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Stories from the Empty Space: Multinarrative Ethics of Postwar Responsibility through the Photobooks of Seiichi Furuya, 1981-2017

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**Stories from the Empty Space: Multinarrative Ethics of Postwar Responsibility
through the Photobooks of Seiichi Furuya, 1981-2017**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in

Visual Studies

by

Ellen H. Takata

September 2021

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Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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*Unless otherwise noted, images were photographed digitally by the author from photobooks in her possession or captured as screenshots by the author. “National Border,” *Warum Dresden* and *Staatsgrenze* are unpaginated – page numbers for these photobooks reflect counting from their title pages.

Seiichi Furuya (Figures 1-7; 11-27; 28, right; 29-61 and Appendix) and Manfred Willmann (Figures 9-10) gave me permission to use their images in my dissertation, and I am profoundly grateful to them for their kindness.

I contacted the Art Institute of Chicago for permission to use Figure 8 from an exhibition catalogue that features it as part of a reproduction from their copy of the 1968 issue of *Provoke*. They advised me to use it for “educational purposes,” for which I am very grateful.

Figure 29 is an image by Furuya – included in his permissions above – from a photocopy of a newspaper clipping from *Neue Zeit* at the Camera Austria archives. *Neue Zeit* is a now defunct German newspaper with no apparent heirs, and I am grateful to Reinhard Braun at Camera Austria for permission to use this image for educational purposes.

Figure 28 (left) shows the frontispiece and title page to an early, hardcover edition of David Irving's *The Destruction of Dresden* (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964). The frontispiece resembles a photograph by Richard Peter of the statue *Bonitas* by August Schreitmüller, overlooking the ruins of Dresden from the tower of the town hall in 1945. I am very grateful to Raian Kahn of Macmillan – who responded to my inquiries regarding the former Holt, Rinehart and Winston – for determining a “fair use” designation for my use of my photograph of the book's front matter.

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- 6. “Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô with “E.T.” toy at upper left, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in August 1984”)** p. 395
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- 7. “Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô leaning on concrete animal pen at zoo, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in August 1984”)** p. 395
 Seiichi Furuya, *Christine Furuya-Gössler: Mémoires 1978-1985* (Tokyo: Korinsha, 1997), image number A-1984/34; Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd. for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 62-63 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015* [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 180-181.
- 8. “Dresden, 1984” (view of river over metal railing)** p. 396
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd. for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 24-25 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015* [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 40-41.
- 9. “Dresden, 1984” (Kômyô running ahead of Christine on street)** p. 396
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd. for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 26-27 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015* [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 10-11.
- 10. “Dresden, 1984” (back of woman regarding ruins)** p. 396
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd. for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 28-29 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015* [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 14-15.

- 11. “Meißen, 1984” (two women at table with drinking glasses)** p. 397
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 30-31
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 124-125.
- 12. “Dresden, 1984” (sign: *Unzerstörbar ist das Bündnis DDR-UdSSR*
 “The GDR-USSR Alliance is Indestructible”)** p. 397
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 32-33;
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 154-155.
- 13. “Dresden, 1984” (Slavic/Soviet film magazines in shop window)** p. 397
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 32-33
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 130-131.
- 14. “Dresden, 1984” (train passing building with sign:
DER SOZIALISMUS SIEGT (“SOCIALISM TRIUMPHS”))** p. 398
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 34-35
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 26-27.
- 15. “Bad Schandau, 1984” (steamship “Dresden” carrying Kim Il Sung)** p. 398
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 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 46-47.
- 16. “Bautzen, 1984” (room with portrait of Ernst Thälmann)** p. 398
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
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 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 120-121.

- 17. “Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô on train)** p. 399
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
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 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
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- 18. “Dresden, 1984” (cropped image of baroque statues)** p. 399
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
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 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 110-111.
- 19. “Dresden, 1984” (*close variations of Christine with wind-blown dress: NOT THE SAME IMAGE)** p. 399
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 48-49
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 34-35.
- 20. “Dresden, 1984” (Kômyô on sofa)** p. 400
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 52-53
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 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), book jacket.
- 21. “Dresden, 1984” (night view of sign: DER SOZIALISMUS SIEGT (“SOCIALISM TRIUMPHS”))** p. 400
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 54-55
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 18-19.
- 22. “Dresden, 1984” (steamship “Dresden” in the background of picnickers)** p. 400
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 56-57
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 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 44-45.

- 23. “Dresden, 1984” (motorcyclist on street)** p. 401
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 58-59
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 126-127.
- 24. “Dresden, 1984” (Kômyô with other children)** p. 401
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 60-61
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 184-185.
- 25. “Dresden, 1984” (chimpanzee in zoo)** p. 401
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 60-61
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 178-179.
- 26. “Dresden, 1984” (carnival ride)** p. 402
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 64-65
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 96-97.
- 27. “Dresden, 1984” (Nymphenbad courtyard in snow)** p. 402
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 66-67
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 166-167.
- 28. “Dresden, 1985” (apparent pairing of images
 from Kômyô and Furuya photographing each other)** p. 402
 Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
 (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
 for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 68-69
 and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
 [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
 (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 164-165.

- 29. “Schönfeld Airport, East Berlin, 1985” (planes on runway)** p. 403
Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
(Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 74-75
and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
[Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
(Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 168-169.
- 30. “East Berlin-Vienna, February 12, 1985,”** p. 403
(Christine and Kômyô on plane)
Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schleef
(Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd.
for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 76-77
and Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015*
[Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015], text by Manfred Wiemer
(Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 116-117.

Abstract: Stories from the Empty Space: Multinarrative Ethics of Postwar Responsibility through the Photobooks of Seiichi Furuya, 1981-2017

(Ellen H. Takata)

How can a sense of “belonging” in the “familiar” care for and include the “foreign” as the “foreign” desires? The photobooks of Seiichi Furuya (b. 1950, Japan, living and working in East/West Germany or Austria since 1973) let me pursue this question. He caught postwar traces in the daily life of Cold War Europe before coming to remix these images to process the suicide of his wife, Christine Furuya-Gössler (b. 1953, Austria, d. 1985, East Germany), a method through which I derive an “ethics of belonging” through a “multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility.” I articulate narratives from spurs to memory of – or sensory or symbolic association with – World War II or the Asia Pacific War, through visual and textual elements extending from Furuya’s work. It is a mode of rendering emotions “safe” toward others through caution for feelings of “belonging” with those “like oneself.”

As my interviews with Furuya indicate, however, he espouses an “ethics of silence.” I examine this ethics through his circles in Japan and Austria along with thinkers who echo them – notably the later Jun Tosaka and Walter Benjamin – in favoring unconsciousness in perceptive encounter. Theoretically, they sought to avoid any registration of difference and thus all potential inequities.

Complementarily, then, I reclaim conscious contemplation to ameliorate specific inequities, particularly through “multinarrative” echoes in critical re-readings of Japanese and German war memories by historians Lisa Yoneyama, Yoshikuni Igarashi and Eric Santner.

I demonstrate this reclamation through analyses of Furuya's re-uses of different photographic series across photobooks over time. Findings include narratives of both Japanese national victim mentality and interpersonal tensions with "Japaneseness" through Furuya's Amsterdam street photography (1981-2004); interventions against anti-Semitism and assimilative cosmopolitanism through Furuya's images of Dresden and relevant texts (1963-2019); and – through Furuya's series on Austria's Eastern Bloc borders (1985-2014) and related work on refugees (1993, 2017) – an update of ethical approaches across multinarrativity and silence.

Acknowledgements

The descriptions that convey my thanks in relation to this dissertation are necessarily too terse, and I beg readers to magnify them in their minds. Above all, the subject of this dissertation, Seiichi Furuya – with Manfred Willmann, Christine Frisinghelli and Reinhard Braun – generously shared interviews and archives during my research in Graz, Austria, 2019, funded by a Visual Studies Travel/ Research Grant (Department of the History of Art and Visual Culture, University of California, Santa Cruz) and Travel Grant (Graduate Student Association, UCSC). Diaries by Furuya’s late wife, Christine Furuya-Gössler, let me address religion and history as modes of responsibility for seeing others. I honed my secularly exegetical approach largely with Byzantinist Maria Evangelatou and Buddhist scholar Raoul Birnbaum. Boreth Ly – in postcolonial “Asias,” among many other things – inspired me to account for myself in the meanings that I find in my materials.

Ayelet Zohar in Japanese art and photography, her colleagues and students discussed early thoughts on Furuya in my lectures to her seminar at the University of Tel Aviv and for the Third Biennial Conference of the Israeli Association for Japanese Studies in Jerusalem, 2017, partial funding for which arrived through an Arts Dean’s Fund for Excellence Award from UCSC. Noriko Aso in Japanese history patiently engaged numerous drafts of my work, bringing about a balance (I hope) in my own sense of “order” and respect for methodologies that undo frames of order. Hunter Bivens in German literature made it possible for me to pursue the rich detail of the German-speaking world in both Furuya’s work and my own life.

Elisabeth Cameron in visual cultures of Central Africa fostered my dissertation's notion of "belonging," particularly through TA-ing for her class on colonialisms (HAVC 80) and developing my own course on cultural heritage under her sponsorship (HAVC 188M). My students elicited my current "voice" through my teaching. I began to adapt it for my writing thanks to peer-reviewers and the team at the journal *Refract*, notably Stacy Schwarz and Kelsey McFaul for a *Refract* article (2020) and related symposium panel (2021).

Logistically, Daniela Hoferer of the Kunsthau Dresden corresponded with me about Furuya's 2015 show there. The Interlibrary Loan team at McHenry Library, UCSC, secured vital materials. Permissions inquiries were met kindly by Furuya, Willmann, Frisinghelli, Braun, Matthew Witkovsky and Barbara Diener of the Art Institute of Chicago, Martha Kelehan of the Tufts University Libraries, Kristin Riggs of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company and Raian Kahn of Macmillan. Ruby Lipsenthal guided me through the procedures of the HAVC doctoral program.

Lastly, I thank my family for my sense of responsibility – to our history but also in general. "We" were German Catholics from Third Reich-allied Romania, Okinawan and Japanese Buddhists from the Japanese Empire, Scottish Presbyterians "from" colonial America and other combinations more complicated to describe. This is why I cannot be anything except – or unless – defined by ongoing care for others, which I am fortunate to find easier than any other choice.

**Introduction: “I Study My Past Once More with Photography”:
Seiichi Furuya’s “Empty Space” as Impetus for a Multinarrative Ethics of Postwar Responsibility and Ethics of Belonging**



Figure 1: “East Berlin, 1987,” *Mémoires 1978-1988* (1989), pp. 64-65

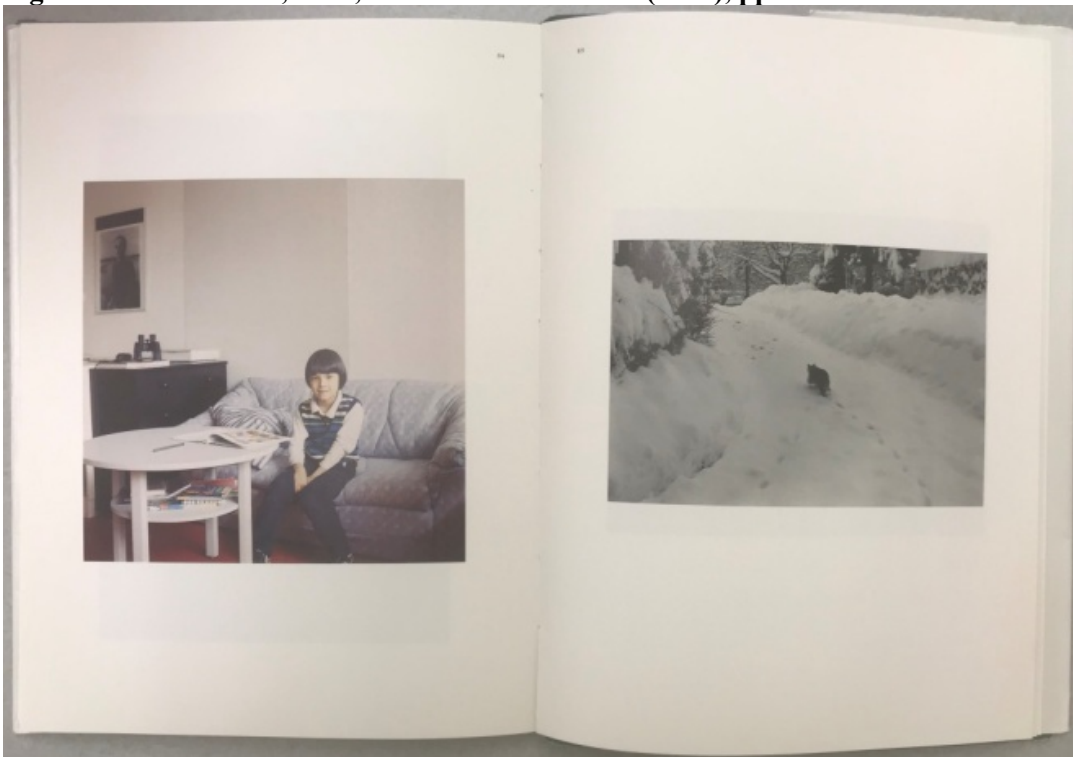


Figure 2: “Graz [Austria], 1989, 1994,” *Aus den Fugen* (2007), pp. 84-85

not text *right* below the photo, but *distance* [...] The empty space is actually my photo – my philosophical work is there [...] *this is not about photography, ne?*¹ I study my past once more with photography [...] *for me not to lie to myself.*

- Seiichi Furuya to Ellen Takata, March 29, 2019, Graz, Austria²

The opening materials of this introduction (Figures 1-2)³ set up this dissertation to build on the 20th and early 21st century photobooks of Seiichi Furuya (b. 1950, Japan, living and working in East/West Germany or Austria since 1973), through which he initially explored postwar political traces in European daily life, then took a personal turn in processing first the suicide but increasingly the life of his late wife, Christine Furuya-Gössler (b. 1953, Austria, d. 1985, East Germany, pictured on the wall in Figure 2, left). My work partly serves Furuya's concern with what he describes in the epigraph as "my past," specifically in new views of Christine, which he constantly seeks. In doing so, however, I also examine a sense of "my past" for Christine, myself and beyond – e.g. through Christine's hitherto unexplored attention to anti-Semitism and racism in Catholicism and private life (see Chapters 3-4). This is but the most direct of various ways that I extrapolate Furuya's approach into what I call a "multinarrative ethics," which I elaborate momentarily.

¹ *Ne* is a Japanese particle used to seek affirmation, akin to "right?" or "you see?" in English. Furuya used it while speaking to me in German, where it resembled the German *nicht* at the ends of phrases.

² Unless otherwise noted, Furuya's statements and opinions are taken from my translations of our interviews, conducted primarily in German, in Graz, Austria, on March 29-30, 2019. For works from which I quote in translation, I note on first mention whether I use my own or another's translation. I order names by given name-surname in the Roman alphabet, surname-given name in East Asian scripts.

³ Figure 1: Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1978-1988* (Graz: Edition Camera Austria and Neue Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, 1989), 64-65; Figure 2: Seiichi Furuya 古屋誠一 with Masashi Kohara 小原真史, *Aus den Fugen* [From the interstices] (Kyoto: AKAAKA, 2007), 84-85.

First, however, I clarify that I choose the word “ethics” in an attempt – despite, as I shall explain, my own anchoring in the word “perpetrator” and concept of “postwar responsibility,”⁴ specifically as derived from reckonings with World War II and the Asia Pacific War across the German and Japanese-speaking worlds – to create a method that is “neutral” in its search for meanings that reveal harm and thereby stir thinking about how to prevent it. I made this decision during my analyses of Furuya’s photobooks as they furnished a “multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility”: drawing narratives from spurs to memory of – or sensory or symbolic association with – World War II or the Asia Pacific War from visual images and textual “imagery” in and around Furuya’s work, particularly to render emotions – both in and around one – “safe” toward others, specifically through caution for a sense of “belonging” with others similar to “oneself.”

In fact, I chose the terms “ethics” and “responsibility” partly because – as Furuya’s conversations with me will show – his own “message” is not one of self-critique or self-assertion for his readers. Rather, his work embodies a sort of multinarrative possibility while his *words* express an aim not to *have* a “message” for people other than himself. It is an effective choice of what I shall call an “ethics of silence” – espoused by himself, his circles in Japan and Austria, and earlier thinkers echoed in their attitudes toward an ideal of unconsciousness in perceptive encounter –

⁴ My use of the term “postwar responsibility” is similar to but not the same as others’ – see an overview in Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory and Japan’s Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015) 16, 187-188, 196.

for his viewers, while he comes closer to reaping the benefits of imagining stories – at least the first step in a multinarrative ethics – for himself.

It is from this semblance of a shared mode of viewing with Furuya – if not a shared topic for our readings – that – at the end of this introduction, I analyze the images above (Figures 1-2) through a few stories – some from me, some from Furuya, some from our experience of conversation together – from what he called the “empty space” of his photobook pages. To give a foretaste of the less subtle example (Figure 1), Furuya’s imagery across the black-and-white photobook pages suggested my ancestral frame of the Axis Powers (minus Italy) as a place to start, when the time comes. First, however, I must address my tensions with Furuya further. Notably, he sought – as quoted in his epigraph and in further conversations with me – to “*distance*” elements on the “empty space” of the page, effectively to silence viewer thoughts or give viewers what he considered might be unexpected shocks. Conversely, a very simple gloss of my method would be to say that I reconsider his “distance” as the space between images and ideas that also might be seen to bring them closer rather than separate them. The point that we share is that this space cannot be fixed in a specific projection of meaning, though I am more flexible after.

With apologies, however, this introduction will take the long way around to a demonstration of that flexibility through the opening images – always tempered by responsibility to determine the most compassionate and critical readings among the various narratives brought to consciousness. Above all, I must clarify how this dissertation hinges on a simple opposition of ethical methodologies that I try to

reconcile – also simply, but with complex examples – for what I consider their common goal of avoiding the harm caused by (willful) ignorance and (mishandled) affection. Briefly, I take to heart the ideal of the aforementioned “ethics of silence”: to avoid consciousness and thus refuse to make interpretations on moral grounds – that consciousness presupposes harm by creating inequality through registration of difference. Though this proposes a zero-sum “solution” of the type that my sense of ongoing negotiation and flexibility cannot accept, I regret my sense of guilt, my lack of faith in the idea that anyone could suppress all inclinations (of any kind) and thereby intentionally-unintentionally avoid creating a sense of diversity that – without formations akin to the multinarrative ethics that I describe (i.e. perhaps which always have allowed humans to love and understand each other insofar as they have) – can yield distrust and inequity. In this way, I simply am amplifying a human inclination to delve into understanding others and taking responsibility for harm to them through concrete tools in the style and content of Furuya’s work.

As glossed earlier, I articulate stories from his images and texts in realizations of past and present harm, letting capacious associations elicit ameliorative understandings. To do so, I operate along a spectrum of intention and chance captured in that word, “associations”: from consciously learned to emotionally felt to ongoing interactions of knowledge and feeling in groupings of visual and verbal elements encountered over time. As will become clear in coming discussions, a multinarrative ethics is comparable to – in an array of theoretical approaches in which I must limit focus to those within what I trace as Furuya’s “orbit,” though I attempt to

“nod” to growing webs where my work may find a part⁵ – what Furuya does in his signature photobooks. To review: he is known for re-using images from life with his late wife to process her suicide and other memories, specifically by joining his visual work to confessional texts of his own, her diaries, essays by colleagues and other solicited texts.⁶

Sources about Furuya, however – including the present one, as I learned while interviewing Furuya (primarily in German, in which – next to English – I am most proficient and which Furuya told me that he now *speaks* best, though I must *write* to him in Japanese) – cannot convey his life in the capsule biography that I find myself constrained to provide. If I might try: the young Furuya early bore the role of caretaker for a disabled brother – on which I share his discussion in Chapter 1; trained professionally as an architect and photographer; lost interest in photographic activities in Japan and moved to Europe in 1973; married Christine – an Austrian Catholic and aspiring theater performer whose photographs he belatedly has rediscovered – in 1978;⁷ supported his photography with odd jobs and organizational work for the

⁵ Works that have inspired me through their expansions of interpretative relations are too many to list. A very few might include: Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, no. 63), 1992); John Elsner, “The viewer and the vision: The case of the Sinai Apse,” *Art History*, vol. 17, no. 1 (March 1994): 81-102; William Johnstone, “Interpictoriality: The Lives of Moses and Jesus in the Murals of the Sistine Chapel,” *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible in Memory of Robert Carroll*, eds. Alastair G. Hunter and Phillip R. Davies (London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 416-455; Abé Mark Nornes, *Forest of Pressure: Ogawa Shinsuke and Postwar Japanese Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Kaja Silverman, *Flesh of My Flesh* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*; and Kyle Parry, “Generative Assembly After Katrina,” *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 44, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 554-581. I also wish to express my deep thanks to Kyle for sharing his article as an unpublished draft.

⁶ These will be listed in more specific citations as discussion continues.

⁷ See Seiichi Furuya with Christine Gössler [sic]. *Face to Face* (Marseille: Chose Commune, 2020).

magazine *Camera Austria* – co-founded by himself, Manfred Willmann and Christine Frisinghelli (whom I also had the privilege of interviewing) in 1980; and negotiated the birth of his son, Kômyô Klaus (b. 1981) and Christine’s mental health struggles up to her suicide in 1985. Since 1973, he has lived briefly in the former East and West Germany but mainly in the home that he and Christine shared in Graz, Austria, where I interviewed him. He is best known for creating an evolving “relationship” with Christine through his work since 1989, the year of his first photobook in this vein. As I explore particularly in Chapter 4, however, he also fills a role in drawing attention to the lives of refugees in Graz, notably through the paradox of simultaneous sympathy for their suffering and fear of failure in presenting it.⁸

Before continuing to my own “take” on – or rather, perhaps, *with* Furuya’s work – as this dissertation is in a sense a document of how he and his photobooks have affected me and my work – I define and contextualize what I mean by a “photobook.” A short history of photobooks – for my purposes⁹ – might span photography’s early branching into semi-separate realms – supposed documentary of fact and creation of beauty, respectively – through bound arrangements of

⁸ This photobook is *Mémoires 1978-1988*. I take his biography mainly from my interviews with him. The joint founding of *Camera Austria* – not always clear in publications about that magazine – was conveyed to me in personal interviews with Furuya, Frisinghelli, Willmann and their colleague Reinhard Braun, all in Graz, Austria, 2019. I interviewed Braun on March 28 and Frisinghelli and Willmann on March 31.

⁹ For a much longer history, see Martin Parr and Gerry Badger’s three-volume work, *The Photobook: A History* (London and New York: Phaidon: 2004-2014). See also Ryûichi Kaneko and Ivan Vartanian, *Japanese Photobooks of the 1960s and ‘70s* (New York: Aperture, distributed by D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 2009) and Ryûichi Kaneko and Manfred Heiting, *The Japanese Photobook 1912-1990*, with an essay by Duncan Forbes, trans. John Junkerman (English) and Kaoru Matsumoto (Japanese) (Göttingen: Steidl, 2017).

photographs accompanied in various ways by text (a photobook).¹⁰ I set aside unique creations of images and descriptions – such as personal compilations of flora and fauna or family photo albums – though their modes of categorizing the world and encoding emotions are similar to those of the published photobooks that I gloss. For example, photo albums’ “private” use classifies them as means by which individuals may project a public image of class or other identity expectations into the home,¹¹ while published photobooks might be seen as among the molders of such tastes through senses of familiar or foreign, “respectable” or “coarse.”

Among early examples of published photobooks, I might cite Jacob Riis’ 1890 “documentary” of poverty in the tenements of New York (perhaps “foreign/coarse”)¹² in supposed contrast to F. Holland Day’s 1898 “artistic” self-portraits as Jesus on the cross (as I shall explain, “familiar”/“respectable”).¹³ Briefly, Riis featured images in what now might be seen as a photojournalistic mode – with both short captions and his own longer, compassionate but disapproving observations of his subjects’ lives. Day – an American admirer of the Aesthetic Movement and its striving to live in “authenticity” of an often Mediterranean antiquity – sought his own “true” experience of the Crucifixion through its depiction on various levels: first by climbing onto a

¹⁰ I still find among the most efficient introductions to photography – one that shows its changing connotations as a medium – to be Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, [1949]).

¹¹ See, for example, Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

¹² Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1890).

¹³ I make my estimations here from Kristin Schwain, “F. Holland Day’s Seven Last Words and the Religious Roots of American Modernism,” *American Art*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 32-59 and Estelle Jussim, *Slave to Beauty: The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day, Photographer, Publisher, Aesthete* (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1981).

life-sized cross, second by exhibiting his images – though not strictly in book form – in an order of facial expressions matched to quotes from the Bible. “Straight” documentary was not far from Day, however – notably in widely available photographic materials – such as stereo cards – of then-popular re-enactments of the Crucifixion.¹⁴

Photojournalistic precedents may speed this background of the photobook toward Furuya through Pierre Dieulefils’ early 20th century albums on Indochina, shown at international expositions celebrating trade and colonialism.¹⁵ Dieulefils’ luxury volumes featured images of “native” people and places covered by translucent, protective pages that often had explanatory texts printed on them – texts explaining that the subjects of the photographs were resources for France. Before, therefore, lifting these papers to see images “clearly,” readers already would have seen them “through” the limited words of colonialist rhetoric. In short, Dieulefils – originally a soldier photographing his own experience in French conquest – may capture the molding of power relations through truth claims in photobooks – through aesthetic effects, ordering of images and addition of texts – that Furuya's Japanese and Austrian circles would challenge in the 1960s. As I address below, however, they would challenge the much later heirs to figures like Dieulefils.

¹⁴ See these images in Schwain, 32, 37, and 39 respectively.

¹⁵ Notably Pierre Dieulefils, *Indo-Chine pittoresque et monumentale: Annam-Tonkin* [Indochina picturesque and monumental: Annam (present central Vietnam)-Tonkin (present north Vietnam)] (Hanoi: P. Dieulefils, [c. 1907]). I take Dieulefils’ biography from Thierry Vincent, *Pierre Dieulefils: photographe-editeur de cartes postales d’Indochine: plus de 4800 références sur le Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchine, Cambodge, Yunnan, Chine* [Pierre Dieulefils: photographer-publisher of postcards of Indochina: over 4800 images of Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchine (present south Vietnam), Cambodia, Yunnan, China] (Gignac-la-Nerthe: Borel et Feraud, 1997), 7-72.

I might gloss these heirs as practitioners of photojournalism as it has operated globally since perhaps the 1930s: coverage of social conditions and world events that frames and arranges images for conventional emotional access – e.g. helplessness of children; inhumanity or weakness of enemies; capability, kindness or strength of heroes; callousness of class systems, etc. – such that texts only confirm and expand an emotionally/visually-instilled story as the (only complete) truth. Coming chapters will explore this critique through theorists in relation to Furuya and his colleagues, yet I now must note an issue for early postwar Japanese photographers whom I shall not be able to address in detail. This is a need to reject wartime Japanese photographic approaches – though whether because these were fascist or modeled on Western photojournalism is not always clear – in new searches for documentary as “objective” *because* found in one’s own way. As Domon Ken wrote in 1953, for example – when Furuya was three – “Realism is not found in the cold, square device called “the camera.” The *person* who shoots, his [sic] view of the world, and his method of expression are what contain Realism.”¹⁶

In fact, Japan was – and, to a certain extent, is – known for a predominance of the photobook over gallery exhibitions, a phenomenon that others have examined in

¹⁶ Domon Ken, “Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture,” *Setting Sun: Writings by Japanese Photographers*, eds. Ivan Vartanian, Akihiro Hatanaka, Yutaka Kanbayashi (New York: Aperture, 2006), 26. My idea about the need to reject wartime styles is informed by the anti-establishment trends considered by Duncan Forbes in “Photography, Protest, and Constituent Power in Japan, 1960-1975,” *Provoke: Between Protest and Performance, Photography in Japan 1960-1975*, eds. Diane Dufour and Matthew S. Witkovsky, with essays by Diane Dufour, Matthew S. Witkovsky, Duncan Forbes and Walter Moser (Göttingen: Steidl, for LE BAL, Albertina, Fotomuseum Winterthur, Art Institute of Chicago, 2016 [1970]), 237-244.

depth and I cannot pursue further.¹⁷ Rather, I would like to explain in more haptic, psychological terms why I choose the photobook – rather than the exhibition – through my experience with Furuya’s photobooks and those of his colleague, Manfred Willmann (b. 1952, Austria, whom I consider briefly in Chapter 1). In both cases, I did not choose to look at these photobooks so much as negotiate being “chosen” as their viewer, specifically in the context of postwar responsibility – a term that I elaborate shortly¹⁸ – in tension with but also deference to their creators. In practice, I let associations elicit even superficial opportunities to register history as a potentially personal reckoning through their work – primarily in traces of German and Japanese history caught in images and words from their personal lives.

In this way, I expand on the Japanese sense of “postwar responsibility” as continuing public attention to those victimized in the Asia Pacific War, to which I add World War II and private processing of both wars as ongoing intervention in what I call “belonging.” In simplest terms, “belonging” is residing in feelings of being “oneself” in any idiom registered as “familiar,” which – echoing the concerns of an ethics of silence with consciousness causing registration of difference – may support harm toward those registered as unfamiliar or not registered at all. As will be seen, my readings in this vein overlap particularly with Furuya’s concerns for honesty in

¹⁷ See, for example, *Setting Sun, Japanese Photobooks of the 1960s and '70s*, *The Japanese Photobook 1912-1990*, and *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968-1979*, ed. Yoshifumi Nakamori with Allison Pappas (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; New Haven and London: Yale University Press [distributor], 2015).

¹⁸ See an overview of uses of this term in Takenaka, 16, 187-188, 196.

perception and – semi-separately – those of Christine about Austrian legacies of harm – notably anti-Semitism – in her diaries, which I consider in Chapters 3 and 4.¹⁹

Until very recently, I would not have allowed myself to take the above approach. I later elaborate it – perhaps redundantly in an effort at thoroughness – through the terms “multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility” and “ethics of belonging.” It was the photobook format that “allowed” me my methods, because photobooks – as I glossed above and Chapter 1 explores – have wavered internationally between senses of photojournalistic “fact” – in juxtapositions of image and text that risk a false sense of universality through their social coding – and critical efforts to honor that *promise* of “truth” by – conversely – dislodging this coding. The latter engage the viewer particularly through the “private”-feeling format of the photobook, which mimics reading alone rather than viewing in public. The photobook opens into private time and space to inhabit the conundrum of not being able to let go of the means of signification – images and words – while hoping to enter a more just relation to meaning both through and despite these signifiers.

What I have called an “ethics of silence” implies this hope as pointing toward a truly different state of being, one beyond consciousness and differentiation. To my mind, however, the desired practice of this hope – the supposed “letting go” of consciousness – more fruitfully highlights the dangers of “hanging onto” it, notably by using images and words to convey specific content but stage potentially open or

¹⁹ Christine Furuya-Gössler (diaries) and Seiichi Furuya (images), *Mémoires 1983*, German with translation by Mine Scheid-Katayama (Japanese) and Richard Watts (English), Salzburg: Fotohof, 2006). All quotes from this source are my own from Christine’s German, informed by Scheid-Katayama’s English.

multiple relations to it. Conversely, in the case of Furuya and his commentators – which I briefly analyze later in this introduction – I detect such possibilities for open interpretation met by critical injunctions not to interpret, such that the ethical “message” is that there can be no message – at least, that no message is clear or final. This is why I introduce a multinarrative ethics to proliferate messages toward an increasing clarity about one’s relations that is never final.

In fact, in what will be a long aside – one of my grateful “nods” to pursuits further from my regional and content-based “core” – I might observe that the conundrum discussed above – in both general approaches to perception and the specifically emotional-historical applications of Furuya and me – was engaged somewhat systematically by Griselda Pollock in her Holberg Lecture of this year (June 7, 2021).²⁰ Among other things, Pollock referenced the *Mnemosyne Atlas* of Aby Warburg as an inspiration for her own processes. Briefly, Warburg’s re-combinations of images – originally in search of an underlying “truth” of humanity in culture – extend the promise of ongoing, multifaceted engagement with the personal, history and harm in the collection and display of materials, particularly in light of Warburg’s own experience from pre-unification Germany through the Weimar era.²¹

²⁰ Griselda Pollock, “The Holberg Lecture by Griselda Pollock: Art, Thought and Difficulty,” uploaded to YouTube by Holberg Prize, June 7, 2021: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BeeJ4apjX1w&t=4586s>. Accessed July 31, 2021. I thank Boreth Ly for bringing this to my attention – and also for her own work in the historical-personal, particularly *Traces of Trauma: Cambodian Visual Culture and National Identity in the Aftermath of Genocide* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2020).

²¹ For a fruitful review and update of interpretative possibilities on the model of the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, see Molly Kalkstein, “Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne Atlas*: On Photography, Archive and the Afterlife of Images,” *Rutgers Art Review*, vol. 35 (2019): <https://rar.rutgers.edu/aby-warburgs-mnemosyne-atlas/>. Accessed August 10, 2021. I am grateful to Ayelet Zohar for bringing this to my attention, along with wider-ranging approaches to histories of harm that I am sorry are beyond my scope at the moment:

In these terms, Pollock orchestrated her own recognition and amelioration of various modes of historical harm through eclectic associations across artists, artists' subjects, subjects of her own family photographs and more.

I also must credit my undergraduates at the University of California, Santa Cruz, whose sense of historical responsibility largely elicited my language in this dissertation. Briefly – in 2018 – I came to describe myself as a “repentant, perpetrator descendant” – or something of the sort – because I noticed my students moderating their behavior according to their ideas of me as a “woman of color,” “Asian American,” or other term that may be biologically accurate but does not capture my sense of my own responsibility for harm in the past – notably through World War II, the Asia-Pacific War, and related frameworks. I thus used myself to offer them more nuanced paths through ideas of relations to harm and the past.

Additionally, thinking of myself in “perpetrator” lineages has let my history provide me an ethical and emotional anchor that I do not foresee foregoing, for it spurs my resolve to keep seeking modes of care for others amid ongoing crises in the US, which surface briefly in this dissertation.²² In fact, the simplified, gentle language of this dissertation arose from the way in which I talk to members of the

Michael Rothberg, *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2019) and Ariella Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (London and New York: Verso, 2019).

²² Notably the murder of George Floyd by a policeman in 2020 and the January 6, 2021 insurrection instigated by then-president Donald Trump. Of too much that I could cite on these, perhaps the following are most clearly concise: Derrick Bryson Taylor, “George Floyd Protests: A Timeline,” *The New York Times*, March 28 (2021): <https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html> (accessed May 26, 2021) and Shelly Tan, Youjin Shin and Michelle Rindler, “How One of America’s Ugliest Days Unraveled Inside and Outside the Capitol,” *The Washington Post*, January 9 (2021): <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2021/capitol-insurrection-visual-timeline/> (accessed June 8, 2021).

wartime generation alive in my family today, all over a hundred years old. They can respond to a careful and kind discussion of their past when I hide it in the more general danger of selfhood in creating difference (Grandma and Grandaunt, if you are reading this now, you have chosen the other way that I say things). For now, I must live – no matter what else I do – in recognizing and “defusing” my historical-personal frameworks.²³ I say “defuse,” because – rather than choose whom to accept, reject or (attempt to) reform in my life – I find that I only can hold the opposites of care and danger together at all times, constantly directing all elements toward care.

At the end of this long “aside,” then, I also confess that my inclination to a multinarrative ethics dates to before I had encountered most of the works that I cite. Rather, I feel now that a multinarrative ethics was latent in my inherited frameworks. I refer to attitudes of religious exegesis and superstition (though also my parents’ less obvious skepticism toward them). These are what one writer has called the “Lutheran and Counter-Reformation [...] decisive bias towards allegory”²⁴ and my childhood games of non-scholarly “zen.” In the latter, I tried to keep always in my mind – alongside whatever else I was thinking – that progress in undoing the distinctions that constitute an individual self must be registered – paradoxically, to me – *as* an individual. I also had a childhood sense of psychoanalysis through jokes that my parents made, such as about Jung's collective unconscious whenever anyone had the

²³ I take my sense of “defusing” from my own earlier piece in this vein: Ellen Takata, “My Love to Be Defused: Beginnings of an Ethics of Belonging through Negotiations of a National Socialist Image in Daily Life, from Infancy to Adulthood (Excerpts from Diaries Now Titled, *The Responsibility of Being That Sort of Baby*, March 24–July 25, 2020),” *Refract*, vol. 3, issue 1, Hauntings and Traces (Fall 2020): 19-32: <https://doi.org/10.5070/R73151190> (accessed June 8, 2021).

²⁴ George Steiner, “Introduction,” Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London and New York: Verso, 1992), 14.

same thoughts.²⁵ In this sense, my theoretical considerations are not only an accounting for relevant scholarship but also – and more fundamentally – an engagement of thinkers around my own, childhood concern: to access a supposedly unconscious – and thus “universal” (though I bracket my faith in this) – humanity.

Returning to Furuya: taking responsibility for the above frameworks– but also activating their interpretative possibilities – informs how I demonstrate my methodology through Furuya’s particular photobooks. I let my associations lead toward increased senses of responsibility and connection through immediate interpretations as well as in relation to sources that emerge to me around Furuya’s work from other areas. Mechanically, this is possible because Furuya’s photobooks can mimic as well as create memory and life encounter: from mimicking his own life through memory as he designs them; to echoing *of* his life and memory *with* mine as I view them; to – for the readers of this dissertation, for example – further iterations in this process for those who observe the observers of his photobooks (i.e. my observations of his critics; your observations of me; etc.). In this way, photobooks – as opposed to exhibitions – may habituate a willingness to delve into interpretations that the gallery may not. Such intimacy might be inferred as a basic desire in photographers’ choices to create photobooks. In Furuya’s case particularly, he told me at various times that he conceives his projects as photobooks for his own, private uses in memory and realization – permanent records that change with each viewing.

²⁵ I credit mainly my parents, Linda and Glenn Takata, from 1976 to 1986, Cambridge and Arlington, Massachusetts, but also book with a colorful cover that always caught my eye at that time: Carl G. Jung, M-L. von Franz, Joseph L. Henderson Jolande Jacobi and Aniela Jaffé, *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Dell, 1964).

Similarly, I extend Furuya's workings of photobook composition to bring multiple stories to consciousness through what I see as connections in possible narratives rather than ruptures in a (falsely assumed) narrative. Mine is perhaps an implicit reaction to Furuya's efforts – glossed above – to keep visual elements from connecting too easily. Perhaps our only area of true agreement is our wariness of unconscious assumptions – too-easy connections – causing misunderstanding and harm, which – as Chapter 1 explores as an ethics of silence – his generation showed an inclination to “solve” by eschewing meaning-making in general. This is why I consider myself only to be casting my faith with meaning-making in another effort to avoid its dangers, to connect elements of encounter in greater and ongoing contemplation – on and across pages, photobooks and associations in the world.

In my terms, what Furuya calls his “empty space” of the photobook page would be a continuum of impressions waiting to convey one's relations to harm, familiarity and foreignness through stories among Furuya, his subjects and potential viewers, all realizing and addressing connections to – or disconnections with – the past and other people. Within this, I myself seek new levels of awareness in ongoing reformation of myself for the safety of others, to pursue understanding of, redress and (re)connection to them. This is how, as Furuya told me, “*this is not about photography, ne? [...but] not to lie to [our]sel[ves].*”

To show this clearly, I now arrive at elaborations of terms and theory earlier anticipated. There is also a bit more. I explain the titular “ethics of belonging,” provide a skeleton of the theory that Chapter 1 engages in relation to Furuya, address

previous commentary on Furuya, share one of many interview excerpts that emerge in this dissertation (most of which require similar contextualization beforehand), gloss chapters, illustrate Furuya's "cross-photobook" process (return to individual photographic projects through their images in different sequences across photobooks over time, Figures 3-4) and analyze the opening images.

I (re)begin, then, with what I call an ethics of belonging. I frequently trace visual narratives around Furuya's images, image sequences, and changes in sequences across photobooks to intervene against uncritical senses of comfort in feelings of familiarity – of belonging with others as "oneself" in a "home" – applicable to formations such as identity and homeland, yet which I leave open to other modes of group belonging through that verb ("belonging"). I call the internal "image" of such senses of comfort a space of belonging and its elements trappings of belonging. Trappings of belonging can be any details habituated unconsciously as "natural" and "one's own" – such as I discern in Furuya's work, which – to disarm the blindness of such feelings of natural ownership – I bind to histories of World War II and the Asia Pacific War, variously through aesthetics and attitudes that might be understood to have enabled the wars or later endure in wartime frames of emotional attachment. Thus, an "ethics of belonging" is a multinarrative ethics with particular concern for the harm habituated in oneself.

I confess, however, that my "terms" arise simply to name the modes of analysis that Furuya's work demanded of me. This is why – unlike Furuya and the figures whom I consider around him, to whom I find that I have related as a sort of

heir to their wartime and postwar generations – I cannot situate my work in what I find to be their favoring of a rejection of consciousness, though I understand why they would: after seeing – or seeing the result of – everything able to be seen, felt, sensed or understood so easily weaponized, simply by human feelings fitting into frames that always were dangerous yet had not been so obvious – frames of belonging. I might apologize to them by saying that I no longer can purport to reject a conscious approach to the world merely because consciousness is always partial and imperfect, that it habituates modes of belonging that allow incomplete connection to others on a spectrum from daily indifference to murder. I am sorry that I cannot spend more time on trying to imagine an unconscious egalitarian state that naturally avoids such personal tensions and therefore their potentially disastrous consequences – but this leaves time to imagine *consciously* in and about connecting more completely to others.

The theoretical skeleton of my dissertation will contextualize the above anxiety about consciousness in traditions of thinking (and feeling) around Furuya, of which I make my consciously multinarrative approach a late addition through echoes of that approach in scholars writing between what I have called “a sort of general postwar generation before me” and me. These will be elaborated in subsequent discussions, for which I reserve most of my many citations to keep the skeleton “clean.” For now, I recontextualize an ethics of silence. As indicated above – and may sound familiar to readers who remember various thinkers of the 20th century – this ethics idealizes total rejection of consciousness for its related dangers. I use it as an umbrella term for various critiques of discursive forms – e.g. focus, interpretation,

language, images, emotion, expression – in German and Japanese contexts of resisting or regretting fascism. In terms of works relevant to commentators on Furuya, these writings range from the 1930s through the 1990s. Put too simply, fascism might be understood to obtain in these critiques as the endpoint of discursivity – the term that I use to gloss the various modes of (presumed) conscious communication critiqued – where discursivity is an earlier framework for humanity that begot the primacy of individuality in (monotheistic) religion, capitalism and assumed value of uniqueness in visual productions as sacred or (marketable) “art.”

I therefore take the implicitly antifascist ethics of silence as one of the more overarching contexts in which Furuya’s predecessors and peers turned individually to their own ideals of non-discursivity and unconsciousness, which may not have been seen as “united” in this way before. Briefly, each sought a somewhat unconscious and unfocused state of humanity as the defeat of discursivity and its associated, systemic harm. Too simply put, this harm arises from the ability of consciousness to let humans focus on different things and thereby create unequal value systems by categorizing reality in hierarchies that assume (one’s) individualized “self” at the top.

Several thinkers in this area expressed overt opposition to notions of discursivity as fascist or capitalist, but often – as haunts this dissertation in a simple but ubiquitous way – as generally “Western.” I see the last as a sort of 20th century “Western remorse” – for (German) fascism and various (European) imperialisms – which conveys implicit apology for those systems in an idealization of “non-Western” non-discursivity, effectively a reversal of the old “Western” primacy of consciousness

in which the “non-West” was considered irrational. It also enables the following concern to an ethics of postwar responsibility: a mindset in which Japan’s fascism and imperialism are excused as not its own but born of both enchantment in seeking to “Westernize” and self-defense against European and (Euro)American force.

Observations such as this last, in fact, might be considered beyond the point at which an ethics of silence initiated its refusal of consciousness, i.e. deconstructed discursivity up to the point of constructing harm as “Western” and left various cultural traditions other than Europe’s idealized but unexplored.²⁶ I am sorry that I cannot explore these either, because I am not qualified – except insofar as I may add my personal sense of “nonself” (which is but one of my senses of self) that chanced to emerge to me through Japanese elements in Furuya’s work, though it is a condition that could obtain in any culture. Specifically, as I explore in Chapter 2, I realized this particular sense of myself only through encounter with Furuya’s images in a photobook – captioned by his own memories of particular negotiations between Japanese settings and his life with Christine. It also did not come at first but only after I had told myself many stories of what Furuya *might* be doing, which then revealed what *I* sometimes do, and for which I now have caution.

This is why my theoretical skeleton – which remains where I am in this introduction, though it will be over soon – ends by appending my own multinarrative

²⁶ Though breaking my “no early citation” rule, I have no other place for the following examples among many works that inspire me in this area: Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), 66-75 and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

ethics to the ethics of silence before me. I do so in humbled willingness to use discursivity against itself. I do it not for the sake of theoretical opposition, or because many scholars – such as the historians of German and Japanese culture on whom I draw as multinarrative “precedents” (see Chapter 1) – confidently approached supposed facts as results of potentially nationalist attitudes that multiple interpretations could expose and complicate. Rather – and this is my personal message for Furuya and his generation – I am the kind of person who cannot stop thinking things into consciousness, so I cannot do what I know was wished of me, though nobody told me to do it. I was to seek that non-discursive perfection, on which – though I flirt with defensiveness in this admission – I expended my youth. In giving up that ideal, however, I better pursue “our” ethical goal: to avoid the disaster of feelings mapping onto images – such as self and homeland – that habituate destruction of others.

Now my theoretical skeleton is “complete.” Before turning to commentary on Furuya, however, I would like to gloss a recurring term in this dissertation that may cement what I mean by “habituation” as well as – through its relation to commentary by Marina Gržinic on the work of one of Furuya’s Austrian colleagues, Manfred Willmann – model, as I address in due course, a more direct example of the kind of commentary that Furuya also receives. This term is *Heimat*. I engage it visually through Willmann in Chapter 1 (Figures 9-10) and Furuya in Chapter 4 (Figures 52-61). It is a German word that denotes a formation in which nature is registered as an emotionally comforting frame of belonging – of self in-and-with the “familiar,” even

if only as a lone figure as part of nature-as-communion-with-the-Christian (G)od – between private “home” and nationalist “homeland,” specifically such that Gržinic could write, “Nature is always already infected.”²⁷

Her passage below may capture the emotion of upcoming commentary on Furuya in its critique of discursivity and idealization of unconsciousness, which she does through what I would call trappings of *Heimat*. Though she eschews using that word, she evokes its historical dangers (e.g. “Fatherland,” what the Third Reich called both the *Heimat* and itself) and its habituated assumptions of a rural environment (“idyllic scenes,” “authentic experience”) to imagine rejecting these habituations for a “void” – an undifferentiated state that – as I consider in Chapter 1 – Gržinic later proposes witnessing through the safer unconsciousness of an animal:

Willmann therefore bans idyllic scenes, because he is not excited by authentic experience [*authentische Erfahrung*], which all too quickly can stray into a mythology of origin [*Ursprungsmythos*]. He shows clearly that behind the official “will” of ideology lurks the wish for standardization – namely, the specter of pathology. Subtle melancholy of the country(side) [*Land(schafts)melancholie*] and “deep emotions,” only could stray into eruptions of violence here. Thus are these photos always flecked with blood, even when there is no blood to see. Seen in another aspect, one could say that the alternation between urban and rural in the photos dislodges that machine that steers our imaginations of land/Fatherland. This does not so much mean that new (authentic) forms of expression are sought here, rather [...] the void at the core of the countryside as much as of the city is abandoned. [...] These pictures shift through disturbances because the power mirrored in nature offers no solution here. Nature is always already infected.²⁸

²⁷ Marina Gržinic, “Manfred Willmann: Wilde Verwirrtheit/ Raw Dizziness,” in German with parallel English translation by Thomas Raab, Manfred Willmann, *Secession*, preface by Matthias Hermann, essays by Marina Gržinic and Wolfgang Kos (Vienna: Secession, 2003), 14. All quotes from this piece are my translations from Gržinic’s German.

²⁸ Gržinic, 14.

In short, her notion of the “void” – as the opposite of a discursively encoded and perceived reality, one that attaches values to distinctions such as those between country and city – echoes the ideal most commonly referenced among Furuya’s commentators: philosopher Roland Barthes’ avowed fantasy of unmediated perception that took Japan as its inspiration.²⁹

In light of my earlier remarks on “Western remorse,” I preface this section on Furuya’s commentators with a reprise of that concept. It lies in my sense of their use of Barthes’ Japanese adventure – as opposed to his critique-of-yet-love-through photography, which I address in due course.³⁰ I apologize that I have been moved to treat these critics as humans, yet it is for the sake of a gentle critique. As I have explained, I sense a kind of “Western remorse” when thinkers idealize the “non-West” as perfect except insofar as the “West” has tainted it through colonialism, capitalism, religion and other formations – aside from fascism, which by definition generally operates through a construction of an ethnicity as a shared eternity³¹ – attributed to consciousness and discursivity. In these terms, Furuya’s Austrian commentators and

²⁹ Roland Barthes, *L’empire des signes* (Geneva: Skira, 1970), (see also Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982)). Examples of reference to this work or its ideas in discussions of Furuya include Christine Frisinghelli, “Asking Questions: Positions in Austrian Photography Today,” *Questioning Europe: Reinterpretations within Photography* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010 Publishers, 1988), 46; Monika Faber, “Erwachen vor der Tatsache [Awakening to the fact],” *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 96-97; and Urs Stahel, “On the Border,” trans. Ishbel Fett, Seiichi Furuya with Urs Stahel, *Mémoires 1995*, with further text by Toshiharu Ito (Zurich: Scalo, 1995), 152-153.

³⁰ Roland Barthes, *La chambre claire: note sur la photographie* ([Paris]: Éditions de l’Étoile, Gallimard, Le Seuil, 1980), (see also Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981)). All quotes from this work refer to Howard’s translation.

³¹ See e.g. Raul Carstocea, “Breaking the Teeth of Time: Mythical Time and the ‘Terror of History’ in the Rhetoric of the Legionary Movement in Interwar Romania,” *Journal of Modern European History/Zeitschrift für moderne europäische Geschichte/Revue d’histoire européenne contemporaine*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2015), 79-97.

the French philosophers they cited – such as Barthes³² and (as I later discuss) Jacques Derrida³³ – might have operated in search of emotional-ethical solace by critiquing discursivity to encode a somewhat “loud” apology to the “non-West” along with a “softer” one – where relevant – for (European) fascisms among each other.

As noted in my theoretical skeleton, my concern lies in that parenthetic – that “Western remorse” enables what one scholar termed Japan’s postwar “status-shift from that of colonizer to colonized.”³⁴ To elaborate my earlier gloss: Japan can deny its war crimes – and pre-existing cultural elements that enabled them – by implying that the Asia-Pacific War was an anti-imperialist struggle against Western powers in Asia – echoing Japan’s wartime propaganda – while also blaming “Westernized” sentiments in Japan’s leadership for the unjustness of the war (thereby contradicting the first implication that the war was just).³⁵ In this paradox, Japanese

³² Examples of citations of other works by Barthes include Monika Faber, “Seiichi Furuya: Portrait,” *La photographie traversée* [The transitioning photograph(y)] (Arles: ACTES SUD 2000), 162, citation 2: Roland Barthes, *Fragments d’un discours amoureux* (Paris: Seuil, 1977), (see also Roland Barthes, *A lover’s discourse: fragments*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010)); and Kohara, 8-11 (English) citations 2-5: *La chambre claire* (see also Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*).

³³ e.g. Wilfried Skreiner, “Mémoires,” *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 102 (no citation – he mentions Jacques Derrida, *Mémoires: pour Paul de Man* (Paris: Galilée, 1988), (see also Jacques Derrida, *Mémoires: for Paul de Man* (New York: Columbia University Press/The Wellek Lectures at the University of California, Irvine, 1986)); and Kohara, citations 6-7: Jacques Derrida, *Schibboleth: pour Paul Celan* (Paris: Galilée, 1986); and *Papier machine* (Paris: Galilée, [2001]), (see also Jacques Derrida, *Paper Machine*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005)).

³⁴Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 7.

³⁵ This gloss is my own opinion from more works than I can list – perhaps it remains most in keeping with Saburō Ienaga 家長三郎 *Taiheyō Sensō* 太平洋戦争 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), (see also Saburō Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945: a Critical Perspective on Japan’s Role in World War II* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978)). For evidence of Japan’s “status shift” as early as its postwar trials for war crimes, see also John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999), 471-474. See also considerations of echoes in more recent Japanese views – e.g. Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006); Philip A. Seaton, *Japan’s Contested War Memories: the ‘Memory Rifts’ in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (London:

can – though not all do – blame “Western-ness” for any of Japan’s invasive actions since the arrival of Jesuits and Dominicans in the 1400s.³⁶ This is why I recuperate this “Barthesian” haunting (though it goes far beyond Barthes) for an idea of Furuya and his circles – in both Japan and Austria – as working within a wider questioning and exposure of discursivity’s harms. It is for this reason that – in the following commentaries – Furuya’s disturbance of discursivity may be expected as within his circles’ postwar ethics (on which see Chapter 1) such that its attribution to Furuya’s relation to Japan may be somewhat beside the point.

In fact, writers today still attribute criticality to Furuya through his role as a “foreigner” in Europe rather than his sharing of common ethics with the generally (but not always) apparently European-derived authors who write on his work.³⁷ As I note in Chapter 4,³⁸ Furuya may have responded recently to this attitude by adding a

Routledge, 2010); and Akiko Hashimoto, *The Long Defeat: Cultural Trauma, Memory and Identity in Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁶ Japanese reception of these missionaries was often somewhat opportunistic – see, for example, George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973). At the same time, early Christian and later Jesuit worldviews may be considered among instances of “belonging” that indirectly and later directly influenced European colonialisms and related notions of self. See, for example, Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and J. Michelle Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: the Jesuit Ethic and Spirit of Global Expansion, 1520-1767* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [2013]).

³⁷ In fact, Furuya’s Japanese commentators tend to construct him similarly through his having left Japan – see, for example, Michiko Kasahara, 笠原美智子, ed. *Bordler/Borderless: Japanese Contemporary Photography*, with essays by Ryūta Imafuku 今福龍太 and Michiko Kasahara (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1993); Toshiharu Ito, “A Memory of Boundaries: Seiichi Furuya’s *Mémoires 1995*,” *Mémoires 1995*, 154-159; and Takashi Homma, “Something Like a Sunset,” *Setting Sun*, 197.

³⁸ Particularly through discussion of Maren Lübke-Tidow, “Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation/An Unacceptable Situation,” Seiichi Furuya with Maren Lübke-Tidow, “Staatsgrenze 2016/Beispiel: Um Spielfeld und Umzäunung/Border 2016/Example: Around Spielfeld and Fence Installations,” offprint from *ÖsterreichBilder/Facing Austria* (Salzburg: Fotohof, 2017), 22-23. All quotes from this source are my translations from the German.

“Japanese” aspect to his origin story of a Cold War era project otherwise concerned with Austria’s Eastern Bloc borders.³⁹ Below, I briefly show how earlier writers might be seen to have set this enduring image of Furuya and his work. Notably – like Gržinic in her above writing on Furuya’s colleague Willmann – commentators on Furuya appear to “set up” opportunities to interpret elements in Furuya’s work so that they may end by displaying their rejection of these opportunities – as, for example, Gržinic’s listing of various *Heimat*-inflected interpretations that she finds Willmann to defeat by staging awareness of a “void” behind such discursivity.⁴⁰ Perhaps the main difference is that Furuya’s commentators end with ideas of Furuya staging awareness of a similar, discursivity-defeating state because he is “Japanese.” In 1989, for example, Monika Faber cited Barthes to posit an implicitly more just, non-emotional, non-signifying perception over possibilities of interpretation:

When Barthes grasps the haiku as an “‘awakening to the fact,’ a seizure by the thing as experience and not as substance” [...] the possibility to put Furuya’s pictures in order arose earlier in this [Japanese] system than with our [Western] standards. Pathos, critique, description or interpretation: all these are criteria that do not apply to Furuya’s photographs – their unity carries its spirit within itself. They are crystal clear fragments, with which memory can work as signs.⁴¹

As will be evident in Furuya’s interviews throughout this dissertation, Faber operates in keeping with his wishes – that viewers not let his work play out in typical illustrative style – yet her reason encodes his wishes in his cultural difference rather than as typical of the ethics of his era. Such seems encoded in her notion that his

³⁹ See Furuya’s 2013 statement in Seiichi Furuya, *Staatsgrenze, 1981-1983* [State border: 1981-1983] (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2014) (unpaginated: 78 from title page). All quotes from this source are my translations from the German.

⁴⁰ Gržinic, 14.

⁴¹ “Erwachen vor der Tatsache,” 96-97.

work does not operate by “our [Western] standards – Pathos, critique, description or interpretation,” i.e. focus that can give rise to internalized and beloved categorizations of difference and value, such as Gržinic’s “Subtle melancholy of the country(side) [Land(schafts)melancholie] and ‘deep emotions’” – but rather achieves a (Japanese) “unity” from the many photographs that might have clashed if given individual focus.

A few years later, in 1995, Urs Stahel similarly showed inclinations to treat Furuya’s photobooks discursively – in his idea of Furuya’s memory work as somewhat interpretative: “putting it away, reactivating it later.... as memory functions, logically and illogically, historically and associatively.” He also ended, however, with a reference to Barthes and the evasiveness of meaning in “Japanese” presentation:

After 23 years in Japan and 22 years in Europe, Furuya no longer has a homeland [...] on the border between worlds, his eyes attuned to the abyss. Some of his photos can be turned any which way and still function, almost like traditional Japanese architecture. “Turn the picture round: nothing more, nothing different, nothing.” (Roland Barthes) To be without a homeland, in this case, helps to jettison meaning, liberate stringent orientation and take the risk of floating free.⁴²

Again, what might have been presented as Furuya’s general resistance to truth claims in signification and photography – which Stahel seems to realize is vital for an honestly self-updating approach to memory (akin to what I later discuss as Furuya’s “re-reading,” though Furuya would not write on this until 1997)⁴³ – slides into a final idea of “Japanese” freedom from signification that closes off deeper engagement with

⁴² “On the Border,” 152-153.

⁴³ I take “re-reading” from Seiichi Furuya, “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” *Christine Furuya-Gössler: Mémoires 1978-1985* (Tokyo: Korinsha, 1997), (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece). All quotes from this source are my translations, except those from captions originally in English, specified in parenthesis as “(English).”

specific topics in Furuya's work and their fruitfulness for others. (I shall return to the question of Furuya's "homeland" in Chapter 3 and, as noted, Furuya's role as a "foreigner" in Chapter 4).⁴⁴

To end on a partial exception, however, Stefanie Loh's study of 2012, which included Furuya's work in a larger rumination on "performativity," treated his approach primarily as a general intervention against the predictability and order of traditional photojournalism and documentary. At the same time, she echoed the above patterns in an idea of his work as containing entwined stories that the viewer must not articulate. Effectively, she evoked a kind of active unconsciousness.⁴⁵

I shall share my attempt to discuss the above issues with Furuya after addressing the remaining – sparse – citations of theory among his commentators. One I have foreshadowed: Barthes' famous critique of photography's inability to represent truth while – conversely – cherishing an ideal feeling of truth – "justice and accuracy" – in a particular photograph of his late mother.⁴⁶ In terms of Furuya, this aspect of Barthes echoes Furuya's attempts to access the reality of Christine through the incomplete record of his own photography and memory. The other small line of citation around Furuya is Derrida's idea of mourning as the voice of an "other" in oneself, which echoes notions of Christine's voice emerging in Furuya. One commentator wrote of posthumous continuation of her role as Furuya's interface with

⁴⁴ In relation to "Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation."

⁴⁵ Stefanie Loh, *Foto Tagebücher: Performative Aufzeichnung als Strategie* [Photo-diaries: performative tracings as strategy] Kunst und Kulturwissenschaft in der Gegenwart 7 (Oberhausen, Germany: Athena, 2012), particularly 9, 91-114.

⁴⁶ *Camera Lucida*, 70; *La chambre claire*, 109.

Europe through photobooks.⁴⁷ Another evoked her “new” role as a member of the dead, for whom Furuya must “live” more of her “life” in her absence.⁴⁸

I also would like to add – although, with apologies, not unpack, as the nuances are not necessary for Furuya’s and my concerns – my impression of Derrida’s great love for language’s potential *before* it is expressed.⁴⁹ Briefly, Derrida always strikes me as – though I put it too simply – bittersweetly aware that language weaponizes as it shares: that what *is* expressed *had* myriad other potential expressions that were not used (might have been better), but now it is too late. In fact, these “unused expressions” are effectively what I seek in a multinarrative ethics, for I too feel that I am too late yet still try. I therefore might compare Furuya’s “empty space” of the photobook page to Derrida’s potential in un-expressed language: images before interpretation. I owe much to Derrida through a simple wish that I imagine echoing his: that expressed language exist in a world friendlier toward the idea that no expression is final, in an evolving but never complete, improved (improving) relation.

In fact, I fished for Furuya’s ideas on his above reception by asking how he approaches theory. His answer was that he invites colleagues to apply theory to his work but does not read theory himself. The interview excerpt below followed somewhat on that discussion, in which – as is evident – I tripped over my attempt to explain what I have been explaining thus far. I do not smooth my translations of our

⁴⁷ “Seiichi Furuya: Portrait,” 162, citation 2: *Fragments d’un discours amoureux*.

⁴⁸ Kohara, citations 6-7: *Schibboleth: pour Paul Celan*; and *Papier machine*.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Jacques Derrida, “La pharmacie de Platon,” *La dissémination* (Paris: Seuil [1972]), 257-403, (see also “Plato’s Pharmacy,” *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (London: The Athlone Press, 1981), 61-171).

conversations, however, which – as I noted earlier – took place mostly in German (with a scattering of English and Japanese), often stilted yet perhaps the more sincere:

ET: Yes, um, have your listeners – “listeners,” no – what is the –

SF: Viewers.

ET: Viewers, uh have viewers ever shared their thoughts with you?

SF: No, no, never – on my exhibitions, or how?

ET: Uh,

SF: I have no communication with the viewers.

ET: Ah, and – because the writings about your work [referring to the commentary glossed in this introduction] – they begin to imagine [stories] but don’t want to. Excuse – excuse my German – I, right, what *I* automatically do – do in life – is to imagine many (hi)stories [*viele Geschichte darstellen*]. If, for example, I see this [referring to the image shown in Figure 3] I think: how many relationships can it – can *we* tell, and it is final [*endlich* – I’d meant *endlos*, “endless”]. Right, but I think, uh: we can think historically, or think privately, and we can think without text, or the text with this or that and so on and so forth, and, um, it seems to me that no one wants to – or “should” do that – with this work? Excuse my frankness!

SF: I don’t understand – I don’t understand the question.

ET: [In Japanese] *ano* [“um”] [back to German] it seems to me that viewers can imagine their own stories for themselves –

SF: Yes, yes –

ET: with these, and –

SF: Yes, yes, [but,] that is, I make things not for other people.

ET: Yes.

SF: I make it for *me*, and if someone is interested in looking at my things, then I show – that is, *for me*.

ET: Yes, I understand that very well.

SF: [pounds on table] important for *my life*, but I – all the [photo]books, first of all, I make not for Christine. Many people – many people make books [about my work]. They’ve often – [switches to English] “name of wife” *ne?* or “My Dear,” and so on [I take this to mean distaste for sentimentalization] –

ET: [back to German] I, I understand that your books are your –

SF: *exclusively* for me, *and* for my son.

ET: Yes, they’re your life, but others can see –

SF: Yes, yes –

ET: so –

SF: And I don’t explain [*ich erkläre nicht*].

ET: Yes.

SF: I don’t explain what they are.

ET: Hm.

SF: That is, the people who look, the viewers, should be free.

ET: Yes, that is a good balance.

SF: It’s impossible, because I’m not somewhere every time, *ne* – when by chance there is an exhibition somewhere, by chance I’m there, and by chance someone knows that I’m the author [*Autor*], then, if something is asked, I can answer – but there’s *no* such thing as explaining [*Erklären gibt’s ja nicht*].

While Furuya may be nothing if not clear, I might summarize how his views on his work operate in relation to a multinarrative ethics. As he will say to me again in chapters to come – he does not care what viewers see but does feel that there is something to see “*for [him]*.” This implies that Furuya himself uses his work in a sort of multinarrative way to find new understandings of Christine in retellings of their story, notably by staging “surprises” for his own consciousness in new versions of it

through his rearrangement of images – in short, what he laconically has called his photobook process in print: “re-reading.”⁵⁰ While his expression may imply an ethics of silence for viewers – perhaps in implied respect for his privacy, though this is a bit moot in light of the texts that Furuya shares about his life, examined in chapters to come⁵¹ – his idea that “the people who look, the viewers, should be free” introduces a concept that I had forgotten: interpretation is freedom to make meanings. This is why it must be responsible – as critiqued, indeed, in a deconstruction of the Anglo-American concept of freedom as bound to language.⁵²

This leads me to state what may be too obvious: that freedom must be responsibility for others. In short, I might read between the lines of Furuya’s words to me and presume that – along the way to any particular narratives from Furuya’s work, whether intended by Furuya or not – I take his fundamental message that registering meanings is not clear and direct, that discursivity must be seen – as much as possible – for what it is. For me, this means discursively analyzing Furuya’s work and – as happens – expanding the potential of Furuya’s work beyond his notion of it.

I therefore also extend this pause before my chapter glosses to elaborate Furuya’s sense of his own work as opposed to how I expand it. As in Furuya’s phrase from the epigraph to this introduction – “I study my past once more with photography” – he means *his* past with Christine, not my own sense of potential to relate to all who have caused or received harm in my cultural pasts. To continue in his words: what

⁵⁰ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

⁵¹ Particularly his memories in *Mémoires 1978-1985*, and Christine’s diaries in *Mémoires, 1983*. All quotes from these works are my own translations from Furuya’s Japanese and Christine’s German.

⁵² Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom & Fetish in the Mission Encounter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

we have in common is that we always must do this “once more,” because honesty always must be re-tested. Up to the end of my research – 2019, for today is a bit different, as I describe at the end of this introduction – Furuya pursued what he hastened to describe to me as his *Aufgabe*. I wrote it down as he told me in the car, before we even arrived at his house and set up my audio equipment. It was his “duty” – of “re-reading” his photographs across the “empty space” of photobook pages – to realize new truths about Christine.⁵³ Some would be painful, some pleasurable, always in redress to her: retrospectively providing attention and promotion that she did not receive in life – though not necessarily a sad attention, as the years go by.

I also want to note that – due to what I have glossed as a trend in Furuya’s generation of critiquing discursivity as fascist, capitalist and religious (arguably monotheistic) – Furuya’s critical reception chances to be in keeping with the main critique that Furuya expressed personally to me – perennially over two days of interviews (March 29-30, 2019). Briefly, he would invoke what he vaguely called “the capitalism problem” to indicate general greed, mainly that of church and state as he considered them to prey on “the weak.” In fact, his notion of “the capitalism problem” might feel more akin to what I have called “belonging” – e.g. in church and state as repositories of hopes to belong with others “like oneself,” in a common sense of superiority and bright destiny. His examples of “the weak” were Christine, Japan in relation to America and Japanese under their government – the latter in keeping

⁵³ Adieu-Wiederschen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

with the enabling effects of “Western remorse” that I have discussed, so I say no more of them. I consider Christine through another work by Furuya.

Christine reminds me to reiterate Furuya’s concern – which he explains to me in relation to her in Chapter 1, yet which I find expressed in most depth through his writing on distance that I consider in Chapter 4⁵⁴ – that one cannot assume too easily that one understands or is close to anyone else, a message in addition to any other meanings in materials that one encounters. Specifically, what I have called his writing on distance addresses a commissioned piece that he produced on Bosnian refugees – which I also gloss in Chapter 1 (Figures 7 and 51).⁵⁵ As hinted briefly at the start of this introduction, Furuya engages his feelings of connection with the refugees in tension with doubts about his abilities to relate to their pain or try to represent it. It is partly in these terms that I would like to begin to consider Christine in her own right – another small task of this dissertation – by extracting her from Furuya’s idea of her as a victim of “the capitalism problem,” as one of the “weak” who are exploited by religion. I bind my introduction of her to a perhaps common anxiety among Furuya, herself and me: relating to others’ pain and trying to alleviate it or atone for it. In fact, Christine allows me to address this issue as an aspect of my own postwar responsibility in that area: my approach to the Holocaust.

⁵⁴ Seiichi Furuya, “War and Photography: An Interview with Furuya Seiichi/戦争と写真をめぐて一古屋誠一に聞く,” interviewed “in writing” by *déjà-vu* (no interviewer or English translator named), *déjà-vu: a photographic quarterly*, no. 17 (Summer 1994): 49-52. All quotes from this Japanese/English source refer to the English translation.

⁵⁵ “Vertreiben-Flüchten/Expulsion-Flight,” *KRIEG.*, Vol. 1, ed. and curated by Werner Fenz and Christine Frisinghelli, Österreichische Triennale zur Fotografie [Austrian Photography Triennial] (Graz: Edition Camera Austria, 1993), 62-63; Vol. 2, 38-39. See also “Furuya Seiichi: Expulsion-Flight,” *déjà-vu, a photographic quarterly*, no. 17 (Summer 1994): 4-44.

Briefly, although Christine critiques anti-Semitism in others,⁵⁶ she also experiences a detail of Jewish culture as an aspect of Catholic ritual. In her words, “I light [Easter] candles this evening three times, managing to grab seven candles across the three and find ‘Hava nagilah’ the second time.”⁵⁷ As I consider in Chapter 3, this experience might be seen as a hint of internally emerging responsibility for anti-Semitism as a longstanding aspect of Christian life: through a space of belonging habituated through ritual, which conditioned individuals perhaps to allow the Holocaust at various levels. In these terms, Christine may have welcomed an amelioration of the harm embedded in her own sense of the “familiar” by willing a change in her Catholicism, perhaps to the effect of keeping her faith more safely.

It is only through what I can consider “personal” – as I explore in Chapter 3, writings by Christine and, as chanced to obtain through events around me as I wrote this dissertation, my own Romanian German relatives and select German authors⁵⁸ – that I approach the Holocaust in relation to Furuya’s work. Furuya’s photobooks include concentration camp images that might be read as “about” other things – for

⁵⁶ For example, *Mémoires 1983*, 136, 260.

⁵⁷ *Mémoires 1983*, 86.

⁵⁸ Primarily Manfred Wiemer, “MAI 1984: Ein Heimatbilderbogen [MAY 1984: a broadsheet of the Homeland],” Seiichi Furuya with Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden: Fotografien 1984/85 2015* [Why Dresden: photographs 1984/85 2015] (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2016), 57-88; Peter Härtling, “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit [Dresden: consolidated reality],” *Errinerte Wirklichkeit – erzählte Wahrheit: die Städte meiner Kindheit* [Remembered reality – related (narrated) truth: the cities of my childhood] (Dresden: Thelem, 2007), 17-35; and my grandmother’s late cousin Hans Frombach, author of “Einführung: Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation [Introduction: thoughts on war and deportation],” *Jahrmarkter Heimatblätter* [Jahrmarkt pages on the homeland], vol. 2, *Deportation 1945: Namensverzeichnis und Erlebnisberichte von Verschleppten in die Sowjetunion aus Jahrmarkt* [Deportation 1945: Index of names and reports of experience for deportees to the Soviet Union from Jahrmarkt], eds. Hans Frombach, Luzian Geier, Adam Kernleiter, and Mathias Loris (Waldkraiburg: Druckerei Keller for Heimatsort Gemeinschaft Jahrmarkt, 1995), 7-18. All quotations from these sources are my own translations from the German.

some commentators, Christine’s suffering itself⁵⁹ – but I am unwilling to recontextualize such images. Rather, I trace how Furuya’s combining a non-Holocaust-related image with a swastika may chance to depict the unknowability of that experience (Figures 29-31). I hope that these pursuits may serve as my attempt to act in keeping with a longstanding mode of Holocaust memorial that depicts inability to depict that experience,⁶⁰ though those must who feel that they *can*.⁶¹

Beyond the scope of this dissertation (though featured in the coda), I also let individuals persecuted under National Socialism “find” me through the materials of my life. I cannot impose my apology on them from personal desire to do that. Then it becomes about me rather than them. *They* must appear – but this means generally that they are actors, writers and others who left public creations for me to find.

I now arrive at my chapter glosses, which all of the above informs. After these, I illustrate Furuya’s general photobook dynamic – how his “re-reading” looks⁶² – before demonstrating how my own methods – a multinarrative ethics and ethics of belonging – look, feel and register. It is in respect for an ethics of silence, however, that Chapter 1 situates Furuya in the earlier glossed “tradition” of both silent and

⁵⁹ See e.g. Werner Fenz, “Chronik der Erkenntnisse [Chronicle of realizations],” *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 98. These images are found in the following: *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 58-59, 72-73; *Mémoires 1995*, 37, 39; and Seiichi Furuya, *Mémoires 1984-1987*, text by Einar Schlee (Graz: Camera Austria; Shizuoka: Nohara, Co., Ltd. for the Izu Photo Museum, 2010), 236-239.

⁶⁰ Adrian Forty captures this approach in his discussion of Rachel Whiteread’s plan for such a memorial – see his introduction to *The Art of Forgetting*, eds. Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), 13-16.

⁶¹ Listing examples is fraught with anxieties of omission. I therefore cite only two from among my first and most recent encounters: Elie Wiesel, *Night*, trans. Stella Rodway with a forward by Francois Mauriac (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), (see also Elie Wiesel, *La nuit* (Paris: Éditions de la minuit, [c. 2007])); and *Because I Was a Painter: Secretly Crafted Artworks from Concentration Camps*, dir. Christophe Cognet (Cinema Guild, 2015), accessed via UCSC Kanopy, November 26, 2019.

⁶² *Adieu-Wiederssehen*,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

multinarrative interventions against discursive dangers. I start with prewar Marxist philosophers' ideals of mass consciousness as a kind of unconsciousness: Walter Benjamin's (1892-1940) notion of "distraction" – as eliding discursively (German) fascist forms of focusing emotion through self-interest⁶³ – and ideals of humanity as bound to the unconscious matter of the body in such a way as to oppose (Japanese) fascist "custom," expressed by Benjamin's Japanese contemporary Jun Tosaka (1900-1945).⁶⁴ I then make a chronological skip to qualify these non-discursive ideals with reference to multinarrativity in postwar historians: Lisa Yoneyama and Yoshikuni Igarashi on Japanese cultural productions⁶⁵ – and Eric Santner on German film and television.⁶⁶ This skip in chronology lets me segue into the chapters on Furuya's work through ideals of non-discursive states in Furuya's circles, including nonliving materials,⁶⁷ animals,⁶⁸ and philosopher Michel Foucault's famous "murmur."⁶⁹

⁶³ See e.g. Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit [The artwork in the age of its technological reproducibility]," *Illuminationen: ausgewählte Schriften* [Illuminations: selected writings], ed. Siegfried Unseld, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), 168, (see also "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," trans. Harry Zohn, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 241). All quotes from this source refer to Zohn's translation.

⁶⁴ Jun Tosaka 戸坂潤, "Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei fūzokusei oyobi taishūsei" 映画の写実的特性と風俗性及び大衆性, *Shisō to fūzoku* 思想と風俗 [Ideology and custom], ed. Rin Shukumi 林淑美 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001), 34-48, (see also Jun Tosaka, "Film as a Reproduction of the Present: Custom and the Masses," trans. Gavin Walker, *Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader*, eds. Ken C. Kawashima, Fabian Schäfer and Robert Stolz (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2013), 103-113). All quotes from this source refer to Walker's translation.

