The Power of Photobooks: Crafting (Jewish) History from Below

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In one of the most famous and frequently repeated anecdotes in histories of photography (and the Holocaust), Susan Sontag recalls her "negative illumination" upon seeing images of liberation from Nazi-run concentration camps.[1] Sontag explains in her seminal work *On Photography* that she saw those horrible pictures as a twelve-year old in a Santa Monica bookshop. What is hardly ever remarked upon in the many retellings of this anecdote, however, is that Sontag's revelation happened through a specific medium and form of encounter. She saw the pictures in a photobook. Sontag's recollection and the historiography of photography it prompted have a profound socio-cultural history, binding the victims she observed to the material form in which she encountered them.

In fact, history — and Jewish history in particular — has long been communicated through photobooks, a vernacular form of media that Jewish authors and publishers themselves helped pioneer and shape. I use the term "photobook" to describe published volumes where text and photographs coexist, but where

1 Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York, 1977), 14. Photo historian Susie Linfield echoes Sontag in affirming her own, quite similar revelation. Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago, 2010), xiii.

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photographic images are the main focus or a significant section. These are not private albums never intended for public viewing; they are documents created by authors, editors, and publishers with specific readerships in mind. Photobooks facilitate a sustained and particular visual encounter with a subject and possess distinctive properties. They are portable artifacts and are more durable than other photographic media like magazines, newspapers, and exhibitions. These works, ready to be pulled off shelves in homes and libraries, acquire an intimate significance while their images provide a stable, ready-made source for adaptations in other media.

Despite their importance, photobooks have not been studied as much as other photographic formats. To be sure, art historians have traced a canonical history that emphasizes the origins of the medium and its significant artistic achievements.[2] It is generally recognized that the first photobook was Henry Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature,* published in 1844 in London.[3] The book showed cityscapes and monuments from across Europe and was a landmark in the history of illustrated book printing, even if it was not a financial success at the time. The great photobook era, according to art historical accounts, came nearly a hundred years later, in the 1920s and early 1930s, when photo-illustrated mass journalism became ascendent.[4] It was a period of both ubiquitous press photography and avant-garde modernists who used pictures to offer entirely new perspectives on their societies. Photographers and publishers, especially in Weimar Germany, reimagined news events, portraiture, and urban modernity. Today their books are highly coveted art objects that fetch large sums.[5]

Yet these canonical — and now classic — art volumes are by no means the only kind of photobook. Most photobooks, in fact, are less venerated, and hardly anything is written about them.

2 There are several historical anthologies of photobooks. Perhaps the most prominent among them is Martin Parr and Gerry Badger, *The Photobook: A History, Vol. 1* (London, 2004). See also, Andrew Roth, *The Open Book: A History of the Photographic Book from 1878 to the Present* (Gothenburg, 2004).

3 See Vered Maimon, "Displaced 'Origins:' William Henry Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature," *History of Photography*, 32, no. 4 (2008): 314-325. See also Graham Smith, "H. Fox Talbot's 'Scotch Views' for Sun Pictures in Scotland (1845)" in *The Photobook from Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond*, eds., Patricia di Bello, Collette Wlson, and Shamoon Zamir, (London, 2020), 17-34.

4 This is the subject of a monograph by Pepper Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look!: Modern Vision and the Weimar Photographic Book* (Ann Arbor, 2015). For an inkling of how dominant the photo-illustrated press was at that time, the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* (*BIZ*) had circulation figures of 1.85 million, see Eric Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, 2007), 203.

5 Original editions of now-classic works from this era, such as Laszlo Moholy-Nagy's *Malerei, Photographie, Film* (1925), Germaine Krull's *Métal* (1928), or August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit* (1929) have each sold for tens of thousands of dollars at auction houses like Christie's and Sotheby's.

Photobooks are, after all, a mass medium. They have been used not just by artists but by amateurs, journalists, states, and businesses — really everyone — and for all kinds of purposes. Coffee table books, for example, are often a commercial form of photobook that has been a staple of Western homes since the early postwar years. The publishing houses that popularized those glossy, oversized works, such as Phaidon or Thames & Hudson, have roots in the networks of German experimental publishing and among the mobile Jewish emigres at the heart of my research.[6] Coffee table books are not artistic objects per se but they do permeate lives in fundamental ways by offering interpretations of the world outside and influencing other media well beyond the books themselves.

My dissertation and now book project, *Capturing Difference, Making History: The Photobook as a Jewish Artifact*, explores how German-speaking Jews advanced the medium of the photobook and then used it as a tool of crafting a "history from below," a term coined by British Marxist historians in the postwar era to refer to a historical approach that centers the perspectives of ordinary or marginalized people. History from Below is a way of recovering and elevating those perspectives through a use of vernacular sources. Jewish photographers, editors, and publishers achieved a form of making History from Below by turning the photobook into a dynamic story-telling site that celebrated difference. They progressively deployed the medium to document Jewish experiences, centering themselves as protagonists in those stories. Over time, the same photobooks provided the basis for multi-media adaptations and transpositions (through films, plays, museums, and more). Those transpositions popularized Jewish history for all kinds of publics, helping to spread the perception that the twentieth century as a whole was in fact a lot about what had happened to the Jews.

The roots of this development are to be found in the German-speaking world, where early twentieth-century experimentation in visual storytelling and publishing made the evolution of the photobook possible. In the aftermath of the Second World War, that culture went global. *Capturing Difference* details this trajectory by focusing on five particular volumes, case studies that together cover

6 Phaidon Press was originally Phaidon Verlag, a Viennese firm (Ludwig Goldscheider and Bela Horovitz) that sold to a British publisher (George Allen & Unwin) just before Nazi annexation of Austria. Thames & Hudson, founded by the Neuraths, were also Viennese and re-established their firm in late 1930s London. Two bestselling works from these firms exemplify the spirit of democratizing art through photobooks in the early postwar period: Ernst Gombrich's *The Story of Art: With 370 Illustrations*, (published with Phaidonin 1950) and the decades-long *World of Art* series begun in 1958 by Thames & Hudson.

the period from the 1910s to the 1970s. While each photobook captures an aspect of Jewish life, they focus on very different topics: Vienna's Prater Park in the 1910s, Vilnius's Jewish quarter in the 1930s, the atrocities of Nazi-occupation and the Holocaust, a founding myth of Israel in the 1940s, and finally the memorialization of Freud's Vienna home in the 1970s. These books were all produced by a German-speaking network in which social marginality and visual-textual expertise merged; and they built on one another's foundations. I locate the origins of this evolution at a particular moment around the turn of the century, when the photobook began evolving into a dynamic format for storytelling. Jewish outsiders and their sense of outsiderness were key in propelling that project forward. This process is apparent in one particular work, the subject of my first dissertation chapter, a 1911 book titled *Wurstelprater*.

I. Crafting a Form of Difference

The *Wurstelprater* book merged several Jewish genres and areas of interest: street photography, the feuilleton, and experimental publishing.[7] *Wurstelprater* is a small book, five by seven inches, and it showed a very different side of Vienna from the kind of city well publicized in the media of the time. This is not the city of the Ringstrasse monuments or wide boulevards that you would find in picturesque postcards of the period. Nor is it an image of the Prater park that we might expect to find based on its title. Instead, the book offers an immersive experience in what was then a much-maligned section of a public park known in the press for its sex traffic, sensational murders, and just strange types of people — a lot of whom were foreign.[8] The book celebrates these people, especially the show-booth entertainers and their performances in the park.

Wurstelprater guides the reader along a tour of the Prater over the course of a day, pausing to see performances and finding clues to what motivates the artists. In this journey, the reader encounters a wide range of types: a mountain climbing "giant," a "fortune teller," a "woman without a torso," a "marine diver," a group of "jugglers," as well as many kinds of spectators just absorbed in the

7 Felix Salten and Emil Mayer, *Wurstelprater* (Vienna, 1911).

8 See Nancy M. Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Vienna*, (London, 2017), 147-151 and Daniel Mark Vyleta, *Crimes, Jews, and News: Vienna 1890-1914* (New York & Oxford, 2007).

