with a three-generation family in which we interviewed the grandmother, daughter and granddaughter. The narrator Heda, representing the oldest generation, was born in 1932 in the same village as the witness in the previous family, in Rájov (German: Rojau) in Egerland, where the family owned a homestead. In the 1950s, Heda got married, her husband was a “resident” (from Hessen), but he completely integrated into the group of Chebers (Egerländer) and became a significant homeland worker, chronicler of his wife’s birthplace. The narrator was also active in various organizations, already back in 1959 she became a member of the association Egerländer Gmoi in Dillenburg, led a dance group, worked as Trachtenwartin.

Heda begins her narration with the date and place of birth, information about

20 Original: *Das gehört noch dazu, diese Gläschen und das ist halt, weil wir von der Geschichte wissen und dass die halt was ganz Besonderes, dass die Oma das mitgemacht hat. Und wir haben oben, das können wir nachher auch nochmal zeigen, noch ’ne alte Nähmaschine von der Uroma, die Minerva Bobbin. Und die haben wie jetzt so als Tisch, die ist als Deko-Gegenstand für uns oben.* (Interview with Marie, February 10, 2018.)

21 Original: *Also da sind z. B. dieses, wo man eben die Geschichte darüber weiß, und das ist halt auch ganz besonders, weil es ja auch wichtig ist, dass man als Enkelkind solche historischen Sachen zu schätzen weiß. Nicht, dass jemand die Geschichte nicht weiß und irgendwann würde man das wegwerfen.* (Interview with Marie, February 10, 2018.)

“beautiful childhood” and continues: *We had a farmhouse with plenty of animals and a large forest, all in one. We had enough woods ... Two years ago, my children gave me a Christmas present... and then I wanted to go to the forest again. And as I was standing in front of the forest, I couldn't walk in with them. I was so ... it was as if I couldn't breathe. I wanted to show them what, how I helped, the plants, or where I found mushrooms ... But it wasn't possible. But I'll go there once again. I have to go there again. We also had a large meadow in the woods. That was childhood. But I just couldn't that day. So many memories and so much pain, too. Because one also knows how hard it was for my father.*<sup>22</sup>

It is above all the forest and the farmstead around which Heda's memories of childhood, of the “old home”, revolve. It is also the house and the forest that bind her to the generation of ancestors – the motif of rootedness is one of the normative ideas of home (Szaló, 2006: 147) and it is also used very often as an argument for pointing out the injustice of forced displacement. Heda returns to the motif of the farm, the forest several times, also in the context of the very frequent narrative of easier integration of the young generation and children into the German post-war society compared to the generation of parents or grandparents (cf. Fendl, 1993).<sup>23</sup> It is the forest that assumes a high symbolic value: it is beloved in the memories, but at the same time it represents an obstacle – the emotions, associated with the memories it evokes, are so intense when being “face to face” with it that they do not allow her to show “everything” to her offspring in this material environment.

However, Heda does not keep the forest and the farmstead left behind in Czechoslovakia only in her memories, she also transported them to her “new home” in physical form. Right with her first visit to Czechoslovakia in 1965, she and her husband dug out a few spruce seedlings in her “forest”, which they planted at their weekend house – they are tall trees today. Similarly, she brought flowers from her favourite meadow, which she pressed – they also brought the sense of being “in touch with home”. The farm in Rájov was “materialized” in yet another way after the forced displacement – the narrator had the farm painted by a local painter based on photographs.<sup>24</sup> The painting is also gaining importance due to the fact that the farm no longer exists physically because it has been demolished. Surprisingly, however, its “final loss” (disappearance of the building substance) is thematically dealt with forgivingly by Heda in the interview<sup>25</sup> – by putting it in the narrative of success in the “new home”: *First we had to gain something. Then we went there. Then it wasn't that*

---

22 Original: *Wir hatten einen Hof mit vielen Tieren und großem Wald und all das dabei. Wir hatten viel Wald... Vor zwei Jahren hatten mir meine Kinder zu Weihnachten geschenkt... und dann war mein Wunsch, einmal noch in den Wald zu gehen. Und wie ich vor dem Wald stand, konnte ich mit denen nicht reingehen. Ich war so... es war so, als wenn mir die Luft ausging. Ich wollte zeigen, was ich mitgeholfen hab', Pflanzen, oder wo ich meine Pilze gefunden hab'. Aber es ging nicht. Aber ich geh' nochmal hin. Ich muss nochmal reingehen. Wir hatten auch eine große Waldwiese. Das war so Kindheit. Aber an dem Tag ging es irgendwie nicht. Es sind so viele Erinnerungen und so viel Leid auch zum Teil. Weil man das ja auch weiß, wie schwierig das für meinen Vater war. (Interview with Heda, December 1, 2017.)*

23 The narrator says that her grandfather, after the forced expulsion coupled with a loss of environment that gave him the certainty of having a certain status, “*died of homesickness*” in Germany.

