

INTRODUCTION

Photography as an Ethics of Seeing

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Fig. 0.1: ‘Berlin Nazifrei – Racism not welcome anywhere’. Photographer: PM Cheung, <https://flic.kr/p/nmTGTF>

On 26 April 2014, six thousand citizens took to the streets of Berlin to block a planned neo-Nazi march through the district of Kreuzberg. Armed with his professional-grade digital camera, PM Cheung was there to snap photographs of members of the NPD (National Party of Germany), who had organized the march, according to their signs, to ‘free’ the neighbourhood of ‘multiculturals,

criminals and slum denizens'. Upon returning home from the demonstration, he uploaded his memory card to the photo-sharing programme Flickr and organized the images via hashtag so they might easily be searched by anti-fascist adherents or journalists following his account. His photos document the spectre of neo-Nazi activity that haunts today's Germany. Read another way, his archive also pictures the augmented presence of the police, who, on this occasion, had used pepper spray and batons against all those assembled, irrespective of their political leanings. In the end, at least according to Cheung's sidebar comments on Flickr where this single image would be viewed as many as three thousand times, order was restored – but only after fifty people had been arrested, four of whom it turns out were actual neo-Nazis.

For historians, this photo poses a host of methodological challenges. Like any source, it needs to be situated in its various analytical and interpretative contexts. One might be sociohistorical and include the history of demonstration culture, social movements, the challenge of the far right and the long history of street skirmishes in German history. Another might pay mind to the technological apparatus itself, how pixilation and reproduction crafts a politics of persuasion. How different is photojournalism when in the hands of amateurs (note the smartphone in the frame) versus those who (like Cheung) claim semi-professional status? A final approach might focus on the authority of the image itself in occasioning an emotional response from the viewer, perhaps outrage at police inactivity (or aggression) or the quelling of dissent. As visual anthropologists tell us, it is not the image's inherent meaning that is as important as how it intervenes in the world, how it helps to shape notions of community, subjectivity, political engagement and empathy by bringing to the surface a range of emotions and reactions that reflect the sentiments, fears, hopes and aspirations of the time.¹

Along its various pathways of production, consumption, circulation and display, a photograph trains the eye to identify what it sees while provoking the mind to judge. Unlike other kinds of texts, however, visual evidence is particularly tricky. Often, as with the photo above, multiple possible interpretations are at play simultaneously. At other times the image might appear straightforward and simple, lulling us into thinking its meaning is transparent or obvious. As this volume will demonstrate, once the camera shutter opens and a subject is captured on film and later emerges in chemicals on paper (or in pixels), what that image stands for and means is as much a technical problem as it is an aesthetic or social one. Given the violence of the twentieth century, it is also a historical one where the interpretative stakes are especially high, raising a host of concerns about how we might see this past, not just photographically but ethically.

This volume aims to explore the role and centrality of documentary photography as a source of historical knowledge over the course of the last century. To what extent did photography capture the experiences of Germany's dramatic

century in photographs? How did photographers chronicle social worlds in radical transformation, serving as both witnesses and reformers across various contexts? Germany is a particularly revealing site to broach these issues, given the dizzying series of regime changes over the course of the last century and the role that photographic images have played in capturing these political and social upheavals. Poverty and injustice, for instance, were favourite themes among photographers from the late nineteenth century onwards, but their meanings changed significantly depending on political regime and social context – ranging from leftist agitprop in the interwar years to inter-German photographic rivalry during the cold war. Likewise, the representations of crime, urban life and domesticity shifted fundamentally over the decades, and the same goes for pictures of soldiers' lives, be it in combat during both world wars or as peacetime soldiers in West and East Germany after 1949. Official photographs could shore up state power while hastily shot images from protesters and photojournalists might cast doubt on the government's moral authority to govern.

One approach might be to think about images for the way they construct and mobilize an ethics of seeing – that is, a way of viewing and engaging the world as both mediated and delimited by the camera. But this is no simple task. Writing at different ends of the last century, Walter Benjamin and Susan Sontag were sceptical of photography's ethical potential. Both agreed that images brought abstract issues into sharper relief, providing people with an awareness of the world around them due to new ways of documenting it, and, critically, through new ways of seeing and perceiving it.² However, the camera's magic in rendering aspects of everyday life discernible for a wider audience was also its greatest undoing. With so many copies possible, visual reproduction threatened to undermine its independent authority.³ Not just losing its aura, it also lost its uniqueness – that special something that for Roland Barthes, writing much later, stirred a response in the viewer, spurring cognition, memory and action.⁴ Benjamin and Sontag thought people became increasingly alienated from photographic meaning making; they were susceptible instead to what passed as authoritative, which in the age of mass politics could have dire consequences. The eyes still see, but they are overcome with impressions, unable to discern the difference between truth and fabrication so as to form judgment.⁵ In effect, this 'blizzard of images', as contemporary Siegfried Kracauer would call it, overwhelms the viewer with endless possibility, incapacitating them – or worse, injuring them – to the whimsy of the reigning culture industry.⁶

Sontag – like many critics of the New Left who rediscovered Benjamin in the 1960s – shared his lament that, as a mass practice, photography masked deep-seated imbalances between photographer and subject, image and viewer and, crucially, between event and engagement. To her, a photograph – 'one of the most mysterious of all the objects that make up and thicken the environment we recognize as modern' – was 'experience captured'. It was more than that too.

An image did not simply mirror reality or the intentions of the photographer, it ‘appropriate(s) the thing photographed’. Presaging some of the concerns of photography theorists like Allan Sekula and John Tagg, who focused on the image’s disciplinary and regulatory effects, Sontag warned that photography had become a social rite, a ritual, and as such ‘a tool of power’.⁷ In the now famous passage at the beginning of *On Photography* – her discussion of Plato’s cave – she argues that photography’s power lies not in what it depicts but in its grammar and changing visual codes, and the impact they have in mobilizing a response in the viewer.