⁶⁵ Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) and Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁶⁶ Eric L. Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

⁶⁷ I draw mainly on Furuya's contemporaries Kōji Taki and Takuma Nakahira. See e.g. Kōji Taki 多木浩二, "Me to me narazaru mono/Eyes and Things That Are Not Eyes," trans. Sandy Lin, *Provoke*, 350-353. For Nakahira, see e.g. Franz Prichard, "On *For a Language to Come*, *Circulation*, and *Overflow*: Takuma Nakahira and the Horizons of Radical Media Criticism in the Early 1970s," *For a New World to Come*, 288, citation 9: Takuma Nakahira, *Naze shokubutsu zukan ka: Nakahira Takuma*

Chapter 2 then performs a chronological analysis of Furuya’s uses and re-uses of images around his earliest published series,⁷⁰ derived from 1980 street photography in Amsterdam and originally presented in a frame of alienation and “exoticism” (1981-2004).⁷¹ To follow up on the ethical discussions of Chapter 1, I first draw in very simple terms on a critique of the concept of universality by Derrida as comparable to Furuya’s “re-reading”⁷² – in a formation that I call “seeking increasingly universal connections.” Briefly, Derrida evokes mechanics for undoing the frequent weaponization of “universality” through what I see as a sense of “self” as a continuum of accounting for others. I then find Furuya’s earliest and latest Amsterdam works to share effects of evading Japanese postwar responsibility – through visual narratives of “Western” dominance over Asia and racial binaries of “black” and “white” where Japan is ambiguous (1981, 2004 Figures 11-23) – while his middle works let me illustrate “seeking increasingly universal connections”

eizō ronshū [Why an illustrated botanical dictionary? Nakahira Takuma’s collected writings on visual media] (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 1973), 27-28.

⁶⁸ Gržinic.

⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” *Michel Foucault: Oeuvres*, ed. Frédéric Gros in collaboration with Philippe Chevallier, Daniel Defert, Bernard E. Harcourt, Martin Rueff, Philippe Sabot and Michel Senellart ([Paris]: Éditions Gallimard, 2015), 1258-1280, (see also Michel Foucault, “What Is an Author?” *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Fabion, trans. Robert Hurley and others (New York: The New Press, 1998), 205-222). See further related discussion in Roland Barthes, “La mort de l’auteur” *La bruissement de la langue* [The rustle of language] (Paris: Seuil, 1984), 61-67, (see also “The Death of the Author,” trans. Stephen Heath, *Image-Music-Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142-148). All quotes from these are from the English translations.

⁷⁰ Furuya now has uploaded images from his first photographic series exhibited in Europe, which I had not been able to obtain as a printed publication and do not consider in this dissertation: *Istanbul 1975 (2017)*: https://www.furuya.at/de/works_23.html. Accessed November 19, 2020.

⁷¹ Seiichi Furuya, *AMS* (Graz: Camera Austria, 1981); *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 10-19; *Mémoires, 1978-1985*, image numbers A-1980/29-75; and Seiichi Furuya with Monika Faber, *Alive* (Zurich: Scalo, 2004), 27-31.

⁷² “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece) and Jacques Derrida, *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today’s Europe*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael B. Naas (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 71-73.

through compositionally encoded feelings of open or closed, familiar or foreign – notably in a sequence that furnishes narratives of death and afterlife in relation to Christine (1989, Figure 24). I then end by articulating a socio-mental state that emerged to me as Furuya’s memories and images recorded obligations to Japanese acquaintances and attention to Christine (1997, Figures 25-27). I call this state “Japaneseness,” because I became aware of it in my life through Japanese elements, though it might apply to any culture. I also was very late to do so. My vigor in exploring it is a sort of atonement for that.

Conversely – yet also complementarily – my third chapter pursues German responsibility through Furuya’s images of Dresden (1989-2016, Figures 28-50).⁷³ My exercises here also are not strictly “postwar,” as they include accounting for prewar anti-Semitism as well as early attempts to ameliorate it in a cosmopolitanism now critiqued as assimilative. I consider Christine’s solace in a subconsciously expansive Catholicism – already glossed above;⁷⁴ the text by Manfred Wiemer (b. 1954, German Democratic Republic/GDR) in Furuya’s Dresden photobook – a somewhat tortured tribute to Dresden’s legacies of Baroque cultural heritage, National Socialism and socialism under the GDR;⁷⁵ and the “visual voice” of Helmut Völter, who – as Furuya explains in the chapter’s interview excerpts – composed Furuya’s Dresden photobook when Furuya declined – due to what Furuya considered the photos’ focus on Christine, which he did not want to engage at the time. Furuya’s chance focus on

⁷³ *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 84-85; *Mémoires 1978-1985*, image numbers A-1984/24-34; *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 34-41; and *Warum Dresden*.

⁷⁴ *Mémoires 1983*, 86.

⁷⁵ Wiemer.

Dresden, however, also occasions reckoning with history such as the romanticization of the Allied bombing of Dresden, for which I add Peter Härtling (b. 1933, Third Reich-d. 2017, Germany)⁷⁶ to Wiemer and Christine. Together, they effectively “intervene” against German denials of guilt through feelings of belonging – through both German “universality” from prewar cosmopolitanism and German wartime suffering – seen in works by the controversial David Irving⁷⁷ as well as my own late, Romanian German relatives.⁷⁸ In short, I follow the cues of Völter and Wiemer, whose effects on Furuya’s Dresden photobook began to amplify the chapter’s image of Dresden as an unseen part of Furuya’s world.

My fourth and final chapter then returns to a chronological analysis of Furuya’s re-uses of images – around a series in which a certain “multinarrativity” is guaranteed. Titled *Staatsgrenze* (“state border,” 1981-2017, Figures 52-61),⁷⁹ this series originally included scraps of conversation that Furuya recorded at the borders of Austria with the Eastern Bloc (1981-1983). I trace this material through loss of its conversations and their restoration – from focus on border-crossing to Furuya’s life with Christine, then both – in which I also track memories of National Socialism, engaged further in a diary entry by Christine.⁸⁰ As stated earlier, I also consider aesthetics of Furuya’s painterly framing in this series as akin to that of *Heimat* –

⁷⁶ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit.”

⁷⁷ David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964).

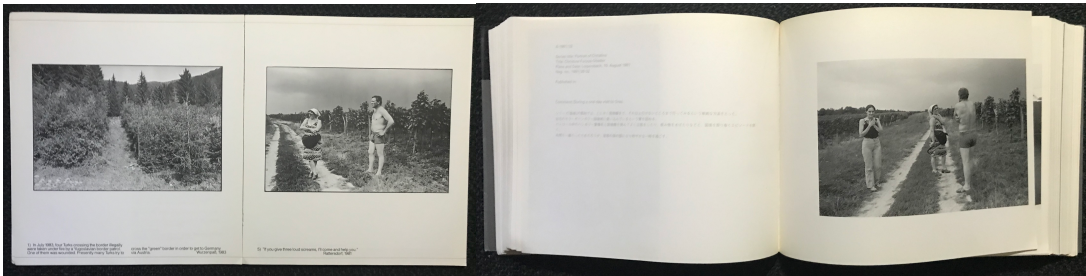
⁷⁸ Primarily “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.”

⁷⁹ Seiichi Furuya, “National Border 1981-1983,” *6 Austrian Photographers*, curated by Josine Ianco-Starrels with writings by Heinz Cibulka, Friedl Kubelka-Bondy and Christine Frisinghelli (Graz: styrian autumn, 1985), (unpaginated: 18-23); *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 26-29; *Mémoires 1995*, 16-31; *Mémoires 1978-1985*, image numbers A-1981/27-34, A-1982/19; *Mémoires 1983*, 120-137, 196-201; *Staatsgrenze*; and “Staatsgrenze 2016.”

⁸⁰ *Mémoires 1983*, 260.

which, as noted, I address as part of critiques in Chapter 1, where – as I shared above – one author wrote that “Nature is always already infected.”⁸¹

Ultimately, however, Chapter 4 ends in thoughts on an ethics of silence begged by Furuya’s works on refugees (Figures 7, 51, 61), specifically through his reprisal of *Staatsgrenze* in the last, “Staatsgrenze 2016.”⁸² Effectively, he channels anxieties about imagining others’ pain into protecting their privacy by targeting inadequate media response. Today’s ethical landscape demands responsibility in sharing others’ voices through consciousness of one’s own effects in such sharing or – in this case – not sharing. This ethics embodies, I hope, the wish that others would express themselves. It is why I try to speak in ways that show that I am listening.



**Figure 3: (left): “Wurzenpaß 1983; Rattersdorf 1981,” “National Border” (1985)
Figure 4: (right) “Rattersdorf, 1981,” *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), no. A-1981/34**

In fact, I might illustrate Furuya’s cross-photobook process through the series where his subjects *did* express themselves in conversations with him. This is the aforementioned *Staatsgrenze*, shown above in the earliest publication of it that I own, a 1985 sequence in an English language catalogue (Figure 3) and a related image – eventually used in an expanded *Staatsgrenze* publication after its “unofficial”

⁸¹ Gržinic. For an idea of the implications of the “painterly,” see Nina Amstutz, “Caspar David Friedrich and the Aesthetics of Community,” *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 54, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 447-475.

⁸² “Staatsgrenze 2016.”

publication above (Figure 4).⁸³ In simple illustration of how Furuya’s process “works,” a series that did not acknowledge Christine’s presence in 1985 “discovers” her relation in 1997 and – in 2014 – acknowledges her reality across different areas of his past, shown in Chapter 4 (Figure 60, p. 22). The captions – which change from the voices of Furuya’s subjects to his own memories of events – furnish an accumulation of meanings that I save for further analysis in Chapter 4.

In arriving, finally, at a demonstration of my visually-analytical-ethical methods, a multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility and ethics of belonging, which I shall perform respectively on the juxtapositions from Furuya’s photobooks that opened this introduction (Figures 1-2), I am fortunate to lead in through the memory that – sometimes – Furuya was pleased when I noted details in his work and entertained their possible meanings. My segue is the presence or absence of page numbers in the photobook that furnishes the first juxtaposition (Figure 1). I initially had thought that the photobook purposely numbered only pages that feature Christine, which turned out not to be so. Furuya succeeded in using his “empty space” to disturb my relation to the most dominant narrative of any book – the order in which to read it, enforced by the page numbering, generally taken for granted as numerical and ever-present. At the same time, Furuya liked my impression that the pages with Christine are the only ones that matter. It was a small instance of the mutual signification and communication that a multinarrative ethics might achieve. There was no postwar responsibility yet – but the page-numbers may address this too.

⁸³ Left: “National Border,” (unpaginated: 18-19 from title page); right: *Mémoires 1978-1985*, image number A-1981/34.

If my above “story” of page numbers marking the importance of Christine’s images were true, then an implication of the unpaginated, opening image to this chapter (Figure 1) might be that Furuya sees the swastikas – on actors in a history film – and stage set – above the burlesque dancer, evoking to me the Imperial Japanese flag – as just the background hum of Christine’s ongoing, posthumous story with him (the photographs date to two years after her death). It also may serve as a reminder that war legacies *are* important, however, by *framing* them as unimportant – to make the viewer “see” that they are (or have been) “invisible.” Perhaps it was for cases such as this that Furuya told me that viewers of his work “should be free” to make readings – as it is difficult to claim that the use of a swastika could be “silent.”

I now allow myself that careful “freedom.” Setting aside for a moment my vision of the Imperial Japanese flag in the stage set, I might read the first image (Figure 1) over-basically through classic power binaries: male over female; vertical (phallic) over horizontal; bright over dark; large over small. In the reproduction that I show, “dark, female, horizontal, small” might pop from the view across the pages – not least due to the burlesque dancer’s exposed body. The photobook experience, however – on larger pages – may start the eye on the brighter, bigger, and vertical image on the left, where figures in swastikas recall Third Reich-era Berlin. Like the burlesque dancer – as I noted above – they are performers. The caption reads “East Berlin, 1987.” Furuya told me that he had been working as a translator for a Japanese company when he saw this film set on a lunch break. He could not remember more, however. I was left without a story in the “real world.”

In the photobook, perhaps Furuya's "punchline" is that a man is looking "over the line" – the fold between the pages – "at" a nearly naked woman: in Furuya's visual joke on people who never occupied the same space in real life. In terms of scale: perhaps the "Nazi" on the left looks slightly smaller than the other. He stands somewhat (though not much) straighter than the other, who has what I sense as the "privilege" of slouching. It is a reading according to my own cultural references – in which those in lower positions must be more alert (more tense) or at least appear so.

In real life, the actors likely were half-relaxing during a pause in filming. They may be the same size. Furuya catches them in physical signifiers that make me consider power's visual registration at the intimate level of body language – as perceived rationality or self-containment among men, particularly as they portray Nazis, men known for a particular attraction to that image of masculinity, though the actors do not embody it particularly. Across the pages, it was the burlesque dancer who made me register them as "men" – according to those classic binaries, whatever she is "not" – yet they did not have to wear swastikas to show this.

Another simple story might be the singularity of paying attention – showing sympathy? – for "difference" – crudely embodied by the woman (I promise that my ethics of belonging will be more interesting and original) – under the Third Reich. The "smaller Nazi" alone faces the burlesque dancer. Everyone else in the photograph – all actors in period dress, though seemingly not performing – faces away. She does not face him, however, so it is not a well-supported story of sympathy. Instead, I consider the two whole photographs as "personalities" in

relation to each other, rather than the people in them. Each photograph then represents an entity with people inside: a country, ideology, or empire – or aspiring empire. Now I may use the echo of the Imperial Japanese flag in the burlesque dancer’s stage set: the rays of the wartime “rising sun” reaching for the other Asian countries – in Japan’s colonial rhetoric of a “co-prosperity sphere” for primarily its own prosperity.⁸⁴

Briefly, the photograph of the burlesque dancer physically “crosses the line” between the pages – perhaps makes the “first move” in the relationships – the stories – available for interpretation from Furuya’s “empty space.” If I imagine one such relationship as the mutual inclination for world domination attributed to the Axis powers, then what was the first move? Japan occupying Manchuria (1931)? Hitler coming to power (1933)? Japan’s “modern” colonization of Korea (1910-45)? Japan’s Korean invasions in the sixteenth century (1592-98)? One visual conclusion to these stories is that “Imperial Japan” is edging into the space of the “Third Reich,” perhaps aspiring to the role of a somewhat “equal colonizer” in the Axis alliance.

In another story, however, “Japan” might be seen to “trip over the line” by “accident.” In this narrative, the burlesque dancer and her audience are either ignorant or feigning ignorance of “their” relation to the “Third Reich” across the fold of the pages, as are most of the “Third Reich” movie extras regarding “them.” In another small story, this sense of ignorance – if feigned – might read as Japan’s snubbing by the part of “the West” to which it attached itself for the last few years of

⁸⁴ On this concept, see, for example, Ienaga and Chen.

its fifteen-year-war. Finally, in real life, only a woman in the wings of the striptease appears to look toward Furuya's camera, which breaks the fourth wall (fifth wall?) of this multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility.

In short, unlike most analyses in this dissertation, Furuya's "Axis" image-pairing can furnish a somewhat neat "moral," the stories to which follow. Perhaps "the smaller Nazi sees that he is in his photograph." He then sees that he has lived in-and-as an exemplar of a habituated and invisible sense of belonging in a nation, exposed when he looks with interest – as opposed to dismissal or hatred – at the dancer. Perhaps for good measure, he sees that she is not aware that she is in the same ignorance of her place in a state ideology. Conversely, the story that gives her agency – where "she ignores him" – is akin to the ideals of non-discursivity that I glossed above and explore in Chapter 1. She refuses communication and engagement and thereby does not feel herself to participate in harm yet contributes to it. After all, the "Imperial Japanese flag" is just over her head. With apologies for sounding like a kindergarten teacher: one must realize who one is and inside of what.

To transition into my second analysis – my ethics of belonging around Furuya's second juxtaposition in this introduction (Figure 2), I might consider the effect of Furuya casually adding his "Axis pairing" to the first photobook that he produced as an act of mourning for Christine.⁸⁵ Consciously or not, this effectively

⁸⁵ See explorations of this task of mourning in the essays for this photobook: "Chronik der Erkenntnisse;" "Erwachen vor der Tatsache;" Christine Frisinghelli, "Dem Fernen Betrachter [To the distant observer]," 99-102; and "Mémoires." See also Christine Frisinghelli, "Christine Frisinghelli: 'Describing from a Distance' *Kyori wo oite byōsha suru koto- Kirisuchiine Furishingerii* 距離を置いて描写すること・キリスチーネ・フリシングリー," trans. German to Japanese, Tōru Matsumoto

extends the desire that he expressed to me – “*not to lie to [him]self*” – beyond just Christine and into accounting for histories of fascism – because, like his images and memories of her, they arise in daily life. The same – but differently – happened as Furuya and I together looked at this juxtaposition while he talked about Christine, their son Kômyô Klaus (b. 1981, note Christine’s portrait on the wall and Kômyô on the couch, left) and his favorite cat – though not technically his – Konstantin (right).

With apologies, I must “set up” his story with the tools that I used to understand it during and after – a review of what I call trappings of belonging through a simple case of their operation in Japanese fascism. Briefly, fascism (generally) is an ideology that relies on taking hold of people through what I defined earlier as a space of belonging – a space of solace or comfort that seems separate from ethics because it “feels right,” formed of sensations and materials: trappings of belonging that attach to the statements of those who appeal to people through these trappings. Japan’s 16th century invasions in Korea, for example (mentioned in passing above), elevated a culture of Asian tea ceremony ceramics that informed Japanese fascist exploitations of a previously more subtly imperialist, “pan-Asian” ideal. I might gloss this ideal as habituating a sense of Japanese right to rule in a sort of divine connoisseurship in Asia, such that it attracted connoisseurs who did not all support – or *mean* to support – Japan’s imperialism.⁸⁶

松本透; German to English, Klaus Feichtenberger, *déjà-vu: a photographic quarterly*, no. 17 (Summer, 1994): 45-48.

⁸⁶ On connoisseurship and Japan’s prewar to wartime colonialism, see Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007). On the earlier politics of Korean ceramics in the Japanese tea ceremony, see, for example, Nam-Lin Hur, “Korean Tea Bowls (Korai Chawan) and Japanese Wabicha: A Story of Acculturation

In a single example, one collector wrote in 1931 of a Korean tea bowl embodying an essential “Asianness” that only Japan could appreciate, preserve and control.⁸⁷ Fascist use of this “Asianness” attempted to tweak and extend it to non-Japanese Asians, yet it does not seem to have worked very well. Briefly, it was much more likely that certain Japanese might allow their attraction to Asian objects, desire to own them and feelings of appreciating them to indulge (or create) fantasies that Asia “really” existed for their own – and thereby Japan’s – fond ownership.

The trappings of belonging that I consider in relation to Furuya’s stories to me about his work (Figure 2) are 18th century Japanese heroes who also were retooled for wartime sentiments. Specifically, I inferred that Furuya mapped a sense of personal guilt but – in a compartmentalized formation – also encouragement and admiration – onto the Japanese cultural formation that I eventually felt to underlie these heroes in our conversation. For greater clarity, therefore, I first explain this formation: to sacrifice oneself is noble, to sacrifice others, ignoble. Those who sacrifice themselves in the service of the ignoble are still noble, because self-sacrifice is always a noble *act*. Thus, the noble need not be understood as choosing to sacrifice themselves for an ignoble cause. Rather, this choice can be re-thought as having no choice: *being sacrificed* by the ignoble entity that *asks* one to sacrifice oneself, for – because one *is* noble – one does what is asked: in Japanese terms, what is expected.

in Premodern Northeast Asia,” *Korean Studies*, vol. 39 (2015): 1-22, 120. For considerations into further postwar eras, see Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (Richmond: Routledge, 2004).

⁸⁷Sôetsu (Muneyoshi) Yanagi, “The Kizaemon Tea Bowl,” forward by Shôji Hamada, adapted by Bernard Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty* (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1989), 190-196.

Among other things, the above “logic” is a standard way to ennoble Japanese war dead while disapproving of the war: that they sacrificed themselves – as expected, because they are noble – yet Imperial Japan was ignoble to expect their self-sacrifice. A small extrapolation of this logic may ennoble any activity in the war, as the rhetoric of “total war” made any action a “self-sacrifice” and therefore noble. During the war, there was at least a propagandistic sense of total nobility in a continuity of people sacrificing themselves for the state. After the war, however, those self-sacrifices retained their “nobility” as the Japanese state’s ignoble sacrifices of its own people.

In these terms, Furuya’s conversation with me about his juxtaposition of images of Christine (as a photo within a photo) and their son, with (the cat) Konstantin (Figure 2) led to his initially identifying with the role of the “sacrificer of others,” that of the wartime Japanese state, yet he later drew energy and inspiration from a figure whom he associated with the aforementioned heroes, who are known for “noble sacrifice.” He combined the condemning and ennobling effects in different personal uses. Having set out this basic “plot” – in which my own relation to those figures will emerge – I now add its considerable twists and turns through stories that Furuya – in person and his photobooks – furnished for me to see it. Most directly, he described Christine – in the print on the wall (Figure 2, left) and Konstantin (Figure 2, right) as “sacrifices” under his care: that he ignobly – if unintentionally – had let them die.

I am sorry now that I did not think to ask how Konstantin got his name. In my head, that name – of Rome’s first Christian emperor – operates with the name

“Christine” to highlight that the name Christine stems from “Christian” – “anointed,” or, in an early Christian context, a martyr. A martyr is akin to the kind of sacrifice that I have been discussing: a death that is noble because invited – a “self-sacrifice” – yet possible in these terms because an ignoble power accepts that invitation: to do the deed of sacrificing one’s noble self, as in the postwar imagining of the relationship between those who died for Japan (such as my Okinawan granduncle – in the Imperial Japanese Navy) and Japan itself. In short, to speak of “sacrifice,” if not done carefully (for example, I do not call my granduncle a “sacrifice”), may imply blame for whoever presumed on that nobility.

I have added the above, because – as often in this dissertation – Furuya’s discussion with me hinged on it, yet he implied it by only the utterance of a single word. This word will be obvious when it appears in the course of our stories. To continue: Furuya told a story of his parental regret that Kômyô grew up forgetting Christine and – until recently, as an adult – showed no interest in Furuya’s self-described *Aufgabe* – his duty, his responsibility – of reviving Christine’s images and memories. I thus might “narrate” the image through the story that Kômyô looks at Furuya and “ignores” Christine on the wall behind.

In a 1997 photobook, Furuya explained that – on October 7, 1985 – he and Kômyô – then four – had heard Christine’s body hit the ground when she jumped out a window. They had been watching a televised military parade for the anniversary of the founding of East Germany, where they had been living for one of Furuya’s photo

projects.⁸⁸ Furuya recorded that Kômyô had asked if he – Furuya – had “killed” Christine, and Furuya, distraught, had said “yes.”⁸⁹

In 1993, Furuya wrote that he had added the loss of East Germany to that of Christine as an impetus not to forget his life there with her.⁹⁰ I might imagine this sentiment as partly why, in 1989 – both the last year of East Germany’s geopolitical existence and the year that Furuya photographed Kômyô on the couch – Furuya also began to “revive” Christine in his first photobook about her.⁹¹ He began a series titled *Mémoires* (1989-2010)⁹² that came to showcase the method that enabled this dissertation: repeatedly remixing Christine’s images with those from other projects (e.g. Figures 3-4). He thereby found ways to see – and show – that she was part of aspects of his life that he had not seen or shown before.

With the above information in mind, I read the left-hand page of the image under discussion (Figure 2) as Christine meeting Furuya’s eye from her print on the wall (see it somewhat larger in Figure 55, p. 24). Knowing that Furuya began his *Mémoires* series in the year that he took the image of Kômyô, I may imagine the binoculars below the print as “put down” by Christine because Furuya is coming

⁸⁸ This was “Limes. Bilder der Schutzmauer aus Berlin-Ost, Hauptstadt der DDR, 1985-88/Limes. Images of the protection wall [sic] in East Berlin, capital of the GDR 1985-88,” featured, for example, in *Asking Questions*, 44-55 and “Seiichi Furuya,” *KRIEG*. [WAR.], vol. 1, 61. The title refers to the Latin *limes*, a protective border wall. This series does not have its own photobook.

⁸⁹ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 6-8 from start of piece). My translations refer to the German and Japanese versions of the text – I am not sure what Furuya and Kômyô originally spoke.

⁹⁰ Seiichi Furuya, “Seiichi Furuya,” *Bordler/Borderless*, 28.

⁹¹ *Mémoires 1978-1988*.

⁹² In addition to volumes titled *Mémoires* previously cited, Furuya’s work in this vein also includes the following: *Last Trip to Venice 1985* (Graz: Furuya Seiichi, 2002); *Aus den Fugen*; Seiichi Furuya with Monika Faber, *Portrait: Christine Furuya-Gössler, 1978-1985* (Salzburg: Fotohof, 2000); and his selection in the group show *Trace Elements: spirit and memory in Japanese and Australian photomedia* (Tokyo/Sydney: Tokyo Opera City Art Gallery/Performance Space, Sydney, 2008), 86-89.

“closer” – initiating his posthumous relationship to her through photobooks. In terms of Furuya’s search for honesty, also – his need “*not to lie to [him]self*” – I note that Furuya told me that the print of Christine on the wall has an identical counterpart that he placed in Christine’s coffin. Effectively, they “each have one.” Before continuing the story of the two photobook pages, therefore (Figure 2), I would like to consider how the photograph of Christine might be imagined as operating between its two physical locations: in her grave and – as I saw during my visit – still hanging on the wall in Furuya’s home.

The caption to that photograph in Furuya’s 1997 photobook records his participation in a photographic symposium – and other projects – while Christine studied theatrical performance on her own. His first sentence might hint at regret for that self-absorption: a diary entry by Christine about her insecurity in speaking, which may imply Furuya’s regret that he did not listen. “In Christine’s diaries of October 2: ‘My problem is my own emotions, it’s that I can’t express my ideas well out loud [literally, “push them outside” *soto ni umaku dasenai*].’”⁹³

The caption lets me imagine Christine’s facial expression as either accusing or tired (see also Figure 55, p. 24). I thus find her picture – both on Furuya’s wall and in his picture of Kômyô, a particularly “honest” choice to remember her. It acknowledges problems through its caption: he was preoccupied with his career; she felt voiceless as she pursued hers. Imagined across Furuya’s wall and Christine’s

⁹³*Mémoires 1978-1985*, (unpaginated: caption to image number A-1982/45). The diary is quoted only in Furuya’s Japanese, though the original would have been in German. It is not part of the diaries that Furuya published in *Mémoires 1983*.

grave, Christine's picture may embody Furuya's attempt to give Christine "her own" version of herself while he keeps "his," recognizing gaps in their understandings as part of forming this "connection." In the much-critiqued power dynamic between the photographer who imposes a visual frame and the photographed subject thus framed,⁹⁴ Furuya's allotment of one print of this picture to himself and one to Christine may gesture toward an apology for this relation.

But to return to Kômyô and forgetting – and (re)introduce Konstantin: Furuya explained to me that he and his mother-in-law could not bear to mention Christine after her death, so they made Konstantin – a "safe" topic – the center of their conversation with Kômyô. Christine stayed in the minds of the adults by mapping onto Konstantin. Kômyô, however, seems to have forgotten Christine by transferring attention meant for Christine to Konstantin instead. Visually, then, Konstantin's walking into the snow (Figure 2, right) might be interpreted as "departure" from both Furuya and Kômyô – but for opposite reasons of either memory or forgetting.

For Furuya, Konstantin might be seen as "leaving" because he no longer is needed as Christine's "double." She "herself" is returning in Furuya's first *Mémoires* volume. Conversely, Konstantin might be imagined as Christine leaving Kômyô's memory for good. The boy looks neither to the print of Christine on his right – in the real setting that Furuya photographed – nor "to" Konstantin – in Furuya's imaginary relation across the "empty space" of photobook pages.

⁹⁴ See e.g. Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October*, vol. 39 (Winter, 1986): 3-64; John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988); and Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson, eds. *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

Finally – returning to my original discussion – Furuya arrived at his ideas about being “sacrificed” versus “sacrificing” in thoughts of caretaking between the photographs of Kômyô and Konstantin. As with Christine, Furuya saw Konstantin as the victim of both over-love and ignorance in caretaking: in the cat’s case, liver failure from a diet of lovingly offered table scraps. Furuya even described an elaborate scenario in which a veterinarian tried to explain medical details to him, which – though I feel irreverent in this thought – is somewhat akin to the detailed reports that he has published of Christine’s treatments.⁹⁵ It was perhaps in this sense that Furuya finally described both Christine and Konstantin as “sacrificed” by his own neglect or ignorance.

Furuya also – before I arrive at the story that I initially set up – was moved to voice a conviction that he often repeated to me in varying moods of guilt, anger, stupefaction and reservation, also expressed in print: that he finds his life marked by death through a variety of coincidences.⁹⁶ It was on this note that we broke for lunch after a long monologue from Furuya on a lifetime of witnessing the suffering of his mentally ill, younger brother before backing away as a caretaker (shared in Chapter 1). Most intensely, Furuya never forgot that the boy had been born healthy but sustained brain damage from a fever. Furuya discussed moments in his youth when he had imagined killing his brother to “relieve” (*erleichtern*) him, though he also explained

⁹⁵ Such details occur throughout *Mémoires 1978-1985* and *Mémoires 1983*. See also conclusive letters about depression medication in *Mémoires 1984-2010*, 162-163, 165.

⁹⁶ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 3-4 from start of piece).

that his brother could not communicate whether he were suffering or not. I think of Furuya's writing on caution in relating to others' pain or feeling connection to them.⁹⁷

I share these details to convey my sense of how urgently Furuya wanted me to understand cruel ironies of loss and injury haunting him – but also note a significant detail. It was in the middle of this storytelling – I cannot remember exactly when – that I realized that Furuya punctuated his narrations by pointing to an enlargement of the image of Konstantin in the snow (Figure 2, right) which hung over his desk. He would say – or gesture for me to recall that he had said – something to the effect that Konstantin was a trooper, a survivor – despite, it might at first appear, also being a sacrifice, a victim: in his death from liver failure and echo of Christine. It took Furuya doing this a few times before I remembered the Japanese references and dynamics that I described at the start of this analysis: that, in Japanese terms, the sacrifice and the survivor – or, at least, the trooper, the dogged individual – are possible in one person (or one cat). I finally saw that the two combined in Furuya's use of the term *rōnin*, a masterless samurai against the world – a particular *rōnin*.

Specifically, Furuya said that Konstantin reminded him of the Forty-seven *Rōnin*, a legendary group of 18th century figures – the heroes that I mentioned before, the trappings of belonging that the above stories have prepared us to consider. They are best known in Japanese popular culture for committing group suicide after avenging their lord – sacrificing themselves – and they often are dramatized marching in the snow on the way to perform their final act. Their march is the last scene of the

⁹⁷ “War and Photography.”

Rônin film that I remember best from my youth, a postwar production released in Japan when Furuya was eight.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to ask Furuya how he knows the reference. The *Rônin* already had slipped into our conversation, and I had not marked when. Rather, I suddenly noticed that Furuya assumed that I knew – assumed, for example, that I saw their image in Konstantin as he did, because I know how they “look” – then I remembered that I actually do know.

My encounter with Konstantin’s image that day was a sort of semi-conscious awakening of my own space of not-exactly-belonging with the *Rônin*, instigated by Furuya’s apparently more robust belonging with them. In fact, I might say that I “defused” the *Rônin* – I let them stay in my space of belonging – because they will not leave – but I made what love I had for them permanently self-critical, long before I thought in such terms.⁹⁹ Briefly, the fact that my reaction to the *Rônin* is a warning – that I should not use them to ennoble those who sacrifice themselves for ignoble causes – must arise from some combination of my upbringing and studies that I cannot remember.

Arguably, even a wartime film of the *Rônin*’s story – which I recognize when I see it, though I cannot remember the first time I saw it – frames them as victims of the samurai system – mappable onto the wartime system – as they navigate the military etiquette of expected “disobedience” – in avenging their lord – after which they will “obey” the expectation of committing suicide.¹⁰⁰ I can think only that my

⁹⁸ *Chûshingura/The Loyal 47 Rônin*, dir. Kunio Watanabe (Tokyo: Daei, 1958).

⁹⁹ “My Love To Be Defused.”

¹⁰⁰ *Genroku Chûshingura/The 47 Rônin*, dir. Kenji Mizoguchi (Tokyo: Shochiku, 1941-42).

father, though a fan of these figures himself, already knew to instill that warning – or, at least, the resentment of the state, which I may have rethought when I was older. In sense, however, that both he and Furuya might have had some taste of the heroics of the “original” from their parents. (Despite my dad’s father serving on the American side of the war – in the 100th Infantry Battalion – I would accept this explanation.)¹⁰¹

In short, Furuya has helped me face what I might call my own *Aufgabe* – responsibility for (and through) the visual manifestations of my cultural dangers – focused through but not limited to World War II and the Asia Pacific War – in daily life. Before I conclude this introduction with a bit on that, however, I would like to “report” on Furuya’s *Aufgabe* beyond this dissertation (except for one image by Christine in Chapter 3).¹⁰² When I first met Furuya, he already spoke of finding forgotten Super-8 films that he had made of Christine; photographs that he had forgotten her taking (though many were of him);¹⁰³ and radio broadcasts that she had made, after which the recorder had caught the sounds of her playing with Kômyô.

As Furuya told me, “much more now is true with which now she must be true, *ne [viel mehr jetzt wahr ist was dann jetzt damit sie muß wahr, ne]?*” Perhaps Furuya is moving closer to Christine through her own creations. In fact, Furuya’s new direction moves me to reiterate that my approach may be considered a reinterpretation of his distance as intimacy, of the borders between things as not what separates them

¹⁰¹ Brief remarks from my grandfather, Yasuo Takata, appear in Chester Tanaka, *Go For Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team* (Richmond, CA: Go For Broke, Inc., 1982), 14.

¹⁰² Christine Furuya [sic], “East Berlin, 1985,” *Letzte Reise nach Berlin-Ost/Last Trip to East Berlin, 1985* (2020): https://www.furuya.at/de/works_34.html (accessed January 3, 2021).

¹⁰³ See, for example, *Face to Face*.

but where they meet. I trace multiple narratives in his work through willingness to empathize and understand, while Furuya is cautious about imposition and misunderstanding. The insights that I have gained by viewing his photobooks and meeting him have made me realize – or rather, in keeping with my method: tell myself, articulate, narrate – the truly personal reasons for doing what I do. To honor the shared priority of honesty between Furuya and me, therefore – our task “*not to lie to myself*” – I would like to close this introduction with these reasons.

Specifically – to borrow from Furuya’s epigraph to this introduction – what I call “my past” may resemble Furuya’s most through concern for disturbed loved ones. War legacies are “manageably ongoing” elements of crises that I once tried to “solve” for people close to me, which was impossible. In short, I always have *needed* a multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility and an ethics of belonging. The stuff of these was unnamed and poorly tended in my life until now. My work with Furuya has helped me to invent and pursue these modes for myself as an example for others (if it helps). Having explored the *Rōnin* through their possibility as Furuya’s trappings of belonging, for example, it is only fair that I disclose one (more) of mine.

In fact, it will be my second time to make him “public,” but each time I am scared – mainly that I shall change my story and fool myself. So far, however, my story develops but does not change (the latest development is in my coda). Three years ago, I was revisited by an early childhood memory who has remained – Joseph Goebbels, specifically on the flickering, black-and-white TV in my home between birth and two years old. I think now that he was attempting to hide his efforts to

regain his balance after tripping over something, because – as I now know – he limped. It might have been footage in a British comedy – as they would use footage of Nazis for laughs – or an advertisement for history books. I am the only one who remembers this image from that time, perhaps because I had a similar relation to my body when I was learning to walk (or because I had the seeds of the limp that I now have). I might have seen myself in a mirror and identified with the dark circles under his eyes.

As an adult, I now imagine our other common traits – a somewhat childish discipline that has been ethically useful – to check that I am directing our common traits *away* from what Goebbels did with them. I feel that we had similar emotional beginnings in life: our perfectionist ambitions (which I pursue to make myself safer for others); our ability to assess how emotions make identities (except our own, until – for me – recently); our too-great devotion when we feel we belong to something (which is why I never feel that I belong to something, except the devotion to qualifying this feeling). In sum, it seems apt that he “came back” to me as I began my in-depth analysis of Furuya’s work, adding considerable weight to my pursuits in this dissertation and also in more general relation to history and other people. In this way, what might be called the privately foundational story of this dissertation is above all a “story” from my expanded notion of Furuya’s “empty space”: as it extends from photobook pages into the world of viewers – simply put, into the world.

Chapter 1: Not at Home in Words – Vexed Narrative, Signification and Belonging around Furuya

In the name of a narrowly conceived self-identity, the self expunges all traces of the [unfamiliar], past and present, from its psychic household. [...] Christa Wolf's remarkable novel is above all an attempt to work through this conundrum [...] so that a different kind of self can be constituted [...] a self that feels entitled to play with its boundaries (rather than denying them or reifying them), and [...] more consistently able to experience the vitality of that "free association between emotions and events" which ultimately grounds the human capacity to bear witness to history and to claim solidarity with the oppressed of history, past and present.

-Eric L. Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory and Film in Postwar Germany*, 1990¹⁰⁴

This chapter's work is "synching" the methods of Furuya and me – across pre-to-postwar critiques of discursive signification. It has reasons for departing from the chronological. I end with Furuya's peers in order to lead into my chapters on his work,¹⁰⁵ so I begin with what might be considered precursors to their idealizations of non-discursivity, specifically in works by Marxist philosophers in prewar Germany and Japan – though, with apologies, in far too simple a mode, as these thinkers offer far more than my task requires.¹⁰⁶ I then consider works of the 1990s and 2000s by scholars of postwar memory whose methods might be considered akin to what I call a multinarrative ethics¹⁰⁷ – which is where the epigraph to this chapter will return as "itself," though it may haunt the earlier formations.

¹⁰⁴ Santner, 162. He is discussing Christa Wolf, *Kindheitsmuster* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1979), (see also Christa Wolf, *A Model Childhood*, trans. Ursule Molinaro and Hedwig Rappolt (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1980)).

¹⁰⁵ For example, in *Secession*, Taki and Gržinic.

¹⁰⁶ *Das Kunstwerk*; "The Work of Art;" "Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei;" "Film as a Reproduction of the Present."

¹⁰⁷ Santner, Yoneyama, Igarashi.

I begin, then, with the prewar philosophers whose antifascist sentiments I find to echo through critiques of narrative representation in the postwar eras, specifically as may unfold from a small statement by Walter Benjamin in Germany, 1935: “Fascism sees its salvation in giving these masses not their right, but instead a chance to express themselves.”¹⁰⁸ Most simply, Benjamin’s statement may imply that choosing the “chance to express [oneself]” is a betrayal of a collective, akin perhaps to choosing Santner’s sense of “self” as a “narrowly conceived identity [from which] the self expunges all traces of the [unfamiliar], past and present, from its psychic household.”¹⁰⁹ The collective thus might be considered a non-discursive ideal insofar as it does *not* choose expression or a self, perhaps does not – as I explore below – operate through a mode so conscious and self-interested as “choice.”

As a result, I might imagine Benjamin as unwilling to envision a proletarian collective through the same ideal as that of the fascists: having a sense of individual self that was capable of articulating an identity and thereby susceptible to fascist promises *of* an identity – one that offered validation to personal fantasies of life with others “like oneself.” Conversely, Benjamin asserted the “right” of the masses – as seen in the following passage – to dismember that system: a system that habituated individualized selfhood as an aspect of earlier religious and capitalist assumptions of what he called “cult value.”¹¹⁰ This was value assigned to the unique as powerful:

¹⁰⁸ “The Work of Art,” 241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167.

¹⁰⁹ Santner, 162.

¹¹⁰ “The Work of Art,” 43, 226-228, 242, 245-247; *Das Kunstwerk*, 144, 146-148, 167.

from worship of a single (G)od to (capitalist) exclusivity in connoisseurship of “art.”

In his passage, it corresponds to “ritual values”:

Fascism attempts to organize the newly created proletarian masses without affecting the property structure which the masses strive to eliminate. Fascism sees its salvation in giving these masses not their right, but instead a chance to express themselves [original citation 21]. The masses have a right to change property relations; Fascism seeks to give them an expression while preserving property. The logical result of Fascism is the introduction of aesthetics into political life. The violation of the masses, whom Fascism, with its *Führer* cult, forces to their knees, has its counterpart in the violation of an apparatus which is pressed into the production of ritual values.¹¹¹

In short, Benjamin saw the danger of fascist “introduction of aesthetics into political life” – what I might call fascist activation of trappings of belonging by binding the personal aesthetic to the political message. This would keep the masses trapped in “ritual values” from earlier modes of religion and capitalism, specifically in which the habituated ideal of a human was as an individual either controlling others or in competition with others to rule – the monotheistic deity as model for the capitalist, even the artist as singular genius. My concern is that – because this elite logic precluded the idea of a “mass consciousness” as somewhat of an oxymoron, insofar as it assumed an individual consciousness as the definition of a human – Benjamin may have taken *unconsciousness* as an ideal that could defeat elite logic.

As I shall unpack after the next passage, Benjamin may have allowed a wish for existential opposition between the proletariat and its opposites (capitalism, fascism, etc.) to furnish an ideal of the proletariat as never using the tools of the “enemy” – what I would call discursive tools, such as consciousness and the ability to

¹¹¹ “The Work of Art,” 243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167-168.

communicate and frame it in words and images. While these tools can habituate unequal judgements by differentiating ideas and characterizations, they also may expose the consequences of these differentiations by making further analyses. As seen below, however, Benjamin entertained the hope that the masses' mode of "distraction" might overcome elite modes of "concentration":

Distraction and concentration form polar opposites which may be stated as follows: A man who concentrates before a work of art is absorbed by it. He enters into this work of art the way legend tells of the Chinese painter when he viewed his finished painting. In contrast, the distracted mass absorbs the work of art. This is most obvious with regard to buildings. Architecture has always represented the prototype of a work of art the reception of which is consummated by a collectivity in a state of distraction.¹¹²

Specifically, "concentration" is the type of focus that gives rise to what Benjamin relegates to elite systems as an assigning of value through conscious "contemplation," a term that Benjamin uses with discursive implications of voicing an evaluation that reflects or enforces elite norms of value. As Benjamin put it, "Before a painting of Arp's or a poem by August Stramm, it is impossible to take time for contemplation and evaluation as one would before a canvas of Derain's or a poem by Rilke."¹¹³

Before I comment further on this, however, I briefly must note the poignance of Benjamin's earlier thoughts on contemplation in 1928,¹¹⁴ specifically from an arguably pre-Marxist rumination on the theatrical genre of *Trauerspiel* (according to him, a kind of German drama of disaster more heir to the grittily human Passion Play

¹¹² "The Work of Art," 241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 168.

¹¹³ "The Work of Art," 250; *Das Kunstwerk*, 164.

¹¹⁴ See *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, particularly 28-30, 36-37, 43-46, 141-142, 157, 224, 233; see also Walter Benjamin, *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978), 10-11, 19-20, 25-28, 122, 136, 200, 209.

than – as then supposed – the superhuman Greek tragedy).¹¹⁵ More pertinently to my digression here, the passage set an ideal of contemplation-toward-truth that Benjamin may have found unreliable in 1935 – when he may have transplanted access to truth to the inarticulable or unconscious.

Briefly, Benjamin wrote of “contemplation” in 1928 as perhaps the key to avoiding false frames in making “testimony to the transcendent force of the sacred image and the truth itself.”¹¹⁶ It was more akin to a multinarrative ethics in its welcoming of un-preconceived yet still symbolic readings, though I reiterate that my formation does not anticipate any form of “truth” with the faith that Benjamin dares – on this point, I shall not repeat his long-discussed idea of the “aura,” on which Ariella Azoulay – for example – has made particularly close readings and extrapolations.¹¹⁷ Rather, I seek only increasing honesty that establishes trust.

In this sense, perhaps the element that my approach shares most with Benjamin’s 1928 sense of “contemplation” – on which I share lengthy excerpts below – is an invitation to proliferate symbolic meanings in order to counteract false presumptions to completeness of understanding in ownership of knowledge. Even in 1928, however, Benjamin critiqued this falsity as cemented in consciousness rather than – as concerns me most – obtaining unconsciously. As he wrote, “[knowledge’s]

¹¹⁵ I take the “pre-Marxist” estimation from discussions by Steiner in his English introduction to *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 14-15.

¹¹⁶ *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 28-29; *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, 10. All quotes from this text are taken from Osborne’s English translation.

¹¹⁷ See, for example, Azoulay’s close-reading of the “aura” as used by Benjamin, problematization of his notions of its registration between the unique and reproduced, and extrapolation of the concept into later cases of memory and physical trace (e.g. unique objects from Hiroshima): *Death’s Showcase*, particularly 5, 13-14, 17-24, 26-28, 40, 43, 46-47, 78, 86-87.

very object is determined by the fact that it must be taken possession of – even if in a transcendental sense – in the consciousness.”¹¹⁸

Conversely, Benjamin introduced his sense of “contemplation” in 1928 as an expansive consciousness opposed to the limitations of “knowledge.” He formulated contemplation as the mode of medieval treatises, specifically grouping them with mosaics as means of showing symbolic or formal unities from seemingly disparate elements. This argument was itself an act of “contemplation” that Benjamin performed in classifying the treatises and mosaics together through that hitherto unexpected similarity. As he writes in the passage below, “the absence of an uninterrupted purposeful structure is its [contemplation’s] primary characteristic,” i.e. the absence of an expected meaning or conventional narrative. It is thus fitting that he prized what I am doing now – digression – as a mode of completing meanings:

Method is a digression. Representation as digression – such is the methodological nature of the [medieval] treatise. The absence of an uninterrupted purposeful structure is its primary characteristic. Tirelessly the process of thinking makes new beginnings, returning in a roundabout way to its original subject. This continual pausing for breath is the mode most proper to the process of contemplation. For by pursuing different levels of meaning in its examination of one single object it receives both the incentive to begin again and the justification for its irregular rhythm. Just as mosaics preserve their majesty despite their fragmentation into capricious particles, so philosophical contemplation is not lacking in momentum. Both are made up of the distinct and disparate; and nothing could bear more powerful testimony to the transcendent force of the sacred image and the truth itself. The value of fragments of thought is all the greater the less direct their relationship to the underlying idea, and the brilliance of the representation [in/of the object of contemplation] depends as much on this value as the brilliance of the mosaic does on the quality of the glass paste. The relationship between the minute precision of the work and the proportions of the sculptural or intellectual

¹¹⁸ *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 29; *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, 11.

whole demonstrates that truth-content is only to be grasped through immersion in the most minute details of subject-matter.

[...] And this applies to the contemplative mode of representation more than any other, for its aim is not to carry the reader away and inspire him with enthusiasm. This form can be counted successful only when it forces the reader to pause and reflect. The more significant its object, the more detached the reflexion must be. [...] Truth, bodied forth in the dance of represented ideas, resists being projected, by whatever means, into the realm of knowledge. Knowledge is possession. Its very object is determined by the fact that it must be taken possession of – even if in a transcendental sense – in the consciousness. [...] For the thing possessed, representation is secondary; it does not have prior existence as something representing itself. But the opposite holds good of truth. For knowledge, method is a way of acquiring its object – even by creating it in the consciousness; for truth it is self-representation, [sic] and is therefore immanent in all its form. Unlike the methodology of knowledge, this form does not derive from a coherence established in the consciousness, but from an essence. Again and again the statement that the object of knowledge is not identical with the truth will prove itself to be one of the profoundest intentions of philosophy in its original form, the Platonic theory of ideas. Knowledge is open to question, but truth is not.¹¹⁹

I now have digressed from Furuya's context as the early Benjamin might have wished: methodologically allowing Benjamin's later wariness of "contemplation" in 1935 to lead me to his earlier trust in it in 1928; personally finding a common trust in consciousness and interpretation – even a sort of exegetical drive – with the earlier Benjamin. But now I must begin to return to the 1935 Benjamin, though not quite yet.

Specifically, Benjamin posited in 1928 that truth and the symbols by which one engages it can be correlated but are not equivalent or predictable. In his words: "Ideas are to objects as constellations are to stars [...] they are neither their concepts nor their laws."¹²⁰ I take this as akin to a critique of the designation of examples for general communication – "concepts" and the "laws" by which concepts are

¹¹⁹ *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 28-30; *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, 10-11.

¹²⁰ *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 34; *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, 16.

understood to be consistent with what they describe. In a sense – as I shall address again with Derrida in Chapter 2¹²¹ – there are no such things as “examples,” because everything is “unique” in what the viewer has not realized about it – ironically, as in Benjamin seeing the treatise and the mosaic as examples of the same thing. Thus might one see Benjamin’s aversion to the notion of truth as comprehensible in an “average” and consequent attraction to beholding it through “extremes”:

It is absurd to attempt to explain the general as the average. The general is the idea. The empirical, on the other hand, can be all the more profoundly understood the more clearly it is seen in the extreme. [...] Just as a mother is seen to begin to live in the fullness of her power only when the circle of her children, inspired by the feeling of her proximity, closes around her, so do ideas come to life only when extremes are assembled around them.”¹²²

Benjamin would follow the above with “Truth is the death of intention” – an “intentionless state of being, made up of ideas,” such that “The proper approach to truth is therefore not one of intention and knowledge, but rather a total immersion and absorption in it,” and “The structure of truth, then, demands a mode of being which in its lack of intentionality resembles the simple existence of things, but which is superior in its permanence.”¹²³ In short, this fruitful digression now leads to something like what Benjamin would idealize in 1935 as “distraction,” specifically in which his earlier concern to avoid intentionality in “total immersion and absorption” effectively is intensified into “distraction” as an even less conscious safeguard against intentionality. I therefore end this 1928 backstory to my understanding of Benjamin’s

¹²¹ *The Other Heading*, 70-73.

¹²² *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 35; *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, 17.

¹²³ *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 36; *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, 17-18.

1935 senses of “contemplation” and “distraction” – that is, heading toward an ethics of silence – by mixing his metaphors to recall a multinarrative ethics one more time for now. Briefly, I might suggest that each “child” who completes the image of the “mother” also become such a “mother star” amid increasing “constellations.” This is closer to my practice of proliferating narratives around elements and then the further elements *of* those narratives – though not toward transcendence or truth, but trust.

Resuming Benjamin’s discussion in 1935, then, I see his inclination to temper contemplation’s consciousness – in a less focused and implicitly less manipulable state of “distraction” – to convey too much hope in the supposedly non-discursive uses of form and language that he cited – in my own citation from his 1935 text – a few pages ago. These were the childlike Dadaism of Arp and shell-shocked Expressionism of Stramm, which he posited as agents of scattering focus ostensibly better preserved by the modern but calmer Derain (a Fauvist) or Rilke (mystical but still in meter).¹²⁴ In fact, the playfully irreverent yet sincerely intuitive aspects of Dada beg a last aside – too short for a diversion – for Benjamin’s 1933 musings on what he called “the mimetic faculty.” This was the human ability to sense similarities across an unexpected variety of subjects, which Benjamin traced from direct acts of sensory imitation to what he called “nonsensuous similarities” in spoken and written

¹²⁴ See, for example, Herbert Edward Read, *The Art of Jean Arp* (New York: H.N. Abrams, [1968]); August Stramm, *Tropfblut: Gedichte* [Dropblood: poems] (Berlin: Verlag der Sturm, 1915); Gaston Diehl, *Derain* (Paris: Flammarion, [c. 1964]); and Rainer Maria Rilke *Das Stundenbuch: enthaltend die drei Bücher, Vom moenichischen Leben, Von der Pilgerschaft, Von der Armuth und vom Tode* [The Book of hours: including the three books: of monastic life, of pilgrimage, of poverty and death] (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1907).

language.¹²⁵ I thus might liken his 1933 “mimetic faculty” to a less conscious mode of “contemplation” on the way to his 1935 “distraction.”

In too simple terms, then, I might sketch Benjamin’s ideal for “the masses” – if not himself, in his own analytical awareness of fascist and other significations – as an ethics of silence akin to a less focused operation of Barthes’ “awakening to the fact”¹²⁶: an implicit rejection of discursive forms (as made in pictures or spoken in words) by 1) silencing the human mechanisms of seeing and hearing the specificity of images and words; 2) slowing and stopping related modes of feeling and thinking of things to show and say; and 3) replacing them with an inarticulable ideal – “distraction” – perhaps presumed egalitarian because it is not any other system shown to be inequitable, though – by its own nature – it cannot “show” itself clearly either.

Below, for example, Benjamin posits “distraction” as what might keep the masses from temptations to “cult value,” specifically insofar as they may remain indifferent to the habit of “contemplation.” Notably, it was film that Benjamin felt might let the masses realize their power – due to its “shock effect,” a visual bombardment in a bodily atmosphere (at least in a theater) akin to that of the architecture that Benjamin framed as the traditional art form registered by distraction.¹²⁷ I therefore note that I take Benjamin to use “distraction” in two

¹²⁵ Walter Benjamin, “Über das mimetische Vermögen,” *Gesammelte Schriften, II:1*, eds. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), 210-213 (see also “On the Mimetic Faculty,” *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (London: NLB, 1979), 160-163).

¹²⁶ “Erwachen vor der Tatsache,” 96-97.

¹²⁷ “The Work of Art,” 240-241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167-169.

nuances – 1) the masses passively not paying attention and 2) cinematic

bombardment by successive images that actively keeps them from focusing:

The tasks which face the human apparatus of perception at the turning points of history cannot be solved by optical means, that is, by contemplation, alone. They are mastered gradually by habit, under the guidance of tactile appropriation.

The distracted person, too, can form habits. More, the ability to master certain tasks in a state of distraction proves that their solution has become a matter of habit. Distraction as provided by art presents a covert control of the extent to which new tasks have become soluble by apperception. Since, moreover, individuals are tempted to avoid such tasks, art will tackle the most difficult and most important ones where it is able to mobilize the masses. Today it does so in the film. Reception in a state of distraction, which is increasing noticeably in all fields of art and is symptomatic of profound changes in apperception, finds in the film its true means of exercise. The film with its shock effect meets this mode of reception halfway. The film makes the cult value recede into the background not only by putting the public in the position of the critic, but also by the fact that at the movies this position requires no attention. The public is an examiner, but an absent-minded one.¹²⁸

In a way, Benjamin's idea of cinema may be seen to echo the reaction of Furuya's commentators to Furuya's photobooks – discussed in the Introduction – insofar as cinema seems to have struck Benjamin as similarly too non-narrative to be received with focus, such that he used it to endorse non-focus as an egalitarian mode in the inarticulable – in his words, for the “absent-minded,” though accidentally in “the position of the critic.” Both Furuya's commentators and Benjamin thus might be seen to have looked to cultural productions habituated to be received narratively in hopes of confounding that discursive habituation. Benjamin cast his hopes with silence amid what he recognized as fascist access to emotions through that

¹²⁸ “The Work of Art,” 242-243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 166-167.

discursivity – Furuya’s commentators in what I discussed in the Introduction as the aftermath of that fascist access.

It is in this sense that I empathize with these thinkers – that none truly beheld the non-discursive possibility sought. Rather, their seeking formed opportunities to express or imply the dangers of discursivity. I have discussed how Furuya’s commentators used vocabularies of interpreting signs in his work before deferring to ideals of not using the signs for interpretation.¹²⁹ Benjamin similarly implied that cinematic distraction offered unfocused elements on which some of the masses might focus – effectively, if their senses of “distraction” were not strong enough. In the latter case, they would open to the aesthetic attraction of fascist emotions-as-messages and “the chance to express themselves.”¹³⁰ Both Furuya’s commentators and Benjamin thus named discursive possibilities as dangerous and discouraged meeting them on their “own turf” of conscious focus and interpretation.

On this point, Benjamin’s footnote to his statement about the masses’ “chance to express themselves” (“[original citation 21]”) might be read as but a cautious hope for film as the site of the masses instead asserting “their right” – their (non)choice of collectivity over individual identity – depending on the effects of masses onscreen:

One technical feature is significant here, especially with regard to newsreels: the propagandist importance of which can hardly be overestimated. Mass reproduction is aided especially by the reproduction of masses. In big parades and monster rallies, in sports events, and in war, all of which nowadays are captured by camera and sound recording, the masses are brought face to face with themselves. This process, whose significance need not be stressed, is intimately connected with the development of the techniques of reproduction

¹²⁹ See e.g. “Erwachen vor der Tatsache;” “On the Border,” 152-153 and Loh, particularly 9, 91-114.

¹³⁰ “The Work of Art,” 241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167.

and photography. Mass movements are usually discerned more clearly by a camera than by the naked eye. A bird's-eye view best captures gatherings of hundreds of thousands. And even though such a view may be as accessible to the human eye as it is to the camera, the image received by the eye cannot be enlarged the way a negative is enlarged. This means that mass movements, including war, constitute a form of human behavior which particularly favors mechanical equipment.¹³¹

Conversely, in my imagining from Benjamin's description, the masses see many times their number on the screen, punctuated by the occasional close-up. I am not sure – not knowing each one of the masses, because, unlike Benjamin, I confess to thinking of that question first (what does each one want?) – how they would take it. In telling this story from Benjamin's "verbal imagery" – the mental images that his words may evoke – I have dampened the hope hinted in Benjamin's idea that "Mass reproduction is aided especially by the reproduction of masses." In my "story," it is not *his* ideal of "the masses" that is reproduced but still the hopes of each member of the masses. Benjamin knew that this could happen, seen in his wariness of self as basis of what he called the "*Führer* cult," where each member of the masses could see a partly familiar, partly desired image of individuality in one figure.¹³²

It bears note, however, that Benjamin also admired how an individual might register onscreen as real and genuine – as in Russian films where people "portray *themselves*,"¹³³ i.e. in simple footage of "non-actors" rather than – as in Germany at the time – deftly varied shots of a public figure who may act as an enhancement to his crowds (rather than the other way around). Today, these two framings may be styles

¹³¹ "The Work of Art," 253; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167.

¹³² "The Work of Art," 243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167-168.

¹³³ "The Work of Art," 232; *Das Kunstwerk*, 157.

in a sort of grey area between the fascist illusion of the persona and Soviet reality of the person, yet a Japanese Marxist contemporary of Benjamin felt a similar – in fact stronger – draw toward the idea of film capturing reality as silently proletarian.

Specifically, a 1936 text by philosopher Jun Tosaka implies that he hoped for film to catch an absolute, material truth that the masses might register apart from the film’s plot or other aesthetic frames of presentation – as though seams of proletarian reality might expose fascist cinema as not the whole cloth as which it masqueraded:

it is the screen that teaches humans the goodness of the materiality of the world....we observe these things everyday [sic], but this element of goodness, this joy, actually occurs to us first when it appears on the screen. There was already the endearing nature of the photograph [...] but the screen is [...] a photograph in motion and thus draws all the more attention to actual reality itself.¹³⁴

In the larger piece that contains the above passage, Tosaka generally constructed “actual reality” as somewhat proletarian in nature – through a sense of “materiality” as a collectivity of matter and people. In this sense, the capturing of the world on film might awaken a common human impulse through the tissues of the body answering material reflections on the screen. Somewhat as in Benjamin’s ideal of the masses in their “distraction,”¹³⁵ Tosaka imagined filmgoers responding primarily subconsciously to “the goodness of the materiality of the world.” Also akin to Benjamin, Tosaka more than hinted at a hope that film might uplift an always non-discursive “actual reality” from under the discursivity of Japanese fascism.

¹³⁴ “Film as a Reproduction of the Present,” 108-109; “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei,” 41.

¹³⁵ “The Work of Art,” 241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 168.

Such seems the implication in Tosaka's critique of visual appearance and other sensory aspects of Japanese life under fascism, specifically as parts of a false frame for reality that he called "custom [*fūzoku*]."¹³⁶ "Custom" was comprised of clothing, posture, interior decoration and other elements that I might call trappings of belonging. They also might be seen as humbler, quotidian vehicles for Benjamin's more devotionally elite "cult value."¹³⁷ Japanese citizens content to live in Tosaka's notion of "custom" therefore might be imagined to comprise – to borrow Benjamin's words – choosing the fascist "chance to express themselves" rather than "their right" to a proletarian collective.¹³⁸ In keeping with the passage above, Tosaka also saw revolutionary potential in the masses choosing – in his words – "actual reality" over "custom" through cinema: "Bourgeois film itself is fated to be unable to challenge the self-criticism of custom in the present."¹³⁹

I am sorry now to skip to life in the failure of Tosaka's "present." As stated at the start of this chapter, I do so partly to end by leading into the chapters on Furuya's work through his contemporaries, though they – like Furuya's commentators in the Introduction – might be felt to have followed the antifascist philosophers above in an ethics of silence. In fact, their work will be informed – made less "silent" – through the context that I now cover, though – as always – very briefly for my purposes. I now turn to historians who engaged postwar German and Japanese memory at the turn of the twenty-first century: Lisa Yoneyama and Yoshikuni Igarashi in the realm

¹³⁶ "Film as a Reproduction of the Present," 109; "Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei," 42.

¹³⁷ "The Work of Art," 43, 226-228, 242, 245-247; *Das Kunstwerk*, 144, 146-148, 167.

¹³⁸ "The Work of Art," 241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167.

¹³⁹ "Film as a Reproduction of the Present," 112; "Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei," 46.

of Japan,¹⁴⁰ and Eric Santner in his study of German Holocaust engagement (though primarily lack of it) in film and television, quoted in the epigraph to this chapter.¹⁴¹

In fact, Santner may be seen as most concerned with the habituated self that Benjamin, Tosaka and – as I shall show after this section – Furuya’s circles may imply in their refusal of it. He described it in the epigraph to this chapter: “a narrowly conceived self-identity [that] expunges all traces of the [unfamiliar], past and present, from its psychic household.”¹⁴² The German term that I have replaced with “unfamiliar” will be revealed when I have provided its context. For now, I note that I begin and end this short section on “multinarrativity” with Santner’s work, because his critique of habituated selfhood is perhaps the common concern of all in this chapter: whether using or refusing discursivity, antifascist, anticapitalist or otherwise seeking German and Japanese postwar responsibility.

Though I cannot go into detail on Santner’s visual analyses – most of which rely on watching and recalling scenes from film and TV – I consider his method akin to a multinarrative ethics because he approached individual sequences of these productions – noting color, lighting, music, framing, and other elements that I would call potential trappings of belonging – to make different readings of Holocaust awareness or denial. As I do with Furuya’s photobooks, he made readings in terms of history and possible memories or emotions sparked by visual effects. More specifically, Santner attempted to chart a method for postwar Germans whose

¹⁴⁰ Yoneyama and Igarashi.

¹⁴¹ Santner.

¹⁴² Santner, 162.

relatives had been complicit in the Third Reich to – in his words – “claim solidarity with the oppressed of history, past and present” by re-imagining their pasts.¹⁴³ He effectively searched for evidence of film and TV creators’ progress in this process, particularly through alternative paths of memory or entirely new visualizations. These memory paths might be considered akin to multiple, visual narratives arising through encounter with visual, sensory and symbolic associations from one’s own past – the “stranded objects” of Santner’s title. Effectively, Santner proposed something like an ethics of belonging for postwar Germans.

Unlike me, however – who takes whatever or whoever appears and seeks both redress for harm and human connection from there – Santner had a more specific formula. I might gloss it as follows: 1) find humanity in one’s German wartime relatives by remembering or visualizing them in small moments of Holocaust awareness – such as flashes of reservation about committing their own crimes against Holocaust victims – on one end of the spectrum – or, at the other, failure to intervene in the endangerment of Jewish subjects as quietly apparent in daily life; 2) carefully let feelings of tenderness for one’s relatives’ humanity lead to personalized regret that these relatives did not act on their humanitarian reservations and allowed the Holocaust to happen; 3) find a sense of intimacy with the humanity of Holocaust victims through their place at the end of these emotional associations, specifically as recipients of a remorse made personal through tenderness for one’s relatives – who do

¹⁴³ Santner, 162.

not deserve tenderness, because their humanity was not enough. Rather, one's relatives initially open one's own humanity to connect it to that of their victims.

Conversely, Santner largely found that productions praised for processing the German past in the 1970s and 1980s did not privilege humanizing perpetrators in order to humanize victims. Rather, they focused on the perpetrators – “oneself” in postwar German terms – with – to preface a phrase that I use to denote finding visual feelings of intimacy in Chapter 2 – little “way in” to anyone else. One production was Hans Jürgen Syberberg's 1977 film *Unser Hitler: ein Film aus Deutschland* (“our Hitler: a film from Germany,” released in English as only *Hitler: A Film from Germany*) – which Santner found to glorify a garishly “German” self-pity-in-guilt that continued to erase Holocaust victims and their humanity.¹⁴⁴ The other was Edgar Reitz's 1984 TV series *Heimat*, which portrayed a rural German town from 1919 to 1955 in – as Santner found – near absence of Third Reich or Holocaust references, visualizing German private life under fascism as a sort of comfort in ignorance.¹⁴⁵

In fact, Santner's findings on the German TV series *Heimat* are in keeping with self-critical German suspicions of the general concept of *Heimat* discussed in the Introduction – as a symbol – or atmosphere – of “Fatherland” waiting to emerge through the rural German – or Austrian, as I explore in Chapter 4 – trappings of “home.”¹⁴⁶ I shall return to this self-criticality around elements of *Heimat* at the end

¹⁴⁴ Santner, 103-149.

¹⁴⁵ Santner, 57-102.

¹⁴⁶ I might gloss a proto-*Heimat*-to-“post”-*Heimat* overview through the following sources in painting and film: Amstutz; Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); and Thomas Elsaesser, *Fassbinder's Germany: History, Identity, Subject* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

of this chapter, when I revisit Gržinic through a few examples of the work of Furuya's Austrian colleague Manfred Willmann. Now, having unpacked the mechanical "multinarrativity" of Santner's methods for what I would consider a form of German postwar responsibility, I turn to his critiques of discursivity.

Specifically, Santner's theoretical foundations effectively consolidate the critiques of discursivity that I have discussed thus far and many more. I can gloss but part of the skeleton. Among other things, Santner addresses traditions of "the talking cure" itself: psychoanalytic ideas of articulating repressed memories to realize, accept and learn from one's estranged elders – to become functional and responsible through love for their humanity and responsibility for their monstrousness. Among other things, German psychic failure in the wartime generation had framed the pioneering critique of German war memory (or rather, repression) to which Santner's work was responding.¹⁴⁷ I shall not, therefore, go into further psychoanalytic detail. Apropos to Furuya, however, Santner sees a culmination of discursive harm in National Socialism from myriad modes akin to the critiques of the "West" that I considered among Furuya's commentators in the introduction. As Santner wrote:

I attempted to rewrite [the previous generation's] thesis of the 'inability to mourn' from a perspective informed by postmodern theorizations of marginality and difference. Such a revision illustrates just how much recent critical theory has been engaged in labors of mourning with respect to structures of thought and behavior – call them logocentric, phallogocentric, onto-theological – which were, as many have come to suspect, complicitous in the 'successes' of German fascism.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Alexander and Margarethe Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu Trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Munich: Piper, [1967]), (see also Alexander and Margarethe Mitscherlich, *Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior*, trans. Beverly R. Placzek, foreword by Robert Jay Lifton (New York: Grove Press, 1975)).

¹⁴⁸ Santner, 31. The "thesis" to which he refers is the Mitscherlichs' book.

In simplest terms, Santner drew on “postmodern theorizations of marginality and difference” to introduce an attitude of inclusivity – that of the epigraph’s “self that feels entitled to play with its boundaries.”¹⁴⁹ Without going into his own copious detail, these various theorizations discover and thereby empower the marginalized through excavation of their narratives as suppressed by dominant forms of thinking and feeling – such as the “-centrisms” named. I gloss the latter forms of discursive harm very briefly in terms of the way they appeal to emotion.

The “logocentric” centers discursive explanation (as opposed to the emotional or “irrational” effects of words) as the ultimate act of power, knowledge and creation. The “phallogocentric” maps logocentrism onto maleness. The “onto-theological” seeks rational knowledge of the Christian (G)od, thereby glorifying the previous two modes by centering both discourse and maleness: through the idea of the incarnation of Christ (despite some agency in Mary)¹⁵⁰ as the self-regeneration of the divine “word” (*logos*). While all of this elevates discursivity as the mode of reason, the anchor for the rational is actually religion, which centers the emotional need for safety, certainty and – in these traditions – often an infallible exclusivity – in the discursive. This

¹⁴⁹ Santner, 162.

¹⁵⁰ On Mary’s relative power as the flesh for the divine word, see e.g. Gerard Manley Hopkins, “The Blessed Virgin Compared to the Air We Breathe,” *Gerard Manley Hopkins: The Major Works*, ed., introduction and notes by Catherine Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 158-161 and Maria Evangelatou, “Krater of Nectar and Altar of the Bread of Life: The Theotokos as Provider of the Eucharist in Byzantine Culture,” *The Reception of the Virgin in Byzantium: Marian Narratives in Texts and Images*, eds., Thomas Arentzen and Mary B. Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 77-119.

might serve as perhaps a particularly clear description of what Benjamin glossed as “cult value,”¹⁵¹ which was not unlike Tosaka’s “custom.”¹⁵²

All three thinkers might be seen very broadly to have understood that – in Santner’s words – “German fascism” traveled through both conscious and subconscious channels enabled by a habituated ideal of the human as conscious and discerning, which – conversely – mapped onto its aesthetics – what I have been calling trappings of belonging – in appeal to emotion: from “logic” of speech to “knowledge” of God. The experience of human attachment to fascism, then – if not the disastrous results of fascism – perhaps operated similarly to attachment to other leading narratives of world order or hope for social change.

In fact, Furuya’s colleague Christine Frisinghelli made what might be felt as a lament for this attachment – through the example of its workings in various “grand narratives” – in an essay (excerpted below) for the 1993 Austrian Photography Triennial. The Triennial included the piece by Furuya that I noted in the Introduction as occasioning his writing on anxiety about relating to others – specifically Bosnian refugees – in terms of equality and understanding.¹⁵³ Furuya and Frisinghelli thereby were exploring similar crises of the “self” as creating “otherness” shortly after Santner wrote in this vein. I save Furuya’s text for Chapter 4. In Frisinghelli’s words:

After the “grand narratives,” as they are called, are no more: the narratives of the redemption of humanity through Christianity, Humanism, Marxism – is there not, after loss of faith in the furthering of humanity through technological progress (the dream of the Enlightenment) finally a question at

¹⁵¹ “The Work of Art,” 43, 226-228, 242, 245-247; *Das Kunstwerk*, 144, 146-148, 167.

¹⁵² “Film as a Reproduction of the Present,” 109; “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei,” 42.

¹⁵³ “War and Photography.”

the center: to live in a world, in which there are beings [*Wesen*] who are other than ourselves? [...] How could we embark “on the history of humanity” without the distorted understandings or abstractions of any ideology?¹⁵⁴

Briefly, if Frisinghelli hinted at shielding a potentially kind self from corruption by ideology, Santner perhaps assumed the self already corrupt – as in the epigraph to this chapter, “a narrowly conceived self-identity [that] expunges all traces of the [unfamiliar], past and present, from its psychic household.”¹⁵⁵ I now have shown a bit of how discursive systems – and stories traveling through them – have been critiqued for habituating the self to receive fascism as simple, straightforward and clear, even – and *because* – fascism could masquerade as simple and clear through channels of familiarity – e.g. gathering to hear a speaker, retiring to the *Heimat* (countryside) – which framed it as too much to too many. As historian Saul Friedländer explored, National Socialism operated “less in any explicit ideology than in the power of emotions, images, phantasms [such that b]oth left and right were susceptible to them.”¹⁵⁶ Lest Japan’s fascism be forgotten, however – a risk of idealizing the “non-West” as non-discursive, even – as I considered in the Introduction – in implicit apology from Western thinkers for various imperialisms – I now turn to what I consider multinarrative critiques of Japan’s postwar conditions.

¹⁵⁴ Christine Frisinghelli, “*KRIEG*. [War],” *KRIEG*, vol. 2, 70-71 (German), 97-99 (English translation by Bärbel Fink). All quotes from this source are my translation’s from Frisinghelli’s German, informed by Fink’s English.

¹⁵⁵ Santner, 162.

¹⁵⁶ Saul Friedländer, *Reflets du Nazisme* (Paris: Seuil (c. 1982), 13, (see also Saul Friedländer, *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death*, trans. Thomas Weyr (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 14-15). All quotes from this source refer to Weyr’s translation.

The work of Lisa Yoneyama and Yoshikuni Igarashi¹⁵⁷ delves into the voices of individuals in whom such ideological appeals took hold under Japanese fascism – to various degrees – and retells their stories to determine both these degrees and the harm to redress. It is in this way – which I explain for each – that I compare their modes to a multinarrative ethics. Both demonstrated macro-to-micro approaches in systematically decoding suppressed Japanese war guilt – often bound to personal pain – in postwar Japanese testimonies and productions.

In 1999, Yoneyama focused on the bombing of Hiroshima to expose escapism from war responsibility along a spectrum from public to private. This included public visualizations of the bombed-out, Hiroshima “Peace Dome” (which, among other things, suppressed its origin as a monument to Japan’s imperialism before the war)¹⁵⁸ as well as private memories and impressions in witnesses’ stories of the day of the bombing. In the realm of memory, she paid particular attention to personal identifications related to factors such as gender or Japanese or Korean nationality. She found that Japanese bomb witnesses of various identifications realized the pain of Korean experience in the bombing only when they heard Koreans tell their stories. Before then, the Japanese had not considered these fellow citizens as also suffering the bombing, much less as victims of Japan’s colonial and wartime regimes.¹⁵⁹

Yoneyama’s arrangement of interpersonal Japanese encounter with Korean subjects thus might be called a real life “staging” of the kind of realizations that I

¹⁵⁷ Yoneyama and Igarashi.

¹⁵⁸ Yoneyama, 43-65.

¹⁵⁹ These explorations comprise the rest of Yoneyama’s book – see particularly 151-210.

invite through a solitary multinarrative ethics from cultural productions, such as I undertake with Furuya's photobooks. She put Japanese subjects in positions to face their histories of harm to other Asians through hearing actual narratives of Koreans – initially in the relative absence of ethical imagination. Afterwards – as is also the goal in a multinarrative ethics – this ethical imagination was somewhat activated. Japanese identity had been shaken in its sense of exclusivity in suffering at Hiroshima. When Yoneyama continued to bring people together, a variety of subjects would re-tell updated versions of their own relations to wartime suffering and responsibility – partly due to the fragmented nature of remembering trauma (for the survivors) and considering the trauma of one's elders (for descendants), yet also in continuing relation to each other's experience: what a multinarrative ethics imagines.

Igarashi's work of a year later (2000) similarly challenged a nationally imposed but privately accepted, Japanese postwar narrative of victimhood. He unpacked this narrative as postwar Japan's effective "flipping" of the gendered, colonial relation that the wartime nation had imposed on the rest of Asia:

The atomic attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 was a slap in Japan's face; with this slap, Japan's vengeful gaze toward the United States was transformed into an adoring look. By moving into the feminine position that Asia had occupied [for Japan during the war], Japan easily assumed the role of victim. Hirohito played the role of the heroine who first recognizes the didactic values of the slap. According to the foundational narrative [that enforces Japanese victim mentality], the United States rescued a longing for liberalism in Japan, though (s)he initially resisted, (s)he eventually succumbed to America's allure. Facing inevitable defeat in World War II [the last three years of the Asia-Pacific War], the Japanese leadership produced a drama of rescue – the rescue of Hirohito from the corrupt militarists [who are blamed for wartime fascism] – in an attempt to rationalize the defeat.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Igarashi, 37.