24 Her daughter is also referring to the painting saying that they have the “farm in colour”, not only black and white on old and often damaged photographs, while highly valuing the memory of her mother, who described the colours to the painter. Henrike Hampe also mentions paintings of immovables, putting it into the context of taking roots in a “new home” after it was clear that return was no longer possible (Hampe, 2008: 28).

hard to see the deterioration on the other side. Because we've built a new home. That's also ... that's how one has to think about it.<sup>26</sup> This success is also used in the narrative as an argument why “no one wants to go back” anymore. Nobody – perhaps except for the narrator's husband, who, though not coming from the Egerland, has fallen in love with the landscape around Rájov. His incessant enthusiasm for this region, emphasized by all generations, and his integration into the group of Egerländer increases the attractiveness, the price of the “old home”, of its culture, its history in the narratives. That is why the landscape and its history keep returning also in this story.<sup>27</sup>

This is not to say that the objects brought along play no part in Heda's story. She remembers mainly porcelain, which the narrator gradually parts with and passes on to her daughters. At the same time, these items and objects left behind at home are the subject of adventurous narratives, especially within the narrative of smuggling, or that of walling up or burying things, i.e. stories of “treasures” (for both types, see Fendl, 1993), while these have a touch of cheerful stories and anecdotes. Konrad Köstlin (1980) or Albrecht Lehman (1991: 50ff.) have shown how tragic, sad experiences can gradually be folklorized into cheerful, braggart stories.

But the “old home” is materialised in Heda's family in more ways. For example, through objects that they only brought as souvenirs and reminders of the “old home” after visiting their homeland.<sup>28</sup> Henrike Hampe aptly points out that the homesick tourists turn into collectors who “year after year transport their old home to the new one” (Hampe, 2008: 28). This is also the case for this family – not only these artefacts (glass, stones from individual fields of the family, etc.) have entered the private “Heimatstube” that the narrator and her husband established in their home. It was also enriched with gifts from other people who knew about the homeland-related, expert activities of the spouses.

Still, the “baggage of the expelled” is complemented with artefacts acquired in Germany that somehow manifest the relationship with the “old home”. In the case of Heda's narrative, this is done through folk costume, which is, among other things, contributed by her long-term activity as Trachtenwartin.<sup>29</sup> Elisabeth Fendl characterizes one of the stages of the forcibly expelled Germans' stay in Germany as “time for homesickness – money for folk costumes” (Fendl, 1993: 238). After the initial shock of arriving in Germany, hatred and disrespect by the domestic population, the expelled start showing their identity with economic prosperity, including through external manifestations, such as massive acquisition of costumes and their wearing in public at various festivals. And in no way does it matter that this manifestation of belonging to the “old home” takes place through artefacts that were not used in it even before the

25 This fits into her stressing that she does not advocate “revenge or retribution”. However, this does not mean that she does not consider the forced displacement to be an injustice.

26 Original: *Wir mussten erstmal zu was kommen. Dann sind wir gefahren. Dann ist es uns auch gar nicht schwergefallen, da drüben das Verfallene zu sehen. Weil wir hatten uns ja wieder ein neues Zuhause geschaffen. Das ist ja auch... muss man ja auch so überlegen.* (Interview with Heda, December 1, 2017.)

27 The narrator then connects the “old” and “new” homes in the landscape also after 1989 – for example, by returning material artefacts to the landscape of their “old homeland” – planting apple trees brought from Germany in Rájov, repairing small sacral monuments, tidying the cemetery.

28 Perhaps the best-known souvenir is a soil that is supposed to remind of home (cf. Kreisslová, 2018: 170; Fendl, 2006: 95–101).