To use photographs constructively in our history writing requires that we recognize that we are already participating in – and perpetuating – an ethics of seeing, a value-laden form of perception and critique that is historically rooted, technologically determined and aesthetically defined.⁸ Images are anything but neutral reflections of the wider world or simple traces of a present past.⁹ They tell us ‘what is worth looking at’ – that is, what is photogenic and worth capturing for posterity in the first place.¹⁰ In other words, they call into being a way of perceiving the world photographically, but our perception is already always selective and fragmentary, subjective and piecemeal, framed (literally as well as metaphorically) by differences of power, taste, convention and status, to say nothing about what the technology makes possible in the first place.¹¹ Despite its limitations and shortcomings as an unadulterated window into the past, photography creates possibilities for seeing and relating to history ethically, provided we devise ways of using it mindfully. We have excellent examples in the work of Marianne Hirsch, Barbie Zelizer and Tina Campt, who have encouraged us to think about the differing ways in which a photograph’s meaning is shaped from the moment of its instantiation and viewing in private company to how it gets taken up and changed in subsequent narrative frameworks.¹² The question then becomes, what might such an ethically minded photographic history of twentieth-century Germany look like? And how have historians navigated this terrain thus far?

While there is a highly developed analysis of photography in critical theory, from Benjamin to Brecht, Kracauer to Adorno, we German historians have struggled with how to use photographs in our writing.¹³ This is not solely a German problem; according to W.J.T. Mitchell, this deep-seated scepticism towards visual evidence has marked much of the Western philosophical tradition these last thirty years.¹⁴ Lynn Hunt and Vanessa Schwarz see it as connected to epistemological issues unleashed by the cultural turn, especially regarding how to interpret subjective, multisensory sources and texts that work on the level of emotion.¹⁵ How do we disentangle the strands, particularly when our own subjectivities are bound up with the source’s meaning? Perhaps even more troubling is the transience of photography, how it plays with time and historical distance, capturing a moment in the past only to give it over to new interpretations in subsequent viewings. By their very essence, images disrupt the ‘pastness’ of the

past.¹⁶ When photographs are used as documents of political violence and genocide, sometimes years after the fact, the problem of subjective reframing becomes particularly vexing.¹⁷

The chapters in this volume take up these questions in suggesting ways we might view photography as a document but also as a source of aesthetic opposition, civic virtue, and a structure of feeling. Drawing widely on art photography alongside medical, vernacular, queer, colonial, amateur and institutional images, the authors explore the ways in which photographs help to constitute the world historically and scientifically, as well as emotionally, while also shaping – and sometimes limiting – individual as well as collective perceptions and ways of seeing. Photographs record history, but they also are themselves a record of history making and re-making. Given their inherent fluidity, and the way they take on new meaning when divorced from their original frames, the historian must be doubly mindful of the ethics of seeing the past photographically.

While it would be foolish to suggest that images have failed to play an indelible part in how German history has been visualized and interpreted, it is important to historicize photography's changing power in making this happen. Although images played an indelible role in how the past has been viewed and interpreted by historians, photographs themselves did not always enjoy absolute authority over what counted as knowledge. As Andrew Zimmerman tells it, nineteenth-century anthropologists, confronted with the possibility of using this new technology to help to record the composition of human remains, were sceptical about whether it could capture an object's composition better than sketches. Despite the great documentary potential of photography, they failed to believe that images held the capacity to render scientific observation truthfully, so as to extrapolate meaning. They preferred geometric measurements to ensure the correctness of proportion and detail, something they felt sketches did with far greater accuracy since a photograph made the object visible through the prism of the viewer's perspective, while geometric projection appeared more surgical, connecting points on the object to opposite points on the page. Putting their professional trust in Lucaesian geometric rendering over the ocular power of the camera, anthropologists sought a form of scientific knowledge that was perspectiveless – that is, untainted by the subjective position of the viewer. This stance had reverberations beyond the discipline of anthropology, and is particularly striking when contrasted with the work of scholars like Wilhelm von Humboldt, who underscored that 'the more deeply the historian comprehends, through genius and study, humanity and its deeds, or the more humane he is made by his circumstances, and the more purely he lets his own humanity reign, the more completely he fulfills the task of his profession'.¹⁸ In failing to accept photography for the way it disrupted their belief in the realism that only sketches might afford, anthropologists refined their own social and professional roles and practice by denying their own subjectivity. Not only does this anti-humanist strain in early anthropology aid us in historicizing

the place of photography in the visualization of scientific norms, it underscores the limited ability of some nineteenth-century social scientists to relate critically, perhaps even ethically, towards their own research subjects.¹⁹ It also serves as a cautionary tale for us in how we periodize the impact of photography in the humanist project.

