


En-gendering Memory through Holocaust Alimentary Life Writing

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Thematic Issue ***Life Writing and the Trauma of War***. Ed. **Louise O. Vasvári and I-Chun Wang**

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Abstract: In her article "En-gendering Memory through Holocaust Alimentary Life Writing" Louise O. Vasvári aims to underline the cultural and gendered significance of the sharing of recipes as a survival tool by starving women in concentration camps during the Holocaust and the continuing role of food memories in the writing of Holocaust survivor women she considers a genealogy of intergenerational remembrance and transmission into the postmemory writing of their second generation daughters and occasionally their sons. Vasvári argues that the study of multigenerational Holocaust alimentary life writing becomes important today because as direct survivors of the Holocaust disappear there is a need of new forms of transmission to reshape Holocaust memories for the future.

Louise O. VASVÁRI

En-gendering Memory through Holocaust Alimentary Life Writing

In the introduction to alimentary life writing in my companion article "Introduction and Bibliography to Alimentary Life Writing and to Recipe Writing as War Literature" I illustrate how food creates a powerful social language that speaks of cultural traditions and inherited identity handed down (see Vasvári, "Introduction" <<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol17/iss3/21>>; see also Vasvári, "Hungarian" <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5195/ahca.2014.139>>). Here I present a study about foodways as intersecting with gender studies and Holocaust studies through examples of food talk and recipe writing by women concentration camp inmates. My objective is to show how women in concentration camps attempted to maintain their identity and connection to their ethnic and family history, and, after the war, their memoirs and recipes act for the transmission of survivors' Holocaust memory. I also examine the further use of recipes as postmemory aided by the next generation, a process that becomes important today because as direct survivors die, we need new forms of intergenerational transmission to reshape Holocaust memories for the future. Although it is now slowly beginning to become evident that thousands of recipe collections emerged out of wars, it is only a few women historians of the Holocaust who consider the significance of food writing in war as a survival strategy (see, e.g., Goldenberg; Saidel). In contrast, some male scholars criticize the consideration of the genre as "kitsch." For example, Tim Cole, who has written about starvation in the camps, objected repeatedly to Holocaust cookbooks as Holocaust exploitation and attacking specifically the publication of the first widely noted such publication, Cara Da Silva's 1996 edited volume *In Memory's Kitchen*. Similarly, Efraim Zuroff called this same cookbook "sick" and its recipes "imaginary" (Zuroff qtd. in Drews 56). In contrast, see the defense of the collection by Michael Berenbaum who wrote the "Introduction" to Da Silva's *In Memory's Kitchen*. I posit that recipes and recipe books are actual material remnants, which can serve as testimonial objects for nostalgic discourse carrying memory traces from the past while embodying the process of their transmission. In sharp contrast to Cole's and other historians' dismissal of Holocaust recipe collections, Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, who in their "Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender and Transmission" cite as examples a book of recipes and also miniature artists' books from the Theresienstadt and Vapniarka concentration camps, call for an expanded approach to testimony utilizing Barthes's notion of *punctum* in his *Camera Lucida*, where such objects serve as points of personal and cultural memory between past and present and also to underline how gender figures in acts of memory and transmission.

A good example of the importance of recipes as life writing of the Holocaust is Daniela Blei's "Every Cookbook Tells a Story" about her deceased grandmother's notebook of recipes. Blei makes the point that "notebooks filled with recipes can be interesting more for the stories they tell than the flavors they promise" (<<http://www.pressreader.com/usa/forward-english-edition/20150313/281779922588306/TextView>>). Blei recounts how her newlywed grandparents, Lola and Lajos with her great-grandmother Flora having survived the Holocaust, but with the rest of their family wiped out left Prague in 1948 at the communist takeover and ended up in Buenos Aires. Her grandmother's recipe notebook begins with Argentine *matambrito* (cold beef roulade) and conforms to Argentine custom calling for a side of Russian salad, but she would serve such native fare followed by East European nut tortes and fruit tarts, with her recipe for imperial cake calling for a dozen egg yolks and a cup of butter. But Lola's recipes as a culinary text contain another story about migration and about immigrants using food as a way to remember the past and reaffirm who she was: Jewish, European, and Argentinean and a good cook, although not an exceptional one. As Blei concludes, her grandmother's recipes are not so much of interest for themselves and most of them are bland and old-fashioned, but because these recipes are her grandmother's autobiography explaining who she was and where she went, from a village in the Carpathian Mountains to the Confiteria Oriental.