As might be inferred through Igarashi's above attention to gender, the physical or bodily, and desire – in Japan's recuperation of its feminization in relation to America (akin to its own feminization of Asia) through retroactive "longing" for American dominance – Igarashi made various readings of Japanese cultural productions through ideas of body image and sensation. These readings examined Japanese feelings of feminization and emasculation as well as wishes for a sort of superhuman strength (also a wartime goal). In fact, I might consider Igarashi to have found these readings in relation to what I quoted in the Introduction as Japan's postwar "status-shift from that of colonizer to colonized"¹⁶¹: Japan's identification as the "colonized" in relation to America as postwar occupier of Japan, which – in Igarashi's terms – served to repress a Japanese sense of responsibility for Japan's imperialism in a retroactively constructed desire for American democracy.¹⁶²

In this way, Igarashi's work went straight to what I would call a space of belonging – through pursuit of subconscious, corporeal attachments sparked by sensory elements in visual productions, bodily exercises and fiction. It is a space also akin to philosopher Julia Kristeva's notion of the "abject."¹⁶³ In Kristevan terms, the abject might be glossed as an element of oneself rejected on a deep level as – to quote the substitution that I made for a German word in Santner's epigraph to this chapter, which I later explain in relation to Furuya's colleagues – "unfamiliar." This rejection

¹⁶¹ Chen, 7.

¹⁶² Igarashi, 19-46.

¹⁶³ Julia Kristeva, *Pouvoirs de l'horreur: essai sur l'abjection* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1980), (see also Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982)).

of a shameful part of the self is so intimate as to comprise an aspect of belonging, however, such that the abject might be considered an element that the self denies in order to feel comfortable and safe: to make a space of belonging that is uncritical. This is why an ethics of belonging is a compromise: a sober comfort that checks its own elements, which lets the abject – however horrible – meet what excluded it.

Igarashi effectively seeks such “meeting” with the denied by – as he writes below – reading dominant narratives of the Asia Pacific War and their counternarratives together, in “tension between the repression and expression of the trauma of the war”:

Japanese society rendered its traumatic experiences of the war comprehensible through narrative devices that downplayed their disruptive effects on Japan’s history. These narratives, however, made it more difficult to discuss the impact of experiences of war. Rather than dismiss these narrative strategies as mere obstacles to historical inquiry, [my] book reads them along with particular counternarratives that attempted to register the historical impact of the war. It is through examining the tension between the repression and expression of the trauma of the war that I contemplate the impact of the war and Japan’s defeat on postwar society.¹⁶⁴

I might borrow Furuya’s term to suggest that Igarashi’s book engaged in a capacious “re-reading”¹⁶⁵ – of film, fiction, poetry, pro-wrestling, even the wartime-inspired coaching of Japan’s Olympic women’s volleyball team – to articulate suppressed wartime experiences as alternative narratives. Through these multiple narratives, Igarashi visualized and brought to consciousness hunger and fatigue; hope or despair in having or desiring particular physiques; and lingering pain and guilt for

¹⁶⁴ Igarashi, 3-5.

¹⁶⁵ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

the loss – even, to recall Furuya’s ideas about Christine and Konstantin from the Introduction (Figure 2) – the “sacrifice” – of loved ones and comrades.¹⁶⁶

Igarashi articulated issues of both realizing personal Japanese pain and the need to make the understanding of this pain more responsible toward other Asians who suffered from the war: to keep one’s own pain from becoming an excuse to ignore others’ pain. In this sense, Furuya’s splitting of his idea of “sacrifice” – as addressed in the Introduction, between his guilt toward Christine and Konstantin and his admiration for the *Rōnin* – might be considered to “succeed” in processing war guilt only when he considers himself to have sacrificed others, while it might remain ambiguous when he admires the *Rōnin*’s self-sacrifice for an exploitative system. These are akin to the types of narratives that Igarashi might have found.

On this note, I would like to begin to end this section by revisiting Santner, because his critique of the collusion of “logocentrism” and fascism may most closely echo those of Furuya’s peers in photography below. To review – and as implied in the title of Santner’s book, *Stranded Objects* – he made readings of German film and television in search of repressed elements (“stranded objects”) that might serve as signs of perpetrator reservations in private life under the Third Reich – *as they were enabling the Holocaust* – thereby evoking the humanity of Holocaust victims through the personal amplification of that reservation into remorse in perpetrator descendants, such that they might realize their “capacity to bear witness to history and to claim solidarity with the oppressed of history,” for which Santner calls in the epigraph to

¹⁶⁶ Igarashi, 47-198.

this chapter.¹⁶⁷ I might rephrase this sentiment more succinctly as calling for innocence and guilt to coexist in a space of belonging, such that guilt un-represses memories of innocent and guilty together – to prevent the harm that bound them in the past from repeating itself.

I note, however, that I have prioritized the part of Santner’s formation that I like best – the possibility of recuperating an unspeakable “bond” of abuse between perpetrator and victim, specifically in resolve to redress the past by opening oneself to increasingly intimate understandings and connections. This is also somewhat as he concluded his book – on Christa Wolf’s fiction as a potential site for his method:

By blasting such moments [of remembered or imagined sympathy for Holocaust victims] out of the continuum of her family’s [wartime] history, the narrator can begin to recuperate the empathy and protest [on behalf of Holocaust victims] preserved, if only in distorted form, in them.”¹⁶⁸

In Wolf’s case, particularly, Santner’s idea of his method – the “blasting” forth of new revelations – may be felt to evoke an ethics of belonging for Wolf’s protagonist. She re-tells family history in memories, using – as in the epigraph to this chapter – “free association between emotions and events” to imagine new stories from a family’s past. She may be considered to allow estranged relatives *into* a space of belonging: building a space of belonging both critical and compassionate.

I now finally may address the German term that I glossed as “unfamiliar” in Santner’s epigraph, so as not to distract from my initial discussions. Santner’s full text of that quote – plus a bit more – reads as follows:

¹⁶⁷ Santner, 162.

¹⁶⁸ Santner, 160. He is discussing *Kindheitsmuster* (see also *A Model Childhood*).

In the name of a narrowly conceived self-identity, the self expunges all traces of the *unheimlich*, past and present, from its psychic household. What remains is, one might say, a well-defined, well-defended, and vacant *Heimat*.¹⁶⁹

The term *unheimlich* – literally “un-homey” – often is rendered in English as “unfamiliar,” or, in a Freudian sense not absent in Santner’s work – “uncanny.” The uncanny, however – much like the abject – is also a supposedly unfamiliar element that is a part of oneself too painful or shameful to face as one’s own. The uncanny therefore is repressed and haunts one’s sense of comfort: in my terms, one’s space of belonging. As might be inferred from its spelling, the literal sense of *unheimlich* – un-homey and unfamiliar – is the opposite of *Heimat*, which Santner uses to denote the self that denies the unfamiliar: a “vacant *Heimat*.”

As I have discussed, *Heimat* is a German word often rendered pseudo-neutrally as “homeland” and in more loaded terms as “Fatherland.” *Heimat* could be considered to connote a space of uncritical belonging – where the dangers of one’s sense of the familiar – of “home” – might flourish to the denial and harm of the *unheimlich*, who await acknowledgment. To return to discursivity, also, Santner codes the act of “defin[ition]” itself as “defens[ive].” The discursive act of definition creates a divide, a distinction between what is defined and what is either not defined or – by default – defined as different.

In fact, Santner evokes the setting of terms at all – the definition of a self – as a sense of space, which, particularly as the German national(ist) space of *Heimat*), recalls to me one more echo from Frisinghelli’s essay. This is her term *Aktionsraum*,

¹⁶⁹ Santner, 162.

“space to act.” Specifically, she asks “Is simply our entitlement to space to act [*Aktionsraum*] already an attack on that of others?”¹⁷⁰ Due to the structure of the German language, the term brings to my mind a sense of the National Socialist *Lebensraum*, “space to live.” It makes me wonder – as I am sorry now that I forgot to ask her – whether I am meant to wonder whether one can refrain from taking “space to act” by attempting not to act. It is an implication in keeping with the ethics of silence that I attributed – in the Introduction – to the generation after Benjamin and Tosaka in Germany and Japan, that of Frisinghelli and Furuya. In effect, Frisinghelli’s choice of a single word has evoked another way to see an ethics of silence: as deeming existence as a “self” too much of a differentiated (discursive) “act,” where “room to live” means killing others.

On this note, I now turn properly to how Furuya’s contemporaries in photography showed hopes of rejecting the discursive harm that I have discussed, specifically their idealization of rejection of signification – their ethics of silence. I shall begin with Furuya’s photographic peers in Japan, yet I must clarify that Furuya did not identify with the Japanese world of “protest photography” under whose aegis he has been presented.¹⁷¹ He is friends with photographers who count themselves part of that circle – notably Nobuyoshi Araki, through self-described, outlier status in relation to the protest photography magazine *Provoke* (1968-1970)¹⁷² – or its heirs, such as Kisei Kobayashi. Furuya frequently reminded me that Kobayashi published a

¹⁷⁰ “*KRIEG.*,” 71.

¹⁷¹ See e.g. “On the Border,” 147 and Monika Faber’s untitled essay for *Alive*, 163, 171.

¹⁷² Nobuyoshi Araki, “Interviews: Purovôku ni shigekisareta hitoridake no nanajûnen Anpô/Interviews: My Solitary Protest against the 1970 US-Japan Security Treaty Provoked by *Provoke*,” trans. Sandy Lin, *Provoke*, 588-590.

book with Araki,¹⁷³ specifically in the opinion that it centered sensationally on Furuya's publication of an image of Christine's corpse on a contact sheet that – in an interview excerpt to come – he describes as crucial to his sense of honesty.¹⁷⁴

Already, in fact, I must alert the reader that Furuya's conversation is operating in my text as it did in real life – to decenter my discussion. Kobayashi's book, for example, resurfaces in the remarks that I shall quote from Furuya on Japanese photography in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was one of many ways in which he diverted our conversation away from my initial questions toward topics that I also found more interesting. This is why I allow my text to react to Furuya's interventions as I did in real life.

To begin: I asked Furuya about Araki and *Provoke* after Furuya did not respond to my general inquiry about whether he had particular influences. In keeping with his epigraph to the Introduction – “*this is not about photography, ne?*” – he had said that he always had used the camera as his own interface with life, not photographic traditions as such. I referenced published associations of Furuya with an un-elaborated genre of “protest photography”¹⁷⁵ and asked how this related to understandings of Japanese photography in the late 1960s as protest. I particularly

¹⁷³ Kisei Kobayashi, 小林紀晴, *Memowaru: shashinka Furuya Seiichi to no nijūnen* メモワール写真家・古屋誠一との二〇年 [Mémoires: twenty years with photographer Furuya Seiichi] (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2012).

¹⁷⁴ I do not treat this contact sheet in this dissertation, though I did attempt to analyze it in an article before I had met Furuya and heard his opinions: Ellen Takata, “Between Gardens: Criticality and Consolation in a Contact Sheet by Furuya Seiichi,” *Innovative Research for Japanese Studies*, vol. 3 (Summer 2019): <http://www.japan-studies.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Takata-final-final.pdf> (accessed June 2, 2021). Furuya has chosen to show the contact sheet in several publications: *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 89; Arthur Ollman, *The Model Wife* (Boston, New York, London: Bulfinch Press/Little Brown and Company, in association with the Museum of Photographic Arts, San Diego, 1999), 196; *Trace elements*, 87; and *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 175.

¹⁷⁵ See e.g. “On the Border,” 147 and Faber's essay for *Alive*, 163, 171.

mentioned rejection of narrative formats in photojournalism as styles implicated in support of the status quo: whether under fascism during the Asia-Pacific War, or – as in Japan’s student protests of 1960 against renewal of the country’s Occupation-era, Joint-Security Treaty with the United States (known as the “Anpô Movement” after a Japanese term for the treaty) – unequal relations with America.¹⁷⁶



Figure 5: “Graz, 2000,” *Alive* (2004), pp. 84-85 (detail of Araki’s fan on left)

I also recalled that Furuya had facilitated an early Austrian show for Araki through the magazine *Camera Austria*,¹⁷⁷ co-founded – as noted earlier – in 1980 with his colleagues Christine Frisinghelli and Manfred Willmann (on whom more in my discussion of Furuya’s Austrian circle).¹⁷⁸ I also drew Furuya’s attention to a paper fan that I had spotted in a photograph of Furuya’s workspace – inscribed by Araki to Kômyô and featuring a cartoon self-portrait with Araki’s signature sunglasses and clown-like tufts of hair (Figure 5).¹⁷⁹ Visually, the fan’s “hiding” is somewhat undermined by the center-fold, which allots it command of its “own” side. Once seen in the smaller rectangle delineated by the fold, the fan’s dark form pops

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, Forbes.

¹⁷⁷ See Furuya’s CV in *Alive*, 180.

¹⁷⁸ As noted before, this joint founding was conveyed to me in personal interviews with Furuya, Frisinghelli, Willmann and Braun.

¹⁷⁹ *Alive*, 84-85.

from the white wall yet also forms a dark spot between the lit window to its right and the thicker white space – Furuya’s “empty space” – to its left. Coincidence?

Furuya’s answer was short. Before I quote it, however, I account for why Furuya and Araki occasionally have been paired outside the common history that Furuya’s conversation is about to cover. A few researchers outside Japan have considered Furuya in relation to other Japanese photographers who also engage their deceased or estranged wives. Stefanie Loh, for example, has compared modes of “performativity” in Furuya and Araki as part of a lineage leading to diaristic performance – or “performative” art – such as that of Sophie Calle and the early Nan Goldin.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, Arthur Ollman once paired Furuya with Japanese photographer Masahisa Fukase through his theme of engaging their wives through forms of grief – Furuya as a widower, Fukase as divorced.¹⁸¹

Furuya had no comment on Fukase. On Araki, he explained, “I know Araki personally because we – for *Camera Austria* – did an exhibition.” He called Araki an *Edokko* – literally a “child of Edo.” The term refers to the flashy consumer of culture in the city of Edo, the 17th to 19th century precursor to today’s Tokyo: an extravagant, flamboyant yet tough man-about-town, who spends as much as he makes. Furuya had little to say about Araki’s work, however, ending with “we’ve seldom had contact up to today. I like him as a person.”

In fact, Furuya’s publications indicate that he has little to say about Japan in general, and he told me more than I expected. He has published that he destroyed

¹⁸⁰ Loh – particularly, 91-103.

¹⁸¹ Ollman, 158-197.

most of his examples of protest photography – literal coverage of political protests – when he left Japan in 1973.¹⁸² As with his newfound materials around Christine, however, he also told me that he recently had rediscovered a few when I arrived – one now is posted on his website.¹⁸³ Ultimately, however, Furuya told me flatly that the protest movement of his youth had remained a form of group-thinking – even if it protested other forms of group-thinking – such that, conversely, he was more interested in going his own way. He had decided already in the midst of documenting protests in Japan. As he laconically put it: “I didn’t demonstrate; I was around.”

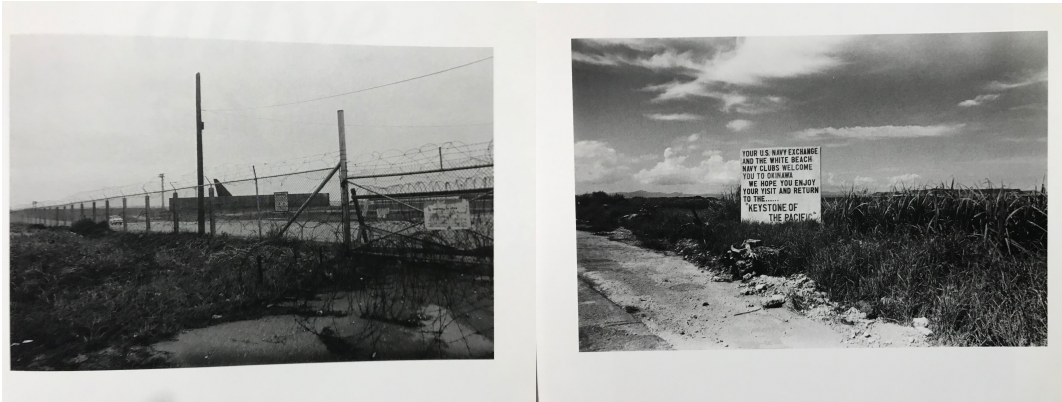


Figure 6: both titled “Okinawa, 1970,” *Alive* (2004), unnumbered – back of title page and frontispiece

Furuya also has stated in print (and told me personally) that the death of Christine permanently de-prioritized his attention to his life before he met her, which corresponds to remembering his life in Japan and his photographic projects in Okinawa. The only previously published photographs from his protest genre (Figure 6, once thought the only two to survive) generally do indicate a stance typical of Japanese protest photography, however: critiquing the barriers against locals and

¹⁸² See Faber’s essay for *Alive*, 163-164, 172.

¹⁸³ Seiichi Furuya, “Tokyo, 1970,” *1970: Okinawa und/and Tokyo, 1970*: https://www.furuya.at/en/works_33.html (accessed May 7, 2021).

welcome to outsiders established by the American military in Okinawa. One image shows barbed wire across an industrial-looking, American base (Figure 6, left), the other a sign of welcome to American veterans under a paradisiacal sky (right). At the same time, the sign sits on a “border” of grasses that curl to points in the wind – visually more reminiscent of barbed wire than the softly blowing reeds of a warm day.

Additionally, the sign – which partially reads “we hope you enjoy your visit and return to the ...[I sense a beat in the rhythm – a drumroll?].... ‘Keystone of the Pacific’” – also might be considered to send a mixed message of “return” to Okinawa. American veterans might “return” to enjoy its beaches and verdure through the power of the US military there, yet they also might remember the wartime suffering there. Even the American experience of the Battle of Okinawa, while perhaps considered “less” than that of the defeated Japanese – and, especially, recalling Furuya’s discussion of Konstantin and the *Rônin*, less than that of the “sacrificed” Okinawans¹⁸⁴ – cannot have been small. Intentionally or not, Furuya’s framing of the “welcome” sign against the sharp grasses – as well as the wording of the sign itself – may capture a trace of that vulnerability and pain.

In short, that literal “sign” of American arrogance might have been framed less sensitively by a different person behind the camera. Furuya’s single image of the Okinawan “welcome” sign might comprise a mildly multinarrative version of the photography of protest that Furuya primarily left behind. The “welcome” may be

¹⁸⁴ On Okinawa, for example, see witness testimony in Ryûkyû Shinpô, *Descent into Hell: Civilian Memories of the Battle of Okinawa*, foreword by Tatsuro Higa with an introduction by Masahide Ota, trans. and commentary by Mark Ealy and Alastair McLauchlan (Portland, ME: MerwinAsia, 2014).

read multiply: as an actual welcome to Americans, an unwelcome gesture from an Okinawan point of view – also but differently from a Japanese point of view – and undercut by painful memories for all three. As Furuya wrote in 1997, however:

According to my “present” self – from when I left Japan until I met [Christine] – things from before – in Japan, in Okinawa – are not subjects that I can’t forget or must express.¹⁸⁵

When Furuya did talk to me about the early days, it was with a sense of freewheeling freedom, chance and easiness in picture-taking and photobook making. He considered this method far from the philosophies of working and critiques of signification to which I attempted to direct our conversation. Rather, he spoke mostly of how he saw his Japanese peers to have found worldwide fame through a sort of flaunting of this freedom and chance. Before quoting him, however, I must set up the detailed context that only small parts of his quote evoke, which is his photographic context. I beg the reader’s patience in this long “lead-in.”

First, Furuya’s offhand reference to freewheeling chance could be considered the core of several of his contemporaries’ theorizations of their work, which I detail a bit below and again *after* quoting his thoughts on them. Briefly, chance *is* a theoretical choice, akin to the refusal of discursivity – the ethics of silence – that I have discussed in terms of Benjamin, Tosaka, and – in the Introduction – Furuya’s commentators. In Furuya’s broadly Japanese “circle,” I observe similar wariness of discursivity through Kôji Taki (1928-2011) and Takuma Nakahira (1938-2015) among founders of *Provoke* (1968-1970) and Kiyoji Ôtsuji (1923-2001) of *Provoke*’s

¹⁸⁵ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

“rival” – the quotidian genre known as *konpora* (1968-1973: derived from *kontenporarii*, the Japanese loanword for “contemporary”). It has been noted, however, that both *Provoke* and *konpora* ultimately privileged a mode of supposedly unmediated reality.¹⁸⁶ As I shall discuss, this notion of reality was not out of keeping with Tosaka’s “goodness of the materiality of the world”¹⁸⁷ and accessed somewhat in line with Benjamin’s “distraction,”¹⁸⁸ often under an anticapitalist aegis.

In terms of Furuya’s commentators, *Provoke* and *konpora* might be felt to have sought a mode of perception akin to what Barthes would attribute to “Japanese” perception at around the same time as their practices: an immediacy in beholding the world.¹⁸⁹ As I explore after Furuya’s interview excerpt, they might be compared to Benjamin and Tosaka in privileging an idea of effectively naturally-arising and pseudo-unconscious triumph of reality through photographic framing – framing that thwarted narrative frames of society and photography. The onus was on the viewer, however, to try to withhold consciousness. Apropos to Tosaka, in fact, *konpora* defined “reality” with one of the same terms as he did: *nichijō* – the “everyday.”¹⁹⁰

Neither *konpora* nor *Provoke*, however, claimed to behold “all” of reality, as Tosaka and Benjamin might have dared to anticipate before them – before the heights of fascism in Japan and Germany. *After* these heights, perhaps, Taki, Nakahira and Ôtsuji might have felt – consciously or not – that to presume to behold or frame “everything” was itself a totalitarian stance. As will be seen through only a few

¹⁸⁶ See Kai.

¹⁸⁷ “Film as a Reproduction of the Present,” 108-109; “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei,” 41.

¹⁸⁸ “The Work of Art,” 242-243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 166-167.

¹⁸⁹ *L’empire des signes; Empire of Signs*.

¹⁹⁰ *Shisō to fūzoku; Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader*.

words in Furuya’s interview excerpt, he also hews toward them in his distaste for what he described to me as a visual language of “destined things (*schicksalhafte Sachen*),” which sounded akin to the “Western” discursivity addressed in Chapter 1.

Specifically, Furuya’s only reference was a small one that I must highlight ahead of time: W. Eugene Smith’s work on mercury poisoning in Japan’s city of Minamata.¹⁹¹ Though Furuya said little but the title, he evoked a longer story – as with his reference to the *Rōnin* in the Introduction: controversies around Smith’s unwitting disempowerment of the people whom he sought to humanize. An iconic image from this work once was blocked legally by the family of the subject, who cited the pain of being publicized as a victim in a story of disaster.¹⁹² That subject was a woman affected by mercury poisoning whom I remembered from her image in my childhood when Furuya said “Minamata.” I did not, however, recall her name – testimony perhaps to her family’s objection to her becoming only a face of Minamata’s suffering. Today, however, that image is all over the Internet – I might cite the sale of a print of it at Sotheby’s in 2008.¹⁹³

As I want to respect my previous discussion by not showing the image in this dissertation, I instead evoke its soft, shadowy lighting as recalling the Pictorialist tableaux of Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879) and F. Holland Day (1879-1933),¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ W. Eugene Smith, *Minamata* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975).

¹⁹² See e.g. Michael L. Sand, “Latent Image: W. Eugene Smith’s Controversial Minamata Photograph,” *Aperture*, No. 160 (Summer 2000): 14-19.

¹⁹³ Sotheby’s, “Photography: Live Auction 8 April 2008, 11:00AM EST, New York,” lot 183, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/photographs-n08424/lot.183.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

¹⁹⁴ See, for example, Julian Cox and Colin Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: The Complete Photographs*, with contributions by Joanne Lukitsh and Philippa Wright (Los Angeles: Getty Publications in

themselves echoing – like Smith’s photograph, too – the dramatic pathos of Michelangelo’s *Pietà*.¹⁹⁵ Smith’s style indeed may be called “Western” in visually narrative terms that trace to the Renaissance. Furuya’s distaste for Smith thus may highlight a double tension: through both photography in Japan – between aesthetics in (Western) Pictorialism and Japanese approaches¹⁹⁶ – as well as mechanics of emotion through symbolically legible images, similar across humanitarian and fascist.

In 1993, Furuya himself would take up the challenge to which he considered Smith’s style of “destined things” inadequate: engaging others’ suffering while maintaining respect for individuals within their larger plight – inviting humanization yet precluding pity. As I glossed in the Introduction, Furuya photographed Bosnian refugees in a uniformly frontal, mugshot-like format and displayed them opposite demographic surveys to which they could not be matched (Figure 7).¹⁹⁷ Frisinghelli wrote of the surveys, “this information creates a background-text without individual destinies [*Einzelschicksale*] being described. This enables Furuya to refer to the position of the individual within an undefined number of victims of war [or “sacrifices to war” – *Opfern des Krieges*] without satisfying the goal of our pity – our

association with the National Museum of Photography, Film & Television, Bradford, England, [2003]) and Jussim.

¹⁹⁵ This image is widely available – I might cite it from the following engagement of (im)perfectionist pursuits: Irving Lavin, “Divine Grace and the Remedy of the Imperfect. Michelangelo’s Signature on the St. Peter’s *Pietà*,” *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 34, no. 68 (2013), Papers dedicated to Peter Humphrey, Part II (2013): 278 (Figure 1).

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, *Setting Sun*.

¹⁹⁷ “Vertreiben-Flüchten/Expulsion-Flight.”

interest in an exemplary, individual destiny.”¹⁹⁸ Furuya’s work was against “destined things.”

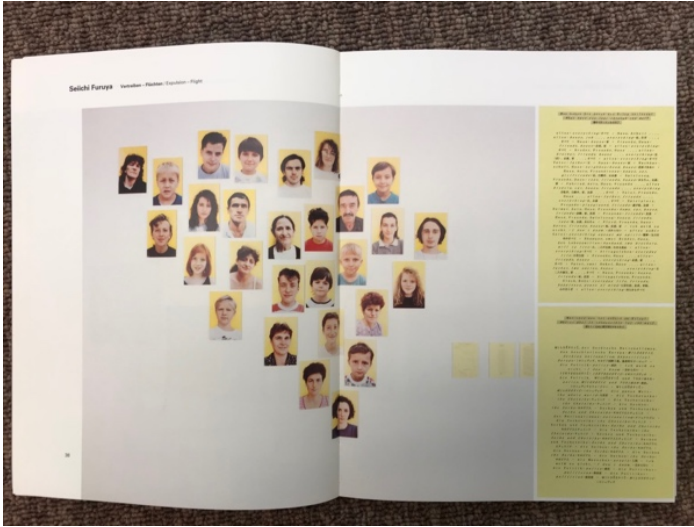


Figure 7: “Vertreiben – Flüchten/Expulsion – Flight” *KRIEG*. vol. 2 (1993), pp. 38-39

In fact, Furuya’s critique of “Western” photojournalism for that style – imposition of narratives of the “destined” – reminds me not only of Santner’s all-enveloping modes of “logocentrism” from 1990 but also a deceptively off-the-cuff observation by Barthes in 1966, which I must cite briefly. In an early analysis of the narrative form that predates Barthes’ later work on signification, photography and mourning,¹⁹⁹ Barthes wrote more casually of “Destiny, of which narrative [,] all things considered[,] is no more than the ‘language.’”²⁰⁰ In short, Barthes already had arrived at an idea of narrative – of putting events in order, giving them meaning – as

¹⁹⁸ “*KRIEG*,” 72.

¹⁹⁹ For example, “La mort de l’auteur;” “The Death of the Author;” *L’empire des signes; Empire of Signs; La chambre Claire and Camera Lucida*.

²⁰⁰ Roland Barthes, “Introduction à l’analyse structural des récits,” *Poétique du récit* [Poetics of narrative], eds. Gérard Genette and Tzvetan Todorov (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977), 22, (see also “Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives,” trans. Stephen Heath, *Image-Music-Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 94). All quotes from this work refer to Heath’s translation.

“the” mode of imposing a (possibly false) destiny on those who – by reading the narrative only as intended – uncritically may believe and live it.

I now arrive finally at Furuya’s interview below. With the above in mind, he might be seen to characterize the mode of “Japanese” photography in the 1960s as a sort of critique of narrative-as-destiny, thereby echoing the ideals of his commentators in the Introduction – but not their sense that Japanese photographers naturally see reality through a Barthesian “seizure by the thing.”²⁰¹ Rather, Furuya described Japanese photography as emerging deliberately into this style as perhaps a postwar rejection of American influence during the Occupation, specifically departing from the Western-inspired genres of – in his words – “Salonisme, Pictorialism and Documentarism.” I also note that Furuya expressed this opinion to me as an answer to my asking about the protest photography magazine *Provoke*, from which – as I have discussed – he distanced himself, as seen in his opening words:

SF: In the sixties, these [Japanese photographers] – they naturally became known not through *Provoke*, rather [...] Japanese photography [...] was exhibited at the Metropolitan [Museum of Art, New York], MoMA [MoMA curator John] Szarkowski did a big exhibition about Japanese²⁰² – and, back then, everyone was there, this generation – Araki, Taki, and these people, and that was an important era for the development of Japanese photography [...]. Before that was Salonisme, Pictorialism, and Documentarism –

[here he implies his point about Minamata]

negative Documentarism – always to document destined things [schicksalhaftige Sachen] children or whatever – Japan is [in English] very famous: Minamata, Eugene Smith [back to German] just as in England – same character.

²⁰¹ “Erwachen vor der Tatsache,” 96-97.

²⁰² He refers to the 1974 MoMA exhibition “New Japanese Photography.” See John Szarkowski, *New Japanese Photography* (New York and Greenwich, CT: Museum of Modern Art, distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1974).

[returning to Japanese photography of the 1960s]

OK: *masses* of people were there, and, seen historically – [in terms of] Japanese history – much happened. This Anti-American Movement, *Anpô* Movement [in 1960, against the 1961 renewal of the U.S.-Japan Joint Security Treaty]...student movements – that these days there aren't anymore. Back then was a simpler world – Japan was so exciting – all of Japan was always a theater.

ET: Yes?

SF: That is, it was an ideal situation for photographers [...] because one didn't have to think too much, just simply go into the street, then you can make something, *ne?* Many made pictures like that, *ne?* And *Provoke* was a magazine that, back then – OK, had only two editions, two numbers and Araki wasn't there –

[here he changes the subject abruptly]

but, OK: I just want to go back to the Kobayashi book that he wrote about me²⁰³ – it concerns this story with [Christine] dead and lying [on the ground, in a frame of a contact sheet that Furuya has published²⁰⁴] *ne* –

ET: Yes.

SF: The Japanese said for the Japanese [*die Japaner für die Japaner gesagt*] [that] it was so impossible, to bring a camera especially to the dead and photograph and so on, *ne?* But [their objection], for me, is absolutely uninteresting. Real li- [*die Erleb-*] – the, the – I show what I want to show – that's not for other people – for *me*; but I, if I don't look at my photo of the dead lying [there] – even if I don't enlarge it – then I don't even own it. And that – if I *don't* show it, that's – then, *that is a problem for me*.

ET: Yes.

SF: That is – if I don't show this [in English] *time* [back to German] this run of time [on the contact sheet].

ET: Yes, it's *honest*.

²⁰³ Kobayashi.

²⁰⁴ This contact sheet appears in *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 89; Ollman, 196; *Trace elements*, 87; and *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 175.

SF: Yes, the problem is in people, viewers – who see only that [moment of death].

ET: Yes!

SF: Not all the other things! Who discuss only that. It's about *that*.

ET: Yes.

SF: The problem.

ET: I understand – yes, I fear always that *I* could do that, but my –

[...]

SF: That concerns the photo – that's it. And I understand [I] don't know what it is, the painfulness of [Christine's] experience, [so] I must have it always near. I would not have known it if I had not photographed [her body], but I decided, especially, [that] it [would be] an end to [our] path [if I did not photograph her body]: then I had to photograph it, hold onto it. Otherwise, later, you [sic: *du*] can – lie to *myself* [sic: *mich*] about it all. If there is no photo, I can lie to myself. If I myself lie to myself three days, then it is no longer a lie, rather, false facts are taken as truth...with the photo you cannot lie. That is, then: that is the natural process for me, to make the last portrait of her.

ET: Yes.

SF: Yes, to make [it], *ne*.

ET: Yes, I understand that. I –

SF: But I don't explain at all [*ich erkläre gar nicht*] – these [laughs] these viewers [...] I don't care who they are. And, that is – their excitement also completely – doesn't matter, because it's – for me [their excitement] has absolutely no reality.

[I turn to a funeral portrait of Furuya's brother, set up with a flame across from us – I cannot remember now if the flame was incense or a candle]

ET: Yes, I have – I have a – forgive me, but – [gesturing to the portrait] who is that?

SF: [My] brother, my younger brother who died two months ago.

ET: Ah, I thought so, but –

SF: That's an absolute achievement [*Erreichsdatung*] for me – that is, he was deeply disabled –

ET: Yes.

SF: [in English] seriously handicapped.

ET: Yes, you have written that.

SF: [back to German] Yes, and I'd always wished – even when still a kid – at seventeen and eighteen – because he [was] so handicapped, I always thought I'd kill him [*ich bringe ihn um*].

ET: Mm.

SF: For *his* sake, to make his pain go away, and the last time was – I've thought so often of him, because the last time I saw him was 2009, in the sanatorium, then later, the first time I was in Tokyo, and, later, in Japan, I considered visiting – I didn't do it, but I didn't regret it, I didn't want to, but – it could be that, if he had seen me, he wouldn't have recognized who I am, *ne*, because of so long a distance [*weil so lange eine Distanz*]. It was then that my mother visited and told me: he couldn't speak, and uh...that means, how to say – deeply handicapped, the absolute most severe – but actually not physically [*körperlich*]: his *mind*. But in the last two – two years ago, I heard that he was driving around [in a wheelchair: *umgefahren*] and couldn't walk anymore. They operated; and he couldn't be stimulated [*aufnehmen*] to eat any more, and [he] lived by artificial feeding through his nose.

ET: Hm!

SF: And, earlier I had thought: why? An absolute destiny [*absolute Schicksal*] is [that] *he cannot choose for himself*. He cannot commit suicide. He can't end his life himself. But it could be that he was happy – I don't know what to do about that, but, for example, he could not rest if his teeth hurt, or if his head hurt, he couldn't say – it was a prob – the problem [trails off]

ET: Yes.

SF: And now, this year I phoned my elder sister two or three times – I have six sisters, but one younger sister has died – at fifty – and I've – OK: [in

English] family style [in German] – strained relations, *ne?* Nobody chose. Your own destiny is then to be born, *ne?* [*einziges Schicksal ist dann das geboren zu sein, ne?*]. You cannot choose, *ne?* That’s why, of six sisters, I have contact only with the eldest, and this time, this year – I phone her at least once a year, in the New Year, to talk to her and ask how it was, how it goes with *him* [his brother] and so on. I heard – yes, it seemed pretty bad and so on, *ne?* Then February – OK, every time [this happens] with me is also very interesting: if I get an email from the daughter of my elder sister, [a] call [comes] from Japan, then bad news – otherwise we have no communication. Because I don’t really need it, and the others also don’t need it. That’s not Destiny [*das ist nicht Schicksal*] but totally normal. But, that is, then, when the phone rang – normally, I call – I didn’t call back. That is, I *did* call back when my *father* and *mother* died, *ne?*

ET: Yes.

SF: And such things – but, this time, there was an email from my sister’s daughter, that – that he had died, *ne*. Yes, yes and that’s altogether – he *did* have much to do with me, *ne*, because I feel that my whole – these, so to speak – thoughts about life, and such things: what does it mean anyway, to live, *ne*, and so on – that is [in English] *extremely hard* [back to German] and that is – he was two years younger, that is, he was sixty-seven. That alone is astonishing to me. Normally, people die earlier, because they’re somehow sick and such, *ne?* That is – but – and, yes, yes, yes, so – but I’ve thought: *relieved* [*erleichtert*]. For him I would say “relieved”: that he is freed, *ne?*

ET: Yes.

SF: Yup.

ET: Yes. Forgive me, but I –

SF: No, no – that is, yes, I really had to [set up the portrait with the memorial flame]: I’ve never done this before [for his blood relations – he did for Christine,²⁰⁵ though did not mention it]. Not when my father died, and not for my sister, not for my mother – only with him, and, that is – and I made this record [*Aufnahme*: the photograph] when I was still at home, that is, then – that is then, not high school – or yes, in high school we [still] were at home now and then. I often played with him there, *ne?* “Played” means that I really had to look after him the whole time, *ne*. That is, so that he wouldn’t get lost

²⁰⁵ See e.g. *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 90-91 (first four images of the contact sheet on page 91, pictured in this dissertation in Figure 38, bottom); and Ollman, 197.

anywhere, that is, yes, and it was bad that he could ride a bicycle – that means, he had no goal, and no plan.

ET: Mhm.

SF: Rode into absolutely dangerous places, and he couldn't get back. He went all over the place, and a call would come: he's on the road, *ne*? Then I had to go after him to get him, *ne*? So it was, *ne*? That was nice for my parents. My father did nothing at all. My mother was – especially sad was that [my brother] won a town prize for healthy babies, and through a high fever – a three-day fever – that's how his brain was ruined.

ET: Yes.

SF: Not so – he did not have this illness from birth – that's really bad, *ne*. And, yes, Mother was always describing how she spent all her time searching the hospitals for a doctor, everywhere. Because [she was] in a town, she went into the city, and so on – it didn't help, *ne*.

ET: Oh.

SF: Good. OK. That is –

ET: Yes.

SF: That's all done, so to speak.

ET: Yes.

SF: Yes, I'm always occupied with the dead – that is, this began much earlier [than the story of Christine], this occupation, and this fateful cruelty of life [*Schicksalhafte Gemeinheit vom Leben*] *ne*, and offing yourself won't do there [*dabei Umbringen geht es nicht*] *ne*. I really always thought, when I was a middle-schooler – fifteen, sixteen years old – I'd off him and off myself, *ne* – but I had that *thought*, *ne*, to relieve him [*erleichtern*] *ne*, but naturally I didn't do that. OK: good.

ET: OK: good.

SF: That is, there is not much of [my] work [in existence] and it's important to me, and this Kobayashi book and so forth – it's all these low interests through which greed circulates [*niedrige Interesse von was der Gier geht*] – but the whole world is like that, *ne*, greed for things and so: there you have it [*hoppla*].

ET: Yes, uh, I don't want to [burden] you...

SF: But I don't occupy myself with it – I mean, OK: for me it *is* important – critique, so to speak. When [I] make something, and no one pays attention, I am also a bit sad, *ne*?

ET: Yes.

SF: And that's why it's OK if someone sees and is upset that Furuya is a monster who specially brings a camera to photograph his wife lying dead from above – that's OK, over, done.

ET: But what's important to me is this honesty, and the idea that –

SF: That is, *for me not to lie to myself*, it concerns *that: not* other people – I don't care. I must – I must carry [*tragen*] these painful things.

ET: Yes.

SF: And that's: what I *feel*. When I make an exhibition, I don't hide that. Why make an exhibition then, *ne* – it does not concern pictures, it concerns the complex [outside the photographs], *ne*?

ET: Yes – so, my –

SF: OK – chocolate [starts opening a box of chocolate]. What should we do about food?

And now, as abruptly: I hope that the above section has tied up some loose ends about Furuya's photographic influences, and – more importantly – conveys his commitment to his photographic practice as an honest processing of his life, both as he lives it and imagines it to be formulated outside him. I feel his pursuit of honesty about pain as an effort to habituate its presence in his life – rather than presuming to “move on” from it in a sort of denial of its truth. His honesty also is complicated, however, by distances from those in pain – in fact, partly comprised by his inability to

relate to that pain. It is in this way that I understand his need to keep Christine's images "near" and otherwise "carry these painful things."

Thus perhaps did Furuya say, "[I] don't know what it is, the painfulness of [Christine's] experience," or, slightly more hopefully, "But it could be that [my brother] was happy, I don't know." Although Furuya spoke of his brother and Christine, however, his general idea of "this fateful cruelty of life," that "began much earlier" put me in mind of my own project – carrying painful, postwar things in new ways by relating them to signs every day. Mine is not necessarily a painful process, however, but ongoing consideration of where pain might be and what to do about it.

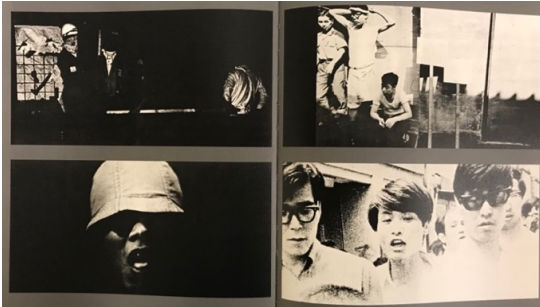


Figure 8: Taki, "1: Summer 1968" (partial) from *Provoke*, Issue 1, November 1, 1968²⁰⁶

In fact, one of the main voices of protest photography from the magazine *Provoke*, that of photographer and theorist Kôji Taki, wrote in what strikes me as a similar vein of personal need for honesty and fairness – but not in responsibility for relationships with people in his life. Rather, as apparent in the following passage, Taki strove for a sort of completion in what he asserted always were incomplete relations to reality – shades of Derrida's love for the potential of language before it is

²⁰⁶ Reprinted in *Provoke*, 260-261: Kôji Taki 多木浩二. "Ichi: Natsu 1968 夏 1968 [1: Summer, 1968]," *Provoke*, issue 1 (November 1, 1968): 16-23.

expressed²⁰⁷ – and the honest reflection of that incompleteness in photography. It is in this sense that I understand Taki’s following remarks of 1970:

photographs are proof of the abiding incompleteness of the world [...] the excreta – of a performance by the body [...] it is because photographs are excrement that I am drawn to them [...] photography is nothing but ourselves and our world. This understanding makes possible the *immanent method* – one that [...] can also abolish the sanctity of photography.²⁰⁸

Although Furuya disclaims particular influence from Taki, both might be seen to ground their work in recognizing the inability of the photograph to capture enough reality to be true. Furuya lives through seeking honesty in his own story of Christine, which he continually refined through “re-reading” his life in images across his *Mémoires* series.²⁰⁹ Conversely, Taki might be considered not so concerned with autobiographical truth but – rather – the truth of using photographs to shock viewers into realizing the impossibility of seeing reality whole. It would be a kind of “seeing that one cannot see” as “proof of the abiding incompleteness of the world,” in which the viewer and photograph are equally “excrement.” This (non)viewing – through its truth of the failure of perceiving truth – thus “can also abolish the sanctity of photography,” because photography traditionally had made claims to truth and completeness. In these terms, all that humans perceive is a remainder apart from the “real” that humans cannot register, such that “photography is nothing but ourselves and our world” – not *the* world, which humans and photography cannot behold.

²⁰⁷ See e.g. “Plato’s Pharmacy;” “La pharmacie de Platon.”

²⁰⁸ “Me to me narazaru mono,” 350.

²⁰⁹ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

In this sense, Taki might be seen to visualize his “abiding incompleteness of the world” in the genre that he and his colleagues showcased in *Provoke* (e.g. Figure 8): *are-bure-boke* (“grainy-blurry-unfocused).”²¹⁰ I find it somewhat akin in principle – if not appearance – to Furuya’s uniform use of the mugshot composition for his Bosnian refugee images – as a sign of the inability to signify, which sends a message of honesty about incomplete knowledge in – but through – representation (Figure 7). Taki’s *are-bure-boke* photographs, therefore, might evoke perception itself as his “*immanent method*,” specifically insofar as it never arrives.

Visually, Taki’s dark, blurred and fragmented scenes – in fact of a political protest (Figure 8) – show outlines of objects and spaces that obscure signification through the forms of signifiers themselves. As hinted above, I might read a very short “narrative”: that meanings from forms are “*immanent*” but never emerge – that signification can fail in the narrative sense of conventional photojournalism or illustration. In the context of Taki’s “coverage” of the protest through his own interests, however, such narrative disorientation might be considered a “truthful” reflection of an emotional and physical experience of violence and anger.

In another quote from the same text, Taki also might be understood to invite his photographic practice of honesty to expose and eschew capitalist commodification – as noted above, echoing the hopes of Benjamin and Tosaka for film, or even akin to Furuya’s idea that he critiques “the capitalism problem” through elements that he catches in daily life. Taki expresses this sentiment in the second part of a two-part

²¹⁰ See, for example, Franz Prichard, “Takuma Nakahira: At the Limits of the Gaze,” *Aperture*, no. 219 (Summer 2015): 42-48.

message that the reader must discern – a statement and its long footnote. He first states that “we [photographers in the circle of *Provoke*] have already tried to theorize our actions into a method” by – in keeping with my consideration of emotion in Taki’s photographs (Figure 8) – recording the stress of experience on the photographer but not conveying “the objective of our labor or any other accompanying meanings.”²¹¹ Much as in Furuya’s desires for his own work as expressed to me in the Introduction, Taki stipulates no narratives, only witness. Taki’s sense of others’ witness is not for himself or his life, however – which he hides as “the objective of our labor or any other accompanying meanings” – but rather witness of impressions as incomplete, questioning of everything.

More specifically, Taki’s footnote to the above statement implies that eroding impressions of wholeness is a form of deconstructing capitalism to expose otherwise subconscious commodification of objects in daily life. To invoke Tosaka again, I might infer that Taki shares some aspect of Tosaka’s trust in film to record a reality that can be separated from narratives of capitalism imposed on it. For Taki, however, that reality is not a proletarian collective – of selfhood, society, or other structures – to achieve. It may be a perfection that those who reject capitalism admit is unknown:

The process to which I am referring is the process in which objects weather away. During the day, we see objects in their alleged natural state, disguising themselves as merchandise and structuring individuals. As witnesses, we are driven by the urge to expose their deception. Consequently, photographs that deal with themes of absence and weathering may reveal their very own method [of non-narrative signification] and deviate from [narrative] photography.²¹²

²¹¹ “Me to me narazaru mono,” 351.

²¹² “Me to me narazaru mono,” 353.

When Taki writes of objects in their “alleged natural state, disguising themselves as merchandise and structuring individuals,” he evokes the image of these individuals realizing the structures working on them as they notice the structures’ decay. In short, perhaps they register that capitalism was there as they start to lose it, then choose not to revive it. If I may see Taki’s passage as an allegory for a kind of anticapitalist mode of change, it seems not to imply a “revolution” in the conscious sense of dismantling a system but the sort of wishfully “natural” occurrence that I considered through Benjamin and Tosaka: quiet and quotidian failure of unequal power structures to maintain their attraction for enough people.

In a passage of three years later (1973), Taki’s co-founder from *Provoke*, Takuma Nakahira, might be felt to evoke a kind of progress in this ideal, specifically echoing the “excrement[al]” status that Taki assigned humans and photographs.²¹³ It was in a notion of humans giving up their sense of superiority over other materials – a sense of superiority, as shown throughout this chapter, enabled by unconsciously valuing both individuality and the discursivity to register it: in short, unconsciously privileging consciousness. As seen below, Nakahira visualized human melding with the world as a non-human piece of material – at least, as a human who is not above other materials. His theme was urban consumerism as a shattering of the individual-centric mode that humans have considered reality – a mode akin to Taki’s “sanctity of photography,”²¹⁴ a shattering akin to Benjamin’s “shock effect”²¹⁵:

²¹³ “Me to me narazaru mono,” 350.

²¹⁴ “Me to me narazaru mono,” 350.

The city has shaken each of our identities at their foundations. Our everyday selves are continuously inundated by a flood of commodities, a flood of information, and a flood of material things [...]. We must dare to turn the tables, we must recognize the defeat of “humanity” in a world where things exist as things, humans exist as humans absolutely unprivileged. We must first ascertain our proper place.²¹⁶

In both Taki and Nakahira’s passages above – written in the three years before Furuya left Japan for Europe – perhaps a world of equality had to be one without differentiation, which did not exist outside the mind – or rather, *only* existed outside the mind – outside the conscious or articulable. Articulating a narrative might indicate a level of presumption in clarity that was already too late to be equal. Perhaps only those capable of engaging the world without senses of self – who could resist marking differences – could put aside a capitalist frame for reality: the human frame as it had been known, corrupted by discursive representation.

Although Taki refrains – unlike Furuya – from laying blame for problems of capitalism (in addition to targeting church and state, Furuya told me “a bank is a bank” within the first few minutes of our interviews) Taki points similarly to photography as a way to expose capitalism’s effects in daily life. He considers decay and absence to disrupt meaning by eroding elements to which meaning would attach, somewhat as Furuya uses “*distance*” to slow meaning-making on his “empty space” of the photobook page. In this way, Taki’s process may differ from Furuya’s primarily as a matter of degree. Furuya disturbs narrative by hewing close to it, complicating it in relation to his own story, which he reframes constantly rather than abandon the

²¹⁵ “The Work of Art,” 240-241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167-169.

²¹⁶ Quoted in “On *For a Language to Come*,” 288, citation 9; Nakahira, 27-28.

discursive mode of framing itself. Conversely, Taki more closely echoes not only Tosaka's desire to enter "actual reality"²¹⁷ – without any frame, much less the dynamically changing frames of Furuya – but also the contemporary wishes of both Barthes – for a "Japanese" mode of immediate perception (1970)²¹⁸ – as well as Barthes' philosophical colleague, Michel Foucault, in a similar vein (1969).²¹⁹

Too briefly, I must note Foucault's response to his own idea of what I glossed earlier through Santner – a "logocentric" continuum of Western thought – due to its sympathy with other voices around Furuya. Foucault flirted with an ethics of silence, calling for a plural "murmur" to replace the wide-ranging effects of habituating modes of a single narrative voice. Like others whom I have mentioned, he targeted a self, an individual, and the idea of language as upholding this individualistically authoritative mode through various social formations, which he called the "author-function."²²⁰ After his own discursive unpacking of discursivity's manipulations of consciousness, then, Foucault, too, wished to leave that process behind. He also posited a future where the fight against this manipulation is somewhat unconscious – not on narrative's "home turf," not playing its game.

Now I find that I must take stock of postwar responsibility, which has lagged despite the continuing threads of Tosaka and Benjamin. In these terms, postwar responsibility may be related to anticapitalism insofar as it takes responsibility for fascism, yet the two are not equivalent. There is comparatively little hinting at the

²¹⁷ "Film as a Reproduction of the Present," 108-109; "Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei," 41.

²¹⁸ *Empire of Signs; L'empire des signes*.

²¹⁹ "What is an Author?"; "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?"

²²⁰ "What is an Author?" 222; "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" 1280.

Asia-Pacific War as such in Furuya's generation as discussed thus far. Rather, they focused on its aftermath in the American occupation of Japan, primarily through – as Furuya termed it to me – “This Anti-American Movement, *Anpô*,” the 1960 protests of Japan's subordination to – or collaboration with – the United States, specifically in objection to renewal of the Occupation-era Joint-Security Treaty.²²¹

I therefore must choose another area of Japanese photography to begin my consideration of postwar responsibility in relation to Furuya's Japanese peers. Photographers in this genre, however, may not have been aware of its implications in relation to the discursive attachment of emotions to images under fascism, for their productions were co-opted by postwar Japan for national pride. This caution soon will allow me to segue into a slightly higher engagement with such issues in Furuya's Austrian circle. For now, however, I turn to the Japanese quotidian genre of *konpora*, considered – as reviewed below – the rival of *Provoke* in its time.

Under the aegis of *konpora* – named after the Japanese loanword for “contemporary” – photographers such as Kiyoji Ôtsuji effectively sought to silence signification to evoke a muted reality in the “everyday” – *nichijô*. As noted earlier, Tosaka also used this term to denote the mental and material conditions – particularly as furnished by images on film – to register the “goodness of the materiality of the world,” specifically when “we observe these things everyday [sic], but this element of goodness, this joy, actually occurs to us first when it appears on the screen” after “the

²²¹ In terms of photography, see, for example, Forbes.

endearing nature of the photograph” in relation to which “the screen is... a photograph in motion and thus draws all the more attention to actual reality itself.”²²²

Ôtsuji’s hopes might be compared to those of Benjamin and Tosaka, though he did not show the philosophers’ hopes in the “everyday” to mobilize the masses. He also did not share the similar implications of his *Provoke* contemporaries – Taki and Nakahira – that capitalism might erode if people stopped thinking of themselves as human and thereby superior, instead entering a state of undifferentiated materiality with other things. I might suggest, however, that he *did* wish that people would enter an apolitical form of Benjaminian “distraction.”²²³

Specifically, Ôtsuji tasked viewers with allowing themselves to take hold of an underlying, quiet and daily reality by refraining from imposing significations – a sort of consciously-willed unconsciousness, another ethics of silence:

Even if [*konpora* photographers] photograph something that looks unusual, they *never exaggerate or emphasize it*. They photograph it secretly, burying it in everyday life, as if only those who notice it can notice. (1968)²²⁴

[...] our lives exist precisely in the everyday. That is why we find some special events shocking or refreshing. However, even if the everyday is as important as the air we breathe and yet unworthy of our attention, it does not follow that we can neglect it altogether. (1970)²²⁵

In fact, the above sentiments imply that the quiet state of non-signifying reality that Ôtsuji sought was not visually achieved. Rather, perhaps, it was

²²² “Film as a Reproduction of the Present,” 108-109; “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei,” 41.

²²³ “The Work of Art,” 241; *Das Kunstwerk*, 168.

²²⁴ Quoted in Kai, 42, citation 7: Ôtsuji Kiyoji, “Shugi no jidai wa tôzakatte [The age of isms is passing],” *Kamera Mainichi/Camera Mainichi* (June 1968): 16-17.

²²⁵ Quoted in Kai, 42, citation 10: Ôtsuji Kiyoji, “*Konpora* shashin [Konpora photography],” Asahi Shimbunsha, ed., *Sunappu shashin* [Snapshot photography], vol. 3, *Asahi kamera kyôshitsu* [Asahi camera lectures] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1970): 98.

encouraged in his attitude of withholding one's own discursivity – akin to Furuya's statement to me that "I don't explain at all," or Taki's claim to withhold "the objective of our labor or any other accompanying meanings."²²⁶ While the rough, raw style of *Provoke* did manage to dumbfound viewers into initial silence, however, and – as shown in the Introduction – Furuya's commentators received a message to beware of discursivity when they saw Furuya's remixed narratives in deceptively book-like form – perhaps the look of *konpora* never was that different from traditional documentary photography.

Thus do I come to the "story" of postwar responsibility at which I hinted above. In the 1980s, the Japanese government was able to redistribute examples of *konpora* – specifically from works intended by the original photographers to convey the quiet *nichijō* ("everydayness") of rural lifestyles – to promote internal tourism and local pride in a popular "*konpora* boom."²²⁷ This co-option of a rural aesthetic might be felt to echo the fate of the German aesthetics of *Heimat*, which I address in the next section. In postwar Japan, the result was a popular misunderstanding of the original ethics of the *konpora* style – through state revival of *konpora* images for Japan's national image. Conversely, the original *konpora* message was to let reality alone – not attach it to a frame such as identity, whether personal or national.

Ôtsuji then might be understood as having tried to silence signification both within and upon the image in hopes that this silence might suppress harmful stories. Such stories might arise either from "inside" an image – for example, in attachments

²²⁶ "Me to me narazaru mono," 351.

²²⁷ Kai, 49.

to publicly recognized elements of identity, such as nationalist stereotypes – or be imposed *on* the image from “outside” – as by interpreting visual elements in nationalist terms. Although he did not express himself in my anti-nationalist terms, I might infer that he guarded against a usurpation of private perception for public use – the silent for the narrative. He also wrote as though all might share the “everyday” non-discursively, however – if they would allow themselves. I thereby might call an ethics of *konpora* an ethics of belonging that gambles. It gambles on keeping one’s space of belonging *actually* uncontaminated by signification: to fill one’s space of belonging with elements that do not have significations. It also would be to build a world where no one imposes signification on anything or registers anything through it.

In these terms, the work of Furuya’s Austrian colleague Manfred Willmann might be considered in sympathy with the silence of *konpora* while paradoxically using a “louder” visual framing to protect itself – and the viewer – against discursive co-option. I consider it a framing that disturbs and thereby exposes – “defuses”²²⁸ – nationalist emotions that might obtain in elements of *Heimat*: rural space as “home,” “homeland” or “Fatherland” in the German-speaking world. It is Austria’s elements of *Heimat* that interest me particularly in Willmann’s practice. He has sought in several projects (detailed below) to document a sense of reality in the daily life of rural Austrian towns while avoiding what that practice often produces: in his words to me, “*schöne Bilder*” – “nice pictures,” or “pretty pictures.”²²⁹

²²⁸ “My Love to be Defused.”

²²⁹ Translations and information from Willmann and Frisinghelli not otherwise cited are from my interview with them, which was conducted mainly in German (with some English).



Figure 9: “Volkmarweg 36,” Manfred Willmann, *Schwarz und Gold* (1981), top: pp. 6-7; bottom: pp. 10-11.

Such pictures could include, for example, the painting from the National Socialist era above his mother’s bed (Figure 9, bottom left); baby pictures flanking a crucifix under his father’s stag head and antler collection (Figure 9, top right); or even a print of Millet’s *Angelus* that Furuya told me that he once bought for Christine from

a flea market.²³⁰ In an interview with me, both Willmann and Christine Frisinghelli paged through the source of the above images – *Schwarz und Gold* (“Black and gold”), Willmann’s first major photobook from 1981.²³¹ They pointed out, among other things, traces of his parents’ lives under the Third Reich that remained in his home as he grew up, as also was the case for Frisinghelli and many of their contemporaries.

These objects simply melded back into daily life as aspects of “tradition” (or “kitsch”) such as the painting above the bed and the stag head. Although we did not discuss this process in detail, I might call such elements trappings of belonging treated as though they could “return” to the supposed innocence of before they served as aspects of a Nazi-galvanized *Heimat*. As shown personally through Furuya and me in the Introduction, however – and theoretically through Santner in this chapter – my concern is that these elements were conduits for an acceptance of National Socialism to enter the home *because* they “belonged” in the home *already*. They unconsciously “answered” invitations to harm those whom they constructed emotionally as “not belonging” – from both within oneself and among “familiar” others outside.

²³⁰ This print appears frequently throughout Furuya’s work. See e.g. *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 35, 87, 89 (on the contact sheet, negative numbers 28, 36); *Mémoires 1995*, 12-13; and *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 122, 160, 164, 175 (same contact sheet from *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 89), 228, 234. On the original, see Jean-François Millet, *L’Angélus* [The Angelus], between 1857 and 1859, inventory number RF 1877, Musée d’Orsay, Paris, (no credit line): https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works/notice.html?no_cache=1&nnumid=000345&cHash=8561a8f191 (accessed April 11, 2021).

²³¹ Manfred Willmann, *Schwarz und Gold* [Black and gold], text by Albert Goldstein (Graz: Edition Camera Austria, 1981).

In these terms, Willmann’s featuring of his childhood home in his first major photobook may speak to confronting – and, as I discuss below, “defusing”²³² – the remains of National Socialism that quietly surrounded him as he grew up. As I shall unpack visually, I see his framing of images as an intervention against what Benjamin might call the “cult value”²³³ of fascist-touched trappings of belonging, specifically through a somewhat consciously critical, visual irreverence rather than Benjamin’s less conscious “distraction.”²³⁴ I understand the consciousness of this choice through Willmann’s aversion to “pretty pictures,” which suggests a desire to disturb viewer expectations of comfort – in light of his subject matter, perhaps comfort that could lead to complacency with the conservative implications of rural and “home-like” imagery in Austria. In short, I might say that he orchestrates the “un-pretty.”

For example, Willmann’s choice of a goofy taxidermized animal – appearing to flash a grotesque grin while “waving” its left paw – may undercut what otherwise might read – to some – as the dignity and “orderliness” of his father’s stag-heads and crucifix (Figure 9, top). Visually, the goofy animal creates imbalance – not only in its own pose but the fact that it is pushed to the front beside a receding space where a more stately, antlered animal is obscured in shadow. The symmetry of the antlers and crucifix on the facing page then may be exposed as but a frame for living, not life itself. The fact that the goofy animal and stately antlers occupy the same home also points to the “story” that the exclusionary symmetry and order need not have

²³² “My Love to Be Defused.”

²³³ “The Work of Art,” 43, 226-228, 242, 245-247; *Das Kunstwerk*, 144, 146-148, 167.

²³⁴ “The Work of Art,” 242-243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 166-167.

prevailed – or perhaps never completely did, though – in perhaps shades of Santner – the goofy animal was not enough to counteract the stag head.

As I have chanced to enter a multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility from Willmann’s work, I would like to tell a variation on the above story from the “prettiness” with which Willmann framed his mother’s bedroom – also in symmetry. Pussy willows fan upward from a vase in front, complementing the downward fanning of the doll’s dress on the bed (Figure 9, bottom left). A plain wooden cross – not the crucifix of his father’s antler wall – “rises” from the doll and “joins” her to the Madonna-esque mother and child in the painting above. This composition registers to me as a humble evocation of a feminized link between the divine and the mortal. The doll “connects” to a privately used yet publicly sanctioned image of a Mary-esque figure “through” the cross, despite – as I suggested in my discussion of Santner – the logocentric, phallogocentric and onto-theological qualities of the cross as critiqued. I feel some sympathy for Willmann’s mother in this formation, residing in these signs. Perhaps I can *afford* to have it, however, because Willmann presented her space with what strikes me as gentle criticality.

Specifically, as in the taxidermy juxtaposition, Willmann effectively undercuts the image of his mother’s bedroom by placing an asymmetrical and “un-level” space on the facing page. A TV set turns – slightly askew – “toward” the bedroom, “separated” from the bedroom space by a gaudy curtain, sporting a cheap Christmas ornament. Perhaps the “new” kitsch elements of curtain and ornament work against the solemnity of the “old” kitsch in the bedroom. I also might imagine

that the postwar TV “looks toward” the wartime painting, but the face of the painted mother is ambiguous. She “faces” the TV but retains a beatific silence. The TV, however, also is not switched on.

I see Willmann as – among other things – responsibly depicting elements of culture that otherwise might operate destructively as fascist “kitsch” – as noted by Friedländer, for example, by allowing nostalgia for life under National Socialism or permission to younger generations to enjoy leavings of that era uncritically.²³⁵ Rather, Willmann’s photographs above may allow visual elements that comforted his parents to survive in a humbled state. He neither glorifies them nor attempts to deny or destroy them. I might compare this to an ethics of “sort of” belonging – akin to my situation with Furuya’s reference to the Forty-Seven *Rōnin* in the Introduction.

Finally, I briefly would like to consider Willmann’s series *Das Land* (Figure 10).²³⁶ It will allow me to unpack further aspects of *Heimat* that will run through Furuya’s work in Chapter 4, where Furuya’s mode might be compared to Willmann’s undercutting of “pretty” imagery, though Furuya mainly uses jarring text and pretty images. In German, the term *Land* bears cadences of the English “land” as both “nation” and “countryside,” chancing to capture the achievement that I have been considering in Willmann’s work: visualizing *Heimat* responsibly through acts of undercutting. Conversely, German and Austrian cultural productions before Willmann’s generation often switched the recently fascist framing of *Heimat* from public to private – national to local – but did not intervene in its “pretty” presentation

²³⁵ *Reflets du Nazisme; Reflections of Nazism*.

²³⁶ *Secession*, 26-27.

to change its reception. One scholar's assessment of *Heimat* in Austrian and (West) German postwar film, for example, finds “onscreen general regional identities rather than what would have to have been very problematic postwar national identities.”²³⁷

Willmann's *Das Land* thus “intervenes” to change the presentation of elements that traditionally signify *Heimat* – e.g. forests, figurative paintings, and Christianity. The last might be sensed in his glory-less image of a slaughtered lamb (Figure 10, p. 27, left). As to the first, Willmann shows a painting of belling stags (Figure 10, p. 26, left), which he and Frisinghelli told me would have a revered place in its owner's home today. Frisinghelli compared its aesthetic standing to that of the “pretty picture” above the bed of Willmann's mother (Figure 9, bottom left).



Figure 10: Willmann, sequence from *Das Land, Secession* (2003), pp. 26-27

Willmann framed the scene, however, so that the painted stags are blocked by the backside of the man carrying the painting. The stags as masters of the great outdoors – the “land” – are shown literally within a false frame that gives them this status. The fact of the painting as an object carried by a person is emphasized over the fantasy that it would have on a wall: as a window into its world, a space to inhabit,

²³⁷ Mary Wauchope, “The Other ‘German’ Cinema,” *Take Two: Fifties Cinema in Divided Germany*, eds. John E. Davidson and Sabine Hake (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 216.

potentially what I have called a “space of belonging.” I now shall end the chapter with a bit more on this.

Specifically, I may recapitulate this chapter’s voices through revisiting Marina Gržinic’s comments on *Das Land* from the Introduction.²³⁸ She allows me to reiterate what I have called an ethics of silence – an idealization of refusing discursivity toward an ideal where known modes of consciousness do not obtain, without limits to perception or impositions on it. Like the thinkers whom I have discussed, she effectively approaches discursivity as the means of having an individualized self, which she maps onto structures of capitalism, specifically as frames for the world that privilege the individual over the collective. Her “solution” is in keeping with those of Furuya’s commentators in the Introduction, Benjamin and Tosaka, Taki and Nakahira: eschewing consciousness as the mode of differentiation that breaks collectives by creating senses of self and other.

As I noted in the Introduction, Gržinic’s metaphor for a non-discursive ideal was that of an animal, which yields the following list of metaphors for non-discursive ideals that I have considered around Furuya: the “non-West” (Furuya’s commentators and Barthes on “Japan”);²³⁹ the “masses” (Benjamin and Tosaka);²⁴⁰ a “murmur” (Foucault);²⁴¹ “excrement” (Taki);²⁴² and “the defeat of ‘humanity’ in a world where

²³⁸ See e.g. Gržinic and essays in Manfred Willmann, *Werkblick* [A look at the work] (Cologne: Walther König, 2005).

²³⁹ See e.g. “Asking Questions,” 46; “Erwachen vor der Tatsache,” 96-97.

²⁴⁰ *Das Kunstwerk*; “The Work of Art;” “Film as a Reproduction of the Present;” “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei.”

²⁴¹ “What is an Author?” 222; “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” 1280.

²⁴² “Me to me narazaru mono,” 350.

things exist as things, humans exist as humans absolutely unprivileged” (Nakahira).²⁴³ Perhaps I might aim for the last, discursive or not: a sense of humility in relation to others in the world, human and non-human. I must recall briefly what has been noted before, however (see Chapter 2): that the “non-West” and various forms of animal and material things have obtained as equivalent ideals of silence opposite a discursivity considered both “human” and “Western.” Either way, an endpoint to an ethics of silence may be a wish for non-differentiation, as seen in Gržinic’s writing.

Specifically, the differentiations that Gržinic makes to call for not making them – to show the harm in registering perception in frames of meaning – let me engage in a multinarrative ethics of postwar responsibility through her terminologies of *Heimat*:

What really amazed me [...] was [Willmann’s] refusal to understand the country (the countryside) in the frame of a binary opposition between the country and the city. Just so do the photos remove themselves from the opposition between the ideal of the everyday [*Alltagsideal*] and actual life [*tatsächlicher Lebens*] with the rush of sexuality [*Sexualitätshektik*] in the postmodern: between the natural and the artificial. He thus evades the most implosive game of bringing meanings into a binary form. Why? Willmann is well aware that all these oppositions are different sides of the same coin, namely that of production within the capitalist machine. They are so permeated by ideology; they are and were never innocent, not even at their arising.²⁴⁴

First, however, Gržinic conceives Willmann’s work as akin to my view of Taki’s (as well as Taki’s own view of it): as using visual style to erode significations and abilities to signify – a visual ethics of silence.²⁴⁵ For Gržinic – somewhat as for

²⁴³ Quoted in “On *For a Language to Come*,” 288, citation 9: Nakahira, 27-28.

²⁴⁴ Gržinic, 14.

²⁴⁵ “Me to me narazaru mono.”

Ôtsuji – it may be the mind that must stop its signifying work, not the signifiers themselves.²⁴⁶ This is how I understand her to value Willmann for putting the mind in a state that “avoids the most implosive game of bringing meanings into binary form,” particularly such that the rural “ideal of the everyday” – which sounds much like that of the *Heimat* – is no better than the “actual life” of the “rush of sexuality in the postmodern,” where “the natural and the artificial” are “different sides of the same coin [...] that of production within the capitalist machine.”

I might recall here Nakahira’s idea of the capitalist bombardment of the individual by the urban environment – “The city has shaken each of our identities at their foundations. Our everyday selves are continuously inundated by a flood of commodities.”²⁴⁷ He might be felt to code “Our everyday selves” – i.e. “real” selves – as selves of the “country” through a binary with the “city.” Perhaps Nakahira had to evoke a stereotype of rural life as the mode of a general humanity to sound a warning about the habituation to commodification imposed by the city. Conversely, the habituated coding that Gržinic uses to make a similar anticapitalist point is grounded in the same image of the country but its opposite ethical implication – as, in one of the terms that she chooses below, “land/Fatherland”:

[Willmann’s] photos fulfill a duty [*Aufgabe*] that turns against that machine of visual representation [*jene visuelle Repräsentationsmaschine*] and tries to let things speak for themselves in their “nakedness.” Willmann therefore bans idyllic scenes, because he is not excited by authentic experience [*authentische Erfahrung*], which all too quickly can stray into a mythology of origin [*Ursprungsmythos*]. He shows clearly that behind the official “will” of ideology lurks the wish for standardization – namely, the specter of pathology.

²⁴⁶ See e.g. Kai, 42, citation 7: “Shugi no jidai wa tōzakatte,” 16-17.

²⁴⁷ Quoted in “On *For a Language to Come*,” 288, citation 9: Nakahira, 27-28.

Subtle melancholy of the country(side) [*Land(schafts)melancholie*] and “deep emotions,” only could stray into eruptions of violence here. Thus are these photos always flecked with blood, even when there is no blood to see. Seen in another aspect, one could say that the alternation between urban and rural in the photos dislodges that machine that steers our imaginations of land/Fatherland. This does not so much mean that new (authentic) forms of expression are sought here, rather [...] the void at the core of the countryside as much as of the city is abandoned. These photos entwine entropy and death. They overstep borders in order to work out similarities and differences between specific levels of meaning and order. These pictures shift through disturbances because the power mirrored in nature offers no solution here. Nature is always already infected [with meaning].²⁴⁸

While Gržinic refers to discursivity as a danger across perception – “visual representation” and “meaning” – her words add particular connotations of National Socialism – and earlier German Romanticism through which it partly appealed – to the idea of nature and the countryside. She evokes nature and the countryside as almost automatic sites for usurpation of truth by discursive meaning, such that Willmann’s intervention – the equalizing of country and city – shows that “the power mirrored in nature offers no solution here. Nature is always already infected [with meaning].” As Willmann’s mode of looking is a “duty that turns against that machine of visual representation and tries to let things speak for themselves in their ‘nakedness,’” then what it “bans” are harmful framings that sound much like aspects of *Heimat*: “idyllic scenes [and] authentic experience, which all too quickly can stray into a mythology of origin [where,] behind the official ‘will’ of ideology lurks the wish for standardization [...] the specter of pathology [, where s]ubtle melancholy of the country(side) and ‘deep emotions,’ only could stray into eruptions of violence.”

²⁴⁸ Gržinic, 14.

To combat these framings, then, “the alternation between urban and rural in the photos dislodges that machine that steers our imaginations of land/Fatherland.”

Put too simply, Gržinic may be felt to find a sense of truth as discursively habituated – and therefore false – in expressible emotions of “idyllic scenes” and “authentic experience,” even “the wish for standardization” – in “nature.” She thus posits that Willmann equates rural and urban to confound the “machine that steers our imaginations of land/Fatherland” by showing everywhere to be a non-discursive state that is *not* “our imaginations of land/Fatherland.” Rather, this ideal state is undifferentiated. Before unpacking a bit more of Gržinic’s non-discursive ideal, however – the animality that I glossed before – I might note that – like Furuya’s commentators – she also pinpoints and bypasses opportunities for a sort of ameliorative multinarrativity in Willmann’s work.

Thus do I take her idea to “let things speak for themselves in their ‘nakedness’” and her notion that Willmann’s photos “overstep borders in order to work out similarities and differences between specific levels of meaning and order.” Briefly, to “let things speak” is to listen for narratives from elements aside from their framing. It is somewhat as Tosaka described “the goodness of the materiality of the world” emerging from film²⁴⁹ but perhaps more like Yoneyama, Igarashi and Santner reinterpreting cultural materials to dislodge them from frames of denial.²⁵⁰ Prefaced by that vocabulary, Gržinic’s idea “to work out similarities and differences between specific levels of meaning and order” then may sound like conversation. Conversely,

²⁴⁹ “Film as a Reproduction of the Present,” 108-109; “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei,” 41.

²⁵⁰ Yoneyama, Igarashi, Santner.

however, as seen below, Gržinic – again like Furuya’s commentators – follows the above hints at consciously shared expressions with an ideal of silence in the unconscious:

In Willmann’s photos, it seems that something or someone is held in suspension despite present possibilities of action. [...] It is as though one is in a situation in which, though nothing happens, one still attaches absurdly to something of the past. The people and landscapes shown seem in circumstances of specific dizziness [...] eating, resting, playing: the photo(graphs) are graphics of a “base materialism” of life [...] these works give us, with masterly skill, a new ordering of time, which is not just a string of “flashbacks” [but] breaks the grasp of the self-evident within a defined, hermeneutic narrative, in which it insists that the forms of the world are shattered, scattered and extremely far-reaching toward the unequally divided chances between human life and animal death. Thereby, by embracing “trash” – all kinds of remnants and remains – Willmann makes his work a subtle subversion of that life that today presents itself as amusing and relaxed.²⁵¹

In fact, Gržinic explains in another part of her piece that her ideas on animality and dizziness draw on Giorgio Agamben’s work, specifically to appreciate Willmann’s photographs through the simultaneous concepts of “boredom and dizziness.”²⁵² While Agamben is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I might note that these two states recall not only what might be guessed as animal forms of comfort and excitement (less conscious than those of humans) but also Benjamin’s “distraction” as the state of the masses against fascist forms of focus and evaluation – “concentration” and “contemplation.”²⁵³ As I considered at the start of this chapter, Benjamin’s “distraction” might be felt as a lack of focus that chances to resist being

²⁵¹ Gržinic, 14-15.

²⁵² Gržinic, 14. She cites Giorgio Agamben, *L’aperto, L’uomo e l’animale* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002); see also Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal*, trans. Kevin Attell (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003).

²⁵³ “The Work of Art,” 242-243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 166-167.

enthralled by an object of focus – as in the “*Führer* cult”²⁵⁴ – because focus itself has been habituated in the context of defining or desiring a sense of self.

In Gržinic’s terms, that habituated sense of focus might be felt to obtain in her notion of “the grasp of the self-evident within a defined, hermeneutic narrative.” I might compare this false sense of a “grasp” to Barthes’ notion of “Destiny, of which narrative [...] is no more than the ‘language.’”²⁵⁵ In both formations, habituated reactions to the idea of certain ideas following from others – narrative – unfold in the very narrative structures of events following each other: in an “order” that is *not* the “destiny” it seems. Gržinic’s counteraction to such discursively enforced “destiny,” then, is an animal space of “base materialism” – the “eating, resting, playing” that might replace what she evoked through a sense of *Heimat* – “everyday” feelings, “melancholy of the country(side),” “mythology of origin,” “land/Fatherland.”²⁵⁶ She effectively replaces the fraught consciousness of the human in the *Heimat* with the safe unconsciousness of the animal in nature.

Finally, I might note Gržinic’s notion of Willmann’s “subversion of that life that today presents itself as amusing and relaxed,” specifically her idea – with shades of Taki’s concern with reality’s leavings, “excrement”²⁵⁷ – of “embracing ‘trash’ – all kinds of remnants and remains.” While she does not identify this “trash,” her evocations of *Heimat* might be considered such remnants of the German past that taint the state of “nature” itself: in her notion that Willmann’s “pictures shift through

²⁵⁴ “The Work of Art,” 243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167-168.

²⁵⁵ “Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives,” 94; “Introduction à l’analyse structural des récits,” 22.

²⁵⁶ Gržinic, 14.