If images were of little use to how early anthropologists made sense of the remains of indigenous peoples, a shift in visual perception by the late nineteenth century created a space for documentary realism in encounters with the Other. As Amos Morris-Reich has shown, turn-of-the-century race scientists made explicit use of photography to aid them in crafting scientific definitions of racial difference.²⁰ Indeed, they made wide use of the technology, focusing on image composition, subject placement and arrangement of photos in relation to written exposition. Taken together, whether as composites or single individual frames, images were drawn upon to help to refine and delimit the look and definition of race. Echoing the language of celebrated art historian John Berger, these image-rendering practices created new ways of seeing race: literally, in terms of the technology's ability to capture difference, and figuratively as well, for what it meant for Wilhelmine society struggling to negotiate its imperial and global aspirations. Claudia Siebrecht takes up this issue in her contribution to this volume, exploring the contents and reverberations of colonial images from the 1904–8 war with the Herero and Nama peoples in German South West Africa for the way they provided Germans new modes of seeing and hence understanding claims to rule in the imperial setting. For Siebrecht, the colonial camera must be read on multiple levels, for the relationships it helps to capture and categorize, for the explicit logic and intentions of German documentarians, and for the photograph's 'double exposure' – that is, the social and material conditions that lie beyond the frame and make these renderings possible in the first place.²¹ If we limit our analysis to 'the presentational' as Julia Adenay Thomas puts it later in this volume, and neglect to analyse the blindness of the colonial camera to questions of authority and power, we lose an opportunity to bear witness to a more fulsome history of colonization from below, one marked by subalternity, agency, and diverse forms of resistance.²² Not only is our own vision of the past piecemeal; we overlook photography's ethical potential in staking out distinct political positions vis-à-vis the past.²³

While the vast array of images made possible in the second half of the nineteenth century unleashed what French filmmaker Jean-Louis Comolli called a 'frenzy of the visible', technological innovation also brought with it the urge and ability to realize evermore minute categorizations of difference. And yet, consequently, historical work tends to adopt the perspective of the observer (and not the observed), emphasizing how images were used and deployed to buttress state, police, legal, medical and scientific interests, and not how they were experienced. While this has led to important work on the role of photography in the

regulation of identity, much remains to be done in thinking about the points of view of the subjects in front of the lens, whether colonized peoples, social, sexual and political minorities, or ordinary men and women.²⁴ Jonathan Crary has pointed out that photographic renderings had a profound impact beyond the explicit or implicit intentions of the photographer. Images changed how people understood themselves, and conditioned how they related to their world, their bodies and selves.²⁵ In the twentieth century, amateur documentarians as well as professional photojournalists were drawn to images for precisely these reasons, because it allowed them to shed light on the human condition, to explore the impact of war, race, social dislocation and poverty, and the emotions these photographs stirred. Although humanist photography, as a genre, would emerge out of the shadows of the Second World War as a largely post-1945 phenomenon, its antecedents extend as far back as the 1920s, as Europeans – Germans among them – sought ways to draw attention to moments of great social upheaval.

This change in emphasis in using images to elicit an emotional response in the viewer and to capture the subjectivities of the viewed did not solely animate the practice of photojournalists. It was also taken up by institutions of the state, law and medicine to harness the technology's potential to garner popular support for social policies and of course for war. Nowhere is this more evident than pictorial policies during the First World War, which were designed as early as 1914 to reinforce the heroism and sacrifice of front soldiers.²⁶ War photography's emotional currency was bound up with efforts to stage-manage particular ways of seeing the good fight and those caught up in it. It linked the battlefield to the home front, and involved all citizens in the common struggle. While adopting the format of documentary realism, images of war were anything but value neutral, especially in the waning years of the campaign with the increasing number of war wounded. Although photographs give the appearance of mirroring what they depict, as heavily coded texts their meaning also hinges on how they are captured, ordered and displayed. War photography is particularly adept at exposing the logics at work in wartime pictorial policies. Whether laid out for public consumption in magazine spreads or education campaigns designed to manage expectations once the men return home, images from the final years of the war centred around the state's commitment to rehabilitation and what normalcy might look like once the guns had stilled.²⁷ As might be expected, their unambiguously didactic function – to encourage a particular way of seeing (and sensing) the war and its aftermath – far outweighed claims at realism and neutrality.

As Annelie Ramsbrock argues in her contribution to the volume, the meaning these images communicate relies not just on their composition but on when and how they are displayed and the context in which they are consumed. Photographs of the facially wounded are a perfect case in point. Originally published in medical journals to showcase advances in surgical treatments, they first surfaced for a wider post-war public as emblems of the atrocious results of modern warfare and

mechanized killing, rather than as demonstrations of medical acumen. When cast purely as medical sources, these images were fraught. During the war, they were unable to live up to expectations of bodily rehabilitation, and hence occupied an ambiguous position, sequestered from public view. When extracted from their original context and exhibited as part of a mid-1920s anti-war campaign, however, they served an entirely different function. Recast as spectacle with the express purpose of soliciting a generalized sense of moral outrage, these photographs were easily adapted to various anti-military protest movements throughout the ensuing decades. Decontextualized from their original medical frame and aided by highly sensational explanatory paratexts, these images transcended time, finding new ways of resonating emotionally with different audiences. In other words, not only do photographs of the facially wounded convey different visual and emotional economies depending on how and where they are staged, they provide different conditions of visibility and empathy as well. As a vehicle for seeing the past ethically, they indicate the importance of analysing images on a variety of levels, compositionally as well as delimited by the spaces of consumption and display.

As in the late nineteenth century, the interwar years were marked by an explosion in visual formats and genres, and in the spaces and places of consumption and display from art photography to the image-heavy boulevard press. A degree of voyeurism marked the circulation of images in mass culture. Drawing on the work of John Tagg and Allan Sekula, many historians have emphasized the corrosive role of photography in measuring, surveilling, classifying and controlling those brought into its orbit, hence the emphasis on images produced in hospitals, barracks, penitentiaries, asylums and urban slums. Even portraiture was not value free, as anthropologists, ethnographers, race scientists and, of course, the police, used images of the poor, destitute, infirm, criminal and the Other to reinforce broadly held and increasingly national notions of health and purity, diseased and inferior.²⁸ Both the power and pleasure of the camera resided in the hands of the image producers. Photographic practices, to say nothing of the traffic in the spectacular, made images of ordinariness for ordinariness's sake a rarity, until the advent of New Objectivity and the *Neues Sehen* movements in the 1920s, with their interest in the matter-of-factness of everyday life. It is here that August Sander's portraits of farmers and neighbours in the village of Westerwald, outside Cologne, stand out for their documentary originality and also for their rejection of poetic and painterly style. His monumental 'Man of the Twentieth Century' project, comprising over six hundred images, was a deliberate attempt to situate portrait photography within a humanist lens as an antidote to the anatomization of mass culture. As Walter Benjamin himself noted in his 1931 'A Short History of Photography', drawing on a reference from Goethe, inside Sander's photographic objectivity was a certain intimacy, a kind of 'tender empiricism – scientific but humane'.²⁹

