

Kateřina Králová

Silenced Memories and Network Dynamics in Holocaust Testimonies

The Matalon Family and the Case of Greece

Abstract

During World War Two, many Jewish survivors witnessed how their parents, spouses and children were being taken away to Nazi camps, and some even saw them suffering until the end. Those who came back were hoping to find a tranquil haven and to finally live peacefully with at least some of their family members. Their ties, however, were irrevocably disturbed. This article focuses on one Jewish family from Thessaloniki, within which many members from three generations survived by hiding in Greece, while others were deported to Auschwitz. This created traumatic layers in the family memory, each of them for different reasons, and which were often suppressed for decades to come. Dwelling on a rich archive of personal testimonies, I will shed light on these silenced memories within the traumatised family network, memories that stem not only from the tragedy of the Holocaust, but also interplay with family dynamics.

Just after the liberation of Athens in October 1944, the fate and whereabouts of two of the Matalon daughters were as yet uncertain, as the sisters had been deported with their husbands to Auschwitz only several months before the liberation. The future development of Greece was also precarious as the state was heading into a bloody civil war that would last from 1946 to 1949. When both women returned to Greece, nothing was the same anymore. In this article, I focus, first, on the network of the Moise Matalon family and the agencies within it, and, second, on multi-directionally silenced memories. Following seminal psychological research in trauma studies, I see silence as a negotiated social norm and as social (and even attachment) trauma, regardless of whether this trauma is consciously or unconsciously narrated, twisted or even silenced in life stories.¹

The two generations of a single family – Holocaust survivors and narrators in one – whose voices are presented in my study, delivered nine semi-structured biographical accounts to well-established audiovisual collections in Holocaust archives in and beyond Greece. More interviews appeared in the media and private collections of Holocaust scholars from Greece and abroad. Being fluent in several languages (including Greek, French, English, Judeo-Spanish and/or Hebrew, a multilingualism which stemmed from the specific cultural history of the Jewish middle class in

1 Dan Bar-On, *Fear and Hope: Three Generations of the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1995); Sharon Kangisser Cohen, *Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Israel: Finding Their Voice: Social Dynamics and Post-War Experiences* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2005); Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (London: Routledge, 1992); Yael Danieli, "Families of Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust: Some Short- and Long-Term Effects," *Series in Clinical & Community Psychology: Stress & Anxiety* 8 (1982): 405–421. For a recently published volume on silence, see Aleksandar Dimitrijevic and Michael B. Buchholz, eds., *Silence and Silencing in Psychoanalysis: Cultural, Clinical, and Research Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), and in this especially Aleksandar Dimitrijevic, "Silence and Silencing of the Traumatized," 198–215.

Thessaloniki),² the narrators were not only able to think in diverse contexts but to also consider the possible audience in one or another language more broadly in their public and private voice.

Interviews in Greek, French and English that were recorded from 1994 to 2019 have been stored in the Fortunoff Archive (HVT),³ the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation (VHA),⁴ the oral history collection of the Jewish Museum of Greece (JMG/OHA),⁵ and at the Jewish Community in Athens.⁶ Between 2020 and 2022, I was able to enrich this existing corpus with interviews in Greek and English that I conducted with the third generation of the Matalon family. My intention has not been to create a new family narrative, but rather to put the existing sources into conversation with each other and to place them in the family structure by making use of comparative oral history methodology. To specify localities and dates related to deportations, I made use of documents from the Joint Distribution Committee Archives (AJDC) and the Arolsen Archives, also known as the International Tracing Service.⁷

Out of eight survivors of the Matalon family, adults at the time of liberation, only two Matalon daughters, deportees who returned from the camps, delivered their accounts of Holocaust-related hardship. Symptomatically, none of the other adults ever publically narrated their story of surviving in hiding. Herewith, they in fact followed the post-war hierarchy and hierarchisation of suffering and survivorship, assuming that only ex-deportees have a Holocaust story to tell.⁸

At a time when most ex-deportees had passed away, the child survivors were finally recognised as a distinct victim group, and were thus given a voice as the “last witnesses”.⁹ In that period, in the 1990s, interviews with the Matalon grandchildren who survived in hiding – Andreas, Ester, Rina, Paulina and Vida – were recorded. Moise Matalon’s grandson Maurice Amaraggi, born in 1945 as a post-war child, has been missing from all existing oral history archives on the Holocaust. In a Zoom recording, he discussed with me the Matalon family network dynamics from the perspective of the Amaraggi family, thus supplying the missing piece from the puzzle.¹⁰

2 See, for example, Devin E. Naar, *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Family Papers: A Sephardic Journey through the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019).

3 “Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies,” Yale University Library, accessed 30 June 2022, <https://fortunoff.library.yale.edu>.

4 “Visual History Archive Online,” USC Shoah Foundation, accessed 30 June 2022, <https://vhaonline.usc.edu>. Currently, the VHA collection contains interviews, each on average more than two hours long, in forty-one languages, amounting to about 115,000 hours of video material. To facilitate working with such a vast quantity of material, the search engines are equipped with a list of over 65,000 thematic keywords.

5 “The Oral History Archive of the Jewish Museum of Greece,” Jewish Museum of Greece, accessed 30 June 2022, <https://www.jewishmuseum.gr/en/the-oral-history-archive-of-the-jewish-museum-of-greece-oha-2/>.

6 Israilitiki Kinotita Athinon, accessed 30 June 2022, <https://athjcom.gr/politismos/εκδηλώση-για-το-μπλόκο-της-συναγωγής-ε/>. I am thankful to Philipp Carabott for bringing this website to my attention.

