

Whose Raoul Wallenberg is it? The Man and the Myth: Between Memory, History and Popularity

By Tanja Schult

Abstract

Raoul Wallenberg is widely remembered for his humanitarian activity on behalf of the Hungarian Jews in Budapest at the end of World War II, and is known as the Swedish diplomat who disappeared into the Soviet Gulag in 1945. While he successfully combated Nazi racial extermination politics, he fell victim to Stalinist communism – yet another barbaric, totalitarian regime of the 20th century.

Given Wallenberg's biography, his mission and his unresolved fate it is no wonder that Wallenberg became a figure of mythic dimensions. It is the mixture of heroics and victimhood, as well as the seemingly endless potential of possible adaptations that secures this historic figure and his mythic after-narratives its longevity. While it is without doubt the man behind the myth who deserves credit – first the man's realness gives the myth credibility – it is the myth that secures the man's popularity. The man and his myth depend on each other.

In this article, I will give an overview of how Wallenberg was perceived and described by survivors, in popular scholarly literature, how he has been researched by historians, and how he has been presented in different media. It will become apparent that the narrators have sought to satisfy different needs, e.g. psychological, political, and commercial ones. The narrators' intention and attitude towards the historic person and the myth which surrounds him is of primary importance. I will show how different approaches to, and uses of, the myth exist side by side and nourish one another. And yet they can all simultaneously claim existence in their own right. By providing examples from different times and places, I like to illustrate that the popular images of Wallenberg are far less one-sided, stereotypical and homogeneous than they are often portrayed and hope to draw attention to the great potential that the Wallenberg narrative has today, as his 100th anniversary approaches in 2012.

Keywords: Raoul Wallenberg, hero, myth, Holocaust memory, popular memory culture, uses of history.

Introduction

Raoul Wallenberg was born in 1912 into the prominent Wallenberg family, which for generations had played an important role in Sweden's economic, political and cultural life.¹ Wallenberg studied architecture at Ann Arbor, Michigan, but was expected to complete his education with formal training as a businessman. He spent months abroad in South Africa and Palestine after which, thanks to his godfather Jacob Wallenberg, he acquired a position at a food-trading enterprise in Stockholm. At the recommendation of his boss Kálmán Lauer, a native Hungarian Jew, Wallenberg was sent to Budapest by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1944. He was assigned to help the overworked members of the Swedish Legation in their rescue mission on behalf of the Hungarian Jews. The mission had been initiated by the American War Refugee Board, which also funded the undertaking together with JOINT. When Wallenberg came to Budapest, the majority of the Hungarian Jews had however already been deported; most of them were killed in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Wallenberg came just a few days after Regent Miklós Horthy had suspended the deportations.

Wallenberg and the other members of the Swedish Legation did their utmost to help the remaining Jews of Budapest. Following the Arrow Cross Coup on the 15th of October 1944 the situation became chaotic, and it became increasingly anarchic as the Red Army closed in on the city. Due to the combined rescue missions of the Red Cross, the Jewish resistance groups, and the neutral legations, and, finally, by mere virtue of the war nearing its end, around 120 000 Jews survived the Holocaust in Budapest. This was Europe's largest Jewish community after the war.

The trained architect and businessman Raoul Wallenberg was no career diplomat when he joined the humanitarian rescue mission. During his six months in Budapest, he distinguished himself from the other accredited diplomats through his unconventional methods, and in popular memory he became a symbol for the success of the combined rescue actions. In contrast to his colleagues, Wallenberg was arrested (for unknown reasons) and spent the rest of his life in Soviet captivity. What exactly happened to Wallenberg after his imprisonment remains unknown until this day. Naturally, his tragic and unresolved fate had significant impact on how posterity remembered this rescuer. It also determined how, from an early state, myth-making – including simplifications, exaggerations and conspiracy theories – became part of the Wallenberg story.

Moreover it is fascinating that not only Wallenberg's tragic fate but also his life, from its very beginning, provides many components that allow his story to be told in the form of a hero's tale (Cp. Schult 2009: 51–68). The basic narrative is ideal for retelling. Like many heroes, this protagonist's origin provides the stuff of mythic narratives. Before his son was even born, Raoul's father died from cancer

at the age of 23, leaving a young widowed mother behind. Wallenberg himself was born on a Sunday with a caul about his head, something which in popular belief is considered a sign of luck; an omen that the child is distinguished by greatness of mind and even equipped with supernatural powers.² It is this kind of dialectic narrative, promising the potential of the Wallenberg story to provide either a tragic story or a heroic one – or, indeed, both at once – which makes it so suitable for re-telling. In each case, the narrative is told as a hero's story with characteristic qualities; the call to adventure brings Wallenberg to Budapest, the challenge, especially after the Arrow Cross Coup, allows him to become a legend, and the tragic, unsettled fate secures an eternal life through narrative.

Consequently, it is no wonder that Wallenberg became a figure of such mythic dimensions. His biography, his mission and his unresolved fate, along with the fact that his own nation Sweden did not initially claim him exclusively for its own national cultural memory, makes this cosmopolite especially suitable for generalizations and commemorative uses in countries worldwide. The basic narrative is at once complex and flexible. Simplified, we can summarize its dual character by presenting Wallenberg as someone who successfully combated Nazi racial extermination politics, but fell victim to Stalinist communism – that other barbaric, totalitarian regime of the 20th century. It is this mixture of heroics and victimhood, as well as the seemingly endless potential of possible adaptations that secures this myth's longevity – not only during the Cold War or when the memory of the Holocaust receives attention, but because it is adaptable to different needs. This is something that this article aims to demonstrate.



Children playing on Kirsten Ortveds Wallenberg memorial (2001) in central Stockholm, Sweden © Tanja Schult.

Man and Myth

When I refer to the Wallenberg epic I am following Aleida Assmann's analysis of how narratives become myths in collective memory. These myths' most important characteristic is their power to convince and affect. These myths are not bound to specific historic conditions, but are timeless narratives that are meant to be told and retold from one generation to the next. Ultimately, they are intended to offer orientation and moral guidance (Cp Assmann 2006: 40). Thus in my definition of myth in the context of Raoul Wallenberg and the posthumous images created of him, the concept is basically a symbolic narrative of a person who is considered extraordinary and whose narrative is seen to provide answers to timeless questions that are relevant in every human life.³

In my approach I follow Claude Lévi-Strauss, who underlined the importance of myths for satisfying needs which cannot find their answers in science or academic research (Lévi-Strauss 1978). Like Lévi-Strauss, I argue that we therefore must take myths seriously because they convey something important. Even myths established around a historic person are significant. Although they presumably most often are not reliable accounts of how in our case Raoul Wallenberg acted in Budapest, they certainly tell us something about the symbolic function his narrative has played in the period following his death. By thus taking the myths that have been established around a historic person seriously, it follows that my approach is anthropological in nature, attempting as it does to better understand humankind and its fascination with, and attraction to, mythic tales (Schlesier 1985: 10–11).

Without doubt, Raoul Wallenberg was a historic figure, not a hero of mythology. However, today the Wallenberg narrative consists of both historical facts as well as mythical dimensions – and these components are hard to separate. Given this, one way to tell the Wallenberg story is to present the secured facts of his life along with the more mythical narratives established around the man and his mission, and the images posterity has created of him. This is what we did in the exhibition *Raoul Wallenberg Bilder (Raoul Wallenberg Images)*, which I curated for The Swedish National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images (today operating under the National Library of Sweden) in the spring of 2008. The many existing images of Wallenberg, as mediated by newscasts, documentaries, interviews, books, theatre plays, musicals, operas, symphonies, film and fiction were presented side by side, and also interwoven with each other. Our attempt was characterized by the insight, or belief, that the Raoul Wallenberg story today consists of this kind of patchwork of historic facts and mythical narratives.