Figure 1. A group of unidentified spectators, photo by Emil Mayer, from *Wurstelprater* (Vienna: Brüder Rosenbaum Verlag, 1911), 27.

act of watching (see figure 1). The book is explicitly satirical and the reader is never supposed to be convinced by the individual performances. Each portrait is intentionally and humorously candid. The self-styled marine diver is revealed as delusional, just a man who puts his head in an underwater bucket. The fortune-teller explains to the narrator that she does not possess any mystical abilities but that she inherited the gig from her dead husband and uses it to make ends meet. All of these vignettes are really classic *Judenwitze* ("Jewish jokes") premised on the humor of exclusion from the mainstream. They make fun of the fact that the entertainers can neither fit in nor fully perform their act, and the book attempts to visualize this humor, bringing it into focus.

At the same time, all of the characters are afforded a certain dignity. They are explicitly celebrated for being different and for tolerating one another's strangeness. They sing each other's songs, dance together, and look forward to seeing the same performers every year.[9] Through the book, the Prater becomes a space that can momentarily suspend wider sociopolitical tensions. This vision of suspended judgement and a more tolerant society was a projection of its authors more than anything rooted in reality: it is what some acculturated Jews hoped imperial Vienna to be like. Contemporary reviews of the book understood it to be a fanciful cultural artifact, something full of whimsy and perhaps a little embellished by the nostalgia of its authors.[10] And we know that it really was fantasy because in reality the park was denigrated by the press, and the highly personalized show-booth culture the book depicts was widely

9 Salten, *Wurstelprater*, 39, 44, and 47.

10 This was the theme of multiple reviews: "Wurstelprater," *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung*, (June 2, 1912), 3-4 and "Bücherschau," *Pester Lloyd Morgenblatt*, (February 11, 1912), 34-35.

considered a blight and something to avoid. For this very reason city authorities progressively demolished this space and replaced it with other attractions such as cinemas and Ferris Wheels.[11]

The particular Jewish perspective that the book puts forward was inventive in a formal sense, too. The text and images that form the book had already appeared separately and ephemerally in different media forms. Two different authors (and the publisher, Brüder Rosenbaum) stitched them together in the new format of a photobook. This was a major step forward in making photographs the center of storytelling. The book's photographer, Emil Mayer, was an amateur who meticulously captured Viennese street life throughout the early twentieth century and published widely on new photographic processes. Mayer was especially interested in the marginalized and the outcast. He frequently captured, for example, new Eastern Jewish immigrants to city.[12] Most of Mayer's photographs were unpublished and remained unseen for several decades. The photographs Mayer used in the 1911 book, however, had already been shown before, when he had used them in a series of popular shows and lectures around Vienna. During these shows he described his particular process for taking pictures, a process that included a personally modified and elaborate, hidden camera apparatus to obscure himself so that he could take candid snapshots of ordinary life. Mayer himself actually appears in the book, staring at the reader while a group of boys are captivated by an entertainer.[13]

The text of the *Wurstelprater* photobook was written by the *feuilleton* writer Felix Salten and was much older than Mayer's pictures. The book brought together and republished a dozen articles on the Prater that Salten had first published in the 1890s. Salten is better known today as the author of the 1923 novel, Bambi — which he wrote as a political allegory about the condition and treatment of European Jews.[14] Coming together in a photobook, Salten and Mayer combined street photography and the *feuilleton* to provide an immersive experience that readers would never have encountered before. Text and images did not simply support but actively shaped one another in order to showcase a space where marginality and difference were respected and even venerated.

11 For how a crackdown on street and park entertainments was part of this urban agenda, see Robert Wistrich, "Karl Lueger and the Ambiguities of Viennese Antisemitism," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 45, (1983): 251-263.

12 These were later published in Emil Mayer, *Damals in Wien: Menschen um die Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna, 1995).

13 Salten, *Wurstelprater*, 9.

14 For the fuller connections at work in Salten's writings, see Paul Reiter, *Bambi's Jewish Roots* (London, 2015) and Beverly Driver Eddy, *Felix Salten, Man of Many Faces* (Riverside, 2010).

In other words, this unusual book reveals the photo essay in book form as emerging from specific Jewish affinities. This particular vision was not to last. Vienna, of course, became less multiethnic after 1918 in the wake of the Austrian empire's dissolution. The specific section of the park detailed in the book was effectively demolished during the First World War to make way for an armaments exhibition.[15] In addition to these ruptures of border and space, both Salten and Mayer were torn from the city they loved. After the Anschluss in 1938, Salten fled to Switzerland, where he died in 1945.[16] Mayer took his own life in May 1938 as a means of escaping Nazi occupation.[17] In Nazi Vienna, a revisionist history of the Prater published in the official press "aryanized" the park, landing a final blow to the turn-of-the-century vision propagated in *Wurstelprater*.[18]

Yet Mayer and Salten's collaboration foreshadowed more than impending tragedy and the destruction of a particular imaginary. Their book initiated an experimental tendency to document difference and put it at the center of durable, visual narratives. And in this sense, they anticipated the future. After the First World War, and particularly by the mid-1920s, photobooks became an ever-present mass medium. This moment of visual explosion was underpinned by a confidence in the communicative power of images.[19] The great illustrated newspapers and photobooks of this period started emancipating photographs from text as the images began to take on rhetorical and argumentative functions themselves.[20] At the same time, the 1920s and 1930s were, of course, times of crisis for European Jews, who were increasingly visible targets of a renewed antisemitism.[21] In fact, these two contrasting currents – visual promise and social crisis – came together in the effort to address contemporary Jewish issues in photobook form.

15 Monika Sommer, "Zur Kriegsausstellung 1916 im Wiener Prater als mächtige Antwort der Monarchie an das feindliche Ausland," in Alfred Pfoser and Andreas Weigl, eds., *Im Epizentrum des Zusammenbruchs: Wien im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vienna, 2013).

16 Eddy, *Man of Many Faces*.

17 I found the documentation detailing the suicide and the confiscation of Mayer's estate in the Austrian State Archives, AT-OeStA/AdRE-uReang VVst VA Vermögensanmeldung, 1938-1945, case file 44435.

18 For an example of this process of retroactively making the park Aryan in the press, see "Praterverbot der Wiener" *Deutscher Telegraf*, (August 18, 1938).

19 Lazlo Maholoy-Nagy was one of the great theorists behind this confidence, but the most succinct version of its expression is summarized in the essay by Johannes Molzahn, "Nicht mehr lessen! Sehen!" *Das Kunstblatt,* vol 12, no.3 (1928): 78-82.

20 This is the key argument in Daniel Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis: The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (University Park, PA, 2012).

21 The condition of Jewish statelessness and heightened visibility as stateless people after the destruction of empires in the wake of the First World War is what Hannah Arendt identified as one of the foundational conditions for the emergence of totalitarianism. See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitariansim* (New York, 1951). I am referring to section I of the book, but particularly "Between Pariah and Parvenu," 56-67.

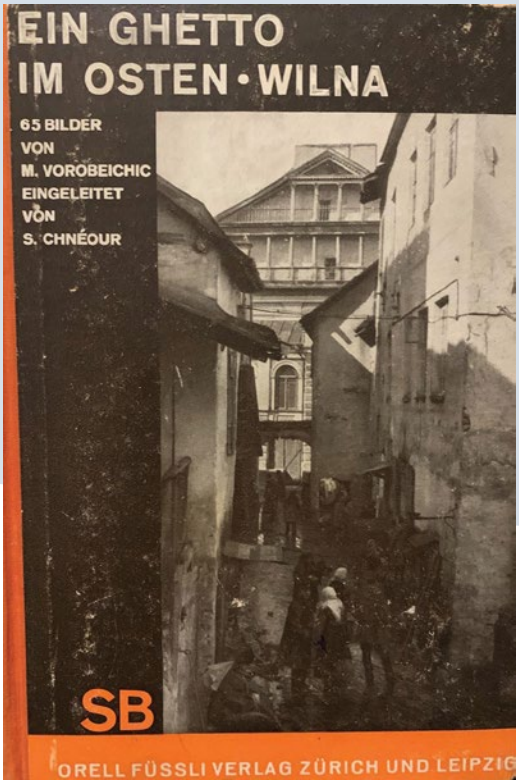


Figure 2. Original edition cover of *Ein Ghetto im Osten, Wilna*. Courtesy of the Raviv Family Archive