²⁵⁷ “Me to me narazaru mono,” 350.

disturbances because the power mirrored in nature offers no solution here. Nature is always already infected.”²⁵⁸ In this sense, Gržinic evokes a sort of ethics of belonging – “shift[ing] through disturbances” with pictures, in which I have considered her own *Heimat*-inflected phrases to have sounded potentially nationalist dangers in the symbolism of the countryside for both Willmann and herself. It is in these terms that I take her remark, “It is as though one is in a situation in which, though nothing happens, one still attaches absurdly to something of the past.” In short, perhaps I have shown that it is never the case that “nothing happens” – and that the attachments to the past that accompany this “nothing” are not absurd.

Ultimately, then, I have illuminated a world around Furuya that ethically, thematically, and methodologically “synchs” his work with mine, as stated at the start of this chapter. This world includes his commentators and colleagues, their philosophical inspirations and preceding philosophies of Benjamin and Tosaka – all wary of a somewhat fascist discursivity and wishing for an egalitarian and collective silence. To share their efforts against discursivity’s blinding effects, I intervene in the vein of postwar scholars willing to use discursivity against itself. Specifically, they called for redress of wartime harm and greater perpetrator awareness of responsibility, to which I add my further attempts to follow more narratives into pursuits of human connection. In short, while Furuya may be more wary of discursivity’s dangers than invested in its ameliorative powers, his format and materials allow me to explore the latter in his photobooks, which accrues to his work. I now turn to this exploration.

²⁵⁸ Gržinic, 14.

Chapter 2: Re-reading for Universality: Evading Japanese Postwar Responsibility, Seeking “Increasingly Universal Connections” and Resisting False Universality in “Japaneseness” in Furuya’s Amsterdam Images, 1981-2004, 1989-1997

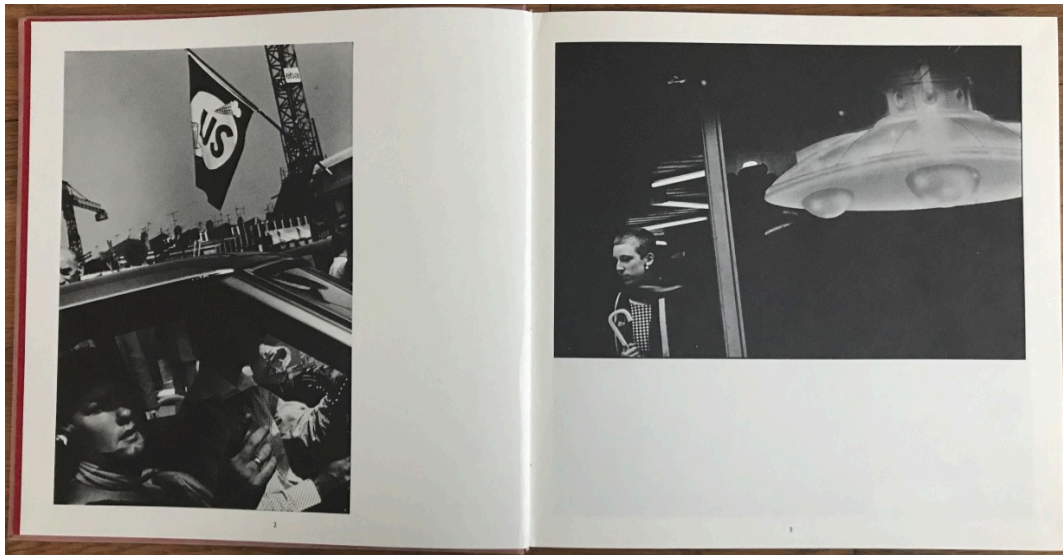


Figure 11: first two images of *AMS*, 1981, pp. 2-3

Exoticism only underscores [...that] the human image expressed here is injured [...]. All are wounded together [*Verlezte Menschen allesamt*] – undeniably wounded by the camera, but they emerge [*erscheinen*] already wounded. [...] Furuya’s Amsterdam is everywhere [...].

- Klaus Honnef, essay for *AMS* by Seiichi Furuya, 1981²⁵⁹

I made a short trip to Amsterdam with Daidô Moriyama. I consider it the start of *AMS* – waiting for his 10:55 departure train to his next visit in Paris, we were drinking a Heineken in a Chinese neighborhood near the station. We already had not been talking much together – there was a feeling of polite searching for an opportunity, of wondering who could bear the stress of being able to open his mouth first. He seemed annoyed – in his way – and I, after three weeks together, the incident at the Hungarian border and various adventures through Graz, Vienna, Mu[n]ich, Cologne and Amsterdam, was fairly tired. (We had been traveling in a Volkswagen that a friend had dumped in the yard at Christine’s house, but [...] the inspection certificate had expired [...].) Drinking beer since morning, I hadn’t worked up much motivation, but I seem to recall that, in mid-conversation, I heard words from Mr. Moriyama somewhat like “Furuya, I leave *AMS* to you [*o-makase shimasu*].”

²⁵⁹ Klaus Honnef, essay in German with parallel translation by Bärbel Fink, *AMS*, 87-88. All quotes from this source my translations from Honnef’s German, informed by Fink’s English.

[...] I have forgotten how I found that Japanese restaurant, but from June 1 to August 31 I took a short trip and worked there while taking pictures for *AMS* [...] Christine spent three weeks in Amsterdam from July 13 to August 2.

- Seiichi Furuya, *Christine Furuya-Gössler, 1978-1985*, 1997²⁶⁰

The word “exoticism” may operate in Klaus Honnèf’s essay for *AMS*, Furuya’s first photobook in 1981 – created after a 1980 trip to Amsterdam – as a paradox in expectations of the term. Ethically, the term “exoticism” conventionally might not accommodate Honnèf’s notion of a universal wounding – “together [...] everywhere” – insofar as it echoes modes of constructing difference as inferior through looking at others – as in legacies of empire,²⁶¹ gender,²⁶² race, class, and criminality²⁶³ – which are not mutually harming between seer and seen. In fact, Honnèf may encode critiques of such unequal, visual harm in the idea that Furuya’s subjects are “undeniably wounded by the camera.” Then, however – consciously or not – he also might be seen to “deny” these critiques through the idea that Furuya’s subjects “emerge already wounded.”

²⁶⁰ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/47.

²⁶¹ For example, Frantz Fanon’s 1952 *Peau noire, masques blancs* ([Paris]: Éditions du Seuil, 1995) (see also Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2008)); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Malek Alloula, *Le harem colonial: images d’un sous-érotisme* ([France]: Garance, c. 1981), (see also Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich, introduction by Barbara Harlow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Panivong Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film and Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books; Cambridge, MA: distributor, MIT Press, 2007); and Coco Fusco, “The Other History of Intercultural Performance,” *TDR*, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 143-167.

²⁶² For example, Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997); and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

²⁶³ For example: Pinney and Peterson, Tagg, and Sekula.

Conversely, this chapter analyzes sequences of Furuya's Amsterdam-related photographs (1981-2004) to consider interruption or connection with the "truth" of others as part of unconscious frames of superiority akin to those discussed through Furuya and others in Chapter 1. In the present chapter, I consider them as habituated ideals of universality in feelings of reality, wholeness, safety, and correctness, such that an individual mode of self may harm others through failing to see them, seeing them as not human or seeing them as "the same" as oneself – rather than both human and different. To address these details, this introduction derives a formation that I call "seeking increasingly universal connections" from one of Derrida's expressions of an ideal – and critique – of universality,²⁶⁴ specifically as an extrapolation from Furuya's practice of "re-reading" his life with Christine by remixing images in photobooks,²⁶⁵ as in the titular "re-reading for universality." I amend "universal" to be conditional – "increasing" – rather than adopt Derrida's phrase, "endurance of the antinomy"²⁶⁶ – as a matter of taste: I want to reference the false ideal that requires amelioration– "universality" – to name a practice of redirecting emotions that once attached – or may attach or reattach – to that false ideal.

In fact, this chapter might be considered my own redirection of my past love for the ideal of universality – in the euphemism through which I once absorbed it, "common humanity" – in which I keep the term as a fiction of perfect togetherness that I seek not for itself but the sake of improving specific human relations along the

²⁶⁴ *The Other Heading*, 71-73.

²⁶⁵ "Adieu-Wiedersehen," (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

²⁶⁶ *The Other Heading*, 72.

way.²⁶⁷ The first section of the chapter reads evasions of Japanese postwar responsibility through implied critique of “the West” and identification with those whom it “exoticized,” in which Furuya’s 1981 Amsterdam work might be felt to have depicted – as in this chapter’s opening images (Figure 11) – America as “perpetrator” of postwar occupation – as in the ice cream flag flashing “US” and “space age” UFO that might encode postwar recovery as American invasion – along with evocations of exoticization of Asia and American-coded warfare (Figures 11-16). I also consider his 2004 Amsterdam sequence in terms of hints at an identification with a position of “blackness” in relation to an imposing “whiteness” (Figure 17), perhaps akin – in the words of one scholar quoted in the introduction to this dissertation – to Japan’s postwar “status-shift from that of colonizer to colonized.”²⁶⁸

The second section then pursues an ideal of accessing others through continual awareness of new aspects of encounter – the “increasingly universal connections” that I shall unpack in this introduction through Furuya and Derrida – as potentially epitomized in Furuya’s 1989 Amsterdam sequence by a certain image of Christine (1981 and 1989, Figures 18-24). The third and last section then draws on the previous in analyzing Furuya’s 1997 images from his Amsterdam trip as captioned by his own memories in Japanese and English (1997, Figures 25-27). In

²⁶⁷ On this point, I would like to express my gratitude to Boreth Ly for – among other things – tutorials of 2014-2016 at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where I now see the Derrida passage as part of my start in recuperating my own (failed) ideals of universality, notably for ongoing pursuit of connections in my current mode. I first encountered it with Boreth as cited in the following: Pheng Cheah, “Universal Areas: Asian Studies in a World in Motion,” *Traces: A Multicultural Journal of Cultural Theory and Translation*, vol. 1, Specters of the West and Politics of Translation, eds. Naoki Sakai and Yukiko Hanawa (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 61-62.

²⁶⁸ Chen, 7.

doing so, I track both what I might call Furuya's pursuits of "increasingly universal connections" to Christine and what became (I hope) a sort of parallel and ameliorative encounter with a false sense of universality in me. I brought this sensation to consciousness through my responses to Furuya's descriptions of relations to Japanese acquaintances in varying impressions of tension with texts and images that feature Christine.

The "condition" that I felt my sensation to indicate was glossed in my introduction as "Japaneseness." I reiterate it as a socio-personal, subconscious sense of oneself-as-others'-service. In my experience – which is expansive across family, friends, and institutions in my life, such that I would not cite specific examples – "Japaneseness" lets one live in it unadorned by details of identity that – in a "normal" multinarrative ethics or ethics of belonging – would let one recognize it through contemplation of such elements – e.g., the landscape or aesthetic of *Heimat*, or – as several scholars have found – rural elements in Japanese culture across a privately nostalgic and publicly patriotic spectrum of the "everyday" (*nichijō*)²⁶⁹ or "home town" (*furusato*).²⁷⁰ Rather, what I call "Japaneseness" bears that name because of the contexts in which I personally have identified it, though it might be replaced with any other setting that hides its effects *as* a setting to great extent. It is the barest existence that I can articulate that encodes its own lack of an alternative.

²⁶⁹ Kai.

²⁷⁰ Jennifer Robertson, "Furusato Japan: The Culture and Politics of Nostalgia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* (Summer 1988): 494-518.

In the above sense, “Japaneseness” was the state that I realized in myself through Furuya’s 1997 photobook when I sensed his tension with “it.” Thus did I come to encounter the text that furnished Furuya’s epigraph to this chapter. Briefly, Furuya’s relations to Japanese individuals in Amsterdam – *Provoke* veteran Daidô Moriyama and – as seen later – the staff at the Japanese restaurant – might be felt to betray a semiconscious fatigue with a sense of “self” as no more than a mode of service to other people. With apologies for the crassness, I might reference the other half of my family to reiterate this point: “Japaneseness” is not the “German” cliché of “following orders;” it is *being* a solution to all potential problems without being told.

In terms of a multinarrative ethics, therefore, “Japaneseness” is nearly un-narratable. In terms of an ethics of belonging, it does not bring to consciousness that one’s sense of self furnishes a space of belonging that excludes others. Rather, it shows that one is familiar with *not having* a self in that more particular sense. Unlike other trappings of belonging that I described in the Introduction, it is not sensory – like the footage of Goebbels limping that I found familiar through my body as a toddler in front of the TV. It does not yield the implications of innocence, guilt or complicity around Furuya’s favorite cat, Konstantin (Figure 2), whose “marching” evoked for Furuya both a masterless samurai and perhaps a sense of Christine’s suicide as a needless sacrifice, which then recalled to me a postwar Japanese film that I had considered to negotiate similar issues through what I might call the “fascist heroism” of Imperial Japan – the resolution to one’s fate – and the “democratic

victimhood” of postwar Japan – claiming wartime coercion in that resolve.²⁷¹ I only may repeat that it is a normal-feeling existence which – when I sensed “Furuya’s tension with it” – conscious or not – revealed my own tension with it. *I have it* – a self-as-others’-problem-solving that postpones personhood as such. In fact, I have burdened my text with too anxious an explanation of this phenomenon because I still feel sorry – yet adamantly do not regret – that I became conscious of it.

I therefore end this introductory section with a formation – or reformation – of “universality” that I derive from a passage by Derrida. It is from a discussion of Paul Valéry’s ideals of the Mediterranean as a manifestation of universality.²⁷² In the very simple terms in which I use it, I consider the first part (below) to recuperate old hopes for “universal” coexistence through Derrida’s idea of relating to self and others in “antinomies.” I take the last as complexities to be sought in ongoing understandings with each person – “seeking increasingly universal connections.” Otherwise, as I analyze in the second part of Derrida’s passage (after the following), the mode of “universality” is open to usurpation by an individualized self of the kind critiqued by Benjamin, Tosaka and others in Chapter 1. To review: this is a self who subconsciously translates personal elements into a duty of responsibility for “others” defined by those personal elements rather than a deeper understanding of others: akin to Santner’s idea of the self as “vacant Heimat.”²⁷³ Derrida, however, may first gloss

²⁷¹ *Chūshingura/The Loyal 47 Rōnin*.

²⁷² Michael B. Naas, “Introduction,” *The Other Heading*, xxiv.

²⁷³ Santner, 162.

a “real” ideal of universality – a plural one – before describing its danger (emphasis original):

It is indeed a question of this capital paradox of universality. In it intersect all the antinomies for which we seem to have at our disposal no rule or general solution. We *have*, we *must* have, only the thankless aridity of an abstract axiom, namely, that the experience and experiment of identity or of cultural identification can only be the endurance of these antinomies. When we say, “it seems that we do not have at our disposal any rule or general solution,” is it not *necessary* [*il faut*] that we do not have them at our disposal? Not only, “it is indeed necessary [*il faut bien*],” but “it need be [*il le faut*]” absolutely, and this impoverished exposition is the negative form of the imperative in which a responsibility, *if there is any*, retains a chance of being affirmed. To have at one’s disposal, already in advance, the generality of a rule [*règle*] as a solution to the antinomy [...] to have it at one’s disposal as a given potency or science, as a *knowledge* and a *power* that would precede, in order to settle [*régler*] it, the singularity of each decision, each judgement, each experience of responsibility, to treat each of these as if they were a case – this would be the surest, most reassuring definition of *responsibility as irresponsibility*, of ethics confused with juridical calculation, of a politics organized within a techno-science. Any invention of the new that would not go through the endurance of the antinomy would be a dangerous mystification, immorality *plus* good conscience, and sometimes good conscience *as* immorality.²⁷⁴

Put too simply, Derrida may say that the most ethical “answer” to the ideal of human connection – “the capital paradox of universality [in which] intersect all the antinomies for which we seem to have no rule or general solution” – is no less than to *insist* – as through his formations with the French *il faut* (“it is necessary”) – on *having* “no rule or general solution.” Rules and general solutions are frames for encounter that do not account for each encounter’s time, place, and person, in which a “person” is always in flux according to these other elements and more. To generalize such fluctuations is to fail to “go through the endurance of the antinomy,” fail to rethink relations among human and other elements in every moment. My formation

²⁷⁴ *The Other Heading*, 71-72.

of “seeking increasingly universal connections” is nothing more than living a life appropriate to *feeling oneself* in a continuum of responsibilities to plurality and change, *knowing* that one cannot see it all in time always to do what one should – but surely sometimes, and always toward self-improvement through and for others – against patterns of human relation that Derrida next described (emphasis original):

The value of universality here [in its falseness under “the generality of a rule”] capitalizes all the antinomies, for it must be linked to the value of *exemplarity* that inscribes the universal in the proper body of a singularity of an idiom or a culture, whether this singularity be individual, social, national, state [...] or not. Whether it takes a national form or not, a refined, hospitable, or aggressively xenophobic form or not, the self-affirmation of an identity always claims to be responding to the call or assignation of a universal. [...] No cultural identity presents itself as the opaque body of an untranslatable idiom, but always, on the contrary, as the irreplaceable *inscription* of the universal in the singular, and the *unique testimony* to the human essence and what is proper to man. Each time it has to do with the discourse of *responsibility*: I have, the unique “I” has, the responsibility of testifying for universality. Each time, the exemplarity of the example is unique.”²⁷⁵

Briefly, a “singularity” may masquerade as the truly plural nature of identity, where “the value of *exemplarity* that inscribes the universal in the proper body of a singularity of an idiom or a culture” might be understood to destroy awareness that, in fact, “the experience and experiment of identity or of cultural identification can only be the endurance of these antinomies.”²⁷⁶ I might re-posit “seeking increasingly universal connections” here as exploring evolving relationships among elements that oscillate between feelings as individually held and commonly shared, both within one person and among people. Without such a formation, any “proper body of a

²⁷⁵ *The Other Heading*, 72-73.

²⁷⁶ *The Other Heading*, 71-73.

singularity of an idiom or a culture” may claim human relationships under a false universality through feelings of “*responsibility*” to that falsity.

There thus appears no place for the self as “unique” – as having nothing in common with others – amid the “antinomies” of a just derivation from the old ideal of universality. This may be the ethical point of Derrida’s notion that “*exemplarity*” confers the oxymoron of a “unique” example, for an example is always in a *general* group of examples *of it*. An example is “the generality of a rule [...] as a solution to the antinomy,” which is imposed for convenience on relations that deserve more.²⁷⁷ Echoing critiques in Chapter 1, such generalization habituates itself as the order of everything, such that – in my understanding of Derrida’s imagining of the feelings of those under such a false order – “I have, the unique ‘I’ has, the responsibility of testifying for [my] universality [that is not everyone’s].”

Finally, I might draw on the “verbal imagery” of Derrida’s piece to illustrate my mode of “increasingly universal connections” by reclaiming the words that he used to evoke the opposite – investment in a false universality: “*responsibility*” for a notion of the false universality’s “*inscription*” in people, which one falsely affirms in “testimony.” Briefly, I might redirect Derrida’s term “*inscription*” to evoke every person as a never fully deciphered “*inscription*” that one must re-encounter, rather than Derrida’s more material feeling of an identity carved in stone. He may have been thinking of inscriptions as permanent and clear, of “testimony” as their affirmation once and for all. “Testimony” also bears the root of “testing,” however –

²⁷⁷ *The Other Heading*, 72-73.

of continuing to check connections to see if they still seem right, thus my desire for the “increasingly universal.” This is where I might stage the “verbal imagery” of Derrida meeting that of Furuya: in Furuya’s notion of “re-reading” through multiple encounters in new contexts,²⁷⁸ where each “*inscription*” requires re-reading to find another part of its meaning not seen before, and each new photobook is a site for this new “testimony.”

Furuya’s “Exoticism”: *AMS* (1981) and *Alive* (2004)

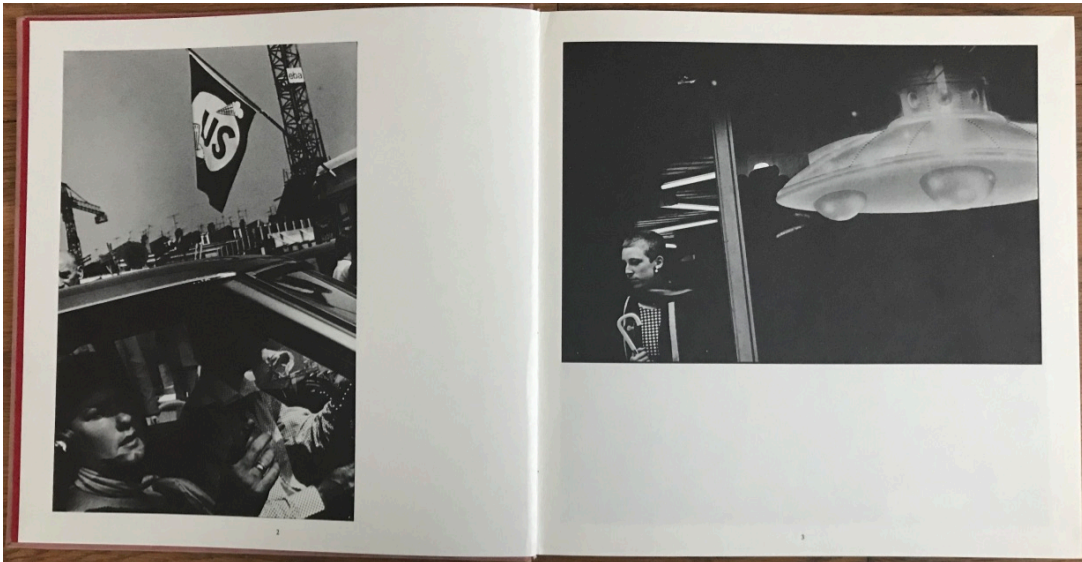


Figure 12: first two images, *AMS*, 1981, pp. 2-3.

I would like to begin this first section of visual analysis by elaborating my earlier gloss of Furuya’s opening images in *AMS* (1981, Figures 11, pp. 2-3 and 12). He never has used either of its component images again. Their juxtaposition might evoke the fraught progress of any defeated nation under American postwar occupation, whether Japanese or European. An ice cream advertising flag flies the

²⁷⁸ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

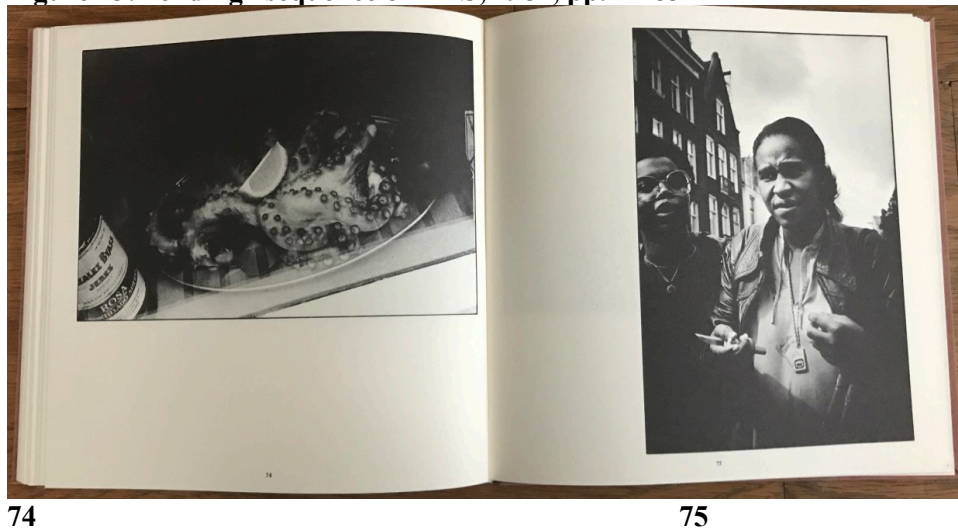
letters “US” above cranes of urban construction, which – in associations potentially awakened by the flag – might begin to echo reconstruction after wartime destruction. A figure in headphones – accessory of both the fighter pilot and the postwar music fan – flashes a stubby and be-ringed finger from a car window in a traffic jam, a hint of luxury and leisure. On the facing page, a 1950’s-style, fantasy flying saucer – perhaps a decoration in a nightclub – might suggest “space-age” encouragements – and pressures – to modernize and democratize, particularly as presented to the postwar defeated through American popular culture.

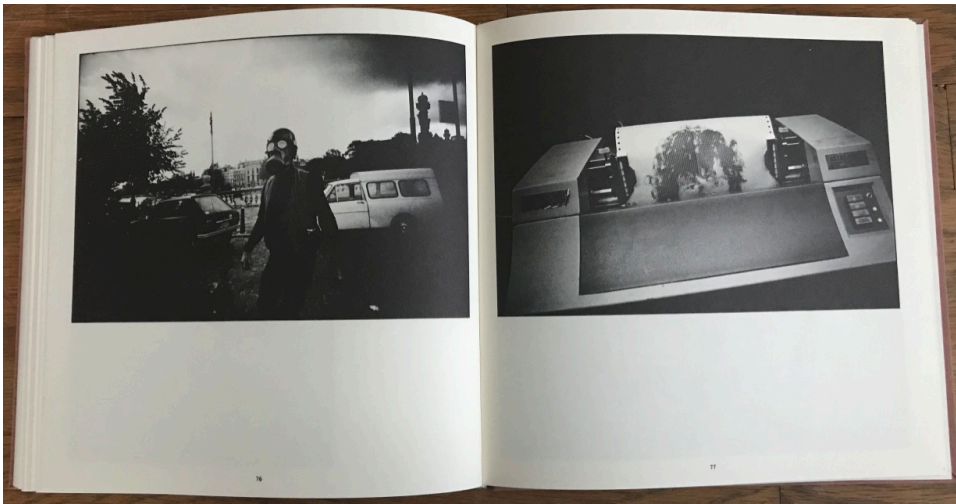
I therefore might gather the visual associations above into a story of this juxtaposition as that of occupying Americans as invading aliens.²⁷⁹ It is a start that *AMS* does not “finish,” however. Rather, its ending might embody conclusions of scholarship on postwar Japan and Germany as discussed through Santner, Yoneyama and Igarashi in Chapter 1: that processing World War II and the Asia-Pacific War remains unfinished, specifically through failure to face Japanese and German responsibility for wartime harm by escaping into imagery of something else – even if that something else, such as American occupation, directly resulted from the conduct of the defeated nations in those wars. In the case of the last sequence in *AMS*, that something else might be considered a complementarity of escapisms: general condemnation of war as suffering and particular resentment of America through evocation of postwar occupation leading “back” to wartime force (Figure 13).

²⁷⁹ I would like to thank Elisabeth Cameron for emphasizing the “alien invasion” angle as equal to my original focus on the “space age” theme – they make the most apt narrative together.

Before turning to analysis of this sequence below, I also note that World War I and the Cold War might be considered depicted while World War II is not, though Furuya might have encountered its traces – as I later consider in the image to which Furuya’s epigraph to this chapter is the caption, showing Christine on rubble-strewn steps (Figure 27, no. 47). Additionally – in the analysis *after* the next, through what I take as Furuya’s depictions of Western exoticism of Asia (Figures 14-17), *AMS* might be imagined as having coded a Japanese perspective that may inform its closing sequence, though Japanese elements were absent at the beginning. In these terms, its opening and closing evocations of American “influence” may cast Japan as “innocent” without evoking the Asia Pacific War as such (thus one might ask: innocent of what)?

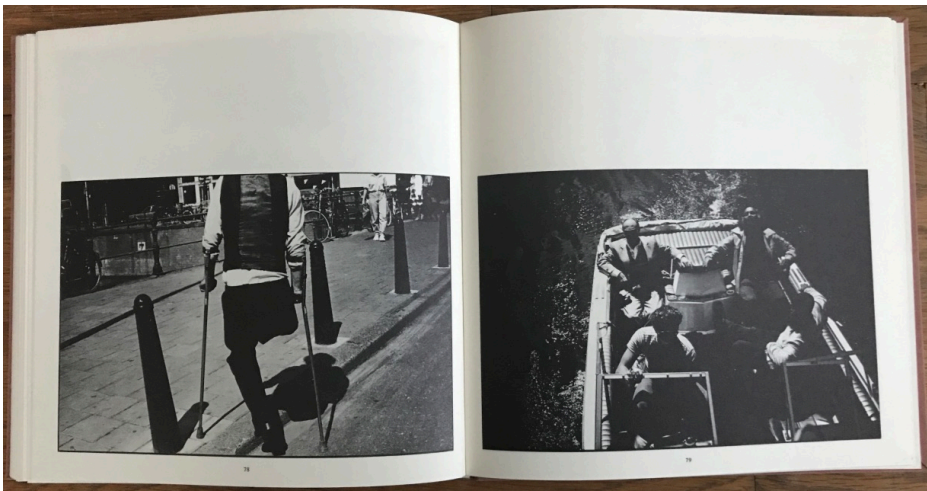
Figure 13: “ending” sequence of *AMS*, 1981, pp. 74-83





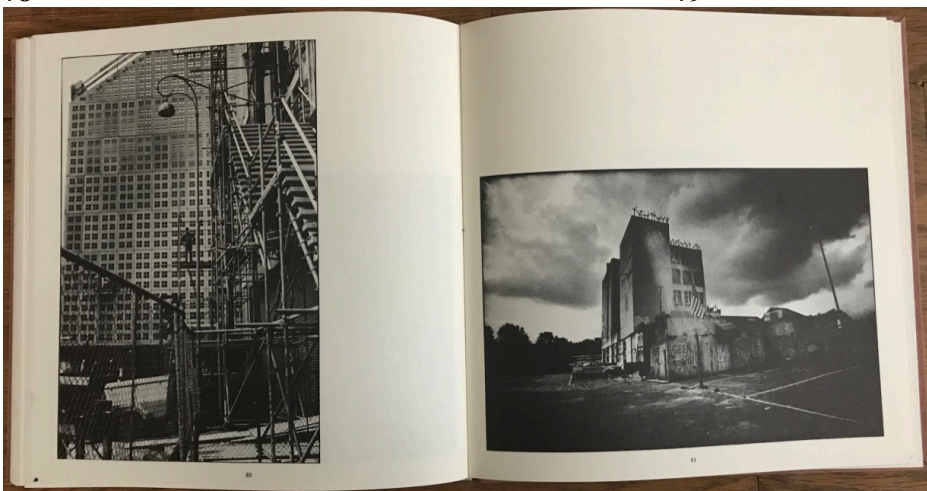
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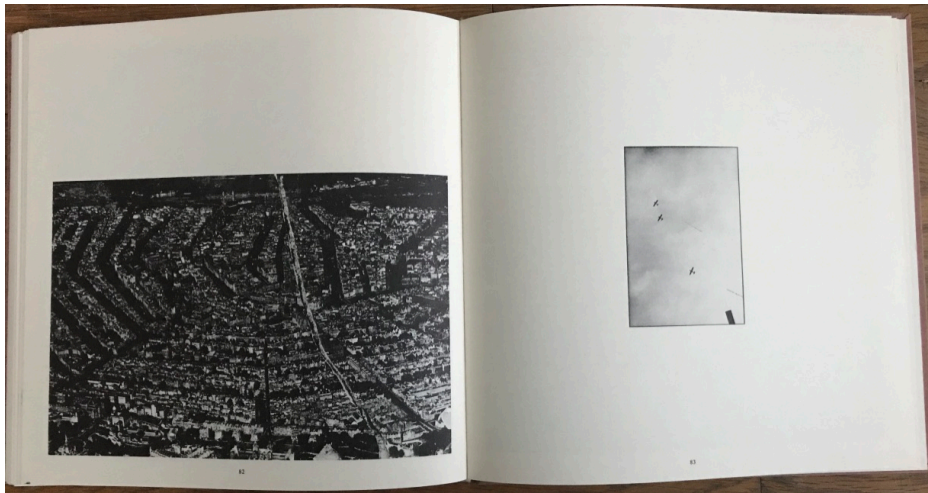
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To begin: a curious “triggering” might be felt to open the action of the more legibly war-themed sequence: from a cooked octopus (Figure 13, p. 74) to a figure holding a knife (p. 75). As seen in the sequence before it, which I analyze in the second section (Figure 23), this might be understood to “start” the ending sequence as a transition from a previous theme of animals (pp. 62-73). Briefly, the octopus may serve as the literal death of the “animal” sequence, such that the knife begins the sequence of war and conflict. The person with the knife wears a beeper and thereby might be imagined to “herald” a sense of emergency in images to come.

Although Honnef’s use of the term “Exoticism” may put one in mind to consider the skin tone of these (and all) subjects in *AMS*, however, this sequence may not invite particular engagement with racial difference – unless insofar as Furuya is considered Asian, or – as observed early in critiques of photography – the view through any camera since the 19th century bears the camera’s history as a tool of

Europeans in documenting – and thereby constructing – frames of otherness.²⁸⁰

Rather, the apparent distress of the subjects in the “knife” photograph (Figure 13, p. 75) primarily may rupture viewing attitude to that point: to shake one out of casual curiosity in noticing the cooked octopus and into a higher level of fear at the knife.

The remainder of the last sequence in *AMS* then might be felt to force narratives of war damage and American threat to the discouragement of other readings. First, a figure in a gas mask walks between a tree in the wind and a dark, cloud-like mass in the sky, which may evoke the chemical warfare of World War I (Figure 13, p. 76). A pixilated face then makes eye contact as it emerges from a Cold War-era printer, perhaps as though to say that one is being watched – yet it also shows whom one is watching (p. 77). The next image might recall World War I again through the somewhat clichéd figure of an amputee in garb reminiscent of rural Europe in that era, his injury amplified by Furuya’s cropping of his face (p. 78).

On the facing page (p. 79), the visual effect of the man’s injury may function to make the boat feel as though plunging darkly downwards, though it is actually full of happy faces, obscured in what one reviewer of *AMS* called Furuya’s “darkness achieved through printing.”²⁸¹ In contrast, a tiny figure on a scaffold then may stand out against a city (p. 80), perhaps appearing modern and clean beside the next image, which evokes to me an American-flag-flying, vandalized version of a Hollywood “Dracula’s Castle” under a stormy sky (p. 81). The small figure’s hands are on its

²⁸⁰ See, for example, Pinney and Peterson, Tagg, Sekula and Alloula.

²⁸¹ Peter Weiermair, “AMS + ‘Schwarz und Gold,’” *Camera Austria*, no. 9 (1983): 46. All quotes from this source are my translations from his German.

hips; the last scene might cast this gesture as one of resistance that was useless: before the aerial view of a city and ground's-eye view of planes (pp. 82-83), which together suggest aerial bombing. As will be considered in Chapter 3 through ideas of the Allied bombing of Dresden, such bombing has operated as a site of Axis suffering that can eclipse Axis responsibility – but only if the bombing is labeled Allied, as through the American flag in Furuya's final sequence.

In the next sequence that I consider (Figures 14-16), the above implication of American force through evocation of bombing may be felt in a “softer” version through visual hints at 18th and 19th century exoticism of Asia by “the West.” I might recall briefly, however, that Japan also nursed fascinations with Europe at the same time,²⁸² often through its trade with Holland, namesake of Japan's “Dutch studies” (*rangaku*) in European science.²⁸³ As I have begun to explore, however, *AMS* may construct “Western” exoticism and military force to Japan's postwar advantage, such that Japan's identity as a non-Western power may serve to meld it with “Asia” and eclipse its wartime treatment of the rest of Asia – or, as I consider in his 2004 sequence (Figure 17) – presume to disappear under the label of “blackness” as oppressed by “whiteness.” In these terms, Japan's experiences of pursuing its own

²⁸² Woodblock print artists, for example, occasionally would produce European-style etchings in copperplate. See e.g. Okada Shuntōsai, “Engerand Golood Skip” (transliterated from the print – referring to the ship in the print as from England), ca. 1830, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession number RES.60.10, credit line: Gift of Robert T. Paine, Jr.: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/319540/a-large-english-ship-engerand-golood-gkip?ctx=b4951087-691e-4dd7-893c-bc5331e52f14&idx=1> (accessed April 13, 2021).

²⁸³ On the development of “Dutch studies” as a “field” between the 18th and 19th centuries, see, for example, Terrence Jackson, *Network of Knowledge: Western Science and the Tokugawa Information Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).

interest *in* Europe and being exoticized *by* Europe might be considered precursors to later pressures to “Westernize” that bore on its nationalism – though did not cause it.

In short, Furuya’s images with Asian content may allow *AMS*’s initial hints at American occupation – as well as later “American” coding of the “bombing” (Figures 11-13) – to take on associations of postwar Japan rather than – without the Asian content – perhaps Germany. At the same time, the next sequence may engage exoticization by the “West” while allowing readings that complicate an “East-West” binary. It occasions small awareness of Japan’s exoticism of other Asian countries.

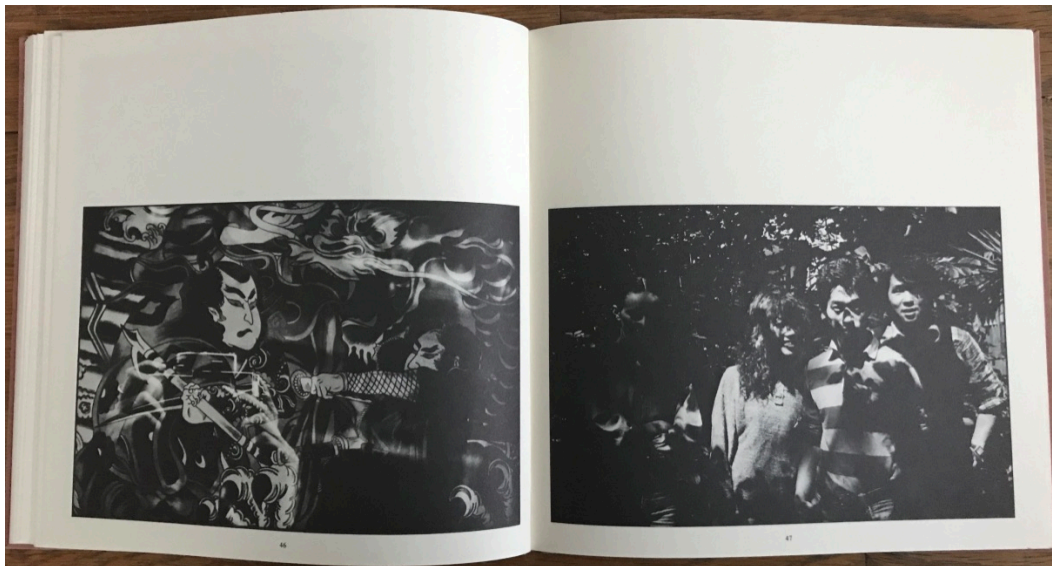


Figure 14: hints of European exoticization of Asia in *AMS*, 1981, pp. 46-47

First (Figure 14) an image of what appears to be a preserved skin with Japanese body tattooing – under glass, akin to how Japanese subjects themselves preserved and collected such skins²⁸⁴ – “faces” an image of Christine (far left) with staff from the Japanese restaurant where she and Furuya worked (on which I quote

²⁸⁴ See, for example, the article “Speaking of Pictures...Japanese skin specialist collects human tattoos for Tokyo museum,” *Life*, April 3 (1950): 12-14.

Furuya momentarily). The “tattoo” shows two warriors with crossed swords and a dragon. Reflections on the glass may suggest flames. Christine’s face dissolves in shadow – again in “the darkness achieved through printing”²⁸⁵ – while the Japanese faces shine through leafy patterns that echo military camouflage, an effect elsewhere discussed in terms of Asia-Pacific War legacies in the photography of an Okinawan artist.²⁸⁶ Of this image, however, Furuya would write the following (but only in Japanese) in 1997:

The restaurant where I worked was called ‘TOGA.’ Except for Sunday, I worked eight hours a day, two in the afternoon and evenings from 6 to 12. I took photographs on my breaks every day. In general, at this restaurant with so many problems, the discord between the boss and the waiters and cooks, and furthermore the quarreling among the cooks and their hostility toward the delivery people, I have no memory of a day that it closed peacefully. As soon as I started work, I was given the nickname “Napoleon.” Christine also sometimes helped during her stay – with the cooking in the basement kitchen. I photographed her in the restaurant garden with the sushi chef, his wife (a waitress) and – I’m pretty sure – the person in charge of business.²⁸⁷

In short, the juxtaposition of the Japanese warriors with the Japanese staff need not be seen as simply a critique of “exoticism” in the vein of suggesting that the staff are “othered” in a European context: as in seeing Japanese culture as grotesque (the tattoo); warlike (the warriors) or as “monkeys” in a jungle,²⁸⁸ spattered by shadows of foliage like the staff of the restaurant. Rather, the warriors may evoke the “discord between the boss and the waiters and cooks [...] quarreling among the cooks

²⁸⁵ Weiermair, 46.

²⁸⁶ Ayelet Zohar, “Camouflage, Photography and [In]visibility: Yamashiro Chikako’s *Chorus of the Melodies* series (2010) and Beyond,” *Trans-Asia Photography Review*, vol. 3, issue 1 (Fall 2012): <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.105> (accessed February 12, 2021).

²⁸⁷ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/53.

²⁸⁸ See historical developments of this insult in John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, [1986]), 84-88.

and their hostility to the delivery people,” and the “so many problems” of Furuya’s Japanese workplace in Amsterdam, which Furuya apparently met with a martial or dogged – perhaps dictatorial – European mien worthy of his epithet “Napoleon.”

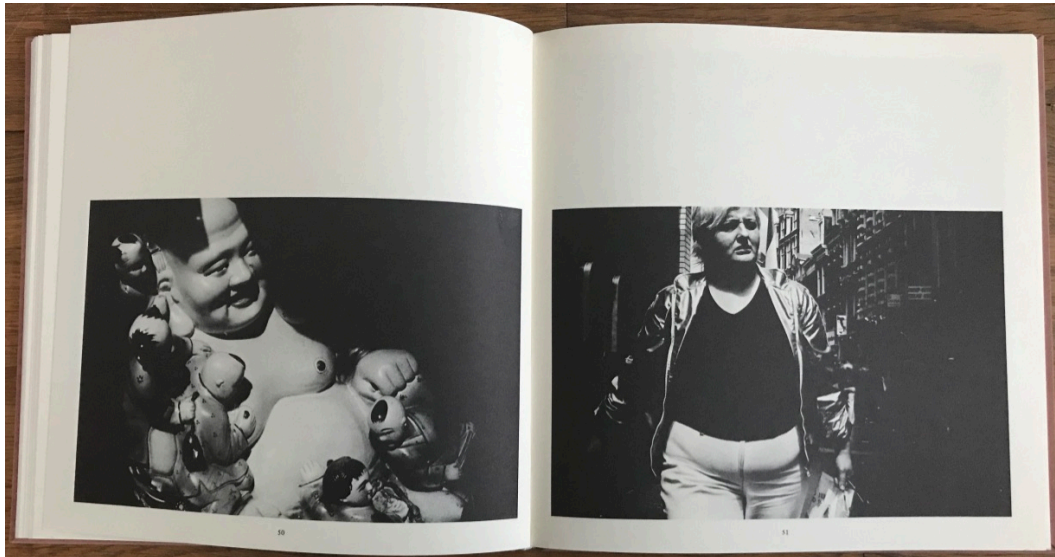


Figure 15: hints of European exoticization of Asia in *AMS*, 1981, pp. 50-51

Two pages later, however (Figure 15), Furuya may be seen to create a more “feminine” or perhaps maternal juxtaposition. He shows a somewhat kitschy but well-made “buddha” figure on which one of many *karako* – a historical Japanese term meaning variously “Chinese children” or “Korean children,” which may exemplify Japan’s own undifferentiated treatment of other Asian cultures – grabs the buddha’s nipple in a gesture akin to that of beginning to suckle. The buddha “looks” toward a curvy blonde woman on the street, who looks “away.” The similar shapes of their figures might suggest a crassly visual “joke,” yet their gazes might furnish a cheeky reversal of the stereotypically imperialist gaze of the “Westerner” on the “East.” In this reading, the buddha “stares” at the woman who tries to avoid that violation – as a

“male gaze” that flips the buddha into a dominant gender role,²⁸⁹ but the child grabbing the buddha’s nipple also may cause the buddha to resemble a nursing mother. Does the woman then look away in disapproval or politeness? If the latter, what is disapproved – breastfeeding in public or gender presentation of another kind?

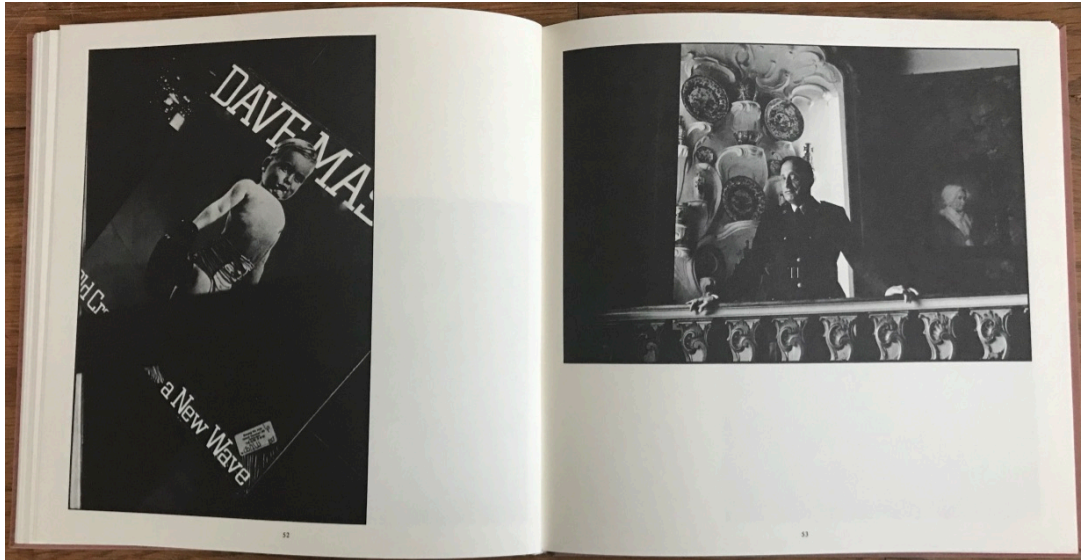


Figure 16: hints of European exoticization of Asia in *AMS*, 1981, pp. 52-53

Finally, in the next juxtaposition (Figure 16), Furuya sets a punk rock poster – of something like a baby doll’s head collaged onto the body of a boxer – opposite a man who turns “toward” it but stares at “us” – elegantly or suspiciously side-eye – from an ornate balustrade. Behind him is a glass case of what may be East Asian or Islamic, blue-and-white porcelain and a Dutch (or Dutch-style) painting. The white space around the images – Furuya’s “empty space” – may feel as though pitting tough and aloof verticality in the “baby boxer” against the delicately floating horizontal of the other man’s space of high culture – though it may not be “his.”

²⁸⁹ See Mulvey.

Before exploring this scene, however, I note the extreme contrast in the use of white space in this juxtaposition, which may serve to highlight subtler effects in Furuya's "empty space" in the previous two pairings. The "tattoo-warriors" and restaurant staff (Figure 14) may register as "sunken" under thick space at the top, because the darkness around each image forms a brick-like shape that might be felt to bear the white space above it as "weight." Conversely, the light-colored heads of the buddha and blonde (Figure 15) are cropped at the top by the photographic frame, which may "open" their heads – or minds (?) – onto the white pages above them, reminding me of a sort of astral plane.

To return, then, to Furuya's last evocation of European exoticism of the "East" (Figure 16): the man wears what appears to be a military or security uniform. He may be a museum guard. To elaborate my gloss of the porcelain: the designs on the platters behind him resemble Chinese or Islamic blue-and-white ware, perhaps slightly denser in foliage. The painting on the vases may be more symmetrically Chinese. None suggest the thinness of line and asymmetrical design – variously in indescribable balance or awkwardly miscalculated – that I associate with Japanese porcelain that copies Chinese blue-and-white.²⁹⁰ The porcelain thus may complicate ideas of "exoticism" as an exclusively European form of harm against non-Europeans, for those in the porcelain world historically "exoticized" and reproduced each other's productions, each considering their own to be a superior appropriation. Arguably,

²⁹⁰ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has a particularly clear (but late) example of this type, which was associated with kilns in the Japanese feudal domain of Hirado in the province of Hizen. See "Vase," early 19th century, accession number 21.112, credit line: William Sturgis Bigelow Collection: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/231617/vase?ctx=36bef880-52c1-433a-818f-7d0a3e6a94cf&idx=0> (accessed February 10, 2021).

they did so aside from relations with a Europe that – for example – an Indian judge at the Tokyo Trials for war crimes (1946-48) would deem a threat that warranted Japan’s empire-building and war – even as a Filipino judge would disagree.²⁹¹

At the same time, the cultural item most clearly identifiable on the balcony may be the very large Dutch (or Dutch style) portrait behind the “guard.” “She” might be imagined to “turn away” from potential conflicts inherent in both the brightly lit case of “foreign” things and perhaps their haggard custodian. In this reading, the “respectable” portrait may be imagined as bearing a weight of Dutch imperialist history that “she” does not seem to notice. “She” also may have the effect of highlighting that the face of the “guard” is worn and tough by comparison.

His hands, however, curve quite softly over the balustrade. Could those hands – in terms of visual stereotypes – be dexterous enough to re-cast him as a curator or collector? Would his uniform then cast the museum as a military institution? This reading fits a critique of the museum as imperialist institution – repository of objects taken from and representing those over whom one holds power, under the aegis of a universal order in which – as explored at the start of this chapter – such unequal relations are habituated as real and right, as universality. The man’s features then might figure in this story as an allegory for how that deception – of oneself as well as others – may wear one down between force and diplomacy, hardness and softness.

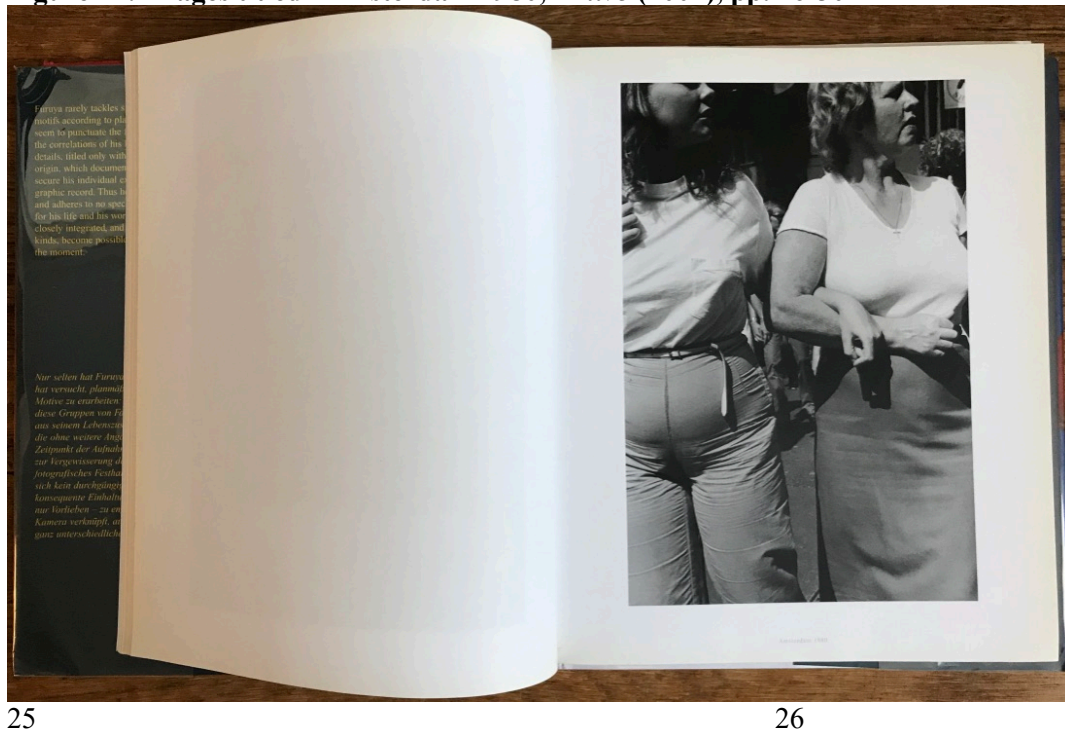
Conversely, Furuya’s 2004 Amsterdam sequence (Figure 17) appears to lose the specifically postwar and Euro-Asian, historical sweep of his 1981 arrangement,

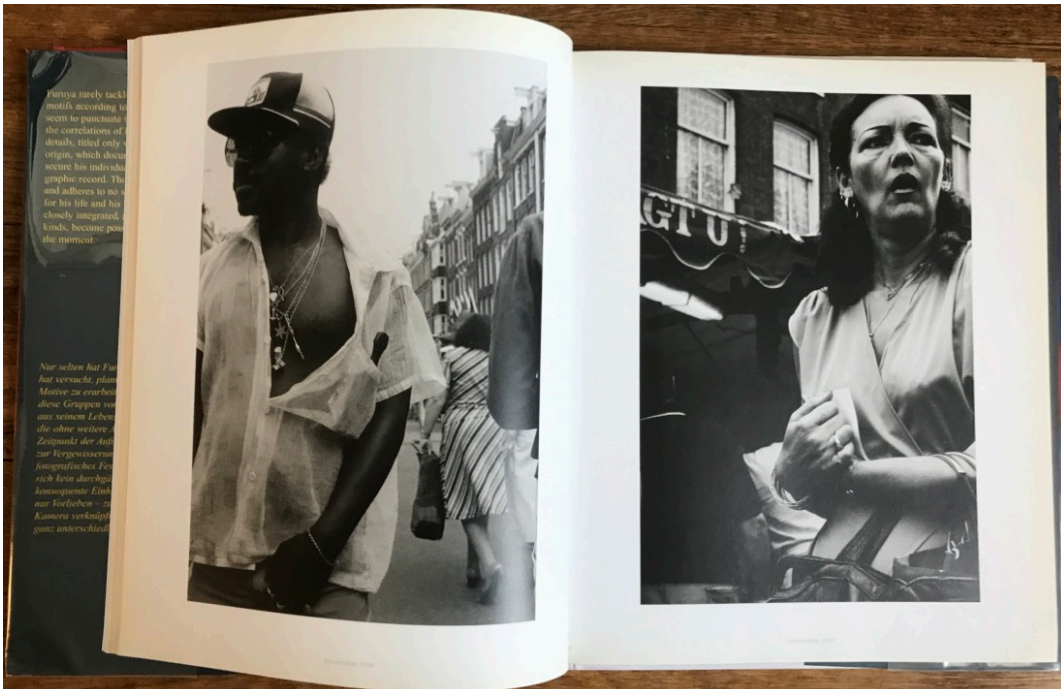
²⁹¹ These judges were Radhabinod Pal of India and Delfin Jaranilla of the Philippines – see *Embracing Defeat*, 445, 450, 470-474.

notably in what might be seen as a pared-down frame of racial tension, primarily with images not previously shown. The only one repeated (p. 28) was used only once before – in *AMS*. I consider its 2004 and 1981 uses after the 2004 sequence.

First, two women are shown initially in isolation opposite a white page (pp. 25-26). Furuya's "empty space" here postpones viewer imagination by slowing an image in its meeting of another, such that the opening image of the women may read as "white women" only when the page is turned to reveal a "black man" (p. 27). The man is grabbing his crotch, and – in a visual effect created by the page that faces it (p. 28) – perhaps appearing to "shock" a woman who – according to this crude code – might be considered between "whiteness" and "blackness."

Figure 17: images titled "Amsterdam 1980," *Alive* (2004), pp. 26-30





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In fact, the somewhat crass framework of “color-coding” encouraged by the first two images might be entertained briefly at a more intimate, aesthetic level

through class connotations in jewelry across the three images. The crucifix worn by the older blonde woman might evoke imperialist conquest via missionary conversions. She literally extends a “strong arm” to the thinner arm of the younger woman beside her, who might be imagined – in this story of a sense of belonging in a universality of race, class, and religion – to follow in her “traditions.” Conversely, the earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and rings of the “shocked” woman might encode aspiration to a type of wealth or position – perhaps but not necessarily that of the blonde women.

She has more and larger jewelry pieces than they do, which may make a gaudier impression. She has almost as much jewelry as the man at whom she may be imagined as showing – or, perhaps, performing – “shock,” such that a story of all three images might read her “shock” as meant to *distinguish her from him in front of* them. In contrast, the blondes might be registered as not making themselves as obvious by comparison, another stereotype of race and class. In odd retrospect, Furuya might be seen to unfold a “white” stereotype as – as Derrida might say – the “rule or general solution” of his sequence,²⁹² which may serve both to critique that rule yet also continue to let it “rule.” So may Furuya place the blondes in a position to “disempower” the subjects of the other photographs by being the first to appear, which both sets them as a standard for appearance and identifies them as those who judge by looking “first.”

Such stories of looking, however, can be slightly more complex in the last juxtaposition (pp. 29-30) because it shows that photographic subjects likely noticed

²⁹² *The Other Heading*, 71.

Furuya himself. Their faces are so frontal to Furuya's camera that it may seem reasonable to consider that the distrust and annoyance that at first might appear directed from some subjects to others – particularly in fictional narratives evoked by the juxtaposition – in fact were directed at Furuya. In the final image alone, for example (p. 30), one might imagine “white women” turning away in distaste or fear from an oncoming person who is apparently “black,” yet Furuya was standing directly behind that person and potentially caused those apprehensive looks by raising his camera. In terms of Japan's postwar responsibility – which leaves no trace in this sequence yet might linger in remembered details from *AMS* – Furuya might be described as standing behind the person into whose victimhood he disappears, an echo of Japan's postwar “status-shift from that of colonizer to colonized.”²⁹³

In a variation on the above reading, however, Furuya also might be seen to have staged a look of sympathy between the dark-skinned person in front of him and the woman pictured on the facing page (p. 29). Her upward and sideways look might be felt as “toward” the person in front of him, though it may not at first be obvious due to her own elements: a child, shopping bags, a schnauzer regarding the viewer from under her arm. As a result, her “look” to the dark-skinned subject on the other page may feel “secret,” as though the two share an eye-roll about the stares that they are receiving from others. I wish to elaborate only two points from this.

First, the “story” of this exchange of looks might portray a sort of solidarity across “blackness” that Furuya supports by furnishing that story. In doing so, he also

²⁹³ Chen, 7.

may project an inappropriate level of what might be considered “insider knowledge” by constructing this shared look, which begs the question of how to show solidarity in relation to a group that may not be one’s own. In fact, such framing of “blackness” and “whiteness” can block other ways to see people – other “ways in” to them through visual details, such as the other elements around the woman on left-hand page (p. 29). At the same time, not to acknowledge this frame – in its ongoing iterations – is also unacceptable. My own sense at this moment – which is many ethical iterations after Furuya’s 2004 sequence – is to let “others” control how “we” acknowledge frames of seeing “them,” in order – in Derrida’s words again – to continue to “go through endurance of the antinomy” rather than treat human relations as a “rule” without consulting others – in my appropriation of Derrida’s evocative vocabulary, without “re-reading” their “*inscription*”s.²⁹⁴ For example, a different juxtaposition than above might have allowed the many details around the woman on the left-hand page (p. 29) to branch into other readings of her life and personality.

Such may be considered the case, in fact, for the single, previously-used image in Furuya’s 2004 Amsterdam sequence – the woman with the look of “shock” (Figures 17, p. 28 and 18, p. 26). Furuya paired her image in 1981 with that of a man and woman who – because of the visual effects of her expression – might appear to be causing her “shock” by quarreling or otherwise projecting intensity of feeling (Figure 18, pp. 26-27). Alternatively, the juxtaposition might be read as showing the two women mutually “shocked” at the man who stands “between” them. One then might

²⁹⁴ *The Other Heading*, 72-73 and “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

ask with whom he might be most concerned. His hairy, ringed finger at first may read *as* the hand of the woman beside him, tucked under his arm. When one sees otherwise, however, the woman may seem more irritated with him, less familiar. An impression of discord then may make the thick white space between the images feel like a loaded distance, a tension.

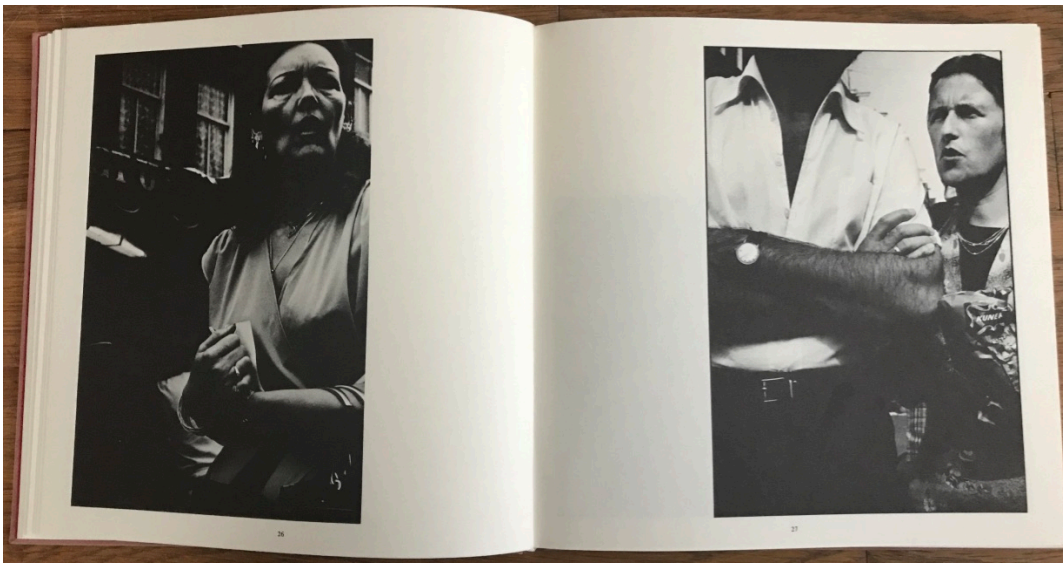


Figure 18: original use of the woman with the shocked expression, *AMS*, 1981, pp. 26-27.

Conversely, the same composition of thick, white space may convey a feeling of privacy and relaxation – a respectful distance – between perhaps the only two images of public intimacy – with the possible exception of Christine, considered in the next section (Figure 20) – in *AMS* (Figure 19). A woman’s hand pokes gently around a man’s arm (p. 38). A woman presses her palm into a man’s back while holding her cigarette slightly away with her fingers. His thumb on his hip indicates an arm akimbo – sometimes an impatient gesture, sometimes a resting one (p. 39). In both cases, the faces are hidden.

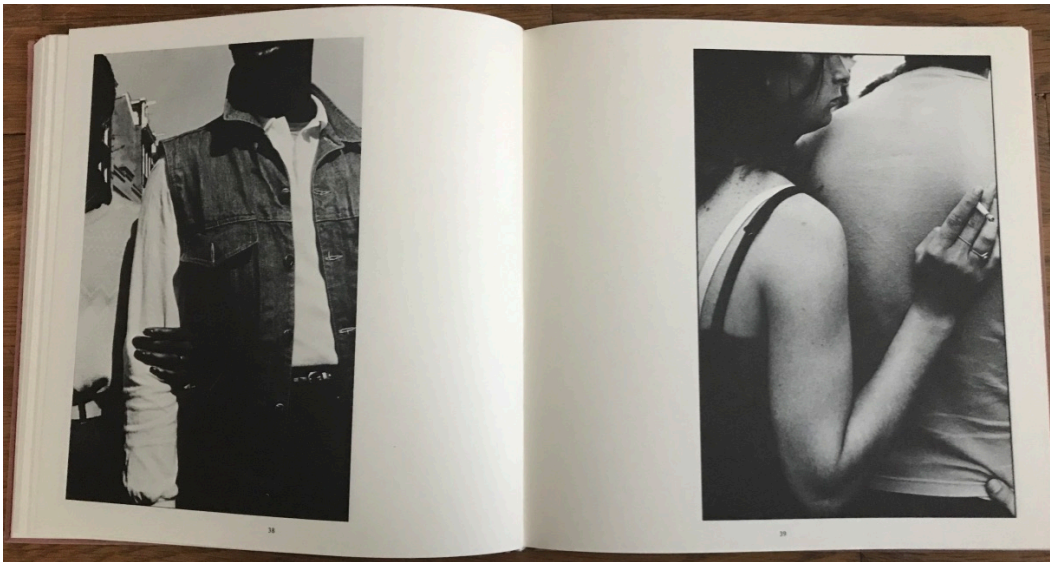


Figure 19: tender images in *AMS*, 1981, pp. 38-39.

In fact, Honneth's essay refers to injury inflicted in Furuya's framing of people "Through fragments,"²⁹⁵ yet the cropping here may feel rather as though to protect the intimacy of the viewed from the eyes of the viewer. It will be evident in the next section that this juxtaposition shows exceptional tenderness in *AMS*, which may speak largely to Honneth's feeling that "All are wounded together"²⁹⁶ – yet this feeling is reason to remind oneself that not all wounds are equal after all. Feelings of universality must be tested through individual encounters – with their own "testimony" each time.²⁹⁷

Toward A Personalization of Looking at Others: The Contours of *AMS*

²⁹⁵ Honneth, 87.

²⁹⁶ Honneth, 88.

²⁹⁷ *The Other Heading*, 73.

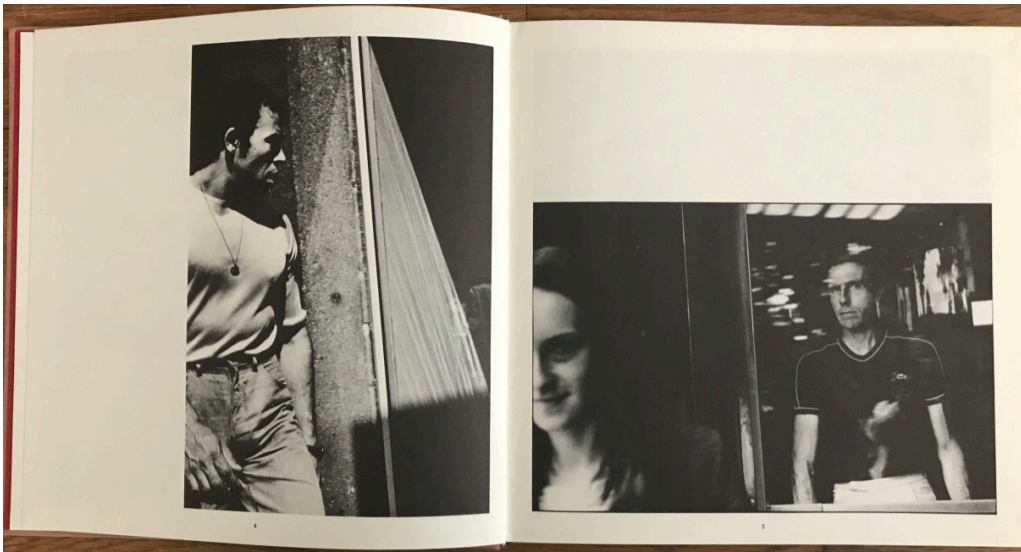


Figure 20: “re-start” of *AMS*, 1981, pp. 4-5

I now furnish a brief overview of *AMS* to show trends in uses of images that later allow me to consider how Furuya re-uses a few in his more personal engagements with his Amsterdam work in 1989 and 1997 (Figures 24-27). As he does not re-use the initial images, however, which I have discussed (Figures 11 and 12), I do not repeat them. In fact, the juxtaposition that follows the opening pair (Figure 20) does not continue the themes of American occupation and space-age alienation that I first observed. Rather, the second two images might serve to “re-start” *AMS* under the perhaps more expected aegis of Amsterdam’s red-light district, which by volume comprises the photobook’s overarching frame for – and possible distraction from – its evocations of American occupation, exoticization of Asia by the “West” and wartime pain.

Specifically, the second juxtaposition in *AMS* (Figure 20) may be felt to encode private and public meanings: 1) perhaps for Furuya, that Christine is privately a major figure, and 2) for viewers unfamiliar with his life – as were most when *AMS*

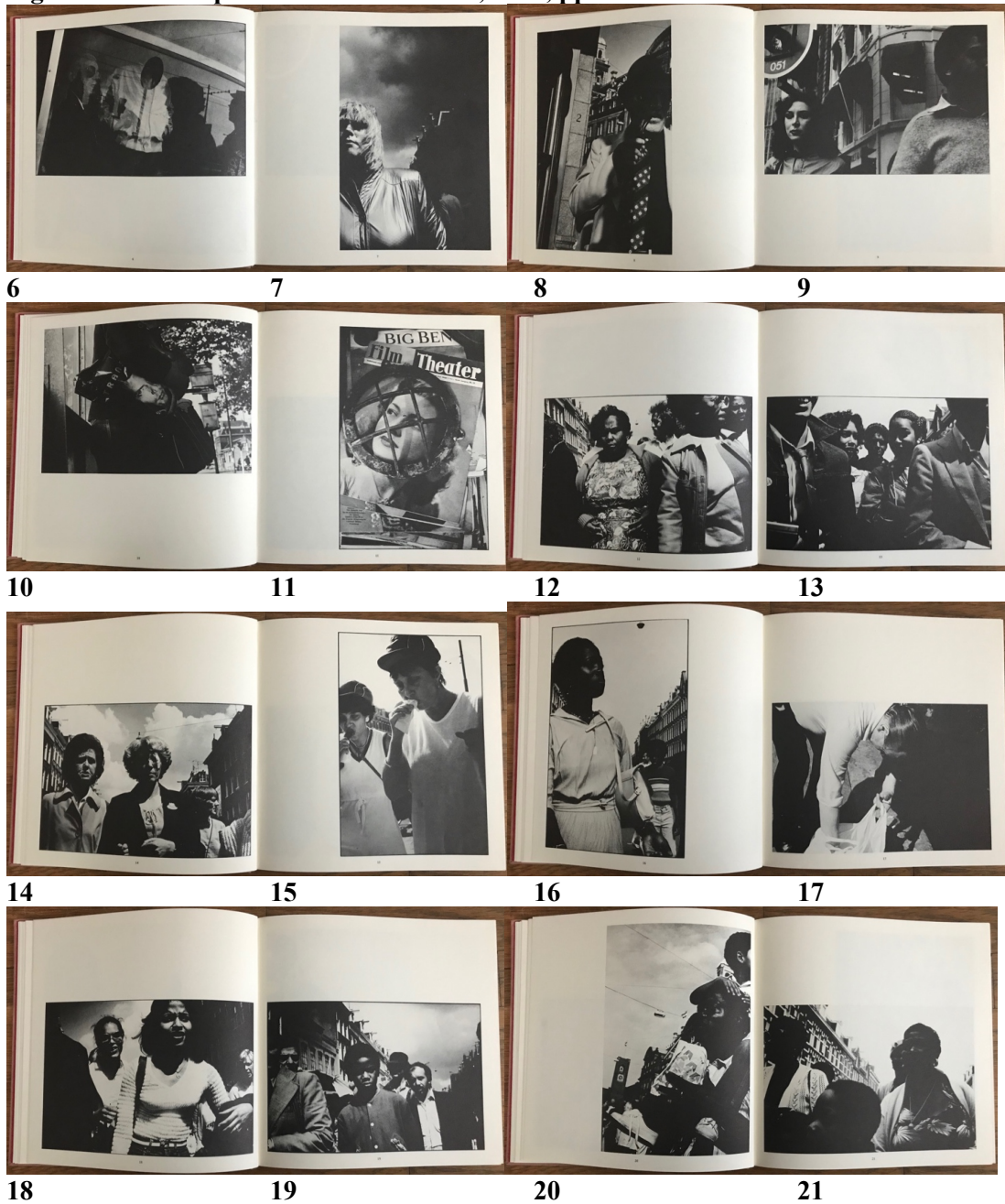
appeared in 1981, before her death in 1985 and his first *Mémoires* volume in 1989²⁹⁸ – that the photobook is initiating a visual attitude of sexualization in seeing and being seen. In this sense, Furuya’s modest framing of Christine’s half-cropped face – between the more exposed bodies of the two men – may be understood as an exception in his own conventions of framing women and men in much of *AMS*. In terms of women, he tends to focus on their bodies – from tight tops and trousers that he catches on passers-by (Figure 21, pp. 18, 23-24, 28-29, 36-37) to the self-exhibited “goods” of apparent sex workers (pp. 40-42, 44-45). Only one among the latter is male (p. 43), technically not framed by Furuya but already framed sexually on a poster that Furuya photographed.

One therefore might imagine the men “around” Christine in the second juxtaposition of *AMS* (Figure 20) to be Furuya’s rivals in looking rather than the objects of his look, even though they might be understood as sexualized too. Perhaps in keeping with a red-light district theme, they are presented with a phallic emphasis. In addition to the obvious trousers of the one on the left (p. 4), a white column – apparently a swirl of reflected light – rises from the waistline of the one on the right, curving toward the Lacoste logo on his shirt (p. 5). More personally, however, they also might be imagined as Furuya’s different modes of viewing. The look of the man in Lacoste might read as Furuya’s “self-chastisement” of himself as “the Furuya with the camera” – who is making the photobook – for perhaps “his ogling” of Christine “as” the man on the left. Racial and class stereotypes also may emerge through

²⁹⁸ *Mémoires 1978-1988*.

articulating this story of the men: the muscular, darker-skinned man “caught looking” at Christine; the lean, lighter-skinned man “catching Furuya looking” at Christine.