In Holocaust concentration camps food deprivation was one of the main weapons used to control and subjugate prisoners and food and access to food marked one's standing in the camp hierarchy. In camp jargon the verb *fressen*, normally applied to how animals eat, was used instead of *essen*, expressing the reality of starved humans having been turned into greedy animals by starvation. To counteract this dehumanization, starving women in the camp sought to return in their imagination to their homes and families and constantly talked with each other about food: they exchanged recipes reconstructed from memory, creating whole menus and even table settings and imaginary tea parties as a way of dealing spiritually with starvation. Such food talk, called "cooking with the mouth," was a gendered form of nostalgia, which helped these women reclaim their dignity and create a sense of female community through which they shared memories, as well as dreams for a future. Recalling recipes from their dead mothers and hoping to pass on their cooking as a legacy to the next generation was also a form of a last will and testament, as well as another facet of the long-standing Jewish tradition that formalizes the remembrance of the dead through daily and holiday prayer. Rochelle G. Saidel in her study on the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp cites examples of women not only sharing recipes, but also creating drawings and embroideries, giving each other small gifts and poems and marking birthdays and holidays whenever possible (see some examples of cards and other artifacts made mostly by women prisoners at *Spiritual Resistance* <<http://www.chgs.umn.edu/museum/exhibitions/ravensbruck/spiritualResistance.html>>; see also Huhák for additional examples of diaries, collections of poetry including obscene verses, and hand-made greeting cards by Hungarian women prisoners, and especially the passport one inmate had managed to keep, eventually using it to write recipes). While songs and poetry were composed by both sexes and both men and women talked about food, men tended to talk about food in the abstract whereas women exchanged recipes and when they could lay their hands on scraps of paper and nee-

dle and thread or get these items in exchange for bread, they created cookbooks. This gender difference is not surprising, not only because food preparation relates to women's (prewar) domestic identity, but also because as Ilana Rosen discovered in her interviews with survivors, women's accounts were more numerous and fuller than those of men and often read like anthropological descriptions in which women would provide vital sketches of pre-Holocaust life, referring to the small details of everyday life such as dishes and clothing items and would deal with relationships between mother and daughter, among sisters and friends, during and after war while men would have to be pushed harder for detailed information.

As early as 1947, in his memoir of the concentration camps, psychologist Viktor Emil Frankl mentions how desire for food was the major primitive instinct around which the mental life of prisoners was centered and that he termed *Magenomania* ("stomach mania") (43). Frankl said that such talk is dangerous if inmates lapsed into it for too long as it offered momentary psychological relief and risked loss of contact with reality, but in his strident rejecting food nostalgia Frankl shows ignorance of the depths of the impact of food talk on women's identity and community, examples of which abound in women's camp memoirs such as when Ruth Klüger (117), who was only fourteen in when in the camp, recalls that adult women engaged in food talk as part of their broader female discourse or "estates of memory," much as she herself recited poems: "At night a favorite game was to surpass each other with the recital of / generous amounts of butter, eggs, and sugar in fantasy baking contests. / I didn't even know many of the dishes they cooked and listened with a / growling stomach, just as I listened with a hungry imagination to their / tales of travel, parties, dates, and university studies – their 'estate of memory,' as the novelist Ilona Karmel has called them" (117). While Klüger as a young teenager did not engage in this activity, some other young women with no experience in cooking often did, "the funny thing was that many of us were at the age where we had never been to cooking school, but we had the wildest imagination about what we would cook (Susan Cernyak-Spatz qtd. in Goldenberg 169). Elisabeth M. Raab, who lost her parents and infant daughter in the camp, recounts in her 1997 memoir *And Peace Never Came* how two of her camp mates, Hanna and Eszter helped her to survive, not only sewed her clothes, but collected scraps of paper and that Eszter bound for her a recipe book with a cover made of oil-soaked rags she had found in the garbage. Fifty-three years later, in 1996, although Raab had lost touch with her friend in the post-war chaos of 1946, she still had the book and from which she reproduced the recipe for walnut torte with chestnut-cream (Raab 83). Olga Abel, in her 1986 memoir *Egy újságíró nő magányjegyzetei* (Personal Notes of a Journalist), mentions that not only did women vie with each other in their recipe creations and in boasting how they catered to their husband's culinary whims, but that they also planned menus for when they would be liberated and would cook sweets like *palacsinta* (crêpe) or *turós gombóc* (cheese dumpling) and even imagined postwar emigration to a foreign land where they would open a Hungarian restaurant. Giuliana Tedeschi was perhaps the only woman camp memoirist among hundreds I have read who, like Frankl, thought that food talk was pathological and screamed at the women to stop it because it made her so hungry. It may be no coincidence that in her memoir she wrote not a word about her pre-camp life as a wife and mother.

