

Swen Steinberg / Helga Schreckenberger (eds.)

Environments of Exile

Nature, Refugees, and Representations

Universitätsverlag Osnabrück





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Contents

Swen Steinberg / Helga Schreckenberger Environments of Exile: Nature, Refugees, and Representations – an Introduction	7
Thomas F. Schneider Hades, Lethe or Locus amoenus. The Role of Nature in Erich Maria Remarque's Writings on European Exile	15
Kirsten Krick-Aigner Exile and the Longing for Heimat in Bettina Bauer-Ehrlich's Children's Books	29
Helga Schreckenberger Channeling the American Pioneer: Alice Herdan-Zuckmayer's <i>Die Farm in den grünen Bergen</i>	47
Reinhard Andress <i>The Halo of the Jungle</i> : Narrating the Exile Experience of the Aron Family in Ecuador	63
Marlen Eckl "Europe in the jungle" – The Agricultural Settlement of Rolândia, a Place of Refuge in the Interior of Brazil	77
Jacqueline Vansant "Das Land formt sich seine Menschen neu": A Youth's Epistolary Reflections on Immigration to Palestine, 1939–1940	97

Natalie Eppelsheimer	
Of Safaris, Rainy Seasons, Climatic Challenges, and Diseases:	
Refugee Farmers' Natural Environments in Kenya	111
Hadwig Kraeutler	
Alma S. Wittlin: Engaging (with) Environments – Some Essentials	125
Asher Goldstein / Amanda Leslie	
Naturalizing Citizenship: Canada's National Parks and the Promotion of	
Imaginaries of Citizenship on Indigenous Land	145
Sven Steinberg	
Knowledge in Flight? Hungarian Refugees, the Sopron Faculty of Forestry	
at UBC Vancouver and Central European Concepts of Sustainability in	
Transit	181
Biographical information	197

Swen Steinberg / Helga Schreckenberger

Environments of Exile: Nature, Refugees, and Representations – an Introduction

Forced migration always takes place within specific cultural, social, and political environments. It also takes place within specific natural environments – for example, when people hide in forests or flee across unguarded ‘green’ borders or when they end up in countries with different and unfamiliar landscapes, and climates. Consequently, knowledge about nature and the environment influences the success (or failure) of forced migration and exile. It can be vital not only during the flight when it comes to securing shelter and food, but also at the point of arrival, when knowledge in the fields of agriculture, mining, or forestry can facilitate integration and economic success. In turn, exiles and refugees can have an impact on the environment if their knowledge is not ignored or suppressed. Finally, the natural environment plays an important role for the transformation or conservation of identity in exile.

The articles included in this volume explore the interaction between those forced to migrate and their new environments in the contexts of escape and exile in the first half of the twentieth century and in particular the flight from Nazi-occupied Europe.¹ The ten contributions present examples not only from the 1930s and 40s, but also from the period after World War II. Moreover, they explore the connection between environment and refugees from interdisciplinary perspectives and consider representations of nature, the extent of agency of the refugees in the integration process, and the transmission or rejection of prior environmental knowledge.

¹ This volume grew out of the Conference of the North American Society for Exile Studies “Environments of Exile: Refugees, Nature, and Representations” held virtually on September 23–25, 2021. The editors would like to thank the Jewish Studies program at Queen’s University and the German Historical Institute Washington for providing the technological support of the conference. Cf. the conference program at <https://envirexile.hypotheses.org/>. Part of the conference was the opening of the student exhibition “Queen’s Refuge: Refugees and the University” (<https://virtual-exhibits.library.queensu.ca/queens-refuge/>). We also thank the Program of German, Russian and Hebrew at the University of Vermont for supporting the publication through its Henry and Rosa Monica Schaefer Endowed Fund.

With the exception of more recent perspectives on “refugees from ecological disasters, whether natural or men-made,”² scholarship on historical migration and exile has paid little attention to the relationship between exiles and the natural environment they moved from or into.³ Exile Studies has focused primarily on aspects such as individual or group identity arising from the paradigm of emigration and immigration and in relation to the modern nation-state: people left and, as a next step, arrived at specific places. On the one hand, arrival has been considered through a lens of integration, hybridity, or assimilation. On the other hand, studies have looked at the preservation of identities the exiles ‘brought with them’, especially with regard to their professions or professional careers and their transference. In recent years, this focus, which some scholars criticized as “methodological nationalism,”⁴ has been broadened. But as Barbara Lüthi points out, the transnational turn in historical migration studies raises new questions, particularly regarding space.⁵ While transnational inquiries tend to focus on the role of mobility, circulation, and transfer, a “micro-spatial perspective” (“mikro-räumliche Perspektive”) is necessary to understand and illustrate the reciprocal relationship between the global and the local.⁶

As the contributions in this volume argue, nature and environments can be interpreted as transnational spaces of negotiation.⁷ They are spaces in which old and new perceptions of nature merged or in which knowledge about nature was

2 Christiane Harzig, Dirk Hoerder, and Donna R Gabaccia. *What Is Migration History?* Cambridge: Polity, 2009, 67. For more recent scholarship cf. Shelley Egoz, Jala Makhzoumi, and Gloria Pungetti. *The Right to Landscape: Contesting Landscape and Human Rights*. London: Routledge, 2016; Elia Apostolopoulou and Jose A. Cortes-Vazquez. *The Right to Nature: Social Movements Environmental Justice and Neoliberal Natures*. Abingdon Oxon: Routledge, 2019; Karen Elizabeth Bishop. *Cartographies of Exile: A New Spatial Literacy*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2016; Derek Gladwin. *Ecological Exile: Spatial Injustice & Environmental Humanities*. Abingdon Oxon: Routledge, 2018.

3 Cf. for example Marco Armiero and Richard Tucker (eds.). *Environmental History of Modern Migrations*. London: Routledge, 2017. Notable exceptions are Anna Haebich and Offord Baden (eds.). *Landscapes of Exile: Once Perilous Now Safe*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008; cf. also Ursula Seeber, Veronika Zwerger, Doerte Bischoff, and Carla Swiderski (eds.). *Mensch und Tier in Reflexionen des Exils. Exilforschung: Ein internationales Jahrbuch* 39 (2021).

4 Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller. “Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology.” *The International Migration Review* 37,3 (2003), 576–610.

5 Barbara Lüthi, “Was kommt nach dem “transnational turn”? Migration Studies und Migrationsgeschichte in der Zeitgeschichte,” in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 70,1 (2022), 8–17.