However laudable, this practice was not neutral, as photographers across the political spectrum revived nineteenth-century physiognomy theory in the

service of mapping out the face of the modernizing nation.³⁰ They used photo essays and books as the vehicle for their creative endeavour, reflecting the belief shared by many Weimar cultural critics that for citizens of the future, images would herald new forms of visual perception and cognition.³¹ Like the fractious politics of the besieged republic, approaches to portrait photobooks varied. Progressives and reactionary forces thought physiognomy theory might help them to articulate explicit social messages around identity and national character.³² Published in 1929 and meant to publicize his larger 'Man of the Twentieth Century' project, Sander's *Face of Our Time* reflected the widespread belief among artists and intellectuals that the symptoms of social and political discord and harmony were identifiable in the faces of everyday people. Physiognomic ways of seeing were not the preserve of right-wing anthropology; rather, photobooks and essays underscored that social mapping was a fundamental feature of the modern project. Weimar photographers employed portrait photography to carve out new spaces of social criticism with which to respond to the widespread sense of social malaise and fragmentation. As Sabine Hake puts it, 'physiognomy provided a visual vernacular for firming up the boundaries between the visible and the hidden, between tradition and innovation, between self and other'.³³ The loss of certainty around class, gender and racial differences necessitated a return to the body as the locus of truth and identity.³⁴ The imagistic study of typology did not just record changes in facial features. Sander's photobook served as a primer for how to countenance wider societal shifts in power: 'Whether one is on the Left or Right, one will have to get used to being looked at in terms of one's provenance'. *Face of Our Time* was more than a picture book: '[i]t is a training manual', educating the eye how to see, and the mind how to judge.³⁵ In photobooks, which would serve the Nazis well in their quest to further their vision of the authenticity of racial Otherness, photographers carved out new ways of seeing, reading, and relating to the aesthetic, cultural and political debates of the day. In so doing, they created an ethics of seeing national difference in quasi-metahistorical terms, providing an antidote for the corrosiveness of modernity.³⁶

Maiken Umbach has most recently shown that the tradition of photobooks continued apace during the Third Reich.³⁷ While the genre of portrait photography remained the stylized domain of semi-professional photographers and artists during the Weimar Republic, greater access to image making and development provided new opportunities for private photography. Viewing these images not simply as documents but as performances of self-representation, Umbach has argued that they serve as a barometer of how average Germans felt about National Socialism. And, vice versa, when we witness how commercial photography evolved in response to private photographic practice, we see that the regime anticipated and reacted to changing depictions of leisure, experience and taste as much as it sought to shape it. Everyday photographic practices aid us in visualizing the spaces, places, and circulatory networks where subjective experience and

ideology meet. They provide visualizations of power, agency and resistance well below the level of official media representations, creating important micro or counterpublics, sometimes reinforcing dominant photographic and ideological trends, other times resisting them.³⁸ Like images taken by the colonial camera, everyday photos might have the appearance of being overtly political or completely mundane; they were complex sites of negotiation between civil society and the state, where ways of visualizing the push and pull of everyday life took on added ethical dimensions under dictatorship.

While there has been a great deal of scholarship on Nazi anti-Semitism in film and the popular press, only recently have scholars begun to take heed of the role of photography in practices of racial inclusion and exclusion. Michael Wildt and Alon Confino, for example, have drawn attention to representations of anti-Semitic parades, physical violence against Jews and the public burning of the Torah in many German towns and villages in the 1930s, exposing the brutal workings of a 'Nazi conscience' that mobilized community solidarity by inciting ethnic violence.³⁹ Interest in the relationship between the Holocaust and photography has also inspired new pioneering scholarship, be it concerned with the surreptitious images taken by Jewish photographers in the ghettos, Georges Didi-Huberman's study of four iconic images from Auschwitz, photographs of Wehrmacht and SS participation in genocide, or the photojournalism of war's end when photographers attached to Allied units sought evidence of atrocity.⁴⁰ It is only relatively recently that historians have turned to amateur soldier photography as an entry into the everydayness of life in extremis. The chapters by Elizabeth Harvey and Julia Torrie explore what happens in the places where official Nazi pictorial practices meet amateur leisure photography during the resettlement of ethnic Germans in the East and the occupation of France. On the one hand, they show photography's role as a kind of soft power, a tool for legitimating elements of National Socialist hegemony through the field of vision and image reproduction. On the other, though, the 'Nazi gaze' turns out to be more ambiguous, providing entry into a subjective realm that resists politicization. In both their studies, in different contexts of occupation, the camera is deeply enmeshed in the process of identity formation, in the present moment, when the images are captured, and also in the future, as historians pore over them for examples of past mentalités.⁴¹ Photographs like these are thus sources of memory and of the self; they reflect as well as construct ways of seeing oneself as an occupier. But they can also be slippery. To sit for, stage, and collect these images is to affirm an ethics of viewing oneself and others within the ideological signifiers of what was, for participants, a justifiable war. And yet, as subjective entry points into the private sphere, they must also be read for their ambiguity, for the way they might also reflect leisure as something ubiquitous as much as ideological – in effect troubling facile characterizations of a National Socialist worldview. In other words, they construct a multilayered popular memory of

the war, at once strange and familiar, not always conforming to traditional timelines.