The medium became a key site for articulating contemporary Jewish concerns.[22]

Artists like Moi Ver, the photographer at the heart of my second chapter (and case study), used the photobook to document a way of life under threat while also celebrating difference. Ver, whose real name at the time was Moshe Vorobeichic (and later Moshe Raviv), came from Vilnius but honed his photographic eye as a Bauhaus student in the late 1920s. His 1931 book *Ein Ghetto im Osten, Wilna* (See Figure 2) is an avant-garde treatment of Jewish Vilnius, made primarily for a German public, although there were subsequent multilingual editions in several combinations of Hebrew, Yiddish, and English. *Ein Ghetto* was commissioned by a Swiss-German publisher as part of a series that tried to visualize all of contemporary civilization.[23] Ver's much more famous book, *Paris* (1931),

22 The photobook, in this sense, was a visual tool of an already extant tradition of recording aspects of Jewish life. S. An-Sky had taken a corpus of ethnographic photographs of Jewish life a generation earlier. See Eugen M. Avrutin, ed., *Photographing the Jewish Nation: Pictures from S. An-Sky's Ethnographic Expeditions* (Waltham, 2009). For more on the rediscovery of An-Sky's ethnography, see Gabriella Safran and Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Worlds of S. An-Sky: A Russian Jewish Intellectual at the Turn of the Century*, (Stanford, 2006).

23 Other books in the series included Fred Hildenbrandt, *Tänzerinnen der Gegenwart* (Leipzig and Zürich, 1931); Carl L. Luther, *Olympischer Wintersport* (Leipzig and Zürich, 1929); A. W. Lunatscharsky, *Der Russische Revolutionsfilm*, (Leipzig and Zürich, 1929). To make Eastern European Jews part of contemporary "civilization" was political, and a source of contention even among Jews. See Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The Eastern European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison, 1982).

offers a similar treatment of the city of light and helped initiate the emergence of modernist Parisian photobooks in the 1930s.[24]

The purpose of *Ein Ghetto* was to serve as an emergency documentary of Jewish Vilnius and to push back against the era's prevailing degrading, racist discourse about Eastern European Jewry. The book argued that Eastern Jews and their built environments were objects of beauty, something to be proud of. Vorobeichic argued this visually by marshalling all the modernist techniques at his disposal. Through his ground-breaking book, Jewish Vilnius is reimagined through dizzying verticalities, relentless montages, and attention to contrasting geometric patterns.[25] Combatting the period's physiognomic and racist reading of Jewish faces, Vorobeichic offers subtle portraits that purposefully obscure key features, like the eyes of several men he captured.[26] His only individual, somewhat straight portrait reads simply "the Jew" in what was likely a sarcastic way of offering up what some readers might expect to find. In documenting this world, Vorobeichic was embedding a visual autobiography within his documentary. Vilnius was his hometown and he was capturing the streets, buildings, and people he knew well. His captions, whose meaning varies depending on the language in which you read them, are full of ironic jokes and a winking recognition about the failure of outsiders to comprehend the richness of this world (see figure 3).[27] In this sense, Moi Ver's book was an iteration of the same celebration of difference that was already evident in Mayer and Salten's work two decades earlier.

Vorobeichic and his documentary interests were by no means an aberration. Rather, they were part of a much broader project of photographically documenting interwar Jewish life through an array of grassroots initiatives that used photography and photobooks. The most famous and celebrated, but no means only, example is that of Roman Vishniac's enormous archive of Jewish Eastern Europe from the same period — though his work was only published in book form just after the war.[28] Publishing houses and aid societies encouraged Central European Jews to go East to capture and preserve Jewish life. In hindsight, these records appear to presage the Holocaust (or sometimes the images are even erroneously understood as illustrating the Holocaust), but, in fact, they were particular to discourses

24 Moi Ver, *Paris*, (Paris, 1931). In the wake of Vorobeichic's photobook, Paris became an object of modernist photographic documentary and history. See Catherine E. Clark, *Paris and the Cliché of History: The City and Photographs 1860-1970* (Oxford, 2018), 77-82.

25 M. Vorobeichic, *Ein Ghetto im Osten, Wilna: 65 Bilder von M. Vorobeichic eingeleitet von S. Chneour* (Leipzig and Zürich, 1931).

26 Ibid., 38, 39 and 64.

27 One of the captions to a montage of a woman hawking inexpensive wares reads: "the material wealth of Israel," a dark, tongue-in-cheek comment on antisemitic stereotypes with an image of a clearly impoverished woman. Ibid., 31.

28 This was first published as Roman Vishniac, *Polish Jews: A Pictorial Record* (New York, 1947). The basic structure of the book was amended over time both for exhibitions and for subsequent photobooks.

Figure 3. Montage of goods and peddler. From: *Ein Ghetto im Osten, Wilna: 65 Bilder von M. Vorobeichic eingeleitet von S. Chneour (Leipzig and Zürich: Orell Füssli Verlag, 1931),* 32. Courtesy of the Raviv Family Archive.

and imperatives of the time — many of which considered Eastern European Jews to be distinct from those living in Germany or further West. These documentary projects also functioned as a canvas for different forms of making distinctly Jewish artistic expressions.

During this same period there were other photobooks – often created by the same artists and publishers – that communicated more explicit political messages to other Jews. Thus, the 1920s and early 1930s saw an explosion of Zionist works – all of them published in German and by German publishing houses – that documented the transformation of Jewish Palestine.[29] By the early 1930s, these works progressively became tools to urge Jews to emigrate from Europe, and especially Germany, however they could. New visual strategies were invented to convey the urgency, such as features on “cute” Jewish children designed to convince German Jewish mothers that Palestine was safe and welcoming for their families.[30]

29 Nearly every Zionist illustrated work from the 1920s through the 1930s was published by a German publishing house, while the contributors and artists came from all over Europe.

30 See Daniel Maiglow, “Cute Jews: Modernist Photographic Forms and Minor Aesthetic Categories in ‘Jüdische Kinder in *Erez Israel. Ein Fotobuch*,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 64, no. 1 (2019): 47-71. These persuasion efforts were really a shared feature of the same project that was documenting life elsewhere. In fact, Tim Gidal, the author of the last German Zionist work had taken his own unpublished documentary photographs of Polish Jewish life. And the same Vorobeichic who published the Vilnius ghetto book traveled and photographed Palestine for Zionist publications. Both ultimately emigrated to Palestine in the mid-1930s and later became Israelis.

Whether they showed the transformation of Palestine or lent a new eye toward everyday European life, Jewish-themed photobooks in the interwar years asserted difference while functioning as documentaries for wider readerships. In that period of anxiety and uncertainty, new visual strategies were invented to communicate political messages, and the photobook both encapsulated and advanced those experimentations. All of this was forged in German-speaking Europe, which not only nurtured experimental talent but housed the major publishing and distribution networks. But, critically, that culture continued to evolve abroad in multiple contexts after the Second World War, particularly in light of the emigration and forced migration of the people who had originally made it possible.

II. Turning to the Past, Enduring Multi-Media Histories

My third chapter contends with the destruction of the world captured in the previous two parts: the horrific violence committed against Jews during the Holocaust. It also grapples with a temporal and medial shift in photobooks, from documenting to interpreting the past, as well as influencing a set of media well beyond the printed page. Scholarship on the Holocaust has focused on how the tragedy became partially known to the wider public through sparse images that were published in newspapers or in pop-up exhibitions in the immediate postwar.[31] Those pictures, taken by the allies and photojournalists, were almost entirely aftermath images, revealing a system of concentration camps, corpses, and emaciated survivors.[32] However, very early in the postwar, survivors themselves actually resorted to publishing photobooks in a frantic effort to provide a more comprehensive and detailed picture of what they had experienced between 1939 and 1945. These books were published by Jewish historical commissions and by people in displaced persons camps and were sent around the world already in late 1945 and early 1946. In resorting to this medium and in the editing strategies they deployed, survivors built upon the interwar culture of the documentary to offer an immediate historical record.