29 Official designation of the person responsible for folk costumes, their production, costume sewing courses etc. in Bund der Eghalanda Gmoin e.V., Bund der Egerländer.



forced displacement – Fendl speaks metaphorically about fossils that represent an extinct culture.

In our research, however, we were also concerned with what was passed on from stories tied to certain material objects or, as the case may be, what variations were occurring there. So how is it in the case of the second and third generation in the family? The daughter Marie (b. 1957) grew up in a family environment where both parents worked for the “Egerländer Gmoi”, she herself engaged in its activities in her youth, as the leader of a dance group since the 1970s – and as she says, it influenced her: ... *I grew up with this history and I know... I was dealing with the Egerland as well as the expulsion... actually, I can talk about everything because I was engaged in it.*<sup>30</sup>

But what is “everything” that she can talk about? In particular, she adopts her mother’s emphasis on the relationship to the land and farm. She knows the stories about buried treasures as well as the story of the trees her mother smuggled – she participated in the event herself, it thus already belongs to her own life, it is part of her own life story. She also uses the “we”/“our” pronoun to describe the story: *And then we went to Rájov once. And when we were there, it was, of course, very sad for my mother, because the farm in which she lived, the great quadrilateral farmstead was levelled along with the neighbouring farm. And that made her very sad. And it also affected us, the children. [trembling voice] And that might be why I remember that so well. And then we took a walk around the church, to the fields, the fields around them, and then she told us what they used to own, and then the forest back there. And then, although it was forbidden, but it was our forest, we simply took a few trees, such little seedlings. And then we planted them at home when we were back in Dillenburg. And they were later our Christmas firs [laughs]. So, we had a Christmas tree from the Egerland. Beautiful story, isn't it?*<sup>31</sup>

Marie describes her mother as sad when seeing the levelled birth house – a feeling that the mother does not mention in her narrative.<sup>32</sup> With sadness, the feeling of loss (including the loss of property) penetrates the daughter’s story much more, which may be the effect of the official discourses of the expellee Sudeten German organizations, but also of what her mother said in the interview, that “*the young grew up being told that we had been expelled wrongfully*”.

30 Original: ...bin ich auch mit dieser Geschichte groß geworden und kenne halt auch... hab' mich auch mit diesem Egerland sehr beschäftigt und auseinandergesetzt mit der Vertreibung... kann ich auch eigentlich Alles erzählen, weil ich mich da einfach auch damit auseinandergesetzt habe. (Interview with Marie, December 1, 2017.)

31 Original: Und dann sind wir oben dann irgendwann in Rojau angekommen. Und als wir dann da waren, war es für meine Mutter natürlich sehr traurig, weil der Bauernhof, wo sie drin gewohnt hat, dieser riesengroße Vierkanthof, der war mit dem Nachbarhof zum Erdboden gleich gemacht und da war sie sehr, sehr traurig. Also das hat uns Kinder dann auch so berührt. [brüchige Stimme] Und deswegen kann ich mich vielleicht auch so gut daran erinnern. Und dann sind wir trotzdem an der Kirche vorbei, rüber auf's Feld, die Felder, daran vorbei und dann hat sie uns erzählt, was ihnen all gehört hat, und dann hinten der Wald. Und dann haben wir verbotenerweise, aber es war ja unser Wald, haben wir uns einfach ein paar Bäumchen mitgenommen, so ganz kleine Pflänzchen. Und die haben wir nachher eingepflanzt zu Hause, als wir wieder in Dillenburg waren. Und das waren dann später mal unsere Tannenbäume an Weihnachten [lacht]. Da hatten wir aus dem Egerland einen Weihnachtsbaum. Eine schöne Geschichte, gell! (Interview with Marie, December 1, 2017.)

32 There may be a couple of reasons: after all those years since the event, the feeling of sadness has subsided, the narrator did not want to show sadness before the interviewer, a stranger, or it would not fit into her “no retribution” attitude.

A visit to another house in Egerland, the house of Marie's grandmother, is also a stimulus for telling a story. In this story of a house that is "intact, that's all beautiful", values are also reflected. During the visit, mother Heda was thrilled, because even the fruit trees in the garden were trimmed, the garden was well-tended – that is, the house and the garden were in the same condition as when the narrator's grandmother ran the household. Diligence and knowledge of housekeeping are therefore values that are passed on through this image.