6 Damir Skenerovi. “Vom Gegenstand zum Akteur. Perspektivenwechsel in der Migrationsgeschichte der Schweiz.” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 65,1 (2005), 2.

7 Cf. Anna Roosvall and Matthew Tegelberg. *Media and Transnational Climate Justice: Indigenous Activism and Climate Politics*. New York: Peter Lang, 2018; Victoria Derr and Yolanda Corona Caraveo. *Latin American Transnational Children and Youth: Experiences of Nature and Place Culture and Care Across the Americas*. Abingdon Oxon: Routledge, 2021.

applied or acquired in new contexts. The focus on natural environments in addition to social, economic and political environments opens new perspectives for an analysis of coping strategies employed by refugees as the articles by Marlen Eckl, Helga Schreckenberger, and Reinhard Andress show. Such a focus can also provide a more systematic access to phases of in-betweenness and experiences of transition or transit as Jacqueline Vansant's article about the life of young Austrian refugee Ali Hechter's at the kibbutz in Palestine demonstrates. Hechter's initial embrace of kibbutz life is gradually replaced by resentment of his "peasant" status. As Hechter's case illustrates, the phase of in-betweenness is connected to the foreign natural space he finds himself in. In other cases, as Eckl, Andress, and Natalie Eppelseimer argue, the transition was facilitated by the appropriation of these spaces, or even by the familiarity of new natural spaces compared to landscapes known from the regions of origin or transit.⁸

In most studies to date, both historical and forced migration studies have looked at exile mainly as an urban phenomenon. Dirk Hoerder is one of the few historians who as early as 2015 pointed to the development of ethical and scholarly approaches related to migration and contradicting mainstream interpretations both academic and non-academic. In studies dating as far back as the 1880s, he identified a call to focus on the relationship between natural environments and people and a turn to geography in the United States.⁹ This approach has been mirrored in more recent studies on refugee resettlements in North America among other places. Although long considered an urban phenomenon, most of the refugees actually arrived in small cities or rural communities.¹⁰ The contributions in this volume underline this finding with historical case studies, almost all of which are located outside of urban areas.

8 Cf. also Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, "Navigating Liminality: Jewish Refugees in Global Transit – an Introduction," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, special issue "Navigating In-Betweenness: Jewish Refugees in Global Transit", idem eds., forthcoming 2024; "In Global Transit: A New GHI Research Focus – Interview with Simone Lässig," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington* 69 (Spring & Fall 2022), 151–164; Tahseen Shams. *Here There and Elsewhere: The Making of Immigrant Identities in a Globalized World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020; Aspasia Papadopoulou-Kourkoulou, *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between Immigration and Settlement*. New York: Palgrave, 2008; Tobias Brinkmann (ed.). *Points of Passage: Jewish Transmigrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain 1880–1914*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013; Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc. "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68,1 (1995), 48–63.

9 Dirk Hoerder. "A Genuine Respect for the People": The Columbia University Scholars' Transcultural Approach to Migrants. *Journal of Migration History*, 1,2 (2015), 136–170.

10 This wider approach has been mirrored by more recent studies on refugee resettlement, especially in North America. Considered an urban phenomenon for a long time, most refugees actually arrived in small cities or rural communities. Cf. Pablo S. Bose. *Refugees in New Destinations and Small Cities: Resettlement in Vermont*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Whether taking a historical or a contemporary view, the question of availability of sources demands careful consideration. How can we grasp the relationship between natural environments and their impact on individuals, inter-generationally within the refugees' families, in refugee friendship networks, and beyond? This applies to migration contexts and the representation of refugees up to the present, including the intersectionality of age, gender, race and especially class. There are unquestionably many unheard voices that reflect on this relationship. In 2016, Dirk Hoerder asked for more "methodological comprehensiveness" when it comes to the selection and inclusion of migrant experiences.¹¹ It calls to mind Wolfgang Benz' appeal of 1991 to focus more on the "exile of the ordinary people"¹² and serves as a reminder to consider the provenance of the sources with which we analyze the interaction of nature and refugees.

The contributions by Eckl, Eppelsheimer, and Vansant demonstrate the fruitfulness of such a focus. Eckl traces the experiences of a group of German refugees, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and scientists who had no prior agricultural knowledge, but successfully cultivated land in the southern Brazilian state of Paraná. Eppelsheimer's exploration of the letters of a group of young German refugees in Kenya reveals their awe and respect for their new natural surroundings. Although life at the kibbutz did not offer the young Austrian Ali Hechter the life he aspired to, Jacqueline Vansant's analysis of letters also provides an important new perspective on the interplay between place and identity construction in exile.

The exploration of arrival from an environmental perspective also comes with several open questions:¹³ To what extent is environmental knowledge a resource facilitating the integration of forced migrants? What is the relationship between previously acquired environmental knowledge and knowledge acquired in migration? As Eppelsheimer shows, those who received prior agricultural training (for example at the training farm Gross-Breesen, which was established to prepare refugees for agricultural settlement overseas), found it easier to adapt to their new life as farmers. While efforts focused on the specific education in environmental knowledge necessary for a successful arrival and integration were certainly helpful, the varied experiences in Kenya show that different reasons

11 Dirk Hoerder. "Mobilities and Migrations: Reflections on Empirical and Theoretical Frameworks in a Global Perspective", *Vienna Dialogues*, 17–18 June 2016, Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Vienna University, https://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/i_byzneo/Vienna_Dialogues/VD_Paper_Hoerder.pdf, 8.

12 Benz Wolfgang. *Das Exil der kleinen Leute: Alltagserfahrung deutscher Juden in der Emigration*. München: C.H. Beck, 1991.

13 Recent publications on refugees in the 1930s and 40s have focused on the intersection of knowledge and migration on a global level, cf. Susanne Korbel and Philipp Strobl (eds.). *Cultural Translation and Knowledge Transfer on Alternative Routes of Escape from Nazi Terror: Mediations through Migrations*. New York: Routledge, 2022.

such as contested land ownership, lack of investment resources, or natural disasters still could lead to failure. Moreover, the articles by Eckl, Schreckenberger, Andress, and Vansant show that most of the refugees had no prior agricultural knowledge and initially experienced severe hardship and setbacks but still persevered and even became very successful like the coffee planters of the Rolândia settlement project in Brazil.