Without doubt, it is the man behind the myth who deserves credit. And it is that man's realness which gives the myth credibility. But it is the myth that secures the man's popularity. The man and his myth depend on each other. In this article, I will give an overview of how Wallenberg was perceived and described by survi-

vors, in popular scholarly literature, how he has been researched by historians, and how he has been presented in different media. It will become apparent that the narrators have sought to satisfy different needs, e.g. psychological, political, and commercial ones.⁴ The narrators' attitude towards the historic person and the myth which surrounds him is of primary importance, along with the intention of the storyteller's narrative.⁵ I will show how different approaches to, and uses of, the myth exist side by side and nourish one another. And yet they can all simultaneously claim existence in their own right. By providing examples from different times and places, I hope to draw attention to the great potential that the Raoul Wallenberg narrative has today, as his 100th anniversary approaches in 2012.

Raoul Wallenberg in the Memory of Survivors

As early as 1945, Budapest survivors wanted to honour the man who they regarded as a symbol of their successful rescue. After the war, the survivors formulated three goals they wanted to achieve: the naming of a street in Budapest after Wallenberg, the erection of a monument, and the publishing of a book. Already in 1945, the first goal was achieved: the former Phönix utca (street), close to the former International ghetto where the Swedish safe-houses were located, was renamed Wallenberg utca (and in 1946 Raoul Wallenberg utca) (Schult 2009: 87).

In 1948, the book by Hungarian journalist and Holocaust scholar Jenő Lévai, *Raoul Wallenberg. His Remarkable Life, Heroic Battles and the Secret of his Mysterious Disappearance*, was published. Lévai himself was a Holocaust survivor. Lévai's book was one of the earliest publications on the subject, and it was based on official and private documents, testimonies and interviews. It was first published in Hungarian, a slightly shorter version following in Swedish the same year. The English translation however, verbatim to the Hungarian original, did not appear until 1989 (Lévai 1989). Significantly, this book – commissioned by the Hungarian survivors – had a lasting impact on how Wallenberg was commemorated, as well as on how history was written. Every historian who so far has researched Wallenberg – from Randolph L. Braham, commonly regarded as the leading expert on the Hungarian Holocaust, to Paul A. Levine in the most recently published Wallenberg study from 2010 – refer to Lévai (Schult 2009: 33).

The survivors managed also to see to it that a monument was created, but on the day of its planned inauguration it was retracted.⁶ The approaching Cold War put a stop to this early attempt to honour Raoul Wallenberg in public.

In the three following decades Wallenberg was not entirely forgotten, but it was not until the late 1970s and especially the 1980s that the Wallenberg case received attention in several countries throughout the world. This was not least due to emerging witness reports from the late 1970s claiming that Wallenberg was still alive. In the wake of this, survivors became more and more active. Depending on in which country they lived, some survivors had long believed that Wallenberg

was dead, some thought he was safe at home, others who were living behind the iron curtain sensed it a delicate subject and did not inquire about it. Like most Holocaust survivors, especially those who fled their native home countries, these people had established a new life and somehow managed to displace their experiences of World War II. Since the 1980s however, predominately starting in the USA, the memory of Wallenberg has received uninterrupted attention until today. It was in the 1980s that the topic gained the attention of political leaders also in countries outside Sweden. Countless articles and books were written and the first permanent memorials were built.



Street sign in Trenton, New Jersey, USA © Tanja Schult.

Jewish survivors played an important role in this development, partially because it was their narratives upon which many journalists constructed their Wallenberg stories, partially also because they actively began mobilising political and public awareness. Given that many survivors had fled after the Hungarian uprising in 1956 to a series of different countries, their dispersal contributed to the Wallenberg case receiving attention in different parts of the world. This is also a reason why Wallenberg received hero-status in so many different national contexts.

Undoubtedly, hero-worship became a part of the Wallenberg story from a very early stage. During the weeks that followed the Arrow Cross Coup in October 1944, when the situation for the Jews worsened, Wallenberg was much more visible in the streets than other diplomats. These weeks became the “Heroic Period” which turned Wallenberg into “a legendary figure” (Yahil 1983: 36). This hero-status was perceived and expressed by survivors almost directly after the war, as

illustrated by the quote below. It is taken from the prologue to a gala concert in memory of Wallenberg which took place in Budapest as early as June 26, 1946. The text was written by Paul Forgács, the son of one of Wallenberg's closest co-rescuers (Schult 2009: 57).

He was a wandering knight, pure and unafraid, a reincarnation of the dragon-killer of old who unhesitatingly went to battle for superhuman ideals, the true, irreproachable idealist. ... He was a crusade but of a new kind, for he loved everyone. He feared danger but despised it and overcame his fear because he wanted to defeat danger. He was more of a hero than the heroes of old, more like a worthy successor to the apostles. He did good for the sake of good ... because he considered it his duty to fight for someone else's cause, fight for an idea, which he possibly wasn't aware of but only felt in his heart. An idea which perhaps was embodied in only one person in the whole city, Raoul Wallenberg (Forgács 1946).⁷

Interestingly, the memories retold during the 1980s in various documentaries do not differ much from the early depictions of Wallenberg from the immediate post-war years.⁸ Despite more than 30 years of near silence in between the first witness reports and those from the 1980s, we find the same ingredients in the narratives.

It is striking that the survivors clearly are aware that his or her story sounds rather unlikely, almost like a fairy-tale. He or she confirms that Wallenberg encountered high expectations – rumours of his success preceding his actual achievements – but in the most dangerous situation, Wallenberg always prevailed. The survivors' stories emphasise that there was very little to hold on to during the fall of 1944 and that Wallenberg – as a symbol and as the real man – became the straw they grasped for. This act of faith was not in vain. So while the survivors show an awareness of the unlikeliness of the story they are relating, and they indeed also display scepticism towards an over-dimensional hero-story, they can nonetheless not resist believing in the power of this individual, given their own rescue and the survival of their loved ones. The reputation of Wallenberg's actions, which may actually have been less numerous or glorious than thought, only grew over time. And even Holocaust survivors who later have learned that a family member was killed despite having a *Schutzpass*, remain loyal to Wallenberg. The aura of trust that Raoul Wallenberg invoked among many survivors is remarkable (Schult 2009: 63).

Raoul Wallenberg is described by survivors and colleagues alike as someone who was inventive, charismatic, linguistically talented, intelligent and well-organized, and above all as someone with a great capacity for negotiation. Despite being described as a cultivated person, as shy or even weak, he seemed at the same time also to have had a natural authority; people obeyed him. Depending on their age and position, some experienced him as a messiah – as a divine character – while others as arrogant but nonetheless a revelation. However, they were all struck by the fact that he had come from secure Sweden to war-time Budapest to work for their survival.



Kristoffer Arvidsson, *Wallenberg at his desk in Budapest* (2010) © Kristoffer Arvidsson.

Being aware of the problems of oral history, I am not summarising the survivors' descriptions so as to provide the "real" or "true" portrait of Wallenberg. It is not the question here if these testimonies are exaggerated or untrustworthy, but rather it is important to realize that these narratives in themselves fulfilled particular needs. Moreover these narratives, which rested on survivors' memories, had an enormous impact on the way that the Wallenberg story was retold by journalists, in documentaries, films and exhibitions. To a great extent, these survivors' memories shaped the basic narrative.