7 On the JDC in general, see Avinoam Patt, Atina Grossmann, Linda G. Levi, and Maud S. Mandel, *The JDC at 100: A Century of Humanitarianism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2019). On the ITS and its uses, see *An Introduction to the International Tracing Service* (Bad Arolsen: The International Tracing Service, 2009), and Suzanne Brown-Fleming, *Nazi Persecution and Postwar Repercussions: The International Tracing Service Archive and Holocaust Research* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

8 Cohen, *Child Survivors of the Holocaust*, 68.

9 Robert Krell and Haim Dasberg, *Messages and Memories: Reflections on Child Survivors of the Holocaust* (Vancouver: Memory Press, 1999); Ira Brenner, “The Last Witnesses: Learning about Life and Death from Aging Survivors,” *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 101, no. 2 (3 March 2020): 340–354, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207578.2020.1739199>.

10 Maurice Amaraggi, Zoom interview by the author, 21 November 2020. Among other things, Maurice Amaraggi is the screenwriter and director of a documentary about Thessaloniki, *Salonika: City of Silence*, (Brussels and Jerusalem: NEMO Films, 2006).

When the first Holocaust interviews for local and transnational collections, including with the Matalon family, were recorded in Greece, the once top-down, silenced experience of institutional injustice – related to imposed injunctions and property return to Jewish survivors – appeared quite openly in their narrations. Socioculturally silenced experiences, both on the vertical and horizontal levels (gender, generations) were also present, since the social models changed extensively over time and thus allowed the narrators to express themselves (more) freely in this regard. Still, in both instances, we can observe an asymmetry in power relations, both within the family network and between the in-group and out-groups in the Greek state. Similarly to the pioneers in research on intergenerational Holocaust trauma transmission, Dori Laub and Danieli,¹¹ I refer to this attempt as a “conspiracy of silence”¹² used in an effort to reduce uncertainty, in which children become the “bearers of the [social] secret.”¹³ The most difficult memories for them to overcome became the traumatic and traumatising ones of a deep loss, which were carried within the family and internally.

Rescue Attempts in the Matalon Family

Moise Matalon (1877, Larissa–1966, Athens), a Greek-speaking gynecologist and alumnus of the university in Athens, was a father of four women – Daizy Seficha (1904–1998), Claire Alchek (1906–2002), Germaine Cohen (1910–2016), and René Amaraggi (1914–2017) – whom he all successfully married to well-positioned Jewish men in Thessaloniki before the war started.¹⁴ Moise escaped from the city under German occupation, where the deportations of Jews became a reality in March 1943, together with his wife and three adult daughters accompanied by their husbands and children. His youngest daughter René, together with her husband and her son Salvador, left earlier and already awaited them in the capital. Soon after Italy surrendered in September 1943, the family members each went their own way and to different hideouts, as the danger of deportations started to loom over Athens, which found itself in the German zone of occupation. The four granddaughters of Moise Matalon survived the war in Athens without their parents. The members of the Amaraggi family survived there hiding all together. Andreas Seficha (1929–2007) and his parents went with the Matalon grandparents to the countryside. But the hiding places of two of Matalon’s daughters and their husbands, Bension Alchek and Sabetai Cohen, were disclosed and all of them were deported to Auschwitz.¹⁵

Germaine Cohen and Claire Alchek returned from the camps in 1945. In her oral account, Germaine plainly states that her main motivation to survive the camps was the hope of meeting her three daughters again. The girls were safeguarded as pupils at a Roman Catholic school in Athens and by living with a non-Jewish acquaintance.

11 See the contributions of both scholars in Yael Danieli, eds., *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma* (New York: Springer, 1998).

12 Yael Danieli, “Psychotherapists’ Participation in the Conspiracy of Silence about the Holocaust,” *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1984): 23–42, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0736-9735.1.1.23>.

13 Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 57–74.

14 Andreas L. Seficha, *Remembering a Life and a World* (Thessaloniki: Ianos, 2015), 31. I am using here the surnames that the women adopted after their marriage and which refer to the family of the spouse, as was traditional in the Greece of those days.

15 Andreas Sephiha [sic], interview 48935, VHA, USC Shoah Foundation, accessed at the Malach Centre for Visual History, Charles University, Prague, with funding from the LM2015071 LINDAT/CLARIN Research Infrastructure.

When a former neighbour from Thessaloniki, the only collaborator the Cohens ever called by name in their accounts, denounced her husband to the German authorities, Sabetai Cohen revealed under torture his wife's hiding place. Germaine's sister Claire, her husband Bension Alchek, and their nine-year-old son Solomon were betrayed and caught at about the same time. The Alchek parents succeeded in finding a safe haven only for their elder daughter; the others were deported to Auschwitz on the same freight train as Germaine and Sabetai, on 21 June 1944.¹⁶

As other women survivors who arrived with their children in Auschwitz-Birkenau testified, Claire too was encouraged by a fellow Jewish prisoner from Greece to entrust her son upon arrival to what was claimed to be the "Red Cross", since it allegedly provided motorised transportation of the children to the camp.¹⁷ This frantic intervention on the part of the more experienced Auschwitz prisoners, which aimed at rescuing the mothers at the very least, has haunted Claire for the rest of her life. Nevertheless, the knowledge of there being another child back home was a strong stimulus to invest as much as one could into survival. This agonisingly sorrowful predicament takes centre place in Claire's VHA interview which she gave in French, although in Greece and to a Greek interviewer, signalling that she felt more at ease to articulate the trauma in her intimate language than in her language of everyday use. In her written account in Greek, Claire stated:

[h]e [a Jewish prisoner from Thessaloniki] told us we need to entrust our children to older women because the Red Cross would take care of them. We followed his advice because it sounded reasonable. Parting with our children was cruel, but we had to save the children. [The next day] I sighted a prisoner digging a trench. He was French. When I asked him if he knew where the children were and how we could see them, he turned around imperturbably and cynically said: "Madam, do you see that flame which comes out of the smokestack? He has come out of there already, I am sure." A worse, more cynical man I've never seen in my life. That moment I suffered my first death. [...] If I decided to live on, this was because what sustained me was a thought that, in Athens, my other child awaited me.¹⁸

After the Auschwitz evacuation, Claire and Germaine went through Bergen-Belsen and Raguhn, a subcamp of Buchenwald, and finally Theresienstadt, which was only taken over by the International Red Cross on 4 May 1945. When the Red Army entered the camp five days later, it held about 30,000 prisoners. Because they had to recover from typhus, it took the sisters until autumn 1945 to reach Thessaloniki.¹⁹

16 VHA-48674, Zermain [sic] Koen (née Matalon) interview; VHA-43697, Claire Beza (née Matalon, Altchek from her first marriage) interview; HVT-3011, Palomba M., Riketta C., and Vida C. (née Koen) Holocaust Testimony, interview by Jaša Almulji, Vienna Wiesenthal Institute (VWI); HVT-3009, Germain C. [sic], Holocaust Testimony, interview by Jaša Almulji, VWI; Altzek Klara [sic], in *Central Name Index*, 0.1/13282551/ITS Digital Archive; Altchek Clara [sic], in *Central Name Index*, 0.1/13241150/ITS Digital Archive.

