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4

Writing from the Margins, Writing in the Margins

Christa Wolf's *Medea*

Adelheid Eubanks

Overview

Born 1929 in Landsburg an der Warthe, Germany, today Polish Gorzów Wielkopolski, Christa Wolf has been one of the most influential figures in German literature since 1961. The reunification of the two Germanies in 1990 entailed a marginalization of Wolf and her fellow East German writers in that many of them felt they had been "exiled" or "colonized" by the West. During the *Literaturstreit* (literature battle), West German critics and intellectuals, in turn, debated the question whether or not East German writers could still be considered artists at a time when their point of reference, the East German state, no longer existed. In an attempt to deal with the many allegations and accusations against her work and her person, Wolf embarked on a voluntary and temporary "exile" in the United States, where much work was done on her first major "post-reunification" novel, *Medea* (1996; English translation 1998). The text features the author's usual writerly concerns involving relationships between past and present, men and women, individual and society, and so on in a retelling of Euripides's tragedy. Wolf presents a modern(ized) *Medea* who becomes comprehensible as woman, as victim, and as outsider. Wolf's *Medea* attains new meaning in the context

of political oppression in general and the former East German regime in particular. The ways in which Wolf chooses to modernize the protagonist point to a subtler level of the novel where one reads Wolf's text in the context of recent German history, the questions regarding identity and community since reunification, and more generally the history of Western civilization.

Under the old *Grundgesetz* (basic constitutional law of West Germany), East and West Germany could unite in accordance with either article 23 or article 146. The latter article relates to the period of validity of the constitution and would have allowed all Germans to replace the existing constitution with a new one. The former article stipulated that the West German law be extended to apply to East Germany and its citizens. Since the October 3, 1990, unification proceeded in compliance with the provisions of article 23, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) ceased to exist and renowned author Christa Wolf and fellow East German citizens became exiles.

"Exile," Nico Israel writes, "tends to imply both a coherent subject . . . and a more circumscribed, limited conception of place and home" (3). On October 2, 1990, East Germans lived in a state that was based on socialist ideology and economy. The next day, the new frame of reference, by law, became democratic. East German subjects thus were displaced politically and ideologically.¹ Many East Germans have since felt this displacement and expressed this sense literally as feelings of loss and alienation. Both of these feelings, in turn, are often linked to questions of personal and national identity.²

The following sections of this chapter inquire into Christa Wolf's *Medea* and into what this work offers in the context of a reunified Germany. It is appropriate to situate both the novel and its author in a particular context. Therefore, first I briefly discuss the divergent histories of the two German states, with special emphasis on the concept of national identity. The historical section highlights the extend to which East Germans, as well as West Germans, today are still struggling to construct their place within the new Germany. In the second section, the historical background leads to Christa Wolf and an understanding of the author's particular situation, which I consider to be that of an exile. Third, I will read Wolf's *Medea* in

terms of the novel's treatment of the concepts of exile and displacement. Lastly, I suggest that Wolf's *Medea* offers, both directly and indirectly, commentary on the ongoing quest for Germany's reunification and its pursuit of a postunification identity.

"Nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind," notes Benedict Anderson (4). These artefacts, Benedict's "imagined communities," are important in that the concept of nation provides a sense of identity for an individual and "fulfills," in Stephen Barbour's words, "a need for a sense of community" ("Nationalism" 14). Barbour explains that the foundations of nations can be "territorial and regional, religious, as well as linguistic and administrative" (ibid. 13). Given these bases, Germany has had a problematic history with itself as nation. In terms of territory, it became a nation only in the 1870s. Moreover, after 1945, Germany became two distinct and separate German states. In addition, Germany was also never a nation bound by a common religion or a common language.³ For at least two reasons, an already complex issue with regard to the German nation and a German identity became even more so after World War II. First, both East and West Germany still lacked the foundations that can aid in creating a nation (such as the common religion and language). Second, East and West Germany had to situate themselves against the Nazi regime. The two states did so in very different ways.