The work at the heart of my third chapter — and a progenitor of many other visual-historical Holocaust photobooks — is

31 There were several atrocity exhibitions in the United States, the UK, and France. Many of these exhibitions used a shared set of imagery that was also widely seen in the press. For an excellent analysis of this wave of imagery, see Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago, 1998). In particular, Zelizer's chapter on atrocity photography ("Covering Atrocity in Image") recovers both how pervasive the liberation images were in the spring of 1945 and how that moment changed how atrocity images could be presented to the public.

32 Margaret Bourke-White took a series of photographs of liberated camps in April 1945, some of which were published in "Atrocities: Capture of the German Concentration Camps Piles up Evidence of Barbarism that Reaches the Low Point of Human Degradation," *LIFE* (May 7, 1945).

Figure 4. Collage of Forced Labor, from: *Zagłada żydostwa polskiego: Album zdjęć; Extermination of Polish Jews: Album of Pictures* (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, 1945), 33. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Extermination of Polish Jews, an unflinching account of what Jews faced under Nazi-occupied Poland during the war.[33] It was published by the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland, a group of survivors who were gathering and publishing everything they could under the auspices and permission of Polish authorities.[34] Some of this same group were also trained historians (from Central Europe) and familiar with interwar photobook documentaries.[35] *Extermination* shows many of the most gruesome aspects of persecution and mass murder: including entire demarcated sections dedicated to ritual humiliations, forced labor, ghettoization, mass executions, deportations, and killing sites. The book is formed of two-hundred and fifty found photographs, primarily from the perpetrators and taken from albums as well as published propaganda in the illustrated press. Drawing directly from interwar documentary predecessors, *Extermination* reimagined the photographs into a profound and composite view of life and death under occupation. Borrowing from the strategies of earlier photobooks, all multi-lingual volumes, it used plenty of modernist techniques, like collage, in order to express perspectives of victims not evident in the many images themselves.[36]

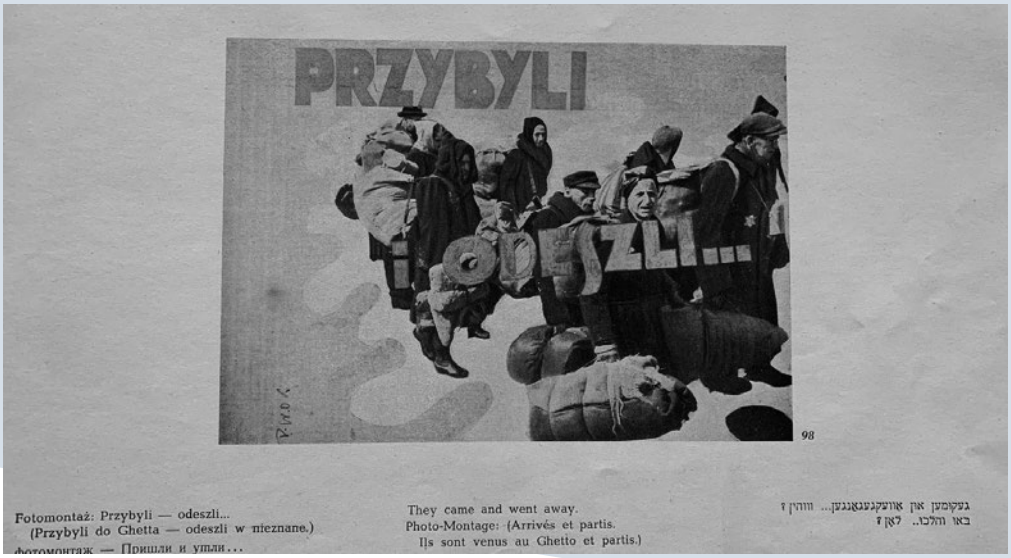
The specific collages that separate each section were made by a survivor of the Lodz ghetto, who had made them in a private

33 Philip Friedman and Gershon Taffet, *Zagłada żydostwa polskiego: Album zdjęć; Extermination of Polish Jews: Album of Pictures* (Łódź, 1945).

34 For how this group organized and the activities they carried out, see Laura Jockusch, *Collect and Record!: Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe* (Oxford, 2012) and Natalia Aleksiun, "The Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland 1944-1947," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, 20 (2008): 76-98.

35 The head of the Commission, Philip Friedman, for example, had spent years in Vienna where he wrote his dissertation under Salo Baron.

36 Friedman, *Extermination of Polish Jews*, 11, 27, 33, 36, and 40.



album in order to criticize the conditions of the ghetto and its Judenrat.[37] In the book, the collages are repurposed (without attribution) to distinguish phases of deprivation and persecution. They contribute, in other words, to an argument regarding the nature of anti-Jewish persecution as something with identifiable, overlapping stages that built upon one another. In this way, the book was more than a collection of images but an immediate (and nearly universally intelligible) historicization many years before the Holocaust was historicized by scholars. (see Figures 4 and 5).[38]

Throughout, the book also deploys creative editing at a time when there were few pictures actually available. To pick out one example among many, one page in the deportation section has four photographs demonstrating "Germans hunting Jews."[39] The four photos came from completely different ghettos but they were put together on the page to suggest an impression of a real scene survivors had witnessed (see Figure 6). The book, in these ways, took creative license in order to reconstruct the texture and action of persecution. In taking leaps like these, *Extermination of Polish Jews* departed from its use as document of evidentiary value and became an explicit means of persuasion.[40]

The book, and other survivor-visual histories that followed it, worked against a mainstream display of atrocity imagery that

Figure 5. Collage of Deportations, from: *Extermination of Polish Jews*, 40. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

37 The collages were made by Arie Prinz (later Arie Ben-Menachem), who did not know that his images were used in this book. There were 18 collages in the original album, probably made in 1942 or 1943.

38 There is a synergy between the book and the very first comprehensive history of the Holocaust by Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961). Hilberg's pioneering historiographical framework for the Holocaust (then called "destruction") was that it occurred in six stages: definition, isolation, emigration, ghettoization, deportation and mass murder. These stages are in line with how the photobook schematized the process but did so in pictures and immediately after events.

39 Friedman, *Extermination of Polish Jews*, 37.

40 Other sections of the book amplify rumor and myth, including the now falsified idea that the Nazis made soap from their victims.

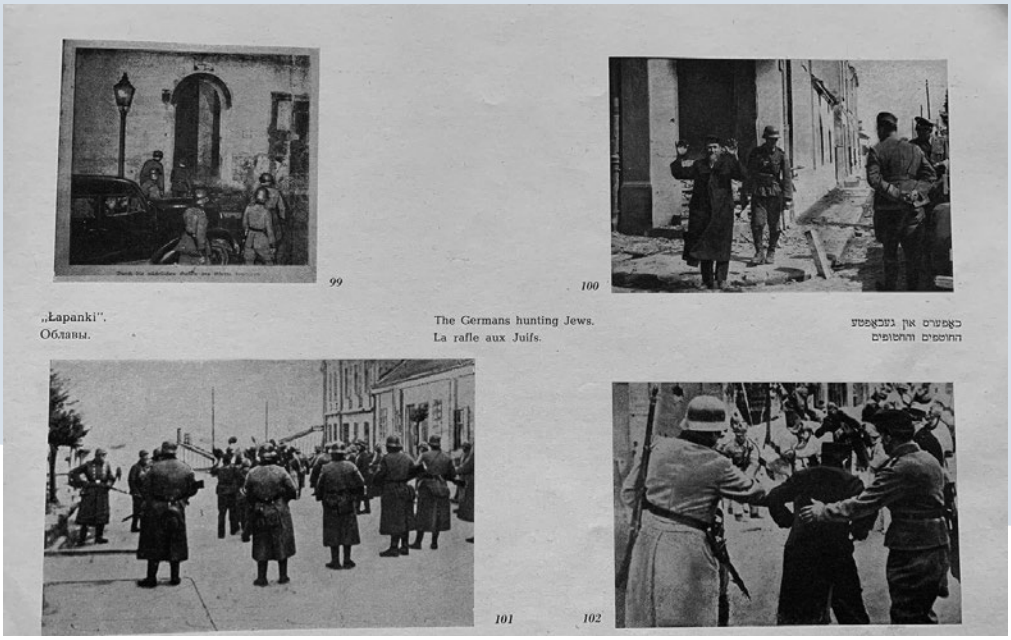


Figure 6. Four images illustrating "Germans hunting Jews," from: *Extermination of Polish Jews*, 37. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

downplayed or mystified Jewish victimhood.[41] What is more, it offered a rare, detailed glimpse – which had never truly reached the public during the actual conflict – of what had happened to Jews during the war years. Despite its low initial circulation, the images and visual logic of the book progressively influenced a whole range of media. The original 1945 edition of *Extermination of Polish Jews* consisted of approximately five thousand copies; a second print run was published in 1946 and a Spanish language version the same year, slightly re-edited in Argentina — mainly to include pictures from regions of the Polish diaspora there.[42] Another work, *Our Destruction in Pictures*, assembled by refugee survivors in a British DP camp, copied *Extermination's* basic formula and included many of the same pictures.[43] Many of the images from these books were also copied and reproduced over the following decades in dozens of Yiddish and Hebrew memorial

41 Across a range of journalistic and press photo-illustrated books that used liberation images, the impression was given that all civilians had suffered under Nazi occupation and that the Jews were one group among them. See, for example, Clark Kinnaird, *This Must Not Happen Again, The Black Book of Fascist Horror* (New York, 1945) and Adolf R. Lerner, *The March of Evil: A History of the Rise and Fall of the Fascist Evil: Photo-record of Axis Crime*, (New York, 1945).