17 VHA-43697, Beza interview. For a similar observation, but regarding Jews from Lodz, see Robert Jan van Pelt and Debórah Dwork, *Auschwitz: von 1270 bis heute* (Zurich: Pendo, 1998), 386.

18 In Rozina Asser Pardo, *548 imeres me allo onoma: Thessaloniki, 1943: mnimes polemou* [548 days with Another Name: Salonika 1943: Memories of War] (Athens: Ekdosis Gavrilidis, 1999), 94–95. Many other family survivors mentioned Claire's loss – which caused guilt-inducing tension among family members – only in passing at the most, or did not address it at all. For Claire's oral account, see VHA-43697, Beza interview. Compare this with the story of Ida Angel, who lost one child in Auschwitz but reunited with her other child and husband upon returning to Athens, in Miriam Novitch, *Passage of the Barbarians: Contribution to the History of the Deportation and Resistance of Greek Jews* (Hull: Hyperion Books, 1989), 121–123.

19 While Claire, still weakened by the typhus, returned through Yugoslavia in August 1945, Germaine returned through Italy in a much better condition in October 1945. VHA-48674, Koen interview; Cohen Germaine, in *Central Name Index*, 0.1/27938875, 27938878/ITS Digital Archive; Ústřední kartotéka – transpory, in *Central Name Index*, 0.1/4966252/ITS Digital Archive.

Other Matalon family members, including the sisters' parents, had survived in hiding. Still, the Cohen girls were taken care of in a Jewish orphanage that had been established in 1945 in the suburbs of post-war Athens. The orphanage had been set up with the assistance of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), an international Jewish relief organisation that reopened its office in the Greek capital the same year.²⁰ Meanwhile, Ester Alcheh moved in with her grandparents, from her father's side, in Athens.²¹ In 1945, the orphanage officially looked after up to sixty children, boys and girls, and was the only existing Jewish institution of its kind in Greece. Many of these children would soon be among the 175 Jewish child migrants from Greece, accompanied by twenty-five adults, who were sent to Palestine on 4 August 1945.²² One of the children on board was Ester, Claire's teenage daughter whose transfer took place only a few weeks before Claire returned. They finally reunited in Greece in 1949, when Ester stayed in Athens, although by doing so she broke her promise to do compulsory military service in Israel. Like Claire, Germaine was still in poor health upon her arrival in Greece. She ended up in hospital, and was able to collect her daughters only after her physical recovery. While Claire remarried but never had another child, Germaine remained widowed until the end of her life.²³

Almost a year before Germaine and Claire returned from the Nazi camps, the internally displaced Matalon family reunited in Athens to set out for Thessaloniki. This occurred soon after the 1944 December events, which unleashed the battle of Athens, a prelude to the civil war. For the rest of his life, Andreas Seficha, the oldest grandson of Matalon who survived the Holocaust, was proud of having made his way to the capital alone in 1943 and of the fact that his family had followed him. Immediately after the German occupation, Andreas and his family found themselves in Athens under British protection. In his narration, Andreas brings out how the fear of continued fighting in the aftermath of the occupation paralysed many survivors in Greece, and he highlights the multi-layered dilemma of returning to his hometown of Thessaloniki: "[w]hen we arrived on a British Army truck from Argos in Athens, it was the time of the December clashes. [...] Should we stay in Athens or go back to Thessaloniki, to our home? Home? What home? [...] We had hardly settled in when the Battle of Athens broke out at various points in the city. [...] What were we to do?"²⁴

For years to come, Matalon family survivors would be struggling with the Holocaust trauma, fighting to regain their social status and their stolen property, trying to re-establish the bond between deported mothers and daughters in hiding, forever scarred by irreplaceable loss. Before long, the Amaraggis would leave Greece for good and settle in Belgium. Only on occasional visits to Greece was René able to meet with her three sisters and their children.²⁵ When Matalon's grandchildren in Greece reached adulthood, they were given the opportunity to study abroad. All of

20 HVT-3009 Germaine C.; HVT-3011, Palomba M., Riketta C., and Vida C.; JMG/OHA-051, Mioni (with sisters), The Oral History Archive of the Jewish Museum of Greece (JMG/OHA), Jewish Museum of Greece.

21 JMG/OHA-094, Esther Florentin interview, and Esther Florentin, interview by the author, Athens, 9 May 2022.

22 1945-54/4/33/2/386, Greece, General, VIII.–XII.1945, Letter from Morris Laub to Dr. J. Schwartz, Re: Greece, 23 August 1945, AJDC, New York Archive (NY AR). See also Pothiti Hantzaroula, *Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Greece: Memory, Testimony and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 2020), 100–101.

23 VHA-43697, Beza interview; VHA-48674, Koen interview; VHA-43029, Ester Florentin interview (née Alcheh); Jews who left Greece for Palestine on 8/4/45, 30 August 1945, in Registration of Liberated Former Persecutees at Various Locations, 3.1.1.3. (F 18-56 Griechenland, 045)/0060_78779776_1–0067_78779789_1/ ITS Digital Archive.