To summarize the postwar changes, East Germany created a completely new and socialist identity that relied on and stressed collective effort and demanded the citizens' loyalty to the *sozialistisches Vaterland*, the socialist fatherland. East Germans saw the end of World War II as the defeat of capitalism. Socialist and communist intellectuals in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) argued that East Germans were victims of both capitalism and the Nazi regime. While it is debatable to what degree East Germans identified with the state and its ideology, they nonetheless were part of a society that had its distinct cultural, social, ideological, and political profile. It seems natural that East Germans would develop questions of identity upon unification, for the reason that the state in which they had lived and worked no longer existed.⁴

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), on the other hand, was a democracy and defined itself in terms of capitalist values,

technological and economic progress, and the individual's entrepreneurship. The FRG, instead of rejecting the Nazi past, engaged in what is commonly referred to as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (overcoming the past). Importantly, the shared past prevented the creation of an "imagined community," a collective identity, because this very past was and is fraught with horror and nothing but negative models. West Germans thus struggled with the concept of national identity and tended to favor regional and/or international—that is, European—options.⁵

Upon unification, then, the situation was an intricate one for both East and West Germans, and, as Sager notes, "individual and national identities experienced discontinuities" (277). Against the background of the constitution, it appears that West Germans had an advantage over East Germans. Indeed, many efforts aimed at devaluing the former East German regime as an "*Unrechts-Staat*, that is both unjust and unconstitutional" (Weedon 224). The implication is that the West German state, by contrast, has been and continues to be a *Rechtsstaat*—that is, both just and constitutional. Within the rhetoric of this right-wrong dichotomy, certain East German individuals were discredited for not having left the GDR. Because of this failure, they were accused of voluntary alliance with an oppressive and intolerant regime (*ibid.*). The desired effect, one might speculate, was to marginalize and demean the voices of some East German intellectuals. Given her extraordinary reputation, the most prominent target was possibly Christa Wolf. Most of the attacks against her were voiced and published within the context of the *Literaturstreit*, the literature battle, which, in itself, can be seen as another example of West Germans' desire to establish some form of cultural and/or intellectual hegemony over East Germans.⁶

The *Literaturstreit* roughly coincides with Wolf's publication of *Was bleibt?* (What Remains?) in 1990 and unfolded very publicly in a number of Germany's newspapers and journals. From the beginning, the *Literaturstreit* was not so much about questions of aesthetics, but was a *Kulturgrundsatzdebatte*, a battle about cultural principles (Wittek 11). Instead of creating bridges between East and West, the *Literaturstreit* enlarged the rift between the two groups. Journalists and critics who meant to degrade East German literature and its writers argued that East German literature was created

within a coercive system, was subservient to that system, and that, therefore, East German literature does not have any literary value or artistic merit. In "Finding a Place for Christa Wolf," Marjanne Goozé acknowledges the sincerity of the desire to dismiss East German literature when she states that "[a] renewed examination of [Wolf's] literary works . . . serves to counteract the attempted expulsion of GDR writers from the body of German and world literature" (44).

Beyond fame and reputation, there are three other reasons for Christa Wolf's central place in the *Literaturstreit*. First, the publication of *Was bleibt?* (1990) evoked much commentary. Wolf had written the text in 1979, ten years before the collapse of the GDR. The text features a female protagonist who, like many of Wolf's literary characters, is semiautobiographical, and who is coping with an intrusive state surveillance system.⁷ Given the date of the work's creation, as well as its content, the critics' response in 1990 was to expose Wolf as an opportunist who casts herself as a victim, or else as a coward who chose to remain silent and not publish her work when it still could have mattered. In Weedon's words, the press accused "Wolf of trying to present herself as both victim and resistance figure, while having failed to contest the regime and fight on behalf of persecuted writers" (224).⁸ Second, Wolf's critics found new grounds for accusation when the author's involvement with the *Stasi* (the GDR's state security apparatus) was made public. With this information available, *Was bleibt?* was not only attacked but also ridiculed, and the worthiness of Wolf's work was called into question.⁹ Third, Christa Wolf was an ideal target because of her political beliefs. While critical of the GDR, in 1989, she was resistant to "any selling out of the . . . values of the GDR" (Kaufmann, "Developments 212).¹⁰ Along with other East German intellectuals, she had hoped that the collapse of the old regime would be an opportunity to build a new and better socialist state. Within the mainstream discourse of postunification (West) Germany, Wolf's particular beliefs were prone to be marginalized and made Wolf an outsider.