42 The Spanish language version is titled, *Exterminacion de los Judios en Polonia* but does not contain any introductory information by Phillip Friedman or Gershon Taffet and instead has an introduction by I. L. Hamburg. This version does not use Ben-Manchem's montages and is smaller in its dimensions. It deploys a few more photographs that the original version does not, including shots of mass graves in "Białystok." That inclusion may have been added to resonate with Argentinian Jews, many of whom had familial ties to the city. See Rebecca Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok and its Diaspora* (Bloomington, 2010).

43 Rafael Olevski, Dawid Rosental, and Paul Trepman, eds., *Our Destruction in Pictures*, (Bergen-Belsen, Central Committee of the Liberated Jews in the British Zone, 1946).

books, or Yizkor books, that commemorated the loss of specific towns and cities.[44]

While those works maintained a visual understanding for Jewish readerships, survivor-authored Holocaust photobooks and their many editions reached the mainstream, too. Images from *Extermination of Polish Jews*, for example, appeared directly as resources for documentary films such as Alain Resnais' 1956 landmark documentary, *Night and Fog*. The film not only reproduces a series of photographs from the book but, in a pivotal scene that details atrocities outside of camps, shows photographs in the exact order and sequence of the corresponding section of the photobook — although the individual images assembled there had come from entirely different sources.[45] Decades later, when the Holocaust began to penetrate popular consciousness and many more documentary images were found and displayed, the early survivor histories still retained an important role in authenticating the Holocaust. Most obviously, the books were used by filmmakers (and playwrights) for crafting set designs. To cite one example among many, Roman Polanski's *The Pianist* (2002) includes several establishing shots of the Warsaw Ghetto that mirror images first published in survivor-authored photobooks.[46]

The migration of collections of images from the printed page to the screen illustrates one medial trajectory of photobooks and their often obscured role in structuring broader imaginaries, shaping encounters with the past beyond their material format. My fourth chapter, centering on the 1948 work *Destination Palestine*, exemplifies a case of enormous success in streamlining images in this way for a global public. The book, which was in conscious dialogue with interwar documentary works and Holocaust visual histories, presented the writings and photography of the photojournalist and foreign correspondent Ruth Gruber. An American from Brooklyn, Gruber had spent the late 1920s and early 1930s studying in Germany, where she became, according to German and American newspapers, the youngest Ph.D. ever, at the age of twenty.[47] Gruber later explained that those years awakened her love of photography and that she would scour

44 The multi-volume Yizkor series on Warsaw, as well as those on Lodz, Bialystok, and Krakow all use photographs first published in *Extermination of Polish Jews*. These volumes and hundreds more like them can be accessed digitally through the New York Public Library: https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/yizkor-book-collection#/?tab=navigation

45 The "explanatory notes" section at the end of the book (eight pages in total) details how each image came from a different ghetto. Friedman, *Extermination of Polish Jews*, 107.

46 Shots of Warsaw ghetto bridge, traffic between zones, and the construction of the ghetto's wall are all first covered in survivor photobooks and reconstructed in the film.

47 "Girl PhD at 20 Thinks She'll Try Hand at Reporting" *New York Daily News* September 1, 1932. "Ph.D. for Girl of 20" *New York Times*, August 19, 1932., "Ruth Gruber, 20, Back as Ph.D. to Try Journalism" *Brooklyn Eagle*, August 31, 1932.

bookshops for the latest publications. When she was awarded her doctorate, she met the then-mayor of Cologne, Konrad Adenauer, who gave her several photobooks of the city as a gift that acknowledged her passion.[48]

In the U.S., Gruber embarked on a career in journalism, where, informed by education in late Weimar print culture, she often (and unusually for American publications of the period) combined her own textual and photographic reporting.[49] Taking a job as a foreign correspondent with the *New York Herald Tribune*, Gruber traveled to Nazi Germany and the Soviet Arctic, paying particular attention to how women fared under each regime.[50] During the war, Gruber traveled again to Europe under a pilot program designed to gather and resettle some displaced (mostly Jewish) refugees in the United States.[51] All of these experiences prepared Gruber for her reporting on the end of the British mandate in Palestine and turning that experience into a foundational nationalist mythology in a photobook.

Her photobook *Destination Palestine* details the events of the summer of 1947, when American Zionists tried and *failed* to take Jewish Holocaust survivors on a ship (the SS *Exodus*) from France to Palestine. This happened in the context of the British government restricting Jewish immigration to the Palestinian Mandate after the war, even as Zionists all over the world, including Ruth Gruber, were committed to breaking the Mandate and creating a Jewish state.[52] The *Exodus*, which carried over 4,500 refugees, was the largest ship that attempted to break the British blockade; but

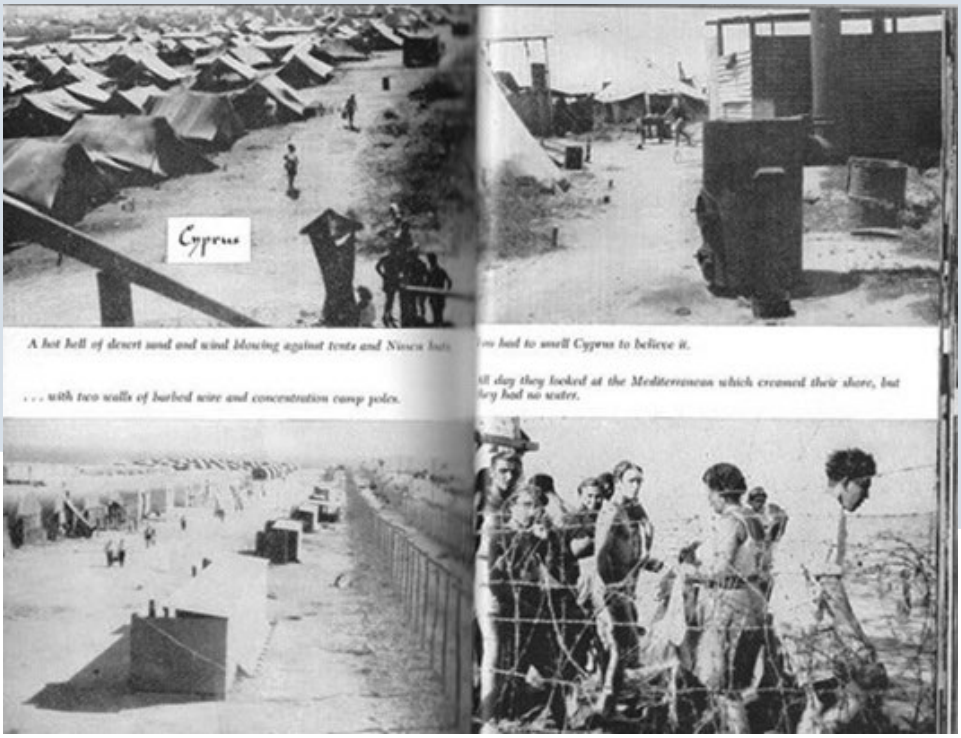
48 In his office, Adenauer gifted her *Köln: Werden-Wesen-Wollen einer deutschen Stadt* (Cologne, 1928) and *Der Goldene Schrein: Ein Buch über Köln* (Cologne, 1928) Both titles are recorded in Ruth Gruber, *Ahead of Time: My Early Years as a Foreign Correspondent* (New York, 1991), 132-133.