There is an explicit tension in this volume and in the history of photography generally between analyses of photographs as more or less reflective of standard historical periodization and those that draw attention instead to the mobility of images in creating modes of seeing multiple, coexisting pasts, often in a state of flux or overlap. As Harvey and Torrie demonstrate in their chapters, leisure photography carries certain similarities of staging and genre that can transcend time periods. If private photography as a series of conventions bears similarities across different socio-spatial contexts, to what extent do material conditions shape changes in visual perception? After all, historians have shown quite convincingly that changes in technology – in shutter speed and film preparation – played a huge role in delimiting just what emotions might be captured on film.⁴² Did the physical ruination of war's end leave an indelible mark on how the visual field was experienced and represented? As traces of past experiences, images are imbued with the visceral emotions let loose in the aftermath of the Second World War. Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann argues in his chapter that photographs of human suffering at war's end gave voice to new articulations of suffering and pity as universal experiences of violence. But what such photographs showed was likewise coloured by different hues that varied according to positionality and the conditions that shaped particular ways of seeing. In the ruins, post-war German photographers initially saw mournfulness and sorrow connected in some instances to long-standing romantic visual tropes that some historians claim afforded an escape from moral responsibility for Nazi crimes.⁴³ While photography was used (mostly by the Americans) in the immediate aftermath of the war to document atrocities, cast judgment and (where possible) capture contrition,⁴⁴ this changed dramatically in the early post-war years when, at least in American and British photojournalism, images of suffering German women and children among the ruins became more commonplace. This ethics of seeing Germans as victims not just of Nazi aggression but of Soviet lawlessness as well, mirrored the larger geopolitical conflict, both in terms of what was depicted and how.

But as much as images of reconstruction-era Germany are documents of changing sentiment and sensibility, so too are they tangible, physical objects with a life course of their own. They meander along pathways of consumption, reproduction and display, each heralding new configurations of viewership and emotion. At the same time that images are expressions of the age in which they are set, so too must they be framed within diverse historiographies, not all of them centred around questions of national importance. Images house diverse influences, folding past iconographic styles into ways of visualizing the social.⁴⁵ Alongside photojournalistic accounts of reconstruction and rebuilding lay another form of ruin gazing in the post-war period; the photography of Herbert Tobias, as Jennifer Evans shows, mixed amateur, ethnographic portraiture with iconographies from

the turn-of-the-century queer canon. At once offering a glimpse into the hidden world of cruising and the sex trade, Tobias's photographs suggest that an ethics of making visible queer desire must take seriously the emotional work of images for the way they call into being select subjective responses in the historically situated viewer. In so far as Tobias's images of rent boys serve as erotic talismans in a time of illegality before being taken up as high art, they show the significance of photography in forging a sense of shared male erotic kinship, part of a queer archive of feeling.⁴⁶ Although photography played a vital role in the underground East German scene, as Josie McLellan has shown recently, Tobias's photos suggest the importance of thinking beyond the nation for ways in which the emotional traffic in images helped to construct and sustain a simultaneously German and transnational sense of queer alterity through visual cues and sub-cultural referents.⁴⁷ To see queerly as well as ethically requires that we look at images as constitutive agents in their own right, as things that condition distinct emotional communities as much as they reflect them.

Where historians seem intent on fixing images in time, drawing on differences in genre or aesthetics to deepen contextual meaning, art historians come at these questions slightly differently. In her submission to the volume, Sarah James is more intrigued by the radical disjuncture presented by the experimental portrait photography of Edmund Kesting, which bears more affinity with avant-garde photographers in the 1920s than to East German documentary realism. Instead of viewing his images statically, as documents of a particular time and place, she asks how such an ambiguous photographic practice might shed light on a variegated ethics of seeing in a socialist way. As with other authoritarian moments in German history, photography acquired importance in East Germany for the way in which it was to help citizens visualize the collective struggle. Following the Bitterfeld Conference of 1964, amateur and professional photography would be harnessed even more explicitly to the ideological imperatives of the state. But even well before Bitterfeld, photographic clubs, artist circles, and societies were monitored by the *Kulturbund* and later the *Zentrale Kommission Fotografie* (ZKF, or the Central Commission for Photography) so as to assure that they conformed to dictates of genre, which resoundingly revolved around documentary realism as a style that might best promote the state's vision of humanism and morality. To see photographically was thus to see socially as well – to perceive and reproduce didactic images of socialist transformation.

As with the racializing function of the early twentieth-century camera in creating distinct typologies, the socialist lens was to focus on social archetypes to communicate the collective struggle. This flew in the face of the turn towards subjective photography in 1950s and 1960s West Germany, with its emphasis on personal experience and emotionality. It also contradicted the East German state's jettisoning of 1920s formalism and the German and Soviet avant-garde. Despite Kesting's visual non-conformity, his cinematic and experiential portraits

were not only being tolerated but celebrated by the 1970s as revivifying a dialectical, progressive strand of Bauhaus-era photography, suggesting that the visual construction of socialist personhood was much more malleable than had previously been thought. Kesting provided East Germans with an opportunity to return to the progressive impulses at work in Weimar-era modernity. When we view the past visually, as an ethics of seeing the world in microcosm through the camera's lens, we see that conventional temporal pivots are not always in keeping with technological or aesthetic ones.