In the early 1990s, Christa Wolf personifies the "exile" in Nico Israel's definition of the term. She is a "coherent subject" not only as a (former) East German citizen but also by virtue of her political convictions. Wolf's new "place" and "home," postunification Germany, appears to have little sympathy and even less use for such East

German attitudes.¹¹ While exile, or displacement, “wounds people,” as Israel writes, “it need not be perceived as a condition of terminal loss” (17). Indeed, as exile denotes pain and loss, it can also mark a departure. Israel explains that “appropriately for a word that . . . derives from the Latin *ex salire*, it [exile] also expresses a sense of ‘leaping out’ toward something or somewhere, implying a matter of will” (1). Wolf’s voluntary and temporary “second exile,” to California, appears to lead toward this more positive and constructive sense, for it is in the United States that her next prose work, *Medea*, takes shape. This important text evokes many resonances with the history of the two Germany’s and with the author’s personal situation. Importantly, *Medea* also offers some thoughts that may influence the Germans’ continuing unification and identification within the European community.

Several of Christa Wolf’s letters and diary entries during her 1992–93 visit in California express the author’s sense of exile and pain (see Hochgeschurz). In a letter from October 1992, for instance, Wolf writes, “[T]he reasons which lead groups of people to depreciate and demonize other people are always the same: ignorance, fear, resistance, a guilty conscience, the need to be exonerated. And this resembles our most recent experiences.” It is difficult not to draw a parallel between Wolf’s remark about “our most recent experiences” and the implication that it is the East Germans who are members of the “depreciated and demonized” group (presumably by West Germans). The same sources also give indications that the author identifies strongly with certain aspects of Medea’s predicament. Witness, for example, Wolf’s thoughts about Medea as scapegoat and the way in which she relates Medea to postunification Germany, as well as to her own situation:

Why do we need sacrifice? Why do we continue to insist on scapegoats. During recent years, after the so-called *Wende* (turning-point) in Germany, which led to the GDR’s disappearance from the stage of German history, I saw reason to ponder these questions. Since June 1991, I find in my papers notes about the figure of Medea, who emerged from a context which, for me, was immediate, tumultuous, and dominated by contradictory thoughts and emotions. (Hochgeschurz 21–22)¹²

In another example, Wolf leaves little doubt that she identifies with Medea and writes, “I have been able to empathize with how one must

feel when one is rootless” (Hochgeschurz 85).¹³ Moreover, one needs to take note that Wolf’s interest in the ancient figure is motivated by contemporary problems: “Sometimes, one can clarify contemporary problems by passing them through such seemingly remote figures” (75).¹⁴ Wolf’s revelations not only suggest the intellectual and emotional links that exist between the author and her protagonist; they also make *Medea* a relevant commentary on the postunification situation in Germany. In other words, the reader is invited to read *Medea* both as a retelling of a myth and as an allegory of the dramatic changes of the 1990s, because, as Hochgeschurz describes it, “[i]n Christa Wolf’s ‘different Medea’ history and future meet” (7).¹⁵

One of Wolf’s motivations to work with ancient Greek material, especially Euripides’s *Medea*, is her interest in how identities and communities are established, how states and civilizations are built, and how the legacy of these processes is passed from one generation to the next.¹⁶ Sometimes, dramatic and sudden changes take place (like the unification of the two German states, for example) that can threaten a community.¹⁷ Such moments are of interest to Wolf because a community (or state) needs to undergo a process of revaluation in order to continue as a continuous community. According to Wolf, the dramatic change that underlies Euripides’s work is the shift from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society. In Euripides’s drama, the community deals successfully with this change. Yet it does so, in Wolf’s view, at great cost, for it requires the complete demonization of Medea, a process during which she becomes the murderess of her own sons and the archetype of the monstrous mother.

Wolf’s interest in Medea is to restore some of her humanity.¹⁸ For this reason, it is not surprising that Wolf’s Medea murders neither Apsyrtus, her brother, nor Meidos and Pheres, her sons, nor even Glauce, Jason’s Corinthian bride. This Medea is a victim of corrupt powers and of individuals who try to protect their own interests. While this is certainly a significant aspect of the text, Wolf’s Medea is also, and importantly, an exile. Her situation as exile makes her a unique figure in the text’s cast of characters. Her condition as exile allows her to see the vulnerability and arbitrariness of societies and the values with which they identify.