49 Photo reporting, text reporting, and photo editing were typically different jobs. The great photojournalists who contributed their work to *LIFE* magazine, for example, had their images captioned by a different set of staff. Mid-century American newspapers operated similarly. For an explanation of how the industry worked, see Nadya Bair, *The Decisive Network: Magnum and the Postwar Image Market*, (Berkeley, CA, 2020).

50 This is captured not just by her reporting but by her first book just before the war: Ruth Gruber, *I went to the Soviet Arctic* (New York, 1939).

51 After lobbying of the Roosevelt administration, in 1944 Gruber accompanied a thousand, mostly Jewish refugees leaving Italy and documented their resettlement in upstate New York. Ruth Gruber, *Haven: The Dramatic Story of 1,000 World War II Refugees and How They Came to America* (New York, 1983).

52 For the interconnected issues of refugee and geopolitical politics at work, see Jeffrey Herf, *Israel's Moment: International Support for Opposition to Establishing the Jewish State, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, 2022); David Nasaw, *The Last Million: Europe's Displaced Persons from World War to Cold War* (New York, 2020); Jeffrey Veidlinger. "One doesn't make out much with furs in Palestine: the migration of Jewish displaced persons, 1945-7" *East European Jewish Affairs*, 44. (2014): 241-53; Gerard Daniel Cohen, *In War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order* (Oxford, 2001), and Idith Zertal. *From Catastrophe to Power: The Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).



the attempt failed. As the ship approached the shores of Haifa on the morning of July 18, 1947, it was intercepted by the British navy. The *Exodus* was struck and then boarded by the British. Its passengers were transferred to *three* different prison ships, which took them first to a French port and then to Hamburg, where they refused to disembark for weeks but were eventually violently forced off the ships and put on trains to British-controlled German detention camps. All of this was blockbuster international news at the time, which was very much shaped by Gruber. As the refugees were taken onto British ships, Gruber traveled on to Cyprus where she mistakenly believed the passengers were being held. Photographing the detention camps in Cyprus, with vivid captions like "you had to smell Cyprus to believe it," these pictures of the camp became part of the later photobook and connected to the Exodus ship's own story, even though its passengers had never stopped there (see Figure 7).[53]

Finally locating the refugees, Gruber was granted exclusive access to the British prison ships, on which she took several defining images of the news event. Her photograph of the refugees on the deck of a British ship, having turned a union-jack into a swastika circulated in international newspapers, and then as a much larger image in a

Figure 7. Photo of *Exodus* refugees aboard the British ship *Runnymede*, captured by Ruth Gruber and published in *LIFE* Magazine, September 8, 1947, as the photo of the week. Courtesy of the New York Public Library and Google Books.

53 Ruth Gruber, *Destination Palestine* (New York, 1948), 142.

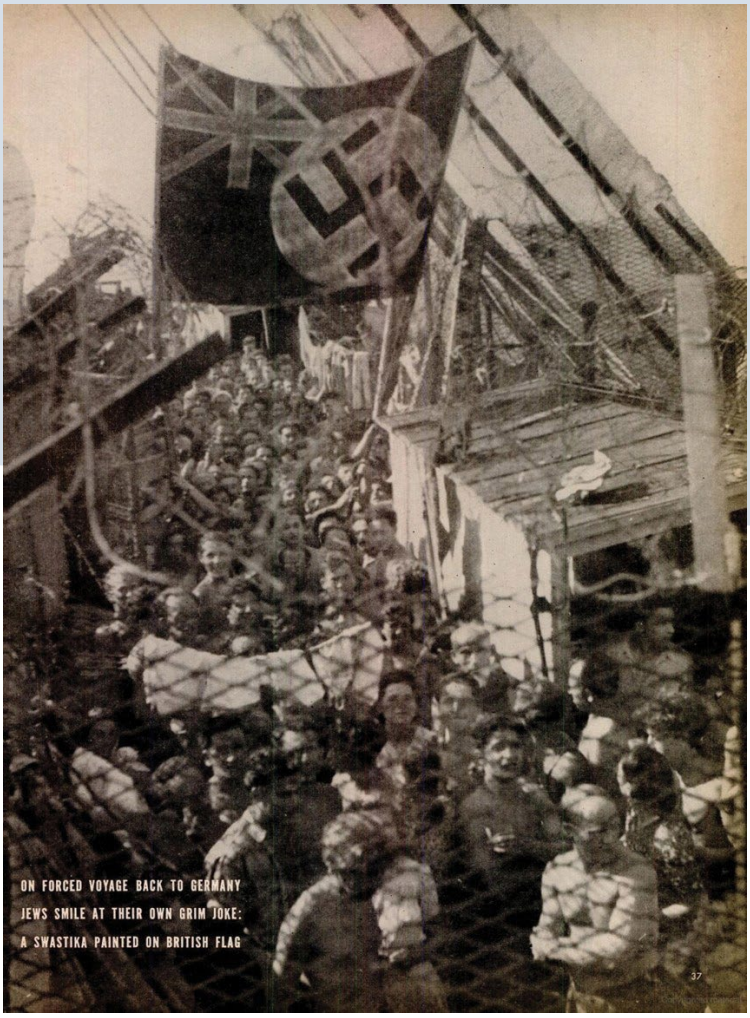


Figure 8. Cyprus Detention Camps, photos by Ruth Gruber, from *Destination Palestine* (New York: Wyn Books, 1948). Courtesy of the Ruth Gruber Estate.

September copy of *Life* Magazine — as the image of the month (see Figure 8).[54] In the photobook, Gruber recontextualized these photos and added many more that had not been included in the earlier reporting. Below deck, Gruber took a number of exclusive pictures that humanized the plight of the refugees. The final photo in the book shows a mother and her baby, quoting the former saying "I am going to live for this baby so my child won't be burned in a gas chamber." (See Figure 9.)[55] Many of *Destination Palestine*'s pictures emphasize precisely these overlapping themes of familial bonds, collective suffering, and of a renewal through a return to an ancient homeland. In all of these ways, they recall a version or synthesis of strategies employed by the German Zionist books in the 1920s and 30s.

What is more, Gruber consciously emulated survivor-authored Holocaust photobooks from the immediate postwar. So, for

54 Gruber herself was astonished by the speed with which her images traveled. In her second memoir, Gruber said "I gave these pictures to the AP and they traveled around the world in eight minutes." Ruth Gruber, *Witness* (New York, 2007), 124.

55 Gruber, *Destination Palestine*, 163.

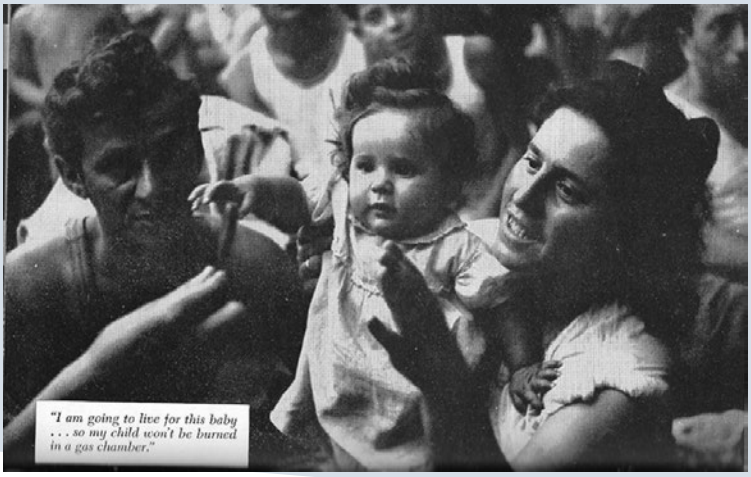


Figure 9. Woman holding baby on board the Runnymede, photo by Ruth Gruber, published in *Destination Palestine* (New York: Wyn Books, 1948). Courtesy of the Ruth Gruber Estate.

example, she shot and captioned the Cyprus detention camps in emulation of the Warsaw and Lodz ghetto bridges. Her text and captions make these linkages even more explicit. But rather than appealing to German readers back home, as the Zionist photobooks had done before the war, Gruber's book reached out to Americans. The text and the captions are full of flattering parallels to America. Tel Aviv is described by Gruber as a "Beverly Hills on the Mediterranean." And the introduction explains to readers that "when these years are written down, people will read and think of the Exodus 1947 in the same terms as the Tea Party in Boston Harbor."[56]

56 Ibid., 13.

The *Exodus* story was a constant in the global press from July to September of 1947, but it was quickly superseded by an all-out war for the territory. There was nothing to suggest that the ship's journey would be remembered as a significant event, if it would be remembered at all. But when *Destination Palestine* appeared on the market in the fall of 1948, it took on a timely importance as a noble and heroic story about the birth of Israel just at the moment when the new state seemed likely to survive its war for independence. Supplying a vivid narrative in pictures, the book argued that, although the ship may have failed in its mission, the spirit of the refugees demonstrated an impending victory. And with meta-textual flourishes, *Destination Palestine* implies that the very events it shows succeeded in convincing the world that there had to be a Jewish state in Palestine.