Two further aspects are relevant here. First of all, those who survived as children are still alive and continue to be personally involved in the Wallenberg case. They predominately aspire to two goals: to learn the truth about Wallenberg's fate and, because of their age, to secure that his memory will be kept alive even after they have passed away. A second point that should be made about the survivors' narratives is that despite the fact that Wallenberg occupies an exclusive place in survivors' memory, the concern sometimes expressed that the symbolic status of Wallenberg overshadows the efforts of all the other rescuers active in Budapest 1944 is not particularly well-grounded. Those who have been active in keeping Wallenberg's memory alive have most often also contributed to the commemoration of other rescuers too, such as Wallenberg's co-helps, or other diplomats from neutral legations or the Vatican.⁹ The interest that the myth of Wallenberg attracts may well call for studies of the man himself as well as of other rescuers, their antagonists, or the Holocaust more generally.

The impact that the survivors' memories had on how posterity remembers Wallenberg cannot be underestimated. It would therefore be possible to argue that Wallenberg belongs to the survivors, if not for any other reason than that he can only belong to us because of them – due to their experiences and thanks to their testimonies and memoirs. Wallenberg belongs to us because these people survived and conveyed what had happened to them. Although we may not know if it really was Wallenberg who in all the individual cases was responsible for a rescue, we must acknowledge that the survivors themselves consider Raoul Wallenberg to be directly or indirectly responsible for it. Their judgement gained importance and authority precisely because of their survival. The role they understood him to have played, whether fact or fiction, and the symbol he became, had an enormous impact on their lives and on the narratives they told, and so on the image attributed to Raoul Wallenberg in collective memory.

Raoul Wallenberg in Popular Literature

The survivor's memories became important for the early authors who wrote about Wallenberg. Many of these, such as John Bierman, Harvey Rosenfeld and Elenore Lester, were British or American journalists. They based their books on the survivors' narratives. Historian Paul A. Levine is highly critical of these authors, whom he calls "hagiographers" throughout his book from 2010. However, as I argued in my dissertation (Schult 2009: 41ff), many have misunderstood these, who I prefer to call early "authors of popular scholarly literature". A fair assessment of these authors demands that we not only understand that they were no academic scholars, but also that they did not have any adequate historic studies to rely on. Not even Jenő Lévai's book was translated into English, and most of them were unable to read Hungarian or Swedish.

Equally important is the fact that due to the witness reports from the late 1970s, these authors seriously believed that Wallenberg might be alive, and understood their books as instruments for the raising of public and political awareness. They hoped this would contribute to Wallenberg's release, or at least to a clarification of his fate. It was not their intention to create a myth around Wallenberg or, as hagiographers do, write a biography over a saint. They wanted to present the facts to which they had access at the time. Given their goal – the rescue of a former rescuer – it is hardly surprising that they took the opportunity to tell Wallenberg's story in the style of a hero's tale. Even exaggerations and oversimplifications demand contextualization.

Anyone who carefully reads this popular literature discovers that, in contrast to hagiographers, these books do not deliberately include *only* good things about Wallenberg. Nevertheless, there indeed is a similarity between popular historical literature about Wallenberg and the early storytelling styles of the Middle Ages. Such stories were meant to celebrate outstanding people so that the community

could “participate in their magic”. These storytellers, not unlike early Wallenberg biographers such as Philipp or Lévai – or later works by his former colleagues and journalists such as Berg, Anger, Lester or Bierman – attempted to “give an authentic account of the story (at least as it was assumed to be)” while ensuring “that none of the power of the hero would be lost.” (Bloomfield 1975: 30) Their accounts could at times be critical or reveal the protagonist’s negative sides or failures, as it made their narratives more credible. In their accounts, Lévai, Anger, and Berg, like the medieval storytellers, displayed both “a remarkable honesty and a slightly ambiguous attitude towards the hero,” (Ibid.) which made their stories seem all the more authentic. However, that which was most important for these storytellers was to relate the magic of heroes, by mere virtue of them having lived. They were not heroes of legend, but had actually existed. It was important to the authors of these stories that the power of the hero was maintained, and that the audience was inspired by the example that the hero set (Schult 2009: 46ff).

The books by these early authors doubtlessly had significant impact on Wallenberg commemorations. Each new book was reviewed and discussed at length (not only in Swedish newspapers)¹⁰ and in turn they often functioned as starting points for other forms of commemoration. For instance, it was Frederick E. Werbell’s and Thurston B. Clarke’s *Lost hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg* (written in 1982) that the popular American TV-series *Wallenberg – A Hero’s Story* from 1985 was based on. And it was the portrait of Wallenberg on the cover of John Bierman’s *Righteous Gentile*, on display in a bookstore in New York in 1983, that moved sculptor Lotte Staviskey so much that she researched Wallenberg extensively in libraries and bookstores before executing a bust in admiration of the man. The bust itself became a “transmitter” of the Wallenberg story. Nane Annan, together with her husband Kofi Annan, saw it at an exhibition in 1984. It was consequently presented to Nane Annan as a gift; a gift which she, in her turn, passed on to her mother Nina Lagergren – Raoul Wallenberg’s sister – thereby spreading the news of Wallenberg’s popularity in the US (and predominately in New York). Perhaps more importantly, since 1987 the bust is on public display in the New York Public Library, which has a collection of copies of Wallenberg-related documents. Since 1987, a copy of the original mold is also presented to the winner of the *The Raoul Wallenberg Hero For Our Time Award* and *The Raoul Wallenberg Civic Courage Award* given by *The Raoul Wallenberg Committee of the United States of America* (Schult 2009: 311).¹¹ These two examples illustrate how influential these popular scholarly books were for Wallenberg commemorations and the collective memory to which they contributed.



Charlotte Gyllenhammar's Wallenberg Memorial (2007) in Gothenburg, Sweden © Tanja Schult.

Raoul Wallenberg in Historiography

In contrast to the heroes of mythology, Raoul Wallenberg was a historic figure, who turned out to be a real-life hero (Cp Levine 2004). Wallenberg was not the saint of a legend from a magical time long ago, but lived and acted in a time that still affects our own. Raoul Wallenberg's realness is a most essential component to this hero story. In the emergence of Wallenberg's story, the classic concept of the hero becomes valid again simply because this man really existed. Today Wallenberg serves as an example for moral guidance in contemporary pluralistic societies in several ways and acts as a means to gauge social responsibility and good leadership (Schult 2009: 47).

Historians may not know exactly how many people Wallenberg saved in Hungary; they may question, on factual grounds, his being credited with the rescue of 100 000 Jews in Budapest. Based on what we know today however, there is no doubt that Wallenberg took the decision to leave his secure homeland to go to Budapest during World War II, or that he there contributed to saving lives and was captured by the Soviets. His fate too, it is agreed, remains unknown.

At the time of writing it seems rather unlikely that anyone in the future will reveal such information about Wallenberg which would imply that his story has to be completely rewritten. And even if it is doubtful that academic studies, however valuable they may be, are suitable to replace the mythic narrative, more research is nevertheless needed and eagerly anticipated. Despite the dozens of books and thousands of articles already existing, there is indeed still much research left to do; on Wallenberg's upbringing, his years in the United States, his business years in Stockholm between 1938–44, and, of course, especially his time in Budapest and in Soviet captivity.

The approaching centenary in 2012 of Wallenberg's birthday seems to have accelerated developments in this field. Several researchers are currently working to shed new light on Wallenberg, his mission and his fate, approaching their subject from a series of different angles. This is promising. Given that there as yet exists no comprehensive scholarly biography of Wallenberg, it is welcomed that the two researchers Ingrid Carlberg and Bengt Jangfeldt are presently working on this challenge. Two other scholars, Géllert Kovacs and Georg Sessler, are investigating Wallenberg's period in Budapest. Kovacs focuses mainly on Wallenberg's social network, thereby highlighting the role that other helpers played in the operation. Sessler investigates how the members of the Swedish Legation – together with the Red Cross and a number of individuals – could be so successful. He does so by embedding their actions in the distinctiveness of the Hungarian context as well as by exploring the role of Wallenberg's superior Kálmán Lauer in more detail. Susanne Berger, one of the consultants to the Swedish-Russian Working Group on the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, continues the research on Wallenberg's time in prison by studying Russian Archives (Berger 2010). Furthermore, she is

working on a book in which she explores the question why the Wallenberg case could not be solved during the last 65 years.