Medea’s exile begins with a traumatic experience at Colchis, her homeland: the murder of her brother by a “fanatical band of cro-nies,” who finds Apsyrtos in his bath and kills him while chanting

“bloodcurdling songs.” Medea explains, “Such was the custom in the olden days, to which, we, too, had appealed because we thought they promised us an advantage. And ever since I shudder at the thought of those old days and the forces they released in us, forces we could no longer control” (Wolf, *Medea* 75).¹⁹ This event makes Medea an exile in that it creates an irreversible break between the subject, Medea, and her context. The paradigm of her native country and its custom of sacrifice does not provide meaning any longer. The loss of meaning is significant for Medea because, as she wonders elsewhere, “[a]nd doesn’t everything depend . . . on the significance one gives to an action?” (45).²⁰ The loss of meaning also prompts Medea to leave Colchis for Corinth.

Initially, Medea believes that Colchis is the “one place in the world where a person can be happy” (Wolf, *Medea* 7).²¹ Very quickly, Medea realizes that her first impression was based on ignorance and she comes to realize that Colchis, too, is based on arbitrary values. The worth of a Corinthian citizen, for example, is measured not by his or her character or contribution to society, but by the amount of gold owned (24, 25). More ominously, Corinth is also based on violence and deceit. Akamas, King Creon’s first astronomer, explains that Corinth had to change from a matriarchy to a patriarchy in order to remain competitive at a time when more and more patriarchies were being formed around it (95, 116). Akamas thus has no problem rationalizing either the murder of the heir to power, King Creon’s daughter Iphinoe, or the subsequent deception of the populace, who are told that Iphinoe had eloped, as unfortunate, but necessary (95, 116).

Because of her singular position as exile and outsider, Medea can perceive the cost at which Corinth (but also Colchis) acquires identity and stability and how the constituent members of the societies are, or choose to be, blind to this cost. Furthermore, Medea realizes that such societies are vulnerable because of an inherent incomprehension of the very possibility of vulnerability. Specifically, the prevalent attitude is that of arrogance, which in turn is based on the (Corinthian) status quo as measure of all things. This is why Medea has a ready answer for Leucon, Creon’s second astronomer, when he asks her why Medea sees Corinth on a path toward wreckage: “Your sense of your own superiority, she said. You consider yourselves

superior to everyone and everything, and that distorts your vision; you don’t see what really is, nor do you see yourselves as you really are” (Wolf, *Medea* 138).²² To explain any failure, the Corinthians need scapegoats. The Corinthians’ sense of superiority leads them to conspire against Medea, and the protagonist, exile and outsider, is driven from the city in the end.

Some critics suggest that Wolf’s Medea is capable of her insights because the author “disregards the paradigms of the Colchian and Corinthian cultures” and endows Medea with a “modern psychology” (Wilke 20).²³ Such judgment is significant, for it stresses that Wolf’s text is a retelling of the Medea material as well as commentary on contemporary issues. Structurally, therefore, Wolf’s *Medea* invites the reader to two different domains. The first is the historical realm (of both ancient Greece and the literary tradition that has contributed to the creation of the Medea myth), while the second is that of modern psychology, feminism, and recent history. It is the second domain, of course, that may reveal some specific connection of Wolf’s text to postunification Germany. Indeed, one of the ironies of Christa Wolf’s career, as Resch writes, “may well be that her writing will significantly assist the process of a unification she passionately opposed” (171). The concluding section suggests two ways in which Wolf’s *Medea* can be read in relation to the unification process. If one agrees that *Medea* comes out of the author’s experience of intellectual and artistic exile, one can see how the novel’s contributions mark Wolf’s departure, her attempt to “leap out” into the future of unifying Germany.

The first of two connections to contemporary issues can be seen in the structure of Wolf’s *Medea*, while the second is linked to the author’s choice of material for her fiction. Wolf’s text falls into 11 sections, each of which represents the monologue of a single voice.²⁴ While Medea’s voice is represented four separate times, more than any other character’s voice, it is clear that each of the voices represents a distinct and idiosyncratic *Wahrnehmungshorizont* (horizon of perception). Each voice carries authority on the basis of its existence. If and when such authority is undermined or questioned, it happens through the judgment of another voice. Through the arrangement of voices, Wolf creates a scenario in which individuals are constituent of the community in which they exist and actively

contribute to its construction through their utterances. Significantly, the voices in *Medea* are never in dialogue with each other; they either reveal their own thoughts or reproduce another's thoughts in indirect discourse.²⁵ Here, the implication for a postunification reader is that communities can be built and need not head toward ruin (like Wolf's Colchis and Corinth) if individuals understand that they have a voice (and use it), if the worth of an individual is measured by his or her existence, and if, most importantly, the voices are in dialogue with each other.²⁶