Despite official proclamations, there was no singular East German way of seeing the world. Of course there were the massive archives of Stasi surveillance photographs of citizens under watch, as well as the official photographs celebrating the pageantry of GDR events, industrial work, agricultural harvests and a celebratory 'socialist realism' of various kinds; but other, more amateur genres – such as the brigade scrapbooks and nude photography – were also part and parcel of GDR visual culture.⁴⁸ Nor was the GDR as blocked off from outside influence as once presumed, especially in light of international modernist trends. Recent work has shown that West and East German 'photographic cultures' were not so dissimilar from one another, and that their relation remained tense throughout the cold war.⁴⁹ Even so, there were a number of photographers in the GDR that tested the limits of the photographic subject. This is apparent when we consider the iconoclastic portraiture of Gundula Schulze Eldowy, who captured some of the GDR's most vulnerable people, the sick and the poor. Like Kesting, she drew selectively on past photographic practices – in this case the socially conscious portraiture of Sander – to challenge the idealized, state-centred vision of humanity and personhood. Along the same lines as James, Candice Hamelin argues that East German photography retained an ambiguous place for artists seeking to pierce through the veneer of the worker's paradise. While out of step with official cultural practices in the GDR, Schulze Eldowy's work was very much in keeping with other photographic trends developing worldwide, suggesting the need to think mindfully about how we situate analyses of a photograph's ethical possibilities. When viewed on the level of aesthetics, there were similarities in the 1970s and 1980s that transcended state boundaries – those between East and West Germany – but also transnationally, as photographers turned towards grittier subjects and previously obscure themes. In the United States, Larry Clark and Nan Goldin aimed their lens at drug-addicted teens and club kids, capturing some of the first images of rural gun play and heroin addiction.⁵⁰ The sense of social stagnation percolated across borders. In the West Berlin district of Kreuzberg, it animated amateur photographers hard at work self-publishing in magazines to document challenges to the squatting scene. Just as Clark and Goldin's images humanized the plight of disaffected youth while cementing a sense of place in the minds of their audience (in this case Tulsa, Oklahoma and New York City), so too did neighbourhood photographers document West

Berlin's efforts at gentrification in the eastern-most *Bezirk*, as Anna Ross explores in her contribution, creating in the process new opportunities to identify with the subjects under view. In Kreuzberg, local journalism and exhibitions promoted images of the long history of alternative communal values espoused by people in the neighbourhood. They created a visual language of place, hooking into past narratives of the *Kiez*'s history and linking them to present endeavours to reclaim uninhabited spaces. These images expanded notions of democratic urban renewal, while providing neighbours with a visual vernacular with which to challenge more exclusionary city-state driven tropes of urban renewal.

To look at the world, to see and visualize, it is to stake an ethical response to it. In so far as images capture moments for future use, they offer a claim to history and to memory. Beyond simply acting as a repository of knowledge, what is important about photographs is not just what is pictured, but how it is seen by particular spectators conditioned to look in particular ways.⁵¹ In the autumn of 1989, the groundswell of opposition to the East German regime that eventually became a mass movement was not covered visually in newspaper reportage. Instead, average citizens documented the day-to-day events in Leipzig, at great risk to themselves should the situation not have borne out as it eventually did. In his analysis of the *Demontagebuch* and the way it covered the events in photos, Paul Betts demonstrates the importance of images of civil unrest, both as a chronicle of events and a new claim to civic oppositionality and community. Images of the police out of Leipzig, ordered for posterity in the *Demontagebuch*, were emboldened acts of protest in a country that may have tolerated alternative artistic expression but still followed strict censorship of the public media. Images of demonstrator resolve in the face of what could very well have been violent reprisals provide visual evidence of righteousness of purpose, reinforcing a sense of moral engagement amidst great risk. This is an ethics of seeing the reform movement as a political moment and a practice of self-narration that occurred both in real time and in historical memory. This dual temporal dimension, the two trajectories intertwined, reflects the photograph's ability to capture the unfolding past, and construct it at the same time. How to read these registers together and apart, grounded in their respective literatures, is one of the great challenges of photography as well as its great contribution to how we might see this century in new ways.

As will be clear in the essays in this volume, an image-driven history of twentieth-century Germany questions established periodizations and pivots, suggesting new moments of rupture and continuity. It draws attention to 'how' a photograph depicts historical personages, emotions and events, in addition to 'what' issues or events are deemed worth capturing at select moments in the past. Reading photography as providing a way of seeing the past and staking a claim to what is represented there means paying attention to image composition alongside

authorial intention and circulation. If thinking about the specific grammar of photography forces new estimations of how change happens and is represented, it bears asking, as this volume does, what is in fact new and unique about how photos manifest emotional responses, positionality, and ethical responses compared to other kinds of visual sources, past and present? What is distinctive about how photographs manipulate space and time, how they marshal and generate subjectivities and experiences?⁵² What kind of power is afforded those wielding the camera, and what remains occluded from sight despite the advent of new actors, agents and technologies of visual history making? Is there indeed something particularly German about how the events of the twentieth century are visualized by photographers in Wilhelmine, Weimar, Nazi, East and West Germany, or is it the resonance of these images, the way they construct new ways of negotiating 'self' and 'other' that is uniquely modern, and perhaps, only parenthetically German?⁵³

It is not without significance that the chapters in this volume are bounded by two interpretative chapters by scholars whose work in visual anthropology and the history of atrocity revolves around the question of how to think through photography as an ethical visual practice. Elizabeth Edwards argues that photographs destabilize disciplinary conventions but in so doing force historians to be more aware of the assumptions that animate our work. She cautions against the impulse to turn to context as the chief explanatory device. Instead, like Sontag and Benjamin, she directs attention inside and outside the frame, to the ways in which images work as systems of meaning making in their own right, as well as being determined by outside forces beyond the purview of the photographer. Images do not just document the past, but create the very conditions for understanding it in the first place. Julia Adeney Thomas takes up this idea and suggests three different registers that might guide our analyses of ethical seeing: the presentational, the contextual and the aesthetic. Despite the problems inherent in the potential fragmentation of photographic meaning, Thomas claims it is historical practice itself – organized along these axes – that holds the potential to stabilize photography's shifting meaning, around which ethical judgements and positions might coalesce. In this sense, the ethics of seeing can be an invitation to transform what is being seen, or simply to look more cautiously, more carefully. It can serve power or challenge it. It can conserve or undermine community. But when all is said and done, what it always implies is a will to focus and act.