Figure 21: interrupted wholeness in *AMS*, 1981, pp. 6-45





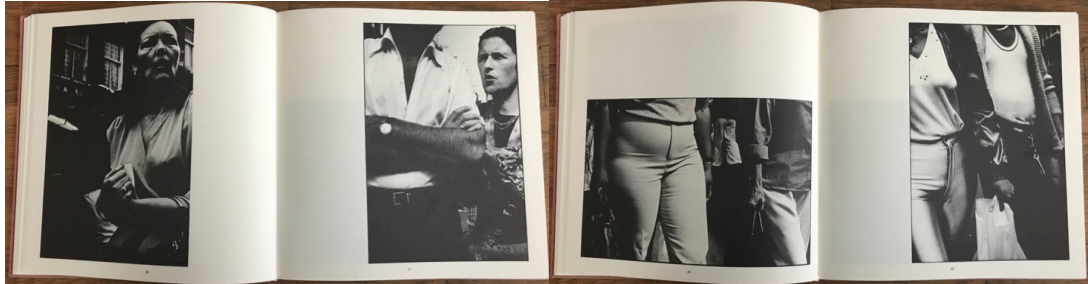
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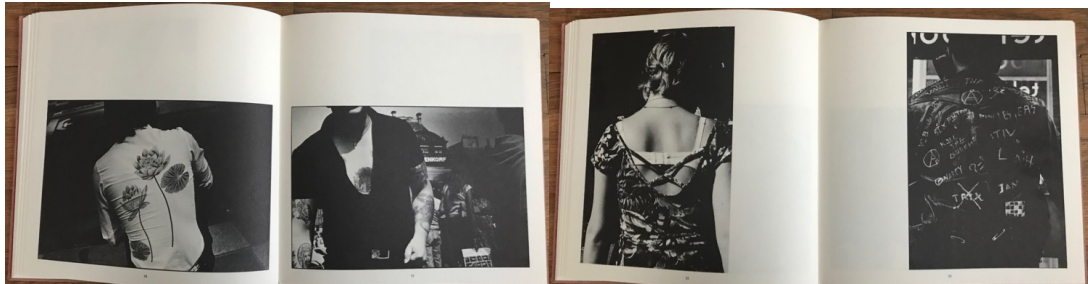
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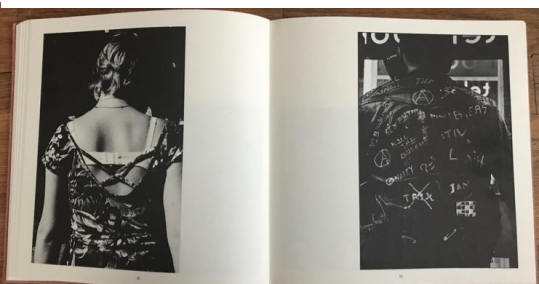
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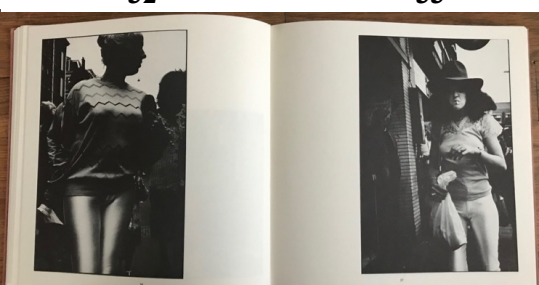
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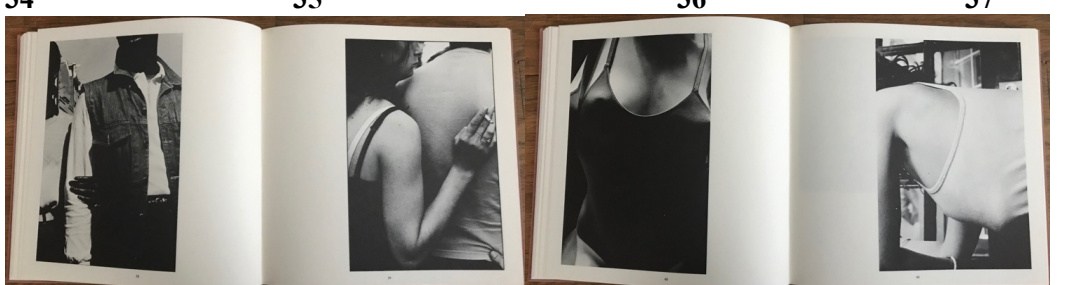
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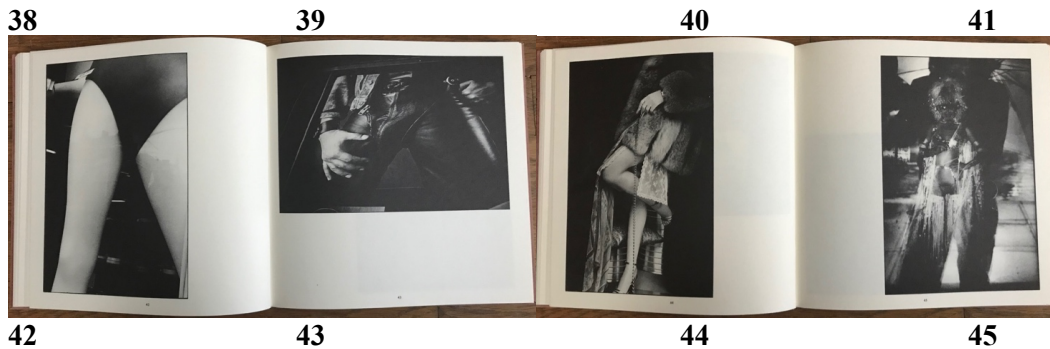
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But where is “his” place – or rather, perhaps, where is the best of Furuya’s places in relation to Christine? It is unclear – in the imaginary narratives that I trace across the pages – which man is closest to her, physically and in terms of making a personal connection. I shall return to the theme of distance, intimacy, and personal connection in more emotional and spiritual terms in my analysis of Furuya’s 1989 sequence (Figure 24). First, however, I must reach that sequence through trends in *AMS* that may be understood to revise the alienating “Exoticism” of Honnef into more open possibilities for “seeking increasingly universal connections.”²⁹⁹

Briefly, it might be noted that – as in my discussion about the cropping of faces to protect the intimacy of subjects (Figure 19) – several visual interruptions to human wholeness might be seen to oscillate between injury and privacy in *AMS* as a whole. Examples include figures reflected or distorted by shop windows (pp. 5-6); printed on paper that is crumpled (p. 10) or, conversely, held flat by a piece of discarded metal (p. 11); with a bandage over an injured eye (p. 14, right); in the unguardedness of eating (p. 15) or bending over (p. 17); in the guardedness of shock or annoyance (pp. 26-27); in body-altering designs, where a flowered shirt makes a

²⁹⁹ Honnef, 87-88.

back into a landscape (p. 30) or a horse tattoo pokes out the neck of a shirt, like a pet or a parasitic twin (p. 31); in discordant fashion choices, such as the visible bra-back (p. 32) and copiously inscribed leather jacket (p. 33); and – in the image chosen by *Camera Austria*, the magazine co-founded by Furuya – to represent *AMS* (Figures 21 p. 35 and 22, pp. 47, 35) – joyous laughter that also could read as uncanny.

Figure 22: from review of *AMS* in *Camera Austria*, no. 9, 1983, p. 47 and *AMS* (1981), pp. 35-37



It is an image of women laughing in the street, developed – to borrow the words of the early *AMS* review again – in such a deep “darkness achieved through printing” that the woman on the left has little face at all.³⁰⁰ Unlike the image of Christine with the restaurant staff, however, in which Christine’s face similarly is lost in shadow (Figures 14 and 23, p. 47), the laughing woman’s glowing glasses and teeth may evoke a skull. This reading will emerge with more possibilities when I discuss Furuya’s 1989 re-use of the image (Figure 24, pp. 14-15).

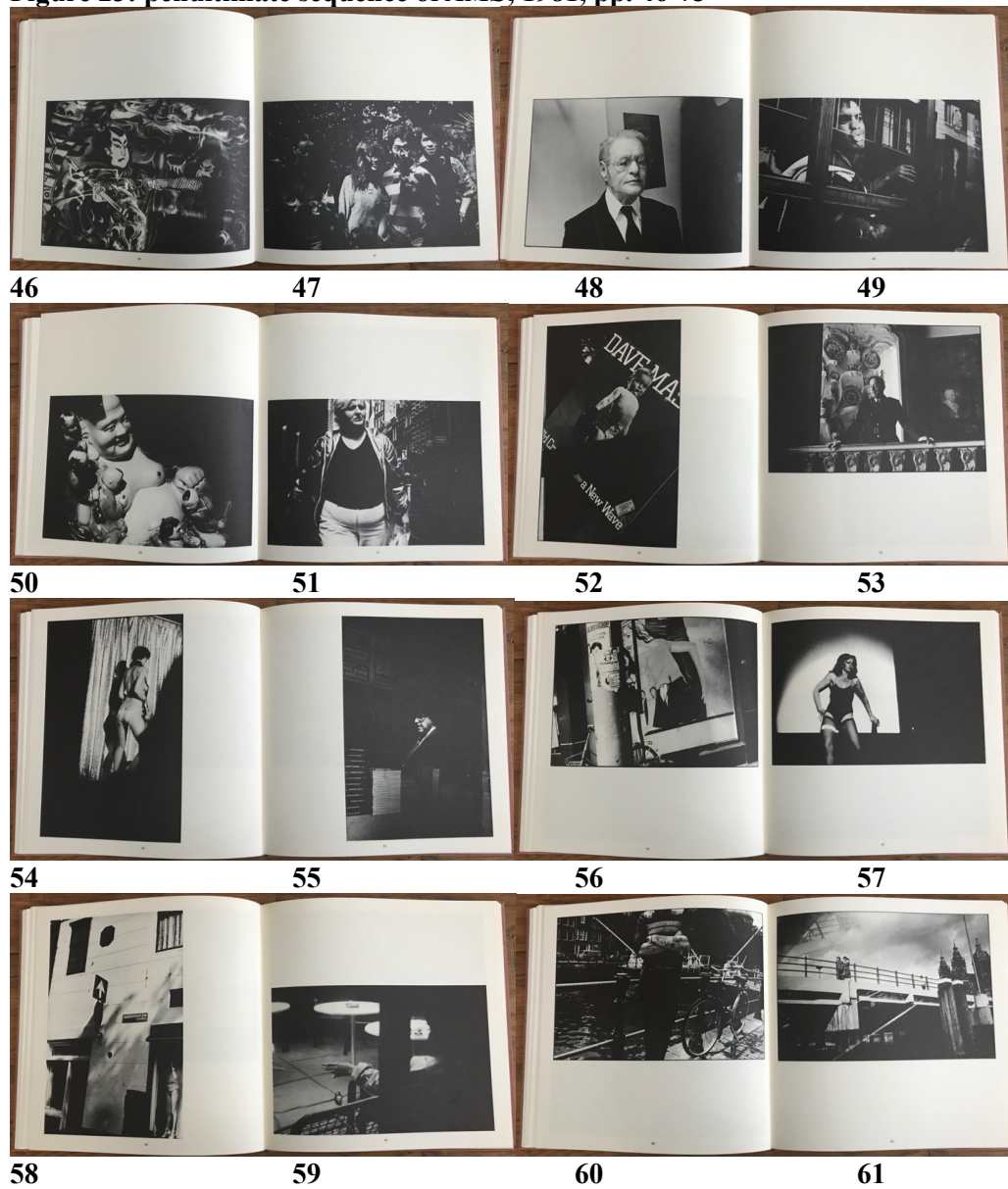
Conversely, as the image appears in *AMS* (Figures 21 and 22, pp. 34-37), it may evoke lightness in an atmosphere of tension. It “relaxes” somewhat into its own space by horizontally “lying down,” yet its darkness may make the white space above it read as a weight – as I earlier observed in darker images creating “brick-like” shapes (Figure 13) – that the laughter might try to dispel. On the pages around it, towering verticals of women’s bodies might evoke less freedom in both movement and expression, little space to move within the edges of the images. The surrounding women have little or no faces – seen from the back (p. 34) or in shadow that shows few facial features, though their bodies appear in high relief (pp. 36-37).

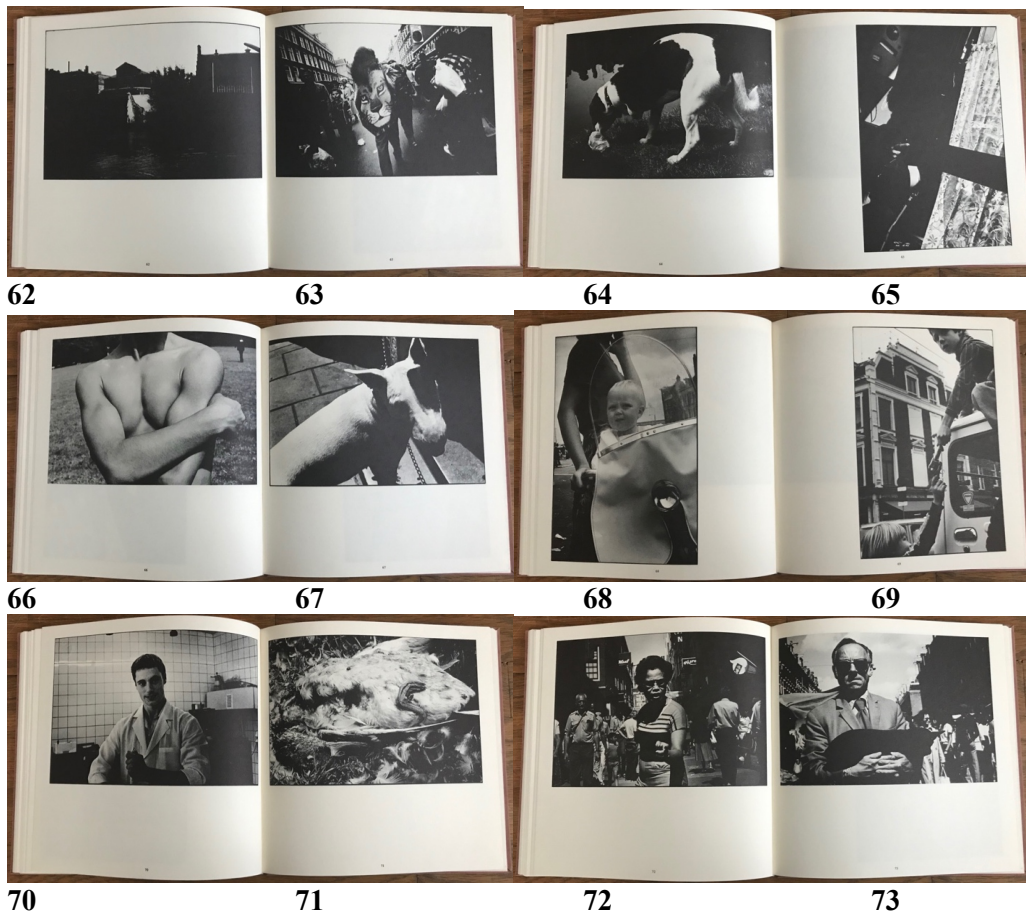
The second half of *AMS*, however (Figure 23) – minus the final sequence, which I considered in the last section (Figure 13) – might be seen to move from showing images of sex workers in this somewhat socially isolated, “stared-at” framing (pp. 54, 56-58) into a few juxtapositions that might include (or imply) their apparent clients (pp. 55, 59). Furuya also may add an additional aspect of “exoticism”

³⁰⁰ Weiermair, 46.

– in the sense of a fascination with what is “outside” one’s humanity – through the non-human: animals as pets (pp. 64, 67, 73); food (p. 74); perhaps casualties of urban encroachment (p. 71); and literally graphic designs of the “exotic” in the city – not only the “tattoo warriors” (p. 46) but also a painted mural of a giraffe (p. 62) and lion-head on the back of a jacket (p. 63).

Figure 23: penultimate sequence of *AMS*, 1981, pp. 46-73





In short, the “penultimate” visual narrative that leads into Furuya’s ending (Figure 23, pp. 66-73) – that of war’s pain and resentment of American force in occupation and bombing (Figure 17) – may be that of a “softer” harm that also might be imagined as linked to American occupation. This is the harm of urbanization and modernization on green space and animals, as might be considered a result of postwar industrial development and rebuilding. In the case of Germany, for example, prewar and wartime rhetoric on the political left and right pitted green space – as an aspect of “home,” melded at times with nationalized “homeland,” as in my various discussions of *Heimat* – against urban modernization. The latter was understood as a violating

force over “nature” and its habituated social values as “human.”³⁰¹ In fact, visual relations between senses of violation and openness might be traced through the second half of *AMS* (Figure 23).

To begin: a muscular but self-shielding, shirtless man – his face cropped perhaps for privacy, a feeling enforced by his crossed arms, readable as either vulnerable or tough – is mirrored by a pit bull who is calm but enchained (pp. 66-67). He is in a grassy park, the dog on paving stones. Together, they mirror each other’s opposing elements of nature and city, human and animal. Each thus may feel out of place, a condition that marks what may be considered the sequence’s aspects of violation or disconnect between viewer and viewed.

In these terms, the man may be felt to cover his naked “state of nature” and miss his clothes, particularly in relation to what appears to be a suit on a figure at the upper right of his image. The dog may show a greater openness to the viewer but looks up from a lower and subjugated position. The dog’s low vantage point might be read as another element of shame that may magnify the mood of the man: the subjugation of the animal in chains rather than the defensiveness – which suggests resistance to subjugation – in the human who covers himself. Following on these readings, the next pairing also might evoke an opposition of toughness and tenderness: children and items of adult urban prestige – the motorcycle of a parent or caretaker (p. 68) and the pistol, hopefully a toy (p. 69).

³⁰¹ See, for example, Florian Urban, “The Hut on the Garden Plot: Informal Architecture in Twentieth-Century Berlin,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 72, no. 2 (June 2013): 221-249.

After the perhaps confused human coding of this sequence – the “closed” man and “open” dog, the children with adult “accessories” – the last two juxtapositions may cause animals to reappear in a more vulnerable “humanity” when contrasted to those evocations of hardness in actual humans. First, a dead duck lies delicately amid blades of grass and its own feathers (p. 70). Its soft neck folds away from an open wound on its breast. The wound may take on a warmth when contrasted to the image on the facing page, a tidy worker in a tiled interior (p. 71). The tile may recall a slaughterhouse or laboratory, suggesting not only the contrast between nature and industry but also the comparison between the delicate duck and whatever might live – and die – in the more regulated, tiled environment, easily cleaned of blood and germs. The juxtaposition thus might read as a comparison of ways to die: the duck in relative agency yet endangerment in the green space of an encroaching city; animals in slaughterhouses or laboratories – with no agency at all.

Finally, in the last frames of the sequence, Furuya pairs shots of people on the street such that they might be imagined to “glare at each other,” eyes behind dark glasses (pp. 72-73). In this reading, the woman points an “accusatory” finger “at” the man clutching a black cat as he perhaps protects it from her “threat.” From the vulnerable human torso to the protected cat, then – with threatening children and animal death between – this short sequence may depict what is lost in Furuya’s final evocations of war (Figure 13): a range of ways of feeling – or attempting to feel – potentially common and relatable tenderness across both human and non-human subjects. It might be a space for Furuya’s “re-reading” somewhat Derridean instances

of the “*inscription* of the [so-called] universal [again].”³⁰² In short, the penultimate sequence of *AMS* may depict – as well as invite the viewer into – a daily space where various levels of hostility and vulnerability obtain amid – and *as* – opportunities to seek “increasingly universal connections.” In light of this, Furuya’s final imagery of war and bombing (Figure 13) may encode a failure to connect.

Seeking (Increasingly) Universal Connection(s): Furuya’s 1989 Amsterdam Sequence

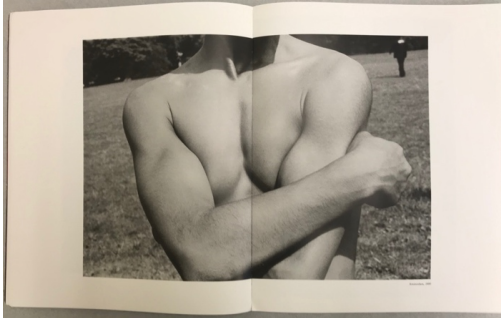
In simplest terms, Furuya’s 1989 Amsterdam sequence (Figure 24) might be read through the photographic metaphor of finding focus on a subject and the related desire to open a human relation with that subject – notably Christine, in his own concept of “re-reading”³⁰³ (pp. 18-19). At the same time, I may compare that visual “search” for connection on the way to Christine to the more generally visual mechanism of encounter with others in what I described through Derrida as “seeking increasingly universal connections”: a human epigraphy of their “*inscription*”s and one’s “testimony” as means of connection and reconnection in updated relations.³⁰⁴ Specifically, as I have discussed, connection to one person may comprise multiple and unending attempts, such that I might read Furuya’s sequence in a story of trying several times to find “ways in” to what one sees before “succeeding” with Christine.

³⁰² “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece); *The Other Heading*, 73.

³⁰³ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

³⁰⁴ *The Other Heading*, 72-73.

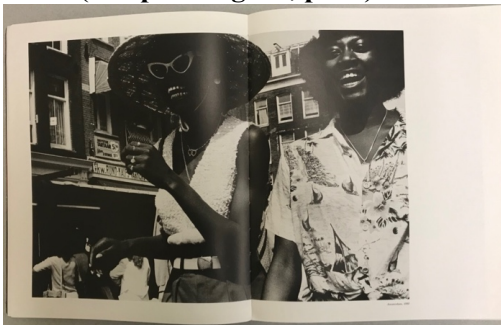
Figure 24: images from *AMS* re-used in *Mémoires 1978-1988* (1989), all titled “Amsterdam, 1980,” pp. 10-17; with additional image of Christine from the same period, titled “Graz, 1980” pp. 18-19



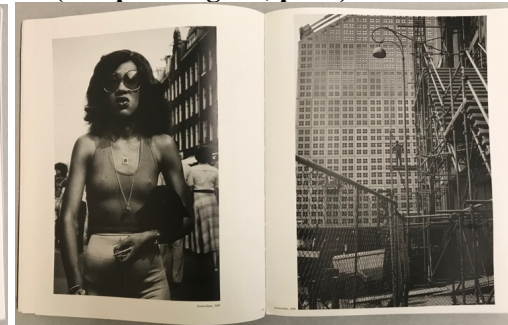
10-11 (compare Fig. 23, p. 66)



12-13 (compare Fig. 23, p. 71)



14-15 (compare Figs. 21, p. 35; 22, p. 47)



16-17 (compare Figs. 20, p. 23; 14, 22, p. 80)



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First, for example, in a reappearance of the headless man shielding his bare chest, the viewer can make no eye contact and may read the body as defensive (pp. 10-11). The man thereby might be understood to block a “way in” that the vulnerability of his nakedness otherwise might promise. Previously paired with a pig in a play of nature and city, human and animal (Figure 23, pp. 66-67), he now receives his own two pages, perhaps such that one might realize more deeply this

impression of openness that closes itself. The man's body retains its contrast to the clothed figure in the background, which now creates deep space and hints at viewer entrance into the physical space of the man. At the same time, this deep space also gives the man little room to move due to Furuya's close cropping, a feeling enforced by the man's own folded arms. The thick white space around the image also might be felt to "squeeze" the image, making the photograph mimic the body's pulling inward.

The next image also receives the luxury of two pages – the dead duck (Figure 24, pp. 12-13). Unlike in the duck's previous pairing, however – with the apparent worker at a slaughterhouse or lab (Figure 23, pp. 70-71) – the duck now may echo the folded arms of the shirtless man through its own clenched foot, yet it forms a contrast to his act of covering with its own openness to exposure. The folded neck of the duck, its ripped-open chest and individual feathers are preserved in delicate focus, yet regarding the whole may cause the duck to meld with the textures of the surrounding grass, bleeding to the edges of the photo, which itself similarly fills almost the entire white space of the page. In this internal opposition – sharply focused details yet disintegration as a whole – the duck might be seen to embody death as both the ultimate openness to another's view – the physical details – and ultimate closedness to personal connection – the incomplete experience of viewing the whole duck on the page, which may be taken to symbolize the duck's missing life.

There is thus the neat opposition that the duck dissolves visually into "everything" – to the edges of the photograph, like decomposition into the elements

of nature – but spiritually into potentially nothing: death. Such may be the case, at least, with no idea of afterlife. Furuya, however, furnishes a story of an afterlife.

Specifically, the duck may function narratively as physical death between the body of the living man (Figure 24, pp. 10-11) and – on the other side – a re-use of the laughing women in an “afterlife” of more joyous energy (pp. 14-15 and Figures 21, p. 35 and 22, p. 47). The image of the women fills the page slightly less than the image of the dead duck, more than that of the man’s body, perhaps as though to return to a semblance of life from the overwhelmingness of death, yet not as large and bright as the “living” space of the man’s body. The greater white space on the right of the image of the women also may serve to emphasize the darkness of the woman on the left, which might bring implications of death to the aspect of her face that I earlier described as “skull-like” – due to her bright glasses and teeth.

This story of an afterlife is thus also a possible story of racial, gendered, and human/animal transformation. In this reading, the bare-chested man (perhaps “white”) is deprived (or deprives himself) of physical movement and personal openness in life. He then passes through physical death – an “animal” experience of disintegration, as portrayed by the duck – and emerges into the tonally darker world of freedom and expression enjoyed by the dark-skinned women, yet they allow a “way in” without welcoming the viewer, whom they do not seem to register. It is therefore an imperfect connection. I thus read the next images in terms of the sequence going back from death and searching for connection again – retelling that story.

In these terms, the next image (Figure 24, p. 16) might be read as a middle ground of openness and guardedness in relation to the other images, for it is the first to introduce eye contact, though wary. The woman making eye contact through dark glasses might be contrasted to the shirtless man (pp. 10-11), specifically as she might be felt to make a better “start” by showing more agency than he does. She has eyes to see the viewer while he has no head. He covers his bare chest while she shows hers through sheer fabric. He has no room to move. She appears to jingle keys in her hand as she approaches. Apropos to earlier discussions of *AMS*, she may be a sex worker jingling her keys for attention, but she controls the effect that she wants.

Referring back to *AMS*, however, Furuya might be understood to have cast this woman as closer to “closed” to human connection when he first used her image (Figure 21, pp. 22-23). There, she may have this effect partly through the “darkness achieved through printing,”³⁰⁵ which makes her glasses opaque. Furuya also paired her with a woman more clearly meeting the eye of the viewer but “blocked” in a different way – by the hand of another on her shoulder. Furuya’s 1989 sequence might be imagined as reflecting his “choice” between the two women – that he perhaps has “tested” and confirmed that lack of a companion within the frame may achieve more of a feeling of connection with the beholder – despite dark glasses.

In 1989 (Figure 24, pp. 16-17), she might be seen to compete for connection with the viewer in a contest between herself and the tiny figure on the facing page, such that her ambiguous look – at close range – may stand in clever contrast to the

³⁰⁵ Weiermair, 46.

little figure's clear gesture (hands on hips) – at great distance. I might read it as a sort of “joke” that exaggerates the process in which I have been engaged – comparing intimacy and distance. Even in this private sequence, however, I note a postwar twinge – I remember how Furuya's use of the little figure in *AMS* might have lent it a feeling of resistance opposite what I read as a sort of American Dracula's Castle (Figure 13, pp. 80-81), which – in turn – constructed Furuya's evocation of aerial bombing as American (pp. 82-83). As I noted in my first visual analysis from Furuya's 1989 photobook, however (Figure 1), it keeps the volume low on history.

As noted at the start of this analysis, the closing image of Christine in what I have called Furuya's 1989 Amsterdam sequence (Figure 24, pp. 18-19) might read as a positive culmination of other visual elements in the sequence. In fact, it was taken not in Amsterdam but Graz, “late in March 1980,” shortly before Furuya's Amsterdam trip.³⁰⁶ It thus forms a sort of fantasy “ending” that chronology did not furnish. Specifically, Christine's image might be felt to present a “perfect” level of focus and connection that particularly avoids the other images' weaknesses and unites their strengths. She appears shirtless – like the man who defensively covers himself (pp. 10-11) – yet the posture of her shoulders shows that she does not cover herself. He was “closed” – she is “open.” Like the dead duck (pp. 12-13), she appears in graphic close-up – the stubble in her armpit clear as the large highlight on her pearl earring and small one in her eye. Unlike the duck, she does not dissolve to the edges of the photograph when one regards the whole. In the context of the 1989 photobook,

³⁰⁶ See the date and caption to image number A-1980/29 in *Mémoires 1978-1985*.

published four years after her suicide, her image might invite a more relatable feeling toward death – particularly her own.

As with the image of the laughing women (pp. 14-15), Furuya frames Christine's image with more white space on the right, highlighting the effect of her face being in "shadow" on the left side of the image – as with the woman with the skull-like face. Unlike that woman, however, Christine is not so caught in her own joy that she ignores the viewer. Rather, she looks softly up with a sense of dignity that – arguably – need not map a reading of subjugation onto her physical position.

Finally – and less directly – the juxtaposition just before her image (pp. 16-17) may be seen as formally similar to that of Christine in terms of balancing engagement and indifference as visual effects. Engagement might be felt on the left-hand pages of both – Christine's face and the woman making eye contact. The righthand pages might evoke a sense of "trailing off." The tiny figure might be imagined as attempting with difficulty to resist this distancing by placing its hands on its hips. In Christine's case, however, her softly sprawling hair might awaken some impression of falling away that balances the depth of her close and engaging eyes. In short, Christine's image may be felt to balance feelings of nearness and farness that stand in opposition in the previous juxtaposition. She also may read as superseding that juxtaposition's ambiguity of connection through her impression of clear attentiveness to the viewer. Thus, perhaps only in comparison to the previous images might Christine's sense of connection with the viewer seem as "perfect" as it does. It chances somewhat systematically to "fix" each of the "imperfections" leading into it.

Ultimately, Furuya's 1981 and 2004 Amsterdam sequences might be understood to stage disconnects between historical oppositions – American occupier and postwar occupied, Western viewer and exoticized Asian, and “whiteness” and “blackness.” Conversely, his 1989 sequence may complicate these by engaging a drive – and with it, perhaps some echo of Derrida's “endurance of the antinomy”³⁰⁷ – to make “increasingly universal connections,” specifically through images that stage stories of death and afterlife, distance and intimacy. Above all, perhaps, his 1989 sequence may invite Christine's death to anchor the stakes in connecting to others in the stakes leveled by death: those of missing one's chances to see and connect.

Ethics of Belonging through “Japaneseness” (1997)

As Furuya has told and shown me in relation to Christine, however – shared in the Introduction, Chapter 1 and chapters to come – the chance to connect is never lost as long as there are memories, images, and the will to look again. I now undertake such a task “alongside” his efforts with Christine. Specifically, I engage in an ethics of belonging through associations that emerge to me through Furuya's memories of relations to Japanese social structures around his trip to Amsterdam.

It is not, therefore, a pursuit aligned with the relatively – though perhaps not completely – conscious inclinations that I have considered in Furuya's composition of other sequences in this chapter. I no longer trace as many – or exclusively – visual elements of history, such as (Western) occupation, exoticization, and racial tension.

³⁰⁷ *The Other Heading*, 71-72.

Rather, I consider a “sequence” comprised of images and captions that variously inform and include Furuya’s trip to Amsterdam – not all do both – that limns what I might imagine as Furuya’s subtle resistance to – through tension with – what I have called “Japaneseness” (reviewed momentarily). As glossed at the start of this chapter, I approach this task – or rather, it manifests to me – through Furuya’s negotiations of hierarchy, alienation, obligation and intimacy across encounters with Japanese acquaintances, themselves in tension with his increasing attention to Christine.

First, however, I review “Japaneseness” as it came to me from Furuya’s work. It is not being from Japan but existing in an unconscious identification with service to another, a sort of not having a self but embodying in advance the needs of someone else. My repeated sense of this condition in Furuya’s 1997 sequence led me to consider how it might “illustrate” what I may consider a “baseline” case of the false universality that Derrida evoked for me³⁰⁸ – an existence that has no visual or other elements of specificity to reveal its conditions of unconsciously assumed service. This is why I also called “Japaneseness” invisible: a lack of self that hurts others when one’s actions obtain as service in their harm – whether in war or daily life. In short, it does not excuse harm simply because it does not bear the trappings of discursive habituations of individuality that thinkers discussed in this dissertation have targeted – in formations such as Benjamin’s “cult value”³⁰⁹ and Foucault’s “author-function,”³¹⁰ even the atmospheric aesthetics of Tosaka’s “custom.”³¹¹

³⁰⁸ *The Other Heading*, 70-73.

³⁰⁹ “The Work of Art;” *Das Kunstwerk*.

³¹⁰ “What is an Author?” 222; “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” 1280.

³¹¹ *Shisô to fûzoku; Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader*.

In fact, a Benjaminian “distraction”³¹² may have “worked” for Furuya in this case, insofar as I sense him escaping influences of “Japaneseness” in the course of his photographs – consciously or not – and eventually his memories too, leading into more investment in his life as an individual: first pursuing his own photography, then in attention to Christine. These acts may sound unremarkable, yet such acts – if I may borrow from Benjamin – may be how one resists power “absent-minded[ly].”³¹³

For example, Furuya might embody the paradox of effectively “escaping” being considered Japanese yet still residing in a “Japaneseness” of serving the needs of *Provoke* veteran Daidô Moriyama – whose visit Furuya describes in the epigraph to this chapter³¹⁴ – when Furuya calls the exhibition that he organized for Moriyama that of the “first Japanese” in Austria, even though Furuya himself had exhibited in Austria before Moriyama.³¹⁵ Framing their relation in this way achieves a polite elevation of Moriyama at Furuya’s expense in two ways: 1) designating Moriyama “first” and 2) indicating to Japanese-reading audiences (for this information appears only in Furuya’s Japanese caption) that Furuya’s status in relation to Japan may be considered ambiguous, such that his ambiguous status as “Japanese” – somewhat like that of the “West” discussed in the Introduction – may serve as a foil to code the authenticity of “real” Japanese by comparison.

At the same time, the fact that Furuya’s 1997 volume tends to provide his most detailed memories in Japanese – without translations – may encourage

³¹² “The Work of Art,” 242; *Das Kunstwerk*, 166.

³¹³ “The Work of Art,” 243; *Das Kunstwerk*, 167.

³¹⁴ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/47.

³¹⁵ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/33. Furuya has exhibited in Austria since at least 1975 – see his CV in *Alive*, 180.

Japanese-reading viewers – myself included – to register his negotiations of “Japaneseness” in terms of these effects applying to ourselves. For example, I chose Furuya’s epigraph to this chapter because it conveyed (to me) a sense of physical and emotional labor for Moriyama as the origins of *AMS*. This stood in contrast to Furuya’s description of *AMS* in our interviews, where it sounded easy and light, akin to his statement to me in Chapter 1 – that “one didn’t have to think too much, just simply go into the street.” Furuya’s epigraph thus might be understood – like his handling of the status of “first Japanese” to exhibit in Austria – as elevating Moriyama with credit for making Furuya’s first photobook possible, particularly through the grammatical sense – factually accurate or not – that *AMS* was a sort of obligation to finish “for” Moriyama, which might be felt in the words “Furuya, I leave *AMS* to you.”³¹⁶

Conversely, that phrase also lets me imagine something like Furuya’s emergence from the shadow of Moriyama, specifically through the way in which Furuya presents it as a hazy memory that may invite speculation – “I heard words from Mr. Moriyama somewhat like.” In fact, I must acknowledge that Furuya’s language influences my own – or rather, elicits what of mine resembles his, in what I might call “somewhat like” my own cautious phrasing. “Our” phrasing – Furuya’s in his caption about Moriyama and mine in discussing it – might be felt to suppress assertiveness in impressions that we nevertheless are compelled by a sense of honesty to share. For Furuya and Moriyama, this approach also might be understood to have

³¹⁶ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/47.

had the additional advantage of letting Furuya imply credit for *AMS* to a senior photographer while leaving imaginary space – “empty space,” perhaps, though not on the photobook page but “between the lines” of their remembered conversation – to imagine *AMS* as more Furuya’s own.

In fact, I am sorry that I initially cut the part of Furuya’s memory of Moriyama’s trip that more clearly evokes such ownership. I had not meant to do it, and I keep that omission to demonstrate my amelioration of it now. I had *thought* that limitations of space had caused me to cut the passage below from Furuya’s epigraph to this chapter – that I needed to “fit in” Furuya’s labors for Moriyama as well as Christine’s relation to them – Furuya’s borrowing the Volkswagen in her yard and her cooking at the restaurant where he worked. I am sorry, in fact, that I may have operated in “Japaneseness” when I cut the passage, for I suppressed a sense of Furuya’s ownership over the project to the effect of upholding that of Moriyama’s authority, exactly as I had been considering Furuya to have done. Conversely, the passage below appears directly after Furuya’s memory of Moriyama saying (something like) “Furuya, I leave *AMS* to you”:

The adventures of my travels continued even after parting from [Moriyama]. I would get back to Graz somehow, but as soon as I returned, I lived in constant arising of the feeling that I wanted to take photographs for *AMS*. At the time, I had absolutely no money and was continuing in completely impossible circumstances, working and thinking about where I could live.

To reiterate – the above may appear to reclaim *AMS* after what preceded it:

[Moriyama and I] already had not been talking much together – there was a feeling of polite searching for an opportunity, of wondering who could bear the stress of being able to open his mouth first. He seemed annoyed – in his way – and I, after three weeks together [...] was pretty tired. [...] I seem to

recall that, in mid-conversation, I heard words from Mr. Moriyama somewhat like “Furuya, I leave *AMS* to you.”³¹⁷

The matching English caption to the above memory, however, reads only “During her visit to me in Amsterdam.”³¹⁸ It refers to Christine, who is in fact the subject of the image captioned by Furuya’s somewhat self-absorbed story – perhaps doubly so, in my reading that much of his “self” was given to both Moriyama’s travel needs and his elevation as a prominent Japanese photographer (Figure 27, no. 47). In general, the pithy English captions of Furuya’s 1997 photobook are more likely to describe only the setting – many read simply “At home”³¹⁹ – while his Japanese captions to the same images often record detailed events about both Christine and his career. Furuya told me that such handling of the captions was a product of convenience and no particular planning.

As a result, however, English-only readers may be left to work largely with the pictures alone – perhaps in expectations of Christine’s centrality from prior knowledge of Furuya’s *Mémoires* series. Readers of both English and Japanese have access to a wider “view” of Furuya’s changing relation to being “Japanese” – though not necessarily through my feeling of “Japaneseness” – such that I may analyze Furuya’s 1997 Amsterdam images through changing modes of belonging in “both worlds.” As noted, I find Furuya ultimately turning further toward Christine (and Europe), though only Japanese-reading viewers have the chance to notice. This is perhaps the sharpest aspect of that change: that Furuya chances to share it only with

³¹⁷ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/47.

³¹⁸ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/47 (English).

³¹⁹ For example, *Mémoires 1978-1985*, captions for images numbered A-1980/1-2 and 10-13 (English).

those who “need” to see how one can change one’s navigation of “Japaneseness.”

Now, however, perhaps “the West” might benefit from seeing it too.

Specifically, Furuya’s 1997 representation of the entire year 1980 might be seen to intermix obligations to “Japaneseness” and desires to connect to Christine – as I have noted, echoing the visual format of “seeking increasingly universal connections” that I considered in the last section. For example, the year begins with Furuya’s first exhibition of images of Christine,³²⁰ which he later remembered hazily as somewhat scripted by her – that she had helped him draft a German text about his feeling of “duty” to find her “different meanings” through the camera.³²¹ The words “different meanings” may suggest testing his modes of connecting to her again and again in “re-reading,” even as she lived.³²² He also recalls tensions in her mother’s house – where they resided – that later were relieved through practical Japanese connections: Japanese friends who offered a Vienna apartment.³²³ He ends the year in anticipation of Kômyô’s birth, yet the year depicts primarily a world of Japanese photography and other labor for Japanese concerns.³²⁴ Because space does not allow the whole year, I begin what I call Furuya’s 1997 Amsterdam sequence with one of the few images in it that Furuya had used previously: the portrait of Christine from his 1989 sequence (Figures 25, no. 29 and 24, pp. 18-19), which I analyzed in the last section as the “perfect human connection.”

³²⁰ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/5.

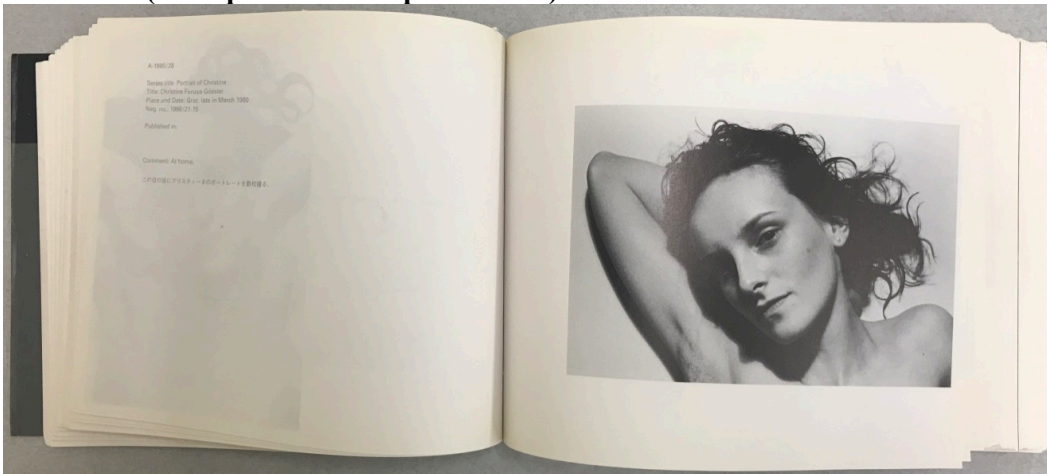
³²¹ I take the quote from the German text of “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated, page 1 of piece); Furuya explains Christine’s assistance on the same page in Japanese.

³²² “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

³²³ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/18.

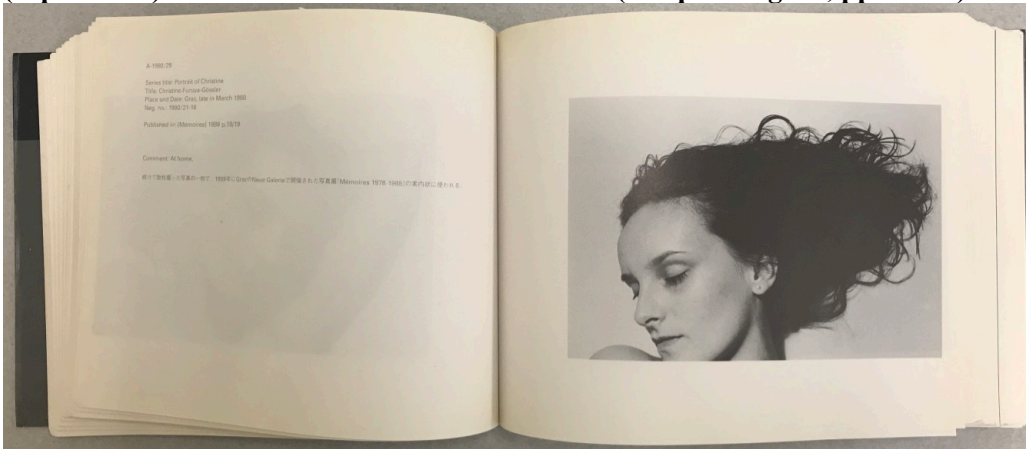
³²⁴ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/85.

Figure 25: “Amsterdam” sequence in *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), images no. A-1980/29-36 (note: photobook skips numbers)



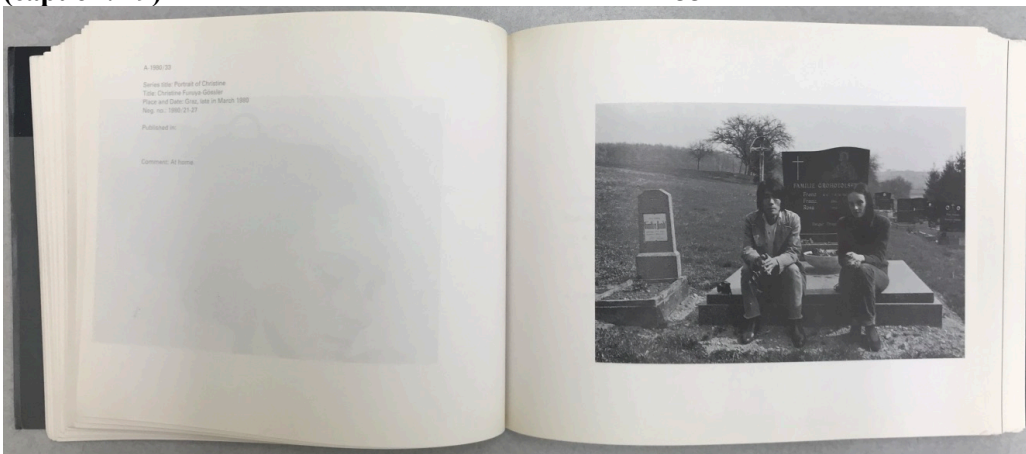
(caption: 28)

29 (compare Fig. 24, pp. 18-19)



(caption: 29)

33



(caption: 33)

35



(caption: 35)

36

In 1997, Furuya wrote the following of that image in his Japanese caption (the English reads only “At home”): “the photo from the series that I used for the invitation to the exhibition ‘Mémoires 1978-1988’ at the Neue Galerie in Graz.”³²⁵ He refers to the exhibition that resulted in the 1989 publication that I considered in the last section.³²⁶ The image after it (Figure 25. no. 33) – Christine closing her eyes in a similar posture – again reads “At home” in English, with no Japanese. The next introduces Furuya’s story with Moriyama – before the point of his epigraph to this chapter – through an image of Moriyama and Christine (no. 35).

They sit on a grave in Burgenland, marked by a stone with a cross on what might be called Moriyama’s “side” and a bust of Christ in robes on – therefore – Christine’s. A large crucifix stands far in the distance behind Moriyama. “His side” is otherwise sparse but for a pale tombstone and bare tree. Behind Christine, verdant evergreens cluster around well-maintained stones like the one where she sits. Her

³²⁵ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/29 (English and Japanese). As the image numbers are provided in Figure 25, I do not cite the image numbers for the remainder of this sequence.

³²⁶ *Mémoires 1978-1988*.

body covers the German for “peace” from the phrase “eternal peace.” “Her side” may look more conventionally fruitful – in a sense, that of “peace” – while Moriyama, apropos to his photographic prominence, might be seen on the side of the “eternal.”

Each has set down a camera to his or her right. Both appear to glare at Furuya. Moriyama’s squared shoulders may push him slightly forward. Christine’s hunched shoulders pull her back by comparison. On the gravestone, two of the people listed are alive and anticipate future burial together: Franz, born in 1914, and Rosa, born in 1920. They might have been married before or during World War II. Another Franz – likely their son – is recorded as having lived from June to October of a single year, blocked by Christine’s head.

Furuya’s framing may be felt to slant the “weight” of the image toward Christine. The themes of both Catholicism and family – not only as represented by Rosa, Franz, and Franz on the stone, but also the “fertile” evergreens, which grow amongst each other – might frame “the” visual narrative of the image as about her. I might read her – though in my extra knowledge of her – as balancing Catholic cultural and gender expectations with a creative desire to use the camera. I shall share more on the latter through Furuya’s comments on her Catholicism and photography in Chapter 3 (Figures 32-36). Furuya’s English caption to this image, however, reads, “With Daido Moriyama on the way to Szombathely, a town in Hungary near the Austrian border.” In Japanese, Furuya wrote the following:

I held the exhibition “DAIDO MORIYAMA” from the 14th [of April] at Forum Stadtpark. After meeting him at the Vienna Airport on the 10th, I sent him off to Paris from the Amsterdam station on May 1st, having met him every day for almost three weeks. On this day, the opening having passed

without incident, we were going back to the Hungarian town of Szombathely. It seems strange to me, but a detailed diary entry from the middle of Mr. Moriyama's stay remains:

Awoke at 7:00 am. 8:00: took his visa picture at Eiman³²⁷ (the camera shop where I was working) 40 shillings. Through Burgenland to the Hungarian town of Szombathely. Worried waiting for him outside the state border. 8:00 pm arrived in Graz. Ate with Manf.³²⁸ Meat for lunch. Salad for dinner. Wine 1/8 Liter. Went home around 11:00. Had 1/8 Liter wine and bread in Burgenland. Hokkaido conversation.

Even now, I remember particularly well waiting as many as two hours for him at the border, searching for all kinds of reasons [for his delay], how above all he seemed extremely anxious. Mr. Moriyama came immediately to the exhibition and symposium as the first Japanese [to exhibit in Austria]. Afterwards, Mr. Enari Tsuneo, Tsuchida Hiromi, Fukase Masahisa, Ms. Ishiuchi Minako and others visited. I took [this picture] during a short rest at a grave before finally reaching the border.

Furuya does not mention Christine in either the English or Japanese caption.

Instead, in addition to listing the Japanese photographers whose Austrian connections Furuya encouraged through Moriyama's exhibition, he records a "Hokkaido conversation." One might infer that the conversation was related to photography, and yet there chances to be a shadow of geopolitical association with the Asia Pacific War – tension with Russia in relation to Japan's claim on the Kurile islands off Hokkaido, taken by the USSR after the war. As recently as 1995, a prime minister of Japan called the two countries "still in a state of war" with Russia over these islands.³²⁹

In a softer sense, the mention of Hokkaido also introduces Japanese geography into a passage that otherwise may evoke Japanese photographers amid

³²⁷ I have not identified this shop – it appears in Katakana as “エーマン”

³²⁸ Katakana “マンフ,” likely Manfred Willmann.

³²⁹ Bruce A. Elleman, Michael R. Nichols and Matthew J. Ouimet, “A Historical Reevaluation of America's Role in the Kuril Islands Dispute,” *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 71, no. 4 (Winter 1998-1999): 489, citation 1: Sergei Agafanov, “For Moscow and Tokyo, the War Is Not Yet Over,” *The Current Digest*, vol. 49 (December 1995): 25.

European regional names, food and even denominations of currency. In terms of an ethics of belonging, perhaps Hokkaido adds to a space of mixed European and Japanese trappings of potential belonging – of feeling familiar – where one asks if it “belongs” and whether its connotations are causing any harm. In fact, the mention of Hokkaido changed my usual mode of an ethics of belonging insofar as it served as a sort of “decoy trapping of belonging” for what came to strike me as the “real” one – “Japaneseness,” which is not a name or “thing” but an atmosphere of service, such as might have obtained for Furuya’s three weeks with Moriyama. At least, this is the “structure” of Furuya’s caption: his “break” between two facilitations of Japanese photography shows. Conversely, the corresponding image effectively “contains” the Japanese photographer Moriyama in a European landscape, of which Christine “takes” half on “her side” of the photo (no. 35).

I might “retell” my questioning of myself when I sensed “Japaneseness” from the above formation – though rather childish: is it familiar or foreign to be always already obligated to fill the unspoken needs of others, and who are they? They are potentially everyone. They become “authorities” simply by existing in relation to one – including through knowledge of them when they are not there. Effectively, they are “always there.” They obtain as senses of “everything,” of “reality” in the absolute – as universalities of which one “always” has been a part and *is* accordingly (as opposed to “acts accordingly”). In short, I told myself – or rather, I let the words for my feelings form: “Japaneseness” might not necessarily result in war, but it *would* comprise a false universality into which one might fit the needs of harmful powers as

“one’s own” – in Derrida’s words: “a dangerous mystification [...] good conscience as immorality.”³³⁰ As “Japaneseness” is a kind of habituated service-as-identity, small words and gestures like Furuya’s can expose not only that it persists quietly in daily life but also that it is not as real or universal as it feels.

Furuya’s recording his experience at all might be considered an intervention against “Japaneseness.” Words give it a chance to be realized consciously, if not right away. In fact, Furuya’s tension between Japanese career pursuits in his captions and attention to Christine in his images continues on the next page (Figure 25, no. 36).

To “resume” the story that I saw in the image of Moriyama and Christine (no. 35) – Christine now wears a camera around her neck, rather than placing it on the ground. She may appear to look warily at Furuya as she fingers the strap. Perhaps she had been focused on a subject over the railing, then turned to him. A man on the street notices Furuya taking the photograph. Other bystanders are lost in conversation. Bare branches – reminiscent of “Moriyama’s tree” from the previous image (no. 35) – might be imagined as the “same” tree having “become” a sort of shelter over the street. The idea that branches from “Moriyama’s tree” will provide shade – with their sprouting of leaves in summer – also may call to mind the conflicted emotions of staying safe but hidden in the shadow of another.³³¹

Apropos perhaps to living in the “shade” or “shadow” of Japanese photography, Furuya’s English caption to the image reads “in Szombathely” – where,

³³⁰ *The Other Heading*, 71-72.

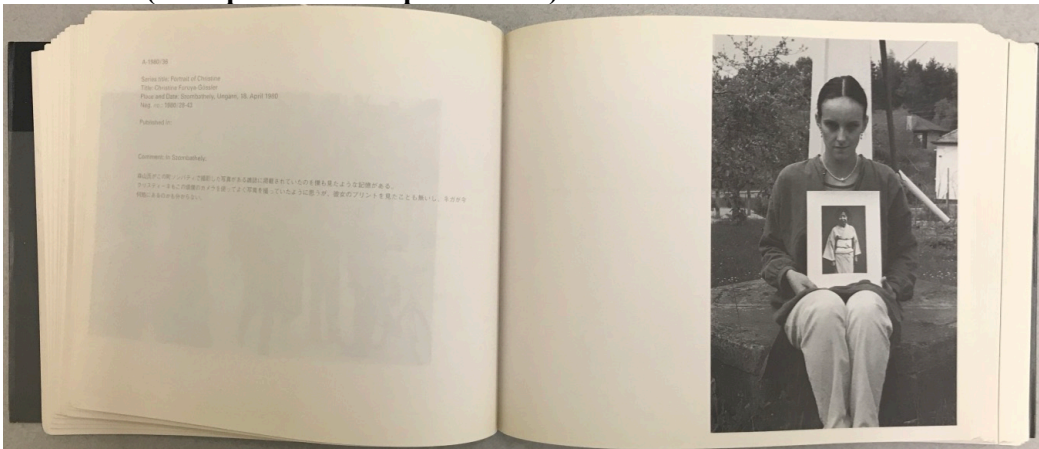
³³¹ This implication informs various senses of a Chinese character that operates in both Japanese and Chinese to mean “shade” as well as “support” or “backing”: 蔭 (Chinese: *yin*, Japanese: *kage*).

as recorded in the previous caption, Moriyama had wanted to visit. Furuya's Japanese caption to the present image explains, "I seem to have a memory of there being a photograph taken by Mr. Moriyama at Szombathely and published in a magazine. I think that Christine also used my camera and often took pictures at this time, but I've never seen prints of them, and now I don't know where the negatives are." As I reported in the Introduction, Furuya would chance – about twenty years later – upon Christine's negatives in a forgotten part of his house. In 1997, he accounted for Moriyama's publication first, but he mentioned Christine when he had not before.

Transferral of attention from "Japaneseness" to Christine also might comprise an act of Furuya's 1997 photobook through Furuya's main text to it – available in English, German and Japanese – where he wrote, as noted in the introduction to this dissertation – that "According to my 'present' self – from when I left Japan until I met [Christine] – things from before – in Japan, in Okinawa – are not subjects that I can't forget or must express."³³² In these terms, the next section of Furuya's 1997 Amsterdam sequence (Figure 26) might be felt to depict a deeper tension – through family rather than profession – with "Japaneseness." It begins with Christine, framed with severe symmetry, seeming to glare over a portrait of Furuya's mother (no. 38).

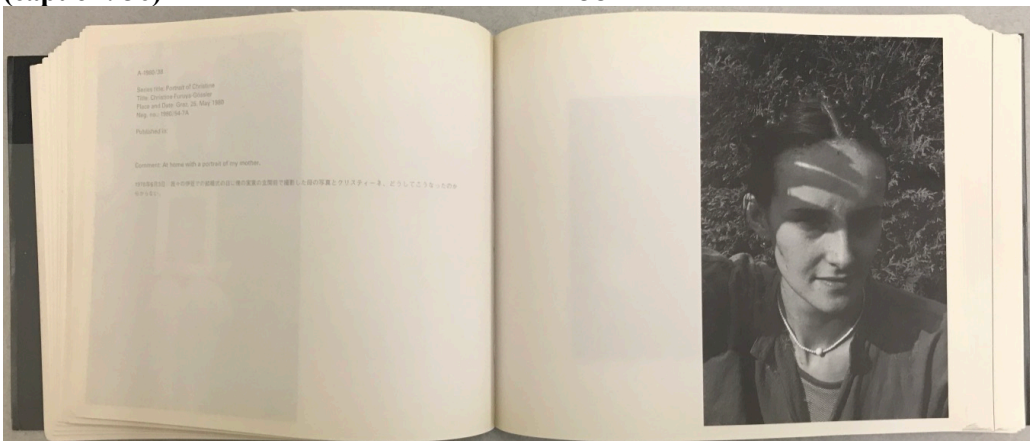
³³² "Adieu-Wiedersehen," (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

Figure 26: “Amsterdam” sequence in *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), images no. A-1980/38-45 (note: photobook skips numbers)



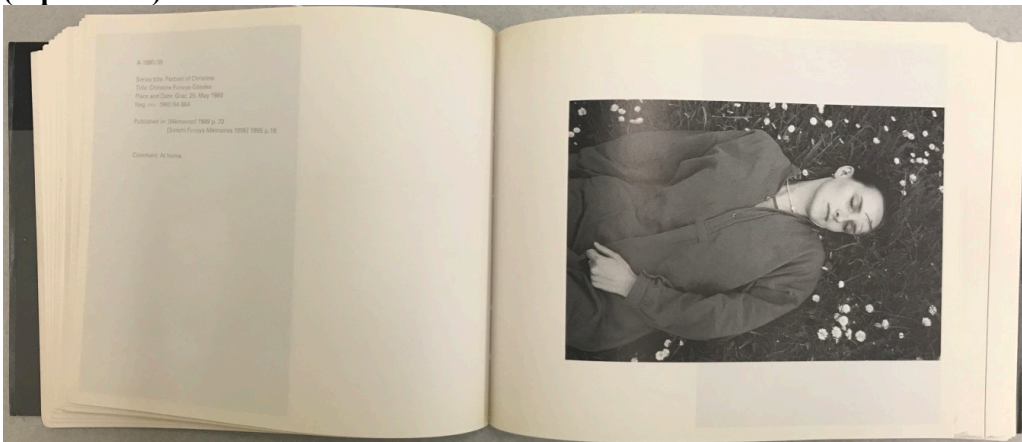
(caption: 36)

38



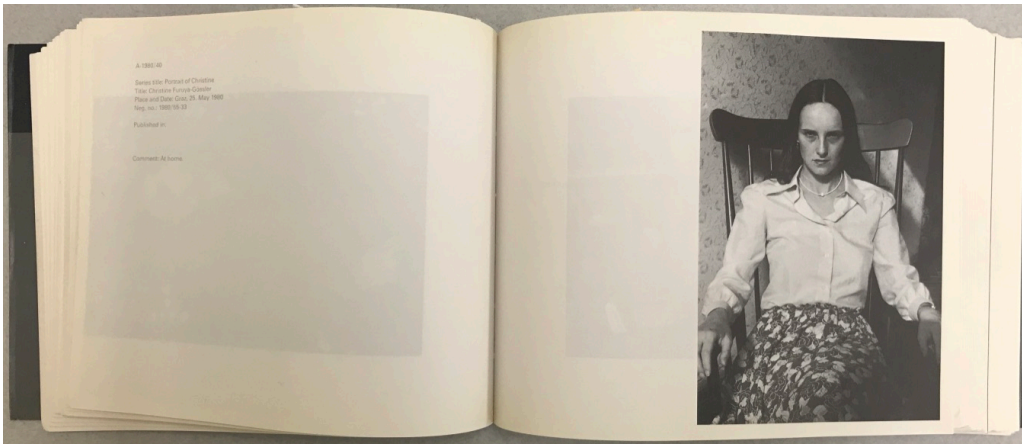
(caption: 38)

39



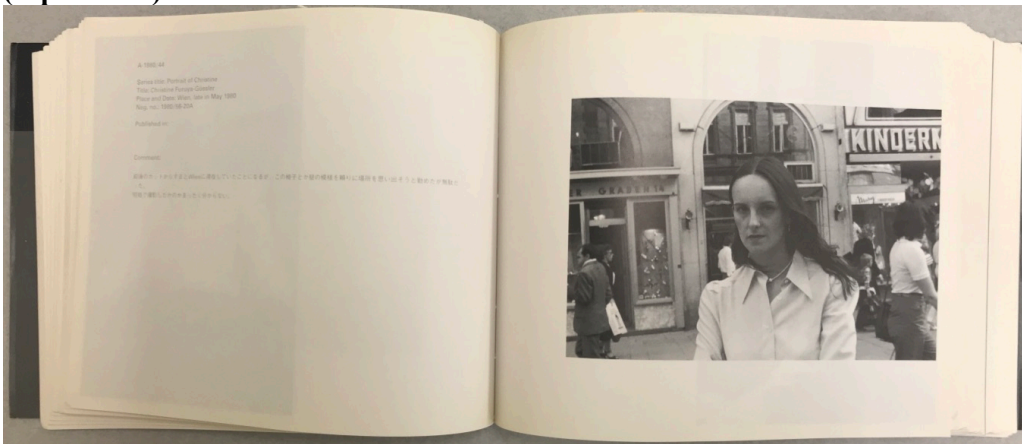
(caption: 39)

40



(caption: 40)

44



(caption: 44)

45

She holds the framed photograph as one might present a funerary portrait, though it does not resemble one. Rather, it shows Furuya’s mother smirking in a somewhat youthful, light-colored kimono. Christine’s “glare” may make Furuya’s mother look cheeky. It is perhaps as though she had made herself the center of attention in “retaliation” for what I have imagined as Furuya’s initial resistance to “Japaneseness” through the previous image and caption (Figure 25, no. 36). Furuya’s English caption reads, “At home with a portrait of my mother.”

In Japanese, he wrote, “I don’t know how I came to take a picture of Christine with a photograph of my mother from June 3, 1978, the day of our wedding in Izu, at

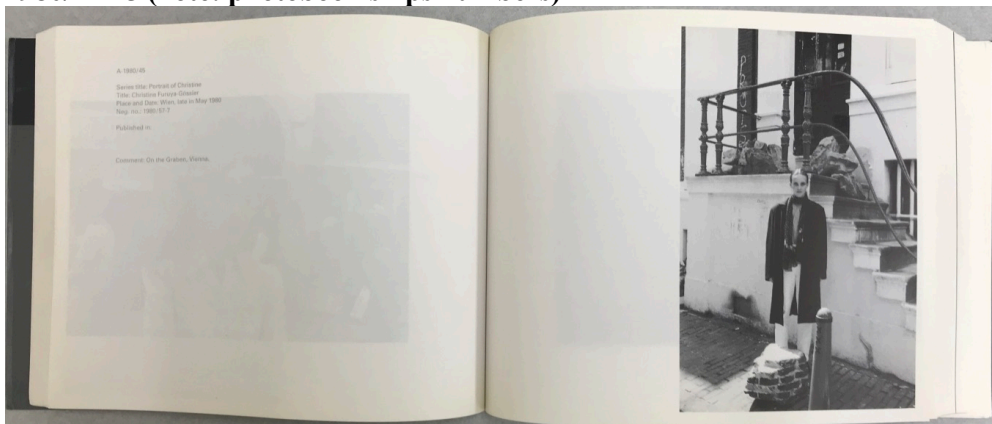
the entryway to my parents' house.” Both caption and image may bring the force of Japan as “home” to bear on a story of a daughter-in-law in competition with her mother-in-law, which may tint the rest of the sequence. Among other things, it might be imagined as Christine’s possible dejection in enactments of a “home” in Austria for Furuya – partly perhaps of her own volition, partly perhaps in response to his framing her in “homey” settings. She even might be imagined to “win” – in a superstitious sense – insofar as Furuya’s English captions outnumber his Japanese ones: three (Figure 26, nos. 39-40, 45) to one (no. 44). The Japanese caption is the longest, however.

Briefly, the second two images bear only the English caption “At home.” Both are in keeping with the natural elements that I have considered around Christine (Figure 25, nos. 35-36). In the first (Figure 26, no. 39), Christine stares through shadow as star-like dandelion seeds playfully dot her hair. In the other (no. 40), she lies tensely in a posture possibly meant to portray relaxation – or showing that she is trying to relax – surrounded by cheerful, aster-like flowers in the grass. Next, however, the image with the Japanese caption (no. 44) shows Christine in a symmetry – and look akin to malevolence – similar to that of the image with the portrait of Furuya’s mother (no. 38). Furuya, in Japanese again, expresses frustration with what he writes is his memory: “Cutting out before and after, I come to our short stay in Vienna, but, though this chair and wallpaper seem just the key to remembering the place, I struggled but found it impossible. I absolutely do not know where I took this.” I wonder if memory would not allow the surfacing of specifics. The last image (no.

45) shows Christine apparently still apprehensive on – as the English caption says, “the Graben, Vienna.”

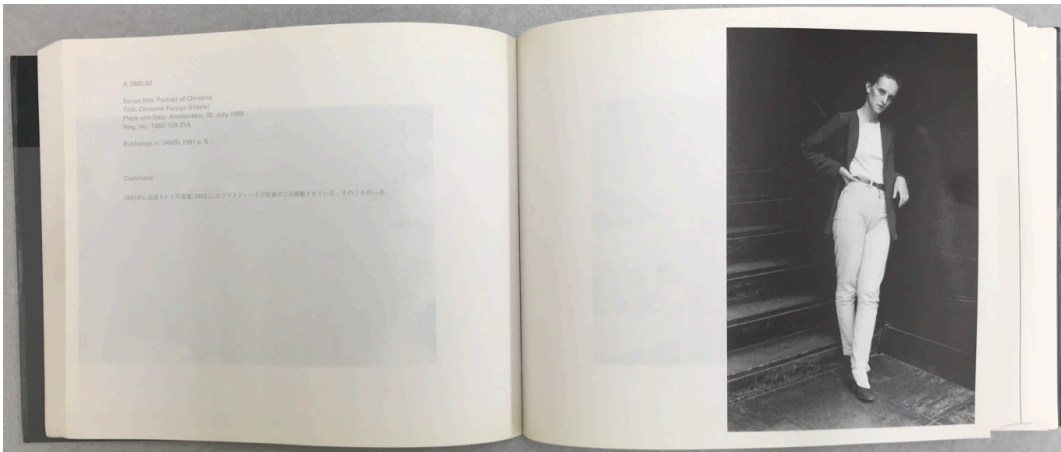
Conversely, in the next and last sequence (Figure 27), Christine and Furuya might be seen to negotiate “Japaneseness” somewhat differently – as perhaps a joint challenge. In terms of German postwar responsibility – miniscule but not un-present – I have noted its first image (no. 47) as evoking the aftermath of World War II – Christine by steps on which rubble has fallen (a chunk of a brick building blocks her feet), which – with a view to the whole Amsterdam project – may call to mind the bombing evoked at the end of *AMS*, minus the “American” coding (Figure 13, pp. 82-83). Its Japanese caption, however – as noted earlier – is the epigraph to this chapter. I therefore do not repeat the caption but gloss what I felt its prevailing tone: Furuya’s weariness with service to Moriyama’s needs during his trip. This weariness then may lend a sense of both obligation and freedom to the idea that Moriyama “leave[s] *AMS* to” Furuya – which may convey the impression that Furuya “received” that project only after Moriyama had declined to do it, accurately or not.

Figure 27: “Amsterdam” sequence in *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), images no. A-1980/47-75 (note: photobook skips numbers)



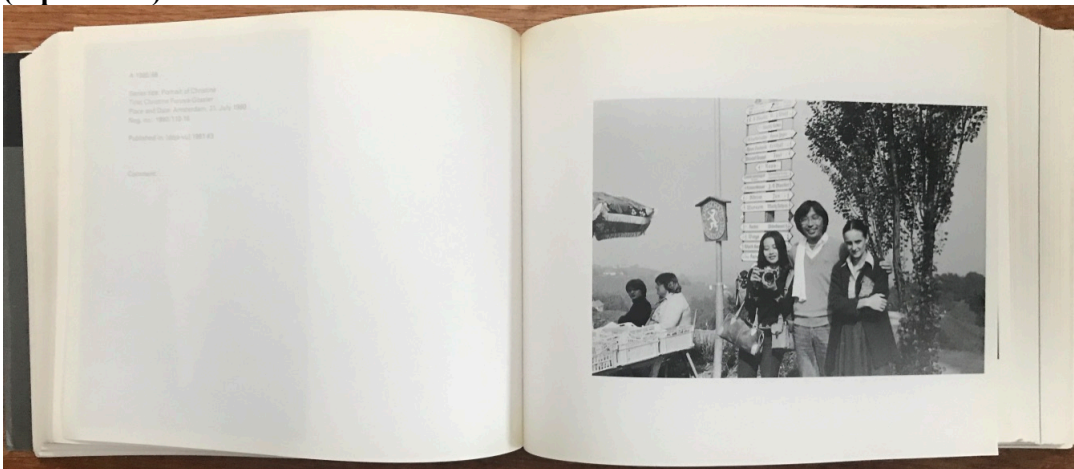
(caption: 45)

47



(caption: 62)

68



(caption: 68)

75

I therefore *do* repeat what I earlier shared as the shadow of that prevailing tone – the passage that I cut from the epigraph in my own “Japaneseness,” which may amplify the quiet mode of resistance to “Japaneseness” that I have been tracing – when Furuya finds “the adventures of my travels [...] after parting from” Moriyama:

The adventures of my travels continued even after parting from him. I would get back to Graz somehow, but as soon as I returned, I lived in constant arising of the feeling that I wanted to take photographs for *AMS*. At the time, I had absolutely no money and was continuing in completely impossible circumstances, working and thinking about where I could live.

As I soon consider, the place where Furuya “could live” was the Japanese restaurant TOGA, described earlier in relation to *AMS* as the caption to the image of Christine with restaurant staff, juxtaposed with that of the “tattoo warriors” (Figure 14).³³³ I therefore do not repeat that description of hostility and chaos – in which Furuya earned the epithet “Napoleon” – but situate it amid captions on either side. The next image shows Christine in what appears to be the dark interior of a Chinese restaurant, indicated by streamers of the type that hang from paper lanterns as well as a distant wall-display of ceramics – each in a different-sized niche (Figure 27, no. 50). Her eyes may look exhausted but also – recalling my assessments of “openness” and “closedness” in Furuya’s 1989 sequence (Figure 24) – “open” again: slightly softer than the expressions that – in the previous sequence – looked more akin to glares (Figure 26). Furuya’s English and Japanese captions are almost the same:

English: “At a Chinese restaurant on the Flinckstraat”

Japanese: “During her stay in Amsterdam, we often ate at Chinese restaurants.”

It may bear mention, however – though small – that Furuya lets his Japanese-reading audience know that he and Christine chose to eat at Chinese restaurants instead of the Japanese restaurant where they worked. Conversely, the English caption to Furuya’s next image (no. 51) reads, “In the garret of the restaurant where I worked as a waiter.” The image shows Christine with what might read as a mischievous smirk. She applies deodorant while topless. Clothes in the space around her suggest a room the size of a closet, perhaps the better served by the tiny radiator on the left and made somewhat homey by the framed picture – or small mirror – on

³³³ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/53.

the right. The Japanese caption may evoke both intimacy and alienation in this space, one that perhaps protected Furuya from “Japaneseness” even in its midst. Had Furuya not chosen his own room, he might have lived with other workers in a merging of private and professional, perhaps akin to the enforced calisthenics, company songs and group housing once common in Japanese corporations:

There must have been as many as four rooms in the attic of the restaurant where I worked, where waitstaff would stay. Somehow, they all were always strange company and never open with me, right to the end [*minna nantonaku tyotto okashi na renchû bakari de boku to wa saigo made uchitokeru koto wa nakatta*]. Anyway, I remember well the atmosphere of decadence hidden throughout the attic. Though it was cramped, I managed to afford a single room. The space was almost insufficient to unroll the film that I developed, but it had a great comfort. Christine also lived in this little room with me during her stay. Shortly after, we understood that Kômyô had been conceived in Amsterdam.

In fact, perhaps in keeping with Furuya’s description of the Japanese staff as “never open with me,” the next caption is the one earlier quoted for the image of Christine and the Japanese restaurant staff in *AMS* (Figure 14, right). Visually, the image (Figure 27, no. 53) may reverse the “balance” of the previous. Christine’s visual effect switches from filling the space of “great comfort” in Furuya’s room – with the two of them apart from the other staff – to literally “eclipsed” in an isolating shadow, specifically beside a grouping of the Japanese staff in the sun. In fact, the next image (no. 54) may be seen to complicate this dynamic again.

Christine at first may appear the smiling center of what Furuya’s caption identifies as a corporate field trip to improve restaurant morale. The “truth” of the image, therefore, may be that Furuya centers Christine *being decentered* as she and other staff look attentively toward the figure in the “real” center, who stands with his

back to Furuya (except for those who look with perhaps gentle misgiving toward Furuya's act of photographing). The fluffy hair of that central figure may suggest "the person in charge of business" from the previous image (Figure 53). Furuya's English caption to the image of the field trip reads, "During a fishing trip in the North Sea with the owner and workers of the restaurant 'TOGA.'" His Japanese caption tells more of the story:

On this day, we set out to fish on the North Sea. The owner of the restaurant chartered the boat and invited all the staff to come, but only one responded from the basement kitchen staff. Everyone from the waitstaff above participated. We brought Heineken, scallions, soy sauce, powdered yam, ginger, kitchen knives, disposable chopsticks and other such things onto the ship. The captain's child, who had been taken along, was stabbed in the head by some fishing gear and raised an enormous racket. It was fun to be able to catch a 30 cm mackerel. Born and raised in Izu, I naturally never had done anything such as eat raw mackerel and was a bit worried; I tried to think that a Japanese restaurant owner and cook would have checked it, and so it would be fine, but it was different from seared horse mackerel, with a slightly fermented, grassy smell, yet otherwise was delicious.

Specifically, Furuya's Japanese effectively frames the trip as the restaurant's attempt to remedy what Furuya called – in the caption to the image before (no. 53) – "so many problems, the discord between the boss and the waiters and cooks, [...] the quarreling among the cooks and their hostility toward the delivery people," in which only one of the cooks participated. One might sense tension in the image through a cumulation of its own and previous effects in the sequence: memory of the previous caption in relation to that of the fishing trip; a visible sense of strain in the smiles around the central back of the figure whom I might imagine as the "boss;" and, perhaps, a "visual" imagining of tension's release – an image in the mind's eye

awakened by Furuya's words – that chances to coincide with his memory of events: the screaming of the captain's injured child.

If Furuya's evocation of tensions at the restaurant echoes any sense of what I have been calling "Japaneseness," however, Furuya also indicates enjoyment of a different aspect of being from Japan. It is, at least, a local aspect that may break the general sense of obligation and unconscious unity that I have been discussing – not unlike the regional differences that perhaps any entity trying to be a nation must control in order to maintain that image of unity. And yet this detail seems too small for this sort of geopolitical language: simply Furuya's being "a bit worried" about a foreign encounter with raw fish – as a Japanese "Born and raised in Izu" – as opposed to the familiar preparations of his previous experience. Somewhat as in my exaggeratedly geopolitical metaphor, however, I might imagine that he takes recourse in the side of Japanese authority that I evoked earlier – the shade from "Moriyama's tree": trusting Japanese superiors' knowledge of Japanese authenticity – "I tried to think that a Japanese restaurant owner and cook would have checked it." This time, however, the assumption of trusting authority is self-aware.

Finally, in terms of the imaginary – or at least psychological – "story" that I have been telling, the next (and last) images chance to reflect – according to the captions – a period in which Furuya did not have contact with Japanese acquaintances, which then ended with their return in a new relation. Before turning to these, I review that story. I have traced Furuya's encounters with "Japaneseness" – from perhaps unconscious deference to Moriyama to increasingly conscious tensions with the

Japanese restaurant staff – “into” a moment of relative reconciliation through a sort of compromise in the corporate field trip. Briefly, the field trip photograph effectively comprises Furuya’s somewhat subversive documentation of the falsity of the boss’ frame of authority – by putting Christine in the psychological “center,” though the boss remains the physical center. His caption, however, respects the part of the frame of authority that serves him – in fact, a personal aspect on the level of the banal experience of eating: the assurance about the raw fish. In a way, my story of Furuya’s resistance to “Japaneseness” has reached a “conclusion” for going forward in a less beholden relation.

At the very least, Japanese elements “disappear” in Furuya’s next images and captions, though “Japaneseness” still may be felt in echoes of relation to “the West” – mainly, however, because an idea of these tensions has loomed so large in receptions of Furuya (see the Introduction and Chapter 1) and been pointedly present in his Amsterdam work (Figures 11-17). With this context in mind: the image after the fishing trip (no. 60) shows Christine in an empty interior beside a neoclassical bust. “His” pedestal alone is almost her height. “He” has no visible pupils yet might be imagined as staring ambiguously to the side. Christine stares at Furuya with an air of exhaustion – somewhat as in the previous sequence (Figure 26) – yet the curve of her shoulder almost nuzzles into the curve of the sculpture’s drapery, which may give this cold pairing a small warmth. The “story” here may be to ask who the bust could be.

Furuya does not identify the historical figure. The quietness of the museum space and non-human aspect of the sculpture let me imagine casual or incidental

“protection” of Christine by the sculpture, rather than – as in my sense from Furuya’s records of his encounter with Japanese individuals – a life in service to it.³³⁴ Reading the sculpture as an equivalent allegory for “the West” may feel a bit strained, however, for Christine’s relation to European culture – as I shall address in Chapters 3-4 – seems slightly more defiant yet also reconciliatory.³³⁵ In fact, I might read the bust as Furuya during their Amsterdam trip – at least as reflected in the sequence that he made in 1997: where she initially received somewhat invisible attention from him as he “publicly” stared straight ahead – or, as I have considered through Moriyama, perhaps toward Japanese photography.

Furuya’s English caption reads only “at a museum.” In Japanese, he writes, “I sense that the place where I took this picture was the Van Gogh Museum, but I am not sure. On this day, we made a tour of Amsterdam museums.” The mention of Van Gogh may cast additional sadness – or madness – over the image, which English-only readers generally might know through Furuya’s *Mémoires* series. Readers of Japanese, however, might recall a somewhat idealized image of intercultural relations from history: Van Gogh’s collection of Japanese woodblock prints and their arguable influence on his work.³³⁶ It is perhaps a neat “picture” of European fascination with – and integration of – Japanese elements, as though to “sum up” relations with “the West.” At the same time, the Japanese caption encodes doubt – “but I am not sure.”