Given our in many ways incomplete knowledge of Wallenberg it would be exciting and important to learn more about the man behind the myth – even if such increased knowledge might dispel some of the magic. So again we have to ask the rhetorical question: whose Wallenberg is it, if not the historians'? Have they not only the right but also the obligation to research this historical figure and retell his story based on existing documents?

According to historian Paul A. Levine, it is in fact the “trained historian” who is most suitable to mediate the moral value of Wallenberg to society. In his eyes, it is the historian who “should write and interpret Wallenberg’s place in Holocaust history and memory, and in social memory more broadly.” (Levine 2010: 20) Be this as it may, given the fact that there during all these years there simply did not exist a scholarly historic study by a scholarly trained historian which focused on the context in which Wallenberg was active,¹² Levine’s statement seems somehow dispensable.

Indeed, the two most recent studies on Wallenberg’s time in Budapest, the above mentioned *Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest. Myth, History and Holocaust* (2010) by Levine himself and Attila Lajos’ *Hjälten och offren. Raoul Wallenberg och judarna i Budapest (The Hero and the victims. Raoul Wallenberg and the Jews of Budapest)* (2004) do in fact not prove that the trained historian is the most suited for mediating Wallenberg to society. Rather, these works demonstrate the predominance of the myth even in the work of academic historians. Both authors wish to contextualize Wallenberg and to analyze his role in relation to the preconditions of Budapest of 1944–45. Both scholars locate and analyze relevant sources which are suited to provide a more detailed picture of the rescue mission during World War II; Lajos using documents found in Hungarian archives, and Levine documents from the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. So for sure, they both have made important contributions to our knowledge of Wallenberg.

However, both studies have their difficulties, for different reasons (Cp reviews by Zander 2006; Wahlbäck 2007; Carlberg 2010; Schult 2010a and 2010b on which the following passages are based). For my line of argument, it is most important to understand that the myth’s predominance acted as a hindrance to these historians in their ambition to present persuasive studies based on factual arguments and written documents. When it comes to identifying the man behind the myth, and attempting to once and for all identify what Wallenberg actually did or did not do in Budapest, it seems that the hero-concept causes problems. The concept is quite helpful when studying the after-images created around Wallenberg, but apparently rather misleading when one wants to analyze what the historic Wallenberg did or could do in the specific historic context.

Lajos’ study is influenced by a Christian martyr-hero image which leads to a rather unfair devaluation of Wallenberg and which stands in contrast to the much

more beneficial narrative which in fact can be found implicitly in Lajos' narrative and in the facts presented in his footnotes. Apparently Wallenberg, the businessman from an upper-class family with unconventional methods and a love of winning and dining, is in Lajos' eyes not worthy of being regarded a hero. As becomes apparent, in his understanding a hero should rather resemble a Saint Francis of Assisi; a saint who gave up a life of luxury to serve God in austere poverty. It is possible to accuse Wallenberg of all kinds of things depending on one's own perception of what makes a hero, but it is difficult to come to a nuanced analysis of the historic person when one is not even aware of what kind of hero-understanding one's own analysis is based upon.

Levine too finds the prominent role that Wallenberg occupies in popular memory problematic. However, as a result of his eagerness to dispel the exaggerations and oversimplifications of the Wallenberg myth, he ends up in a self-contradictory line of argument – a tendency which is characteristic of his study as a whole. As a result Wallenberg's integrity is questioned, even if this is not Levine's intention; for paradoxically this happens in direct opposition to his stated intention not to minimize Wallenberg's deeds. This seems to be due to his own moral expectations on both the historian and the historic hero. Levine cannot free himself from the myths, the reason seemingly being that he is aware that also the hero of history needs mediation. Levine wants to retain Wallenberg as a hero, but according to him, Wallenberg is a misunderstood hero whose "acknowledged moral value" could have a much stronger effect on society if his deeds are contextualized and understood correctly. According to the latter, one is willing to concede Levine a point.

From a historian's perspective it must of course be legitimate, even perhaps a responsibility, to separate the historic person from the myth, and to come closer to the man behind it. For the historian it is a valid question where history ends and myth begins (following Lévi-Strauss: 38). However, over the last 65 years the Wallenberg myth has become established, and this has happened without – or maybe because – there was no academic historic study for it to relate to. The dilemma that a historian has to face today is the power of the myth, which as argued fulfils other needs than does the work of a historian. Whatever one thinks about the mythic narratives, they have today a given place in collective memory. What becomes anachronistic, especially in Levine's book, is when the historian who explicitly seeks to refute myth ends up presenting Wallenberg in quite a similar fashion to the popular literature which he simultaneously criticizes. Indeed, to the reader familiar with the Wallenberg literature, Levine's study rather confirms the established image of an extraordinary man who turned out to be a most suitable choice for the mission. So in a way, it is a mystery of its own why Levine distances himself from his own earlier articles (quoted at the beginning of this passage) where he presents Wallenberg as a "real-life hero", in particular from the catalogue of the Wallenberg exhibition that the Jewish museum in Stockholm

organized in 2004 (Levine 2004; cp also Schult 2004a and 2004b). His articles in the catalogue are not even listed in the bibliography of his own book from 2010.

History as an academic discipline should be characterized by its openness. (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 40). But the predominance of such a myth as Wallenberg's illustrates that it is not easy for any academic to approach the subject with a completely open mind. On top of that, the myth is also dangerous; seductive in the sense that anybody who succeeds in revealing what really happened to Raoul Wallenberg, or who could dispel crucial elements of the myth, will certainly gain attention worldwide.

Although unlikely, it is still possible that future research may show that the established image of the historic Raoul Wallenberg has to be revised. So far however, we can state that despite all the skepticism towards the hero concept, and despite its misuse in an indeed very unheroic 20th century,¹³ it may be equally possible to regard Raoul Wallenberg as an opportunity to *retain* the hero concept; a concept which apparently is still much wanted and needed in popular memory. As Lévi-Strauss formulated it, there is a "gap which exists in our mind to some extent between mythology and history" but, he continues, this gap "can probably be breached by studying histories which are conceived as not at all separated from but as a continuation of mythology" (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 43). If we realize that even the most critical historian ultimately holds on to Raoul Wallenberg as an ideal, not because of what he became in popular memory, but because of what he did in the historic circumstances in which he acted, we may understand that Wallenberg can act as a link between historians and a broader public, and show the way for a better understanding of mythical narratives based on historic men and women. Raoul Wallenberg is indeed one of the historical persons from a time in history that still reverberates in our day, in whom the classical hero concept once again becomes valid. Raoul Wallenberg offers an opportunity to hold on to the particularly misused category of the hero – even in democratic societies in a globalized age (Cp Schult 2007/2010).