Another question is how ‘receiving societies’ respond to the transfer of new knowledge and what impact it has on natural spaces. The contributions by Hadwig Kraeutler, Swen Steinberg, and Amanda Leslie and Asher Goldstein underline the need for more research on knowledge-related coping strategies of refugees as well as the responses to such migratory knowledge. Kraeutler traces writer and museologist Alma Wittlin’s career during her exile in North America after the end of World War II showing the impact of her innovative thinking about ecological aspects on the communities of learning and research to which she belonged. Steinberg’s as well as Leslie and Goldstein’s articles pertain to forced migration contexts in the settler colonial space of North America. Steinberg focuses on the transfer of specific Central European bodies of knowledge in forestry by refugees fleeing the 1956 Hungarian uprising to Canada. Compared to Wittlin, who needed to advocate for recognition of her knowledge, the Hungarian foresters and their ideas about sustainability were welcomed openly as they fit into the racially biased immigration pattern that prevented knowledge transfers in other historical constellations. Their environmental knowledge was seen as a contribution to the Canadian story of economic progress. By focusing on ideas of nature-based integration in Canada, Leslie and Goldstein’s article takes the Indigenous perspective into account. In this constellation, the environment became a means of overcoming alienation after migration. But, at the same time, it shows the (sometimes very vague) construction of national identities through nature – and the ignorance or devaluation of other bodies of knowledge, particularly with regard to Indigenous peoples, which is not limited to the twentieth century.¹⁴

Confrontation with a new natural environment can also lead to negative experiences. It was (and still is) not uncommon for refugees to struggle with or find themselves unable to adapt to unfamiliar natural conditions. Examples in this volume include Vansant’s discussion of Ali Hechter’s struggle to carve out a new identity in Erez Israel or Andress’s account of the Aron family’s experience in the Ecuadorian jungle, which they abandoned after ten years. Though these tales of migration are not success stories, they still show how refugees form specific

14 Alix Cooper. *Inventing the Indigenous: local knowledge and natural history in early modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

perceptions of new natural environments, gain knowledge about them, or detect social and political factions in the new destinations of interest.

The relationship between nature and resistance presents another research gap. Addressing this relationship prompts a variety of questions: what role do natural spaces play in organizing resistance to the causes of flight and oppression? In which spaces did this resistance succeed and in which did it fail, and why? Recently, borderland studies has paid particular attention to the fluid lines between nation states, and the agency of both the refugees crossing those lines, and the people involved in refugee relief networks up until our present times.¹⁵ But these phenomena are not entirely new: in the case of flight from Nazi persecution, cross-border networks already existed in the 1920s and relief networks evolved from them.¹⁶ These networks were not just based on individual contacts or trust, but also on knowledge about natural spaces – and the opportunities they provide to traffic people, smuggle printed material or gain information in general.¹⁷ In this specific constellation, the natural environment turned into a place of resistance to national or international migration regimes in a way not dissimilar to more recent efforts, for instance private organizations saving refugees in the Mediterranean with boats.¹⁸ To interpret refugee relief based on natural environments as an act of resistance – and not just as an act of life-saving humanity – might be a rather new and promising perspective that needs further investigation, especially in comparison to other refugee movements that go beyond the examples from the 1930s and 40s presented in this volume.

The examples – or representations – of natural spaces as places of resistance are legion for the period of Nazi persecution. We can find examples of this in personal recollections, novels, and films. In his article, Thomas Schneider focuses on this aspect in Erich Maria Remarque's work where the forest is represented both as a place of terror and persecution as well as a place of resistance, of action,

15 Cf. Olga Gnydiuk. "Bordering and Repatriation: Displaced Unaccompanied Children from the Polish-Ukrainian Borderland After World War II," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* number 36, 2 (2020), 201–18; Rachel Sharples. *Spaces of Solidarity: Karen Activism in the Thailand-Burma Borderlands*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2020; I. William Zartman. *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010.

16 Cf. Helga Schreckenberger (ed.). *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany: Continuities Reorientations and Collaborations in Exile*. Leiden: Brill Rodopi 2016.

17 For Czechoslovakia between 1933 and 1938 cf. Swen Steinberg. "Grenz-Netzwerke, Grenz-Arbeit, Grenz-Exil: Der deutsch-tschechoslowakische Grenzraum als politischer Ort, 1920–1938." Hermann Gätje and Sikander Singh (eds.). *Grenze als Erfahrung und Diskurs*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempo, 2017, 175–192.

18 Cf. Vanessa Agnew, Kader Konuk, and Jane O. Newman. *Refugee Routes: Telling Looking Protesting Redressing*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020; Judith Friede et al. *Deutsche Rettung? Eine kritische Diskursanalyse des Fluchtdiskurses um Carola Rackete und Moria*, Münster: Unrast Verlag, 2022.

and of self-discovery. However, in contrast, in Bettina-Bauer Ehrlich's children's books, which were inspired by memories of her childhood on the island of Grado on the Adriatic coast, the natural environment is a source of comfort, familiarity, and security. In this manner, as Kirsten Krick-Aigner's analysis of Bauer Ehrlich's illustrations shows, nature also serves as a natural bridge that connects the old homeland to the new.

The representations of nature in the works of Bauer Ehrlich and Remarque clearly carry symbolic meaning, which in the case of Remarque is explicitly linked to Western cultural and literary traditions. However, other exiles' representations of their new environments are also shaped by previous notions gained from popular culture. As Schreckenberger argues, James Fennimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* provides a model for Alice Herdan-Zuckmayer's stylizing her family's adventure and ordeal in farming as a frontier narrative, with the Zuckmayers in the role of pioneers. Similarly, the letters of the young Jewish émigrés from Silesia, analyzed by Eppelsheimer, also reveal the influence of romantic and exotic images of Africa in films, novels, schoolbooks, and revisionist propaganda. This unquestioned esteem for idealized versions of white privilege in these works helps explain the émigrés' buy-in to colonialist exploitation in Kenya,

The various disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches in the contributions, explorations, and analyses of the interactions between forced migration and the natural environment show not only how complex and far-reaching they are, but also how significant these findings can be for scientific and artistic discourses far beyond the post-war period. The editors hope that this volume will provide an impulse for further interdisciplinary exchange about the impact of the natural environment for exile and forced migration.

Thomas F. Schneider

Hades, Lethe or Locus amoenus. The Role of Nature in Erich Maria Remarque's Writings on European Exile

Erich Maria Remarque's writings on European exile, which he addressed continuously and comprehensively from 1936 until his death, focus primarily on the social, political and psychological consequences of flight and exile; Nature plays a relatively minor role. The author describes different natural environments in Europe and the USA, but in context these descriptions are primarily descriptive rather than symbolic in function. From shelters to death zones, each has its own potential symbolic meaning – meanings which are also explicitly linked to symbolic and metaphorical traditions of Western culture and literature. The descriptions of the natural environments are always based on the real experiences and reflections of Remarque himself or on reports from other refugees with whom Remarque had contact during and after his own exile.