³³⁴ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/47.

³³⁵ *Mémoires 1983*.

³³⁶ See, for example, *Van Gogh & Japan*, curated by Louis van Tilborgh, Nienke Bakker, Cornelia Homburg, Tsukasa Kôdera, and Chris Uhlenbeck, with a contribution by Claire Guitton (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; Sapporo: Hokkaidô Shimbun Press; Brussels: Mercatorfonds, [2018]).

In an oddly coincidental “follow-up” on this reading, the next image (Figure 27, no. 62) presents Christine beside a living “Westerner” who makes confrontational eye contact – the one from the “second beginning” of *AMS*, whom I imagined as a personification of self-critique for Furuya – being “caught looking” at Christine (Figure 20). After my reading of “Westernness” in the image before (Figure 27, no. 60), I might see a story of being considered “foreign” in “Western” eyes: perhaps that Furuya was photographing Christine but then lurched – cutting off part of her face in the photo – as he noticed the man staring at him staring at her.

I must add a speculation from “real life,” however – perhaps to undercut the “Japanese indirectness” that I have been noting in Furuya’s Japanese captions (e.g. where he – like me – uses phrases such as “somewhat like,” and “but I am not sure”).³³⁷ Briefly, it may have been Furuya who “confronted” the man by focusing on him – because, in my experience, Furuya is direct. Evident in interview excerpts throughout this dissertation, his directness also surfaced when I was in Furuya’s car on a small Austrian street in 2019. I cannot remember the exact circumstances (this is the truth), but he stopped the car, walked up to the driver behind us, returned and told me that it was illegal to use a car horn in Austria. Apparently, the other driver had accepted this critique.³³⁸ Returning to the image, however: it has no English caption. The Japanese reads simply, “In my photo collection *AMS*, published in 1981, there are two photographs of Christine. This is one of them.” In my visual and verbal tracing of narratives around my sense of loosening “Japaneseness” around Furuya, I

³³⁷ See e.g. *Mémoires 1978-1985*, captions for images numbered A-1980/47, 60.

³³⁸ This occurred in Graz, Austria on March 30, 2019.

might mark this instance as a deceptively remarkable expression of “Western” directness in Furuya’s Japanese text – a resistance to “Japaneseness” *in* Japanese.

In fact, the next image (no. 68) has no caption in any language. As in Furuya’s 1989 sequence (Figure 24), I might analyze its place in the 1997 sequence as “showing” – though only a result of chronological ordering – a culmination of “seeking increasingly universal connections” that reconciles disconnects in the images leading to it. Briefly, the fact that Christine is alone by bare steps may recall that the first image in this part of the series showed Christine on rubble-strewn steps (Figure 27, no. 47). One therefore might imagine that “these steps now are cleared.” There is also “no one now watching” – in contrast to the previous image with the staring man (no. 62). At the same time – unlike in the 1989 sequence – this privacy does not seem to result in Christine’s appearance as “open.” Rather, she may read as posing somewhat “like a portrait”: hand on hip, hips thrust forward, other hand delicately hanging. Her makeup is slightly exaggerated – perhaps to hide that she is tired, somewhat as the wall on the right may be painted thickly to cover something on it. Similarly, the flecked marble floor will not show much dirt. Though chronological coincidence, this image may evoke an attempt to “start clean” after the stories that I have been telling – clearing the rubble, painting the wall, hiding the dust.

Finally, I might read the last image (no. 75) in keeping with that story – that life continues in a new relation of re-ordered elements, though none are “cleaned away.” Most simply, both the image and captions may show that Japanese photographers reappear in Furuya’s life without the “Japaneseness” that I sensed

before. Furuya took the image after his return from Amsterdam but captioned it – in Japanese – with a conclusion to that trip. His English caption reads, “With my friend Tanaka and his wife.” Though it does not mention Christine, she is implied as always there – the one who is “with” them. Visually, the image chances to reflect “sides” of culture and nature akin to those in Furuya’s earlier photo of Moriyama and Christine in the graveyard (Figure 25, no. 35). Tanaka’s wife, distracted by her camera, is framed by a quaint signpost and other “local” Austrian elements appropriate to the site-seeing that she was doing. Christine – squinting at Furuya as though caught in the sun – is framed by verdant trees and distant forest, chancing to complement later knowledge that she was pregnant.

Unlike in the image of Moriyama, however – where the Japanese photographer and Christine were divided compositionally by their “sides” (Figure 25, no. 35) – the more unassuming Tanaka bridges the visual gap between his wife and Christine – simply by putting an arm around each woman. His “own” space, in fact is the “border” – or, as I prefer, the “meeting” – of theirs: a thin strip of blank sky where the signpost and trees approach each other. Furuya’s Japanese fills in the rest:

Having ended my part-time work in Amsterdam, I set out to work at the Photokina trade fair in Cologne. Ultimately, having worked the whole month of August at the restaurant ‘TOGA,’ I left, and then it closed. I do not know the details of the reason. Having finished my work in Cologne on the 16th, I returned to Graz after three and a half months. Of course, Mr. Tanaka, a friend who’d come to Photokina, stopped by Graz with his wife. The two of them showered at Christine’s house, but there was a ruckus halfway through about the water. In the evening, the hot water from the electric boiler ran out. I took this picture in Kitzek, an agricultural production area for Vienna in the southern part of Graz.

Ultimately, Furuya's closing thoughts on Amsterdam might serve as a description of the loosening of the authority of "Japaneseness" that I have traced through various stories across the sequence. In the last one, perhaps: the restaurant with "so many problems"³³⁹ closes. His Japanese photographic visitors create a more unified – if still not entirely relaxed – "picture" with Christine. In terms of facts: they enjoy their trip to Graz and accept a level of "ruckus" perhaps unthinkable before.

To close this chapter, however, I must return to postwar responsibility – mainly as a "re-set" for the personalized, German responsibility in the next chapter. Also on a personal note, I want to confirm what readers might suspect: that my language in this chapter strikes me as having been translated from Japanese, though I assure you that the thoughts came to me in English. This has been an odd aspect of my otherwise normal experience of standing outside the person who I "am" and considering what to do. I suppose that this is my way of saying that seeing myself from outside – tricking myself into finding what others need from me – never quite shows me how to *stop* being like this, though they may want that most of all.

In simplest terms, "like this" is thinking about guilt and responsibility all the time, to which I now return. I might summarize this chapter's overall postwar responsibility through the fact that Furuya chanced to evoke – through images, such as shady trees and rubble on steps, and words, such as "Hokkaido" and "I leave *AMS* to you" – small pricks of Asia Pacific War-inflected atmospheres that led to my sense of "Japaneseness" through impressions of Furuya's tensions with it. This was the

³³⁹ See the caption to image number A-1980/53 in *Mémoires 1978-1985*.

culmination of Furuya's Amsterdam project across photobook sequences between 1981 and 2004: from what I read as evasions of Japanese postwar responsibility through evocations of American occupation, exoticization of Asia by the "West," and an implied American warfare (1981); through his personal exercises in what I called "seeking increasingly universal connections" to Christine after her death, later resurfacing into tension with "Japaneseness" (1989, 1997); then ending in imagery that may allow Japanese histories of harm to "disappear" behind evocations of "blackness" in tension with "whiteness" coinciding with the "West" (2004).

I must qualify my estimation of the last, however – Furuya's switch in emphasis toward confronting racial tensions in 2004. I addressed it out of chronological order, because I had planned to "end" with Japanese postwar responsibility. I live in the United States in the 2020s, however, where Furuya's 2004 sequence may echo the current language of critique for post-slavery inequities and other internalized assumptions of race.³⁴⁰ As I try to ameliorate these conflicts in life outside this dissertation, my scholarly frame demands that I say this: racial grievances cannot be hiding places for legacies of harm by "non-Western" cultures.

In closing, what I called "Japaneseness" – the melding into others as their servant-in-advance, whether in war, at work, at home or elsewhere – is but one example of the real consequences of the kind of false universality that Derrida theorized in the small passage from which I derived "seeking increasingly universal

³⁴⁰ For example, Taylor.

connections.”³⁴¹ In further examples, the next chapter will discern both evasions and ameliorations of legacies of anti-Semitism in “German” spaces of belonging, specifically informed by both Catholicism and the 17th to early 20th century, Christian cosmopolitanism of the city of Dresden, particularly its aftermaths in the fascist Third Reich, the socialist German Democratic Republic (GDR) and reunited Germany.

The above is a world that people close to Furuya quietly engage through his work, such that I would like the next chapter to amplify their voices. For Christine, other writers whom I consult, and me, it might be called the personal and historical extension of his Dresden photographs through “us.” Chief among these voices are the emotionally fraught and historically informed, fictionalized “diary” by Manfred Wiemer – chosen to anchor Furuya’s Dresden photobook in 2016³⁴² – as well as the visual “voice” of Helmut Völter, whom – as Furuya describes in an interview excerpt in the next chapter – Furuya chose to compose this photobook. As Furuya told me, he considered Dresden part of his personal story – “Christine’s things” – rather than history. He had considered his work with Christine “finished (*fertig*)” at the time that he asked Völter to compose his photobook. In this sense, Furuya “gave” his Dresden project to a number of others who were closer to the history of Dresden than he was. I find that I can be one of them – that we “all” can bring out the potential of his Dresden work for a historical reckoning through the personal.

³⁴¹ *The Other Heading*, 71-73.

³⁴² Wiemer.

Chapter 3: Angels and Airplanes: “German” Voices in an Ethics of Belonging Around Furuya’s Dresden Images, 1963-2019

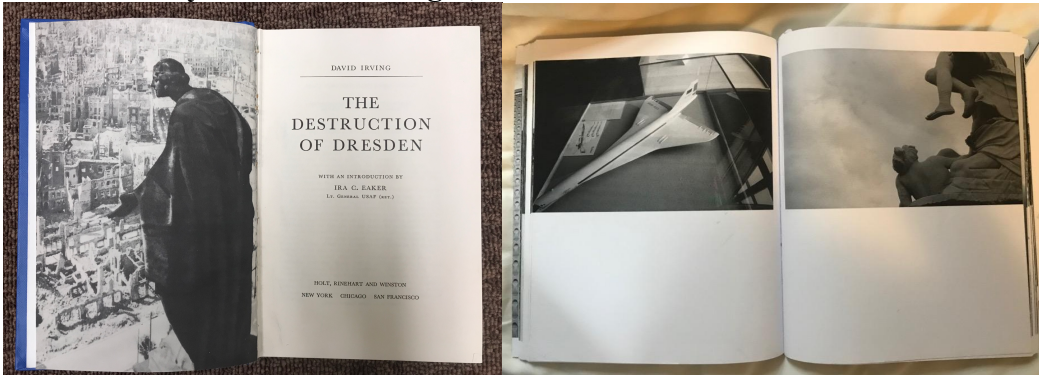


Figure 28: left, David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden* (1964), frontispiece and title page; right: Furuya’s images arranged by Helmut Völter, *Warum Dresden (Why Dresden)* (2016), pp. 110-111

I light candles this [Holy Saturday] evening 3 times, grab 7 candles each time and find “Hava nagilah” the second time [...] “Always have faith where and when you have the music of life” [...] I must finish 33 Our Father’s and Hail Mary’s without mistakes [...] I want to do it for everyone in the world [*die Allgemeinheit*], but the first successful 33 of them were for me. That’s how I came to know myself.

- Christine Furuya-Gössler, diaries, April 11, 13, 1983 (recalling April 2, 1983)³⁴³

I dare to enter the city, which is no more, which I clearly rebuild for myself, which I must not reconstruct.

- Peter Härtling, “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit (Dresden: consolidated reality),” 2007³⁴⁴

May 1984. The baroquely fantasized art city of Dresden lies in the shadow of its trees, of its sense-beguiling parks [...] a refuge not to be expected here devours its marvelous, sorrowful existence [...] away toward the boxy new buildings of the seventies [...] a lilac-wound villa [...]

No, I am not the carpenter, no, not the plumber, I’m the appraiser...you called me, last week...I would not like to say that so loudly just now.

- Manfred Wiemer, text accompanying Furuya’s Dresden images as arranged by Helmut Völter (2016)³⁴⁵

³⁴³ *Mémoires 1983*, 86, 92.

³⁴⁴ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 35.

³⁴⁵ Wiemer, 59.



Figure 29: left, from review of Furuya’s “Blues for a Guinea Pig,” *Neue Zeit* (1983) (page number unknown – from photocopy of clipping at *Camera Austria* archives); right, “Leibnitz, 1983,” *Mémoires 1978-1988* (1989), pp. 80-81³⁴⁶



Figure 30: left, “Leibnitz, 1983;” right, “Graz, 1994,” *Mémoires 1995* (1995), pp. 40-41

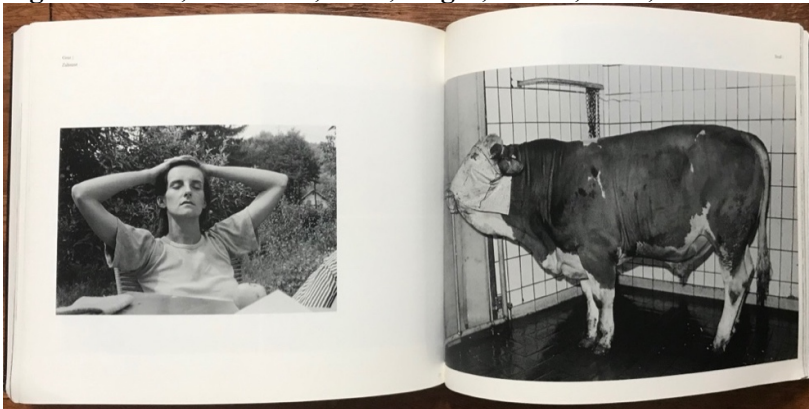


Figure 31: left, “Graz: At Home;” right: “Straß,” *Mémoires 1983* (2006), pp. 254-255

Yes, that [Figure 30, right] is properly here in Graz [...]. That’s – all the – the present feelings of the people are also in there, these Germans and Austrians. There are still many people replaying history, the same [...] the neo-Nazi party is in government [...] to speak in extremes, yeah? [...] It’s not bad, insofar as I am not receiving [the Austrian State Prize for Artistic Photography] from the government. Rather, I am receiving it from the Country of Austria. That is the distinction.

³⁴⁶ Figure 2, left, shows a clipping from the now defunct, left-leaning newspaper *Neue Zeit* (New era) that includes a review of Furuya’s exhibition “Blues for a Guinea Pig” at the Graz Kulturhaus (Culture House). See Hermann Candussi, “Die Welt ist schön: Fotos im Grazer Kulturhaus [The world is beautiful: photos at the Graz Culture House],” *Neue Zeit*, September 21 (1983), from a photocopy in the *Camera Austria* archives. The Kulturhaus closed in 2001 – see “Letzte Ausstellung im Grazer Kulturhaus [Last exhibition at the Graz Culture House],” *Der Standard* [The standard], October 31 (2000): <https://www.derstandard.at/content/tcf/story/374673/letzte-ausstellung-im-grazer-kulturhaus> (accessed June 12, 2021).

- Seiichi Furuya to Ellen Takata, March 29, 2019, Graz, Austria

As I noted at the end of the last chapter, the present one lets Furuya's images of Dresden (1984-2015, Figures 28, right, 32-33, 41-48) draw on a variety of voices to pursue a broadly "German" responsibility – not strictly "postwar," as it addresses an older anti-Semitism and – recalling Chapter 2 – "universalizing" cosmopolitanism – in an ethics of belonging for most of the "us" of the chapter. "We" work through trappings of belonging relating to Catholicism and a turn of the 19th century ideal of diversity in "German universality" that informed several Dresden buildings destroyed in the Third Reich and – at its end – the Allied bombing of Dresden on February 13-14, 1945. These voices include evasions of responsibility through focus on the suffering of Christian-coded Dresdners – as in an early work by British Holocaust denier David Irving (Figure 28, left)³⁴⁷ – as well as interventions in that focus to recognize both the suffering of Jewish Dresdners in Nazi Germany as well as earlier, more complex relations to "German universality." The latter concerns arise to me as smaller parts of others' reckonings with German culture, which I must amplify.

The extensive opening materials to this chapter chart the images and voices that I shall consider (Figures 28-31). Irving's book is a sort of shadow over the other texts. I quote it sparingly because other texts have treated the same material more succinctly and responsibly, such that it is always already "contained" by their authors:

³⁴⁷ See, for example, "The Ruling Against David Irving," *The Guardian*, April 11 (2000): <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/apr/11/irving1> and Rosie Waterhouse, "Jews Attack Publisher of Irving Book, Protesters to Demand Company Plans to Print Goebbels biography by Historian Working on Diaries," *The Independent*, July 6 (1992): <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/jews-attack-publisher-of-irving-book-protesters-to-demand-company-abandons-plan-to-print-goebbels-biography-by-historian-working-on-diaries-1531572.html> (both accessed March 24, 2021). I refer to Irving's *The Destruction of Dresden*.

novelist Peter Härtling, who sought to “rebuild” his mother’s idealistic, prewar Dresden but not “reconstruct” its illusions; historical preservationist Manfred Wiemer,³⁴⁸ who might be felt to inherit Härtling’s task from a GDR perspective in his text for Furuya’s 2016 Dresden photobook, where a similarly fraught mother figure resides in a “refuge not to be expected here [that] devours its marvelous, sorrowful existence.” Interwoven with those “interventions” are the lives of Christine and Furuya – partly in images that chance to engage the Holocaust and Catholicism (Figures 29-31), partly in more deliberate statements. The latter include Christine’s Easter ritual, which I glossed in the Introduction, and Furuya’s frank words to me about both private and public life – notably of belonging in an inclusive “country of Austria” versus alienation by its “neo-Nazi [...] government.”

Additionally, I work in considerations of Furuya’s wariness of Christine’s Catholicism opposite my notion of an “exegetical” approach to life that he might be seen to share with her (Figures 34-38) and his explanation of his Dresden photobook as having Helmut Völter face Christine’s story for him – though I find that Völter “turned up the volume” on history very slightly – in relation to thoughts on Christine’s photography, of which I consider an example (Figure 44). Thanks to a chance occurrence that I note in the first section of this chapter, I also let a few texts by my Romanian German relatives – living in the aftermath of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – enrich my points about the dangers of wanting a self or a home. I find that

³⁴⁸ I take Wiemer’s field from an article announcing his retirement: “Der Kommunikator: Dresdens Kulturamtsleiter Manfred Wiemer geht in den Ruhestand [The Communicator: Dresden’s Supervisor of Culture Manfred Wiemer goes into retirement],” *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten* [Dresden Latest News], January 10 (2020): <https://www.dnn.de/Dresden/Lokales/Der-Kommunikator-Dresdens-Kulturamtsleiter-Manfred-Wiemer-geht-in-den-Ruhestand> (accessed December 13, 2020).

they help me “prove” the strength of that which I defuse,³⁴⁹ which otherwise might obtain merely as clichés about the emotional strategies of National Socialism.

Having set out this chapter’s “voices,” I account for its use of visual images around its anchor, the image of Dresden as cosmopolitan but Christian cultural capital – the reason that Dresden’s 1945 bombing by the Allies may enable some in considering that event a victimization of the “innocent.” I undertake chronological analysis of re-uses of Furuya’s images for but part of his large Dresden output in the third section, for which I have indexed re-uses in the Appendix. They date mainly to 1984-1985 and often focus on family over history. A few from 2015 (Figure 48) reflect the historical trajectory of this chapter: from the cosmopolitan (but) Catholic Dresden of Augustus the Strong (1670-1733) through the early Third Reich – in Härtling’s memories of his mother and Wiemer’s depiction of a woman of that era;³⁵⁰ the harnessing of German Christian and cultural feelings of “home” by the Third Reich (in my relatives); and processing of these cumulative legacies of anti-Semitism and state-aggrandizement across postwar West Germany, the GDR, and the reunited Germany. Visually, Völter may critique setbacks in the last through Furuya’s photographs of a rally for today’s pan-European, anti-Islamic PEGIDA movement, discussed in the third section (Figure 48, pp. 141, 143, 145, 148, 151).³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ “My Love to Be Defused.”

³⁵⁰ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” particularly 33-34; and Wiemer, 59-62.

³⁵¹ *Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* – “Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamicization of the Occident.”



Figure 32: (left) *Mémoires 1984-1987* (2010), pp. 28-29; (right) *Warum Dresden* (2016), pp. 14-15

The remainder of this introductory section will analyze some of Furuya’s few images reflecting the Dresden bombing to introduce the public image of the bombing – and social implications of memories of it – through Wiemer’s representatively descriptive but also poetically critical assessment. Above, for example, re-use of an image of ruins from the bombing between Furuya and Völter (Figure 32 and Appendix, entry 10), shows Furuya using the shared image perhaps to bring historical context to a piece of rubble in an image of Kômyô, while Völter “replaces” Kômyô with a close-up of more rubble. As seen in the Appendix, Völter keeps Furuya’s family focus while perhaps making wartime traces slightly more obvious.

This may be the case in a juxtaposition by Völter of images never used by Furuya (Figure 33). Above all, it features the ruins of the Frauenkirche (Figure 33, right) an icon of German wartime suffering framed by the bombing of Dresden. The Frauenkirche was – and again is – Dresden’s largest Lutheran church, built on the site of a Catholic predecessor in the Baroque, dedicated to Mary. Following its National Socialist restoration of 1944, it collapsed after initially seeming to survive

the Allied bombings, for the film archives of the Third Reich's Air Ministry were stored in its basement and caught fire.³⁵²

The GDR kept the Frauenkirche in ruins to memorialize German suffering and commemorate Soviet antifascism – effectively transferring its National Socialist guilt onto West Germany (1949-1990).³⁵³ When the Frauenkirche was rebuilt in the reunited Germany, the Dresden bombings entered a publicly memorial language akin to that observed by Yoneyama around the bombing of Hiroshima, discussed in Chapter 1.³⁵⁴ Generalized, antiwar messages tended to eclipse German responsibility, because perpetrators cannot also be victims (at least publicly). At the same time, post-unification memorial services encoded a certain remorse: from condemnations of contemporary xenophobic murder in Dresden (1992) to more euphemistic calls for “common sympathy, memory and learning for the future” (1995).³⁵⁵

Conversely, Furuya's framing of the Frauenkirche may cast it as a site for foreign tourism rather than German memory or self-awareness. He catches passers-by who match the “corporate tourist” image of the 1980s: boxy suits and haircuts, holding booklets as they walk – perhaps from a tourist site or the company that is hosting their visit (Figure 33, right). The image on the facing page may “activate” the sense of the ruins as a war legacy, however – at least for me.

³⁵² Irving, 201.

³⁵³ See, for example, Elizabeth A. Ten Dyke, *Dresden: Paradoxes of Memory in History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

³⁵⁴ Yoneyama.

³⁵⁵ Ten Dyke, 20 and “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation,” 18, respectively.



Figure 33: (untitled: left: environmental protection sign; right: Frauenkirche ruins), *Warum Dresden* (2016), pp. 11-12

Accurately or not, I am reminded of an aspect of Germany’s prewar and early postwar past on the facing page – a legacy of urban welfare evoked by the little houses: Schreber gardens. These were green spaces allotted to the poor – or, sometimes, to socialist or even National Socialist idealists – to create shelters akin to subsistence households in German cities. Under rhetorics of both left and right, Schreber gardens used the image of the countryside – with shades of *Heimat* or “home,” “homeland,” or “Fatherland,” discussed in Chapter 1 – to frame urban poverty more positively through reference to the rural.³⁵⁶ Among other things, such habituations of positivity in green space are in keeping with the emotional divide that Gržinic felt Willmann’s work to transcend – or rather, perhaps, reject, for I shall

³⁵⁶ See Urban.

discuss problems with “transcendence” later in this chapter – in Chapter 1: between the authentic rural and decadent urban.³⁵⁷

The photograph, however, encodes a more inclusive use of the image of nature too, though it may not escape the old one entirely: a billboard-like sign framed by a verdant tree behind it, showing a woman displaying the earth as one might a baby. The slogan (in German) reads “protect it like your child!” The effect of the “empty space” between the pages might operate, as I considered in Chapter 2, between senses of tense or tender (Figures 18-19), specifically as the bleeding of the images to the outer edges of their pages might cast the space between as a growing rift. The inner book-flap chances to show a strip of corrugated concrete on the left, furnishing a political musing: GDR socialist Dresden on the “left;” prewar socialist or National Socialist Dresden in the “center;” on the “right” – the GDR’s ambiguous shadows of capitalism – the “corporate tourists” – and what I unpack below as potential attachment to the Third Reich through memories of the Frauenkirche.

In 1992, sociologist Elizabeth Ten Dyke recorded an elder Dresdner sharing a personal memory – and slide show – of daily life at the time of the Frauenkirche’s Third Reich restoration in 1944, specifically through the mental image of German children taking – or being given? – its scaffolding as firewood:

When the [1944] renovation [of the Frauenkirche] was complete, the wooden scaffolding was carefully removed. It made excellent firewood for Dresdnern in those war years and local children came to wheel away pieces of it in their hand wagons. One of the “most charming” slides in the lecture, according to the gentleman speaker, is the one which shows several children, mostly girls,

³⁵⁷ Gržinic, 14-15.

standing in front of the partially dismantled scaffolding with their scrap-loaded wagons.³⁵⁸

His image of the Third Reich Frauenkirche may evoke a benevolence in making the scaffolding available for firewood, perhaps preserving – or inventing – tender emotions from the Third Reich in a recuperation that grows fraught when presented so charmingly to later generations. I therefore offer my less charming version, though not to wish away any tenderness, just put it in a context that – if one is to keep that tenderness responsibly – one must accept. I pare away just a few frames that hide what I must recognize as coincident, though I know that there are frames that I have not yet seen. Briefly, the elder Dresdner’s home fires must join the standard image of the bombing – which I share shortly – of burning buildings and people, which themselves – as I critique through Irving’s text – allow forgetting or denial of an earlier fire: the 1938 burning of the Dresden Synagogue in the *Kristallnacht*, the attack on Jewish communities across “German”-identified populations that year. As I address in the next section, they were acting on older prejudices that I also find exemplified in images of fire used by Irving.

For now, however, I would like to consider the Synagogue burning as encountered by Ten Dyke in 1992 – during a tour about Jewish history in Dresden:

An old man in our group remembered that, after the *Kristallnacht*, he and his school classmates were brought to view the heaps of charred timbers and ash and told that was an example of the thoroughness with which Jews would be dealt with [sic] in the future. The Jewish community was charged the cost of cleaning up the synagogue site; Nazis filmed the removal of the ruins and this footage was used as a training film in socialist Germany because, [the tour

³⁵⁸ Ten Dyke, 22.

guide] said, it illustrated prototypical technical problems for that kind of demolition work.³⁵⁹

The old man and the tour guide might be imagined as re-encountering the harm behind their images of the burned Dresden Synagogue from politically opposed spaces of German belonging: the schoolroom of the Third Reich and the training program of “socialist Germany.” I wonder at the desired effect of re-using *Kristallnacht* footage in the GDR to teach technical skills through evidence of a crime against a community. Though I have no context other than Ten Dyke’s report, I imagine a GDR denial of implication in the National Socialist past through presumption to re-use the Third Reich’s materials “neutrally,” implying that East Germans did not share war guilt with the West, even were “immune” to it.

Conversely, Wiemer’s description of the bombing of Dresden – buried in his longer text within Furuya’s photobook – condemns lack of even such dismissive attention to legacies of National Socialism in the GDR public sphere, though he hints at their haunting the personal. Provocatively titled “A Broadsheet of the *Heimat*,” his text is described in the photobook as sharing “Dresden’s atmosphere at the time of the first wave of emigration [to the West] in May 1984 [...] the societal agony in the middle of the last decade of the GDR through contemporary historical analogies to the images by Seiichi Furuya.”³⁶⁰ In fact, Wiemer’s description of the bombing of Dresden might be seen to function – as do those of Irving and Härtling, which I consider in the next section, and my own, too – as an expression of one’s sense of

³⁵⁹ Ten Dyke, 19.

³⁶⁰ *Warum Dresden*, 190.

pain and responsibility in German history. This is perhaps what the subject tests in any of “us.” Wiemer writes:

Shrove Tuesday in the last year of the war, Christmas trees were set in the sky, real fireworks; the Devil himself had dyed them in the cellars and tarred them on the glowing streets above. When they came to themselves again – those who could come to themselves again – they could burn the bodies, then clear out the stones. They rebuilt what the Baroque still yielded, as if they never would die themselves [*Als ob sie selbst nicht sterben wollten, bauten sie auf, was der Barock noch hergab*]. And what they could not rebuild was completely ripped away by those who never would rebuild again, who would build anew [*neubauen*] – not just build new [*neu bauen*]: a worldview congealed in concrete. The city split bit by bit into stone, lacunae [*Lücken*] and concrete. Into the lacunae the remaining citizens stuck their big spoonbills [*Löffler*], as Christs keep watch in the house over the legends snatched from forgetting by the Apostles and committed to paper as the Bible.

Despite the spoonbills, the city is plagued by phantom pain. Later, because of that most of all.

What remains of the old splendor already? Only the ugly parts have survived so far: the soldiers’ quarter, the town hall spire, the storehouse on the Elbe, the Great House and stuff. There is talk of the dead only on the thirteenth of February, a ritual. Never of the shit-brown cause [*scheißbraune Ursache*] of the ruination.³⁶¹

Wiemer’s description of the bombing of Dresden begins with pain – though what might be recognized as clichés in framing death around that event, which are found in Irving’s text as well. These include the date of Shrove Tuesday – chancing to set a Christian frame – and reference to “Christmas trees,” as Dresdners called the flares preceding the bombings.³⁶² The image of being “dyed in the cellars” may refer to the orange, blue and green corpses resulting from death by carbon monoxide poisoning in air-blocked cellars, while the evocation of people “tarred in the streets”

³⁶¹ Wiemer, 62.

³⁶² Irving, 223-224 and 158,189, respectively.

recalls corpses burned or melted to the asphalt.³⁶³ In the shadow of this image, Wiemer first names those who favor “rebuil[ding] what the Baroque still yielded” – restoring and perhaps escaping into the image of what Härtling would call Dresden’s 18th and 19th century “glittering moment”³⁶⁴ – “as if they never would die themselves.”

Conversely, “what they could not rebuild” might suggest the image of the Third Reich, specifically as “ripped away” by the Soviets and – ostensibly inoculated of its dangers, as in the GDR re-use of *Kristallnacht* footage considered above – “buil[t] anew” in a postwar socialist “worldview congealed in concrete.” Wiemer elsewhere hints at a superficial similarity to the Reich, however, in terms of heroic iconography and reach of state power. Though Wiemer’s whole piece is too long to share, I may note its general vitriol against the GDR government, but – to borrow Furuya’s words from his epigraph to this chapter – perhaps not the “country” of East Germany. Wiemer condemned, among other things, *Stasi* surveillance, proletarian slogans and even traces of uptight patriotism in an old gymnasium – the last a friend’s ambiguously legal art space, where Western music, drugs and other enjoyments are also tinged with a hint of capitalist guilt.³⁶⁵

Returning to Wiemer’s words on the bombing of Dresden, however: he lists a third group of “remaining citizens” – perhaps the bulk of them, as that term denotes those left between the ones who declare their sides: hiding from war guilt in either

³⁶³ Irving, 53, 205, respectively.

³⁶⁴ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 25.

³⁶⁵ Wiemer, 70-71, 61, and 72, respectively.

love for the prewar Baroque or hope in a postwar socialism. Put more provocatively, I might say that these remaining citizens do not look to either the pre-Nazi past or post-Nazi future, which implies that they continue to nurture an internal space of belonging from National Socialism. They stick their “spoonbills” into Dresden’s “lacunae.” Wiemer’s words may furnish a mental images of both literal *Löffler* – the birds of that name with scoop-shaped bills – as well as excavation equipment unearthing what the rebuilders want to build over.

Wiemer’s language also suggests that what the rebuilders evade is sacred to the “spoonbills.” They guard it “as Christs keep watch in the house over the legends snatched from forgetting by the Apostles and committed to paper as the Bible,” such that “phantom pain” persists “despite” and “Later, because” of them. Perhaps they not only keep the Baroque-rebuilders and socialist-builders from forgetting the Third Reich but also continue uncritically in their frames of life from that era. In a non-Dresden but perhaps related, “German” context, I might quote my grandmother’s Romanian German cousin in 1995: “We had this love and diligence for our language and community long before National Socialism”³⁶⁶ – though Dresden’s cosmopolitan image would be in greater conflict with this attitude. I elaborate a bit on that in the second section. For now, I note that Wiemer may have named those “legends snatched from forgetting” in his final reference to National Socialism – the “brown” of its brownshirts. Specifically, he casts only the “spoonbills” as not trying – like those who want to rebuild the Baroque or build GDR socialism – to reject it.

³⁶⁶ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation,” 17.

The next section is for the “rebuilders,” however – to consider how admiration for Dresden’s earlier heritage is not necessarily to avoid or critique anti-Semitic aspects of Dresden’s culture, which were a part of what might be called assimilative aspects of its cosmopolitanism. This topic is vastly beyond what I can honor in this dissertation – largely because it goes outside what Furuya has encoded – so I depend on its “secondary encoding” in Wiemer and Härtling, whom I find address it with implicit remorse. This remorse is their “intervention” against remembering Dresden as Irving does, specifically when – as seen in the next section – he effectively normalizes anti-Semitism as an acceptable aspect of Dresden’s cultural heritage.

Undoing the “Angel”: Photographic and Textual “Interventions” by Härtling, Furuya and Christine Against the “Dresden” of *The Destruction of Dresden*

I must begin this section by returning to visual images, however (Figure 28) in order to confess an “intervention” of my own. I juxtaposed the frontispiece to Irving’s 1963 book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, with a juxtaposition of Furuya’s Dresden images by Völter. Initially, I had meant this pairing to furnish a practical “snapshot” of 1945 and 2016 approaches to the city, joined by the common element of baroque sculpture. As will be seen, these sculptures lend themselves to various multinarrative paths. As hinted in the previous section, all of these narratives address tendencies in Irving’s book that deflect or deny Jewish suffering through a public image of Dresden’s Christian cosmopolitanism, drawing on works that “intervene” against such effects through different treatments of that public image.

One such work is Peter Härtling's 1964 "Dresden." It captured what Härtling later called Dresden's "glittering moment"³⁶⁷ while encoding both assimilative aspects of its cosmopolitanism and the harm of the *Kristallnacht* – though quietly, through descriptive choices in listing works by architect Gottfried Semper (1803-1879).³⁶⁸ Furuya also "intervenes" against his own obligation to show an image of swastika graffiti – for a photobook published on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II – by conditioning it with a re-use of an image of a steer at a slaughterhouse (Figures 29-31). Furuya's uses of the steer image lead visually – and also thematically – back to Christine's epigraph to this chapter – glossed in the Introduction – which may be seen to "intervene" against habituated anti-Semitism at the deeper level of her personal Catholicism, which I consider through additional details in her diaries.³⁶⁹

To return to the opening image of this chapter, then (Figure 28): the hardcover edition of Irving's *The Destruction of Dresden* opens with a statue popularly called an "angel"³⁷⁰ (apparently from the source image in Figure 28, left). Its "metanarrative" may be the forgetting of crimes of the Third Reich in – in Irving's description of his book's pursuit – "compassion for German civilians of February 1945."³⁷¹ Specifically, it opens its arms to the ruined city opposite the verbally illustrative title page of the book: "the Destruction of Dresden, with an introduction by Ira C. Eaker, Lt. Gen. USAF (ret.)" – plus a list of American cities denoting branches of the high

³⁶⁷ "Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit," 25.

³⁶⁸ "Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit," 32.

³⁶⁹ *Mémoires 1983*, 86, 92.

³⁷⁰ For example, by Härtling in "Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit," 33.

³⁷¹ Irving, 15.

school textbook press, Holt, Rinehart and Winston. The whole may evoke consensus among American – in the context of the book, perhaps Allied – authorities on the meaning of the gesture of the “angel.”

Conversely, however, Both Eaker and Air Marshal Sir Robert Saundby – speaking for the British military – challenged Irving’s stance in their introductory texts for his book.³⁷² Eaker objected to ideas of changing military policy to “prevent hazard to enemy civil populations.”³⁷³ Saundby pronounced that “Once full-scale war has broken out it can never be humanized or civilized, and if one side attempted to do so it would be most likely to be defeated.”³⁷⁴ My impression – as I earlier considered through Ten Dyke’s report of Third Reich and GDR uses of *Kristallnacht* footage,³⁷⁵ and which Santner found for West Germany through Syberberg and Reitz in Chapter 1³⁷⁶ – is that attention to the Holocaust (and related issues) is lost when speakers for either Axis or Allied powers either assert innocence or indulge in self-centered remorse – because both approaches keep attention on themselves.

This is why the question that concerns me in this section – as well as, perhaps, Irving, from the “opposite side” – is how harm to Jewish Dresdners may be denied by Irving’s centering of harm to “German” ones. In fact, Ten Dyke heard on her tour that Jewish Dresdners had dropped from 5,500 in 1933 to 120 when Dresden was bombed – and that these remaining people had been scheduled for deportation to

³⁷² In Irving, see Ira C. Eaker, Lt. Gen. USAF (Ret.), “Introduction,” 5-8 and Air Marshal Sir Robert Saundby, “Foreword,” 9-10.

³⁷³ Eaker, 6.

³⁷⁴ Saundby, 10.

³⁷⁵ Ten Dyke, 19.

³⁷⁶ Santner, particularly 57-149.

extermination camps at the time. The bombing is thought to have “saved” about 70, who then had to hide in the city until the end of the war.³⁷⁷

In fact, I may gloss the aesthetic frame of Irving’s view most succinctly in a text other than his own – the 1964 piece “Dresden” by Härtling.³⁷⁸ It resembles Irving’s in its description of the actual bombing – like Wiemer’s in the first section – but, also like Wiemer’s, is different in its ethical cues for imagining the city’s history. Specifically, a year after the first publication of Irving’s book in 1963, Härtling merely cited the bombing of Dresden in a few sentences, perhaps in keeping with the purported purpose of his piece as a cultural overview – in which 18th and 19th century architecture and opera were to dominate. In fact, Härtling’s “artistic” history of the city chanced to be the first to convey to me that the figure on the frontispiece of Irving’s book – which may recall primarily a youthful Renaissance philosopher or allegorized saint – has received the holier epithet “angel”:

In 1945, English bombers unloaded their charges in waves over the city. Refugee trains were at the stations, columns of refugees had sought to flee here, where everyone imagined it safe. The firestorm.

Uncounted dead lie buried under the rubble of the inner city. Towers transformed into rusted stubs. A photograph has passed down the moment of darkness. From a surviving wall of the Dresden Cathedral, a stone angel keeps watch. It gazes over a wilderness of broken stone. Sometimes letters come from Dresden: you must see the Zwinger! But then the recipient asks himself: whence do I write, to where? Is one [Dresden] the same as the others? There are cities that are consigned to fantasy.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Ten Dyke, 19.

³⁷⁸ Quoted in “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 26-33. Härtling describes the piece as written for the anthology “*Deutschlands Mitte*,” edited by Heinz Winfried Sabais, which I take to be the following: Peter Härtling, “Dresden,” *Deutsche Mitte: 18 Essays über mitteldeutsche Städte und Landschaften* [German Center: 18 essays about central German cities and landscapes], ed. Heinz Winfried Sabais ([Cologne]: Grote, [1964]), 245-56.

³⁷⁹ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 33.

Reserving Härtling's cautious ending as an element of his own – in which another's tourist-like enthusiasm for the Baroque Zwinger complex inspires him to consider the nature of illusions and fantasies of the past – I may use the passage to gloss effects of Irving's book in terms of facts and attitudes. Both Irving and Härtling cast the Allied bombers as harming innocent refugees,³⁸⁰ specifically implying that the latter's trust was betrayed when they sought safety in what Irving – as seen in the following quotes – cast as a beloved European capital, warranting impunity from attack through the universal value of its cultural heritage. As will be seen in both Irving's passage and what I have called Härtling's "intervention" – *toward* views like Irving's – each emphasizes different aspects of what might be called Dresden's pre-cosmopolitan history: Irving, the city's medieval Christian past, Härtling, its 17th century beginnings of its "glittering moment."³⁸¹ Irving also set the scene with this moment.

As Irving wrote, "For the British prisoners of war in the city in these pre-February 1945 weeks life could not easily be bettered. The Dresdners were familiar with the English from pre-war days when the city had been a cultural centre and made many friends among the prisoners [...] the city's economy in peacetime had been sustained by its theatres, museums, cultural institutions and home industries." He noted that a British P.O.W. in Dresden wrote, "The Germans here are the best I have ever come across [...] The commandant is a gentleman [...] The *Feldwebel* already has taken me to see the centre of the town. Unquestionably, it is beautiful. I hope to

³⁸⁰ Irving often implies betrayal of those who sheltered in Dresden, e.g., pp. 76, 79-80, 92 190.

³⁸¹ "Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit," 25.

see more.”³⁸² Having established an image of Dresden’s charm and esteem through secular culture, however, Irving emphasizes its Christian roots in crafting an image of bombed Dresdners to what today may seem odd effect. As seen in the passage below, he evokes the sanitary mass cremation of Dresden’s bomb victims in comparative relation to a punitive burning of Dresden’s medieval Jewish subjects. It is a pairing under a certain strain, which I discuss after the passage:

Many of the dead children sandwiched into these terrible pyres were still wearing shreds of the colourful Carnival clothes that they had donned on Shrove Tuesday, two weeks before. [...] In Dresden, history was repeating itself in a cruel and grimly ironic way: the Dresden City Chronicle of 1349 recorded how in that year the Margrave of Meissen, Frederick II, had burnt his enemies at the stake in Dresden in 1349. Then it was the Jews, accused of having introduced the plague to Dresden: then, too, the burning was in the Altmarkt square; and, by cruel coincidence, then too the blow had fallen on Shrove Tuesday Carnival Day.³⁸³

In fact, the medieval burnings of Jewish subjects and other “enemies” in Dresden are the other image of fire that came to me when – in the previous section – I considered how the comfortable image of wartime cooking fires from the Frauenkirche scaffolding, recorded by Ten Dyke,³⁸⁴ might be tempered ethically by remembering other fires: the Allied bombing, the burning of the Dresden Synagogue in the *Kristallnacht*, and – as I saved until now – these older persecutions. Irving’s

³⁸² Irving, 76, quoting from the writings of a soldier of the 1st Airborne Division, “captured at Anzio, on Boxing Day, 1944.”

³⁸³ Irving, 223-224. I have not been able to find a specific source for the story of the historical burnings listed by Irving in his references. Ten Dyke finds the story in two 19th century sources, “along with the caveat that documentary evidence of the brutal repression has not been found.” See Ten Dyke, 26, citation 24: Dr. Gustav Klemm, ed., *Chronik der Stadt Dresden und ihrer Bürger* [Chronicle of Dresden and its citizens] (Dresden: Paul Gottlob Hilscher, 1834), 73-74 and W.B. Lindau, *Geschichte der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Dresden: von der frühesten bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit* [History of the capital and residential city of Dresden: from earliest to present times], Vol. I (Dresden: Verlagsbuchhandlung von Rudolf Kuntze, 1859), 180.

³⁸⁴ Ten Dyke, 22.

notion that “history was repeating itself in a grimly ironic way” is thus ambiguously fraught – what is “repeating,” what “ironic”?

In most basic terms, Irving’s statement indicates that what is repeated is someone being burned to death in Dresden by someone else. In the context of World War II – which Irving little discusses but for the Allied bombing near the end of it – Irving’s use of “ironic” appears to mean that the tables have been turned, that – crassly put – the Jews were burned before, and now it is the “Germans.” Today, perhaps, all this storytelling of burning might bring to mind that it was the “German” Dresdners who – as I reported from Ten Dyke’s findings earlier in this section – allowed the extermination and mass cremation of the city’s Jewish population, the last 120 of whom were scheduled for this fate even as the bombs fell. As Ten Dyke recorded, only temporary delay in the trains let about 70 survive.³⁸⁵

When Irving wrote in 1963, however, the term “Holocaust” was fairly new in its now mainstream usage – denoting National Socialist atrocities.³⁸⁶ Not everyone may have considered that he was likening Christian Dresdners under Allied bombs to Jewish Dresdners burned by ancestors of the bomb victims. It is in this way that Irving’s perspective – conscious or not – may have the effect of excusing Dresden’s anti-Semitic past and implicitly extrapolating it into the present as an acceptable norm.

In fact, the only other hints at something like the Holocaust (capital “H”) that I found in Irving’s book might be seen as encoding it in order to deny it – an odd

³⁸⁵ Ten Dyke, 19.

³⁸⁶ See, for example, Josh Fleet, “History and Meaning of the Word ‘Holocaust’: Are We Still Comfortable with This Term?” *The Huffington Post*, January 27 (2012): https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-word-holocaust-history-and-meaning_n_1229043 (accessed January 5, 2021).

formation akin to “hiding in plain sight.” These hints are few. Some are simple uses of the word “holocaust” (small “h”) to describe the Allied bombing of Dresden itself – in the etymology of the term as a wholly burnt sacrifice.³⁸⁷ Another is Irving’s designation of a particular Allied bomber pilot as “a Jewish pilot of No. 3 Group” (the other pilots whom Irving engages bear no cultural labels) before quoting him:

The fantastic glow from two hundred miles away grew ever brighter as we moved into the target [...]. At 20,000 feet we could see details in the unearthly blaze that had never been visible before; for the first time in many operations I felt sorry for the population below.³⁸⁸

Specifically, an effect of Irving labeling this pilot as “Jewish” is – intentionally or not – to make the pilot’s expression of pity for the bombed Dresdners stronger through reader knowledge of the Third Reich’s anti-Semitic policies. It is another “table-turning,” this time in which a member of a group persecuted under National Socialism feels pity when bombing a Nazi city, perhaps as if to say – though very crudely – that *even* this pilot felt sorry for Dresden. This implication also may habituate the message that non-Jewish pilots had no particular reason to object to Nazi Germany. Such a sense may not have been lost on the Allied air commanders who critically commented on Irving’s book, though they stuck to anti-Nazi language rather than bring up the Holocaust itself.³⁸⁹ In sum, Irving effectively cast the “Jewish pilot” as a repentant perpetrator rather than a potential victim moved by the suffering of those would perpetrate crimes against *him*, a far more complex emotion.

³⁸⁷ For example, Irving, 156 – citing “the transcript of the Wire-Recorder, Operations Night 13th/14th February 1945, Dresden, which was kept for demonstration purposes after the triple blow” – and 159.

³⁸⁸ Irving, 155, citing the Wire-Recorder transcript. My bracketed ellipses indicate Irving’s original brackets with the description of the writer. I keep them in case any other text was omitted.

³⁸⁹ Eaker and Saundby.

In fact, a hint of the complexity of Jewish culture in Dresden – and a small reckoning with Third Reich crimes – comes to me through the passage from Härtling’s “Dresden” below. It bears an effortless-seeming elegance both refreshing and disturbing for these subjects – written, as noted, a year after Irving’s text. Superficially, it is merely a list of 19th century Dresden works by Gottfried Semper:

Semper built the Villa Rosa, the Synagogue (which sank in ashes before the other buildings – 1938) and – time rushes into our lines of text [*Zeilen*] and changes the city – the tomb of Carl Maria von Weber was built in the Catholic graveyard.³⁹⁰

Unlike the iconic image of the bombed Frauenkirche – as glossed at the start of this chapter, reclaimed from potential symbolism as a consequence of Germany’s war for the opposite image of German innocence – Härtling’s list encodes both the opulence and subtlety of elite 19th century Jewish commissions in Dresden (on which more in the next paragraph), the unsubtle destruction of one – the Synagogue – in the 1938 *Kristallnacht*, which encodes the National Socialist era through its naming, and the other – the Villa Rosa – in the unnamed Allied bombing. Effectively, Härtling efficiently acknowledges suffering in the bombing while preventing escapism into it. He binds the *Kristallnacht* verbally to the unspoken image of the bombing, where a whisper of the Frauenkirche might be included under “the other buildings.”

More complicated is framing the opulence of the Villa Rosa and Synagogue, which engage an issue beyond Dresden: the balance of power in cultural intermixing and assimilation. I can but gloss it here. The Villa Rosa and Dresden Synagogue, designed for the banker Wilhelm Oppenheim, may capture that attempt at balance in

³⁹⁰ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 2.

what various scholars have analyzed as Semper’s proto-“Aryan,” Renaissance-inspired design, decorated with “other” elements.³⁹¹ In the case of the Synagogue, these accessories to the Renaissance “essence” were “Moorish,”³⁹² which might be seen as incorporating a hint of Jewish roots in the Middle East circuitously through Islamic-inspired references, emphasizing the “Germanness” of Jews in Dresden.

In this context, Härtling’s reference to the *Kristallnacht* in the middle of Semper’s works – a reference furnished by chronology that chances literally to “center” the Synagogue – may serve to withhold the excuse of National Socialist brainwashing from those who destroyed the Synagogue. Specifically, Härtling encodes a longer history of taste and intercultural existence that may cast the *Kristallnacht* perpetrators as heirs to a weaponized “Aryanness” already latent in a “German” cosmopolitanism because it was built of different cultural elements around a Renaissance core. This framework of a national style as a hierarchy of cultural aesthetics – somewhat like the Imperial Japanese connoisseurship of Asian ceramics that I discussed in the Introduction³⁹³ – may not have “agreed” with fascism, yet it provided a framework for the translation of unequal valuing of artistic styles into unequal valuing of people.

I must note, however, that though those intercultural relations did not “succeed,” it is also an injustice to erase them in the stereotypical images of both the Holocaust and the bombing of Dresden. These images cast “German” and Jewish cultures as too separate, such that images of their mixing – as in the taste of Wilhelm

³⁹¹ See Charles L. Davis, *Building Character: The Racial Politics of Modern Architectural Style* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019), particularly 70-112.

³⁹² Davis, 104-107.

³⁹³ See Brandt and Yanagi.

Oppenheim – disturb images of suffering on either “side.” This is why I amplify Härtling’s hint at Dresden’s prewar cosmopolitanism among what I have called his “interventions” against uses of Dresden’s Christian and Jewish heritage by writers such as Irving. When the cultural divisions of the Third Reich are extrapolated too simply into the German past, the Reich truly “wins” through the image that it made.

On this note, Härtling may chance to “integrate” one more cultural group through his final listing of a Semper design – the grave of German Romantic composer Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826) in Dresden’s Catholic cemetery – a “gift” of chronology as well. While Weber’s work is similar to Semper’s in its implication in the universalizing cosmopolitanism that I have been discussing – in which a Renaissance/“Aryan” aesthetic centered the many aspects of “Germanness”³⁹⁴ – the “Catholic” label for his grave may operate akin to the cultural connection between Semper and Oppenheim. Specifically – except for the rise of Dresden under August the Strong – Catholicism has been among the most marginalized branches of Christianity in German terms (Oppenheim chose Protestantism when he decided – or was obliged – to convert).³⁹⁵

Härtling showed no admiration, however – as Irving apparently did – for Dresden’s Christian rule. His glib description of Dresden’s rise consists of Augustus the Strong converting to Catholicism to acquire Poland,³⁹⁶ somewhat crassly echoed in the unspoken “acquisition of Poland” by Hitler through the *Kristallnacht* reference.

³⁹⁴ See, for example, Michael C. Tusa, “Cosmopolitanism and the National Opera: Weber’s *Der Freischütz*,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 36, no. 3, Opera and Society: Part I (Winter 2006): 483-506.

³⁹⁵ Davis, 104.

³⁹⁶ This was Härtling’s description in “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 26.

In short, all of the above might sober – but not preclude – affection for what Härtling later called – reassessing his 1964 piece in 2007 – Dresden’s “glittering moment”:

In 1964, my memory of the city – though I denied this – was far closer than today. Indeed, I still believed in the child that I had been and trusted him. And of course, I played through my theme, the reality and truth of European places. Here on the Elbe, with no pretensions yet absolutely powerful claims, Europe fulfilled itself for a glittering moment.³⁹⁷

In fact, Härtling might be considered to have been performing a version of Furuya’s “re-reading”³⁹⁸ when he wrote the above in 2007. He was reconsidering his texts and memories in relation to European history: childhood amid his mother’s stories of her youth – in the vestiges of that “glittering moment;” teenage indoctrination into National Socialism; and young adult flight from the GDR – after his father was led away by Russian troops and never returned, and his mother died of rape – both around end of World War II.³⁹⁹ Briefly, Härtling wrote of revisiting the “voices” of his past to test his relations to them through factually connoted, “remembered reality (*errinerte Wirklichkeit*)” and belatedly realized feelings of “narrated truth (*erzählte Wahrheit*).”⁴⁰⁰ I shall return to this when I consider Härtling’s treatment of his mother’s Dresden – and Wiemer’s of a fictional mother figure’s Dresden – in the next section.

For now, I return to Furuya’s images, having unpacked the image of Dresden to which an ethics of belonging may point them: a sort of paradoxically Christian cosmopolitan capital, tragically destroyed by the Allies, yet – as seen in the different

³⁹⁷ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 25.

³⁹⁸ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

³⁹⁹ *Errinerte Wirklichkeit – erzählte Wahrheit*.

⁴⁰⁰ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit.”

treatments of the city by Irving, Härtling and Wiemer – internally divided by feelings of innocence and remorse. I repeat my sentiment from the introductory section to this chapter: that addressing the bombing of Dresden is a sort of ethical test of that balance of innocence and remorse, both among Dresdners and for those “watching” from further outside. In this sense, I treat my opening image to this chapter – my pairing of a juxtaposition of Furuya’s images by Völter (Figure 28, right) with Irving’s frontispiece (Figure 28, left), as a concentrated exercise for the three of “us” – as we “see” the implications of the city.

In one reading, the image of Dresden that I have furnished – that of Europe’s (German) Christian cultural capital attacked by Allied bombers – might associate the bombing with the model plane, though it little resembles Allied bombers in World War II.⁴⁰¹ Rather, its serial number, CCCP-68001, identifies it as the Tupolev Tu-144, a Soviet supersonic airliner that competed with the Concorde, best known for a fatal crash in the Paris Air Show of 1973 – the year that Furuya left Japan for Europe.⁴⁰² The Tu-144 thus may invite several “interventions” in the “attention of the angel” from Irving’s frontispiece. For example, the dead in the Tupolev’s 1973 crash might stand as a possible distraction for the “angel” from – in Irving’s words – the “German

⁴⁰¹ For example, as illustrated in Adam Higginbotham, “There Are Still Thousands of Tons of Unexploded Bombs in Germany, Left Over From World War II,” *Smithsonian Magazine* (January/February 2016): <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/seventy-years-world-war-two-thousands-tons-unexploded-bombs-germany-180957680/> (accessed April 14, 2021).

⁴⁰² See information on the Tu-144 in the database records for “CCCP-68001” at the website Airhistory.net – The Aviation History Image Archive: <https://www.airhistory.net/marks-all/CCCP68001> (accessed December 22, 2020). See also “Soviet SST Crash May Affect Concorde,” *Science News*, vol. 103, no. 23, June 9 (1973): 371.

civilians of February 1945.”⁴⁰³ Also, at the time of Furuya’s photo, many of the survivors among these civilians would have been living on the “enemy side” – the Soviet-aligned GDR – though, as Wiemer may have suggested through his “spoonbills,” perhaps some nurtured feelings from the Third Reich.⁴⁰⁴

My Romanian German relatives will appear briefly in this section through that possibility, particularly in terms of Eastern Bloc “Germans” preserving feelings of enmity with “foreigners” – mapped onto Soviet Eastern Europe during the Third Reich – through a sense of “Germanness” offered by that era. In fact, I wonder if I “planted” their story in my juxtaposition. In a reading that draws on the references above, the “angel” of Irving’s frontispiece “turns away” from Dresden’s “Soviet moment”: denies both changed political alliances – Dresden in the GDR – and “non-German” pain – the mixed Soviet and Western European casualties of the Tu-144 Paris crash. Crudely, the “angel” may show – like Irving’s book – that Dresden only may be considered innocent through a “German” monopoly on pain. Considering pain without innocence thus will be a very small part of this chapter – carefully contained. I work toward it through the use of Furuya’s images by Völter (and me).

The scale and framing of “our” juxtaposition with Irving’s frontispiece may furnish a reading that the architecturally situated “angel” shares the aerial view of the Allied bombers – the “God’s-eye view,” variously compassionate or destructive – while the model Soviet plane appears in the position of the bombed – viewed from above. The glass case may read as a film over the plane’s reality – as a model, locked

⁴⁰³ Irving, 15.

⁴⁰⁴ Wiemer, 62.

away, like a memory that is a reproduction of the real experience, though the plane is newer than the “angel.” Thus, the “angel” may stand for a mode of timelessness, a habituated norm presumed omniscient – much like those of capitalism and nationalism considered by Benjamin, Tosaka and others in Chapter 1 – while the model plane – which might stand for Germany’s Soviet moment in the GDR – is in doubt. What then might Furuya’s framing of Baroque statues do for this binary?

Even without the Dresden “angel,” perhaps general expectations of the presentation of statuary – as centered and whole – might allow Völter’s juxtaposition – of Furuya’s cropped statues with the Soviet model plane – to read as a questioning of norms. These norms might be both socialist (the plane) and those of its “opposite” (the fragmented statues) – capitalist, religious, fascist, etc. At the very least, Völter’s juxtaposition of Furuya’s cropped statues might – to recall my treatment of Willmann’s work in Chapter 1 (Figure 9)⁴⁰⁵ – present the “un-pretty.” In terms of Völter’s juxtaposition alone, the Soviet model plane may assert a socialist wholeness against the fragmentation of other modes, though – in the context of flight – the fragments are the ones that can “fly.” They are framed somewhat as though in free fall against the sky. They are museum pieces but not under glass. Conversely, the plane perhaps too soon became part of history compared to the hopes of some under GDR socialism. I might read Völter’s juxtaposition alone as an allegory for the persistence of feelings of belonging from “old” systems – of wanting a self and a home that always interrupts collective efforts, even when – like the statues –

⁴⁰⁵ See particularly *Schwarz und Gold*.

it is fragmented and perhaps breaking apart.

Re-incorporating the Dresden “angel,” however, a last part of my “story” might be that the decentered and cropped statues of 1984 or 1985 are “heirs” to the 1945 “angel.” In addition to having lost the assurance of an assumption of wholeness – recalling Chapter 2, perhaps of “universality” – what I called their “free-fall” might stand for another attempt at belonging: one that, noting that “now” there are “two” of them, accounts more intimately for others. In another story, however, the 1945 “angel” might float above another and fail to meet it – as the floating feet on the upper left. In this story, the “other” is within sight, but the “angel” may evade it through a rhetoric of transcendence: creating a division of high and low through the very presumption to stay above divisions.

In fact, “a rhetoric of transcendence” describes the assimilative cosmopolitanism that I too briefly considered through Semper and Weber,⁴⁰⁶ which – in terms of Furuya, Christine, and perhaps my relatives – had an Austrian variant. This variant pursued a similar ideal of “German” universality by defining “German” as “human”: supposedly the most “authentic” essences of various cultures.⁴⁰⁷ Apropos to Chapter 1, this approach may have contributed – through its aftermath in fascism, among other things – to distrust of the “human” as constructed in terms of cultural “authenticity”: from Benjamin’s “cult value” and Tosaka’s “custom” to Gržinic’s guarding against “authentic experience, which all too quickly can stray into

⁴⁰⁶ See Davis and Tusa.

⁴⁰⁷ See, for example, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal and the Austrian Idea: Selected Essays and Addresses, 1906-1927*, ed. David S. Luft (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2011).

a mythology of origin.”⁴⁰⁸ In terms of Chapter 2, it also exemplifies the flawed ideal of “universality” critiqued by Derrida.⁴⁰⁹ I confess that it is through the inspiring distrust expressed by such writers that I came to suspect such cosmopolitan frameworks, which otherwise fit my childhood views. If my ideal now is to have a self for the sake of other people, I once wanted “all the selves for me,” so to speak: to be the old “world citizen,” now shown to be proto-colonial and assimilative.⁴¹⁰

Conversely, the writings and letters of my Romanian German relatives – in the aftermath of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – so far reveal (though I have not read all of them) that they pushed the above ideal (if they had it) toward the unsubtle nationalism for which I take responsibility – against which I guard today. I share a bit of them to illustrate the somewhat subtle workings of that unsubtle nationalism through the elements that I have been discussing around Dresden – the bombing and Catholicism – which may serve to show another instance of the personal reach of those iconic abstractions. Insofar as I allow myself a superstitiously exegetical approach to life, I might say that my relatives “want” me to do this, for *they* found *me*. Their papers were stored in the spare room of my childhood home where I finished this dissertation, displaced by wildfires and COVID-19 in 2020.

They trace themselves to German Catholics who moved to Romania in the mid-18th century,⁴¹¹ chancing to coincide with the Habsburg monarchy’s efforts to

⁴⁰⁸ “The Work of Art;” *Das Kunstwerk*; *Shisô to fûzoku*; *Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader* and Gržinic, 14.

⁴⁰⁹ *The Other Heading*, 71-73.

⁴¹⁰ Among the many engagements of this, I might cite Daston and Gallison for details of that Enlightenment sentiment – particularly in what I might call the emotional construction of “objectivity.”

⁴¹¹ One branch reports the year 1750 in a letter from Hans Frombach to Martin Mutsch (Junior), March 17, 1978. The year 1764 is confirmed for the other through a photocopy from a church ledger included

increase “Catholicism” in the area: through both importation from Germany and doctrinal rethinking of the Eastern Orthodoxy of the Romanians as “Catholic.” At the same time, these ethnic groups were classified and taxed separately.⁴¹² I am tempted to see the Dresden “angel” turning away from the model Soviet plane in this identification with “Germanness” against the “East,” also evident in a 2015 report on neo-Nazi tendencies in Dresden, earlier literary fiction on the Romanian German experience,⁴¹³ and a 1995 essay by my grandmother’s late cousin, Hans Frombach.⁴¹⁴

Hans moved from Romania to West Germany in 1963, before the rise of Ceaucescu made it more difficult to leave.⁴¹⁵ The tone of his 1995 essay seems calculated to present his idea of Romanian German identity for the benefit of “real” Germans – perhaps to defend it in light of public critiques of war guilt that had erupted a few years earlier.⁴¹⁶ I share part of his piece as a “partner” activity to Irving’s treatment of Dresden in another part of the “German” world, for Hans also focuses on accounting for suffering and – in my opinion – claiming innocence

in a letter from Norbert Mutsch to Martin Mutsch (Junior), November 24, 1997. Both are in possession of Linda Takata as photocopies.

⁴¹² See William O. Oldson, *The Politics of Rite: Jesuit, Uniate and Romanian Ethnicity in 18th Century Transylvania* (Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press [distributor], 2005).

⁴¹³ On Dresden, see, for example, Ten Dyke, 27-57 and Mathias Berek, “Transfer Zones: German and Global Suffering in Dresden,” *Local Memories in a Nationalizing and Globalizing World*, eds. Marnix Beyen and Brecht Deseure (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). In literary fiction in the Romanian German community, see Herta Müller, *Der Mensch ist ein großer Fasan auf der Welt* [Man is a great pheasant in the world] (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1986), (see also *The Passport*, trans. Martin Chalmers (London: Serpent’s Tail, 1989)).

⁴¹⁴ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.”

⁴¹⁵ The 1963 date appears in Hans Frombach to Martin Mutsch (Junior).

⁴¹⁶ Notably in the *Historikerstreit*, debates among historians of the 1980s and 1990s, alongside self-examination in the creative world. See, for example, Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer, eds., *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

through it. Also like Irving, he effectively claims innocence – or at least acceptability – for the values of the Third Reich in the process.

Specifically, if Irving researched the Allied decision to bomb Dresden, Hans – and his co-editors – made an index of Romanian Germans deported to Soviet labor camps after World War II, notably including Hans’ sister, Anna. Otherwise, however, Hans described the *Wehrmacht* and *Waffen-SS* as more orderly and familiar than the Romanian Army, preferring the former as a “German.”⁴¹⁷ Earlier, he was happy to relate that he fought for the Third Reich in Yugoslavia with another cousin of Grandma’s, Norbert Mutsch, in a letter of 1978.⁴¹⁸ I cannot know when Hans arrived at his postwar voice. I would like to consider now, however, his projection of that voice onto his younger, prewar self – specifically through his attention to a 1940 edict from Third Reich-allied Romania. I beg the reader’s patience in this – I do it mainly to unpack a single, personal experience to inform the critique that thinkers in this dissertation rightly take as given, yet that I would like to fine-tune emotionally. Briefly, all in this dissertation have critiqued the human as corrupted by frames for reality. Hans might be able to show this corruption more simply than their theories. He also happens to illustrate my own opinion: that love – for a feeling of belonging with other people and the right to “be oneself” – is what makes frames dangerous.

The aforementioned edict stated that Germans in Romania would be “made equal in every way with those who belong to the Romanian tradition [*den Anhörigen*]

⁴¹⁷ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.” See also Anna’s letter – Anna Loris (née Frombach) “Weihnacht[s]abend 1945 in Rußland [Christmas Eve, 1945, in Russia],” *Deportation 1945*, 93-94.

⁴¹⁸ Hans Frombach to Martin Mutsch (Junior).

rumänischen Volkstums]” to “further expand the position of the German ethnic group [*Stellung der deutschen Volksgruppe*] for the preservation of Germanness [*zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums*].”⁴¹⁹ First, the idea that one be “made equal” with others “who belong” to a “tradition” implies at once that one *has* a “tradition” *and* that it has not been treated equally with another’s. Thus, a whole scenario of “Germanness” as a valuable but devalued identity could be established in preparation for the next part of the edict: an offer of *more* than the “equality” first proposed – “expan[sion]” and “preservation of Germanness.” I imagine people like Hans perhaps finding – or finding validation for – feelings of familiarity – of belonging – as desires for *ownership* of trappings of belonging – of the environment around them and things in it. In National Socialist terms, this was *Lebensraum*, “space to live.” I might recall the echo of Frisinghelli’s *Aktionsraum* – “space to act,”⁴²⁰ which I discussed in relation to Santner’s sense of a closed self, a “vacant Heimat,”⁴²¹ in Chapter 1.

She had asked, “Is simply our entitlement to space to act already an attack on that of others?”⁴²² Though a euphemism for the expansion of the Third Reich, the word *Lebensraum* may evoke an image of “life” as “space” – an atmosphere of oneself: akin to what one scholar called the “palingenetic,” emotional logic by which fascism conflates past, present, and future into one people and their space.⁴²³ In this way, the term constructs “others” not as merely inhuman but effectively not “real”:

⁴¹⁹ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation,” 8.

⁴²⁰ “*KRIEG.*,” 70-71.

⁴²¹ Santner, 162.

⁴²² “*KRIEG.*,” 71.

⁴²³ Carstoccea, 81, citation 10: Richard Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), 26.

not part of the eternal continuum of (one's) life and therefore "already" destroyed in the context of "life," such that one's life is the act of allowing their destruction.

The term *Lebensraum*, then, might be analyzed as a literalization of the "transcendent" universality that I noted earlier in the German-speaking world. Too simply put, that nationalism could proceed somewhat easily from the earlier ideal of a national culture forged from essences of many cultures, because the earlier ideal presumed to elevate some cultural styles and leave others behind. Thus the later ideal could conflate styles with people and call for similar elevation and elimination. It is wariness of leaving any(thing/one) behind that leads me to seek connections instead of perfection. I am not willing to lose even Hans, partly because he serves to teach vigilance for the emotional casualness of that very danger.

For example, the 1940 edict was followed by its visual amplification in the 1941 National Socialist film *Heimkehr* ("Homecoming"),⁴²⁴ which portrayed a German-derived community in "unequal" and abusive relations with its Eastern European neighbors. One documentary shows early 21st century European audiences describing sympathy for "German" characters and anger at "Polish" ones after viewing the film, despite its careful presentation as propaganda.⁴²⁵ This let me imagine the film's original effects – in the movie house scenarios that Benjamin and

⁴²⁴ I have seen extensive clips of Gustav Ucicky's *Heimkehr* (Vienna: Wien-Film GmbH, 1941) in the following documentaries: *Forbidden Films: The Hidden Legacy of Nazi Film*, dir. Felix Moeller (New York: Zeitgeist Films, 2014); and *Hitler's Hollywood: German Cinema in the Age of Propaganda*, dir. Rüdiger Suchsland (New York: Kino Lorber, 2018) (both accessed via UCSC Kanopy, July 21, 2019).

⁴²⁵ *Forbidden Films*.

Tosaka envisioned for “the masses” in Chapter 1⁴²⁶ – both for someone like Hans (though I do not know if he saw it) as well as other “German”-identified audiences *on behalf* of someone like Hans. Hans’ conclusion to his 1995 essay – though refraining from overt demonization of other ethnic groups – otherwise painted a similar picture: itemizing aspects of the “Germanness” of my relatives’ Romanian hometown – Giarmat (German: Jahrmarkt) – then seeking sympathy for his suffering to preserve it:

Thanks to the many farmworkers [in Giarmat], there was [...] a strong group of Social Democrats already after the First World War [...]. Seldom was world politics discussed, much more the worries and misery of daily life. Sure, there were some Austrian former soldiers among us who had been prisoners of war in Russia after the First World War and made fleeting acquaintance with Communism there. They promulgated the idea of “Triumph of the Proletariat,” but it was not taken seriously by most of the locals. From the church, there was a strongly Catholic Women’s Association, Girls’ Group [*Mädchenkranz* – referring to a wreath often worn for Communion], and Boys’ Association [...].

Our countrymen [...] were no “nationalists.” They lived peacefully together with Romanians, Hungarians, Serbians and Jews. But in a national environment characterized by that, they had to show a healthy ethnic consciousness [*Volksbewußtsein*], in order not to decline into foreignness [*in fremdem Volkstum unterzugehen*]. We had this love and diligence for our language and community long before National Socialism. In the darkest hours of German history, we never distanced ourselves from our People [*Volk*] or denied them. Some girls would have been able to save themselves from deportation [to Soviet labor camps], if they had married Romanians, Hungarians or Serbians.

We have shared our fate with the German People. As German cities burned to ash and thousands of civilians died through bombs, we were deprived of our rights, dispossessed, deported for forced labor and ultimately lost our homeland [*Heimat*]. The Federal Republic of Germany has recognized our sacrifice and provided us a new homeland. We owe enormous thanks to it and all democratic politicians. We want to concur with the words of our president, Roman Herzog, which he spoke at the commemoration in Dresden: “Human suffering must be overcome through common sympathy,

⁴²⁶ *Das Kunstwerk*; “The Work of Art;” “Film as a Reproduction of the Present;” “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei.”

memory and learning for the future [...] It is war as such that we must resist, that we must hate like the plague!”⁴²⁷

In short, Hans may be nothing if not clear. He first asserts a strong anti-Communist and Catholic history to support his “Germanness,” implicitly constructed as “not Soviet” and essentially “not foreign.” As he protests, “But in a national environment characterized by [diversity], they had to show a healthy ethnic consciousness, in order not to decline into foreignness. We had this love and diligence for our language and community long before National Socialism.” He then consolidates this love in an image of the Federal Republic of Germany that many “actual” Germans – if they ever saw Hans’ little publication – might not have approved: as honoring Hans’ Nazi-esque “sacrifice” for a common Germanness.

A last word on Hans might go to Germany’s then-president Herzog’s diplomatic – though very small – gesture of remorse in his 1995 speech on the anniversary of the Dresden bombing: calling for “common sympathy, memory and learning for the future.” I found another last word, however, that I might add. Hans’ family tree – kept, as I discovered, in the spare room where I finished this dissertation – lists several relatives with surnames that appear to be Jewish. Among them is Magdalena Caffk (Kaffka, b. 1747),⁴²⁸ who overlapped in time with Härtling’s “glittering moment” in Dresden,⁴²⁹ though I confess to doubts that she enjoyed any aspect of it in Romania. Recalling Wilhelm Oppenheim, however – who helped to create that moment – I am not sure how she would have liked me to describe her.

⁴²⁷ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation,” 17-18.

⁴²⁸ She appears on the Besch family tree, in possession of Linda Takata as a photocopy.

⁴²⁹ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 25.

I also briefly would like to cover one more aspect of personal – as opposed to “personalized” – postwar responsibility in Romania, partly because it leads back to Furuya and his images of the steer (Figures 29-31) – but also to show that different forms of attachment to an ideal of “self” and relations to “others” still can support disasters of human disconnection, such as – in the case of my Romanian German relatives – the Third Reich. It concerns my great-granduncle Franz Mutsch – of the generation before Hans and not as attached to their hometown. In fact, Franz seems to have moved to Budapest to attend military school and – much like his younger brother, my great-grandfather Martin Mutsch, who moved to Brooklyn – never went “home.” In fact, Franz seems to have been closer to his Hungarian brother-in-law, Franz Erdely, yet it made little historical difference.

I hazard the above speculation through a few letters to my great-grandfather Martin. In fact, Martin had moved to Brooklyn before the First World War, but Franz had served on the German side. Franz’s first letter to Martin (that I found) is dated 1923. It itemizes how he had spent money that Martin had sent from America. In Franz’s ornate *Kurrent* handwriting, I discern perhaps part of a military uniform, pigs, pig-feed and children’s shoes.⁴³⁰ His next letter (1925) notes that his “smallest” daughter (perhaps named Gigi?) had anemia.⁴³¹ His next letter after that – from 1951

⁴³⁰ Franz Mutsch to Martin Mutsch (Senior), Szekesfehervar, Hungary, February 1923. All letters cited are in possession of Linda Takata.

⁴³¹ Franz Mutsch to Martin Mutsch (Senior), Szekesfehervar, Hungary, January 26, 1925 (postmark).

– seems to say that the young men just returned from the German side of World War II are “unreliable,” and will not “follow orders,” yet soon they must get over it.⁴³²

Earlier than all of the above, however, around 1921, a chatty but also soberly informational missive arrived for Martin in Brooklyn from Franz Erdely – his brother-in-law – which included in its news that Franz [Mutsch’s] youngest daughter had died – Erna. As Franz Erdely wrote, “hearbreaking that poor Franz [Mutsch] has so many strokes of fate [*Schicksalschläge*] to bear.”⁴³³ I imagine that Erna’s death might have been illegible in Franz [Mutsch]’s handwriting, mentioned in a lost letter or perhaps never mentioned – and this is the end of the story. The “moral” is that I should be using Franz as I did Hans – to show critically that someone in another generation social relation *also* never learned from the war and resided – though perhaps more quietly – in his own suffering. I cannot deny the additional, “personal touch” of the two Franzes, however, who made me admire one small aspect of their relation: that one – Franz Erdely, not actually a blood relative of mine – kindly assumed that he could speak for the pain of the other and casually did so. I therefore have family precedents for not being able to do this but also a model for doing this.

In fact, the fundamentally common activity of Furuya and me might be something like undertaking that relation – sharing and exploring pain for its present and future amelioration in stories, our own or otherwise. Thus do I arrive at my approach to the Holocaust through Furuya’s work. He evokes it through depiction of

⁴³² Franz Mutsch to Martin Mutsch (Senior), Taborfalva, Hungary, May 1951. I thank my mother, Linda Takata, for – among other things – deciphering Franz’s handwriting in this particular letter.

⁴³³ Franz Erdely to Martin Mutsch (Senior), Arad, Romania, (undated, ca. 1921).

inability to depict others' pain, a sort of example for others who also cannot. I cannot skip straight to this issue, however, but must arrive at it through Furuya's re-uses of an image: a steer awaiting slaughter in various iterations (Figures 29-31).