In the narrative, Marie can also relate to things her mother and her parents brought to Germany. Of these things of daily use, however, only a few have been preserved. According to her, they must be kept with respect, i.e. they are not used for normal dining, instead they are stored as museum exhibits in a display case (their meaning has changed, they have been incorporated into another system – Miller, 1994: 400). So, there is an emotional relationship to them, but at the same time, being relics, they lose their lifespan, they do not mediate any stories anymore, they are "mute" (Köstlin, 2002: 17). Marie knows that one plate reads "for a silver wedding", but whose wedding it is about, she can no longer say. The words "with respect" are heard in relation to another object, when describing the only original part of Marie's folk costume. It is sewn in Germany, with the original part being a silver chain, which she inherited from her mother, who received it from a family friend also coming from the Egerland. She says she is really proud of it. It is part of the "cultural heritage" as Marie calls not only the material artefacts her mother cares for at home, but also all her knowledge of the Egerländer culture she has gained herself – either from narration or from participating in the Egerländer Gmoi. Here, Marie adopts the official rhetoric.<sup>33</sup>

It cannot be said that the third generation in the family did not participate in the narrative and knowledge of family history at all, but its relationship to it is different. Nelly (b. 1981) stressed that she was proud of her grandfather and grandmother's interest in the issue, their expert activities, but apologized for not being prepared for the interview, saying she actually knew little about her family history – as she says, just "a few anecdotes". She has been joining her parents and grandparents since childhood when traveling to Czechoslovakia, or the Czech Republic. From her point of view, the trips were simply "holiday trips". So, it is other components that assume importance in her narration – for example, an experience of a joint trip where the destination of the trip ("old home") does not play a significant role. The land that is homeland to her grandmother and one of the key material symbols in her entire life story is described as follows: *I just remember the landscape... it was... it was simply a country landscape, farms and... Many of them were dilapidated back then, destroyed. There was not so much to see, there was nothing much to take pictures of, noting much worth seeing. It was simply a relationship for Grandma and Mom. I'd say it wasn't actually worth seeing. It was no tourist destination in the true sense of the word. Though it was like that for me and my sister. We all had time, we went together, the journey by car was fun, it was very valuable to us.*<sup>34</sup> At the same time, however, she

33 See the website of Egerländer Gmoi in Dillenburg: "Today, the main goal is to take care of the Cheb/Egerländer cultural heritage" – <http://egerlaender-dillenburg.de/> (retrieved on March 5, 2019). Her mother also talks about preserving heritage.

34 Original: *Ich kann mich an viel Landschaft einfach nur erinnern... also es war... war halt ländliche Gegend, das waren Bauerndörfer und... Vieles war halt auch verkommen zu der Zeit, runtergekommen. Es war jetzt nicht so viel zum Anschauen, dass man da hätte irgendwie Bilder machen müssen, dass es etwas Sehenswertes gewesen wäre. Das war ja einfach nur der Bezug für Oma und Mama. So richtig... richtig sehenswert war es ja vielleicht eigentlich sonst nicht. Es war ja kein Urlaubsort in dem Sinn. Obwohl*

emphasizes that she did not understand at the time what the goal of the visits was. Therefore, she only has vague memories of her visits to the Czech Republic, namely of Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, the cemetery, the church in the village where her grandmother was born, the house that once belonged to her great-grandmother – but without a personal relationship to this space, without detailed narratives (nor does she have any memory of the buried treasures). She attributes a personal relationship to the physical environment to her mother and grandmother.

Still, Nelly has encountered materialized memories of “home”. She mentions photographs, a plan of the whole village, which was drawn by her grandfather, the porcelain that her grandmother is now sorting, because she is moving to a smaller apartment, a costume chain. She perceives it all as a sort of family tradition. However, these artefacts failed to spark her curiosity. As a reason, she says that her grandmother’s life was certainly dramatic and she does not want to recall any tragic memories again. At the same time, however, during the interview she responds to the information that the research will produce a book. She would appreciate the written history of her family, that is, its materialised form – if only because her “*grandmother will be gone one day*” and she will not have anyone to tell her about it.