Erich Maria Remarque accompanied the publication of the book edition of his third novel about European exile before and during the Second World War, *Die Nacht von Lissabon*, at the turn of the year 1962/63¹ with a large number of interviews.² These interviews, of course, served to promote the new novel and, in terms of content, were therefore primarily concerned with the intention and objective of the text. This was also the case with the interview with E.-O. Draeger, which presumably appeared in February 1963 under the title “Krieg und Frieden” (War and Peace) in a Berlin newspaper that has not yet been identified.³ Draeger summarizes one aspect of the text quite accurately: “‘Die Nacht von Lissabon’ – an emigrant’s fate. A persecuted man is driven back across the border to Germany by love for his wife.” Whereupon Remarque is quoted as saying: “Wir Emigranten haben das alles erlebt. Was denken Sie, wie oft ich in Amerika

1 Erich Maria Remarque. *Die Nacht von Lissabon. Roman*. Köln, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1962 (Die Bücher der Neunzehn).

2 An up-to-date list of Remarque's interviews is available at <https://www.remarque.uni-osnabrueck.de/emr-interviews/Interviews%20Chronologisch.htm> (23.02.2022).

3 E.-O. Draeger. “Krieg und Frieden. Remarque über sich und die neue Schriftstellergeneration.” [s.l.] (Berlin), February 1963. Quoted from the copy in the Remarque Collection, New York University, R-C 8 A.43/001.

geträumt habe, daß ich wieder im Schwarzwald sei, daß mich die SS jage. Wir sind lange nicht davon losgekommen ...”⁴

It is just a pity that Remarque never fled from the SS in the Black Forest and that this memory is not his own. As is known, Remarque left Germany for Ticino as early as 1931, returning to Germany only sporadically before ultimately fleeing, presumably after the Berlin Press Ball on the night of January 29, 1933.⁵ Thereafter, he did not return to Germany until 1952.

The lasting trauma mentioned in the interview is that of one of his characters, the German surgeon Ludwig Fresenburg, who practices illegally for a French doctor in Paris under the name Ravic before the start of World War II. It is Ravic’s recurring dream of flight and persecution in the Black Forest that is communicated to the reader at a central point in the 1945 novel *Arc de Triomphe/Arch of Triumph*, essentially in the middle of the text.

Ravic erwachte sehr langsam. Er lag noch eine Zeitlang in dem sonderbaren Zwielficht von Traum und Wirklichkeit; – der Traum war noch da, blasser und fetzenhafter – und gleichzeitig wußte er schon, daß er träumte. Er war im Schwarzwald, in der Nähe der deutschen Grenze, auf einer kleinen Bahnstation. Ein Wasserfall lärmte in der Nähe. Der Geruch der Tannen kam von den Bergen. Es war Sommer und das Tal war voll vom Geruch von Harz und Wiesen. Die Schienen der Bahn blinkten rot in der Abendsonne; – als wäre ein Zug, aus dem Blut tropfte, über sie gefahren. [...]

Dann überschritt er schnell die Schienen und lief über eine blühende Wiese dem Tannenwalde zu. Die staubigen Kronen des Löwenzahns flogen auf, während er durch die Wiese lief. Als er bei den Tannen anlangte, sah er den Schaffner und die beiden Männer auf dem Perron stehen. Der Schaffner deutete auf ihn, und die beiden Männer fingen an zu laufen. Er sprang zurück und drückte sich durch die Tannen. Die nadligen Zweige schlugen ihm ins Gesicht. Er machte einen großen Bogen und stand still, um nicht zu verraten, wo er war. Er hörte die Männer durch die Tannen brechen und lief weiter. Alle Augenblicke lauschte er. Manchmal hörte er nichts; dann war alles nur Warten. Dann wieder knackte es, und er kroch auch weiter, auf der Erde jetzt, um weniger Lärm zu machen. Er ballte die Fäuste und hielt den Atem an, wenn er lauschte. Er spürte wie einen Krampf den Wunsch, aufzuspringen und davonzustürmen; – aber damit hätte er verraten, wo er war. Er konnte sich nur bewegen, wenn die andern es auch taten. Er lag in einem Dickicht zwischen blauen Leberblümchen. *Hepatica triloba*, dachte er. *Hepatica triloba*, das Leberblümchen. Der Wald schien ohne Ende zu sein. Es knackte jetzt überall. Er spürte, wie ihm der Schweiß aus allen Poren brach, als regne sein Körper. Und plötzlich gaben seine Beine in den Knien nach, als wären die Gelenke weich geworden. Er versuchte aufzustehen, aber er sank ein. Der Boden war wie Morast.

4 “We emigrants have experienced all that. How often do you think I dreamed in America that I was back in the Black Forest, that the SS were hunting me? We didn’t get away from that for a long time...”. Unless otherwise indicated, translations into English are mine, T.S.

5 Cf. Uwe Wittstock. *Februar 1933. Der Winter der Literatur*. München: C.H. Beck, 2021, 26–30.

Er blickte unter sich. Der Boden war hart. Es waren die Beine. Sie waren aus Gummi. Jetzt hörte er die Verfolger dichter. Sie kamen direkt auf ihn zu.⁶

After Ravic has repeatedly gone through the real horrors of a hostile natural environment, he finally decides to abandon what he sees as a meaningless existence as an illegal emigrant and to set an example for others.⁷ Ravic now feels an obligation to individual resistance, however inconsequential this action may seem to him. Ravic decides to kill the Gestapo man Haake, responsible for the death by torture of his wife Sybil. He had seen Haake by chance in Paris shortly before, without being recognized himself.

Ravic emphasizes that while it is an act of individual revenge, it must also be seen as a blueprint for acts of resistance more generally. Ravic kills Haake at night in the Bois de Boulogne in Paris, buries the body at dawn in a forest near Saint-Germain-en-Laye and destroys all traces.