Some women who did not survive nevertheless left a testament of their life through their recipes, as did others who did survive but never wrote diaries or memoirs, but did collect recipes. A few of these testimonial objects have been fortuitously found and a few even published during the last two decades, but many more lie uncatalogued in Yad Vashem and other archives where there is no special cataloguing category for them and still others survive in private homes. In Yad Vashem can be found the manuscript of Trude Kassowitz's (1907-2002) recipes for nutcake and gefilte fish and who writes, "I'd pretend to visit someone as her guest and she'd pretend to serve me coffee and cake ... and she would share a recipe and I'd write it down. We did it to overcome the sense of hunger" (<http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/spots_of_light/trude_kassowitz.asp>). Another example is that by Yehudit (Aufrichtig) Taube, who was born in Germany in 1914 and fled to Amsterdam in 1938 as nanny to Jewish family: she joined the Resistance, was betrayed by a Dutch woman and was deported to Westerbork and Ravensbrück. There she and friends wrote "fantasy recipes." In a handwritten note in Hungarian we can read that her best friend Edith Gombus gave her with a small piece of bread when she was ill and missed the daily distribution: "We had low quality white paper. We took out a large sheet and folded it into small pieces. I brought a thread and needle and sewed it" (Taube <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/artifacts/yeudit_taube.asp>). At this site is also reproduced in Hungarian and in English translation the note to Taube by Gombus. Edith provides a detailed menu for the imaginary five meals she and another friend, Klári had eaten that day concluding that they had gorged themselves and all they saved for her was the small piece of bread. Among the dishes she lists in her fantasy menu were *lángos* (fried dough) with fresh butter, *tejfeles krumplifőzelék* (potato stew with sour cream), *vese velővel és sült krumplival* (kidney and brain with fried potatoes), and desserts.

The first written Holocaust cookbook manuscript of which there is a record to date is that of Andela Hrg, a political prisoner in the Stara Gardiska-Veljaca concentration camp in Jasenovica (Croatia) run by the fascist Ustacha regime. Hrg who wrote in a small school notebook in small handwriting eighty recipes, all for desserts: corn flour cookies, fig balls, war cake (needing no eggs), corn cake, Bosnian cake, chestnut roll, poppy seed cake and coffee *buhte* (sweet buns). On the first page of the notebook carrying the simple title *Recepti* she writes that between January 3 and 26, 1942 there was no food in the camp and that afterwards only one meal a day consisting of thin gruel or beans. She writes that she has children for whom she wants to preserve her recipes and many years later she was able to pass on her camp recipe notebook. This and other artifacts survived in Jasenovica until 1990s, when they vanished during the Yugoslav Civil War, but were later found and today their digital copy (WJ-

0010-8) is available at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Site (see "Croatian" <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/1673249.stm>).

Another prisoner who wrote a cookbook in camp was Rebecca (Becky) Teitelbaum, a Belgian who was in Ravensbrück for seventeen months and who also did small drawings of prisoners in the camp and made a few sets of playing cards. In 1943 she wrote a tiny one hundred and ten-page recipe book for which she sold food to get the paper, pencil, needle and thread needed to sew it together. She lost the booklet in the forced evacuation, but someone found it and returned it to her in Belgium two years later. The manuscript is now housed in the Vancouver Holocaust Centre and was presented in the Centre's 2002 travelling exhibit entitled "Ravensbrück: Forgotten Women of the Holocaust" (see Saidel 57).