The photobook was quickly seized upon to support a fictional adaptations and transpositions that reached mainstream readers and

viewers. The writer Leon Uris, who called *Destination Palestine* "one the most outstanding books to emerge after the war," turned the photobook into an international best-selling novel — published in 1958 and selling millions of copies — that was simply called *Exodus*."[57] Though it had no pictures, the Uris book based its narrative on Gruber's text and photographs. In fact, he wrote a composite witness character into the novel based largely on Gruber —though as a gentile nurse instead of a journalist. Uris also cleaned up the messy reality of Jewish refugees being sent back to Germany. In his novel, there is no France or Germany, as the *Exodus* Jews are simply taken from a detention camp in Cyprus to Palestine by the Americans. History is rewritten in the visual logic of Gruber's photobook, with the *Exodus* actually achieving its original mission.

The *Exodus* novel was just the beginning of an ever-greater multimedia trajectory initiated by Gruber's photobook. Just two years after the novel's publication, in 1960, Otto Preminger directed a film version of the Uris book. Starring Paul Newman as the captain of the *Exodus*, Preminger's movie was shot in color and entirely on location in Cyprus and Israel. Once again, viewers experienced another iteration of Gruber's photobook as the film's first half faithfully reconstructed many of Gruber's exclusive photos and story. The film's production company also capitalized on the *Exodus* events in a new age of jet travel by turning the places Gruber had first captured into part of a tourist package.[58] In newspaper and magazine ads, viewers were encouraged to see the movie and then purchase flights on *El Al* from New York to Tel Aviv to experience in person all the locations they had just seen (or were about to see) in theaters.[59] The *Exodus* ship itself was supposed to be part of this 1960 tourist package as a floating museum in Haifa harbor. However, it caught fire and eventually sank. The ship's story and Gruber's pictures, however, form permanent sections in several Israeli museums.

Most people who read the *Exodus* novel or saw the film probably never heard of Gruber's photobook, which sold mainly to American Jewish readers. Nevertheless the book actively shaped mainstream imaginations and structured their experiences. It is no understate-

57 Ira Nadel, *Leon Uris: Life of a Best-seller* (Austin, 2010), 94-96. The original book transposes all of Gruber's reporting into its first half: Leon Uris, *Exodus* (New York, 1958).

58 In an episode of the television show *Mad Men*, the main character, Don Draper, reads the Uris novel in an effort to aid his campaign for Israeli tourism. The TV show recalls the cultural phenomenon in the late 1950s and early 60s and draws out some of the connections between page, screen and reality that were really put in motion by Gruber's work.

59 El Al's direct service to Israel began in the winter of 1960-61, precisely when the *Exodus* film was released. In one, showing a folded map in which New York and Tel Aviv are pulled closer together, El Al ran the ad "El Al Pulls out all the Stops!" *New York Herald Tribune* (April 10, 1961).

ment, then, to say that this seemingly modest photobook rescued a momentous but ephemeral news event from oblivion to generate a constellation of media. And it made a critical historical intervention, too, arguing that Israel's founding could be located and understood in a moment of justice that could be seen: an episode in which the dispossessed revealed the righteousness of their cause. *Destination Palestine* achieved this mythmaking by expanding on a Jewish tradition of asserting difference and intentionally combining multiple strategies that had been forged in earlier crises.[60]

III. A Final Turn: The Photobooks and Revisionist Memorialization

The subject of my final chapter, *Berggasse 19* (1976), is a true coffee table book that one might find in a home, decorating a table. The book's title refers to the address of Sigmund Freud's Vienna home and office, which the book shows as they appeared on the eve of his forced emigration. The book exemplifies the transformation of documentary to historicization as well as the globalization of a culture that had emerged from the very city it depicts. The oversized book contains fifty-four photos of the Freud home, an essay by historian Peter Gay, and a memoir at the end by the photographer, Edmund Engelman. The story of the photographs and the ordinary person who captured them demonstrates how history is made from below.

In 1938, Engelman was the owner of a camera store in Vienna called "Photo-City," well-known in its time, attracting celebrities and amateurs buying their first camera as well as hosting film screenings.[61] Through Photo-City, Engelman met and befriended August Aichhorn, a psychoanalyst and friend of Freud's. After the Nazi annexation of Austria, Aichhorn asked Engelman to undertake a secret mission: to document Freud's residence before his forced emigration. Engelman, then thirty years old, was asked to photograph the apartment for posterity, so that "a museum can be created when the storm of these years is over."[62] This was dangerous assignment because Freud was under constant Gestapo surveillance and Engelman was also Jewish, so that, in agreeing to

60 Through a circular logic, these adaptations revived the original photobook. *Destination Palestine* was republished and re-named *Exodus 1947: the Ship that Launched a Nation*. The new edition contains more photographs as well as new commentary by Gruber. Ruth Gruber, *Exodus 1947: the Ship that Launched a Nation*, (New York, 1999).

61 Edmund Engelman, Interview with Niko Wahl, *Austrian Heritage Council Interview*. Tape Recording. May 5, 1999. Center for Jewish History Archives. I also spoke with Ralph Engelman, confirming these details on September 11, 2020.

62 This is recalled by Engelman in the book. That Aichhorn felt Nazism to be a temporary interruption struck Engelman, who could not see an end to the "thousand-year Reich" in that moment. Edmund Engelman, *Berggasse 19: Sigmund Freud's Home and Offices* (New York, 1976), 134.

Aichhorn's task, Engelman was placing himself at risk just as he himself was looking for ways to flee Austria himself.

The sense of danger that Engelman describes in words permeates his photographs, too. The images are darker than they should be, taken without the use of flash in order not to raise suspicions. Engelman's images convey a certain darkness in other ways, too, for example, by capturing a swastika above the Berggasse address.[63] Over the course of three days, Engelman returned to Freud's apartment meticulously capturing each room's interior, including, of course, the famous couch, whose widespread reproduction owed much to Engelman's photograph. The photos in the book are assembled in a such a way that the reader initially experiences the apartment the way any of Freud's patients would have seen it. The first impression, of visitors and then much later readers, was the overwhelming presence of ancient images and objects, which decorate and cover most of the rooms.

This photobook, with its extensive pictures and captions, is an important source of the general knowledge that Freud was a serious collector. Ancient Roman busts, Egyptian papyrus illustrations, and Buddhist statuettes cover the first rooms of the apartment as well as Freud's desk.[64] More than oddities peculiar to their owner, these objects and rooms offer a glimpse into the emergence of psychoanalysis.[65] For Freud's obsession with collecting ancient art was connected to his theories of neuroses and development. In fact, Freud likened his own work to that of an archaeologist because both the psychoanalyist and the archaeologist are engaged in peeling back layers to unearth the original source. These items, in other words, were supposed to facilitate access to the primitive stages of mental life.