Der Körper war noch schlaff. Er schleppte ihn zu dem Erdloch und begann, die Kleider abzureißen und auf einen Haufen zu werfen. Es war einfacher, als er dachte. Er ließ den nackten Körper liegen, nahm die Kleider, steckte sie in den Kofferraum und fuhr den Wagen zurück. Er schloß die Türen und den Kofferraum ab und nahm einen Hammer

6 Erich Maria Remarque. *Arc de Triomphe. Roman*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2017, 273–276. [“Ravic came awake very slowly. For a short while he still lay in the strange twilight between dream and reality – the dream was still there, paler and more tattered – and at the same time he realized already that he was dreaming. He was in the Black Forest close to the German frontier, at a small station. There was the sound of a waterfall nearby. The scent of pines came from the mountains. It was summer and the valley was full of the smell of resin and meadows. The railway tracks shone red in the evening sun – as if they had been traversed by a train from which blood was dripping. [...] Then he quickly crossed the tracks and ran through a blooming meadow toward the pine woods. The powdery heads of dandelions flew up as he ran across the meadow. When he breached the pines he saw the conductor and the two men standing on the platform. The conductor was pointing at him and the two men began to run. He jumped backward and forced his way through the pines. The coniferous branches beat against his face. He ran in a big circle and then stood still lest his whereabouts be discovered. He heard the men breaking through the pines and continued to run. Every moment he listened. Sometimes he did not hear anything; then all he could do was wait. Afterwards there would be a cracking again, and he too continued to creep, on hands and knees now, to make less noise. He clenched his hands into fists and held his breath while listening; he felt a convulsive desire to jump up and rush away – but this would disclose where he was. He could move only when the others moved. He lay in a thicket between blue liverleaves. *Hepatica triloba*, he thought. *Hepatica triloba*, the liverleaf. The woods seemed endless. Now there was crackling everywhere. He felt perspiration breaking out of all his pores as if his body were raining. And suddenly his legs gave at the knees as if the joints had softened. He tried to get up. But he was swallowed by the earth. The ground was like a morass. He looked down. The ground was solid. It was his legs. They were of rubber. Now he heard his pursuers closer. They came directly toward him.” Erich Maria Remarque. *Arch of Triumph*. Translated from the German by Walter Sorell and Denver Lindley. New York: Appleton-Century, 1945, 188–190].

7 Cf. Thomas F. Schneider. “‘Wer wirklich verloren ist, spricht nicht mehr.’ Zu Erich Maria Remarques *Arc de Triomphe*.” Remarque, *Arc de Triomphe*, 669–692; 679–682.

mit. Er mußte damit rechnen, daß der Körper durch Zufall gefunden wurde, und er wollte jede Identifikation vermeiden.

Es fiel ihm einen Moment schwer zurückzugehen. Er spürte einen fast unwiderstehlichen Drang, die Leiche liegenzulassen, in den Wagen zu steigen und davonzujagen. Er blieb stehen und blickte sich um. An einem Buchenstamm, ein paar Meter entfernt, jagten sich zwei Eichhörnchen. Ihre roten Pelze leuchteten in der Sonne. Er ging weiter.⁸

Accordingly, no one will ever know about this act; it will remain invisible and also inconsequential – with the exception that Haake is eliminated as one of the perpetrators of Nazi barbarism. At the end of the novel, on September 3, 1939, Ravic will remember his actual name – Ludwig Fresenburg – and thus regain his identity, integrating himself as a doctor into the active, fighting resistance, thus taking the step out of anonymity into the public eye.

The forest as a place of action frames this process of the emigrant's discovery of self and identity. In Ravic's dream (as in the interview quote), the forest is a place of terror and threat, a deeply hostile space of action outside of civilization. It is indicative of Remarque's conception of symbolically charged spaces of action that Haake's murder also takes place in a forest and is reinterpreted from a place of terror and helplessness, of being at the mercy of others, to a place of resistance, of action, and of self-discovery. Nature thus reflects the inner development of the protagonist, becoming part and expression of his self, as demonstrated by the squirrels ultimately motivating him to overcome his fear and complete the deed.

This example from *Arc de Triomphe*, Remarque's second global success after *Im Westen nichts Neues*, is prototypical and exemplary for the use and appearance of nature in all of Remarque's texts and especially in the novels about European and U.S. exile, a theme that preoccupied the author for over 35 years until his death. Yet, and this should be noted right away, it is never Remarque's own, personal experiences that become recognizable on the plot level in the texts, and this is especially true for the depiction and experiences of nature. The events described in the exile novels are based on the experiences of third parties.

Remarque himself led a comparatively privileged life in his long exile from 1931 onward. Through a very clever and very far-sighted positioning of himself as an international author, he had made himself largely independent of the German

8 Remarque, *Arc de Triomphe*, 564. [“The body was still limp. He dragged it to the hole and began to tear off the clothes and to pile them in heaps. It was easier than he had thought. He left the naked body there, took the clothes, put them into the trunk, and drove the car back. He locked the doors and the trunk and took a hammer with him. He had to think of the possibility that the body would be found by accident and he wanted to prevent identification. For a moment he found it difficult to go back. He felt an almost irresistible impulse to leave the corpse behind, to step into the car and race off. He stood for a while and looked about. A few yards away two squirrels chased each other on the trunk of a beech tree. Their red fur shone in the sun. He continued to walk.” Remarque, *Arch of Triumph*, 395–396].

book and literature market from 1929 onward and as an author no longer focused primarily on this audience at all.⁹ In economic contexts, he was thus also independent and had understood early on that he should store his international income abroad or invest it in permanent assets such as art, carpets, stocks and gold¹⁰ – which resulted in a criminal trial in Germany in 1932 for foreign exchange offences. Since he had been traveling abroad almost permanently since 1930 and no longer had a permanent residence in Berlin (from 1930 on he stayed at the Hotel Majestic during visits), he was able to comment succinctly on his own expatriation from the German Reich on November 19, 1938, with: “Na, wenn schon! Höchstens praktisch, man wird beim nächsten Krieg nicht sofort interniert.”¹¹

At that time, however, he had already illegally acquired a passport from the Republic of Panama, and he also possessed a *carte d'identité* from Switzerland. With these papers and with the help of his international reputation and popularity, he could continue to travel quite easily. And the forged passport of Panama, with which he entered the United States in March 1939 (a circumstance that, if discovered, could have cost him naturalization in the United States), he immediately exchanged for papers of the Republic of Mexico.¹²

The question of identity documents, which is so central in his texts and which is always also a question of identity, self-understanding and self-perception, thus affected Remarque personally only to a limited extent. But he knew about these problems, because his house in Porto Ronco in Ticino was a stage on the escape routes of illegal refugees from the Third Reich: a safe place where Remarque had the individual experiences told to him and where he made further escape possible with financial support.