24 Seficha, *Remembering a Life and a World*, 83.

25 Amaraggi, interview.

them would return to Greece. While Vida Cohen became a fierce Zionist and at a late stage in her life decided to completely move to be with her son in Israel,²⁶ Andreas Seficha affirmed his dedication to the Jewish Community of Thessaloniki by serving as the Community's president from 1993 to 2001, which he documented in his memoir.²⁷ Throughout these years, family dynamics were shifting due to changing socio-cultural norms and the political climate in Greece, as well as the aging of survivors in their own network.

Institutionally Inducted Silence

For all Holocaust survivors, the restitution of lost property, promising a rise back up the social ladder, was among the first things to deal with in their liberated countries.²⁸ When it came to Jews, the legal settlement of property ownership became the biggest problem also for the new Greek government. Several pieces of legislation had been passed during the occupation and not all were annulled at once after the war, but they were rather superseded individually.²⁹ In late December 1945, Act 808 did bring at least some order into this legal chaos and enable the restitution of property, not only to the original owners but also to their agents, guardians and relatives. In the former German-controlled part of the province of Macedonia, including Thessaloniki, a vast number of Jewish assets were not returned to Jewish survivors for a long time after.³⁰

Within the traditional boundaries of Greece, it was difficult for the Matalon family, especially for the Cohens and Alchehs, the heads of whom had died, leaving their wives to make a claim to retrieve their properties. Once Germaine had come back from the camps and collected her children, she returned to her hometown and reunited with her parents. Getting housing was the utmost priority but, as she recalls, it was not easy: "I went to the Thessaloniki military court [and told them]: 'You have to give me my home back'. They didn't, but one room. And slowly-slowly I took the whole home."³¹

Although it is unclear how long "slowly-slowly" means exactly, her daughters have a strong memory of a family community living all together in one flat in Thessaloniki. Not so much Germaine's sister Claire, the other camp survivor. In her words,

26 Rina and Paulina Cohen, interview by the author, Athens, 9 May 2022.

27 Seficha, *Remembering a Life and a World*. See also Odette Varon-Vassard, *Des Sépharades aux Juifs grecs: histoire, mémoire et identité* (Paris: Éditions le Manuscrit, 2021).

28 On Jewish property in general, see Dan Diner and Gotthart Wunberg, eds., *Restitution and Memory: Material Restoration in Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press and USHMM, 2008); Martin Dean, Constantin Goschler, and Philipp Ther, eds., *Robbery and Restitution: The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe* (New York: Berghahn; USHMM, 2007).

29 Sam Nahmias, "Die Vermögen der deportierten Israiliten Griechenlands," in *In memoriam: gewidmet dem Andenken an die jüdischen Opfer der Naziherrschaft in Griechenland*, ed. Michael Molho and Joseph Nehama (Essen: Peter Katzung, 1981), 463.

30 A.N. 808/1945 (31 December 1945), Peri sympliroseos ton A.N. 2/1944 kai 337/45, FEK A'324/1945, Nahmias, 460–463; Kateřina Králová, "In the Shadow of the Nazi Past: Post-War Reconstruction and the Claims of the Jewish Community in Salonika," *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (2016): 262–290. Concerning Jewish property in Thessaloniki specifically, see the following chapters in *The Holocaust in Greece*, eds. Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018): Maria Kavala, "The Scale of Jewish Property Theft in Nazi-Occupied Thessaloniki," 183–207; Stratos N. Dordanas, "The Jewish Community of Thessaloniki and the Christian Collaborators: 'Those That Are Leaving and What They Are Leaving Behind,'" 208–227; Kostis Kornetis, "Expropriating the Space of the Other: Property Spoliations of Thessalonican Jews in the 1940s," 228–251.

31 VHA-48674, Koen interview.

she “never stepped again into that house”.³² At her last wartime address in Athens, after being turned away by the non-Jewish tenants, Claire demanded her stolen property by entering the house accompanied by a Greek police officer. In this way, as her daughter Ester narrates, Claire recovered at least some of her family’s belongings.³³ Both Claire and Germaine, never spelling out the word antisemitism, must have been quite proud of their restitution success and claims against the Greek state and administrators. But only the third generation is able to admit, and then just on direct inquiry, that not only the institutional restitution of property, but also claims within the family network after the death of Moise Matalon, have created intractable problems among the survivors.³⁴

There was also another issue common to many Holocaust survivors that the Matalon family had to struggle with: the one of national identity. While the Cohen daughters lived in Greece as Yugoslav subjects, with this citizenship from their father’s side being ascribed to them up to their adulthood, Ester was struggling for and with her Israeli identity. When I interviewed her in 2022, she was still using specific Hebrew words from her early days in Israel. By returning to Greece in 1949, Ester bypassed her compulsory military service, thus circumventing the state regulations of Israel. In her understanding, she was disloyal to the country that had embraced her. For that action, Ester has been feeling ashamed all her life. By linking her native homeland, Greece, and the new homeland, Israel, with shame and guilt in her narrative, Ester manifested how much she commits to the rules of the state she lives in.³⁵

Her cousins, on the other hand, strongly recall the family fears connected to their Yugoslav citizenship once the civil war broke out. At that time, Germaine Cohen became apparently worried that her daughters could be abducted by guerrilla forces and taken to communist countries in Eastern Europe as Yugoslav subjects.³⁶ Her fear was a blend of general conflict-related insecurity and the trauma of the separation she experienced during the Holocaust. With regard to the civil war, it is striking how the Matalon family narrators avoid the subject. Both Claire and her daughter Ester married Holocaust survivors who escaped the deportations by joining the leftist resistance in Greece. Once the war was over, as former partisans they could end up in the crosshairs of the Greek authorities by being considered disloyal citizens.³⁷ When touching upon the motivation of her post-war husband Alfred Beza to join the partisans, Claire stated plainly: “He was in the resistance. (...) He was in the mountains, he liked sports, he found there what he liked.”³⁸ Ester does not open the topic of her husband’s whereabouts in her public voice, quickly passing over the resistance experience even in our private interview.³⁹ Her cousin Paulina, who was interviewed

32 VHA-43697, Beza interview.

33 VHA-43029, Florentin interview.

34 Amaraggi, interview; Cohen, interview; Florentin, interview.

35 JMG/OHA-094, Florentin; and Florentin, interview. On shame and children, see Ute Frevert, “Piggy’s Shame,” in *Learning How to Feel: Children’s Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*, eds. Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, and Stephanie Olsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 134–154.