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among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin (2011). She recently edited a special issue of *German History* entitled 'Queering German History'.

Notes

1. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
2. This idea is already introduced in Walter Benjamin, 'Little History of Photography' (trans. E. Jephcott and K. Shorter), in M.W. Jennings, H. Eiland and G. Smith (eds), *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 507–530.
3. Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Reproduction', in Hannah Arendt (ed.), *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 1–26.
4. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).
5. Susan Buck-Morss, 'Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered', *October* 62 (1982), 18.
6. Benjamin's essay was not without its critics. One of the most ardent was Theodor Adorno, who argued that even with mass reproduction, there remained a possibility for the transcendent power of visual art. See Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin, 'Letters to Walter Benjamin and Reply', in *Aesthetics and Politics* (London: Verso, 1977), 110–41. For a recent discussion of the root of Adorno's criticism, see Yvonne Sherratt, 'Adorno's Aesthetic Concept of Aura', *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 33(2) (1970), 155–77.
7. Allan Sekula, *Photography against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works, 1973–1983* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984); John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
8. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 10.
9. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).
10. Siegfried Kracauer, 'Die Photographie'. First published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 28 October 1927, and reprinted in *Das Ornament der Masse* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963), 21–39.
11. Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (London: Routledge, 1989).
12. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Tina Camp, *Image Matters: Photography and the African Diaspora in Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
13. Two special issues of journals have tackled this reluctance among historians. See 'The History Issue', *Journal of Visual Culture* 9(3) (December 2010), co-edited by Vanessa Schwartz and Lynn Hunt; and 'Photography and Historical Interpretation', *History and Theory* 48 (2009), edited by Jennifer Tucker. A recent special issue in *Central European History* co-edited by Maiken Umbach and Elizabeth Harvey seeks to rectify this. See the articles in *Central European History* 48, Special Issue 3 (September 2015).
14. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

15. Lynn Hunt and Vanessa R. Schwartz, 'Capturing the Moment: Images and Eyewitnessing in History', *Journal of Visual Culture* 9(3) (December 2009): 259–71.
16. Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); see also the special issue of *History and Theory* 50 (2011), 'Historical Distance: Reflections on a Metaphor', edited by Jaap den Hollander, Herman Paul and Rik Peters; and *Rethinking Historical Distance* edited by Mark Salber Phillips, Barbara Caine and Julia Adeney Thomas (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). See also Hirsch, *Family Frames*.
17. Omer Bartov, Atina Grossmann and Mary Nolan (eds), *Crimes of War: Guilt and Denial in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The New Press, 2002), especially the Bartov and Boll chapters.
18. Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 105.
19. See Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, and Lorraine J. Daston and Peter Gallison, *Objectivity* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
20. Amos Morris-Reich, *Race and Photography: Racial Photography as Scientific Evidence 1876–1980* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
21. Homi K. Bhabha, 'Beyond Photography', in Taryn Simon, *A Living Man Declared Dead and Other Chapters* (New York: Gagosian, 2011), 19.
22. See Birthe Kundrus (ed.), *Moderne Imperialismus: Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (New York: Campus Verlag, 2003). Beyond the German lens, see Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (eds), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (eds), *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
23. See Sabine Kienitz, *Beschädigte Helden: Kriegsinvalidität und Körperbilder 1914–1923* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008).
24. Jean-Louis Comolli, 'Machines of the Visible', in Teresa de Lauretis and Stephen Heath (eds), *The Cinematic Apparatus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1985), 122. On the rise of scopic regimes as a condition of modernity, see Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in 20th Century French Thought* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Francois Brunet, 'Historiography of 19th Century Photography', in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (London: Routledge), 667.
25. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).
26. Anton Holzer, *Fotografie und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2007); Gerhard Paul, *Bilder des Krieges – Krieg der Bilder: Die Visualisierung des modernen Krieges* (Munich, 2004); Thilo Eisermann, *Pressefotografie und Informationskontrolle im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg: Kämpfer, 2000); Gerd Krumeich, 'Kriegsfotografie zwischen Erleben und Propaganda: Verdun und die Somme in deutschen und französischen Fotografien des Ersten Weltkriegs', in Ute Daniel and Wolfram Siemann (eds), *Propaganda, Meinungskampf, Verführung und politische Sinnstiftung 1789–1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1994), 116–32.
27. Kienitz, *Beschädigte Helden*.
28. Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', in Richard Bolton (ed.), *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 345.
29. Walter Benjamin as referenced in Katherine Tubb, 'Face to Face? An Ethical Encounter with Germany's Dark Strangers', in August Sander (ed.), *People of the Twentieth Century. Tate Papers* 19 (Spring 2013); online publication http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/19/face-to-face-an-ethical-encounter-with-germany-dark-strangers-in-august-sanders-people-of-the-twentieth-century#footnoteref19_mzw6h61.
30. Claudia Schmolders and Sander Gilman (eds), *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik: Eine physiognomische Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne: Dumont, 2000); and Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German*

- Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004). See also, Lutz Koepnick, 'Face/Off: Hitler and Weimar Political Photography', in Gail Finney (ed.), *Visual Culture in Twentieth-Century Germany: Text as Spectacle* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 214–35; and Claudia Schmölder, *Hitler's Face: A Biography of an Image*, trans. Adrian Daub. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
31. Daniel H. Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis: The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (Penn State Press, 2012). See also Pepper Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look!* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015).
 32. Leesa Ritelmann, 'Facing Off: Photography, Physiognomy, and National Identity in the Modern Photobook', *Radical History Review* 106 (2010), 137–61.
 33. Sabine Hake, 'The Faces of Weimar Germany', in Dudley Andrew (ed.), *The Image in Dispute: Art and Cinema in the Age of Photography* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 118.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Benjamin, 'Little History of Photography', 520.
 36. Wolfgang Brückle, 'Face-Off in Weimar Culture: The Physiognomic Paradigm, Competing Portrait Anthologies, and August Sander's *Face of Our Time*', *Tate Papers* 19 (Spring 2013).
 37. Maiken Umbach, 'Selfhood, Place, and Ideology in German Photo Albums, 1933–1945', *Central European History* 48, Special Issue 3 (September 2015): 335–65. For background, Britte Schilling, 'Imperial Heirlooms: The Private Memory of Colonialism', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41(4) (2013), 663–82.
 38. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Öffentlichkeit und Ehrfabrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit* (Suhrkamp, 1972); Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002). For research into the role of photography under Nazism, see the projects at the Institut für Geschichtswissenschaft at the Humboldt Universität Berlin under the direction of Michael Wildt. Alternatively, a Berlin–Munich collaboration overseen by Andreas Wirsching and Johannes Hürter explores 'Private Life under National Socialism' at the Institute for Contemporary History.
 39. Michael Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919–1939* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Michael Wildt, 'Picturing Exclusion: Race, Honor, and Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany before the Second World War', in Jürgen Martschukat and Silvan Niedermeier (eds), *Violence and Visibility in Modern History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 137–55; Alon Confino, *A World Without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); and Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
 40. *Memory Unearthed: The Lodz Ghetto Photographs of Henryk Ross*, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2015; Thomas Weber, Timothy Prus and Henryk Ross (eds), *Lodz Ghetto Album: Photographs by Henryk Ross* (New York: Chris Boot, 2004); *Photographer: Lodz Ghetto Through the Lens of Walter Genewein*, First Hand Films (New York: Films Media Group, c1998 [2012]); Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (eds), *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: HIS Verlag, 1995); Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2004); Ulrich Baer, *Spectral Evidence: The Photography of Trauma* (Cambridge, MA, 2002); and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying In and Out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011), esp. 85–101. More generally, Barbara Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust* (London: Athone, 2001); and Habbo Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild: Fotografien des Holocaust in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001).
 41. Petra Bopp, *Fremde im Visier: Fotoalben aus dem zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld: Kerber, 2009).

42. Colin Jones, *The Smile Revolution in 18th Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Fred E.H. Schroeder, 'ay Cheese! The Revolution in the Aesthetics of Smiles', *Journal of Popular Culture* 32(2) (1998): 1540–5931.
43. See, for example, Jörn Glasenapp, 'Nach dem Brand: Überlegungen zur deutschen Trümmerfotografie', *Fotogeschichte* 24 (2004), 47–64; Jens Jäger, 'Fotografie – Erinnerung – Identität: Die Trümmeraufnahmen aus deutschen Städten 1945', in Jörg Hillmann et al. (eds), *Kriegsende 1945 in Deutschland* (Munich, 2002), 287–300.
44. Dagmar Barnouw, *Germany 1945: Views of War and Violence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); and Cornelia Brink, 'Secular Icons: Looking at Photographs of Nazi Concentration Camps', *History and Memory* 12 (2000), 135–150 ; Cornelia Brink, *Ikonen der Vernichtung: Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998).
45. Karin Hartwig, *Das Auge der Partei: Fotografie und Staatssicherheit* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2004); and Karin Hartwig and Alf Lüdtkke (eds), *Die DDR im Bild: Zum Gebrauch der Fotografie im anderen deutschen Staat* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004).
46. Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). See also Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu (eds), *Feeling Photography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).
47. Josie McLellan, 'From Private Photography to Mass Circulation: The Queering of East German Visual Culture, 1968–1989', *Central European History* 48, Special Issue 3, (September 2015): 405–23.
48. Cristina Cuevas-Wolf, 'Making the Past Present: GDR Photo Albums and Amateur Photographs', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 30(1) (2014), 33–56; Josie McLellan, 'Visual Dangers and Delights: Nude Photography in East Germany', *Past and Present* 205 (2009), 143–47. For background, Paul Betts, *Within Walls: A History of East German Private Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), esp. 193–226. See also Karl Gernot Kuehn, *Caught: The Art of Photography in the GDR* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Hartwig and Lüdtkke, *Die DDR im Bild*.
49. Ludger Derenthal, *Bilder der Trümmer- und Aufbaujahre: Fotografie im sich teilenden Deutschland* (Marburg: ..., 1999); Sarah E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures across the Iron Curtain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013). See too, Kuehn, *Caught*.
50. Larry Clark, *Tulsa* (New York: Lustrum Press, 1971); Nan Goldin, *The Ballad of Sexual Dependency* (New York: Aperture, 1986).
51. Maria Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction into Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
52. Hunt and Schwartz, 'Capturing the Moment', 259–71.
53. Sharon Sliwicky argues that within modernity, there emerged a particular way of seeing the plight of the Other. This way of understanding self and other was animated first through humanist philosophical traditions, only to take root in visual and aesthetic traditions primarily circulating in the West. See Sharon Sliwicky, *Human Rights in Camera* (Chicago: U./niversity of Chicago Press, 2011). On photography's role in humanitarianism broadly, see Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (eds), *Humanitarian Photography: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). On the GDR specifically, see Lyn Marven, "'Souvenirs de Berlin-Est': History, Photos and Form in Texts by Daniela Dahn, Irina Liebmann and Sophie Calle', *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 43(2) (2007): 220–33.

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