9 See Alice Cadeddu. “Erich Maria Remarques *Der Weg zurück* – Eine weltweite Publikationsstrategie.” Thomas F. Schneider (ed.). *Remarque und die Medien. Literatur, Musik, Film, Graphic Novel*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018, 45–66; and Thomas F. Schneider. “‘The kinship of us all’. Erich Maria Remarque und die USA vor 1933.” Anita Jachimowicz, Karsten Dahlmans (eds.). *Geliebtes, verfluchtes Amerika. Zu Anti-amerikanismus und Amerika-Verehrung im deutschen Sprachraum 1888–1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2022 [in print].

10 Cf. Inge Jaehner, Thomas F. Schneider (eds.). *Remarques Impressionisten. Kunstsammeln und Kunsthandel im Exil*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

11 Erich Maria Remarque. Diary entry Paris, 08.07.1938. Remarque Collection, New York University, R-C 4B. [“So, what! Practical, one will not be interned immediately in the next war.”]

12 Cf. Thomas F. Schneider. “Strandgut. Zur Entstehung und Publikation von Erich Maria Remarques. *Liebe Deinen Nächsten*.” Erich Maria Remarque. *Liebe Deinen Nächsten. Roman*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2017, 528–552; 501–504.

Zwanzigjähriger Emigrant. Seit vier Jahren von Grenze zu Grenze geworfen. Ausgestattet für Schwarzfahrt Paris, damit er dort falschen Paß kaufen kann. Entsetzliches Leben. War aber hoffnungsvoll. Hat ein paar hundert Franken. Soviel, wie nie früher.¹³

Thus, it is not real escapes that Remarque depicts in his texts, but imagined escapes that are fed by real events. These are not depicted mimetically, but they are charged with meaning on a secondary level. And this is especially true for the representation and role of nature in these contexts.

In a rather self-critical diary passage after the publication of the first exile novel *Liebe Deinen Nächsten/Flotsam* (1939/41), the author addressed this problem of representation drastically and unambiguously:¹⁴ it had been a mistake to base the character Ludwig Kern on the real emigrant Ludwig Korn, whom Remarque had hosted in his house in Porto Ronco in mid-March 1938. The pure literary invention of the figure of Steiner, he said, offered much better creative possibilities.

Remarque had already clearly and unmistakably formulated this primacy of fiction over reality in a literary conception aimed at broad appeal in May 1930 in an interview broadcast worldwide via the Associated Press news agency:¹⁵

Ich glaube, dass literarische Werke und Romane besonders wertvoll sind, wenn es darum geht, der großartigen Idee des gegenseitigen Verständnisses der Völker zu dienen. Tatsächlich bin ich zutiefst davon überzeugt, dass die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Nationen und das, was ich als 'konstruktiven Patriotismus' bezeichnen werde, Ideen sind, denen mehr mit Hilfe der Romane und literarischen Schriften als durch Polemik oder politische Demonstrationen gedient werden kann. [...]

Ein populärer Roman ist ein bewundernswertes Mittel, um die große Masse der Menschen zu erreichen, all diejenigen, die schließlich das Gefühl haben, dass wahrer Patriotismus untrennbar mit der Sympathie für die ganze Menschheit und dem pazifistischen Wunsch verbunden ist, ein Verständnis zwischen den Völkern herzustellen. Aus diesem Grund darf ein Buch, das diesen Idealen dienen soll, keine außergewöhnlichen, bestimmten Charaktere oder Helden darstellen, sondern sozusagen synthetisierte Helden, die an der menschlichen Natur im Allgemeinen teilnehmen.¹⁶

13 Erich Maria Remarque. Diary entry Porto Ronco, 20.03.1938. Remarque Collection, New York University, R-C 4B. ["Twenty-year-old emigrant. Thrown from border to border for four years. Equipped for black run Paris, so that he can buy false passport there. Horrible life. But was hopeful. Has a few hundred francs. As much as never before."]

14 Erich Maria Remarque. Diary entry Westwood/CA, 22.04.1941. Remarque Collection, New York University, R-C 4B.

15 Three prints are known by now: "Une suite à l'ouvrage d'Erich Maria Remarque 'A l'ouest rien de nouveau.'" *Le Matin* (Paris), 11.05.1930, 1; "Een onderhoud met E.M. Remarque." *Nieuwe Haarlemsche Courant* (Haarlem), 12.05.1930, 1; "Otra obra de Remarque." *La Libertad* (Madrid), 17.05.1930, 1.

16 Quoted from *Le matin*; original: "Je crois que les oeuvres littéraires, les romans sont particulièrement précieux lorsqu'il s'agit de servir la grande idée de l'intercompréhension des peuples. En fait, je suis intimement persuadé que la coopération entre nations, et ce que

Involving his audience emotionally in the fate of the protagonists could succeed better in pure, albeit therefore stereotypical fiction, than with an explicit formulation of literary and political objectives that reached into reality. In Remarque's conviction, inspiring and convincing the audience of values such as humanity, empathy, or tolerance through emotions that are calculatedly generated in a fictional setting, was more effective than any direct address that referred to real events and thus primarily appealed to the intellect.¹⁷

Liebe Deinen Nächsten had been conceptually a hybrid in this respect and, in Remarque's eyes, had failed precisely because of this indecision. Remarque was never to make this – in his eyes – mistake again, not even with topics that naturally demanded a connection to real events, such as the system of German concentration camps (*Der Funke Leben*, 1952)¹⁸ or the crimes of the German Wehrmacht in World War II (*Zeit zu leben und Zeit zu sterben*, 1954).¹⁹

In these then consciously imagined and fictional worlds of Remarque's novels, nature takes on a correspondingly fictionalized, metaphorical, allegorical, and symbolic function. These are not real places or real actions, but imagined worlds aiming at emotional involvement, which are at the same time recognizable and connectable for a world audience.

Remarque's conception of nature goes back to reflections and concepts of nature at the turn of the century, and they are decisively influenced by the

j'appellerai le 'patriotisme constructif, 'sont des idées qu'on peut servir davantage à l'aide du roman et des écrits littéraires que par des polémiques ou des manifestations politiques./ Un roman populaire, c'est un moyen admirable pour atteindre les grandes masses de peuple, tous ceux qui, en définitive, sentent bien que le véritable patriotisme est inséparable de la sympathie pour l'humanité tout entière et du désir pacifique d'amener une entente entre les peuples./ C'est pourquoi un livre destiné à servir cette somme d'idéal doit dépeindre non point des caractères ou des héros exceptionnels, particuliers, mais bien des héros pour ainsi dire synthétisés, qui participant de la nature humaine en général." ["I believe that literary works and novels are particularly valuable in serving the great idea of mutual understanding among nations. Indeed, I am deeply convinced that cooperation between nations and what I shall call 'constructive patriotism' are ideas that can be served more by means of the novels and literary writings than by polemics or political demonstrations. [...] A popular novel is an admirable means of reaching the great mass of people, all those who finally feel that true patriotism is inseparable from sympathy for all mankind and from the pacifist desire to establish understanding between peoples./ For this reason, a book intended to serve these ideals must not depict exceptional, particular characters or heroes, but synthesized heroes, as it were, who participate in human nature in general."]