The first printed Holocaust cookbook was Edith Peer's 1986 *Ravensbrück 1945: Fantasy Cooking behind Barbed Wire*, which had only five hundred printed copies and received some criticism because not all the recipes were kosher (and which was never sold). The first successful published recipe collection was Da Silva's 1996 *In Memory's Kitchen*, the object of several historians' scorn I mention previously. It was a German-language *Kochbuch* put together in Theresienstadt in 1942 by Minna Pächter, a Czech Jew who at age sixty-seven in 1939 refused to follow her daughter, son-in-law, and grandson to Palestine. She was from an Austro-Hungarian upper class Jewish family in Prague, an art historian who gave lectures in Theresienstadt. Pächter died of starvation on Yom Kippur Day in 1944, but was able to confide her book to a friend, along with a package containing some letters and poems and a picture taken in 1939 of herself with her grandson. The book did reach her daughter in 1969, a quarter century later. The manuscript is hand sewn on brittle paper and written in often broken German in faltering handwriting that changes from page to page with faded words by now almost indecipherable. Pächter's daughter Anne waited weeks before she opened the package and could not examine it for many years, considering it holy and it took her even more years to talk about it. Only in the 1990s did she show the book to food writer Dalia Carmel, who urged its English-language publication. Although the volume was initially turned down by thirty-five different publishers, it eventually it turned out to be a publishing success. Pächter's grandson, David Stern, translated her poems and letters, but the translator of the recipes from German to English was Bianca Steiner Brown, a former Theresienstadt inmate and later an associate editor of the magazine *Gourmet*. In recalling her own time in the camp Steiner Brown comments that "we were thinking of bread all the time because our rations were so small. I remember once overhearing two women arguing about who baked the better cakes -- the Viennese or the Czechs. I thought then, 'Don't you have anything else to think about when we are starving for more bread'" (Steiner Brown qtd. in Nathan 12). The Pächter recipes as such are impossible with steps and ingredients missing although at other times Pächter's recipes reflect war rationing and often the recipes are not kosher and sometimes not even Jewish. The eighty-two recipes include goose breast, chicken galantine, chocolate torte, plum dumplings, *gulyásleves* (goulash soup), *doboschorte*, *linzertorte*, *mazelokich* (layered matzoh and fruit dessert typically served by Czech Jews during Passover), and *Gesundheitskuchen* (good health cake) brought to mothers of newborns.

A good example of the many recipes remaining in forgotten family archives or discarded by heirs after the Holocaust survivor's death is the Hungarian *Szakácskönyv a túlélésért. Lichtenwörth 1944-45* (Cookbook for Survival: Lichtenwörth 1944-45) published in 2013 and edited by Szilvia Czingel, a folklorist and musicologist who participated in collecting oral history from survivors for Centropa, an organization that investigates Central and Eastern European Jewish life from the turn of the previous century to today. When in 2007 Czingel was interviewing one contributor, Holocaust survivor Hedvig Weiss (1914-2012), Weiss wanted to show her a recipe for *floodni* (an apple, walnut, and poppy seed layered pastry) as an example of the kind of recipes she used to prepare with her mother and when she opened a cookbook on her shelf the sheets of her wartime miniature cookbook fell out. The oral history part of the volume, where Weiss recounts her life in Budapest near the *Nagycsarnok* (Great Market Hall) provides an eloquent picture of lower-middle class life in Budapest between the two world wars. In the later part of her story dealing with her wartime experience Weiss recounts that she lived with her husband for only a few weeks as he subsequently disappeared in *munkaszolgálat* (Jewish slave labor brigade). When she had to report on 9 November 1944 to a *téglagyár* (brick factory) in Buda, the collection point for deportation, deportees were sent home to come back the next day because there was no transport available, but the concierge of her building went to the police to denounce her as having escaped. She and four other starving Jewish women arrived in December 1944 in Lichtenwörth, near Wiener Neustadt, to a camp that housed 2,500 women. Weiss explained how they would recount family stories and share recipes and that she was the scribe for the cookbook because she had a pencil and paper and could write in very small letters. While Lichtenwörth was not a death camp *per se*, starvation was constant and they were often deprived of food for two and three days at a time, and, like in other camps, when they did get something to eat it was constantly soup of potato skins or *marharépa* (turnip used for animal fodder). While dictating recipes the women would also tell family stories, and Hedvig became the scribe for the cookbook because she had a pencil and paper and because, as she recounts in the oral history, she wrote in very small letters. Czingel published 149 recorded recipes, but contrary to what Weiss thought there was a particular consideration to what recipes were dictated by the starving women, even if they were not aware of it at the time. Among the recipes in the collection all kinds of foods are recorded, but especially rich ones and desserts. The recipes represent Central East European gastro-culture, for example with lots of sour cream and it is noticeable that there is no soup or *főzelék* (vegetable stew): there is also nothing kosher about the recipes, although there are some Jewish dishes such as *tüdős hurka* (lung sausage). Although the book was never received it was not contextualized as Holocaust alimentary life writing because neither editor Czingel nor historian Gábor Gyányi, who wrote the introduction, evinced any acquaintance with the existence of other Holocaust cookbooks.