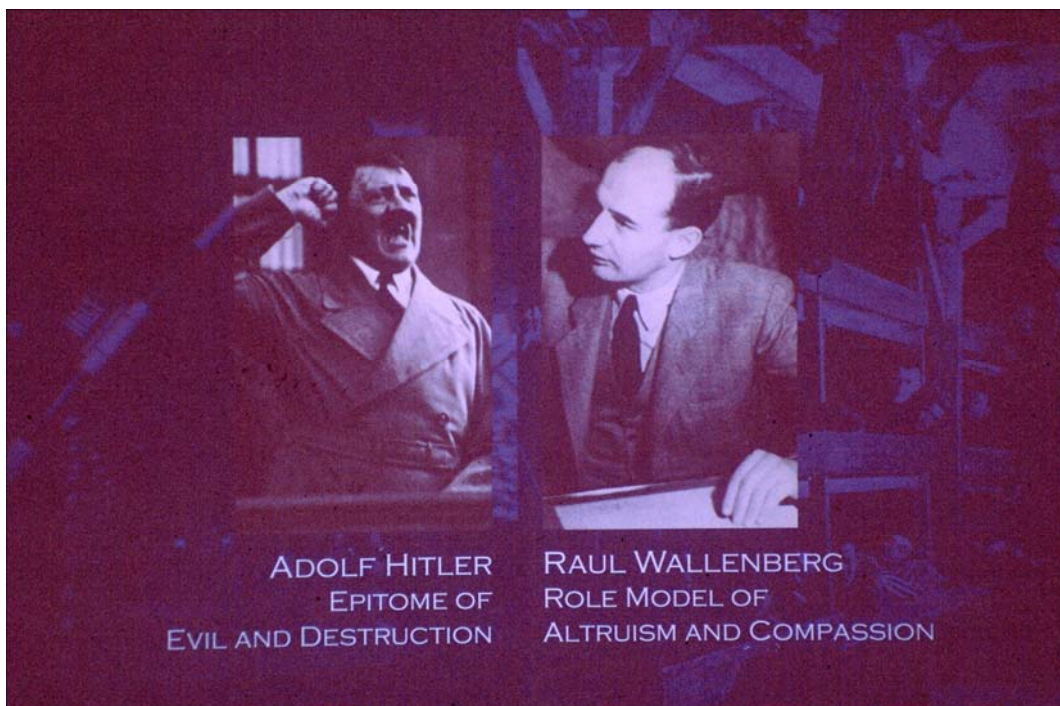
Raoul Wallenberg Remix

Historians, survivors and authors of popular literature have contributed to the repository from which journalists, artists, curators, filmmakers, composers and play writers draw when they construct their narratives. By doing so they contribute to the commemoration of Wallenberg. Sometimes they add new layers or facets to the Wallenberg epic, but first and foremost they nourish and keep the Wallenberg story alive.

As the following examples demonstrate, popular images of Wallenberg are far less one-sided, stereotypical and homogeneous than they are often portrayed. In fact, if they were not, the myth would hardly have the resilience to survive. Part of the success of a mythic tale is that it offers many possible variations, thus being

adaptable to questions relevant in society at a given time and place and to the requirements of the media in which the story is being retold. The various adaptations of the basic narrative depend first and foremost on the interpreter's agenda.

The following examples would each deserve in-depth analyses, not least due to their media-specificity. However, this cannot be carried out here. The examples are foremost chosen to provide an idea of the diversity of the existing Wallenberg images and to illustrate some of the many possible interpretations and recent uses of the narrative. Although it is perhaps self-evident, it is still worth emphasising that artists, curators etc are driven by entirely different agendas than academics or documentary filmmakers. Even if they too at times conduct a great deal of research before they begin their work, they of course are not bound to academic scrutiny but have their artistic freedom. Rather, they are bound to their media and their public. So while they in many ways might be less confined to historic facts, they do have to reduce the story to what they regard as most essential. This is a challenge in and of itself.



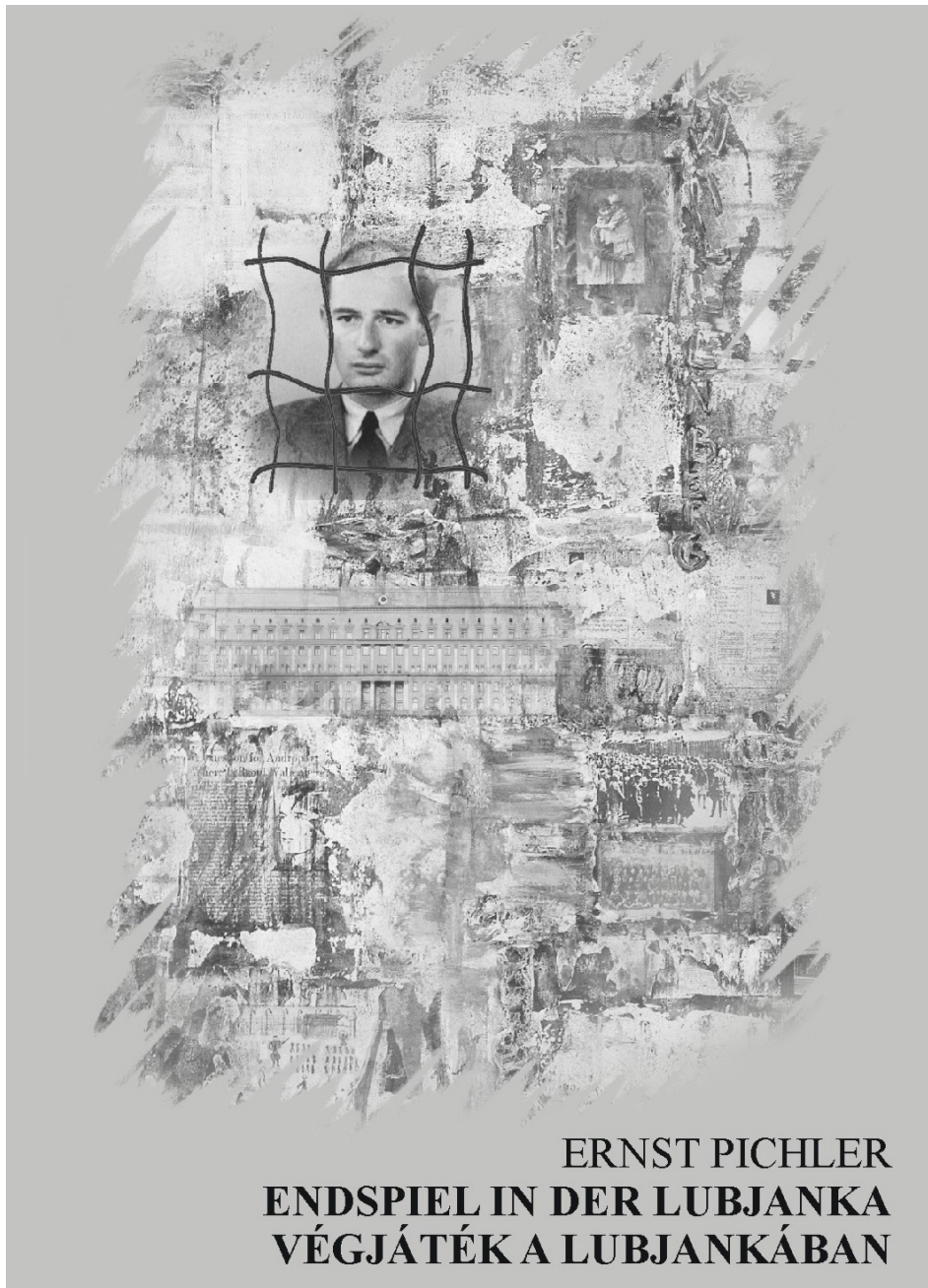
Cover of the 2002 brochure of Michigan's Holocaust Memorial Center.
(Raoul's name is however misspelled)

Raoul Wallenberg has fascinated a growing public for more than 65 years. Today, he has indeed become a "role model of altruism and compassion", as is stated on the cover of the 2002 brochure of Michigan's Holocaust Memorial Center. The cover shows an image of Wallenberg along with one of Adolf Hitler, the "epitome of evil and destruction". This example clearly demonstrates the status Wallenberg has been attributed with during the last six decades in popular imagination: he provides an example by being represented as the antagonist of evil itself. Wallen-

berg's role as the representative of good is directly based on the perception that the Holocaust was a benchmark in history. The Holocaust is considered to be the ultimate crime committed by human beings, something that by the 1990s became a matter of consensus in most Western societies (Schult 2009: 73ff). Given the importance that Holocaust remembrance has today, it is no wonder that Wallenberg receives such attention.

