CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The second generation is the most meaningful aspect of our work. Their role in a way is even more difficult than ours. They are responsible for a world they didn't create. They who did not go through the experience must transmit it.

-Elie Wiesel1

In Elie Wiesel's haunting novel The Forgotten, Ephraim, a sightless survivor of the Shoah, seeks to impart a portion of his memory to Malkiel ("God is my King"), a second-generation member. "The blind man," writes Wiesel, "leaned toward Malkiel as if to inspect him; their heads touched. The old man's breath entered Malkiel's nostrils."2 Wiesel's dramatic depiction focuses attention on several important developments concerning the relationship between the Shoah and Jewish identity fifty years after the event. For example, the Holocaust is a continuing source of contemporary Jewish identity for daughters and sons of survivors, of whom there are approximately 150,000 living in the United States alone.³ Like the second children of Job, these second-generation witnesses attest to an event that they never lived through but that ineluctably shapes their lives. Further, like the transmission of earlier transformative events in Jewish history such as the story of the Exodus, and the destructions of the Temple, the telling of the Holocaust story must be passed l'dor va'dor, from generation to generation.

THE SECOND-GENERATION WITNESS: INHERITING THE HOLOCAUST

Second-generation witnesses, the offspring of Jewish Holocaust survivors, have a personal relationship to the *Shoah*. They inherit the Holocaust as an irreducible part of their Jewish self-identity. But what are these new types of Holocaust witnesses to do with an event not personally experienced? Geoffrey H. Hartman perceptively comments that with the passing from the scene of the eyewitnesses and the fading of even the most faithful memories, "the question of what sustains Jewish identity is raised with a new urgency." In this transitional phase," writes Hartman, "the children of the victims play a particular role as transmitters of a difficult

defining legacy." Cheryl Pearl Sucher, herself a daughter of survivors, employs a biological metaphor in musing on the relationship between first- and second-generation memory of the *Shoah*. She writes, "though a child of survivors, I am parent to the interpretation of their survival." While the second generation is in a "special situation," Hartman notes that it is more than a "temporary dilemma:" "the burden on their emotions, on their capacity to identify, is something we all share to a degree." Consequently, how the second-generation witnesses shape and ritualize Holocaust memory has great bearing on how the event will be commemorated in the future.

The focus of second-generation witness testimony is less on the Holocaust itself than on its continuing aftermath. The beatings, torture, humiliation, gassings, and burnings happened to their parents' generation. It is the survivors who remember living with death and routinized evil as constant companions. With the messengers who brought fateful tidings to Job, they can say, "I alone am left to tell you" (Job 1:15, 17, 19). The situation of the second generation, for its part, is articulated by Ariel—the protagonist in Wiesel's *The Fifth Son*—who sensitively notes, "I suffer from an Event I have not even experienced." Collectively, second-generation writers are, in the words of Ellen Fine, "confronted with a difficult task: to imagine an event they have not lived through, and to reconstitute and integrate it into their writing—to create a story out of History." Affirming who *they* are, second-generation witnesses shed light on contemporary Jewish identity.

But these witnesses are "guardians of an absent meaning." Writing of the second generation in France, Nadine Fresco notes that "these latter day Jews are like people who have had a hand amputated that they never had. It is a phantom pain, in which amnesia takes the place of memory." Alain Finkielkraut, a leading intellectual, speaks for his contemporaries in the French second generation in calling his parents "survivors of an invisible tragedy," whose "crushing presences are also evasive presences, part of an impenetrable world."10 For Finkielkraut, the second generation forms a new social type in Jewish history, the "imaginary Jew" who lives after the Shoah but attempts to identify with the murdered Jewish culture of Europe.11 Thus, the artistic works of this generation bear witness to the presence of an absence. This absence is seen in a variety of ways and consists both of traumatic and positive dimensions. On the one hand, there exist photos of murdered relatives; survivors' flawed parenting skills owing to their Holocaust experience; a life lived under the sign of what Robert J. Lifton terms the "death imprint," defined as "imagery [that] can include many forms of cruel memory . . . the smoke or smell of the gas chambers, the brutal killing of a single individual, or simply separation from a family member never seen again;"12 and ascribing to the children near magical

powers to undo the murderous destruction wrought by the *Shoah*. On the other hand, many survivor families display a fierce loyalty to each other. This loyalty and commitment includes members of the extended family who happened to have survived. Children of survivors feel responsible for "parenting their parents," as Sucher notes, and share a compulsive need to learn about the Holocaust. Further, second-generation witnesses provide a voice for their survivor parents.