Partly in reaction to the publication of Da Silva's *In Memory's Kitchen*, there has emerged from the late 2000s a crop of memorial type recipe books, linking the Holocaust with culinary Jewish memories, sometimes shifting intentionally the emphasis from recipes of victims to stories of survival. One such collection is Merle Kastner's three-volume *Bukovina Food and Food Stories* that among many other recipes includes a two hundred recipe notebook in Russian of Lana Pressner Stern deported to Molyviv-Podilsky, a transit camp for Jews expelled from Bessarabia and Bukovina to Transnistria, which her niece found in Paris during the sale of her parents' house. Another, the 2007 *Holocaust Survivor Cookbook: Collected from around the World*, was compiled and self-published by Joanne Caras, daughter a Holocaust survivor. Caras published the recipes as she received them, often incomplete and outdated, accompanied with one hundred stories by survivors and pictures of their happy families before the war. June Feiss Hersch's 2011 *Recipes Remembered: A Celebration of Survival* has on its cover a striking, but eerie photograph of a cookie cutter in the shape of a Star of David cutting into cookie dough. Hersch states that her aim is to give voice to food memories of survivors and to stories of luck that often led to their survival. Unlike Caras, she provides readers with tested and revised recipes along with a collection of eighty survivor stories with many photographs of survivors with their families and of family recipes, all organized along geographic regions.

While the above mentioned memorial collections are compiled by women born after the war, the one author who most closely brings together Holocaust life writing with alimentary life writing is Ruth Glasberg Gold, who at age eleven lost her parents and brother in Bershad, a concentration camp in Transnistria. She says she was too young then to know how to cook anything except eggs, but she became determined to preserve the lost world of her childhood by learning to recreate the tastes of her mother's and aunt's kitchen. Out of this experience she first wrote a memoir in 1996, followed in 2010 by a cookbook. A child survivor like Gold, but one who was lucky enough to have a living grandmother, is Vienna born Doris Schechter, who in her 2007 *At Oma's Table: More than 100 Recipes and Remembrances from a Jewish Family Kitchen* recounts how she and her parents fled from Austria to Italy where they were in hiding. In 1944 they were among 982 war refugees who were allowed into the U.S. through the intervention of Eleanor Roosevelt and where after the war her Polish grandmother, who had lost her husband and a son and daughter in the camps, joined them and cooked for the family. Schechter combines family remembrances with over a hundred recipes, combining Viennese, Italian, and US-American flavors, but all rigorously kosher. A particularly engaging publication is Alexa Karolinski's, 2012 *Oma & Bella. Das Kochbuch* about the recipes of her grandmother Regina Karolinski (the *Oma* of the title), then eighty four and her best friend, Bella Katz, eighty-eight, that was made into a documentary film in 2013. The women were Yiddish-speaking Holocaust survivors from East Europe who ended up in Germany after the war and stayed there. They had known each other for sixty years and now shared an apartment, cooked together, and recalled their childhood and heritage, as well as their wartime experiences. As Katz says in the film, she could not salvage even a photograph of her parents who had been killed and so her only recollections were the tastes and smells of her childhood food. The women cook dishes like borscht, knishes, blintzes, and chicken soup together, with Regina Karolinski (*Oma*) saying early in the film that other people may have become modern and eat everything, but that she eats only Jewish food.