36 JMG/OHA-051, Mioni (with sisters); HVT-3011, Palomba M., Riketta C., and Vida C.; Cohen interview. For more on child evacuations during the Greek Civil War, see Loring M. Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), and Kateřina Králová and Karin Hofmeisterová, “The Voices of Greek Child Refugees in Czechoslovakia,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 38, no. 1 (2020): 131–158.

37 For more on this issue, see Kateřina Králová, “Being Traitors: Post-War Greece in the Experience of Jewish Partisans,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 17, no. 2 (2017): 263–280; Eleni Beze, “Being Leftist and Jewish in Greece during the Civil War and Its Aftermath: Constraints and Choices,” *Historein* 18, no. 2 (2019), <http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/historein.14601>.

38 VHA-43697, Beza interview.

39 Florentin, interview.

about her husband's partisan experience by the Greek historian Iasonas Chandrinou,⁴⁰ has a similar strategy to Ester. When telling me about her encounter with Chandrinou, we both knew the long-tabooed background story of the Greek leftist resistance, due to Greek political realities for decades after the civil war. Yet, for her it remains unspeakable, even in contemporary Greece.⁴¹

Socioculturally Conditioned Silence

While Moise Matalon treated his daughters both with a French education and husbands appropriate to their social status, it was the husbands who became the head of the families after marriage. Still, Moise was apparently approached and consulted when his daughters' families were about to make a heavy-hearted decision to escape from Thessaloniki. From the narrations, Moise seems to be neither a devoted Zionist nor a local patriot, but a leader and a man of action. His grandson Andreas even claims in his Fortunoff interview that "grandfather, on [his] mother's side, as head of the family, decided to save the family", thus assigning all agency to Moise Matalon.⁴² In contrast, Moise's wife Riketta, who died in 1956, does not at all appear in the post-war accounts in connection with the rescue attempts, signalling that the agency was ascribed solely to the man in the family.

Ester is the only one who mentions in her narration the migration endeavour of her father and Claire's husband, Bension Alchek, whose brother left for Palestine already before the German occupation, and who himself had planned a family transfer to Palestine. His Zionist leanings do not seem to be in line with the views of the rest of the family or with the public discourse of post-war Greece.⁴³ Bension was also the only one of the family well-established in the Jewish Community of Thessaloniki prior to the deportations. His position is referred to at least in passing by Ester and in the accounts of other Community representatives, when he is described as the one who actively participated in its welfare committee during the occupation.⁴⁴ Once moving to Palestine ceased to be an option, his social capital helped the Matalon family to obtain false identification cards and to move to Athens, at that time still under Italian occupation and therefore seemingly safe for Jews. Surviving the ordeal of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, Bension died of dysentery in the latter concentration camp upon its liberation, as his nephew Andreas Seficha brings to the fore in a VHA interview.⁴⁵ All other narrators mention only that Bension died in the concentration camp. This makes us speculate whether it was his death that robbed him of agency in the family memory or rather his Zionist leanings, which the narrators consider to be inappropriate within the Greek public discourse and therefore remain silent about them.

The Alchek family's story related to Zionism takes a surprising turn once Claire talks about Ester's placement in the Jewish orphanage and her relocation to Palestine in the company of her father's brother, who came back to Greece only for this reason.

40 The interview was part of Chandrinou's research for a book project on Jewish leftist resistance, Iasonas Chandrinou, *Synagonistes: To EAM ke i Evrei tis Elladas* [Comrades-in-Arms: The EAM and the Jews of Greece] (Athens: Psifydes, 2020). I am thankful to Iasonas Chandrinou for also sharing his experience with me.

41 Cohen, interview.

42 HVT-2794, Andreas Seficha Holocaust Testimony.

43 On Greek anti-Zionism, see Tobias Blümel, "Antisemitism as Political Theology in Greece and Its Impact on Greek Jewry, 1967–1979," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 17, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 181–202.

44 VHA-43029, Florentin interview; Novitch, *Passage of the Barbarians*, 44.

45 VHA-48935, Seficha interview.

Bension's father had apparently given his full consent to the transfer; Bension's father-in-law Moise Matalon seems to have been more reluctant.⁴⁶ Claire had not and could not be consulted at all. Since she did not return until the end of summer 1945, and with no news of her whereabouts, she was considered dead.⁴⁷ A similar concern regarding the possible relocation of Germaine and her daughters to Palestine in the 1950s is apparent from the narrations of Vida, Paulina and Rina, who speak about their mother consulting Moise Matalon about Germaine's plans. They point out empathically that it was not anti-Zionism but the idea of a single mother, a widow with three children, pushing her way through the wide world, that made their grandfather act in that way.⁴⁸ Clearly, the daughters are struggling to articulate both loyalty to Greece and the Jewish homeland as well as to their mother and their grandfather.