Moreover, second-generation witnesses have their own distinctive Holocaust images and ways of bearing witness that reflect their own memories. First and foremost, they attest to their parents' continuing survival. Listening to survivor tales provides this generation with the means to both connect with their parents and, therefore, better understand their own identity. Lighting vahrzeit (memorial) candles is another secondgeneration way of remembering. Dina Wardi, an Israeli psychotherapist, argues that children of survivors are themselves frequently viewed as memorial candles.¹³ Geographically, pilgrimages to parents' European birthplaces and to locations of death camps as well as to Israel serve as physical markers of second-generation Holocaust remembrance. Part of their Holocaust inheritance includes a desire to tell their children about the event. Indeed, Robert M. Prince identifies this desire as "one of the few discrete traits held in common among children of survivors."14 Children of survivors also understand themselves and their connection to the Jewish tradition in terms of their parents' Holocaust experience. As Prince notes, "imagery of the Holocaust, mediated by parental experience, serves as an unconscious organizer for the identity of children of survivors and provides basic metaphors for unconscious fantasy."15 Yet, if secondgeneration witnesses are very close to their parents, they also differ in a profound way. In Hartman's telling phrase, second-generation witnesses shift the focus to the "sequelae of a catastrophic memory."

Yet there can be no doubt about the impact of the Holocaust on the Jewish identity of the second-generation witness. The texts, both novels and films this book analyzes confirm this observation. Clearly the most graphic illustration of the connection between the *Shoah* and the second generation is seen in the work of Art Spiegelman's *Maus* volumes. For example, in *Maus II*, Spiegelman draws himself seated at his artist board. Through the open window, the reader sees a German soldier standing in a concentration camp guard tower and pointing his rifle at Spiegelman's head. The violence of the European past is very much a part of the American present, and attests to the continuing impact of the Holocaust on subsequent generations. But the second generation's legacy is both constantly present and continually elusive. Further, as Aaron Hass notes, "children of survivors acquired both detrimental and life-enhancing qualities from their parents." 17

PARTICULARISM AND UNIVERSALISM

My study suggests that the works of second-generation witnesses take one of two distinct Jewish paths: particularism or universalism. The dialectical tension between universalism and particularism is, in fact, itself a characteristic feature of biblical and rabbinic thought.¹⁸ For example, particularist expressions are seen clearly in the notions of covenant and chosenness, and the portrayal of the Israelites as a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex. 19:6). Universalist thinking, for its part, stems from the belief that God is a universal deity; Abraham addresses God as "the Judge of all the earth" (Gen. 18:25). Further, liturgical expressions of universalism are common in the High Holiday services. Universalism is prominent as well in the second part of the Aleinu prayer, which calls for the perfection (tikkun) of the world under the reign of the Almighty ("Latakain olam b'malkut Shaddai"). This tension is also expressed in the post-Auschwitz creative work of the second-generation witnesses. Those who travel the particularist path put God on trial (din Torah), abandon the Sinai Covenant while seeking to find an adequate alternative, deal with theodicy within a specifically Jewish context, and raise the issue of Jewish-Christian relations. The particularists seek a tikkun atzmi (mending or repair) of the self. Writers whose works are particularist in nature include Thomas Friedmann (Damaged Goods), Barbara Finkelstein (Summer Long-a-Coming), Art Spiegelman (Maus), Melvin J. Bukiet (Stories of an Imaginary Childhood and While the Messiah Tarries), J. J. Steinfeld (Dancing at the Club Holocaust), and Thane Rosenbaum (Elijah Visible). Examples of filmmakers whom I term particularist are Stephen Brand (Kaddish), Eva Fogelman (Breaking the Silence), Abraham Ravitt (Half-Sister, Everything's For You, and In Memory), Jack and Danny Fischer (A Generation Apart), and Owen J. Shapiro (Alinsky's Children).