In the chosen family, the farmhouse in Rájov and the landscape around it are essential in the memories of the oldest generation. These are material artefacts used to tell family history, to transmit values, and to build an image of emotional attachment to the “old homeland”. This is the case despite the fact that (or precisely why) the house of birth no longer exists. The “old home” has been transferred not only by artefacts from the forced displacement, but also from later years (trees, stones from fields, pressed flowers). However, the relationship to it is also shaped by the involvement in the organization of the forcedly displaced Egerländer, in which, as well as in frequent trips to the “old homeland”, the second generation also participated, thus being integrated into remembrance. The stream of memories is only interrupted with the third generation. Its members are aware of the importance of memories and the relationship to the “old homeland” for the oldest and middle generations,<sup>35</sup> they would appreciate a tangible family history in the form of a book, but at the same time this has not led to an active interest in obtaining the information.

## CONCLUSION

For our study, we selected three families in which we observed what artefacts are used to commemorate the “old homeland” or are related to its “loss” as a result of forced displacement, how they are handled, and what information that can be passed on is related to them. Three families cannot serve as a basis for generating generalizations about families of the “forcibly displaced Germans”. We would nevertheless like to point out here some agreements or differences that emerged in the families.

---

*es für meine Schwester und mich so war. Alle hatten Zeit, wir sind zusammen weggefahren, die Autofahrt war lustig, das war für uns viel wert.* (Interview with Nelly, December 1, 2017.)

35 She participated in the research at the insistence of the second generation that stressed the importance of participating in it for the oldest generation in recognition of its lifelong activities. Nelly has maintained family loyalty in this regard.

In one of her studies, Elisabeth Fendl (2016: 88) mentions several possible motivations for why some of the forcibly displaced Germans “consecrated” their lives to gathering artefacts from their old home, compiling a variety of lists, writing their own village history, creating models, etc. It could be a means of coping with the loss of home or a means of salvaging or “recovering” an old home piece by piece (though not in reality), a means to prevent the old home from (ever?) falling into oblivion. These motivations led all the representatives of the oldest generation in the three families we selected – and it does not matter whether they have only been involved in “saving” memories of the “old homeland” in recent years (Helmut), for a longer period (Heda), privately (all of them) or publicly in different organizations (Heda). As we have shown, this effort is made by nurturing the material artefacts that come from or were later imported from the old country, by creating new artefacts (costumes, chronicles), but also by telling about the material artefacts related to the “old homeland”, which are not (or only with difficulties) available in their physical form (birth houses in the Czech Republic). The material objects, as Utz Jeggle (2000: 406) points out, “radiate a kind of homesickness for those who stand outside, but on the other hand they serve to secure the memory from the outside – what I present in the objects also exists outside of me”.

All the artefacts mentioned in our analysis represent the “old homeland”. They are not only the small items gathered in the domestic “Heimatstuben” of the oldest generations, and the associated narratives, but also the memories of the objects that remained in the “old homeland”. The first or the latter, stories related to them include thematisation of values (diligence, frugality). They are about demonstrating life in the “old homeland” to others (it may be for future generations of family members, but it is likely that some of the artefacts will be handed over to a museum, archive, becoming “lessons” to others as well).

The claim that “there is no gift to which the story would not be related” (Glass, 2008: 35), used for the specific case of gifts donated to a museum, does not apply to the families we chose. It is not just because we did not deal with this type of artefacts, it may also be because our research was not a “conversation at the table”. One or two interviews could not cover everything. At the same time, this claim is even harder to apply to the second or third generation (Helmut’s family, Heda’s family). Artefacts, to which the oldest generation has a strong emotional relationship, because they play a part in events that they had first-hand experience of, i.e. they are connected to their own experience, they can lose their story for the second and third generations. Interestingly, however, although this story is lost in the intergenerational transmission (i.e. the younger generation representatives cannot tell stories about the items), it does not mean that they do not respect them (see e.g. Helmut’s family, Heda’s family). These items become heritage for them (Miller, 1994: 410), they are evidence of family identity, of a relationship to previous generations. However, it does not necessarily have to be a symbol of the relationship with the “old country”, as is the case with the oldest generation.

The “luggage” that the expellees brought with them to Germany contains some ambivalence: I have what I need in my luggage, what is necessary, but the luggage is also a thing that makes my journey difficult, because I have to carry it with me (Fendl, 1993: 230). This metaphor can apply to all three generations. The so-called generation of experience, now departing, has carried its luggage more or less throughout its lifetime, and today its members often speak of the fear that no one will pass their “baton”, that a whole memory will be lost with them, a memory the building of which

they devoted a larger or smaller portion of their lives to (this is also the reason for gathering, writing up). But it is precisely the necessity of taking over the baton that may be a bearing test for the next generation (see Marie's insistence on Nelly to participate in the interview). Although we have not seen a complete break with family history in any of the three elected families – the very participation in the conversation conveyed a certain willingness of all three generations to maintain a certain family coherence – the question remains as to how the items will be treated in twenty, thirty years.