Furuya first used the image in a 1983 exhibition titled "Blues for a Guinea Pig," reviewed as "protest[ing] animal-torturers of all kinds" (Figure 29, left).⁴³⁴ In 1989, he used it in a sequence that I analyze in the third part of this Chapter (Figures 29, right and 41, pp. 81-82) through readings of death and afterlife akin to those that I considered in Chapter 2 (Figure 24). An essayist for Furuya's 1989 photobook effectively "updated" the image's 1983 reading from "animal torture" to "the anticipation of killing in the powerful body of the steer,"⁴³⁵ causing the steer to symbolize not just a victim but perhaps the unknowability and surprise of the end of life. Furuya described Christine's suicide to me somewhat like this. He was explaining his use of contact sheets as markers of time, referring to the one that records Christine's death, which he has shown in several photobooks.⁴³⁶ As he told me, her death felt too casual: one day was "Normal – with lunch in Potsdam and so forth, and the next day it happened that, that the whole short run – just a day, *ne* – a day before, at lunch in Potsdam – the next day, she was dead by lunchtime, *ne*."

In these terms, Furuya's 1995 use of the steer might appear to retreat from those loaded emotions – for him – and "flatten" it into a sign of the Holocaust as an abstraction (Figure 30). Before I make this reading, I note that Furuya told me that

⁴³⁴ Candussi, (page number unidentified).

⁴³⁵ "Chronik der Erkenntnisse," 98.

⁴³⁶ This contact sheet appears in *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 89; Ollman, 196; *Trace elements*, 87; and *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 175.

his colleague Urs Stahel chose the images for this photobook, with which Furuya then was constrained to work. In keeping with the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II that year, Furuya's show also chanced to share an exhibition space with portraits of Hitler, which I mentioned to him (having seen it in a contemporary advertisement).⁴³⁷ Furuya told me that he had used the steer to encode a reading of death into the image of a swastika graffito (Figure 30, right): specifically, to make the swastika appear next to its "crime," to ensure that his use of it could not be misread.

At the same time, Furuya insisted on visual complexity, explaining that he would not show the swastika in the single photograph in which he had documented it. Rather, he had to show it as a photo-within-a-photo, to encode the swastika somewhat shockingly as an everyday thing: on a tree in a photo in a pile of photos in a bath of darkroom chemicals. If not, Furuya told me, "it's superficial, it's – if I showed this [single] picture, I'd be totally dull [*platt*], dumb – an advertising photograph. That's not me." I might here reiterate my inference – explored in the Introduction and Chapter 1 – that what *is* "me" for Furuya is to provide signifiers that are between unconditionally open and rigidly illustrative, allowing what I have called a multinarrative ethics in conjunction with his "cues." I may share a few brief narratives from his image of the swastika – both on its own and in juxtaposition: 1) the tree resembles a hand reaching from the sky; 2) the single photo of the swastika covers most of a contact sheet, which – as just noted from Furuya's discussion with

⁴³⁷ This show was "Hoffmann & Hitler: Porträts eines Diktators [Hoffmann & Hitler: portraits of a dictator]," at Fotomuseum Winterthur, Zurich, Switzerland, April 1-June 5, 1995. It was advertised together with "Mémoires 1995" in the advertisement, "Das Museum für das Medium Fotografie in der deutschen Schweiz – in Winterthur bei Zürich [The museum for the medium [of] photography in German[-speaking] Switzerland – in Winterthur in Zurich]," *Camera Austria*, no. 50 (1995): 79.

me – Furuya treats as a factual sequence of events in time, such that 3) the tree might be a “hand of fascism” over the contact sheet as “truth;” yielding 4) the quirky thought that the tree bears the swastika as a sort of “warning label” about its place in nature – as a potential outcome of attachments to *Heimat* (discussed in Chapter 1).

Across the pages, the tilt of the photos in the chemicals – as well as the light reflected on the photobook pages as I hold them open – lend a sense of vertiginous motion as though the swastika “turns away” from the steer, from its guilt – the latter now encoded in the steer’s etymology of the Holocaust: a whole (burnt) animal sacrifice. If I close the book, the steer and swastika touch invisibly. The story is not “over” but frozen in that unknowable relation, such that the material conditions of the photobook may “show” the unknowability of the Holocaust to those outside it: depict the inability to depict the pain or nature of this relation, but that there *is* a relation.

To Furuya, however, I said none of this. I only concurred that far right expressions have been on the rise around the world in recent years.⁴³⁸ At the same time, he came to speak his epigraph to this chapter by expressing this critique until it formed the frame of a positive experience within – or despite – this crisis: that he was about to be rewarded for his life’s work in the apparent site of his critique, with the Austrian State Prize for Artistic Photography.⁴³⁹ Unlike most other voices in this chapter, Furuya easily took a stance of external judgement against the place where he

⁴³⁸ In the United States, for example, populist appeals to racism and other biases by the 45th president, Donald Trump, led to an armed attack on Congress by Trump’s supporters on January 6, 2021. See, for example, “How One of America’s Ugliest Days Unraveled Inside and Outside the Capitol.”

⁴³⁹ This prize now is listed in Furuya’s biography as the Austrian State Prize for Artistic Photography (2019): <https://www.furuya.at/en/biography.html> (accessed November 19, 2020).

has come – more or less – to belong. He articulated a neat solution – the Austria that accepted him was “the country,” the xenophobic Austria its “government”:

SF: [...] OK, I am receiving [...] the highest prize for artistic photography in Austria. [...] it is awaiting only the stamp [...]but it has been delayed by the objection that] “of everyone, this foreigner shouldn’t get it,” *ne?* [laughs] This government is like that, now. [A friend] noticed this xenophobia, and quite clearly – these [switches to English] boat people [back to German] and so on – “close [them out of] everything,” *ne?* And, OK, but this [...] It’s not bad, insofar as I am not receiving [the prize] from the government [*Regierung*]. Rather, I am receiving it from the Country of Austria [*der Staat Österreich*]. That is the distinction. [I] never like the government – in Japan, too. In Japan, I’d reject [a government prize] if I had received one. There are many prizes in Japan that come out of the government. [...] If I received a prize from a government, then I’d say no, I don’t need it – [even] from the Japanese government – but here [Austria is] also a bit similar. I am not accepting it from *this* government, but rather from the very Country of Austria. [Laughing] That’s a little [*Bissert!*] – a little –

ET: Yes, that is complicated.

In short, Furuya was not finding harm in a space of belonging that had been his – like me, and, as I considered above, Härtling and Wiemer, to whom I return in the next section. Japan emerged, however – as Furuya said – as a “similar” case in which a “government” might be more nationalist in sentiment than its citizens. I shall return to such hints of Japan in analysis of Furuya’s 2015 Dresden images in the third part of this section (Figure 48), but now I must return to his uses of the steer image.

I also must explain – belatedly but only now having shared enough context – why I use the word “Holocaust” despite discussions of different Jewish relations to it – and related experiences – for which a variety of words have been suggested.⁴⁴⁰ Its mainstream meaning of Nazi harm designates my own relation to it through that harm:

⁴⁴⁰ See Fleet.

spaces of belonging that gave National Socialism an emotional space to grow, which I now explore through Furuya's last use of the steer image. That space of belonging is the private Christianity in Christine's diaries (glossed in Chapter 1) – not merely the misuse of Dresden's Christian image by Irving; political use of Catholicism by Augustus the Strong; or Catholicism as but one element in the holistic xenophobia of Grandma's cousin Hans.⁴⁴¹

Specifically, I cannot view Furuya's last use of the steer image only as prescribed by the context of the photobook where it appears – as a marker of time in a loose chronology of images that Furuya attempted to match to Christine's diary entries of 1983 (Figure 31).⁴⁴² Instead, I remember its 1995 juxtaposition with the swastika in relation to Christine's writings, particularly her epigraph to this chapter. Unlike in Furuya's 1995 juxtaposition (Figure 30), the steer is on the right, making its blindfolded eyes "look" toward Christine. As in 1995, however, the steer's shower-like slaughterhouse may form a contrast to the cultivated nature of the "German half" of its juxtaposition: the swastika in the park and Christine in a park-like backyard. As in my reading of the swastika, I might imagine the story that Christine "denies" the steer – closing her eyes, either asleep or "willfully" ignoring it.

To the left of Christine in the photo, a distant apple tree echoes the plucked apple on the table – in Biblical terms, perhaps a sort of fruit of knowledge that she does not seem to notice, akin to her not noticing the steer. The comparison is vastly

⁴⁴¹ Respectively, Irving; "Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit," 32; and "Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation."

⁴⁴² Seiichi Furuya (untitled statement), *Mémoires 1983*, 310-311.

imperfect, yet it may encode a “perpetrator perspective”: the fear of loss of innocence – and of punishment – in acquiring (or deciding not to deny) knowledge. One more element lets me think of – or, perhaps, remember – a certain space from the Christian aftermath to this fear, through my own sense of that faith from once assuming (incorrectly) that I had it. The visual element that reminds me of this is the cross-like telephone pole in the right-background behind Christine. I shall be brief.

I assumed as a very young child that telephone poles were crucifixions – that Christ was hanging on them such that I would attain a state of being able to see him, as my dad remembers.⁴⁴³ It never occurred to me that there were reasons not to think so, although my parents had left their churches before I was born. Reconstructing my early childhood today, I remember that my father let me look at the illustrated Bibles left in our house from both his and my mother’s childhoods. He did not deny my idea about the telephone poles at the time, but – when I was five – he explained that he had committed “The Unpardonable Sin”⁴⁴⁴ – turning away from Christ and giving up salvation. I share this story for the same reason that I shared Hans’ story. It is to show that I – though outside so many frames of love, because they might foster a false sense of rightness in the idea of “myself” – presume to understand how it feels to be inside such frames. If not for the desire to make my love *really* “universal” – the type of love that the child-me associated with Christianity – I would not have

⁴⁴³ My memory is corroborated in an email to me from my mother, Linda Takata (March 27, 2016).

⁴⁴⁴ For an intimate study of The Unpardonable Sin, see Julius H. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy & Protestant Experience in America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

given up my frames of love. I also accept, however, that not everyone needs to give up a frame of love in order to love more widely.

As I already suggested at the start of this dissertation, Christine's epigraph to this chapter may show just such a broadening of a conventional frame of Catholicism. I would call it an act of conscience – I would say her own, yet she might have credited a higher conscience – in order to deserve the comfort that her faith provides. Either way, it might be called an “internal intervention” against anti-Semitic tendencies in her own Catholicism, specifically when she takes the Jewish music of the “Hava nagilah” – however it came to her – as a sort of “answer” to her candle lighting on Easter Eve:

I light candles this [Holy Saturday] evening 3 times, grab 7 candles each time and find “Hava nagilah” the second time [...] “Always have faith where and when you have the music of life” [...] I must finish 33 Our Father's and Hail Mary's without mistakes [...] I want to do it for everyone in the world [*die Allgemeinheit*], but the first successful 33 of them were for me. That's how I came to know myself.⁴⁴⁵

In fact, the above excerpt combines two diary entries in which Christine remembered the day before Easter, 1983. They are somewhat separated by cultural emphasis: first the “Hava nagilah;” second, setting herself the program of Our Father's and Hail Mary's. I wonder if the Jewish element moved her to add a desire to strengthen herself to repeat those prayers “for everyone in the world” – that she turned to a “familiar” Catholic mechanics for inclusion of a “foreign” element. Of course, I cannot know how she thought of herself as operating. Among other things, she was writing at a distance of about a week from the day that she remembered.

⁴⁴⁵ *Mémoires 1983*, 86, 92.

During that time, she had been in a mental hospital after Furuya and her mother had had her institutionalized. As Furuya explained to me – which I share in an interview excerpt in the next section – they felt that her praying had become too intense, which her diaries may reflect.⁴⁴⁶ These circumstances make no difference to my reading of Christine’s experience, which is not to pin down her reality but value an aspect of inclusivity in her record of Catholic ritual. She hints, however, that her own estimation of the experience might have been similar to mine, closing the “Hava nagilah” diary entry with quotes that evoke refreshed hearing and sight – revelation:

“Always have faith where and when you have the music of life.”
- Christa Berger

“Tis sure funny when ya can see without glasses.”
- Mrs. Müller, to me, reading *Der Talisman*⁴⁴⁷

Mrs. Müller speaks in the rustic dialect of the 19th century Austrian comic musical *Der Talisman* (“The talisman”),⁴⁴⁸ apparently amused that she can read that work without glasses. Both quotes might suggest a certain joy in relation to the candle ritual: Berger’s perhaps that the “Hava nagilah” is part of the “music of life” where Christine finds faith; Mrs. Müller’s in a metaphor of seeing with new knowledge – without the glasses that framed the world before. Christine, however, does not leave her lens of Catholicism aside. Rather, she may see more through it.

⁴⁴⁶ *Mémoires 1983*, 92. Furuya writes in “Adieu-Wiederssehen” that “she was admitted to a mental hospital” (unpaginated: 3 from start of piece). See also his caption to image number A-1983/4 in *Mémoires 1978-1985* and comments to me in the next section of this chapter.

⁴⁴⁷ *Mémoires 1983*, 86.

⁴⁴⁸ Johann Nestroy, *Der Talisman: Posse mit Gesang in drei Akten* [The talisman: a farce with singing in three acts] (Vienna: Joh. Bapt. Wallishausser, 1843).

Reconciliatory Exercises: Shared Exegetical Vision Between Furuya and Christine and the Carefully Beloved Dresdens of Härtling and Wiemer

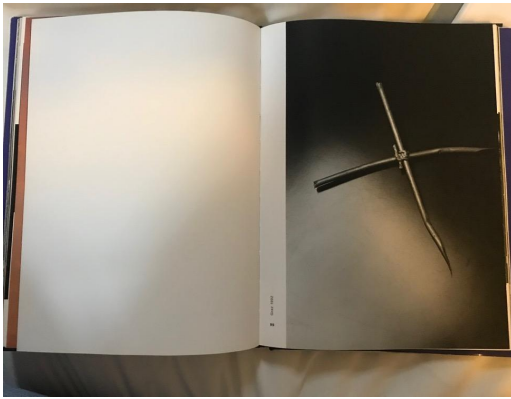


Figure 34: “Graz, 1992,” *Mémoires 1995* (1995), pp. 98-99

SF: Yes, yes, OK, that’s a [unintelligible] cross [Figure 34]. I found it after [Christine’s] death, and – after her death, at home – or, in Berlin, I’d been collecting things and so on. I found it then. Christine made it. I didn’t make it, and, as I’ve already told you [off the audio record] – yes, for me it was a surprise when she showed these symptoms for the first time, that she had become sick. It happened here that she had gone there [*hier passiert daß dort ist sie gegangen*], a day of the Easter Fire⁴⁴⁹ [Figure 35, right]. That’s the Easter Holiday. That’s April. In the evening, she went out and began to pray too loudly. “Mary” and so forth, *ne*? It was absolutely horrifying – what’s she doing up there, *ne* [*da war es absolut geschreckt, was macht sie darauf, ne*]. That was the absolute beginning of this, this, illness – OK, the illness had begun already, but this absolute [unintelligible] was shown for the first time, and the next day she was already in the hospital, because she somehow no longer – [it was] dangerous and so on, self-harm and such, *ne*. And then, OK, it was mysterious to me – she had never talked about Catholic things, Catholic belief or anything, even at home. But Grandma always had a Cross *gurai*,⁴⁵⁰ *ne*, but that’s totally normal in Catholic Austria.

⁴⁴⁹ Austrian traditions feature bonfires on the night before Easter – as seen in Figure 11, right. See also Furuya’s thoughts on Easter Fires in “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 10-11 from start of piece).

⁴⁵⁰ The Japanese term *gurai* may function here as “to the extent of” or “as much as,” i.e., setting up a contrast to Furuya’s “totally normal.”



Figure 35: (left) detail of “Oberhaag, 1984;” (right) *Mémoires 1984-1987* (2010), pp. 10-11

ET: Yes, this other [cross] is like this [Figure 36, upper right].



Figure 36: detail of “East Berlin, 1986,” *Mémoires 1995* (1995), p. 85

SF: Yes, yes that’s the seed [of Christine’s condition] now [sic]. She made that, but I saw it later. That is – that means – it could be that she had a burden, that she – this Catholic belief, already. She wanted, back then – the conditions meant she wanted someone almost like God [*halb wie Gott*] to help her. Because I was not God, I wasn’t a partner. Problematically, I never spoke [about this] – then, therefore, I would go over [*säge auf*] all this later, *ne*, everything after her death. Then I thought that she had wished to use this [kind of] Catholic helper [*diese Katholische Gehilfe gebrauchtete*], so she’d made a cross, and this also, that was her – that was as a signal, *ne*, but I never saw this cross during her lifetime, *ne*?

ET: Ah, this one [Figure 34] and the one on the wall [Figure 36].

SF: That's even later, when did I photograph it?

ET: Uh, it's [19]86.

SF: Yes, just after her death, *ne*. It's after her death I have the so-called other ruins [*andere Ruinierte*], *ne*? Looking at the things that she left behind and so on, *ne*? And that's – then I found this cross and just photographed it, *ne*. Right.

ET: And this [Figure 37]?

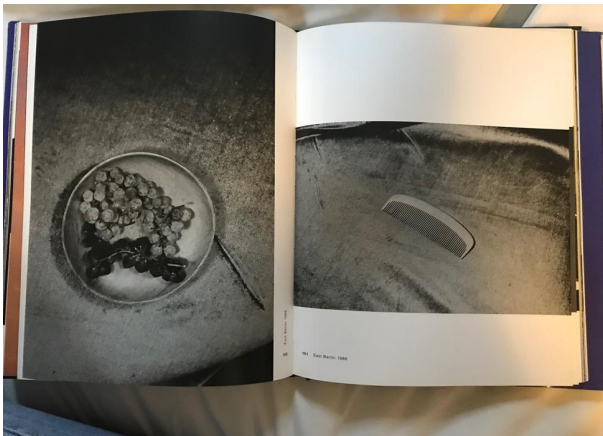


Figure 37: “East Berlin, 1986,” *Mémoires 1995*, pp. 100-101

SF: That's bunches of grapes, also in East Berlin. They weren't eaten – green grapes and black grapes. There I saw that they were our – our relationship [*unsere Verhältnis*] *ne*. [That's] why I photographed [them]. But – quick and truly [*ganz kurz richtige*] – the motivation was when – [I] say it *now* [*war's wenn der jetzt sage*]. Back then, I knew nothing. But [the green and black grapes are] – she and I, right? So, I believe it. Such was my thinking, my belief, and that came to me [*und das ist an mir kam*], so I photographed [them] *ne*.

ET&SF: [murmurs of agreement]

SF: Generally, Austria is a Catholic country, but not so devout [*stark*]. This [our] family was also not devout. No one went to church. These days, belief is very rare. Few people go to church on Sunday – however, in the deepest sense, they're Catholic, *ne*?

ET: Yes.

SF: That is – that is, then, certainly Christine was also like that, *ne*? Completely normal. But then that just, so to speak, *broke out*, when she – her belief – so I see it, *ne* – somewhat [of a] helplessness. She began with Jesus, Mary – Mary and so on, and I was absolutely horrified, *ne*? Completely long sentences, over and over again she prayed, *ne*?

ET: Yes.

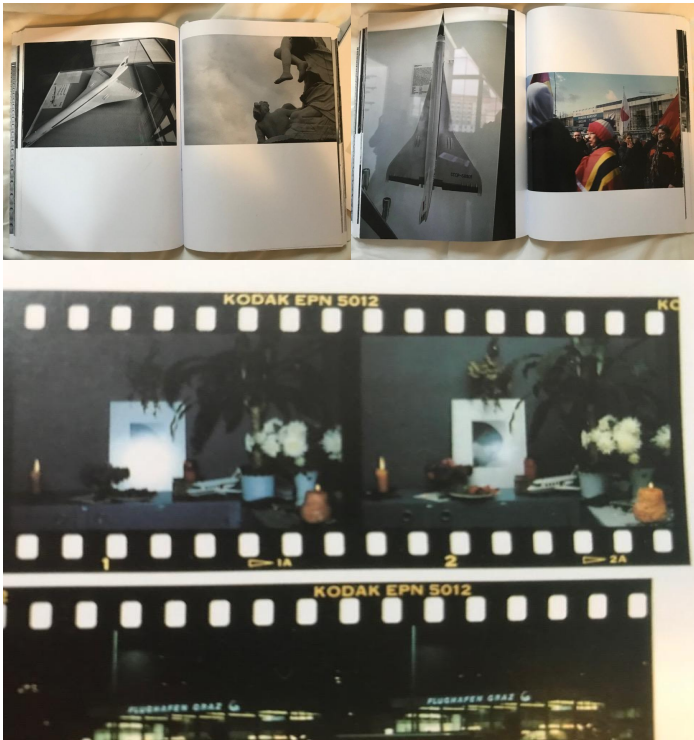


Figure 38: top: untitled, *Warum Dresden* (2016), pp. 111-112; 142-143; bottom: detail of “The Transport, Berlin-Graz, 1985,” *Memoires 1978-1988* (1989), p. 91.

SF: Yes, many things happened here, in this house.

[...]

E: Yes. [changing the subject] This is a bit strange, but I’ve noticed many airplanes [Figure 38].

SF: That’s just madness!

ET: Why are there so many airplanes?

SF: No, no, that is absolute – you thought of it [*Ihr war gedacht*]. You saw – that is unbelievable. You saw – this, this hint [*Hinweis*]. During preparation for my exhibition [which was postponed], I also noticed. More and more airplanes show up, *ne?* Yeah [comparing images between my notes and his photos on the computer screen] your pictures and my pictures. That’s really – that’s an interesting phenomenon. For the last room [of the intended exhibition] I will show my airplanes, so the last works of all will be airplanes. Different airplanes. It was not yet the end [of planning] when we noticed [*noch nicht Ende als war getroffen*]. The third room was still big [enough for more photos]. And these airplanes just showed up to me more and more. When Kômyô was a baby [showing photos] – also airplanes!

ET: [piece of equipment snaps and flies across the room] Is that – oh, forgive me –

SF: No, I saw [your] question [about the airplanes], and I said, madness, what *is* –

ET: [in Japanese, pointing to a small toy airplane in Fig. 15, bottom] For example, this toy airplane.

SF: [in Japanese] yes, yes, yes. [back to German] [My] skill as an observer is pretty good, I’ve thought [*beobachteres Qualität ist schon gut, habe ich gedacht*]. That means that only now, in [this last] year of intensive work, did it emerge to me that airplanes always have played a specific, key role, an important role, that they, immediately – not immediately – OK.

ET: OK.

SF: Noted. But yes, that’s a – I don’t know. I don’t know, but there’s *no* such thing as accident [*Zufall gibt’s ja nicht*]. Therefore, in the deepest sense, in my – anywhere – is certainly this homeless person [*Heimatlose*], always staying in the air, or who likes to stay in the air. There’s something in that [*irgendwas ist dr’innen*]. That is – that is an airplane, *ne?* Somehow. Yes. That’s very funny, right?

Having given much of the last section to voices informing Furuya’s work – the world that his Dresden work needs, indicated by the choice of Wiemer’s piece for his Dresden photobook and the juxtapositions by Völter that I considered – I have begun this section by “following up” my consideration of Christine’s approach to her

Catholicism with Furuya's words to me on the subject. In fact, he lets me see a bit more in his relationship with Christine than he suggested. I unpack this as a way back to Dresden – or rather, further “Dresdens” in the imagery of Härtling and Wiemer, specifically as they also undertake acts of reconciliation. For them, this undertaking might be called an ethics of belonging and postwar responsibility around an image of Dresden that they admire: the aristocratic Dresden of Härtling's mother and – for Wiemer – a figure of that generation living half in the past, half in the GDR.

First, however, I might start with a reference photograph from Furuya's work for what he calls an “Easter Fire” – the Austrian Easter Eve bonfire (Figure 35). The painting of the Immaculate Heart of Mary on the left-hand page brings out a heart-shape in the flames of the Easter Fire, “toward” which Mary's head is “turned.” Although the painting likely shows her eyes pointed heavenward or forward, Furuya's cropping of her eyes lets me imagine that she looks to the bonfire and “includes” it in the wider world of Catholic ritual, somewhat as Christine had accepted the “Hava nagilah” in her prayers of the same day the year before. Conversely, Furuya wrote in 1997 that the Easter Fire seemed out of keeping with Christianity, reminding him rather of Japanese purification fires. He concluded with words on Easter that treated it somewhat like the day of ancestor worship in Japan, when the dead – such as Christine – return.⁴⁵¹ I might see it as a notion of resurrection that “reconciles” the two. Furuya, however, expressed the idea that Christine's practice of Catholicism was a sign of his own inadequacy – “Because I was not God, I wasn't a partner.”

⁴⁵¹ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated 10-11 from start of piece).

Conversely, I see a similarity between Furuya and Christine in their willingness to consider life as “signs” – more like Furuya’s “reading” of the grapes as the two of them than his spare and formal treatment of her cross of twigs (Figure 34), where all context is removed but the symbol. Closer may be the cross on the wall in the kitchen: a dynamic of everyday elements, where a figure reminiscent of those in 18th century Japanese woodblock prints might be imagined to “see” Christine’s cross on the wall from its place above Furuya’s kitchen strainers,⁴⁵² where the cross brings out undulating, cross-like shapes in the wallpaper (Figure 36). Christine writes, for example, that she looked to the sky several times and saw different colors as warmth from different people in her life.⁴⁵³ It is somewhat as she treated her Easter Eve candle selection – like a divination: “grab[bing] 7 candles each time and find[ing] “Hava nagilah” the second time.”⁴⁵⁴ Though the next – and final – section will feature Furuya’s remarks on Christine’s photography as that of a mentally unstable person, I must add – though from experience beyond the scope of this dissertation (as well as my teenage impression of the first Foucault I ever read)⁴⁵⁵ – that the words of “madness” are not nonsense. They are often “sense” but at extremes.

⁴⁵² Compare, for example, the profile portrait by Utamaro Kitagawa (though facing the other way), “‘Flower of the Western Quarter (Saikoku no hana),’ from the series *Comparison of Flowers in the Gardens of Edo* (*Edo no sono hana awase*),” ca. 1799, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession number 11.14325, credit line: William Sturgis Bigelow Collection: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/206450/flower-of-the-western-quarter-saikoku-no-hana-from-the-se?ctx=83f87070-1444-45e7-8ee9-b7f6443f8bbf&idx=0> (accessed April 5, 2021).

⁴⁵³ *Mémoires* 1983, 30.

⁴⁵⁴ *Mémoires* 1983, 86.

⁴⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la folie à l’âge classique: folie et déraison* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961), which I first knew as *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

If I might borrow Furuya's words to me about the appearance of airplanes in his work: he and Christine might have shared the willingness to consider that "there's *no* such thing as accident." Such a willingness is not far from the multinarrative ethics of this dissertation. I also recuperate instances of historical harm and elements around them – which it is irresponsible to call "accidents," and which unfold in paths of responsibility and intimacy that mimic an underlying order – but this is only because my "methods" are exegetical *against* the dangers of exegesis: *not* to reveal an underlying order but *make* a similarly meticulous dynamic of increasing awareness.

In fact, I may return to Dresden through one of Furuya's "non-accidents" among his airplane images: the toy plane on the contact sheet that records the return of Christine's body to Graz from East Berlin (Figure 38, bottom). As he told me:

One airplane comes to Graz. That's a departure plane [*Abflugzeug*]. Yes, airplanes had to do with many good-byes, *ne?* You go into my – for me, they mean many – many things, *ne?* Like a coffin, like a coffin with a dead person inside, like in an airplane, a "flying coffin," *ne?*

My own thoughts on that airplane, however, were that it was a "homecoming" for Christine, particularly in contrast to Furuya's other idea of airplanes as a metaphor for not belonging – or, at least, not having a home: "in the deepest sense, in my – anywhere – is certainly this homeless person, always staying in the air, or who likes to stay in the air. There's something in that. That is – that is an airplane, *ne?*" The quote on the back cover of Furuya's 1995 *Mémoires* volume reads, "I live here, but I am not at home here," which might convey a stereotype of the immigrant, yet his words to me were more than that. I might not call an airplane "homeless," for perhaps it "belongs" in the sky, though the people in the plane do not. Rather, its

“home” may be – to borrow Furuya’s word for his dynamic on the “empty space” of the photobook page, always “*distan[t]*.”

Conversely – and in a foreshadowing of my consideration of Furuya and Christine’s photographs in the next section – the funeral portrait of Christine on the contact sheet (Figure 38, bottom) struck me as “turned toward” the toy plane next to it, drawing closer to it. Her profile was unconventional for a funeral portrait, in which the subject generally looks at the viewer – somewhat as in Christine’s “perfect human connection” in Chapter 2 (Figure 24, pp. 18-19). The flash of the camera, however, that first obscures her portrait – then blurrily illuminates it – may create a more honest record of Furuya’s own connection to that moment: both in factual terms of the effect of the flash on the photographed objects and also as a metaphor for interruptions in the ever-changing conditions through which one sees the past and other people, neither of which are evident in the “perfect” portrait. The flash is a sure reminder that the camera hides both the photographer behind it and the rest of the world that is not in front of it, and yet – like discursive language and all its consequences, discussed from the Introduction through Chapter 2 – one must find a way to trust it.

The above is somewhat how Härtling treated memory through notions of “remembered reality” and “narrated truth”⁴⁵⁶ – like Furuya, his own memory of the past; like me, his secondary memory of German relatives from before the Third Reich, though for him they were a generation before, for me, two generations. Like him, I

⁴⁵⁶ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit.”

relate to these prewar relatives through their presentations of themselves in texts and photographs – because I did not grow up quite “within” the imagery that they did – and yet they appeared to him not long after the era of his imaginings. They were just a few years older but in a newly fascist regime. I cannot compare us there. Rather, I now follow Härtling in another exercise in “defusing” Dresden⁴⁵⁷ – his personal one.

In fact, Härtling’s imagining of his mother’s Dresden combines affection for culture with details of harm somewhat akin to his earlier encoding of the *Kristallnacht* in his list of Semper’s creations in Dresden.⁴⁵⁸ For example, he phrases memories colored by fascism – into which he was born in 1933 – that undercut his mother’s more freethinking or – recalling my discussion of “German universality” in relation to Dresden’s cosmopolitanism – “transcendent” memories. He wrote of his mother’s youth: “it was acceptable to flirt simultaneously with Communists and officers of the Reichswehr, and these guys also were responsible for [my aunt Elle’s] early death: they drove drunk into a creek, saved themselves from the limousine and left the young woman to drown.”⁴⁵⁹ The story may evoke the “drowning” of Germany and beg self-critical questions: how Germany could have chosen better among her political “suitors” – how the suitors themselves could have been more responsible for the whole country instead of their own ideals for it.

⁴⁵⁷ “My Love to Be Defused.”

⁴⁵⁸ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 32.

⁴⁵⁹ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 22-23.

I also detect a whisper of such critique in Härtling's description of writing his 1974 novel about his mother – though this is a much more tender undertaking. It starts with her childhood garden in Klotzsche, a neighborhood of Dresden:

The impetus to find the garden, the house in Klotzsche, again, now once and for all, retold, told anew, came again through the voice of my mother. Relatives passed letters and diaries down to me, which they had preserved since her death. Now I heard it anew. But her voice changed, became younger, for she *was*, when she and I gazed over the garden hedge into a lost paradise, just thirty years old. I am now more than twice her age. And so, I found her against the reality of her letters, her diaries. [Her] house, which I did not know still stood at that time – or whether the park were there yet – lost nothing of its truth. Thoughts of Klotzsche set my fantasy free and entrusted my mother to it. It was like a duty [*Auftrag*]. I *had* to write a story, a life, which replaced reality with truth. She would be a fictitious figure who is remembering herself. I gave her a name, Katharina Wüllner. In 1973, I began to write the novel *A Woman* [*Eine Frau*].⁴⁶⁰ To summon Katharina, I first entered the garden. That is the first sentence of the book:

It could be only the garden, the shadows of the beech hedge, latticed by the wandering sunlight, the pavilion, the gazebo under the birches, or the evening solo of the Bohemian trumpeter, who was a gardener in the house next door, it could, she described her childhood, be only the garden, and her phrases were from a song, yes, as though she herself no longer wanted to believe everything so found no perfect truth. And even the great, white, always summery house received its stanza. “It was,” Katharina had written Annamaria, her youngest daughter, “it was a distant place at a distant time. I do not know if you will understand me. It is indeed not very precise. My memory has guarded the house in Klotzsche and its great garden like an island, like the picture of an island. And often, when I was happy, I thought of this island and had the feeling that such happiness even might be found again, later, much later.”

I spoke for her and she for me.⁴⁶¹

Härtling's feeling of “truth” – in which “thoughts of Klotzsche set my fantasy free and entrusted my mother to it,” even “against the reality of her letters, her diaries”

⁴⁶⁰ Peter Härtling, *Eine Frau* [A woman] (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1974).

⁴⁶¹ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 33-34.

– might be considered a love for the era of his mother’s youth – which he allows “her” through his diaphanous language – very gently tempered by his own doubts and knowledge. Somewhat as in the effect of Furuya’s Japanese captions – as discussed in Chapter 2, where a language of doubts in memory often prefaces information that seems not untrue but painful or assertive – Härtling employs language of doubt to write that the character that he has made of his mother may doubt the innocence of her past happiness: “as though she herself no longer wanted to believe everything and so found no perfect truth.” He then goes a step further to make her say, in the first person, that she only “had the feeling that such happiness might be found again, later, much later.” In effect, this “later” is Härtling’s novel itself. He “contains” her happiness such that it cannot enable escapism from implications of harm within it.

Similarly, Härtling’s 2007 piece amends his memory of his mother’s too-idealistic image of her youth, but it is unclear whether she or he is the one who corrects the memory: “her stories circle around a place, a house, a great garden. It was a paradise, I hear her. And somewhat later – now I listen more precisely and begin to think it through: it could have been a paradise.”⁴⁶² As Härtling wrote above, they are speaking for each other, yet Härtling is either giving his mother more of an awareness than she really had or realizing an awareness that she never told him. On the surface, it is similar to the formations that I considered Santner to prescribe Härtling’s generation in order to reach a “solidarity with the oppressed of history, past

⁴⁶² “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 21.

and present”⁴⁶³ – to remember humanity toward Holocaust victims in their elders, or otherwise invent it for the sake of acknowledging the humanity of their victims.

Conversely, Wiemer takes a position of greater distance – and a sort of deference – to the generation before, though he may plumb his self-criticality partly on their behalf. Born in the GDR in 1953, he might be considered a younger witness to someone like Härtling’s mother – should such a woman appear, which is effectively what happens in part of Wiemer’s piece for Furuya’s Dresden photobook. As may be recalled from the start of this chapter, that piece purports to capture “the societal agony in the middle of the last decade of the GDR through contemporary historical analogies to the images by Seiichi Furuya.”⁴⁶⁴ In fact, the imagery of Wiemer’s words describes interior spaces of both buildings and minds, which Furuya’s camera cannot catch. He furnishes an otherwise unseen atmosphere and historical context for Furuya’s photographs.

In one small episode from this unseen world, Wiemer’s protagonist Dietrich finds himself admiring a woman who might be imagined as similar to Härtling’s mother but – rather than writing of her house and garden in idealistic memory – conveys her enduring pride – and growing distaste – to those who enter her disintegrating villa in Dresden under the GDR. This is the “lilac-wound villa” of Wiemer’s epigraph to this chapter, the “refuge not to be expected here,” which “devours its marvelous, sorrowful existence [...] away toward the boxy new buildings of the seventies.” Below, Dietrich timidly has identified himself as “*the appraiser*” –

⁴⁶³ Santner, 162.

⁴⁶⁴ *Warum Dresden*, 190.

after being mistaken for various tradesmen – and been let inside by his nameless hostess' daughter, Charlotte. The hostess addresses him (*italics original*):

Take a step closer, young man. You're no tradesman – for once – you understand. Tradesmen are criminals. Charlotte, make coffee for the gentleman. But the gentleman drinks coffee?! You are no tradesman; I saw it at once.

You waited a moment behind the garden door. Tradesmen don't wait, never.

Tradesmen are criminals. All criminals. Always coming too late. Stealing. Drinking beer. We'll have no more of that when they're gone. But money, now money.

Dietrich would have liked to agree with her immediately from the bottom of his heart. This country had brought forth a people of tradesmen, a people whose entire strength depends on the drills from the Intershops [semi-illegal shops for Western goods]. People for whom the changing of leaky gaskets has grown more important than the Berlin Wall or the Russian invasion of Prague [after the Prague Spring] or the leading role of the labor party. The handymen [*Heimwerker*] in their functions as tradesmen [*Handwerker*] have long taken over the *leading role* in the State.

All criminals. Only money, just money.

But more than a diffident “yes” was not allowed to him.

What? What did you say? Take a step closer.

Charlotte smokes making coffee. The ashes fall on the tiles.

I have stomach ulcers. Not cancer, young man. Please sit down

Charlotte spills some coffee water on the floor. That's when she seems most attentive to the coffee making. With her right slipper, she pulls a dirt-caked rag from under the kitchen table and, with a careless circling of her foot, takes up the water and the ashes, which she notices only now, from the tiles. In which she makes not the slightest effort to hide the indifference of her act, if one can recognize it as an activity at all. Dietrich feels provoked on behalf of the old lady, who notices none of it, no more wants to notice.

Please sit down.

A sentence between a command and a noble gesture. But where should Dietrich sit? Everything in a household that can lie on a chair lies on the chairs. The gaze of the old lady leaves him no choice between remaining standing or sitting down. At best, where he sits remains up to him – of course, only if he decides promptly. Lightning-fast, he must choose among three chairs: one draped with underwear, probably Charlotte's; one with a small but old pile of newspapers; and a third, its greasy upholstery in tatters, covered with a sticky plastic clingwrap. A fourth, seemingly the only free chair, must remain withheld from him. It now supports the backside that Charlotte deposits with an intensely swiping motion. So, the question stands thus:

where does he sit? And must he not look at where he sits and does not – is this then possibly what’s in store for the next few hours? Dietrich decides on the newspaper-pile chair.

Careful, young man, I haven’t yet looked through those. Still pictures of Russia all over.

And he carefully places the pile down on the table. The first stream of water has put the path through the filter behind it [*hat den Weg durch die Filtertüte hinter sich gebracht*] and taken the dark Jacobs [brand coffee] along into the glass coffeepot. And it smells divine.⁴⁶⁵

Perhaps the above piece “speaks for itself” in its sensory and emotional richness, which reminds me of visits to older people when I had my first jobs after college – in older art museums, perhaps similar to Wiemer’s on his path to being Dresden’s Supervisor of Culture (*Kulturamtsleiter*). Among other things, he saw the restoration of the Frauenkirche and the appointment (and revocation – for infrastructure modernization) of World Heritage Status for Dresden’s Elbe Valley.⁴⁶⁶ His job in museum culture – somewhat like my presently unlabeled work in visual aspects of history and memory – was to consider how to preserve the past responsibly with its implications in the present, chasing these issues through an ever-changing social and international atmosphere. In these terms, I might consider the Jacobs coffee the only “character” in Wiemer’s piece⁴⁶⁷ – and perhaps in this dissertation – that escapes its past, having “put the path through the filter behind it.” Like Dietrich,

⁴⁶⁵ Wiemer, 59-62.

⁴⁶⁶ See, for example, “Der Kommunikator” and World Heritage Convention, “Dresden is Deleted from UNESCO’s World Heritage List,” June 25 (2009): <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/522> (accessed May 21, 2021) as well as Sarah Marsh, “UNESCO strips Dresden of World Heritage site title,” *Reuters*, June 25 (2009): <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-unesco-dresden/unesco-strips-dresden-of-world-heritage-site-title-idUSTRE55O4Y520090625> (accessed November 11, 2020). When I was young, I worked at the Harvard University Art Museums (now Harvard Art Museums), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, through which I enjoyed comparable encounters.

⁴⁶⁷ A coffee brand that dates to 1895. See <https://www.jacobscoffee.co.za> (accessed March 28, 2021).

my younger self also wanted to taste the era *before* the “filter” of the most recent history of World War II, but I learned to savor the fascinating aroma of its bitterness.

I might detect such a bitter “savor” in Dietrich’s disparaging of the GDR – through workers who secretly rely on Western-made tools from “Intershops” or state socialism as a sort of crisis between the Berlin Wall (which he compares to the USSR’s violent suppression of the Prague Spring) and prosaic “changing of leaky gaskets.” Other episodes in Wiemer’s piece also explore what I might call spaces of belonging as secretly and guiltily either enjoyed or endured. They include private, semi-legal parties; a Catholic maternity hospital where Dietrich wonders about his right to empathize with patients; and his walks or drives as he ponders the implications of his friends moving “West” – in what the copy on his piece in Furuya’s photobook calls the “first wave of emigration in May 1984.”⁴⁶⁸

That story, in fact – of Deitrich’s friends “moving on” from the GDR – might undercut all the endeavors of Furuya and me, Wiemer and Härtling, for it promises a real abandonment of the past. Wiemer does not let it, however, and neither do the rest of “us.” The images that Völter chose to frame Wiemer’s piece in Furuya’s photobook, for example, echo all of the above by staging alienation and connection within images and between the viewer and the image (figures 39-40). First (Figure 39), Völter heralds Wiemer’s text with an image taken inside a train as one looks into the next car. It chances to play on the word “*Auszug*” – “excerpt,” which appears below the title of Wiemer’s piece. Literally “out-train,” *Auszug* also can mean

⁴⁶⁸ This content appears throughout *Warum Dresden*. For the quote, see p. 190.

“departure,” which may evoke the departure of Dietrich’s friends for the West, the frame story of Wiemer’s piece. More abstractly, it introduces Wiemer’s text in a state of incompleteness, in keeping with ambiguity about memory and history. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the title is the provocative “May 1984: A Broadsheet of the *Heimat*.” It most basically asks what “home” is – as implied in the theme of leaving the GDR for a new life in the “West” – as well as encodes Germany’s nationalist history of feelings of “home” (discussed in Chapter 1).

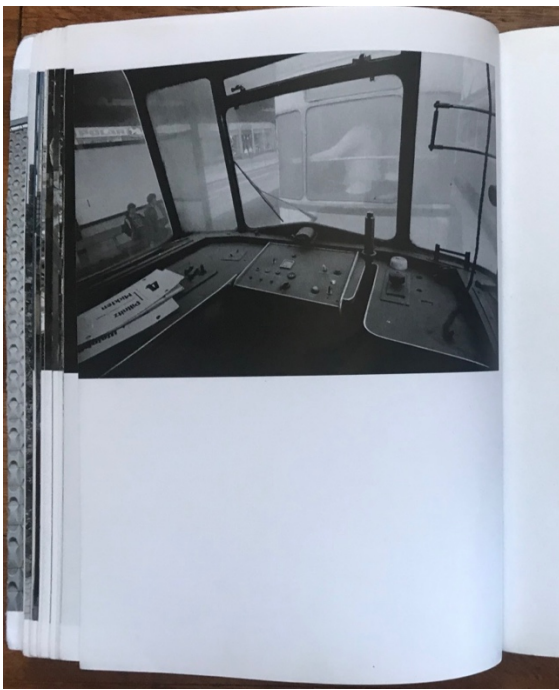


Figure 39: start of “MAY 1984: A Broadsheet of the Homeland,” *Warum Dresden* (2016) pp. 56-57

Within the photo of the train, black diagonals create an effect of deep space that may pull the viewer toward the center of the window and then the window of the train car ahead – yet the depth makes them seem far instead of close. Out the window on the left, a couple on a bench and a sign reading “Polar” soon will be past. In the deeper space behind the kiosk where they sit, two people in the far distance appear to

be entering a shop with goods hung in a window above the door. The train is a perhaps unsurprising metaphor for passing through time and space. In terms of feeling connections to the future, however – referring to the visual aspects of “seeking increasingly universal connections” in Chapter 2 (Figure 24) – one might find the “way in” through deep space ultimately blocked by a figure’s back in the next car. The figure’s head is unclear through the glass, yet the body is turned toward either the couple or the store. Both “hold back” one’s eye and redirect attention away from what is ahead. In this way, the photograph might be interpreted as “about” passing through time and what is passed – not what is coming. In the left foreground are elements that might furnish a symbolic “way out” rather than “in”: train tickets for Pillnitz. Referring to Wiemer’s piece, Pillnitz is a neighborhood with a long highway,⁴⁶⁹ itself perhaps evoking a “passing through” rather than a place to stay. In these terms, the eye also may bounce around the various foci with nowhere to land – akin to Furuya’s words to me when we talked about airplanes, which he likened to being homeless – “always staying in the air.”

On the other hand, Völter’s image choice for the end of Wiemer’s piece may stage a feeling of being grounded by the gaze of another – or at least caught in another’s gaze, though not a clear one (Figure 40). A sign for an eyeglass shop echoes a passerby in shades such that both “stare” at the viewer from far and near, with non-existent and unseen eyes in turn. They form a contrast to the bare face gazing from a distant flier to the lower left of the shop sign. The shape of the flier

⁴⁶⁹ Wiemer, 59, 62, 75, 78, 80, 82, 85.

connects the sign and passerby in these three “gazes,” which – though at varying distances in real life – come to the front through the effect of lighter, perpendicular lines over greys. Perhaps time and space now have stopped – the opposite of the feeling of the train (Figure 39), which had motion without focus. In this way, Völter “ends” Wiemer’s piece in a focus *on* “focus” – not a particular object of focus.

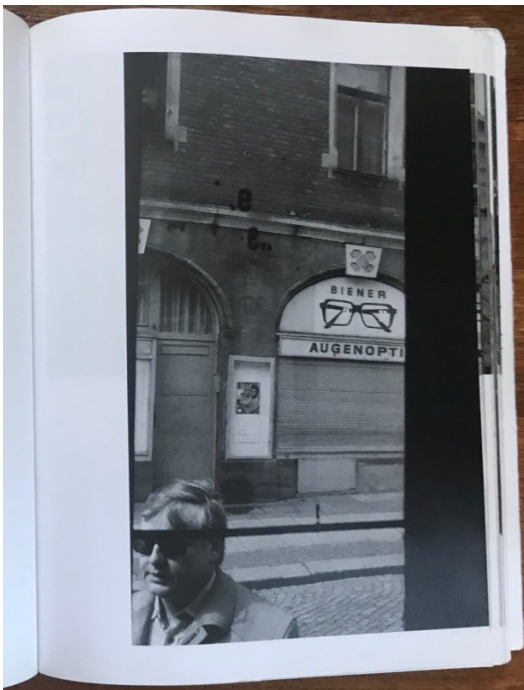


Figure 40: end of “MAY 1984: A Broadsheet of the Homeland,” *Warum Dresden* (2016) pp. 88-89

That last sentence of Wiemer’s text – effectively, that leads into this image – also may frame the image as a state of focus with no clear object of focus: “There’ll never be these pictures again (*Diese Bilder gibt’s nie wieder*).” At the bottom of the page is a more casually mystical note: “Excerpt. The complete text depicts seven days in the month of May, 1984, in Dresden. May 1984 ended on the Ascension.”⁴⁷⁰ As I discussed at the start of this section, Furuya’s work can elicit an “exegetical”

⁴⁷⁰ Wiemer, 88.

approach to elements of encounter as “signs,” here in the implication that Wiemer’s piece may depict part of the week leading to the Catholic feast day of the Ascension of Christ. It is a moment to consider transcendence of the world and anticipation of something that – like Furuya’s photograph (Figure 40) – is only *about* focus for those of us who cannot see. Even without this detail, however, Wiemer’s secular comment that “These pictures never will exist again” already sends this message. Mental pictures of everyday experience – as in Wiemer’s piece – will “never be [...] again” outside the mind, and the mind itself will change them.

Why Dresden (?): Furuya’s Dresden in a World of “Dresdens”

Above, I have shared voices on and within spaces of belonging in relation to loosely “German” evasion or acknowledgement of responsibility. I considered evasion enabled by images of pain in the bombing of Dresden as used by Irving – yet his details were not dissimilar to those of Härtling and Wiemer – and description of suffering in wartime and postwar regimes by a few relatives of mine. Conversely, I considered modes of *taking* responsibility through cautious pleasure, as in Christine “find[ing]” a Jewish melody in her Easter Eve ritual and the brittle but dear – yet ethically fraught – elegance of the Dresden houses-and-gardens imagined by Härtling and Wiemer. This section now ends this chapter with the frame that Furuya provided to me for his Dresden photobook – *his* answer to the question posed by its title, *Warum Dresden* (“why Dresden”). As he implies in the interview excerpt below, the title indicates his unwillingness to make the photobook in the first place, due to his

idea of “Dresden” as the place where Christine’s condition worsened. Had I begun with his story, however, it would not have “let in” the personal reckonings with history that the question “why Dresden” – and Furuya’s images – otherwise may inspire, including those by Wiemer and Völter in the photobook itself.

In fact, Furuya’s conversation – and his use of his Dresden images in smaller sequences before his Dresden photobook, most of which I analyze chronologically (Figures 41-50) – arrives at thoughts on Christine’s own photography, which allows me to consider an image by Christine (Figure 48) in relation to his own. Structurally, my chronological image analysis – which I undertake last – will consider all of Furuya’s Dresden sequences through 1997, cross-referenced with re-uses by Völter. For Furuya’s 2010 sequence, I choose a small, “historical” interval among his family-oriented images (Figure 49). Briefly, I compare it to Völter’s arrangement of Furuya’s few Dresden images of 2015 (most are from the 1980s). In fact, Völter’s arrangement both corresponds to the historical trajectory of this chapter as well as encodes a subtle “update” to issues of European exoticism that punctuated Furuya’s sequences in Chapter 2. Furuya’s own relation to “Dresden” thus delivers developments in his relation to Christine and Japan’s relation to Europe. I now turn to Furuya’s words to me on this – in explaining the origin of his 2016 photobook:

SF: [...] OK, *Warum Dresden* also has more or less to do with Christine, but there is a story. I didn’t want to make this *Warum Dresden* book. Why didn’t I want to make it? Because I didn’t even want to spend time on them, on Christine’s things, but the director of Kunsthaus Dresden – I had an exhibition in 2015 there – this director absolutely wanted to make a book.

ET: But this book – couldn’t it have [had] Dresden as a focus, and then the story of Christine [would have] be[en] somewhat different? [...] was the

Dresden exhibition for others – for their ideas about your work in Dresden?
[...] was that a problem?

SF: It was no problem [...] If the designer [Völter] is in understanding with me, the designer can make it. And so, it was. And I was absolutely pleased, too – that is – but, in my heart – I still had some kind of stone. [...] '84 – 1984: this year is the single year of which I've not yet made something. I'd have to make it sometime, for – but I didn't want – couldn't begin. I couldn't begin with the Dresden pictures – how should my Dresden book get started? I had no idea of that. And then I had – those pictures. OK, I chose pictures [...] sent them to the designer [and] the designer later said which pictures he needed [...]. I never asked what the layout is, but *I* gave the final – final approval, the “OK.” [...] And he made a finished PDF that I now could send to the publisher. [...] It was super, absolute – [I was] absolutely satisfied, and so it was made.

ET: And – and in the end, did the photos strike you as the (hi)story
[*Geschichte*] of another person, or?

[...]

SF: It seemed to correspond to my imagination – wonderful, that is, it is – I – I didn't make the choice, because I was happy to delegate – that a stranger worked in such a way with my material as I would have wanted. [...] that was an absolutely positive surprise.

In fact, Völter's re-use of the first Dresden image that Furuya published might be understood to echo – if not necessarily consciously – Furuya's original use (Figures 41 and 43). Both sequences mix elements of Japan into sequences that feature Furuya's image of Christine on the river Elbe in Dresden (Figure 41, pp. 85-86; Figure 42, p. 45) – but perhaps to different historical and personal effects.

Somewhat as in Furuya's 1989 Amsterdam sequence (Figure 24), his 1989 “Dresden” sequence – the sequence around his single use of a Dresden image (Figure 41, pp. 85-86) – may be read through associations of death and afterlife – or, at least, a state beyond conventional human life – specifically, between quiet and kinetic

visual effects. To begin with the first image: as partially quoted in the first part of this chapter, one essayist for Furuya’s 1989 photobook wrote of “the anticipation of killing in the powerful body of the steer [...] the therapeutically folded cranes as an attempt at opening one’s inner space [*Öffnung des Innenraums*].”⁴⁷¹ Apropos to this reading, the quietness of the steer-as-sacrifice might be imagined as giving way to the kinetic energy of the Buddhist acolyte cleaning a floor “uphill” – hinting perhaps at the drive to attain “enlightenment” in popular stereotypes of “zen”: a state beyond ours, yet within our human world, brought about by not changing anything but “our” frame for the word – or rather, escaping the frame.

Figure 41: sequence from *Mémoires 1978-1988* (1989), pp. 81-87 (titles below images)



**81-82, “Leibnitz, 1983”
83, “Tsurumi (Japan) 1982”**

84, “East Berlin, 1986”



85-86, “Dresden, 1984”

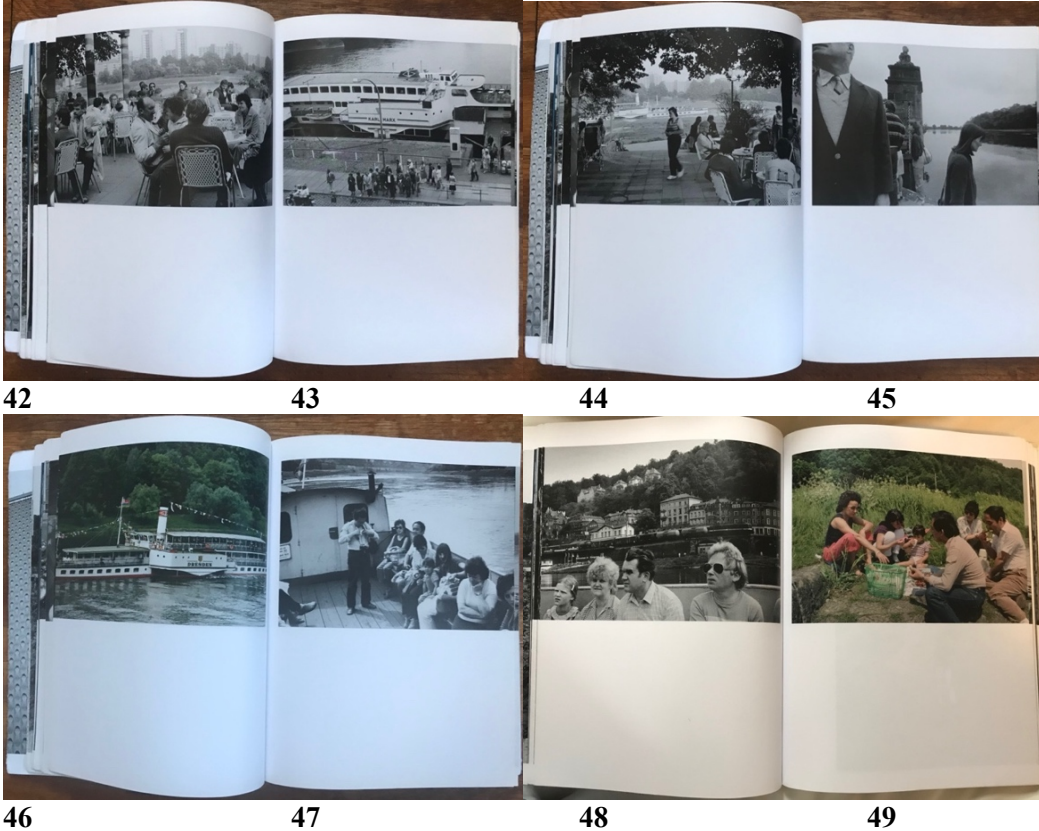
87-88, “East Berlin, 1985” (title of both)

⁴⁷¹ “Chronik der Erkenntnisse,” 98.

Figure 42: detail of Figure 41, p. 87 (second row from the bottom of the contact sheet)



Figure 43: “Dresden, 1984,” *Warum Dresden* (2016), pp. 42-49



Without going into detail, visualizing the mechanics of this “escape” (for lack of a better word) might comprise a scenario of continually rejecting frames for reality as one becomes aware of them, in which the problem is that one resides *in a frame defined by the rejection of frames* – more than this, however – only my own sort of

“pop-zen” – is beyond the scope of this dissertation.⁴⁷² I share it to recall that Furuya’s commentators – glossed in the Introduction – idealized a different aspect of pop-zen: as a more reassuringly constant space of Barthesian “awakening to the fact.”⁴⁷³ If I let their story lead, in fact, the acolyte is more hopeful: hurrying toward a “perfect” purity of concentration, such that the next image – origami animals and a plant (note the morning glory, upper left) – might be imagined as the “purified” view of the world that awaits him. It is “nature” cleaned of its mess in the paper forms.

In a more concrete version of that story: the animality of the steer – in its impending death – may pass “through” the acolyte into an “afterlife” as a purified vision of life: in short, a cliché of both “Christian” ideals of death – as leading to a new life in Heaven, but still as “oneself” – and “zen” ideals of perfection – as losing “oneself” as a frame for the world, whether or not physical death is involved. The image of Christine in Dresden, then – on the next two pages (pp. 85-86) – might evoke another version of a state between attention to conventional, human life on earth and absorption in something beyond. The crowds on the bridge might read as “life on earth,” the landscape and water as a space between unification and oscillation where these elements may read as each other, akin to certain ink paintings.⁴⁷⁴ This dynamic may recall Gržinic’s idealization of non-binary, non-differentiated

⁴⁷² I cannot in good conscience subject any figures in Chan (Chinese) and Zen (Japanese) traditions to citation for my “pop” thoughts in this area, which arise mainly from an English-language compilation from my childhood: *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones: A Collection of Zen & Pre-Zen Writings*, compiled by Paul Reps (Tokyo; Rutland, VT: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1957).

⁴⁷³ “Erwachen vor der Tatsache,” 96-97.

⁴⁷⁴ See, for example, Tong Wu, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997) and Hao Sheng, *Fresh Ink: Ten Takes on Chinese Tradition* (Boston: MFA Publications; New York: D.A.P. Distributed Art Publishers, 2010).

perception of reality (discussed in Chapter 1), though she located it in the very animality that – in my readings – Furuya’s sequence might appear to “purify.”⁴⁷⁵ In these terms, the Dresden image may read as the next level of purity after the origami. Alternatively, it might feel like a “reset” – a return to the world but in a different mode of perception.

The next two pages show further contrasts of motion and stillness – also a switch to color, which might encode a grittier view of “reality” in a more potentially blinding variety. Perhaps more fundamentally, there is greater symbolic contrast of the “real” – the dense frenzy of a contact sheet that marks one of the last months of Christine’s life (p. 87) – and what I might call the “created” – the print of Millet’s *Angelus* that Furuya told me that he had bought for Christine at a flea market. The latter is both a “fake” image – in its general depiction – of a *Heimat*-like space of rural prayer – and, as seen in Furuya’s words to me below, a sort of “fated” object for him personally. As he said – in what I have come to see as his frequent negotiation of a sense of fate – “I tell you, again, it’s no accident,” yet always with his cautionary denial of a particular frame of power – “But I don’t believe in God”:

SF: This picture was – I found this picture in a flea market [*Fetzenmarkt*].⁴⁷⁶ I saw this picture in 1985 in Winter, in Berlin, but West Berlin, not East Berlin, in a flea market, and immediately bought it. I mean she – Christine was not [in] Berlin. Christine was in a Graz hospital. She was six months – six months in the hospital, a very long stay – ’85, the hardest stay, and I – of course, I worked in Berlin, and she was alone, and yes, I saw the picture at the Sunday flea market, and I immediately, uh, yes – completely normal, not a photo, or anything, but yeah – junk [*Fetzen*]. I took it and bought it, and

⁴⁷⁵ Gržinic.

⁴⁷⁶ I have redacted here a brief utterance by Furuya which, combined with hand gestures, conveyed the meaning of the word *Fetzenmarkt* – equivalent to the English “flea market.”

brought it, hung it. But that is also not accident. I tell you again, it's no accident. I found it, but it was there to be found. So, we communicated, and I took it as self-explanatory and hung it at home. It also played a great role there, always – [as in] a portrait that lights it [Figure 44, right], but I hadn't looked for that – [it was an] accident. I noticed much later, only after the photo was there, *ne*. But it's *not* accident, just saying. But I don't believe in God. Rather, a so-called, definable thing delivers in life [*definierbare Sache gibt's ab im Leben*]. This encounter has a – I don't say "God's will," but –



Figure 44: "East Berlin, 1985," *Memoires 1978-1988* (1989), pp. 34-35

ET: But it's a kind of "fate" [*Schicksal*].

SF: Yes, somehow brings [events] together. This power exists, and I'm a real *sensible* [French: "sensitive"] person – full of feeling [*Gefühlvoll*]. I mean *sensible*. I've marked [*bewachte*] very small things, but sometimes I haven't marked them. Back then I took a photo, Kômyô and her –

E:T Yes, I know the photo [Figure 45].



Figure 45: "East Berlin, 1985 (Christine Furuya-Gössler, Kômyô Klaus Furuya)," *Memoires 1995* (1995), pp. 12-13

SF: The evening light, afternoon light, yellow light, this picture [*The Angelus*] behind, and I didn't properly seek it out, *ne?* Simply was there. Therefore, [I did] not [intend it as] a model [*Vorbild*], *ne?* Somehow [it was] a partial image [*Teilbild*] or something, *ne?* OK good, I just wanted to say that. Good. I found this picture – flea market – that all means: *her*. I brought the family back in May. That is – she, Christine, was in Graz, here, from January to May, almost half a year, in the hospital, and after the hospital, and it was completely terrible, that time. She was in the hospital – sanatorium – this mental hospital in Graz. Then my mother-in-law had an intestinal ulcer, an illness similar to cancer. My son was sent to relatives, and so the thing happened. I was over, always in Berlin. I worked in Berlin, *ne*.

In fact, Furuya's last juxtaposition in his 1989 sequence (Figure 41, pp. 87-88) may chance to evoke what might be called the imbalance of attention that he described to me above, though not through his work outside their home – through watching a Hiroshima documentary on TV in East Berlin. This documentary dominates a contact sheet on which Christine and Kômyo appear in just one small image (Figure 42, top). In 1997, Furuya wrote of wanting to cut that image away from the rest, which he did in 2010 – placing it beside another family image in a projection of a less-fraught home life than he described to me. Only Christine's short hair – grown back after she mysteriously shaved her head during a visit to Vienna – may speak to that tension.⁴⁷⁷ A newscast of a plane crash in Furuya's Japanese hometown (Figure 42, bottom) may complete a sense of the contact sheet as a “big picture” of claims on Furuya from history and family at that time,⁴⁷⁸ when the anniversary of the atomic bombings partially staged a “return” of Japanese elements through television.

⁴⁷⁷ For the image juxtaposition, see *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 156-157. On Christine's hair, see *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption to image number B-1985/2.

⁴⁷⁸ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption to image number B-1985/11.

Conversely – in light of Furuya’s remarks to me above and in Chapter 2 – he might be felt to give an idea of “Christine’s” afterlife to the next page, though his use of the *Angelus* print may operate akin to the “focus on a state of focus” that I earlier considered – in the image that Völter chose to follow Wiemer’s piece in the Dresden photobook (Figure 40). Most simply, the *Angelus* features a couple pausing in their field at sunset to say the titular prayer. Without going into detail, the prayer features the well-known “Hail Mary” in relation to the Annunciation to Mary about the Incarnation of Christ.⁴⁷⁹ One thus might call it an anticipation of eternal life that undercuts the “death” of the earthly day at sunset.

Like Furuya’s framing of the *Angelus* print (Figure 41, p. 88), the prayer also chances to centralize a woman, which may provide the most visually direct “story”: that Christine on the bridge in Dresden (pp. 85-86) is not the “ending” of the death-to-afterlife story that begin with the steer (pp. 81-82) but the “beginning” of a similar narrative that “ends” in the *Angelus* image. Visually, the man in the foreground of the Dresden image roughly mirrors the man in the *Angelus* print. Furuya frames both to be without faces – cropping the head of the Dresden man and angling his camera so that a houseplant blocks the expression of the *Angelus* man. Opposite these men, the women both appear somewhat meditatively to seek a space beyond. In terms of the death-to-afterlife “stories” that I have been tracing, Christine in Dresden “passes through” the “death” evoked by the Hiroshima images – an oddly “Eastern”

⁴⁷⁹ The short prayer itself is widely available on-line, e.g.: <https://www.thereligionteacher.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/angelus-prayer-handout.pdf> (accessed June 4, 2021). For a historical consideration of internalizing emotions and messages around the Annunciation, see Laura Saetveit Miles, *The Virgin Mary’s Book at the Annunciation: Reading, Interpretation and Devotion in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020).

complement to the “Western” death earlier exemplified by the steer – and emerges “as” the *Angelus* woman. What this story may serve to do – other than maintain a sporadically useful tally of “East” and “West” – is suggest that – consciously or not – Furuya “translated” Christine into a mystical space of “her own.” As he told me in his story of buying the *Angelus* print, “So [Christine and I] communicated, and I took it as self-explanatory and hung it at home.” In a way, he made it a “space” for her.

Returning to that more superficial “tally” of “East and West,” however, I must address the mirroring of Hiroshima and Dresden that chances to emerge in Furuya’s 1989 sequence. This is how postwar responsibility can de-glamourize deeper emotions, though it often may deepen shallow ones. Briefly, the images of origami and the Hiroshima documentary (pp. 84-87) remind me of the children’s book *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*, where the titular cranes represent a Japanese wish for peace in the aftermath of the atomic bombing.⁴⁸⁰ Irving in fact presumed to assess the atomic bombing of Hiroshima – as well as aerial bombings of Tokyo – such that Dresden appeared slightly more innocent: “neither [Hiroshima nor Tokyo] had Dresden’s refugee population on the night of their destruction.”⁴⁸¹ I have indicated – particularly through Yoneyama and Igarashi’s work in Chapter 1 and – in Chapter 2 – caution for imagery that melds Japan’s “non-Western-ness” with that of formerly colonized cultures⁴⁸² – my opinion on this. What I call perpetrator suffering – though with regret that this word constructs a group of “victims” who are much more

⁴⁸⁰ Eleanor Coerr, *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*, illustrated by Ronald Himler (New York: Putnam Juvenile, 1977).

⁴⁸¹ Irving, 229.

⁴⁸² See Yoneyama, Igarashi and Chen.

than that – should not be given so much focus as to indulge comparison – much less competition – with other sufferings (even those of other perpetrators).

Conversely, Völter’s use of the image of Christine on the bridge (Figure 43, p. 45) lets me both address Dresden’s history – largely absent in Furuya’s 1989 sequence – as well as turn that sequence’s “stories” of death toward affirmation of life. The latter, in fact, may look like Völter’s deliberate “re-reading” of Furuya’s 1989 sequence,⁴⁸³ though Furuya did not indicate this. Briefly, Völter integrates Christine into life with other people. He brings her from the bridge into various social settings until she reaches a picnic on “dry land” – away from that mesmerizing river (p. 49). In this sense, the greenery of the picnic image might be Völter’s transformation of the hermetic houseplant in Furuya’s *Angelus* image (Figure 41, p. 88).

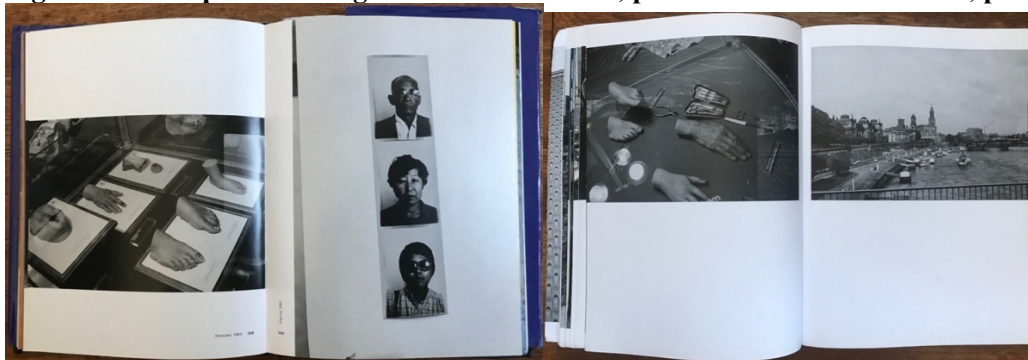
In terms of history, Völter catches traces of the GDR where Furuya caught those of the Asia-Pacific War, specifically through two steamships variously named “Karl Marx” (Figure 43, p. 43) and “Dresden” (pp. 44, 46). Furuya used the “Dresden” (p. 46) in 2010 with a caption explaining that it bore then-North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung (Figure 49, pp. 38-39) – which knowledge might add a sense of secret state machinations behind Völter’s evocation of recreational life in GDR Dresden.⁴⁸⁴ At the same time, almost all images are taken at a distance from their subjects – except the re-used image of Christine on the bridge (Figure 43, p. 45), in which the faceless close-up of the subject in front may serve to highlight this farness in the rest of the sequence. Apropos to the “story” of life-affirmation that I glossed in

⁴⁸³ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

⁴⁸⁴ *Mémoires 1984-1987*, 38-39.

this sequence, Völter’s effect may let the image of Christine on the bridge depict distance between her and the people in the other images – including herself in a more social mode (pp. 47, 49).

Figure 46: Comparable images in *Mémoires 1995*, p. 108 and *Warum Dresden*, p. 40



108, “Dresden, 1984” 109, “Vienna, 1981” 40 41

Conversely, Furuya’s own next use of a Dresden image – his only one in *Mémoires 1995* (Figure 46, p. 108) – does not appear in Völter’s choices, though a similar image leads into the sequence just discussed (Figure 43). In Völter’s juxtaposition, what appear to be wax models of injured hands and feet may cast a sense of human injury over the cityscape on the facing page (Figure 46, pp. 40-41). Drawing on my explorations in the first parts of this chapter, I might make the reading that Dresden has made pain into a museum piece – though not, in this case, through the Allied bombing.

Rather, the cleanly broken body parts may evoke industrial accidents, perhaps more apropos to the labor culture of the GDR – what Wiemer’s protagonist somewhat disparagingly evoked through “People for whom the changing of leaky gaskets has

grown more important than the Berlin Wall.”⁴⁸⁵ In fact, the waxen hands echo a chart of hand injuries that Franz Kafka once used at a job that he disliked. It appears in one of the first photobooks that I acquired on my own as a teenager.⁴⁸⁶ That great water damage had left the photobook affordable to the young me oddly echoes Völter’s choice to juxtapose the “injury display” with Furuya’s photograph of the river (p. 41). I therefore allow one more personal story. When I chose that photobook, I thought of Kafka as a “German author” who had entered the realm of “general human being of interest to everyone.” I take pause that I had that oversimplified – on so many levels – sense of the “German universality” that I critiqued earlier in this chapter.⁴⁸⁷

Furuya’s 1995 use of the Dresden “injury display,” however – this time with the waxen feet in front – may stage a more abstract “story” with his family (Figure 46, pp. 108-109). Among other things, the cases around the body parts on the left-hand page and cropping around the photobooth portraits on the right – showing what may chance to recall a “family hierarchy” with Furuya’s father at the top, followed by his mother and himself – are all means of visual separation that may evoke isolation. The photobooth strip lies on a paper surface torn at the lower left – a sort of *trompe l’oeil* that makes me touch the page to see if only my own copy of the photobook is torn. The faces of Furuya and his parents may work akin to that of the eyeglass-shop image with which Völter followed Wiemer’s piece (Figure 40, p. 89) – their eyes hidden behind glasses and shadows. Depending on the type of photobooth, they may have

⁴⁸⁵ Wiemer, 61.

⁴⁸⁶ Klaus Wagenbach, *Franz Kafka: Pictures of a Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, [1984]), 114.

⁴⁸⁷ See, for example, von Hofmannsthal, Davis and Tusa.

been looking at themselves in a mirror when their pictures were shot, which keeps me from imagining that I might meet their eyes behind their glasses. Rather, I might read Furuya and his family as closed in themselves, “ignoring” the damage literally “on display” in the cases on the facing page – even had Furuya not told me – in Chapter 1 – of his family’s “strained relations, *ne?* Nobody chose.”

Figure 47: sequence from *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), images no. A-1984/24-34 (note: photobook skips numbers)



On the other hand, Furuya's next use of Dresden images (Figure 47) – another part of his 1997 chronology of images of Christine, considered at the end of Chapter 2 (Figures 25-27) – might read like an album of the family that he *did* choose: with Christine. At the same time, it also may continue my above “story” of measuring emotional distance from the viewer, somewhat as in my consideration of Furuya's “ways in” to images in Chapter 2 (Figure 24). I gloss but generally do not translate the captions, except the last (Figure 47, no. 34), which moves Christine and Furuya's “story” into the next image sequence (Figure 48).

The first image – a re-use of the photograph of Christine on the bridge (Figures 41, pp. 85-86 and 43, p. 45) – may set one “pole” on a spectrum of distance and intimacy – that of distance – as she stares beyond the daily activity behind her (Figure 47, no. 24). The next may show the other “pole” as she makes eye contact with Furuya but from physically further away – perhaps a “connection restored” – as she explores the neighborhood with Kômyô (no. 27). The next two images then might be seen to “lose” and “regain” that connection again: first in close-up with a distant look, blurred by the effects of wind (no. 28), then a distant smile – as if perhaps to say that she cannot be physically and emotionally close at the same time (no. 29). The next image – a line for refreshments at the zoo (no. 30) – includes a trace of GDR Dresden in its Japanese caption: the impossibility of finding watermelon, an aspect of GDR markets elsewhere evoked through the banana.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁸ For example, Petra Epperlein and Michael Tucker, dirs., *Karl Marx City* (New York: Film Movement, [2017]).

The image after this – Christine and Kômyô with a stuffed toy of “E.T., the Extra-Terrestrial” in the upper right corner, chancing to hint literally at the state of being an “alien” – also verbally includes the single other detail of Dresden’s history in this sequence: the Japanese caption’s mention of bomb damage in Furuya’s neighborhood (no. 31). The last two images then continue in this “snapshot” vein: playing with Kômyô in the yard (no. 32) and hugging Kômyô at the zoo (no. 34). The Japanese caption to the last, however – the English reads simply “At the zoo” – conveys – implies, at least – that Furuya stopped photographing to care for Christine, preceded by his thoughts on Christine’s diaries, which he had not yet read:

It seems that, after we were living in Dresden, Christine sometimes left long accounts in a notebook. The one labeled November 24th is the last one of [19]84.

To date, I have not read the long accounts in detail. A simple reason is that there are lots of parts where I cannot read her handwriting, but another is that I should not ask someone to decipher it, not to mention that I cannot ask my mother-in-law or Kômyô – just like that – and I dread to read it myself.

After moving to Dresden, I started to take fewer photographs and by autumn really did not photograph at all.

This image seems like a day out at the zoo.⁴⁸⁹

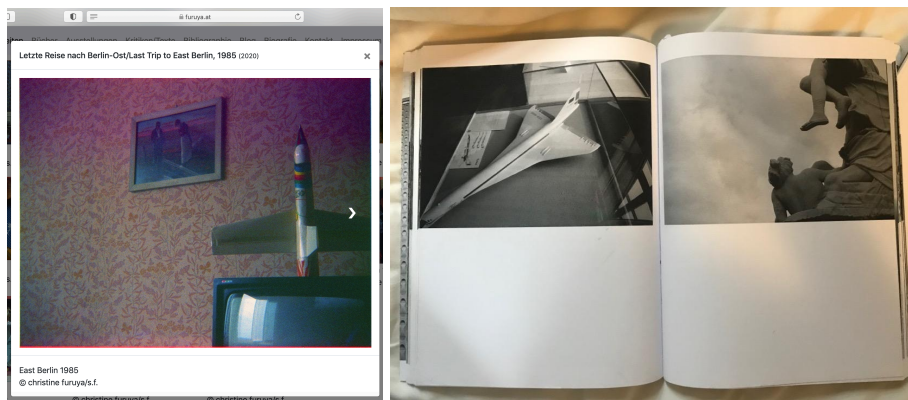


Figure 48: left, “East Berlin, 1985,” Christine Furuya, *Letzte Reise nach Berlin-Ost/Last Trip to East Berlin, 1985* (2020): https://www.furuya.at/de/works_34.html right: Furuya with Völter, *Warum Dresden* (2016), pp. 110-111

⁴⁸⁹ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption to image number A-1984/30.