Pictures of the living quarters, however, offer a more ordinary portrait of the Freuds, which had been inaccessible to patients and most guests. Here there is no more ancient art. Instead, we see a *bürgerlich* Viennese home, replete with the typical furnishings, private family photographs, and heirlooms, all of which amount to a scene of normality.[66] But, of course, there are no people present,

63 Ibid., 27.

64 Ibid., 53-60.

65 For those who have studied Freud's writings, several of the individual pieces in the photographs were inspired by his travels and made their way into his psychoanalytical work. See Sigmund Freud, *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens "Gradiva"*. (Leipzig & Wien, 1907.)

66 Anna Freud's living room features a portrait of her own father above the sofa, indicating the future preservation of the Freud legacy on just one page: Engelman, *Berggasse 19*, 85.

Figure 10. Freud behind his desk, photo by Edmund Engelman from *Berggasse 19: Sigmund Freud's Home and Offices* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 87. Internet Archive.

and the sense of normality is an illusion. The uncanny human absence at the core of these pictures is, in fact, a critical theme, not just for Engelman's mission of capturing the details of the apartment, but for visually articulating the tragedy of this home about to be uninhabited. On the third day of his assignment, despite his best efforts to take his photograph without interfering with the rhythms of the family, Engelman encountered Freud, which allowed him to take several portraits of Freud (see Figure 10), the Freud family, and to take the passport photographs for their one-way visas out of the country. Engelman received a brief note of thanks from Freud, and the two went their separate paths forever.[67] The apartment was occupied by other families shortly thereafter, leaving no trace of what was once there.

After a several failed efforts to flee Austria, followed by a harrowing internment in the south of France, Edmund Engelman was able to emigrate to the United States in 1939. His training as an engineer helped him finally to obtain a visa to a country he had never visited and where he had no relatives or friends. Despite these obstacles, he settled down with a family and found work in New York as a consulting engineer for photographic technology.[68]

67 Ibid., 88.

68 See Ralph Engelman, "In Search of Hitler's Mentor" *Yale Review* 65 (Summer, 1976): 632. The U.S. patent office records three of Engelman's patents online: a voltage regulator in 1948 (patent # 2, 450, 012), another voltage regulator in 1951 (patent # 2,549),782, and a silver recovery system in 1969 (patent # 3,524, 805). https://www.uspto.gov

The photographs of Freud's apartment, however, did not immediately follow their author. Before leaving Vienna, Engelman had given the negatives to August Aichhorn, who died in 1949. Aichhorn's secretary gave them to Anna Freud, who kept them with her in London. After exchanging letters with Engelman, she returned the negatives to him in the early 1950s. Engelman allowed a selection of those images to be republished. In the late sixties, he traveled back to Vienna, where he saw the Freud apartment occupied by another family. When the apartment was vacated, the opportunity presented itself to finally realize the prewar plan of establishing a museum on the site. For almost two decades, Engelman's pictures of the apartment had circulated as private portfolios among a small group of friends and disciples.[69] Thanks to the efforts of Engelman, August Aichhorn's son, and a devoted Freudian circle, the city of Vienna agreed to open a museum in the Berggasse apartment in 1971.

Freud's residence opened as a conceptual museum, with Engelman's photographs, printed in large format, hanging on the walls, and a few returned objects and some of Freud's own photos on display. The effect of experiencing the home this way ran counter to the intended purpose, which was an homage to psychoanalysis, set out by Freud's former disciples and agreed upon with Viennese and Austrian authorities. Instead, the space immediately took on an entirely different meaning. As foreign critics were quick to note, the empty home in combination with Engelman's photographs made one confront questions of Jewish absence and a moment of painful rupture.[70] It was in this context that Erwin Glikes, the president of New-York publishing house Basic Books and himself a Jewish émigré, approached Engelman to finally publish his photographs as a memoir, which appeared on the market in 1976. The book forever tied the photographs to the story of ordinary emigration that had produced them.

After the publication of the book Engelman's photographs became even more influential in shaping the public image of Freud. Multiple films presented Freud and his apartment in the manner captured by Engelman's photographs.[71] And the images contin-

69 Arnold Werner, "Edmund Engelman: Photographer of Sigmund Freud's Home and Offices," *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* vol. 83, (2002): 445-451.

70 See, for example, Edith Kurzweil, "The (Freudian) Congress of Vienna," *Commentary* (November 1971). Kurzweil took the city of Vienna to task for belatedly recognizing its Jewish genius.

71 One of the first notable examples was the 1984 BBC television miniseries, *Freud: The Life of a Dream*, with David Suchet playing an aged Freud behind his desk just before his flight from the Nazis.

ued to order other spaces. In 1986, a second museum devoted to Freud opened in Freud's final home in London. This museum staged the furniture the Freuds had brought with them in a way that imitated Engelman's photos from Vienna. In fact, when the London museum opened, the German magazine *Der Spiegel* took it to task for decluttering Freud's workspace, which was a charge based on a comparison with Engelman's pictures.[72] The Engelman photos were critical to establishing the authority of both Freud museums, but their influence extended still further, for they can be said to have shaped scholarship by recontextualizing Freud as a Jewish exile.

Peter Gay, the émigré historian who wrote the 41-page introduction to *Berggasse 19*, began his decades-long interpretation of Freud with the Engelman book. The introduction that he wrote for *Berggasse 19* later became the first chapter of *Freud, Jews, and Other Germans*, which re-introduced the foundational question of Jewishness in psychoanalysis.[73] Actually seeing Freud's home was critical to Gay's arguments in other ways. The visual contrast between Freud's office and his private home led Gay to call Freud a "bourgeois as revolutionary," a solitary genius who was also deeply rooted in an ordinary domesticity.[74] And ever since Gay's work, a description of the Berggasse residence, and Engelman's pictures, have formed a pivotal step in the imaginary journey back in time to the birth of psychoanalysis, or what it is sometimes called "Freud's Vienna."[75]

Conclusion

In all of these ways, *Berggasse 19* represents the culmination of several trends from earlier photobooks. The photos were taken as a form of emergency documentary but found their greatest expression decades later as an inadvertent and multi-media memorialization. They froze Freud as a Jewish exile in time but served as a vehicle for the story of a more ordinary émigré, the photographer Edmund Engelman. This book also recalls the beginning of the history of photobooks, not just in Vienna, by making permanent particular experiences that would otherwise have been forgotten.

72 "Schamlos verunstaltet," *Der Spiegel* (July 21, 1986), 138-149. The article also quotes an anonymous friend of Anna Freud, saying that the museum was "unrecognizable and shamelessly disfigured" ("unerkenntlich . . . schamlos verunstaltet") from the true state of Freud's working space. The quote inspired the title of the piece.

73 It was looking at the photographs and writing the introduction that made Gay, in his own words, turn to a re-evaluation of Freud, in Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture*, (New York, 1979).

74 Engelman, *Berggasse 19*, 12.

75 See Bruno Bettelheim, *Freud's Vienna and Other Essays* (New York, 1990). The cover of the book is one of the exterior Berggasse shots taken by Engelman, who reproduces the exterior shot of the Berggasse address in his book. But the main argument too is that Vienna's cultural "greatness" was forged by outsiders.

Taken together, the series of photobooks that I have discussed show how, due to their intimacy, portability, and durability, photobooks are devices of persuasion. Over time, they became multi-media progenitors of a "History from Below." The first step in that journey was creating photobooks that celebrated difference and outsiderness, which helped make the format a more dynamic narrative object. But what began as a tool for preserving difference soon evolved into a more explicit medium for contesting exclusion and antisemitism. Through innovative visual documentaries, photobooks captured ways of life that were under threat as well as whole communities in the process of destruction. After the Second World War, photobooks authored new myths and reinterpreted well-known figures and ideas. These volumes centered particular Jewish experiences and made them foundational to how many kinds of people around the world remembered and interpreted the twentieth century. They made things like the texture of ghettos, the *Exodus* journey, or Freud's home familiar and tangible landmarks for millions of people. They transformed particular Jewish experiences and made them part of everyone's history.

Well beyond the particular Jewish and German Jewish trajectories that I have outlined here, I believe that photobooks indicate how imaginaries of the past are intentionally crafted by collections of images. We should pay more attention to the historiographical significance of less appreciated, vernacular forms such as photobooks. Too often, as historians, we tend to focus on more official publications or sparse and ephemeral images. Yet it is precisely through less-studied, curated collections of photographic materials that minorities and oppressed people manage to contest their exclusion, shaping imaginaries that long outlive them.

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