Holocaust recipes continue to provide a foundation for life writing into the second generation of Holocaust survivor families. The first notable example is the case of Charlotte (Sári) Slovak Biro who when she married in Budapest in 1925 received a notebook of recipes her mother started, kept adding recipes to it, and became a well-known cook in her social circle of bourgeois Jewish families in Budapest. She took the notebook, which also served her as a diary to the ghetto and after the war to prison where she was held for trying to cross the border illegally (in the ghetto she was asked to cook for the staff and the prisoners). In 1957 she was able to leave Hungary leaving her husband behind and left for the U.S. to join their daughters who fled in 1948. There she first took care of a child, then started baking and catering, and, translating all her recipes into US-American measurements, eventually published in 1973 *Flavors of Hungary: Recipes and Memoirs*. The book became a bestseller and was reprinted several times. Although the book's subtitle claims for itself the term memoir, within the book she avoids divulging that she is Jewish as was not uncommon among upwardly mobile assimilationist Hungarian Jews. In fact, she concocts for herself a fantasy autobiography of having been a rich gentile daughter and about the war she says not a word about the persecution of the Jews and claims only that her family spent most of their time in a bomb shelter; however, she includes some detail about her imprisonment and life in communism. It is only Biro's daughter, Agnes Biro Rothblatt, who in her 2010 memoir tells the real story of her mother having taken her cookbook along to the ghetto covering it with a clean newspaper and hoping that it would be useful after the war was over and that her two daughters might read it when the world normalized again.

An example of genealogy and remembrance through alimentary life writing is Elizabeth Ehrlich's 1998 *Miriam's Kitchen: A Memoir* in which she recounts how she, a non-religious US-American Jew with no Holocaust family history, started helping in the kitchen of her mother-in-law, Miriam, who prepared kosher meals while relating painful stories of her life of having survived a concentration camp in Poland. The stories triggered a religious awakening in Ehrlich leading her to choose an Orthodox life. The book is the daughter-in-law's, as well as the mother-in-law's memoir, both through food including twenty-four kosher recipes such as honey cake, noodle pudding, and other traditional dishes. Unlike Ehrlich, Vivian Chocas was struggling to retrieve her Hungarian identity that her parents, 1956 Hungarian refugees, did not want to talk about and they would not even talk in Hungarian to her. It took Chocas many years to find out that what her family was hiding was her mother and grandmother's Jewish identity. In her 2006 *Bazar Magyar. Les Saveurs du passé sur le bout de la langue* Chocas recounts how the only connections she has with her Hungarian origin are her regular trips with her father to the Hungarian grocery in Paris where she would hear a bit of Hungarian, and the cooking

of her mother, Zsuzsa, which she cherished as a substitute for language where, for her, the vowels were made of paprika and the consonants of *galuska* (dumplings). The chapters of *Bazar Magyar* are all named after Hungarian foods, like "Les beignets d'abricots / farsangi fánk," where Chocas recounts how in 1973, when she was eleven, the family first returned to Hungary for her paternal grandmother's funeral and she lists the foods served including chicken soup served with the chicken feet, stuffed peppers, apple strudel, and apricot dumplings. In the chapter "Le biscuit roulé / beigli" she details how she learned Hungarian in secret reading a Hungarian grammar book and reproducing from it a short text about the preparation of *beigli* (nut or poppy seed roll) for Christmas. In "Le chou farci / töltött káposzta" she describes how at age twenty-four she felt a need to visit Hungary and that after describing what she ate there, plus a love affair she had with a Hungarian whose mother cooked her stuffed peppers, concludes that she has the feeling of Hungarian food on her skin, in her veins, and in her pubis bringing her to the brink of sexual climax. It takes Chocas's mother to 2005, at age seventy, to begin to reveal details of her past on the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the camps recounting that at age ten in 1944 she wore the yellow star, but even then she is brought to that confession only because her brother who was a professor in Paris and after his retirement wrote a memoir in which he divulged the family's Jewish past.