Neither Claire nor Germaine ever mention the hierarchical relations with their father or husbands. Their children, nevertheless, seem to have overcome to some extent the traditional roles in the family, and they attribute to their mothers a strong agency in their actions, such as Germaine's decision to send her daughters to study abroad,⁴⁹ or Claire's determination to bring Ester back from Israel and Claire's second marriage to her friend and cousin Alfred Beza.⁵⁰ When Claire casually mentions this new bond in her French interview, she does so thinking about the decisions that she could not make on her own before: "[t]hen [in the second marriage] I understood the difference of marrying someone not chosen by your parents".⁵¹ Ester, who appreciated her mother's new life partner "like a second father" but was never able to call him "daddy", is, apart from Claire, the only one to ever mention his existence.⁵² In my interviews, when asked about Alfred Beza, the bond was admitted by her cousins, but also with some reluctance because of his sociocultural background.⁵³

The memory of Sabetai Cohen, Germaine's husband who was murdered upon arrival in Auschwitz, also became traumatising in the Matalon family network, but in a different way. Due to their age, Sabetai's three daughters have little recollection of their father but some flashes. Unlike the Alchek family, the identity of the Cohens – originally from Monastir – was not Zionist but was embedded locally, as Sephardic Jews of Macedonia. Until the very last moment before moving to Athens, Sabetai had hesitated about this family's decision, heavy-mindedly leaving his parents and his beloved city behind. Rina and Paulina recall the picture of him sitting in his armchair in Thessaloniki nearly crying and becoming depressed. Until today, in their view they convince themselves that their father was selected for the gas chambers at a relatively young age, in his early forties, because his guilt-driven depression took away all of his strength. Subscribing all agency to their mother once the Holocaust started, they even believe that Germaine wanted to leave the train but that their father prevented that. When asked about psychological treatment, Rina confesses that she looked for therapeutic help after her divorce. Paulina first remains silent, but then adds that "[their] generation suffers depression", perhaps the kind her father had, clearly relating to the intergenerationally transferred Holocaust trauma.⁵⁴

46 JMG/OHA-094, Florentin; Florentin, interview.

47 VHA-43697, Beza interview.

48 Cohen, interview.

49 HVT-3011, Palomba M., Riketta C., and Vida C.; JMG/OHA-051, Mioni (with sisters).

50 JMG/OHA-094, Florentin; VHA-43029, Florentin interview.

51 VHA-43697, Beza interview.

52 JMG/OHA-094, Florentin; VHA-43029, Florentin interview.

53 Cohen, interview; Amaraggi, interview.

54 Cohen, interview; see also Koen, *Israilitiki Kinetita Athinon*. <https://athjcom.gr/politismos/ekdhlwsh-gia-to-mploko-tis-synagwghs-e/>, accessed 30 June 2022.

Internalised Personal Silence

Never having come to terms with the loss of her son, even claiming in view of all of her hardships that “childless people are better off”, Claire questions in her written narration her own being: “[o]ther women who followed their children went straight to the crematoriums. But is it not better to die, mother and son together, than to survive and live with the memory of your child?”⁵⁵ After her return and recovery, Claire fully complied with the advice of her husband and father, who told her not to voice her suffering. As typical for many Jewish deportees who returned home and encountered those who survived in resistance or hiding, Claire recalls that her loved ones saw silence as a useful coping strategy and a healing process leading to forgetting.⁵⁶ The flow of her oral interview, which she gave long after her father’s and husband’s deaths, is often interrupted by outbreaks of crying or silence when touching upon the fate of her son. In this way, after years of renunciation, holding back, and self-censorship, it became a traumatic outcry.

Claire herself admitted how mentally exhausted and sick she had been when arriving in Greece and clearly recalls what her parents-in-law told her upon their first meeting in Athens: “[t]his is not a woman, she is ready to die”. Constantly in tears and barely speaking, Claire had only one set of questions: “[w]here is my husband? Where is my child? Where is my house?” After the murder of her son in the gas chambers of Auschwitz, Claire felt upon her return to Greece that her daughter had also been stolen from her. When Claire made the recovery of Ester from Palestine the ultimate goal, her second husband did not oppose. At the same time, he discouraged her from talking about the camp incarceration. “[t]his is a page you have to turn”, Alfred Beza used to say, as she recalls. More to encourage than to reprimand her, Claire’s father commented on her state of mind, indicating not to call back all of the bad memories: “you already died once”. But she felt that the silencing had just the opposite effect. In the late stage of Claire’s life, despite all family efforts and, as she said, with “no trust in anyone”, she still considered herself “remaining in there [in Auschwitz] with [her] son”.⁵⁷

Comments made by her extended family regarding Claire’s loss are more general. Perhaps most telling in this context is how her nephew Andreas framed it in his VHA interview, when speaking about the Jewish community in post-war Thessaloniki: “[t]here was a lot of desperation. New couples were formed. Husbands lost their wives and vice versa. [...] There were people who were deprived of their families and created new ones. They all remembered the family they had lost. They emigrated”.⁵⁸ In his dense account there were no names, but it seems as if Andreas was referring to the fates of Claire and Ester. Curiously, Claire’s name occurs in his VHA interview only a few times: first when speaking about the four Matalon daughters and family life before the war, second when Claire and Germaine return from the Nazi camps, and third when showing prewar family pictures. This is also the only time he relates to his cousin Ninika (Ester Florentin). While he describes the pitiful physical state of Claire upon her return, as she had lost her hair due to typhus and was not able to sleep in a real bed anymore, Andreas adds that his other aunt, Germaine, was “lucky because she found her girls”.⁵⁹

55 Pardo, 548 *imeres me allo onoma*, 94–95.

56 VHA-43697, Beza interview.

57 Ibid.

58 VHA-48935, Seficha interview.

59 Ibid.

Germaine, however, was also heavily traumatised as a mother, especially after she was confronted with the fact that her daughters already started to call their guardian “mother” and did not recognise Germaine anymore.⁶⁰ At that moment, she concealed from the girls that their father had died. As the girls had been told in the monastery in which they were safeguarded during the war that their parents had escaped to the Middle East, Germaine’s daughters believed that their family would reunite. That kind lie was at least for a while nourished by their mother, who hesitated to tell them what had really happened to Sabetai Cohen.⁶¹ Later in their life, they frame Germaine’s post-war attitude in the following way:

Mother didn’t talk about the camps, about the loss she had experienced, about the hardships she had experienced. But I remember her talking about how hungry she was and she made sure we had enough food. My mother was an optimistic person, hardworking and active. She made sure to restore normalcy to our lives. She talked about her desire [for us] to be educated and to work.⁶²

The “normalcy”, “optimism” and, at the same time, silence about the internment, mixed with future prospects for a happy life, “work” and “education”, are typical for survivors who try to protect their children born both before and after the Holocaust.⁶³

Although Claire repeatedly related to the restrictions placed on her by her post-war husband and father, she never mentioned that her daughter had pressed her to do the same, making it her way of protecting her child. However, Ester has frequently regretted that she never let her mother talk, confessing that, in her dreams, she is “trying to hide [her] kids so that they cannot take them” and feeling that she, too, was forced into silence. This signals that Ester was strongly influenced by her mother’s experience and that the Holocaust trauma was transmitted to the next generation.