The second, indirect implication of Wolf's *Medea* for its postunification audience involves the author's decision to work with ancient Greek material. For Wolf, classical antiquity represents the point of reference for the entire *Abendland* (occident), which has "fed itself" and continues to define its understanding of itself on the basis of classical "ideas, principles of art, political theories, philosophy, and democracy, the great Utopia" (Hochgeschurz 18).²⁷ Thus the classical culture has been (and is) a productive source for the West's understanding of itself. Read through Wolf's *Medea*, the classical culture, in providing so much, has also obscured its limitations for the West today. Put differently, Wolf's *Medea* is a condemnation of Western culture, which, as Rita Calabrese writes, "has begun in Greece and has taken itself for the absolute measure of humankind" (130).²⁸ As postunification Germany, in its quest to unify and to create an identity, is paying much attention to the European community, Greek antiquity, the Western heritage, is an important cultural anchor (not only for Germans but for many European peoples). However, Wolf's *Medea* offers an important reminder that no system of values is without weaknesses and that any system of values always comes at a cost, which, if one chooses to ignore it, will bear ruinous consequences.

Notes

1. A sense of displacement is expressed when Wolf, in *Auf dem Weg nach Tabou*, cites a public opinion poll of November 1993, according to which 70 percent of East Germans responded that that which divides Germans outweighs that which unites them (315). In the same work, Wolf talks about a colonization of the East by the West (335). Another term used to describe unification is *annexation* (Resch 161; Kaufmann,

- "Developments" 211). Assessing the situation in 1996, Monica Krol qualifies the unification as a "failure" and a "new kind of segregation between East and West" (181). See also Laura Sager's article in which she compares East and West German poetry and shows how the same context (postunification Germany) is expressed very differently by the respective poems—especially with regard to the concepts of identity and community.
2. The experience of loss and alienation on the part of East Germans is generated by the disappearance of the GDR. It is also enhanced by the post-1990 German mainstream discourse. An example is any attempt "to obliterate anything that might have been good about the GDR from public consciousness" (Weedon 224). Alienation of East Germans also occurs in "intercultural" linguistic encounters, in which West Germans are "experts" (and thus in a position of authority and dominance), while East Germans are "novices" (Stevenson 233).
3. With regard to the absence of a single common religion, the two dominant religions in Germany were/are Catholicism and Protestantism. For the language issue, see Barbour and his discussion of the fact that not all speakers of German are German citizens; the Austrians and Swiss, for example, speak German as well ("Germany" 159). See Carol Schmid for an interesting investigation of language and identity in Switzerland (123–43). Also, it must be noted that the speakers of German do not all speak the same kind of German, but speak in a number of dialects that vary from country to country and, significantly, within countries.
4. The number of texts dealing with the history of the German states is too vast to consider within the scope of this chapter. I am merely attempting to sketch a general and broad account. Here, I am specifically referring to Barbour ("Germany" 159) and Ruppenthal (15).
5. See Barbour ("Germany" 165), Ruppenthal (15), and Sager (278). With regard to the Germans' interest in the international, especially European, community, after unification as well as before, it is interesting to note that in the current *Grundgesetz*, a new article 23 specifies the ways in which the Federal Republic cooperates in the construction of the European Union (22–23).
6. For two different, yet interesting and comprehensive accounts of the *Literaturstreit*, see Thomas Anz's 1995 publication and Bernd Wittek's *Der Literaturstreit*.
7. Many agree that there is a strong and recognizable autobiographical component to Wolf's works in general. Resch describes Wolf as "contemporary Germany's most autobiographical writer" (170), while Krol qualifies Wolf's writings as "confessional" (119). See also Kaufmann ("Women Writers" 198) and Goozé (45).