Those who travel the second path, that of Jewish universalism, seek to articulate universal lessons emerging from the Holocaust. The universalists do not abandon Jewish specificity, but strive for tikkun olam, the moral improvement or repair of the world, and struggle against all forms of prejudice and racism, ranging from antisemitism to homophobia. This tikkun consists of a mission to build a moral society. Writers who walk this path include Julie Salamon (White Lies), Lev Raphael (Dancing on Tisha B'Av and Winter Eyes), and Carol Ascher (The Flood). Of the filmmakers in this group, I include Pierre Sauvage (Weapons of the Spirit), Myriam Abramowicz and Esther Hoffenberg (As If It Were Yesterday), Saul Rubinek (So Many Miracles), and Debbie Goodstein (Voices from the Attic).

Despite their differing emphases, both groups share several features: their identity is shaped by the Holocaust; the members of each group

desire to bear witness; and the daughters and sons of survivors in both groups are frequently "replacement" children, their half-siblings having been murdered by Nazis during the Shoah. Wiesel's The Oath and The Fifth Son portray both the psychosocial and theological sequelae of being raised in a family where one is the second "only" son. So, too, do Thomas Friedmann's Damaged Goods and Spiegelman's Maus. Julie Salamon's White Lies speaks of the second, post-Auschwitz daughters of survivors. Wiesel movingly writes of this phenomenon and its impact. He reports that a student, the son of survivors, described his anguish at being the "only" child of parents who had each lost their first children in the camps. His parents met after liberation. "Each time they look at me," the youth tells Wiesel, "it is not me they see." Consequently, these replacement children remember much in the manner portrayed in the Book of Job. In fact, Job's tale is paradigmatic for those wishing to confront the mystery of humanity and God while seeking to understand the meaning of innocent suffering.

CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS AND CHILDREN OF JOB

Throughout history, the experience of the enigmatic Job of Uz has riveted humanity's attention. Philosophers and poets, mystics and theologians have looked to this tale in search of insight into the relationship between God and humanity, attempting to plumb the mystery of innocent suffering. The Job of antiquity suffered, and even rebelled, but he was granted a mystical experience of the deity and a divine "confession" that the universe lacked perfection. The Book of Job "answers" the question of theodicy by affirming divine majesty and human penance; Job "despises" himself and repents in "dust and ashes." The text's epilogue even reports that Job is granted a second set of ten children, to "replace" those who were killed—although, and this is the point, a lost child is never "replaced." Further, his wealth and happiness were also restored.

But in light of Auschwitz, Job's theodicy raises far more questions than it answers. The "Jobs of the gas chambers," to use Martin Buber's phrase, did not repent in dust and ashes, they *became* dust and ashes. Further, those who survived did not—and do not—live unscathed by their experience. Many survivors married and had children while living in so-called Displaced Persons camps immediately after the Holocaust. Indeed, the birth rate in the DP camps was the highest of any Jewish community in the world. Some have compared this act of renewal to the covenant at Sinai. Yet, Wiesel notes the need for a sequel to the Book of Job. This sequel should begin where the biblical tale ends. Its focus is a question: What happened to Job's second children? "How," Wiesel wonders,

"could they live in a house filled with tragedy? How could Job and his wife live with their memories?" He contends that the real tragedy in the Book of Job is the tragedy of Job's children, the children of the survivors.²¹

The Testament of Job, an obscure pseudepigraphic text edited between the first century B.C.E. and the end of the second century C.E., reinterprets the biblical tale of Job.²² In doing so, it places second-generation artistic works—which are chronologically new—in the context of antiquity. For example, the Testament portrays a dying Job, around whose bed stand his second set of ten children, those born after the deaths of their half-brothers and -sisters. Job tells these "replacements" his tale of innocence and tragedy, stressing his steadfastness in the face of misfortune. Job's legacy consists of traditional advice: remember God, help the poor, assist those in need, and marry within the faith.

The Testament has neither the poetic beauty nor theological sophistication of its biblical antecedent. Nevertheless, the pseudepigraphic text makes three important points concerning the second generation. For example, Job's children take the place—and inherit the burden—of those killed earlier. Further, the survivor of catastrophe shares the tale of his suffering: "Tell your children of it and let your children tell their children another generation" (Joel 1:3). While not all survivors spoke of their experiences—indeed, for approximately twenty years after the end of the Shoah there was a "conspiracy of silence" among certain survivors²³—recent years have witnessed an ever stronger sense of urgency to bear witness. Finally, the Job of the Testament urges his children to maintain their Jewish identity after the disaster.