17 On Remarque's concept as an international author and his agenda, see Thomas F. Schneider. "Selbstbegrenzung und freie Meinungsäußerung. Die Interviews mit Erich Maria Remarque und das Selbstverständnis eines globalen Schriftstellers." Alice Cadetdu, Renata Dampc-Jaros, Claudia Junk, Paweł Meus, Thomas F. Schneider (eds.). *Erich Maria Remarque aus heutiger Sicht*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020, 9–34.

18 First imprint Erich Maria Remarque. *Spark of Life*. New York: Appleton Century, 1952.

19 First imprint Erich Maria Remarque. *A Time to Love and a Time to Die*. Translated from the German by Denver Lindley. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1954.

Osnabrück painter and author Friedrich Hörstemeier (1882–1918), who in the mid-1910s gathered around him a circle of young people including the young Remarque.²⁰ Hörstemeier, in turn, was a supporter of the philosophy of life (Lebensphilosophie), *Freikörperkultur* and the *Wandervogel* movement; the convictions he imparted to the young people were fed by Dilthey, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer.

In Hörstemeier's philosophical conception, the individual is in a state of permanent alienation from nature and thus from himself. The objective of a true life then is reconciliation with nature, the absorption of the individual into and with the environment, and thus ecstatic self-dissolution, being outside oneself. At the same time, this moment is the central building block of individualization, of a dissolution of alienation and a restitution of the individual.

Man and nature, civilization and environment are not thought of as antagonists or contradictions, but as a potential unity in a primordial state that must be regained. Thereby the role of action is assigned to the individual; nature itself is purposeless and meaningless and is an expression and symbol of infinity. The individual is responsible for the restitution of the original state, which is explicitly thought of individually and not collectively.

The artist – and Remarque also formulated this in various places in the 1920s, including the 1922 essay *Natur und Kunstwerk/Nature and Art*²¹ – is in this context a “knower” of these connections, and ‘significant’ art expresses them. Art does not mimetically reproduce reality, but rather represents underlying structures and regularities. The artist has the elitist role of teaching and guiding the masses of these ‘world contexts’, but as a rule remains misunderstood and an outsider.

In principle, traces of these reflections can be found in all of Remarque's texts, even if, from the 1940s on, additional influences from East Asian philosophy in particular led to changes. Above all, the Zen philosopher Daisetz T. Suzuki, famous at the time, plays a decisive role here, since Remarque met him personally in American exile through the psychologist Karen Horney, and his writings can be found in Remarque's library. Traces of these fundamental convictions can still be found in the last novel Remarque wrote in the late 1960s, *New York Intermezzo/Schatten im Paradies*:

Alles, was übrigblieb, war manchmal ein Abend voll Schwermut, und auch das hatte so nicht mehr eine persönliche Meinung, sondern war einfach die Schwermut, die jeder

20 Cf. Thomas F. Schneider. “Ein Denkmal. Erich Maria Remarques erster Roman *Die Traumbude*.” Erich Maria Remarque. *Die Traumbude. Ein Künstlerroman*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2020, 295–317; 305–307.

21 Erich Remarque. “Natur und Kunstwerk.” *Die Schönheit* (Dresden) 18 (1922), 286–294.

Mensch fühlt, weil alles vergeht und er das einzige Tier ist, das es weiß, und der ebenso weiß, daß das ein Trost ist, obschon es ihn nicht versteht.²²

For Remarque, nature is always a quasi valueless and disinterested entity. The relationship to the individual and thus to civilization depends on the state of the individual – thus, for Remarque there is no “hostile nature”, but only circumstances in which nature is instrumentalized by civilization with regard to the threat and oppression of the individual. The instrumentalization can accordingly be cancelled or reinterpreted at any time, the same nature-place can mean both threat and protection.

This is already very clear in the novel *Im Westen nichts Neues*, where in the 4th (battle) chapter the narrator Paul Bäumer spreads out a reflection on nature:

Aus der Erde, aus der Luft aber strömen uns Abwehrkräfte zu, – am meisten von der Erde. Für niemand ist die Erde so viel wie für den Soldaten. Wenn er sich an sie preßt, lange, heftig, wenn er sich tief mit dem Gesicht und den Gliedern in sie hineinwühlt in der Todesangst des Feuers, dann ist sie sein einziger Freund, sein Bruder, seine Mutter, er stöhnt seine Furcht und seine Schreie in ihr Schweigen und ihre Geborgenheit, sie nimmt sie auf und entläßt ihn wieder zu neuen zehn Sekunden Lauf und Leben, faßt ihn wieder, und manchmal für immer.

Erde – Erde – Erde – !²³

In the 1930 film adaptation by Lewis Milestone, the father-figure Kaczinsky will also speak of “Mother Earth” into which the recruits are to “claw” and “dig” for protection from the shelling. The same earth that can kill and bury alive.

In Remarque, nature thus assumes a function that is assigned and attributed to it by people. A river is initially nothing more than a river; only the contemplation and the act of attributing meaning to it, as a border for instance, places this river in a relationship to the individuals who see it, swim through it, or cross it. Thus, the river becomes not only an interstate border, but a place where security and threat meet as fundamental categories of human existence, where

22 Erich Maria Remarque. *Schatten im Paradies* (New York *Intermezzo*). Roman. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2018, 667–668. [“All that remained was an occasional evening of sadness that we all feel because everything passes and because man is the only animal who knows it.” Erich Maria Remarque. *Shadows in Paradise*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, 308].

23 Erich Maria Remarque. *Im Westen nichts Neues*. Roman. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2014, 52–53. [“From the earth, from the air, sustaining forces pour into us – mostly from the earth. To no man does the earth mean so much as to the soldier. When he presses himself down upon her long and powerfully, when he buries his face and his limbs deep in her from the fear of death by shell-fire, then she is his only friend, his brother, his mother; he stifles his terror and his cries in her silence and her security: she shelters him, and releases him for ten seconds to live, to run, ten seconds of life, receives him again and often for ever./ Earth! – Earth! – Earth!” Erich Maria Remarque. *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Translated from the German by A.W. Wheen. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929, 54].

meanings are ascribed to the individual banks, and where actions are aligned accordingly.