8. See also Resch (163, 164).
9. See Wittek. While there seems to be little doubt that Wolf was, at some point, an informer, one needs to keep in mind that the *Stasi* had files on six million people and that, therefore, a significant portion of the population may have been informers and, perhaps even simultaneously, were being informed on.
10. See Christa Wolf's *Reden im Herbst* and *Auf dem Weg nach Tabou*.
11. Regarding reactions to Christa Wolf and those who shared her political outlook, Kaufmann notes that "the various media condemned those writer . . . who had argued against the incorporation of the GDR into the Federal Republic calling them dangerous utopian dreamers, alienated from the ordinary people, intellectuals whose words should be disregarded" (212).
12. "Warum brauchen wir Menschenopfer. Warum brauchen wir immer noch und immer wieder Sündenböcke. In den letzten Jahren, nach der sogenannten 'Wende' in Deutschland, die dazu führte, daß die DDR von der Bühne verschwand, sah ich Grund, über diese Frage nachzudenken. Seit dem Juni 1991 finde ich bei mir Notizen über die Figur der Medea, eine Gestalt, die aus dem aktuellen, für mich sehr aufwühlenden, von widerstreitenden, entgegengesetzten Gefühlen und Überlegungen besetzten Zusammenhang wie von selbst hervortrat."
13. "Ich habe nachempfinden können, wie man sich fühlen muß, wenn man wurzellos ist."
14. "Manchmal kann man an solchen scheinbar weit zurückliegenden Figuren die zeitgenössischen Probleme besonders deutlich herausfiltern." The first time Wolf works with ancient material is in *Kassandra* (1983). In the case of this earlier work, too, there are clear indications that the choice of the author's material is guided by Wolf's concern with modern issues (here: the potentially catastrophic destructive power of nuclear weapons). "Located in the ancient world," Weedon states, "*Kassandra* uses a past setting to raise profound questions about the nature of our present" (236).
15. "[I]n Christa Wolf's 'anderer Medea' begegnen sich Geschichte und Zukunft." In addition to her own reading of *Medea* as postcolonial text, Sabine Wilke gives a good summary of the contexts that have guided interpretations of *Medea*—feminist interests, work on myth, and connection of the novel to contemporary history. Regarding the latter, there is some controversy, and Wilke, among others, dismisses allegorical readings of *Medea*. I agree that many such readings reduce the text to a simple correspondence (in which Colchis stands for the GDR and Corinth for the FRG) and see the text as a mournful

- expression of loss. In my opinion, the opposite is the case; that is, while I read *Medea* in connection to contemporary history, I hope to show that the work is very much constructive in that it is forward looking, interested more in the future than in the past.
16. See, for example, Thébaud (591) and Resch (129).
 17. See Wolf's letters and diary entries published in Hochgeschurz (esp. 96).
 18. This is, of course, the context in which many critics see an identification of Christa Wolf with Medea in which the author portrays herself as unjustly and maliciously demeaned. Some commentators are sympathetic, while others are not. In either case, a reading of Wolf's *Medea* that stops here quite possibly misses the text's more far-reaching contributions.
 19. "[S]o ist es Brauch gewesen in den alten Zeiten, auf die auch wir uns ja berufen hatten, weil wir uns einen Vorteil davon versprochen. Und seitdem ist mir ein Schauer geblieben vor diesen alten Zeiten und vor den Kräften, die sie in uns freisetzen und derer wir dann nicht mehr Herr werden können."
 20. "[u]nd [kommt] es nicht darauf an, welchen Sinn man einer Handlung [gibt]?"
 21. "Ort auf der Welt, da kann der Mensch glücklich sein."
 22. "[i]n eurer Selbstüberhebung, sagte sie. Ihr erhebt euch über alles und alle, das verstellt euch den Blick für das, was wirklich ist, auch dafür, wie ihr wirklich seid."
 23. See also Ehrhardt (33) and Resch, who describes "the psychological reality behind the tale" to be Wolf's "projection of a contemporary ideal" (120). Although Resch's specific comments apply to Wolf's *Kassandra*, they capture well the dynamics of *Medea*.
 24. For a detailed analysis of the voices in Wolf's *Medea*, see Ehrhardt.
 25. The prevalence of indirect speech (which reveals as much about the interests of the one reproducing it as it does about the one who is being quoted) is particularly noticeable in the German original, because German verbs take special forms in indirect discourse.
 26. See also Wolf's *Hierzulande*, *Andernorts*.
 27. "Ideen, Kunstmaximen, Staatstheorien, Philosophie und [die] große Utopie von Demokratie."
 28. "in Griechenland ihren Anfang genommen und sich für das absolute Maß der Menschheit gehalten hat."

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