Further, the names given to the biblical Job's second set of daughters are highly suggestive of a special sense of mission. Jemimah, Keziah, and Karen-happuch are names which have been interpreted in a manner suggesting the societal significance of at least the universalist group of second-generation witnesses.²⁴ Jemimah, for instance, comes from the word for day (yom), and implies brightness. Like the sun's light, Jemimah will brighten things. Keziah is a fragrance whose essence will float over the world. Karen-happuch, a horn of eyeshadow, will shine like a gemstone (happuch). Each of these names contains a dimension of outreach to the world. The second generation will have a societal impact by translating the survivors' suffering into a salvific message. As noted earlier, while not all second-generation witnesses are universalists, each does bear witness to the significance of the Shoah for contemporary identity and shares the desire to prevent future catastrophe.

Post-Auschwitz Jewish thought seizes on the figure of Job in discussing the relationship of the Holocaust to contemporary Jewish identity. The late theologian Eliezer Berkovits distinguishes between survivors,

whom he terms k'doshim (holy ones) and nonwitnesses. He writes that "we are not Job and we dare not speak or resound as if we were. We are only Job's brother."25 In contrast, the historian Deborah Lipstadt movingly writes that students of the Holocaust are not even Job's brother. At best, they are his "nieces and nephews."26 Both thinkers, despite their different familial metaphors, correctly warn against substituting the imagination of nonwitnesses for the experience of the survivors. The distinguished philosopher Emil Fackenheim, for his part, recognizing the epoch making nature of the Shoah, views all subsequent post-Auschwitz generations as, in a manner of speaking, "replacement children."27 But, as noted, no lost child can be replaced. Consequently, Fackenheim employs a familial metaphor which is neither brother, nor sister, nor nephew. Rather, it is the classical notion of kl'al Yisrael, the community of Israel. He writes: "For a new 'generation,' and Jewish generations to come ever after, are not 'the Job of the gas chambers': they are Job's children."28 Moreover, Fackenheim writes that all subsequent post-Holocaust generations have the task of interrogating both the Jewish Bible and all of Iewish history in light of Auschwitz.

While not referring specifically to the children of Job, the late cultural and literary critic Terrence Des Pres writes perceptively about the impact of the loss of innocence on those who live in the "aftermath":

Like it or not, we are involved beyond ourselves. To be in the world but not of it, to recover innocence after Auschwitz, plainly, will not work. The self's sense of itself is different now, and what has made the difference, both as cause and continuing condition is simply knowing that the Holocaust occurred. We are in no way guilty but we do not feel blameless. We live decently but not without shame. We are entirely innocent but innocence, the blessedness of simple daily being, no longer seems possible.²⁹

With Hartman, Des Pres indicates the universal impact of the Shoah.

There is now a generation of children of survivors, most of whom are themselves parents, who—like the children in the *Testament of Job*—have received their parents' testimony and accepted the mission of transmitting it to their own children, the third generation, and to the world at large. Formal acceptance of this legacy occurred at the closing of the World Gathering of Holocaust Survivors which met in Jerusalem in 1981. Nearly two decades later, it is now time to assemble and discuss various second-generation witness texts. The contemporary children of Job have written novels and made films that underscore the meaning of inheriting the Holocaust for post-Auschwitz Jewish identity. Their works bear the indelible imprint of the *Shoah*'s cultural, psychic, and theological legacy. For example, in terms of particularism, how credible is it to assert the idea

of a post-Shoah covenant? If so, what is the nature of the divine-human relationship? If not, what are the reasons for remaining a Jew? How does one argue with God after Auschwitz? Echoing Jeremiah and Job, second-generation witnesses raise anew the millennial question of innocent suffering.