## REFERENCES

- Alheit, P., Dausien, B. (1990). *Biographie. Eine problemgeschichtliche Skizze*. Bremen: Universität Bremen.
- Assmann, J. (2001). *Kultura a paměť. Písmo, vzpomínka a politická identita v rozvinutých kulturách starověku*. Praha: Prostor.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Photography. A Middle-brow Art*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fendl, E. (1993). Mitgenommen. Das Gepäck der Heimatvertriebenen. Zum Beispiel Neutraubling. *Jahrbuch für ostdeutsche Volkskunde*, 36, 229–243.
- Fendl, E. (2006). Beerdigung und Totengedenken in der „neuen Heimat“. In: E. Fendl (Hg.), *Das Gedächtnis der Orte. Sinnstiftung und Erinnerung*. Freiburg: Johannes-Künzig-Institut für ostdeutsche Volkskunde (pp. 81–116).
- Fendl, E. (2007). Zwischen „daheim“ und „zuhause“. Zum Heimatbegriff von Flüchtlingen und Vertriebenen. In: A. Röder (Hg.), *Heimat – Annäherungsversuche*. Stuttgart: Haus der Heimat (pp. 21–30).
- Fendl, E. (2016). Heimat rekonstruieren, verwalten, verzetteln. Zur Materialisierung von Verlorenem. In: U. Bretschneider, S. Friedrich, I. Spieker (Hg.), *Verordnete Nachbarschaften. Transformationsprozesse im deutsch-polnisch-tschechischen Grenzraum seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Dresden: Thelem (pp. 83–98).
- Glass, Ch. (2008). Die Geschenke der Donauschwaben. Ausstellung und Konzeption. In: H. Hampe (Hg.), *Heimat im Koffer. Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene aus Südosteuropa im Nachkriegsdeutschland. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung im Donauschwäbischen Zentralmuseum Ulm*, 30. 4. – 5. 10. 2008. Ulm: Donauschwäbisches Zentralmuseum (pp. 33–42).
- Halbwachs, M. (1985). *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Halbwachs, M. (2009). *Kolektivní paměť*. Praha: SLON.
- Hamar, E. (2008). *Vyprávěná židovství. O narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Slon.
- Hampe, H. (2008). Zettel, Imitate, Lebensgeschichten – Fluchtgepäck als museales Sammlungsgut. In: H. Hampe (Hg.), *Heimat im Koffer. Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene aus Südosteuropa im Nachkriegsdeutschland. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung im Donauschwäbischen Zentralmuseum Ulm*, 30. 4. – 5. 10. 2008. Ulm: Donauschwäbisches Zentralmuseum (pp. 25–30).
- Hlaváček, J., Horáková, M. (2013). Politické strategie členů zájmových skupin v orálně-historickém výzkumu. *Dějiny – teorie – kritika*, 10(2), 237–269.
- Jeggle, U. (2000). Kaldaunen und Elche. Kulturelle Sicherungssysteme bei Heimatvertriebenen. In: D. Hoffmann, M. Kraus, M. Schwartz (Hg.), *Vertriebene in Deutschland. Interdisziplinäre Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven*. München: Oldenbourg Verlag (pp. 395–407).
- Keppler, A. (1994). *Tischgespräche. Über Formen kommunikativer Vergemeinschaftung am Beispiel der Konversation in Familien*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Konopásek, Z. (1994). *Auto/biografie a sociologie. Druhá verze*. Praha: Institut sociologických studií FSV UK.
- Kossert, A. (2011). *Chladná vlast. Historie odsunutých Němců po roce 1945*. Brno: Host.