Claire, according to her daughter, was consumed by her loss but never sought help from a psychologist. Ester, however, resorted to such a solution late in life after suffering from a paralysing anxiety about going out on the street, which was due to disturbed ties within the Matalon family. Its cause was not a mother’s trauma because of her son, but rather the family property issues following the death of Moise Matalon in 1966. This family conflict, which might not have occurred if the husbands of both deported sisters had survived and been able to continue their endeavours, does not surface in any of the narrations for oral history collections. Its details remained concealed even in my interviews of 2020 and 2022.⁶⁴

Conclusion

Due to the successful escape of the Matalon family from Thessaloniki to Athens, as apparent from the personal accounts presented in this article, part of the family identity was built based on this agency. The credit for survival was, however, ascribed hierarchically, following apparently the male line, and materialised in the figure of the grandfather, Moise Matalon. Only Ester reflects on the endeavour of her father to

60 VHA-48674, Koen interview.

61 HVT-3009, Germain C.; JMG/OHA-051, Mioni (with sisters).

62 Koen, *Israilitiki Kinotita Athinon*, <https://athjcom.gr/politismos/ekdhlwsh-gia-to-mploko-tis-synayaghi-c-e/>, 30 June 2022.

63 Kangisser Cohen, *Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Israel*, 89–91.

64 Amaraggi, interview; Cohen, interview; Florentin, interview.

move the family to Palestine as a possibly better and more viable option. Nevertheless, given the Matalons' loyalty to Greece, and perhaps the overall political climate in Greece as well as the state's position regarding Zionism, which Ester learned to operate with, her suggestion remains indirect.

In contrast, the silence in the Cohen family regarding the father and the process of rescue is connected to the fact that the family members on the father's side consciously decided to stay in Thessaloniki, which resulted in their deportation and extermination in the Nazi camps. Living with the survivors' guilt of escaping and thus abandoning their loved ones in need undoubtedly contributed to their incapability to articulate their voice in this regard, instigating an attachment trauma between the adult deportees and their children. When combining the multifold personal accounts of one family and putting them into conversation, such silences become all the more apparent.

This also applies to the Holocaust survivor identity of the adult family members in hiding and the post-war hierarchisation of suffering. None of them ever delivered their personal accounts, nor do the two generations of Nazi camps survivors – the adult family members and their children who survived in hiding – refer to each other to a great extent. They only remain somewhat present in the narrations of their own children, Andreas and Maurice. Once only the mothers returned from the Nazi camps, their children willingly assigned them with another kind of agency, especially as regards family reunion and property restitution. However, none of the narrators seem to mention the misfortune of anyone other than members of their nuclear family by name or in detail. The social trauma of unrecognised Holocaust survivor identity shifts to some degree with the official acknowledgment of hidden children in the 1990s, when finally the Matalon grandchildren are given a voice, which subsequently gives power to their own story of survival and resonates until nowadays.

Once we regard the Matalon family as a specific mnemonic community, the internalised silence appears not only as a personal or submissive decision, a kind of self-prescribed coping strategy, but also as part of sociocultural family practices. This is even more true in regard to family property, when disturbed family ties become part of the unwritten conspiracy of silence leading sometimes to the need for therapeutic engagement. And, whereas some attitudes which have been questioned by the Greek government still remain veiled in silence in the narrations, others found their way out and are articulated rather freely. Again, the Jewish property restitution is quite telling. Although the narrators do not hesitate to speak in detail about how their families succeeded or not to reacquire their assets, they are hesitant to mention the names of Greek collaborators and do not open the question of antisemitism or anti-Zionism in Greece. That gives us the notion that even though their actions make them feel proud within their own mnemonic community, at least in Greece they still fear being an out-group.

What remains concealed both formally and informally within the Matalon family is the conflict between Greek and Jewish identities and the Jewish participation in the leftist resistance during the war. In light of the civil war, it has taken Greece long to recognise the leftist resistance and acknowledge Greek collaboration during the Holocaust (that is, in fact, a still lingering debt to the past). Thus, it has been difficult for the Holocaust survivors to overcome their silence, which over decades remains a social trauma. Therefore, while institutionally inducted silence has been broken in terms of property restitution, it has remained present in relation to Greek identity, resistance and collaboration. As regards the family, the once sociocultural silence determined by gender has been overcome, but disruption based on hurt feelings re-

garding family assets still persists as ineffable. On a personal level, and even transmitted to the next generation, what is most dominant is the unspeakable, deeply internalised guilt of loss combined with the guilt of a Holocaust survivor.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible during my time as a research fellow at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute in 2020/2021, and the writing process was during my Humboldt Fellowship in Berlin in 2021/2022. I am most grateful to all the members of the Matalon family who shared with me their complex life stories, which I hope can contribute to a better understanding of wartime trauma and loss in these turbulent times. In loving memory of my grandmother, a hidden child and my storyteller, who passed away during the writing process.