Precisely because alimentary life writing is primarily gendered female, it is important to add examples provided by male writers, which I illustrate with the work of András Körner who lives in the U.S. and Mihály Dés, a second-generation Hungarian, who spent part of his adult life in Spain, but returned to Hungary. In 2004 Koerner published *A Taste of the Past: The Daily Life and Cooking of a Nineteenth-Century Hungarian-Jewish Homemaker* inspired by the recipes of a handwritten book of his great-grandmother Theresa (Riza) Baruch (Berger) (1851-1938), which she began putting together in 1869 and kept enlarging until almost the end of her life. She was born three years after the Hungarian revolution of 1848 and died one year before the outbreak of the World War II. Although she wrote in German she considered herself Hungarian. Koerner collected not only recipes, but also customs, holiday stories, and the culinary culture of her grandmother as well. The cookbook also a reflection on the social and religious life of a small Hungarian Jewish community and traces the changing habits of eating and other lifestyle shifts of Hungarian Jews in the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. The recipes include *főtt ponty ecetes lében, tormával* (pike in sour aspic with horseradish), cholent, and *almás maceskugli* (apple-matzo roll). Körner, who in 1986 moved to the U.S., where he worked as an architect, has become a historian of Hungarian Jewish everyday life (see Sanders). Mihály Dés's 2013 *77 pesti recept. Gasztronomiai anyaregény* (77 Budapest Recipes: A Gastronomical Mothernovel) is in its first half a sort of family novel including of the Holocaust, but with emphasis on living under the communist regime of János Kádár. It is also a mother portrait about a woman who was from a poor Jewish family and did not start to cook until later in life and then collected recipes into her nineties. When Dés returned from living for years in Barcelona, he began to watch his mother cook and recorded her recipes was a way to bond with her and to save the recipes for his children who grew up in Barcelona and for whom her cooking was a way to identify with their Hungarian roots. The second half of the volume contains the seventy-seven recipes, full of homey soups and vegetable stews which in Hungary today is called *nagyi főztje* (granny's cooking).

At the same time that second-generation Holocaust children began to write alimentary life writing so have some third generation writers, such as Nancy Ring, who in her 1996 *Walking on Walnuts: My Grandmother's Recipes for Rugelach, Romance, and Surviving the Real World* writes about her Jewish family who fled Russia and about her own determination to work in New York restaurants. Ring points out that in traditional Jewish homes while men say the blessing over the wine and bread and sit at the head of the table, it is women who provide the nourishment, as well as have their own food-related ritual roles. In Israel Ofer Vardi (1973-), who identifies as a *sabra*, but with Hungarian cultural identity, has a popular weekly recipe column in an Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* where he publishes recipes on Hungarian food culture and family stories especially about his beloved grandmother who raised and fed him, but also about her story as representing that of Hungarian Jewry in the twentieth century. He started his column "Going Paprikash" in 2006 and in 2012 he published the bestseller *Israel to Go: Look & Cook Book* (now also available in English as an iPhone book, which includes a family video and Hungarian music). He gets letters from many countries where readers will write comments like "I almost started crying because it made my think of my grandmother" (Martinelli <<http://forward.com/food/tag/goulash-legolash/>>). All four of Vardi's grandparents were Hungarian-speaking Holocaust survivors who immigrated to Israel in 1949-57 and he grew up on Hungarian food, which he claims he forgot, but when he lived for a year in Hungary in 1999, all the memories of taste and cooking returned.

In conclusion, the sacrifices women in concentration camps made to be able to record family recipes and the attempts of child survivors like Gold and Schechter and even the second and third-generation descendents like Chocas, Karolinski and Ofer, to collect and to recreate the recipes of their childhood through scent-cued affective memories, or the "Proust phenomenon," reiterates the importance of food as a storehouse of memories and of deep memory, not dependent on a happy childhood but which can recreates the fiction of one through food memories (Lupton; Chu and Downes). A very different story of recipes, family heritage, and historical memory is shown in the ending of István Szabó's *Sunshine*, a family saga about the ill-fated lives of four generations of a Hungarian Jewish family, which ends with the great-grandson of the family discarding remnants of the family's history, ranging from the antique furniture to the recipe book which contained the secret recipe of an alcoholic concoction with which the patriarch of the family, arriving as penniless refugee from a Galicia, first made his fortune in Hungary (see, e.g., Suleiman).

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