THEOLOGICAL SEQUELAE

The works examined in this study exemplify several types of theological sequelae. Their covenantal affirmations display aspects of Wiesel's Additional Covenant, Irving Greenberg's Voluntary Covenant, and Richard Rubenstein's notion of covenant as a way of binding together diverse peoples. Further, the creative works of second-generation witnesses seek to achieve at least a partial tikkun of what Emil Fackenheim describes as the total rupture of Jewish, Christian, and Western philosophical thought caused by the Holocaust (these theological positions are discussed below in chapter 2). These paradigms, in turn, are concerned with an applied post-Holocaust theology, one that acknowledges a wounded deity and, consequently, ascribes greater responsibility to the human partner for maintaining the covenant. Further, their Holocaust legacy leads second generation witnesses to search for ways to attest their Jewish commitment that reflect their own experience of shaping Holocaust memory. Those second-generation witnesses who travel the universal covenantal path strive to achieve tikkun olam. While this concept has undergone various changes in meaning, those in the second-generation come closest to embracing the understanding of the term given in Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's dictionary, which defines this term as meaning "something for the good of the world."30

This "something" is explained by Menachem Z. Rosensaft, an attorney and founding chairperson of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. He speaks of the second generation not in terms of privileges or rights, but in terms of mission. Owing to this generation's unique relationship to the Holocaust because of its members relationship to their parents, children of survivors, he attests, have a "particular sensitivity" to the war and the Holocaust. Consequently, this generation has a "specific duty" to share its awareness: "to ensure that others, Jews and gentiles alike, understand why remembrance of these events is important."³¹

UNIVERSAL QUESTIONS

The phenomenon of the second-generation witness leads inexorably to questions possessing a universal resonance. For example, what does the

tragedy of European Jewry have to do with American Jews in particular and American culture at large? Moreover, is there a relationship between second-generation witnesses of the Shoah and those of other catastrophic events such as the case of the Armenian genocide and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? In this context, Lipstadt notes that some children of survivors have served as "consultants to those working with children whose parents have suffered massive psychic trauma, such as children of Southeast Asian 'boat people,' or children of Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II."32 Moreover, members of the second generation have volunteered in great numbers to interview survivors as part of Steven Spielberg's "Survivors of the Shoah visual history project." What of the relationship between children of survivors and other ethnic or identity groups so popular in America, such as the feminist movement, Afro-Americans, gays and lesbians, and Vietnam veterans? Eva Fogelman contends that groups for survivors and second-generation witnesses are part of America's "renewed interest in ethnic identity, personal roots, and communal systems of support."33 What types of comparisons can be made between difficult parent-child relationships of survivors and those of children of nonwitnesses, or children of immigrants?

Further, second-generation witnesses live in a postmodern era, a time when questions of memory and ethnic identity appear paramount. Their writings and films are clearly autobiographical and thus mark a distinct break from biblical and rabbinic paradigms that emphasize communal archetypes and collective response to tragedies that befall the House of Israel. Indeed, the works of second-generation witnesses suggest affinities between postmodern and post-Holocaust worldviews. For example, the second generation is concerned with the crisis of representation of memory as well as issues of cultural identity. Nevertheless, this generation employs traditional images—albeit in attenuated form—as theological and psychic markers in their search for a post-Shoah Jewish sense of themselves.³⁴

Eugene Borowitz, writing in Renewing the Covenant: A Theology for the Postmodern Jew, emphasizes the relationship between what he terms the "common self's concentration on immediacy" and the covenant. The covenant, he writes, "renders the Jewish self radically historical." Thus, while the second-generation witness exhibits certain characteristics of postmodernism as an American, this witness also reveals his/her Jewish legacy. The writings and films of this generation comprise a secular midrash on post-Auschwitz Jewish identity. Telling their stories affirms who they are as well as serving to shed light on the nature of contemporary Judaism in America and the outlines of a post-Auschwitz covenant.

In the next chapter I discuss the ways in which Holocaust memory is being shaped by second-generation writings and films. After briefly discussing the history of the second-generation witness in America, I turn to concerns raised by the appearance of this generation's artistic works. First, this study serves to introduce a new generation of Jewish writers and filmmakers in America. Their work takes seriously the challenge of both defining and living a post-Auschwitz Jewish life. Unlike Job's false friends, who, as Wiesel observes, are held in contempt by God-and the readerchildren of survivors do not presume to speak instead of the witnesses.36 Rather, they give voice to the Holocaust's continuing impact on Jewish identity. I then examine the covenant theology of Elie Wiesel, Irving Greenberg, and Richard Rubenstein, as well as Emil Fackenheim's notion of tikkun in order to better understand the theological "sequelae" displayed in second-generation artistic works. This examination notes the shift from belief in an interventionist deity to the importance of human action in attempting to build a moral society after Auschwitz. Second-generation witnesses embrace an applied theology. Refraining from adopting traditional assertions of an omnipotent deity, the works of this generation nevertheless suggest the outlines of Judaism's contemporary argument with God.