In this function, rivers appear in Remarque's novels of exile, especially in *Liebe Deinen Nächsten* and in *Die Nacht von Lissabon*. Places of transition, of passage, of perverted civilization and the paradoxical. But once again, it is not the rivers themselves, but the attributions and appropriations that are represented and negotiated in the texts. And this principle can be applied to any natural setting and any historical and political background.

At the end of the novel *Zeit zu leben und Zeit zu sterben*, German soldier Ernst Graeber arrives at the garden of a country estate during the retreat of the German Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front. The once exquisite garden with statues and ponds has been destroyed by the war, overgrown, stripped of its structure. The garden is a reflection of a civilization perverted by war into barbarism – and in Remarque's setting and consequently within this context, Graeber also finds tattered books in this garden. But at the same time, the garden is for Graeber a place of retreat and tranquility, of temporary escape from the barbarism in which he is inextricably entangled as a perpetrator; it is a place of remembrance of a lost primordial state. In the next scene of the novel, Graeber will try to expiate his individual guilt by saving Russian civilians suspected of being partisans from arbitrary shooting – and will fail.

Es war ein sonderbar stiller Nachmittag. Die Rekruten waren gegangen, nachdem sie Stroh besorgt hatten. Die Front dröhnte, aber der Tag schien trotzdem ruhig zu bleiben. Vor dem Schuppen dehnte sich ein verwilderter Rasen, der zertreten war und Granatlöcher hatte, aber trotzdem grünte, und in dem ein paar Blumenbüsche am Rand des früheren Weges wuchsen.

Graeber fand im Garten hinter der Birkenallee einen kleinen, halb erhaltenen Pavillon, von dem aus er den Stall übersehen konnte. Er fand darin sogar ein paar Bücher. Sie waren in Leder eingebunden und hatten einen verblaßten Goldschnitt. Regen und Schnee hatten sie so zerstört, daß nur noch eines zu lesen war. Es war ein Band mit romantischen Stichen idealer Landschaften. Der Text war französisch. Er blätterte das Buch langsam durch. Allmählich nahmen ihn die Bilder gefangen. Sie erweckten eine schmerzhaft und hoffnungslose Sehnsucht in ihm, die anhielt, nachdem er den Band schon lange zugeschlagen hatte.

Er ging die Birkenallee entlang zu dem Teich. Zwischen Schmutz und Algen hockte dort der flötenspielende Pan. Eins seiner Hörner fehlte, aber sonst hatte er die Revolution, den Kommunismus und den Krieg überlebt. Er stammte, wie die Bücher, aus einer sagenhaften Zeit: der Zeit vor dem ersten Kriege.²⁴

24 Erich Maria Remarque. *Zeit zu leben und Zeit zu sterben*. Roman. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2018, 490. ["It was a strangely quiet afternoon. The recruits had left after getting the straw. The front was rumbling, but nevertheless the day seemed to remain still. In front of the shed extended a lawn that had run wild; it had been trodden down and there were shell holes in it, but nevertheless it had turned green and a few flowering shrubs were growing at the edge

It is such combinations with which the author Erich Maria Remarque embeds nature in the plot and discourses of his novels. On a first, obvious level, the plot that overlays everything dominates; on a second level, the author handles symbolic attributions that not only reflect the thoughts and feelings of his characters, but also measure their location in a philosophical coordinate system between civilization and barbarism, self-discovery and alienation, nature and the individual.

A comparable retreat can be found in a more pointed form in *Die Nacht von Lissabon*: The emigrant Josef Schwarz and his wife Helen, whom he had previously freed from a French internment camp surrounded by a forest, arrive at a country house in southwestern France in the fall of 1940 on their escape route to Lisbon. This country house, too, is destroyed, abandoned, looted, scarred by war, and its inhabitants have fled or been killed. But the narrator Schwarz, reporting from hindsight, clearly values this place as a *locus amoenus*, where the fugitives can escape from flight, live and love, forget the threat: a paradise with an orchard.

Vor uns im grauen Licht lag das Schloßchen, eigentlich eher ein Landhaus, dessen Fenster dunkel waren und keine Gardinen zeigten. Ich ging die Freitreppe hinauf und versuchte die Tür. Sie war offen und zeigte Spuren, daß sie gewaltsam geöffnet worden war. Meine Schritte hallten in der dämmerigen Halle. Ich rief und bekam ein gebrochenes Echo als Antwort. Die Räume waren vollkommen leer. Alles, was weggenommen werden konnte, war weggenommen worden. Geblieben aber waren die Räume des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, die getäfelten Wände, die edlen Maße der Fenster, die Decken und die graziösen Treppen. [...]

Ich ging noch einmal um das Haus und entdeckte einen Obst- und Gemüsegarten. Äpfel und Birnen hingen noch an den Bäumen. Ich sammelte sie und brachte sie herein.²⁵

of what one had been a walk./ In the garden behind the avenue of birch trees Graeber found a small, half-preserved pavilion from which he could keep an eye on the shed. He even found a few books. They were bound in leather and bore tarnished gold lettering. Rain and snow had damaged them so much that only one was still legible. It was a volume with romantic etchings of ideal landscapes. The text was French. He leafed slowly through it. Gradually the pictures captivated him. They aroused a painful and hopeless yearning that continued long after he had closed the book./ He walked along the avenue of birch trees to the pond. Amid the dirt and water weeds crouched the pipe-playing faun. One of his horns was missing, but aside from that he had survived the Revolution, Communism, and the war. He, like the books, came from a legendary time, the time before the first war.” Remarque, *A Time to Love and a Time to Die*, 371–372]. Cf. also Thomas F. Schneider. “Die Sucht nach Flucht. Zu Erich Maria Remarques *Zeit zu leben und Zeit zu sterben*.” Remarque, *Zeit zu leben*, 560–584; 566–567.

- 25 Erich Maria Remarque. *Die Nacht von Lissabon. Roman*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2017, 252–253. [“Ahead of us in the gray light lay the little chateau, actually more of a country house. The windows were dark; there were no curtains. I mounted the stone steps and tried the door. It was unlocked, the lock seemed to have been forced. My steps resounded in the half-dark vestibule. I shouted, and the only answer was a broken echo. The rooms were bare. Everything removable had been removed. But it was still a fine eighteenth-century interior, with its paneled walls, the noble portioned windows, beautiful ceilings, and the graceful staircases.