- Köstlin, K. (1980). Folklore in der Biographie: Lügengeschichten? *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 76, 58–73.
- Köstlin, K. (2002). Historiographie, Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. In: E. Fendl (Hg.), *Zur Ikonographie des Heimwehs. Erinnerungskultur von Heimatvertriebenen*. Freiburg i. Br.: Johannes-Künzig-Institut (pp. 11–28).
- Kreisslová, S. (2018). Domov jako místo dočasného návratu. První cesty německých vysídlenců do Československa. *Český lid*, 105(2), 159–176.
- Kreisslová, S., Nosková, J. (2018). „Mein Vater kannte nur Arbeit...“ Eine Fallstudie zum Familiengedächtnis bei Heimatvertriebenen in der Tschechischen Republik. In: S. Scholl-Schneider, M. Kropp (Hg.), *Migration und Generation. Volkskundlich-ethnologische Perspektiven auf das östliche Europa*. Münster: Waxmann Verlag (pp. 69–90).
- Lehmann, A. (1991). *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhaus. Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in Westdeutschland 1945–1990*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Lehmann, A. (2007). *Reden über Erfahrung. Kulturwissenschaftliche Bewusstseinsanalyse des Erzählens*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Mannheim, K. (2007). Problém generací. *Sociální studia*, 4(1–2), 11–44.
- Miller, D. (1994). Artefacts and the Meaning of Things. In: T. Ingold (Ed.), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London: Routledge (pp. 396–419).
- Miller, D. (2010). *Stuff*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Nosková, J., Keisslová, S. (2018). „Odsun“/„vyhnání“ v rodinné paměti Němců z českých zemí a jejich potomků. *Národopisný věstník*, 77(2), 5–28.
- Schroubek, G. R. (2008). Die künstliche Region. Beispiel „Sudetenland“. In: G. R. Schroubek, P. Lozoviuk (Hg.), *Studien zur böhmischen Volkskunde. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Petr Lozoviuk*. Münster: Waxmann (pp. 29–34).
- Schütze, F. (1983). Biographieforschung und narratives Interview. In: *Neue Praxis*, 13, 283–293.
- Szaló, C. (2006). Domov a jiná místa/ne-místa formování kulturních identit. *Sociální studia*, 3(1), 145–160.
- Tichá, J. (2010). V odrazu našich vzpomínek. Rodinná amatérská fotografie jako nástroj paměti. *Sociální studia*, 7(1), 89–100.
- Turner, V. (1969). *Ritual process. Structure and anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Vářeka, J. (2007). Svatý kout. In: S. Brouček, R. Jeřábek (Eds.), *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska*. 3. sv. Praha: Mladá fronta.
- Welzer, H., Mollerová, S., Tschuggnallová, K. (2010). „Můj děda nebyl nácek“. *Nacismus a holocaust v rodinné paměti*. Praha: Argo.
- Wundrak, R. (2015). Die Materialität des Erzählens. Wie Gegenstände, Körper und Text in biographischen Interviews verflochten sind. Ein Beispiel aus Jaffa. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 40(4), 355–371.

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**SANDRA KREISSLOVÁ** – completed her doctoral studies at Charles University in Prague in the field of ethnology in 2012. She currently works as an assistant professor at the Faculty of Economics and Management of the Czech University of Life Sciences Prague, where she teaches anthropology. She is also an external lecturer at the Institute of History and the Institute of European Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University. In terms of research and publishing, she focuses on the issues of interethnic relations, culture of remembrance and collective memory, which she observes among the German-speaking population of the Czech lands and their recollections of the period of socialism and the so-called iron curtain. Since 2016 she has been a co-researcher of the grant project of the Czech Grant Agency “Mechanism and strategies of generational transmission of family memory in the selected social groups” (CR GA16-19041S). More information and selected publications can be

found at: <http://wp.czu.cz/cs/index.php/?r=1071&mp=person.info&idClovek=8086>.

**JANA NOSKOVÁ** – is a researcher at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno. She studied ethnology and history at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, and received her doctoral degree in the same place and within the European Doctorate in the Social History of Europe and the Mediterranean at Università Ca'Foscari Venezia. The focus of her scientific interest covers the application of the oral history method and the biographical method in ethnology, research of everyday life in the socialist period and the issue of urban ethnology. In recent years, she has been focusing primarily on issues related to the history and culture of Germans in the Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia) and the issue of collective and family memory (GA CR project GA16-19041S: “Mechanism and strategies of generational transmission of family memory in the selected social groups”). More information and selected publications can be found at: <http://www.eu.avcr.cz/cs/o-nas/pracovnici/jana-noskova/>.