However, even if the remembrance of the Holocaust in future were to be regarded less relevant – which at the time of writing seems rather unlikely – the Wallenberg story would nonetheless continue to be retold, albeit with a different focus. It is clear that the myth of this famous prisoner of the Cold War has already lived on after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. Although the man himself did not survive Soviet communism, his unresolved fate assured that his myth would. So while the Wallenberg case for decades was synonymous with the fate of millions of victims of the Stalinist era, and served as a symbol for the Cold War, this changed to some extent after 1989.

“Wallenberg” today functions foremost as the archetype of the innocent political prisoner whose symbolic value remains salient. This becomes apparent in the play *Endgame in the Lubjanka (Endspiel in der Lubjanka)* from 2008, written by Austrian Ernst Pichler.¹⁴ The play will be performed in 2011/12 in the German-speaking theatre in Szekszárd, in a Swabian-populated part of Hungary. It is projected to subsequently be performed in Sweden. Pichler takes up several aspects of the Wallenberg story that during the years have received much attention; the Wallenberg family's double role during the war (doing business both with Nazi-Germany and the Allies), its indifference towards Raoul Wallenberg, and particularly the Swedish government's reluctant handling of the Wallenberg case (something which Wallenberg's family, above all his mother and stepfather, were the repeated victims of). The playwright regards it his duty to remind us of all the unanswered questions that the Wallenberg case still raises, well aware that the answers would come too late for Wallenberg himself. The play's central theme is that no enigma is so cryptic that time won't reveal its resolution. But with its lack of answers, Wallenberg's disappearance reminds us above all of the millions of people who share a similar fate. Still anchored in the context of the Soviet state prison system, the play has a more general message too. In Wallenberg the unknown political prisoner received a face and a prominent name. His fate represents the many unknown innocent political prisoners, whether of Soviet tyranny or of other dictatorships, whose names we do not even know.



**ERNST PICHLER
ENDSPIEL IN DER LUBJANKA
VÉGJÁTÉK A LUBJANKÁBAN**

Katalin Forgács' cover to Ernst Pichler's Wallenbergdrama from 2008 © Kolor Optika.

Consequently, Wallenberg's symbolic value is used to attract public attention to cases that display similarities to his. This has been so in the case of Dawit Isaak. Isaak is a Swedish-Eritrean journalist who has been kept without trial in isolation in an Eritrean prison since September 2001. Researcher Susanne Berger and journalist Arne Ruth, both of whom have been much engaged in the Wallenberg case over the years, have drawn parallels between the two prisoners in an article in 2009 (Berger & Ruth 2009). Isaak's case has attracted considerable attention in the Swedish media, which has urged the government and the Swedish Ministry for

Foreign Affairs to be more active on Isaak's behalf. At least, it has been argued, the government should go public with what it actually has been doing for Isaak. Berger and Ruth underlined the similarities between the cases of Wallenberg and Isaak, especially with regard to the (in)action of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. They revealed a discrepancy between programmatic words on the one hand, and an insufficient course of action on the other. The parallel between the two cases demonstrates that once again Swedish "quiet diplomacy" was very ineffective. The life of an individual, it seems, is not worth much despite all the assertions about the universality of the human rights (Cp. Berger & Borgoloni 2007). Most often cases regarding an individual citizen are first of all a matter of state sovereignty, only in exceptional cases do they become the subject of international trials. Thus even if the media – supposedly democracy's "fourth estate" – dedicates substantial attention to them, the chances of placing an individual case on the international agenda are slim. Prior to Berger and Ruth, historian Mattias Hessérus had already pointed to the similarities between the two cases (Hessérus 2009). Also his article is a tragic reminder that the Wallenberg case seems to repeat itself in the case of Dawit Isaak. Hessérus' focus lay on the media strategy and the relation between state power and the media. He concluded that the example of Raoul Wallenberg paradoxically shows both the growing influence of the media in the 20th century as well as the media's limitations. While the media's potential source of power is words, these remain ineffective if the people responsible for political action are passive, or refuse to communicate their own actions. While the media has not given up on Dawit Isaak and honours him regularly with many prizes – latest the *Golden Pen of Freedom Award* (DN 28/10 2010) – the wide public attention that the case has received does unfortunately neither seem to have benefited Isaak.¹⁵

Wallenberg's unresolved fate has doubtlessly had significance for his continued societal presence. It has led to the case appearing on the political agenda time and time again. Interest in what really happened to him is still strong, and even the slightest bit of new evidence makes the headlines. The Swedish magazine *Fokus* for instance announced a "breakthrough in the Wallenberg case" on its cover in April 2010 (Bergman 2010). The interview with researcher Susanne Berger reveals that a change in attitude of the Russian authorities had been signalled – for the first time they stated that Wallenberg was possibly alive after 1947. But while the journalists gave the case attention, Russian and Swedish official quarters once again remained silent, and a resolution to the case – which had been announced in innumerable articles over the decades – was still out of sight.

The fate of Wallenberg tends to be used politically, and a closer investigation of the motives of the politicians and organizations referring to it would make an interesting study of its own. While Wallenberg's fate seems to secure the myth's longevity, it is still not the most crucial ingredient in this hero narrative. Most characteristic for the commemoration of Wallenberg is the way in which he is

regarded an ideal for moral guidance. Thus it is not because he suffered an undeserved fate, but because he contributed to the survival of the persecuted, that he most often is referred to.

This common interpretation of Wallenberg as a role model, however, does not mean that there is only one interpretation as to which aspect of the Wallenberg story that is most suitable for the mediation of Wallenberg as an example. If we take the monument genre, it becomes apparent that existing memorials illustrate the many faces of Raoul Wallenberg in popular imagination: as a classical hero, as the man of action, as a fighter, as a giant in terms of physical or intellectual strength. Some stress Wallenberg's role as a Swedish diplomat, others depict Wallenberg as a victim, a prisoner, a hero without a grave, as a martyr. Several memorials focus on the legacy of Wallenberg's mission, thereby expressing universal values such as freedom or the principle of hope. But Wallenberg is also honoured for being an unconventional hero, a trouble maker. What the focus is on depends on the interpreter's choice and his or her interpretation of heroes; when it comes to monuments, this choice becomes all the more obvious as the genre by its very nature does not lend itself to expressing complex events (cp Schult 2009).

In contrast, the film medium allows decidedly more multifaceted portraits. At the same time, however, it too follows the imperatives of its own media specificity; film, for instance, has its own inherent dramaturgical logic. In the exhibition *Raoul Wallenberg Images* two cinematic versions of Wallenberg were showed in relation to each other: one provided by Richard Chamberlain in the American TV-series *Wallenberg – A Hero's Story* from 1985;¹⁶ the other by Stellan Skarsgård in the Swedish-Hungarian co-production from 1990 (written and directed by Swedish filmmaker Kjell Grede) *God afton, herr Wallenberg. En passionshistoria från verkligheten* (the English title is simply: *Good evening, Mr. Wallenberg*). In the exhibition, similar scenes from the two films – depicting Wallenberg's selection for the mission; his first confrontation with the fate of the Jews; his handling of dangerous rescue actions – were chosen and shown one after the other. Thereby it became clear that despite the similarities in narrative, the directors' respective interpretations of Wallenberg differed markedly from one another.