THE SEARCH FOR TIKKUN

Throughout this study, I note the salient psychosocial elements found in the works of second-generation witnesses as they reflect the centrality of the *Shoah* in shaping contemporary Jewish identity. Issues such as separation anxiety, lack of parental respect for boundaries, a dismissiveness of children's own emotional needs, and fear of hurting the children and the survivors are reflected in many of the second-generation texts and underscore the complexity of survivor parent-child relationships. So, too, does the impact of incomplete or—the reverse side of the same coin—continual mourning on the part of survivor parents.

But the second generation presents a variety of images of survivors. These images range from viewing survivor parents as figures whose Holocaust experience borders on transforming them into holy figures, to viewing parents as damaged people unable and unwilling to let go of the past. Some parents, especially fathers, are silent and remote (especially in the works of Friedmann, Finkelstein, and Raphael). Many are overprotective (this is a common trait reported by the second generation in Fogelman's film *Breaking the Silence*). Most have an inner circle of friends consisting of other survivors. Moreover, it is frequently the case that conflicting images of survivor parents are presented. For example, William Helmreich astutely notes this phenomenon in his important study *Against All Odds: Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made in America*:

In one sense [survivor parents] were regarded as all-powerful, indestructible people who had literally made it through hell, notwithstanding the infirmities they suffered as a result. And yet, this view of seeming invincibility was often problematic for the child of such parents, for in their ill-fitting clothes, heavy accents, short height, and unfamiliarity with American culture, they appeared frail and weak.³⁷

Furthermore, second-generation authors display the feelings of uncertainty that result from attempting to discover their own role in the family. For example, the nameless second-generation protagonist in Wiesel's novel *The Oath* is overwhelmed by his survivor mother's continued suffering. Unable to understand either the *Shoah* or his mother, the youth is confused and muses, "Where do I fit in? I suffered with her and for her, but I could not understand." In addition, children of survivors appear to know that "something terrible" had happened to their parents. This is a type of knowledge that may be preconscious. It certainly is present, even though many survivors' children knew few if any details about their parents' Holocaust experiences. Aaron Hass observes in a recent study of the second generation that among those he interviewed, "all had a sense of being aware, from a very early age, that they were, indeed, children of survivors." ³⁹

This book argues that the contemporary children of Job are helping sensitize society as a whole to the implications of what happened to the Jewish people and the world a half-century ago. That these second-generation witnesses were even born, given Nazism's murderous assault on Jewish existence, is a tale that bears import for all of humanity. The fact that a second generation exists suggests if not miracle then at least a sense of awe. Their creative work speaks to the issue of how Holocaust memory is being shaped in contemporary Jewish and American culture. Further, this study highlights work by the second generation of those whom Albert Friedlander terms "Riders Towards the Dawn." These second generation witnesses live in the dawn of "a broken world" while simultaneously attempting to seek a *tikkun* of both the self and the world.

But readers need to understand that this *tikkun* does not lead to resolution of the *Shoah*. While these creative works articulate the legacy and lessons of the *Shoah*, they do so always against the background of the disaster. In this context, it is worth noting the full title of Friedlander's book: *Riders toward the Dawn: From Ultimate Despair to Temperate Hope.* ⁴⁰ The subtitle reflects the enormity of the Holocaust's impact on Jewish thought and Jewish lives. The United States publisher replaced the subtitle with one that reveals the characteristically American tendency to ignore history and seek a "happy ending." In this country the subtitle is *From Holocaust to Hope*. Further, these second-generation witnesses, like the Holocaust itself, speak both in a particular and uni-

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versal voice. Or, rather, the universal message is directly related to the *Shoah*'s Jewish particularity. Moreover, this message sensitizes readers to second-generation Holocaust symbolism and ways of representing the *Shoah* in the lives of those who live in its aftermath. Finally, this study places the artistic work of second-generation witnesses in a theological context that has not yet been adequately explored.