Bibliography

- Amaraggi, Maurice. *Salonika: City of Silence*. Brussels and Jerusalem: NEMO Films, 2006.
- Asser Pardo, Rozina. *548 imeres me allo onoma: Thessaloniki, 1943: mnimes polemou* [548 Days with Another Name: Salonika 1943: Memories of War]. Athens: Ekdosis Gavrilidis, 1999.
- Bar-On, Dan. *Fear and Hope: Three Generations of the Holocaust*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Beze, Eleni. "Being Leftist and Jewish in Greece during the Civil War and Its Aftermath: Constraints and Choices." *Historiein* 18, no. 2 (2019). <http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/historiein.14601>.
- Blümel, Tobias. "Antisemitism as Political Theology in Greece and Its Impact on Greek Jewry, 1967–1979." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 17, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 181–202.
- Brenner, Ira. "The Last Witnesses: Learning about Life and Death from Aging Survivors." *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 101, no. 2 (3 March 2020): 340–354. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207578.2020.1739199>.
- Danforth, Loring M., and Riki Van Boeschoten. *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Danieli, Yael. "Families of Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust: Some Short- and Long-Term Effects." *Stress and Anxiety* 8 (1982): 405–421.
- Danieli, Yael. *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York; London: Springer, 2011.
- Danieli, Yael. "Psychotherapists' Participation in the Conspiracy of Silence about the Holocaust." *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1984): 23–42.
- Dean, Martin. *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008.
- Dean, Martin, Constantin Goschler, and Philipp Ther, eds. *Robbery and Restitution: The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe*. New York: Berghahn Books and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007.
- Dimitrijevic, Aleksandar. "Silence and Silencing of the Traumatized." In *Silence and Silencing in Psychoanalysis: Cultural, Clinical, and Research Perspectives*, edited by Michael B Buchholz and Aleksandar Dimitrijevic, 198–215. London and New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Dimitrijevic, Aleksandar, and Michael B Buchholz. *Silence and Silencing in Psychoanalysis: Cultural, Clinical, and Research Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Diner, Dan, and Gotthart Wunberg, eds. *Restitution and Memory: Material Restoration in Europe*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.
- Dordanas, Stratos N. "The Jewish Community of Thessaloniki and the Christian Collaborators: 'Those That Are Leaving and What They Are Leaving Behind.'" In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses, 208–227. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Felman, Shoshana, and Dori Laub. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Frevert, Ute. "Piggy's Shame." In *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*, edited by Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, and Stephanie Olsen, 134–154. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Hantzaroula, Pothiti. *Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Greece: Memory, Testimony and Subjectivity*. London: Routledge, 2020.

- Kangisser Cohen, Sharon. *Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Israel: Finding Their Voice: Social Dynamics and Post-War Experiences*. Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2005.
- Kavala, Maria. "The Scale of Jewish Property Theft in Nazi-Occupied Thessaloniki." In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses, 183–207. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Kornetis, Kostis. "Expropriating the Space of the Other: Property Spoliations of Thessalonian Jews in the 1940s." In *The Holocaust in Greece*, edited by Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses, 228–251. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Králová, Kateřina. "Being Traitors': Post-War Greece in the Experience of Jewish Partisans." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 17, no. 2 (2017): 263–280.
- Králová, Kateřina. "In the Shadow of the Nazi Past: Post-War Reconstruction and the Claims of the Jewish Community in Salonika." *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (2016): 262–290.
- Králová, Kateřina, and Karin Hofmeisterová. "The Voices of Greek Child Refugees in Czechoslovakia." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 38, no. 1 (2020): 131–158.
- Krell, Robert, and Haim Dasberg. *Messages and Memories: Reflections on Child Survivors of the Holocaust*. Vancouver: Memory Press, 1999.
- Naar, Devin E. *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Nahmias, Sam. "Die Vermögen der deportierten Israiliten Griechenlands." In *In memoriam: gewidmet dem Andenken an die jüdischen Opfer der Naziherrschaft in Griechenland*, edited by Michael Molho and Joseph Nehama. Essen: Peter Katzung, 1981.
- Novitch, Miriam. *Passage of the Barbarians: Contribution to the History of the Deportation and Resistance of Greek Jews*. Translated by P. Senior. Hull: Hyperion Books, 1989.
- Patt, Avinoam J, Atina Grossmann Levi, Linda G, and Maud Mandel. *The JDC at 100: A Century of Humanitarianism*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2019.
- Pelt, Robert Jan van, and Debórah Dwork. *Auschwitz: von 1270 bis heute*. Zurich: Pendo, 1998.
- Sefiha, Andreas L. *Remembering a Life and a World*. Thessaloniki: Ianos, 2015.
- Stein, Sarah Abrevaya. *Family Papers: A Sephardic Journey through the Twentieth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019.
- Varon-Vassard, Odette. *Des Sépharades aux Juifs grecs: histoire, mémoire et identité*. Paris: Éditions le Manuscrit, 2021.

Kateřina Králová is associate professor of Contemporary History and Head of the Research Centre for Memory Studies at the Institute of International Studies, Charles University (CUNI). Her work focuses on reconciliation with the Nazi past, the Holocaust, Greek Civil War, conflict-related migration, and post-war reconstruction. K. Králová, an alumna of Phillips University Marburg, has been awarded major international fellowships, including from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Vienna Wiesenthal Institute, and USHMM, as well as a Fulbright Fellowship at Yale University. She is the author of the book *Das Vermächtnis der Besatzung* on Greek-German relations since the 1940s (Böhlau, 2016; BpB 2017), as well as of numerous articles and volumes in Czech, English, German and Greek.

Kateřina Králová: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9475-7933>

ORCID No.: 0000-0001-9475-7933

Institute of International Studies, Charles University: kralova@fsv.cuni.cz

Quotation: Kateřina Králová / Silenced Memories and Network Dynamics in Holocaust Testimonies. The Matalon Family and the Case of Greece, in: S:I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation. 9 (2022) 2, 51–66.

https://doi.org/10.23777/sn.0222/art_kkra01

S:I.M.O.N.– Shoah: Intervention. Methods. DocumentatiON. is the semi-annual open access e-journal of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI) in English and German.

ISSN 2408-9192 | 9 (2022) 2 | <https://doi.org/10.23777/sn.0222>

This article is licensed under the following Creative Commons License: CC-BY-NC-ND (Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives)

In appreciation to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) for supporting this publication.