Richard Chamberlain's Wallenberg in many ways resembles a classic Hollywood-hero: we are encountered with a man of action, a handsome womanizer; he is charming, elegant, and self-confident. He enjoys the good life as well as a life of adventure and danger. This Wallenberg confronts Eichmann face to face and threatens him with punishment after the war. He believes in his mission, and above all in justice. Although he might miss the carefree times in Stockholm, it is in wartime Budapest that he finds his real purpose in life. When he meets the Russians, their rude behaviour immediately indicates that this encounter will not turn out well for Wallenberg. Despite all the dangers and the suffering, this one man consistently makes a difference – with one exception: although he succeeds in fighting the Nazis he ends up a victim of the arbitrary tyranny of the Soviets.

Grede's Wallenberg, played by Stellan Skarsgård, is in many ways Chamberlain's opposite – even though both display similar methods, using a combination of bluffs and authoritativeness; of acting out and threatening Nazis with the prospect of postwar reckoning. But in many ways Skarsgård's Wallenberg is more of an anti-hero. Unobtrusive to his outer appearance, he is sceptical about his own position in an upper-class life which seems meaningless to him. He feels emotionally devoted to the fate of the Jews, partly feeling connected to their tragic fate through his own painful personal experiences (such as his father's death), but above all because he has witnessed what the Germans have done to the Jews. During his time in Budapest, he becomes more and more overpowered by the cruelty and inhumanity of both the Nazis and their Hungarian counterpart, the Arrow Cross. Despite feeling powerless in the face of the killings and rapes, the sensitive, caring diplomat nevertheless overcomes his own passivity. But all too often his efforts are in vain. By the end, when he encounters the Russians, he ignores the warnings he is given about accompanying them; almost naive and seemingly in good faith, he agrees to go with them. There is nothing else in his life waiting for him. It seems as if, from the moment he had decided to leave Stockholm, his fate was sealed. Sharing the suffering of the Jews, rescuing at least some of them made his life meaningful. He must follow this given path, although the viewer realizes that this will lead him into captivity. This film is a melancholic reflection, a close portrait of a sensitive humanist who faced random violence and finally fell victim to tyranny's madness.

Both films were broadcasted several times, not only on Swedish television, and used as classroom tools in the context of teaching pupils about Wallenberg and the Holocaust. All the same, critical voices were heard in response to the two productions, some disliking one or both versions of the portrayed Wallenbergs. Here however, I will not go further in this analysis – the mere outlining of the two examples will suffice to illustrate the crucial importance of the narrator's interpretation, as well as the diversity of Wallenberg's faces in popular narratives.

If the Romanist Dietmar Rieger is right, every kind of reference to a historical figure, however insubstantial it may appear, secures the stability and vitality of existing myths (Rieger 2005: 192). Even intentions to minimize the magical dimension of the myth through rational explanations for the seemingly inexplicable – such as how the rescue actions took place or how, according to existing documents, they in fact could *not* happen – can serve to secure the myth's popularity and resilience. So while it might be the historian's goal to subject the myths surrounding the rescue actions of 1944–45 to critical analysis, he or she may in fact ultimately accomplish the opposite (Rieger 2005: 190).

This insight, that every kind of reference to the historical figure secures the myth's stability, may be a comforting one. Those who regard all academic research based on documents as a potential attack on their hero Wallenberg can relax; time is on their side, new research will follow as well as new adaptations in

other media. Those who feel that their Wallenberg is insulted by Swedish crooner Carola's *Raoul – hjälte för vårt land* (*Raoul – Hero for our country*), sung at the Livets ord (Word of Life) church in Uppsala in 1993, or cannot find comfort in the fact that troubadour and guitar-hero Ben Olander travels in Sweden and abroad with his Wallenberg-allegories,¹⁷ might at least find some relief in the fact that – so far – Wallenberg's image does not show up on beer-coasters and cheeses as does his hero-colleague Jeanne D'Arc. Neither does there so far exist a Wallenberg Action Hero figure, and although there are some children's books, there is no comic or computer game which features him as protagonist. The closest one gets to this is the Swedish Institute's Raoul Wallenberg exhibition in the virtual online world Second Life, in the official virtual Swedish Embassy the Second House of Sweden.¹⁸ It thus still seems inappropriate to describe Wallenberg as a "celebrity" (Levine 2010: 3), because celebrities are made up and made famous,¹⁹ while heroes are self-made. However, tendencies to exploit the commercial potential of the Wallenberg narrative are nonetheless recognizable, e.g. when musicals of his story were performed on Broadway. Moreover, the free newspaper *Metro* has pointed to Wallenberg's fashion potential and praised him for his elegant and timeless dress style (Metro 2007; see Schult 2007/2010). So who knows what the future holds?

han aldrig har visat så här många mönster, färger eller karriärer. Och han markerar alltid på – liksom många andra kollektioner som visades under

kommentarer som "har du gått ner lite i vikt?" eller "äh, jösses, jag hade ingen aning om att du var så lång" så är jag en nöjd man, säger Michael Kors.

Michael Kors. TRANG CHUONG/METRO NEW YORK

Inspirerad av långbent reklam

Virginia Sims var ett cigarettmärke för kvinnor som Philip Morris marknadsförde i slutet av 1960-talet med bilder av långbenta, moderna yrkesarbetande kvinnor ställda mot sekelskiftets kvinnor med lång kjol och sloganen "You've come a long way".

Michael Kors är förutom framgångsrik designer även gästvärdare i TV 3-programmet "Project runway".

Vivienne Westwood visar en brittisk busig look.

Nästan hemsbyxor från Burberry. Och färgglad jacka.

Spara höstens skinnplagg till våren, tycker Dsquared.

Alexander McQueen gillar stora ryggsäckar.

Modepanelen: Så fixar du höststilen

	Ebba von Sydow, chefredaktör Veckorevyn.com:		Anders Bergmark, modechef Café:		Frida Fahrman, Metros modeexpert:
1. Vilket är höstens viktigaste plagg?	"En skön stickad kofta. Usch, om man ändå vore bättre på att sticka själv..."	2. Vilken look tänker du satsa på i höst?	"Höga stövlar med rejäl klack, tåta strumpbyxor eller leggings, lädkort tröjkänning eller kjol med hög midja och en t-shirt. Över det kofta och en skön sjal. Midjekorta kavajen är också viktig."	3. Vad är du riktigt trött på?	"Svindyra, mellanblå designerjeans. Urkl! Jeans har vi även i höst, men de står inte i fokus på samma sätt."
4. Vad tänker du spara till i vår?	"Den cerberosa klänningen dök upp på vårvisningarna i Milano. I vår vill jag ha bara ben, i höst matchar jag med svarta täckande strumpbyxor och knähöga svarta Acnestövlar."	5. Vad tänker du spara till i vår?	"Yllock, lång halsduk och axelremsväska. Raoul Wallenberg möter Holden Caulfield."	6. Vad tänker du spara till i vår?	"Korvskinnsjeans. Och attityd."
		7. Vad tänker du spara till i vår?	"En present till mig själv (kostym)."	8. Vad tänker du spara till i vår?	"När skinnjackan blivit för kall kommer jag att spara den till i vår."
	Anders inspireras av Raoul Wallenberg.		Angelina Jolie i skinnjacka.		

Raoul Wallenberg as a fashion icon in the newspaper *Metro*.

Furthermore, many unexploited themes remain – consider only that Barack Obama and Raoul Wallenberg were born on the same date (not in the same year of course), and what it would mean for the commemorations of Wallenberg if once again a President of the United States (after Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan), this time an African-American, proclaimed Wallenberg to be his role model. Obama aims to be reelected in 2012 – the year of Wallenberg’s 100th anniversary. It seems certain that the vast potential of the Raoul Wallenberg myth will guarantee its continued remix also in the future, appearing in different shapes in all kinds of media.

So Whose Raoul Wallenberg is it After All?

This article has explored the interdependence between man and myth. Of course neither Raoul Wallenberg as historic person nor as myth can be owned – neither by historians nor by anyone else. Filmmakers, curators, sculptors, painters, and novelists, politicians, teachers and preachers, journalists and troubadours across cultural boundaries all present their image of Wallenberg. Some support the existing narrative, some contribute to the myth with new facets; others may question it. All the same, a mythic tale cannot be owned.

Long ago the Wallenberg story got a life of its own. And its independence from its historical roots will only become increasingly apparent when the last survivors and closest family members – who so far have acted as authorities on Wallenberg – have passed away. Raoul Wallenberg’s closest family may have their own image of their relative which they treasure in private, but it seems that they are aware that the image or myth of Raoul Wallenberg is not owned by any one person.

The storytellers have adjusted their narratives according to their own time and place, to their professions or to the media in question. And however different these narratives may at first appear, they all emanate from the same basic narrative. Interestingly, this basic narrative along, with the purposes for why the story is retold and researched, have much in common. The storytellers’ aim is nearly always that prosperity remembers the man considered extraordinary, a man believed to provide orientation and moral guidance in the present. How such commemoration of Wallenberg in fact should be expressed so as to be most effective, is of course a subject of dispute.

I would argue that the Wallenberg story even in the future will not be heavily exploited for entirely improper purposes, nor will it be forgotten. The core narrative depicts Raoul Wallenberg as an archetype of moral good. This will be illustrated with a final example, however odd it may seem at first. It is taken from Woody Allen’s motion picture *Deconstruction Harry* from 1997 (Cp Schult 2007/2010).

The confused protagonist Harry is obsessed with sex and suffers from writer’s block. He is in desperate need of moral guidance. But who can guide him when

even the President of the United States is a bad example? Here, Raoul Wallenberg, like a hero *ex machina*, comes to his salvation: “Look, take Raoul Wallenberg. Did he want to bang every cocktail waitress in Europe? Probably not!” These are the words of Allen’s cynical alter-ego Harry in the 17th minute of the movie. For Harry, Wallenberg embodies morality and selflessness. While everybody else is no good, this man does not let him down. Despite Harry’s cynicism and confusion, it becomes clear that Wallenberg acts as a kind of role model for Harry. It is due to Wallenberg’s popularity in the States that his example can function in this way even in the fast medium of a movie; within seconds, the audience associates Wallenberg with moral good, with values which seem to be lost but nevertheless longed for. Wallenberg represents the person who is genuinely engaged in the fate of others, uncorrupted by private escapades or hidden motives.

In all likelihood, Wallenberg’s life was brutally ended prematurely. But there will be no end to the Wallenberg story. There cannot be an end to a myth of such dimensions. This type of Raoul Wallenberg remix will continue and find new expressions. It is not only for Harry that Raoul Wallenberg is a hero to hold on to even after the inglorious 20th century.



Children playing on Kirsten Ortveds Wallenberg memorial (2001) in central Stockholm, Sweden
© Tanja Schult.

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Notes

- 1 The summary of Wallenberg's life as well as other parts of this article rest on my book *A Hero's Many Faces. Raoul Wallenberg in Contemporary Monuments* from 2009. These extracts are reproduced with the permission of Palgrave Macmillan. Furthermore I would like to thank the *Birgit and Gad Rausing Foundation* for the fellowship which enabled me to write this article.
- 2 See the letter by Raoul's maternal grandmother, Sophie Wising, from 9 August 1912 to his paternal grandmother Annie Wallenberg, in Maj von Dardel, *Raoul* (Stockholm, 1984: 30). The book contains correspondence predominately concerning Wallenberg's childhood. For Wallenberg's childhood see also the unpublished folder *Raoul Wallenberg – en karaktär, en livsinriktning* compiled in 2002 by Louise Schlyter, formerly Curator of Culture at the Cultural Activities and Recreation Department at the City of Lidingö.
- 3 There are, however, many possible uses. For the history of the term "myth" and its changing meanings (see Müller 2002: 309–346).
- 4 Of course there are many more uses and genres not taken up in this article.
- 5 Compare my disputation lecture at Humboldt University Berlin "Heldenbilder am Ende eines unheroischen Jahrhunderts. Über die kulturgeschichtliche Wirkung Raoul Wallenbergs.", October 2007 (Schult 2007/2010)
- 6 For the brief history of the first Wallenberg monument, see Schult 2009: 88ff.
- 7 The translation of the Hungarian text into German and English can be found at the Raoul Wallenberg-föreningens arkiv (F 4:3) in Riksarkivet, Stockholm.
- 8 This passage as well as the next passages are based on the survivors' and colleagues' testimonies which we presented in the exhibition *Raoul Wallenberg Images*. They were taken from the documentaries by Küng, Klabunde, Bierman, and SVT's *Ramp*, if no other reference is given.
- 9 See e.g. the homepage of the IRWF (www.raoulwallenberg.net; last entered 27 October 2010). Furthermore there exist several Raoul Wallenberg Prizes which in their turn draw attention to important accomplishments by others.
- 10 In the press cuttings' archive of the Sigtuna Foundation one can find more than 1000 articles written on Raoul Wallenberg between 1945 and the late 1990s, predominately from Swedish newspapers. Although that even this extensive collection does not hold all the articles ever published in Swedish newspapers, it can nonetheless give an idea of the media's and the public's interest. I want to thank the Harald and Louise Ekman Foundation for the fellowship which made it possible for me to study the Wallenberg articles at the Sigtuna Foundation in October 2010.
- 11 See the committee's homepage www.raoulwallenberg.org/awards.htm (last entered 27 October 2010).
- 12 Except for maybe Mária Ember's Wallenberg book, *Wallenberg Budapest* (Budapest: Városháza) which was however published in Hungarian; those who could read German could at least read an article of Ember in András Masát, Márton Méhes och Wolfgang Rackebbrandt

- (2002). But even Ember was not an employed academic, but an educated historian, working in a publishing house and as a journalist. I thank Georg Sessler and Gábor Forgács for information according to Ember's professional background.
- 13 In my book I elaborate these issues in detail, cp Schult 2009: 41–50.
 - 14 The play was published in 2008 by the Hungarian publishing house Kolor Optika. The publisher's (Katalin Forgács) husband, Gábor Forgács, was working at the Swedish Legation in autumn 1944 and also his father Vilmós had worked together with Wallenberg.
 - 15 Every day, all major Swedish newspapers have a notice with Dawit's portrait and the number of days he is imprisoned. See also the homepage www.freedawit.com (last entered 27 October 2010) For the most recent attempt of the media to draw attention to the case see the article editorial "Vi ger oss inte", *Dagens Nyheter* 1/10 2010.
 - 16 Directed by Lamont Johnson, manuscript by Gerald Green (who also wrote the manuscript for the much recognized series *Holocaust*). As mentioned above, the film was based on the book *Lost hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg* written by Frederick E. Werbell och Thurston B. Clarke from 1982.
 - 17 Ben Olander's songs can be listen to on the singer's homepage www.ben-olander.com/
 - 18 For *Raoul Wallenberg's Office in Second Life* see <http://www.osaarchivum.org/secondlife/> See also the short clip on YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2ipTTZfg2w> (both sites were last entered 27 October 2010).
 - 19 Cp. Boorstin 1985: 48.

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