Although the diaries that Furuya published – which contain Christine’s epigraph to this chapter⁴⁹⁰ – are primarily from 1983, the story “between the lines” of his last Dresden caption of 1997 struck me as his leaving aside photography to care for Christine. That photobook’s materials for 1985 open with Christine’s mental health treatments after skipping the end of 1984 – for lack of images.⁴⁹¹ It reminded me of my conversation with Furuya on Christine’s own relation to photography:

ET: [...] There are one or two photos by [Christine in the 2010 *Mémoires* volume]⁴⁹² –

SF: [...] Yes, that was my mode of marriage. [...] the pocket film [disposable camera photography] that remains – is what she took, *ne*? But [I] have seen them now for the first time. [...] There was so much work, and just when I had scanned it all, it – that – *she was a good photographer*. [...] That – that was an absolute surprise for me.

ET: In photos, sometimes, she is wearing a camera [...] not a “pocket camera,” it’s large. [...] Did she also...?

SF: Photograph with the large camera too? Yes, she did. [...] Yes, yes, I – I find I was positively astonished that she was such a good photographer. It is a – that’s really, that’s exactly – there’s no such thing as fateful, but already from the beginning she had photographed. But just when she’d begun to study show business [*Schauspielerei*], she completely stopped, didn’t photograph anymore. Only again with the pocket camera [...] photographed a bit in ’78, then not in ’79, also not ’80, not [with] the pocket camera, when the baby was there – Kômyô, my son was there. Then she started again to photograph very much with the pocket camera, and [he] was born in ’81, and then, in summer of ’82, we went to Vienna for [her] show business – then, no more. When she had begun the show business, she did not photograph any more. Then, in ’85, she was based in Graz again for treatment, and after the treatment, just a day after, we traveled to Venice.⁴⁹³ [...] That is, then, after release from the hospital in Graz, she photographed Kômyô, and photographed her mother, photographed the zoo. I was not there. I’d been

⁴⁹⁰ *Mémoires* 1983, 86, 92.

⁴⁹¹ See, for example, *Mémoires* 1978-1985, caption to image number A-1985/1-2.

⁴⁹² In fact, more than two – see *Mémoires* 1984-1987, 131, 136, 137, 138, 144, 169.

⁴⁹³ See *Last Trip to Venice*.

always working in Berlin, and I'd then picked up my family, with the car, then gone to Berlin, and she'd photographed very much – more and more with the pocket camera – until summer. And the content of the photos is very interesting. That is, later pictures show that she already was not wholly on top of things; she sees differently – things – one notices that that's the case.

I recall Christine wearing the large camera in 1980 during Furuya's trip with Moriyama (Figure 25, no. 36) and his Japanese caption to it, which wonders whether she had taken any photographs.⁴⁹⁴ This must be for his own explorations, which at the time of our interview already had yielded Christine's photograph of a toy airplane, which he showed me from his electronic files and now is posted on his website (Figure 48, left).⁴⁹⁵ The plane apparently was made by a child (note the drawing of the pilot at the top). I was moved to compare it to the juxtaposition that I earlier used to unpack the historical and emotional context of the Dresden "angel" (Figure 28, right) – because both interrelate an airplane and a "couple": for Furuya, the model Soviet plane and cropped statues; for Christine, the child's toy and *Angelus* farmers.

I first note the flattened aspect to Christine's composition in relation to Furuya's – somewhat like a Byzantine icon compared to a Renaissance rendering.⁴⁹⁶ Specifically, the flatness gives me an impression of internal unity from the components in the frame, without distraction from perspectival tricks that remain an aspect of photography geared toward deep space and shadow, even though the hand no longer needs to render it. Christine's framing of the TV, its sharp highlight, toy airplane, *Angelus* print, wallpaper and even shadows at the edges of the image all

⁴⁹⁴ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1980/36.

⁴⁹⁵ "East Berlin, 1985."

⁴⁹⁶ Among the many explorations of this comparison, I might cite Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London: George Philip, c. 1985).

draw me toward them *all*. None of these forms glorifies another without being also its own form. If I cover the white arrow on the right – the result of accessing the image through a website, which, like the paper qualities of Furuya’s photobooks, I show to mark my experience of viewing – the visual elements come “closer” in the absence of that bright white spot. The dynamic among them hardly changes, however, as the hard highlight on the TV creates a similar effect to the little white arrow.

Conversely, even were I not constrained – by my principles of including marks of the media by which I view images, digital or analogue – to show Furuya’s images across photobook pages (Figure 48, right),⁴⁹⁷ I still might find them to project a feeling of “empty space” compared to a feeling of space being “filled” in Christine’s photograph. I might suggest that her photo integrates an interior sheltering – the wallpaper in the dimness, the darkened TV screen – with a sense of expanded space – the landscape of the *Angelus* and the rocket-like posture of the toy plane, poised to fly perhaps through the window-like space of the *Angelus* itself. Conversely, Völter’s juxtaposition of Furuya’s photographs effectively isolates these types of spaces in different images – their “joining” is artificial and marked by divide across the pages.

Unlike Christine’s toy plane – part of a coherent “scene” of pretend flight in my above “story” of its relation to the *Angelus* – Furuya’s model Soviet plane may feel “trapped inside” its glass case. A sense of the “outside” and “flight” might obtain only in the image of the statues, framed against an open sky. Such tension may be

⁴⁹⁷ *Warum Dresden*, (unpaginated, pp. 110-111).

felt to determine compositional effects within each photo as well: the triangular Soviet plane clashes with the rectangles of the museum cases; the statues' hard stone – or, allowing the illusion of sculpted flesh, firm muscle – undercuts the fluffy clouds and sprawling sky. Somewhat as in the “increasingly universal connections” that I traced in Furuya’s 1989 sequence in Chapter 2 (Figure 24), I might see Christine’s image as “perfecting” the disconnects in Furuya’s images: Furuya’s grounded, model Soviet plane “becomes” her rocket-like, child’s plane; his fragmented, statuary “couple” – perhaps threatening to float apart in the wide sky – “return to earth” as the couple in her *Angelus* print.

Figure 49: historical sequence in *Mémoires 1984-1987* (2010), pp. 34-41



34, “Dresden, 1984” 35, “Meißen, 1984” 36-37, “Königstein, 1984”



38-39, “Bad Schandau, 1984” 40-41, “Bautzen, 1984” (title of both)

On another note, however, I now arrive chronologically at Furuya’s 2010 *Mémoires* volume. It features his largest arrangement of Dresden images. As seen in

the Appendix to this dissertation, they primarily document family life and catch contemporary traces of a socialist atmosphere – with less emphasis on earlier history that has concerned other voices in this chapter. A few, however, fall into a sort of historical overview (Figure 49) that I may compare to Völter’s 2016 arrangement of images from Furuya’s 2015 views of Dresden (Figure 50).

Both Furuya’s sequence of 2010 and Völter’s of 2016 introduce historically coded, color images that interrupt their respective photobooks’ mainly black-and-white flows of family moments (see Appendix). Furuya’s sequence (Figure 49) may be imagined as undercutting GDR self-aggrandizement by following the first two images – the slogan “SOCIALISM TRIUMPHS (*DER SOZIALISMUS SIEGT*) and a public tribute to socialist youth (pp. 34-35) – with humbler details and innuendos of private life under GDR socialism. Across a wide highway festooned with GDR flags, men appear to stare across a wide highway at a woman in a red dress (pp. 36-37). They wait by a bus; she appears to be waiting at a bus stop. Although their postures and outfits may suggest merely average citizens, an imagination of the “stares” of the men may cast the woman as a sort of “prostitute,” though she turns backwards away from the men, hands unprovocatively in her pockets. The main effect of the scene may not be a specific “story” of this relation but the fact that it is “hidden” under the patriotic flags and therefore “subversive.”

The next pages might be seen to stage a similar effect through patriotic images followed by their qualification through private life, though they also relate to the preceding sequence. First, the public image of the GDR may be asserted in the

steamship “Dresden” as – according to the caption – it carries then-North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung on a state visit (pp. 38-39). The far-right side of the ship shows a cluster of men in suits, the far left a band – clean cut but mostly in T-shirts – prominently featuring a tuba player. Between the tuba and the fold between the pages – also the center of the ship – sits a figure who appears to notice Furuya taking the photograph, his hand raised as if smoking a cigarette. Near him is another with an air of standing “at attention,” much like a uniformed crewmember a bit further on the deck. Drawing on the previous pages (pp. 36-37), I might read contrasting stories of the GDR-flag-decorated highway and the “Dresden” on the river: the highway cannot block the connections of average Dresdners as they look across it; the river hosts a “showboating” of socialist ideology in which – conversely – the people are too far away or preoccupied to see, except perhaps the “smoking” man.

In visual contrast – but starting another variation on the relation of political and personal – the next image offers a sort of “close up” of a socialist space heroized through a cult of personality (p. 40) rather than wide views of the GDR “marking” a larger environment (pp. 34-39). Captioned “Bautzen,” it shows a prison cell once occupied by the subject of the portrait on the wall – the Communist martyr Ernst Thälmann (1886-1944). By the time of the photograph in 1984 – the fortieth anniversary of his death – one conversant in a study of social narratives in the GDR described his life story as a staple of youth culture somewhat depleted in power by

then: “an antifascist routine.”⁴⁹⁸ In this sense, “Thälmann” – in his portrait – might be imagined as distanced from the world that uses (or used) him as a hero: “staring out the window at” the ship that carries contemporary “heroes” such as Kim Il-Sung and his GDR hosts. The light through “Thälmann’s” window also barely touches the incongruously cheery flower vases, fading as it shines toward the viewer, somewhat like the gazes of Kômyô and another child on the next page (p. 41). They squint through shadow. The effect is somewhat like that of Furuya and his parents on the photobooth strip in his 1995 juxtaposition with the waxen limbs in Dresden (Figure 46). It also may feel akin to focusing on “focus” without being able to connect to a subject, as in the image used by Völter to follow Wiemer’s piece (Figure 40).

In short – recalling my concerns with intimacy and connection throughout this dissertation – Furuya’s 2010 “historical” Dresden sequence may stage a “disconnect” between private life and history, the present and the past. In the last image, the children do not look “toward” the historical implications leading up to them, yet they also do not make clear eye contact with Furuya. Even the doll in the toy carriage has closed eyes – a standard mechanism in such dolls that may chance to complement this visual effect of “closedness” to viewer connection.

⁴⁹⁸ Sylvia Fischer, Eberhard Aurich and Christa Streiber-Aurich, “Storytelling in the GDR: An Interview with Eberhard Aurich and Christa Streiber-Aurich,” *Dimensions of Storytelling in German Literature and Beyond*, eds. Kristy R. Boney and Jennifer Marston William (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2018), 257-258.

Figure 50: historical sequence in *Warum Dresden* (2016), pp. 136-153



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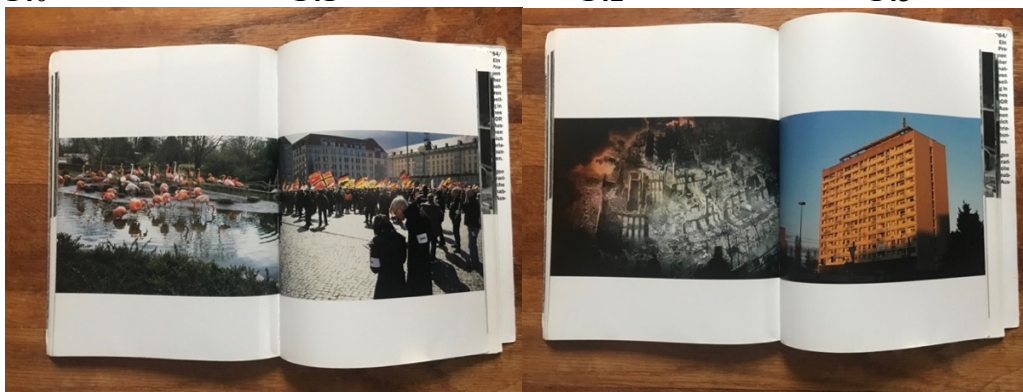


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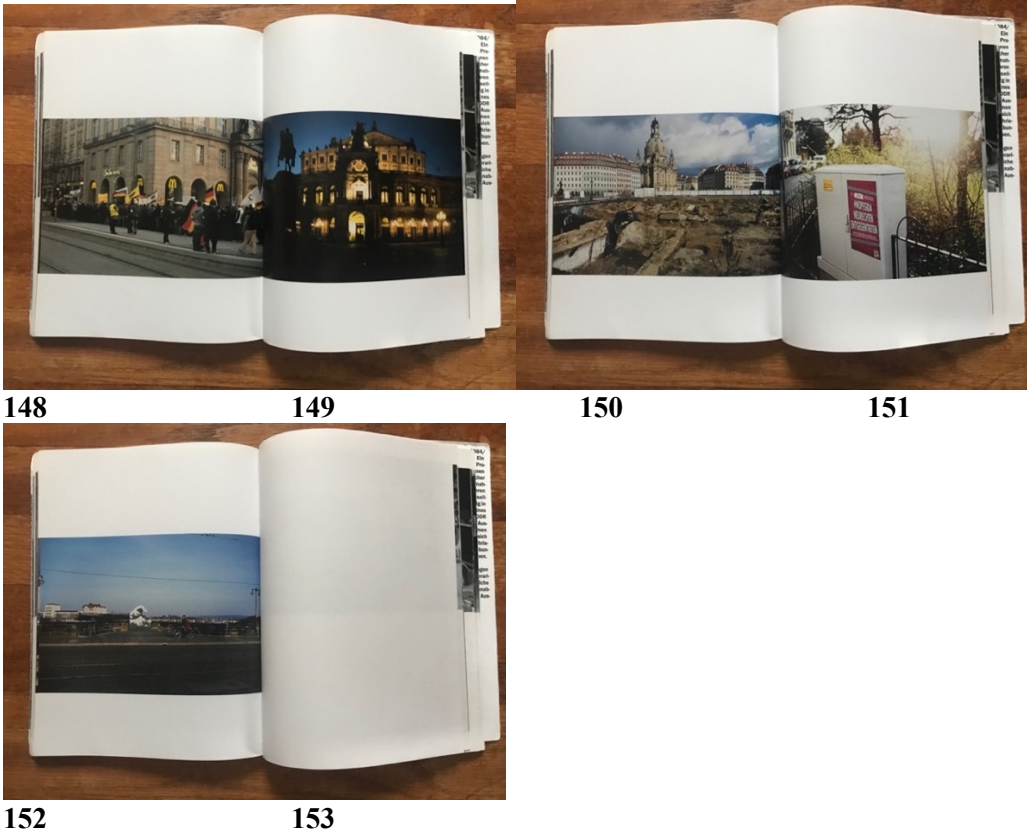


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Social consequences of human disconnect, in fact, might be considered Furuya’s focus in Völter’s 2016 sequence of Furuya’s 2015 Dresden images (Figure 50). Before addressing this, however, I review the historical trajectory of this sequence. As glossed earlier, the sequence may serve to review elements “seen” – visually and verbally – in the run of this chapter: the GDR ideals that Wiemer deemed a “worldview congealed in concrete”⁴⁹⁹ (p. 140), evoked further in the model Soviet plane (p. 142); perhaps the painful Third Reich nostalgia of Wiemer’s “spoonbills” in the photographic display of the bombed Dresden (p. 146); the loss of the GDR in the building that once featured – but now no longer – the sign reading “SOCIALISM

⁴⁹⁹ Wiemer, 62.

TRIUMPHS” (p. 147); the “capitalist” but also potentially wartime-nostalgic restoration of the Frauenkirche (p. 150); and the ambiguous endurance of the Semper Opera House, exemplar of Härtling’s “glittering moment” (p. 149).⁵⁰⁰ There is even – in a perhaps playful echo of Furuya’s evocations of European exoticization of Asia in Chapter 2 – a cutout of Hokusai’s famous woodblock print design known as the “Great Wave” (ca. 1830-31), echoing nearby water from its insertion into the side of a bridge.⁵⁰¹

Völter undercuts the above history, however, by interspersing it with Furuya’s images of an anti-Islamic PEGIDA rally after each historical signification. This effectively points to the failure to prevent the human disconnects behind those rallies, which might be seen as disconnects once activated by the Third Reich. By this, I mean not only PEGIDA supporters taking the actual Nazis of the 1930s as a model – as perhaps evident in one black flag that flashes the word “NAZIS” from under the more plentiful German flags (p. 141) – but a general attachment to a feeling of belonging in what Santner called a “well-defined, well-defended, and vacant Heimat.”⁵⁰² As I draw to the end (for now) of the long “conversation” that I have held about such human disconnect in this chapter – through Furuya, Christine, Wiemer, Härtling, Irving, my relatives and the subjects recorded by Ten Dyke – this

⁵⁰⁰ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 25.

⁵⁰¹ See, for example, records for various impressions of this print at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston – all listed as Katsushika Hokusai, “Under the Wave off Kanagawa (Kanagawa-oki nami-ura), also known as the Great Wave, from the series *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (Fugaku sanjūrokkei),” Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession numbers 06.1153, 06.1283, 06.2548, 11.17652, 21.6764, 21.6765, and 34.317, Credit lines: Denman Waldo Ross Collection (06.1153, 06.1283, 06.2548); William Sturgis Bigelow Collection (11.17652); William S. and John T. Spaulding Collection (21.6764, 21.6765) and Nelly Parney Carter Collection – Bequest of Nelly Parney Carter (34.317): https://collections.mfa.org/search/objects/*/06.1153 (accessed January 14, 2021).

⁵⁰² Santner, 162.

image sequence may function as Furuya and Völter's most topical "response."

Without all the "Dresdens" that I have explored in this chapter, however, Furuya's documentation of the PEGIDA rally might operate as an empty stereotype of xenophobia, and I hope that it now may fall heavier.

In the above terms, I may end this chapter with a more detailed reading of Völter's sequence. Its "rising action" may show Dresden's various regimes each meeting consequences of human disconnect – embodied by the PEGIDA images yet harkening back to earlier prejudices – instead of "moving past" them. The first few images may describe the "present" of Dresden – in 2015 – as defined by tourism. The Hotel am Terrassenufer, a centrally-located hotel near the Frauenkirche and other elements of Wiemer's "old splendor,"⁵⁰³ yields to black-clad Dresdners emerging from a train, a baby in a stroller by an ad for Chesterfield cigarettes, then the corrugated concrete building of the book flap. The last might be read as a sign that Wiemer's "worldview congealed in concrete"⁵⁰⁴ – the socialist aesthetic of the GDR – also has been commodified for tourism (pp. 137-140). Then comes the PEGIDA demonstration with the black "NAZIS" flag hidden under the German flags (p. 141).

After this "setback" – and going back in time – the model Soviet plane from before (as Furuya confirmed to me – shown in Figures 28, right and 48, right) – now appears to hang vertically behind glass rather than lie horizontally (Figure 50, p. 142). It also meets with a PEGIDA image (p. 143). This time, the PEGIDA-aligned

⁵⁰³ Booking today with COVID-19 precautions: <https://www.hotel-terrassenufer.de> (accessed May 25, 2021); Wiemer, 62.

⁵⁰⁴ Wiemer, 62.

German flags – one wrapped around the shoulders of a demonstrator in the foreground – host a lone but prominent Japanese flag. It is an odd “Axis echo,” perhaps a reminder that culturally supremacist views are not monopolized by one culture or another. In the background, a billboard for an airline reads “EUROPA NONSTOP” with flights to Barcelona, Zurich and London. In light of the Brexit vote, “London” now clashes somewhat with the slogan of “nonstop [throughout] Europe.”

The next image may function somewhat as “comic relief,” though soberly undercut by the relentless PEGIDA content: pink flamingos mirroring the colors of the PEGIDA flags on the opposite page (pp. 144-145). Conversely, the next two pages may appear akin to stock-taking of the ends of regimes – a photographic display of the bombed Dresden, perhaps a light box in a museum (p. 146) and the GDR building that formerly sported the “SOCIALISM TRIUMPHS” sign, now stripped of those letters (p. 147). “Stories” here might include: the Third Reich was destroyed by external force but the GDR by internal pressure; the photograph of the Dresden bombing is as much a relic as the GDR building stripped of its sign. On the next page, another PEGIDA scene may appear as though to say that pondering the ends of regimes – residing in a self-centered pity, perhaps, as in Irving’s use of Dresden or my relatives’ use of further “Germanness”⁵⁰⁵ – fails to address fundamental (but also “German”) problems of xenophobia (p. 148).

Beyond Germany, however, Furuya’s choice to document the PEGIDA supporters by a MacDonald’s may have implied – in 2015 – a critique of American

⁵⁰⁵ See primarily Irving and “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.”

corporate chains. This would be in keeping with what Furuya described to me – in the Introduction – as his continual critique of “the capitalism problem.” Somewhat as with the EU airline billboard, however – which now may encode the isolationism of Brexit after the moment when Furuya photographed it (p. 143) – the McDonald’s now might recall a popular caricature of later American president Donald Trump (2016-2020), specifically insofar as Trump deepened American emotional divisions akin to those expressed by PEGIDA supporters.⁵⁰⁶ Opposite what might be called this disaster of the contemporary, however, the venerable Semper Opera house might read as heralding an “alternative” (p. 149). Visually, at least, it furnishes a nighttime scene that artificially gives rise to a more hopeful “next day.” The distant but restored Frauenkirche (p. 150) may aspire to more responsible processing of German pain beside a display of explicitly anti-PEGIDA stickers on an electric box (p. 151). Finally – perhaps as if to qualify the Japanese flag at the PEGIDA rally (p. 143), the “Great Wave” emerges in its visual pun with the “water under the bridge” (p. 152).

In short, the above might describe a cautiously hopeful ending – at least an open ending. The blank page after the “Great Wave” (p. 153) may speak to the humble idea that any stories imagined here – such as my own above – are not “final.” I therefore tell one more. The cutout of the “Great Wave” – though designed over a century after Augustus the Strong’s Japanese collections,⁵⁰⁷ a feature of Dresden’s

⁵⁰⁶ For this caricature, I might point to the satirical TV show Saturday Night Live, e.g. “NATO Cafeteria Cold Open – SNL,” uploaded to YouTube by Saturday Night Live, December 8, 2019: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LBjGD5VGVg0> (accessed May 25, 2021). For historical context, see also “How One of America’s Ugliest Days Unraveled Inside and Outside the Capitol.”

⁵⁰⁷ See, for example, Eva Ströber, “*La maladie de porcelain* [Porcelain mania]”: *ostasiatisches Porzellan aus der Sammlung Augusts des Starken/East Asian porcelain from the collection of Augustus*

“glittering moment”⁵⁰⁸ – might recall European enthusiasm for and exoticism of Japan – as in Van Gogh’s collection of such prints, noted in Chapter 2⁵⁰⁹ – that accompanied Japan’s own empire-building in partial identification as a victim of the “West,” partial identification as its equal or admirer. In this way, the “Great Wave” need not operate as escapism or comic relief – in fact, it cannot, as it shares a sequence with the fallen regimes, corporate consumerism and hate group rally just described. At the same time, I must remind myself that this history and social content was a kind of “afterthought” in Furuya’s record of his family (see Appendix).

I close, therefore, by summarizing my amplification of that afterthought. I traced various implications of “German” senses of belonging in aspects of different “Dresdens.” Catholicism could normalize anti-Semitism in Dresden’s heritage – as used by Irving – but was somewhat inclusively inoculated against such use by Christine. “German” suffering – whether in the bombing of Dresden or, as for Grandma’s cousin Hans, a melding of Romanian German hardship with “sacrifice” for an ideal “Germanness” – could enable evasions of guilt or – as for Wiemer and Härtling – a site to acknowledge guilt (or begin). Finally, the same might be said of pleasure, specifically in prewar Dresden’s flawed ideal of “German universality” – open to fascist formations – against which Härtling and Wiemer also balanced affection with intervention. In the next chapter, however, Furuya will provide voices more directly – particularly in tension with visuals of *Heimat* (see also Chapter 1).

the Strong, ed. Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, trans. Ulrich Boltz (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 2001).

⁵⁰⁸ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 25.

⁵⁰⁹ *Van Gogh & Japan*.

Chapter 4: The End of Conversation? From Voices to Imagination in Furuya's *Staatsgrenze*, 1985-2017

I'll tell you why there is *Staatsgrenze*. *Staatsgrenze* exists – the very simple reason is that, for Japanese, a border is an absolutely new phenomenon [...] I couldn't imagine – the Berlin Wall, one always heard – in a city, there's a wall and divides [it]. *That* I couldn't imagine. [...] Yes, the wall, how that is, and running through the city and such, *ne?* *That* I hadn't understood. OK, later I came automatically to Berlin, that is – not fate – but the story of my life is so predetermined [*bestimmt*] as my interest is. It was – is pulled [into existence]. I didn't seek out anything especially – comes so automatically, *ne?* [*das ist nit Schicksal, sondern meine Lebensgeschichte wird so bestimmt wie mein Interesse ist, das war, wird gezogen, ich habe nichts extra ausgesucht, kommt so automatisch, ne?*] [...] *Staatsgrenze* is that way because I had an interest, but I am basically, actually a lazy person – lazy. I am not a journalist. [...] Simply, I wanted – and this period, '81 to '83, I made it for as good as three years, because, altogether, I went out only three times. One week, fine, because [...] I had fought with Christine, so I wanted to leave, so, from the next morning, three days out – simply without a plan. [...] I went so far by car, and stopped anywhere, photographed, met people by chance. Then I asked them questions and such, *ne?* And then, that's how the thing came about.

- Seiichi Furuya to Ellen Takata, March 29, 2019, Graz, Austria

This fourth and final chapter analyzes what might be called Furuya's most overtly multinarrative project: his own pairing of responses to his above “questions and such” with images of where he heard them: along Austria's Eastern Bloc borders, in his 1983 series *Staatsgrenze* (“state border”), shot between 1981 and 1983. The first two sections analyze a chronology of image sequences from this project (1985-2014, Figures 51-60).⁵¹⁰ The last briefly engages his turn away from that multinarrativity in a related work, “*Staatsgrenze 2016*” (2017)⁵¹¹ – a commission in which he used toys to imagine Syrian refugee experience rather than presume to show more (Figure 61). Furuya's activities across these works may describe the following

⁵¹⁰ “National Border;” *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 26-29; *Mémoires 1995*, 16-31; *Mémoires 1978-1985*, images numbered A-1981/27-34, A-1982/19; *Mémoires 1983*, 120-137, 196-201; and *Staatsgrenze*.

⁵¹¹ “*Staatsgrenze 2016*.”

trajectory: 1) conversations with strangers in Europe, eliciting stories of flexible or rigid identity at the borders of cultures, 2) personal memories and Christine's diaries in history-tinged relations to private life and – in his thinking on the project, evidenced in his epigraph to this chapter – 3) accounting for his relation to Japan.

Apropos to the last, this introductory section will unpack an aspect of thinking about Furuya's "belonging" in Europe reflected in Maren Lübbke-Tidow's essay for "Staatsgrenze 2016."⁵¹² It is somewhat different from that of his earlier reception in Europe, seen in the Introduction. Briefly, this additional idea of Furuya as part of the "non-West" flirts with the feeling that he may "speak for" a variety of "others" to ethnic "Europeans," who – in shades of Frisinghelli's 1993 remarks on "space to act" from the Introduction⁵¹³ – may find themselves – as do I, though an American of various ethnic roots – asking "is the fact that I exist hurting someone else?"

Briefly, Lübbke-Tidow critiques the rise in consequences of European xenophobia since the Cold War, notably defending humanitarian attitudes in the EU against xenophobic forces in Britain and America – echoing the readings that I made in Völter's sequence of Furuya's 2015 Dresden images (Figure 50). Specifically, she writes of "anti-European efforts become concrete with the Brexit vote and Trump election."⁵¹⁴ The plight of Syrian refugees in Furuya's project – engaged at a local level through both the aforementioned toys that Furuya used to imagine their experience and documentation of a fence built to block them at a border station near

⁵¹² "Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation" 22-23.

⁵¹³ "*KRIEG.*," 71.

⁵¹⁴ "Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation," 23.

his house (Figure 61) – thus served partly as an occasion for a member of the EU to speak against Britain and America, yet – as seen in the following passage – also problematized the issue of the EU’s own right to speak on behalf of the refugees:

That Furuya is precisely not working with (for example found) documentary materials here, but rather reconstructing scenes, I understand specifically as an indication of personal disgust in the foreigner Seiichi Furuya in Austria, like his very work with those (at times repulsive) slogans that currently dominate the abysmal political discussion and media representation of refugees. These slogans are scattered around the photographs.⁵¹⁵

Briefly, I sense a sympathy between Furuya and Lübbke-Tidow about the inadequate and ignorant representation of refugees by – as seen in “those (at times repulsive) slogans” (Figure 61, bottom) – the German-speaking media. I thus feel that there is no particular need to designate him “the foreigner Seiichi Furuya in Austria,” except perhaps through some anxiety that he – though sharing the concern of other EU progressives about inadequacy in representing the pain of refugees – somehow occupies a similar category to them as “foreign” and thereby has more of a “right” to represent them. I mention this because – as I briefly gloss below – Furuya’s primary message about refugee experience since 1993 has been that he does *not* share refugee experience or have the right to represent them. It is in keeping with other cautions about human relations as primarily – in his words to me at the start of this dissertation, about elements on the “empty space” of the photobook page – “*distan[t]*,” though I myself continually find ways to make his work more intimate.

I refer to Furuya’s written set of interview responses in 1994 for the Japanese photography magazine *déjà-vu*, concerning his 1993 piece on Bosnian refugees

⁵¹⁵ “Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation,” 23.

(Figures 7 and 51). As seen below, he indicates anxieties about the right to represent refugees for similar reasons as his other EU colleagues: not knowing the refugees' languages or cultures; feeling – after hearing their stories through interpreters – a simultaneous sense of truth about their suffering and guilt that he cannot capture it perfectly. He leans toward an ethics of silence as discussed in Chapter 1⁵¹⁶ – eschewing imposition of his own feelings about the refugees on viewers, instead representing *how* he cannot convey his personal experience – or theirs – to others:

Before I was asked to participate in the [Austrian Photography] Triennial [which commissioned the refugee piece], a friend who was working for one of the relief organizations asked me to take photographs of the camp life of the refugees; the photos would be used in the organization's newsletter. That's how I first came in contact with the refugees and the [Bosnian] war. In my work, I've always tried to record events and experiences that relate to my own life, and so it was within this context that it became natural for me to choose these refugees living in Graz as a subject – and everything proceeded quite naturally. [...]

I had no image of how the work would finally look [...]. I began by gathering all sorts of materials to satisfy my own curiosity, rather than to gather information for making the work. [...] I could also feel directly the cruelty and tragedy of war, and there were times that it moved me to tears. This was a natural reaction within this process of approaching the war in my own direct way. [...] But to make the actual work – to express whatever I could about war – I knew that I would have to take into account all that I had seen and felt and thought during this process of gathering materials. I did not want the empty rhetoric of war photography that forces on the viewer the emotions of the photographer. I wanted to extract from my materials one of the necessary elements of the mechanism of war. All the materials I had gathered were true and concrete, they were elementary factors of the war in Bosnia and of war in general. Through a trial-and-error process I experimented with all my materials and finally arrived at the method of repetition.

Through repetition, personal words and experiences soon lose their individuality, they become signs without emotions [...] you see all these portraits, the same pose, the same background, a list of names and words.

⁵¹⁶ For example, in *Das Kunstwerk*; “The Work of Art;” “Film as a Reproduction of the Present;” “Eiga no shajitsuteki tokusei;” “Erwachen vor der Tatsache;” Taki and Gržinic.

Through repetition, they are all liberated from their individuality. The usual mutual, auxiliary characteristic of photo and text melting into one another is lost there. There is no tragedy or cruelty here, no compassion is stirred. There are only independent sign-elements. My work is finished when these sign-elements are presented. The rest is up to the viewer. *Expulsion-Flight* consists of the materials relating to the refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. But too, I tried to extract an element from the structure of war itself, and in that sense, what I show here should be possible to be exchanged with the situation of refugees from any war. [...]

In our time, when the validity of a certain system of contemporary values is being questioned, it is inevitable that photography will also be questioned, and will change. [...] We are born into and influenced by pre-existing cultures and value systems before we acquire and affirm our individual consciousness. [...] The mass media dispatches information to the mass of people for their apprehension of reality, and we cannot avoid this. The media manipulates the values of the age. Photography – its ability to record the actual – plays an important role in the media [...] we need to start with the dismemberment of the present dubious system of values that unlimitedly dominates the world, and of which I am a prisoner too [...]

I visited three refugee camps, [sic] and photographed the refugees in their apartment gardens [...] there was the physical distance within which an interview – interpreted – was conducted; and there was a psychological distance in our relationship with me as the photographer and the refugee as my subject. These two distances were mutually active. The sadness or tragedy that we feel are related and in proportion to those distances. My emotions, the tears I cried as I listened to their stories of the war, of their limited freedom within the camps, about their hopes for the future – these too are a result of those distances. [...] my motive was in its own way cruel and tragic. And my feeling in this regard is also a result of distance. As I took the photographs [...] this cruel act [...] there was nothing for me to do but to shoot as my conscience was being pricked.⁵¹⁷

Perhaps as usual, Furuya's passage speaks for itself. It highlights his responsibility to his subjects – and the “subject” of war – as an individual working against his sense that the “mass media dispatches information to the mass of people for their apprehension of reality,” and the “media manipulates the values of the age.” His statement that he “did not want the empty rhetoric of war photography that forces

⁵¹⁷ “War and Photography,” 51-52.

on the viewer the emotions of the photographer” thus challenges his idea of “the media.” Furuya’s notion, however, that he also could “extract from my materials one of the necessary elements of the mechanism of war,” rather hints at a paradoxical faith in photography’s “ability to record the actual” – the very faith by which “the media” can deceive through the truth claims of photography.

This paradoxical faith echoes Barthes’ feelings for his mother through a photograph – after his critiques of the falsity of photography, discussed in Chapter 1;⁵¹⁸ Härtling’s feelings for *his* mother through a mental image of her house as the subject of her remembered voice – amid his own doubts in memories and voices, considered in Chapter 3;⁵¹⁹ and Furuya’s own “re-reading” of his life with Christine,⁵²⁰ from which he told me in the Introduction – when that process changed with his rediscovery of Christine’s work – “much more now is true with which now she must be true, *ne?*”

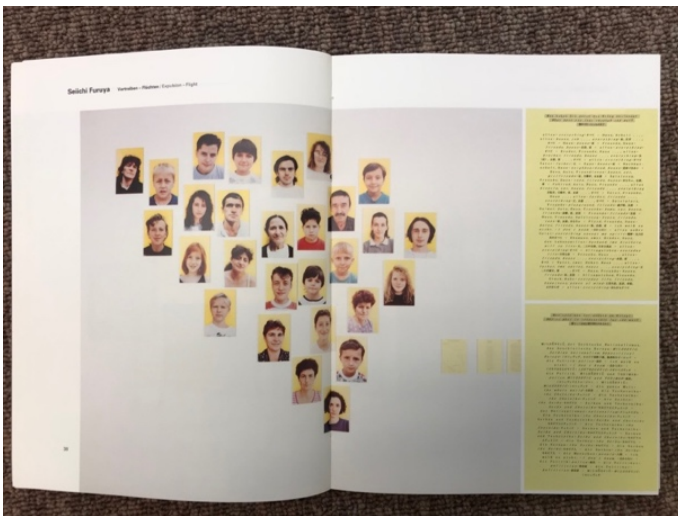


Figure 51: “Vertreiben – Flüchten/Expulsion – Flight” *KRIEG*. vol. 2 (1993), pp. 38-39

⁵¹⁸ *La chambre claire; Camera Lucida.*

⁵¹⁹ “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit.”

⁵²⁰ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

While the above examples show an unwillingness to accept feelings of reality from memory, photographs, or other frames for loved ones, however, Furuya presents his 1993 work in a willingness to accept feelings of an essence of war through a visual mode of framing – repetition – that will filter away the individuality of people who experience war. It is a sort of double standard with regard to the mediation of feelings toward individuals, such that the Bosnian refugees would be “possible to be exchanged with the situation of refugees from any war.”⁵²¹ Effectively, if humans should not be known through frames – though, as seen in the cases of loved ones noted above, one sometimes feels that they are – Furuya expresses that human abstractions can and should be presented in frames. This moves me to consider how Furuya switched to that ethics of “the essence” – an ethics of silence in hiding the actual emotions and stories that he had experienced with the refugees themselves.

He did not choose to share those connections with the public – unlike in his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* – perhaps because he saw the Bosnian refugees’ pain as what I might call “foreign,” while Austrian and other subjects in the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* may seem “familiar” in their informal talk, even “equal.” This may speak to the drop in intercultural trust and openness that Lübbke-Tidow noted – in another part of her essay for “Staatsgrenze 2016” – since the Cold War.⁵²² In this sense, Furuya’s 1993 project might be seen as a translation from what had been a personal experience – photographing Bosnian refugees for a friend’s newsletter – into a more monumental

⁵²¹ “War and Photography,” 51.

⁵²² “Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation,” 22.

evocation of “war” that retained his faith in photography’s “ability to record the actual” only through depiction of an inability to share his actual feeling. I again might invoke Barthes in his refusal to show the photograph of his mother, choosing instead to elaborate how viewers could *not* experience the image as he did.⁵²³

I now have clarified perhaps the “real” precursor to Furuya’s “Staatsgrenze 2016” – his 1993 refugee piece rather than the 1983 *Staatsgrenze*. Both choose the ethics of silence that always stands alongside a multinarrative ethics as an option in different encounters. In fact, depicting inability to depict may be the most ethical choice when protecting the anonymity of subjects who – like refugees in today’s environment – might be subject to endangerment through identity markers, even the individual portraits and data so carefully scrambled in Furuya’s 1993 work (Figures 7 and 51). “Staatsgrenze 2016” is thus the titular “end of conversation” *within* the elements of a work, which – unlike a multinarrative ethics – provides no “way in” for an enriched conversation *with* and *through* the work. Rather, conversation must remain *outside* and *about* the work.

I would like to move into a multinarrative treatment of Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze*, however, through one “story” from a “verbal image” in Furuya’s text on his Bosnian work. This image is the “apartment gardens” where he interviewed the Bosnian refugees through an interpreter, anguished that their answers were distanced from him through culture, history, and language – precisely *because* he felt

⁵²³*Camera Lucida*, 70; *La chambre claire*, 109.

a sympathy with them to which he could not presume to deserve the right.⁵²⁴ For me, the gardens recall the Schreber gardens that I discussed in Chapter 3 (Figure 33, left) – sometimes socialist, sometimes National Socialist, always grounded in an image of “home” from subsistence farming in the “countryside,” melding with one’s “country”: between “home” and “homeland”⁵²⁵ – evocative of the space of belonging that I so often invoke as *Heimat* (discussed in Chapter 1). In my “story” of the Schreber garden “image” from Furuya’s writing, then, Furuya and the Bosnian refugees may “intervene” in that dangerous space by simply sharing emotions in it as people negotiating each other’s supposed “foreignness” through intimacy, despite Furuya’s later refusal to trust himself to understand or share it. At the very least, it changes the rules of connect and disconnect around the familiar and foreign in a type of space that habituated these rules.

The “Far Less Brutal” Border: Re-imagining “Foreign” and “Familiar” in “National Border,” 1985

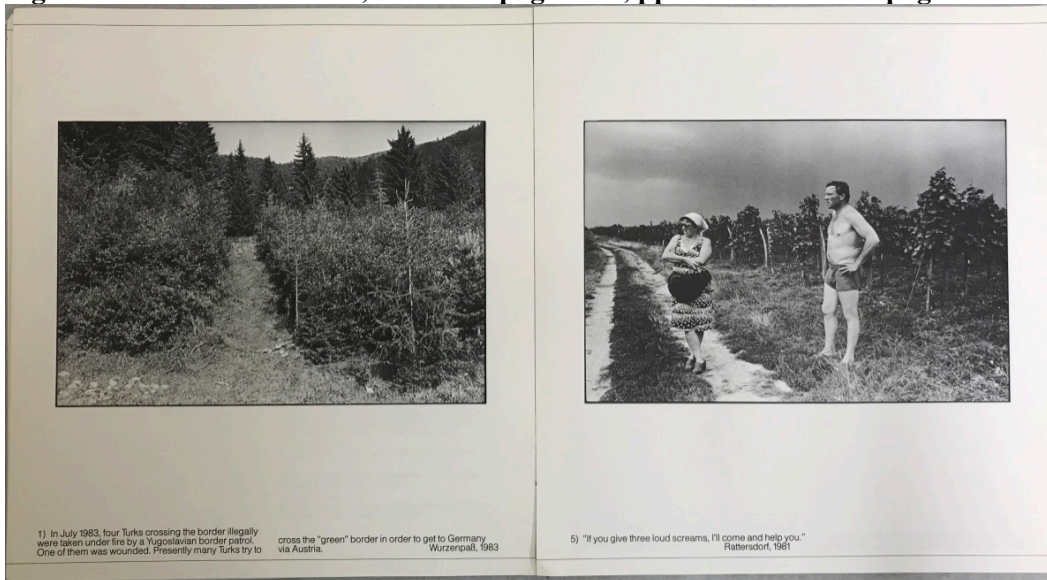
My impression of Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze* strikes me as staging similar “interventions” against spaces of *Heimat*. Briefly, he both undercuts their “prettiness” with “ugly” reports of events in them – to recall my discussion of his colleague Manfred Willmann in Chapter 1 (Figures 9-10) – as well as, conversely, records what I have named in the title of this section as a reimagining of the “foreign” and “familiar.” Specifically, he does this in the *Heimat*-like aesthetic of what his first statement on the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* called the “beautiful, romantic, inconspicuous [...]

⁵²⁴ “War and Photography,” 51-52.

⁵²⁵ See Urban.

quiet landscape” of the “far less brutal border” of Austria with the Eastern Bloc – compared, as he wrote, to the Berlin Wall.⁵²⁶

Figure 52: “National Border,” 1985: unpaginated, pp. 18-23 from title page



1 Wurzenpaß, 1983, p. 18

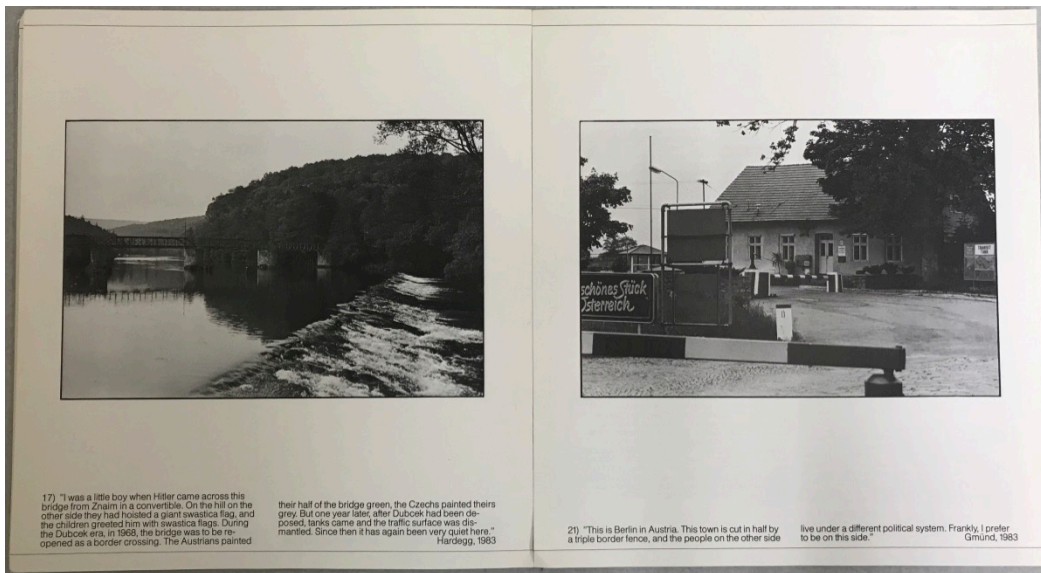
5 Rattersdorf, 1981, p. 19



8 Schattendorf, 1981, p. 20

12 Langenzersdorf, 1982, p. 21

⁵²⁶ “National Border” (unpaginated: 17 from title page).



17 Hardegg, 1983, p. 22

21 Gmünd, 1983, p. 23

In his conversation with me, Furuya reconfirmed that he had recorded the conversations excerpted in the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* with individuals at or near the sites that he photographed: on both paper and audiotape. He also confirmed that he translated them with the help of Christine. As he said, “[g]enerally, [she had] written the text jointly with me [*mir gemeinsam geschrieben*].” Before I analyze the earliest presentation of this series that I have found in print – six images under the English title “National Border” in the 1985 catalogue of the group show *Six Austrian Photographers* (Figure 52) – I posit a historical trend perhaps in keeping with Lübbke-Tidow’s sense that the Cold War era was what I would call more open to human connection than now.⁵²⁷ Briefly, Furuya’s first two juxtapositions yield stories of recognizing “foreignness” in frames that try to “familiarize” and support it – perhaps not at the level desired today, yet also avoiding assumptions of irreconcilable difference – cultural, political or otherwise – more common today.

⁵²⁷ “Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation,” 22.

To begin: as Furuya confirmed, “National Border” was a reprint of his photographs as exhibited – with text and reference numbers directly added to his photographic prints. Referring to his comprehensive, 2014 edition of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* shows that the reference numbers have changed since then, though the texts remain the same (Figure 60).⁵²⁸ As in Chapter 2, I shall refer to this edition “ahead of time” from my own moment of access to it – yet this also chances to be chronologically appropriate, as the captioned images were exhibited in the first iteration (the 2014 edition added uncaptioned images from the same settings).⁵²⁹

Furuya told me, however, that he did not always show his images in the same order, and he had no explanation of the order of “National Border.” To me, they effectively follow “stages” of a sort of de facto *Heimat*-like “space of belonging” – through painterly framing of different landscapes: wooded to partly cultivated (perhaps “pastoral”) to more fully cultivated and then “suburban”-looking – all complicated by implications of “foreignness” and “familiarity” in Furuya’s captions. Specifically, World War II memories and Cold War experiences rise and fall in evocations of harm and safety – not always corresponding to national divisions of “foreign” and “familiar” – across the captions, complicating whether the “path to the suburban” might be read as “progress” or “decline.” All of this is enabled by the photobook design. As Furuya told me about the first image of “National Border”:
“the viewer must look twice: once, the picture, and understand what to make of it –

⁵²⁸ “National Border” and *Staatsgrenze*.

⁵²⁹ Furuya’s biography lists *Staatsgrenze* as shown in 1983, 1987, 1991, 2017 and 2019 – see *Alive*, 180-181 and his biography on-line: <https://www.furuya.at/en/biography.html> (accessed May 28, 2021).

yes, *wonderful*, what is that – what it is; then the text must be read, then back to the picture. If the [text] is [right] under the picture, then they look only once.”

As the caption explained from far below the first image in the 1985 publication, the Yugoslavian border patrol shot at Turkish-border crossers in 1983 (Figure 52, p. 18). It thus undercut any initially romantic or “*wonderful*” readings of the forest. Furuya’s words to me on planning the first exhibition of *Staatsgrenze* further may speak to this process of counteracting the “familiar” – in my terms, the closed space of belonging, akin to Santner’s “vacant Heimat” of Chapter 1⁵³⁰:

And then, then in ’83, I made the last [*Staatsgrenze*] photo. Then I began to find interesting prints [from the series], put them together [*sammelngestellt*], and then I considered [showing] only photos alone [without text]. The first exhibition was photos, and underneath was a special written text. And then I wasn’t content. Because it concerns a single work, which must be on one print – the text also must be on a print – be a part of the work. Then I made new enlargements that I printed: picture above, text below, not text right below the photo, but distance – that is very important – this empty space is *very* important.

In short, Furuya began his exhibition of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* in the mode of a photobook before he ever made a photobook of it. Apropos to my own multinarrative interests, he also introduced the project as a search for stories and emotions that informed each other in visual spaces – spaces that I have termed *Heimat*:

The 1640-mile-long Austrian border is far less brutal than, for example, the Berlin border, where a concrete wall cruelly cuts a city in half. It is even beautiful, romantic, inconspicuous, but in this quiet landscape one feels the silent, sad facts more than in Berlin. On my trips along the border, I have tried to find places where there have been tragic incidences, and to find out

⁵³⁰ Santner, 162.

personal stories to give myself a chance to think about the “border” phenomenon.⁵³¹

In passing – and apropos to the thread of concern about Furuya’s reception as “Japanese” or “foreign” that follows him – I might note that his 1983 statement made no mention of the notion that – as Furuya told me in the epigraph to this chapter – “for Japanese, a border is an absolutely new phenomenon.” The ostensible reason, as he wrote in his 2013 statement on the series, is that Japan is an island nation: “coming from a land with no artificially drawn borders, I could not imagine how a border physically manifested in the landscape.”⁵³² Before this, however, his 1990 statement (reprinted in his 2014 photobook) had not yet engaged Japan. Rather, it conveyed wonder at the then-recent dismantling of the Eastern Bloc – akin to his other words to me in the epigraph to this chapter, that “I couldn’t imagine – the Berlin Wall, one always heard – in a city, there’s a wall and divides [it]” – which led him to translate his concept of such overt borders into subtler interpersonal divisions:

What concerned the Austrian border with the “Eastern Bloc” was torn away, that symbol of political and human fates created after the Second World War. The border as fate belongs to the past – at least the visible traces have vanished.

A work like *Staatsgrenze* would no longer be possible today – it already has become history itself, which pleases me. But we must not forget that only a part of what exists about borders is gone – many invisible walls always remain between us.⁵³³

⁵³¹ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 17 from title page).

⁵³² *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 78 from title page). All quotes from *Staatsgrenze* are my own translations from the German.

⁵³³ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 73 from title page).

I early gloss ideas of Furuya’s “Japanese” fascination with borders – which his colleague Urs Stahel also used in 1995⁵³⁴ – in an attempt to keep it from eclipsing what appears his original interest in relations – not even necessarily divisions – in Cold War Europe. This is how I read Furuya’s 1983 statement: searching the rural stillness of the Austrian *Heimat* as a frame for “tragic incidences.” Specifically, such “incidences” might emerge as hidden dangers of history in Austrian hominess, as opposed to the more severely visible division of Berlin. Turning now to the images of “National Border,” I recall my first experience of discussing it with Furuya.

We were looking at the juxtaposition of the woods and the couple in the vineyard (Figures 3 and 52, both pp. 18-19). I was thinking not only of how the difference in framing made the couple “tower over the forest across the page,” how the vineyard was cultivated, the forest wild. I also had in my mind the idea of social resentments that earlier immigrants might bear against later ones – not only in significations of “civilized” and “savage” (between the vineyard and forest) but also through a Biblical parable about arriving early or late to the vineyard – “So the last will be first, and the first, last.”⁵³⁵

At that point, I had read issues of immigration into the sequence from Furuya’s statements about the work as a whole, in keeping with – but a bit beyond – his own ideas for its meaning. Now I add verbal information – and its emotional “imagery” – from captions. Following is the caption for the forest (Figure 52, p. 18):

⁵³⁴ See “On the Border,” 148.

⁵³⁵ Matthew 20:1-16. *Revised Standard Version* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953), 774-775.

In July 1983, four Turks crossing the border illegally were taken under fire by a Yugoslavian border patrol. One of them was wounded. Presently many Turks try to cross the “green” border in order to get to Germany via Austria.

In my notion of this series as moving from “wild” to “suburban,” Furuya may open with the danger of a “wild” space, yet its framing may be somewhat romantic. There is a path – recalling Chapter 2, a “way in” – in a soft asymmetry of greenery that may betray no obvious signs of the trespass or violence in the caption. In the left foreground, a scattering of lacey flowers may lend playful lightness. Young pines emerge amid other shrubs on the right, however, in what appears a contrast to the older forest behind – perhaps as though they had been cut and replanted in timbering.

That impression may begin to lead toward an ideal of wilderness “tamed” – specifically, by those who claim it by “living off the land,” not those – like the Turks in the caption – who *enter* the land from outside. This “story” may illustrate a very simple way that a sense of the “familiar” may be habituated as ownership of space – a sense of ownership also haunting the National Socialist *Lebensraum*, as I discussed in Chapter 1 (via Frisinghelli’s *Aktionsraum*) and Chapter 3 (via Grandma’s cousin Hans).⁵³⁶ With this imagining in mind, the man and woman on the facing page (p. 19) – whom Furuya confirms as a married couple in his 1997 *Mémoires* volume⁵³⁷ – might be read as staring with hostility “toward” the woods “at” the Turks, though the couple was photographed at a different time and place.

The woman’s body might feel “closed” defensively, as I considered for the body with folded arms in Chapter 2 (Figures 23, p. 66 and 24, pp. 10-11). She

⁵³⁶ “*KRIEG.*,” 71 and “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.”

⁵³⁷ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1981/34.

crosses her ankles and juts out her shoulder in what might appear a tough expansion of her body size. The man might be squinting apprehensively as he puts his hands on his hips authoritatively. As they are in a vineyard, one imaginary narrative over the photobook pages might be that they are checking the neighboring lumbering site – or even their own – “across” the path in their own image. The caption reads, “If you give three loud screams, I’ll come and help you.” These words might be imagined as promising each other protection from the Turks mentioned in the caption to the forest – but also, alternatively, offering help *to* the Turks, potentially undercutting my previous “story” of “familiarity” as ownership.

In real life, in fact – similarly to my observations in Chapter 2 – some subjects of Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze* images might be read as reacting to his own presence, though he arranges their pictures such that they also support imaginary narratives in his “empty space” of photobook pages. In these terms, the couple – if they spoke the caption, which Furuya felt that they had – may have been addressing their assurance to Furuya himself – that *he* should scream to them for help. Unlike my impression of the phrase “the foreigner Seiichi Furuya in Austria,”⁵³⁸ which struck me as imposing a distance between the common feelings of Furuya and Lübbke-Tidow in the essay for “Staatsgrenze 2016” – perhaps reflecting current anxieties about ethnic Europeans showing empathy for those of non-European origin in Europe – the “story” of the couple offering help to Furuya may reconcile his “foreignness” and their willingness to help him. It may evoke a sense of common humanity simpler than today’s.

⁵³⁸ “Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation,” 23.

In another “story,” Furuya later published an image of Christine with this couple, which proves that he was not without the protection of a “European” – Christine herself (Figure 54, no. 34).⁵³⁹ This image also opens the possibility that the remark – continuing to imagine it as the couple’s – might have been meant for *her*. This changes the ethnic idea of “foreign” and “familiar” that Furuya may have staged through the verbal image of the Turks in the caption to the forest, instead introducing region as “foreign” – an Austrian from elsewhere. In another possibility, Christine and Furuya together might have received that assurance of help through a combination of factors that the couple saw as “foreign” but also human and common.

In terms of landscape, the couple’s vineyard also shows the next level of perhaps “pastoral” cultivation after the “wilderness” in the image of the forest – the exemplary mode of *Heimat* that I have been considering, the subsistence farming of the Schreber gardens and the *Angelus*.⁵⁴⁰ My story of the couple protecting others in this space thereby may portray a refusal – and thereby “defusing”⁵⁴¹ – of the dangers of disconnection in closing off one’s mental and physical “home.” The next caption, in fact, introduces complications of “home” that have haunted Japan’s position in this dissertation: as a “non-Western” part of the Cold War “West” (Figure 52, p. 20):

This is where the free Western world ends, and only in Japan it begins again. When wild animals cross the border at night, signal mines will flare[,] and Hungarian soldiers will come marching up.

⁵³⁹ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, image number A-1981/34. See also Figures 3 and 45, no. 34.

⁵⁴⁰ On Schreber gardens, see Urban. See also Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

⁵⁴¹ “My Love to Be Defused.”

Visually, the image might be imagined as extending from the “pastoral” space of the couple to a more industrialized expanse of fields where – unlike in the greenery-filled landscapes of the previous juxtaposition (pp. 18-19) – there seems little cover for any border-crossing activity. Rather, the vocabulary of the caption – in both the English “signal mines” and – in 2014 – German *Leuchtminen*⁵⁴² – may serve to spark a mental image of the farmers’ fields being laced with mines – though *Leuchtminen* more conventionally might be rendered as the somewhat safer “flares.” This analysis also chances to join the violence of the word *Mine* – from the German *Leuchtminen* – with the other English meaning of the word “mine” – “my own,” the feeling of belonging-as-ownership against which I have staged various interventions.

On this note – as I consider how “wild animals” sounds somewhat like a euphemism for people who cross the border at night – I wonder where they could hide under the flares of the Hungarian soldiers: perhaps behind the column on the right side of the image. The carved wreath at the bottom suggests a memorial. The figure on top may be Jesus or a bearded saint. The column stands on the brighter side of the image in a reaped field – perhaps suggesting a sense of virtue in the “light,” yet the darker side is ploughed and perhaps equally virtuous in its fertility. Amid these color associations, the caption’s statement that “This is where the free Western world ends, and only in Japan it begins again” might bring to mind that white is the color of death and mourning in Japan.

⁵⁴² *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 29 from title page).

In terms of discussions elsewhere in this dissertation, the statement may recall Japan's path to becoming part of the "free Western world." As glossed in Chapter 2, I might abbreviate this path as Japan's early interest in – and exoticism by – early modern Europe; colonization of other Asian countries – leading to the Asia Pacific War; and postwar American Occupation, coinciding with a turn to anti-colonial rhetoric in a "status-shift from that of colonizer to colonized."⁵⁴³ In real life, the speaker of the caption likely was moved by encounter with Furuya to make that remark as a compliment to him. As I discussed in more complex terms around the couple in the vineyard, this tiny gesture of including Japan in "the free Western world" might join their gesture as another reaction to a sense of the "foreign" by seeking a connection – though perhaps a superficial one – rather than rejecting it.

Moving to the next page (p. 21), I follow the brighter stripe of field in the left-hand image (p. 20) as it "turns into" the similarly toned, horizontal stripe of field in the righthand one (no. 12). In the righthand field is a helicopter. In the middle foreground, Christine and Kômyô bend to examine the ground. In keeping with the painterly framing that I have been considering, they may recall another famous painting by Millet – whose *Angelus* inspired the print that hung in Furuya's East Berlin apartment (Figures 33, p. 88 and 38, top) – *Gleaners*.⁵⁴⁴ Its painterliness may be highlighted by the presence of "viewers" *within* the photograph: onlookers in the

⁵⁴³ Chen, 7.

⁵⁴⁴ Jean-François Millet, *Des glaneuses* [Gleaners], 1857, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, inventory number RF 592, credit line: Donation by Mrs. Pommery with life interest reserved, 1890: https://www.musee-orsay.fr/index.php?id=851&L=1&tx_commentaire_pi1%5BshowUid%5D=341 (accessed April 11, 2021).

foreground. The figure on the right wears a cap reminiscent of law enforcement and stands by an apparent police car (with cylindrical lights that likely spin). Their presence may cast a sort of simultaneous voyeurism and spectacle over the image – staring at both Furuya’s family moment at the border and the public aftermath of another family’s more dangerous border-crossing, described in the caption:

On July 4, 1982, Polish refugees – an agricultural pilot, his wife and his daughter – landed in a helicopter near Vienna. A thunderstorm and flying very low when crossing the Czech border made their adventure possible.

In fact, the combination of verbal and visual imagery may cast Christine and Kômyô – with obvious artifice – “as” the Polish refugee family. It chances to be another instance of choosing to give the “foreign” a frame of “familiarity.” This time it is the (heteronormative) family as a relatable image across the Eastern Bloc border – not to mention, in keeping with the previous caption’s notion of the “free Western world” – the date of Independence Day in the United States (July 4) as a “sign” of that freedom, which both the Polish refugees and those in the “West” desire.

At the same time, I am moved to caution that the facts of Furuya’s captions may normalize desirability of both European over “foreign” and the family over the single individual – at least, if not thought through. Specifically, the Turkish refugees who open “National Border” – perhaps coded as single and certainly as non-European – came under fire (p. 18), while the Polish – a family of Europeans – had serendipitous success in their helicopter. On the other hand, the sequence thus far effectively unites European and non-European in an ideal of the “free Western world” as a commonly desired “home.” It depicts the agency of choosing this ideal across

both border-crossers from the “East” and those who – so far – might be understood as sympathizing with them in the “West.” This historical and social scenario of choice stands in stark contrast to Furuya’s later framing of refugees in 1993 and 2017: as glossed in the introduction to this chapter, forced from their homes by war.

Conversely, however, the last juxtaposition in “National Border” (pp. 22-23) may engage a different issue – not a common sense of “home” among different people but changing senses of “home” in one person: the Cold War Austrian living in awareness of history. In my frame of the *Heimat*’s path – from wilderness to suburbs – the sequence might show “nature” in its infringement by human force, though framed with a painterly quaintness. In the next photograph (p. 22), a distant metal bridge runs over a river and quietly penetrates the verdant woods. Similarly, the caption calmly and quietly chances to speak to the issue of “Germanness” between the Third Reich and the Eastern Bloc that I considered in Chapter 3 – from the Dresden “angel” and model Soviet plane (Figure 28) to Grandma’s cousin Hans.⁵⁴⁵ Briefly, it evokes a lifetime from National Socialism through Cold War socialism:

I was a little boy when Hitler came across this bridge from Znaim in a convertible. On the hill on the other side[,] they had hoisted a giant swastica [sic] flag, and the children greeted him with swastica [sic] flags. During the Dubcek era, in 1968, the bridge was to be re-opened as a border crossing. The Austrians painted their half of the bridge green, the Czechs painted theirs grey. But one year later, after Dubcek had been deposed, tanks came[,] and the traffic surface was dismantled. Since then[,] it has been very quiet here.

I shall return to the implications of favoring “quiet” when Furuya re-uses this image in the next section (:, p. 130). For now, I take pause in allegorizing the bridge

⁵⁴⁵ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.”

– set visually to be somewhat demonized as a site of “invasion” of nature by culture – as perhaps expected, for Hitler did not have to “invade.” Rather, he was welcomed by all the “swastikas” – an odd misspelling that makes me wonder about subconscious unwillingness to print the term. Conversely, memory of Dubcek’s Prague Spring – his Communist reforms of 1968, later suppressed by armed troops from the USSR – is but different colors of Western and Eastern Bloc paint. The ethical workings of this caption may be less the “shock” of the history than the difficulty in imagining a man’s life through a National Socialist childhood, young adulthood in similar distaste for Communism, and “quiet” present.

In these terms, I look to the “nature” rather than the bridge. When the river flows from a glassy surface over an “edge” into white foam, I imagine a dam or other means of control – perhaps somewhat invisible for being unexpected yet controlling the “natural” appeal of the look of the water. This may be a better allegory than the bridge for emotionally habituating belonging – invisibly but through details in the visible. In a more practical reading, I also note that – closer than the bridge but still very far – a small figure may be standing waist-deep in water. Would not the officials have taken notice? This might serve to indicate how the landscape now – in the words of the caption – “is very quiet here.”

This quietness also may feel enforced by Furuya shooting the bridge from great distance and the speaker remembering the rendering of the bridge inoperative – as though the truly “natural” greenery of “home” may overgrow it, that – if I make the bridge a metaphor for memory – Hitler with giant flags and division by colors of

paint may coexist with this quietness, like the deactivated bridge. It is an imperfect metaphor, however, for memories are perhaps either there or not there – conscious or not (yet) conscious. Unlike the bridge, they cannot be both visible and inoperative.

The last image and caption in “National Border” (p. 23) therefore might be felt to arrive in the “present” from the “past” of Hitler and Dubcek – into the active and somewhat “suburban” space of the guardhouse – as opposed to the passively inoperative bridge. In fact – but for the barriers and guard – the guardhouse largely may resemble a quaint, little house. Though Furuya’s camera is pressed against the edge of a striped barrier, the guardhouse – despite signage such as “transit tank” – nestles under a leafy tree akin to those on the facing page. A soldier stands stiffly by a small palm tree which – through its “pairing” with him – may read as a sort of undignified companion, its wildly spreading leaves like unkempt hair or wild gestures.

In short, the above imagery of *Heimat* may be undercut only softly by the barriers and guard. Similarly, a road sign – partly cropped in the middle foreground – reads “beautiful piece of Austria (*schönes Stück Österreich*), missing the article – likely “a” (*ein*). The message of promised beauty is quietly interrupted by Furuya’s cropping, like the coziness of the landscape by the guard and barriers – echoing, in the previous image, the woods penetrated by the bridge. The caption also evokes a stark but quiet rupture:

This is Berlin in Austria. This town is cut in half by a triple border fence, and the people on the other side live under a different political system. Frankly, I prefer to be on this side.

The word “cut” also may echo the cropping of the sign reading “beautiful piece of Austria,” which may furnish one more set of stories. Briefly, the 2014 *Staatsgrenze* volume shows that Furuya had cropped a large letter “N” – apparently deliberate, not graffiti – from the sign as shown in his 1985 publication (Figure 60, p. 63).⁵⁴⁶ This lets me imagine other signs marked “M” or “O.” In the real sign, the “N” visually changes the message to “No beautiful piece of Austria” – *Nein schönes Stück Österreich* – instead of “a beautiful piece of Austria” – *ein schönes Stück Österreich*. Grammatically, the German *nein* would function in a refusal addressed to the Austrian landscape – as in “no, beautiful piece of Austria (not you).” A similar sign marked “M” would read “My beautiful piece of Austria” – *Mein schönes Stück Österreich*. It begs a basic question for what Furuya’s 1983 statement called “the ‘border’ phenomenon.”⁵⁴⁷ What is the status of that “beautiful piece of Austria”? Is it “mine,” where I belong? If so, why can the sign also be read as saying “no”? This image’s geographical subject, “Gmünd, 1983,” evokes to me a subject who might have such questions – the Czech citizen of the Eastern half of Gmünd: a “foreigner” who is also a “local” – from the whole of the now divided city.

In sum, the growing conclusion to this section has been that Furuya’s 1985 “National Border” may show “borders” less as sites of separation and isolation than complicated modes of meeting and attempts at inclusion. While captions to other images in the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* do evoke isolationism (addressed in the next section), those of “National Border” show a greater tendency to recognize “foreignness” in a

⁵⁴⁶ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 63 from title page).

⁵⁴⁷ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 17 from title page).

variety of modes and also try to reconcile it with the “familiar”: whether offering help, as I imagined around the couple in the vineyard (pp. 18-19); cheerfully including Japan in “the free Western world” (p. 20); or visually “casting” Furuya’s own wife and child as the Polish refugee family in their caption (p. 21). Even the jarring last pairing claims a sense of life reconciled in a (perhaps too easy) overcoming of National Socialist and Soviet socialist memories (p. 22) and – conversely – regrets the lost wholeness of a divided city by reservedly taking a “side” (p. 23).

Switching Voices (and “Joining” Them): *Staatsgrenze* images in Furuya’s *Mémoires* Volumes (1989-2006) and “Comprehensive” Edition (2014)

This section continues visual consideration of Furuya’s framing of “wild,” “pastoral,” “suburban” and – in this section – “urban” space in its interactions with captions and across images. I first analyze sequences in his *Mémoires* publications, which quickly drop his original captions from conversations at the borders. As noted earlier, I incorporate these original captions as quotes from the 2014 *Staatsgrenze* publication, though I arrive at that publication only at the end. As the title of this section indicates, I consider the 2014 *Staatsgrenze* a “comprehensive edition” in which previous voices paired with images echo and accumulate. Much as in Chapter 3, Christine again chances to offer her own engagements with war legacies, anti-Semitism and racism in what I might call a casually mystical diary entry.⁵⁴⁸ I also shall consider further how Furuya incorporates the idea of a Japanese perspective into his 2014 treatment of *Staatsgrenze*.

⁵⁴⁸ *Mémoires* 1983, 260.

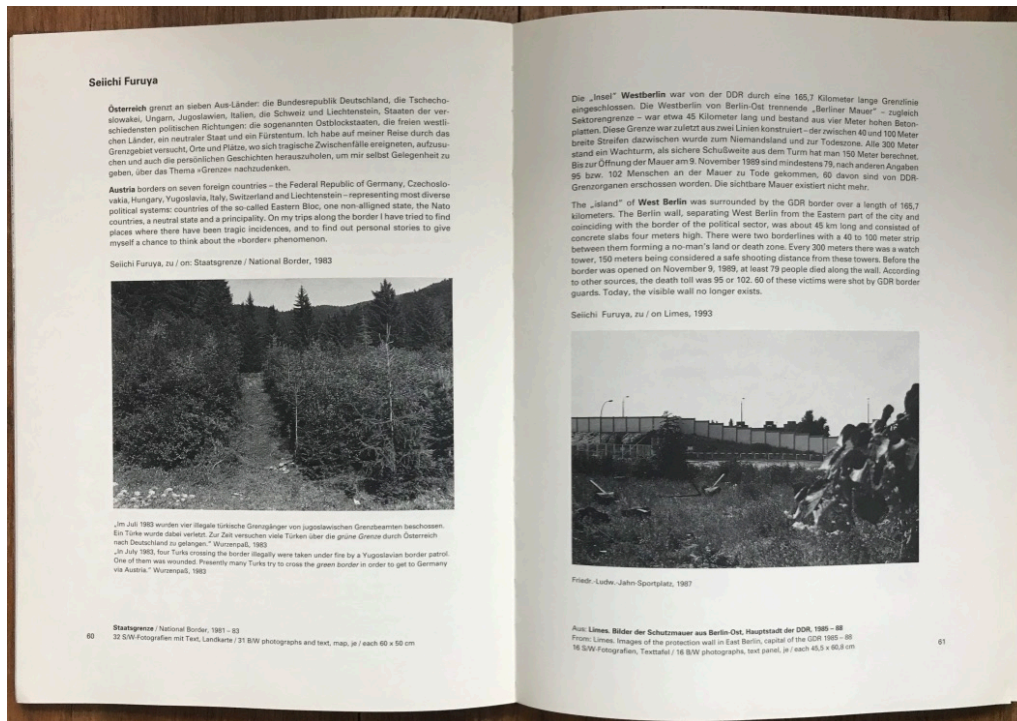


Figure 53: left, “zu/on Staatsgrenze/National Border”; right, “zu/on Limes,” *KRIEG. vol. 1* (1993), pp. 60-61

First, however – although out of chronological order – I consider the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* image that Furuya chose to represent the series in *War*. (sic: the period is part of the title), the catalogue for the Austrian Photography Triennial that featured his work on Bosnian refugees in 1993 (Figure 53, left). In the last section, this image was Furuya’s “leading” evocation of danger through the caption about the Yugoslavian border patrol firing on the Turks – which undercut the “wilderness” tamed by a path and scattered with lacey flowers (far left) – in the foreground (Figures 52, p. 18 and 53, left). Perhaps in keeping with the catalogue’s theme of war, however, Furuya’s accompanying statement on the series omits its earlier *Heimat*-evoking parts – Austria as a “less brutal border” that “is even beautiful, romantic, inconspicuous,” where “in this quiet landscape one feels the silent, sad facts more

than in Berlin.”⁵⁴⁹ He keeps the rest, however – in fact, the drily geopolitical frame that I did not include in my excerpt before, to which his seeking of “tragic incidences” and “stories” may stand in emotional contrast:

Austria borders on seven foreign countries – the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy, Switzerland and Liechtenstein – representing most diverse political systems: countries of the so-called Eastern Bloc, one non-aligned state, the Nato [sic] countries, a neutral state and a principality. On my trips along the border[,] I have tried to find places where there have been tragic incidences, and to find out personal stories to give myself a chance to think about the “border” phenomenon.⁵⁵⁰

A hint of Austria’s border as the “less brutal border” might be felt to emerge, however, in comparison of the Austro-Yugoslavian forest with the image on the facing page (Figure 53, right). It is Furuya’s choice to represent *Limes*, his series on the Berlin Wall seen from East Berlin, named after the Latin for a protective wall around a city (from which “limit” and “liminal” derive).⁵⁵¹ It shows the distant Wall under what might be felt as the oppressive weight of more sky than in the image of the Austrian border. In East Berlin, the weeds in the foreground host tools and metal detritus rather than lacey flowers – and, as I imagined in the last section, perhaps evidence of lumbering – as in Austria. Furuya’s statement for *Limes* also does not hint at the “tragic incidences” of his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* but notes violence in a more practical description: “Every 300 meters there was a watch tower, 150 meters being considered a safe shooting distance from these towers.”⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 17 from title page).

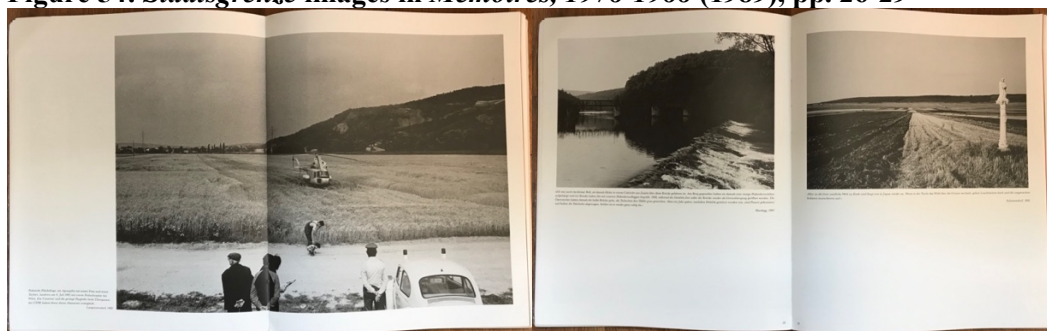
⁵⁵⁰ *KREIG.*, vol. 1, 60. I use the English from this bilingual text to remain consistent with “National Border.”

⁵⁵¹ This series is not published separately in its own photobook. See “Asking Questions,” 44-45.

⁵⁵² *KREIG.*, vol. 1, 61. Again, I use the English text.

In fact, a “safe shooting distance” might stand as a metaphor for Furuya’s pursuits in presenting his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* images, because his different sequences with them engage – as do his sequences in general, as this dissertation has shown – ruminations on appropriate levels of distance and intimacy with the past and other people. Perhaps unsurprisingly, his successive engagements of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* in his *Mémoires* series move away from his connections to others at the borders and toward acknowledgement of his relations with Christine during his *Staatsgrenze* travels – relations that initially were not encoded. Verbally, he also arrives at Christine’s voice: moving from the original captions (1989, Figure 54); to captions naming only place, date and – in an exception to Furuya’s captioning in the 1995 *Mémoires* volume – name of the series (1995, Figure 55); to Furuya’s memories (1997, Figures 56-57); and a diary entry by Christine (2006, Figures 58-59). Finally, as noted, his 2014 publication of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* both restores original captions and adds new images, all in accumulated echoes of the previous (Figure 60).

Figure 54: *Staatsgrenze* images in *Mémoires*, 1978-1988 (1989), pp. 26-29



26 (Langenzersdorf, 1982) 27 28 (Hardegg, 1983) 29 (Schattendorf, 1981)

To begin: Furuya’s 1989 *Mémoires* sequence keeps the original captions – this time in German – about the Polish refugees crossing the border in a helicopter (Figure

54, pp. 26-27); the quiet memories of Hitler and Dubcek's effects on a bridge (p. 28); and the remark about Japan's place in "the free Western world," Hungarian soldiers and "signal mines" (p. 29).⁵⁵³ An obvious gesture of increasing attention to Christine is Furuya's allotment of a double-page to the image of the helicopter – in which I earlier imagined that she and Kômyô might "portray" the Polish refugees. Its caption hovers to its left in a somewhat separate space, such that the relation may avoid – in the words of Furuya's 1994 writing on his Bosnian refugee project – "The usual mutual, auxiliary characteristic of photo and text melting into one another [...]."⁵⁵⁴

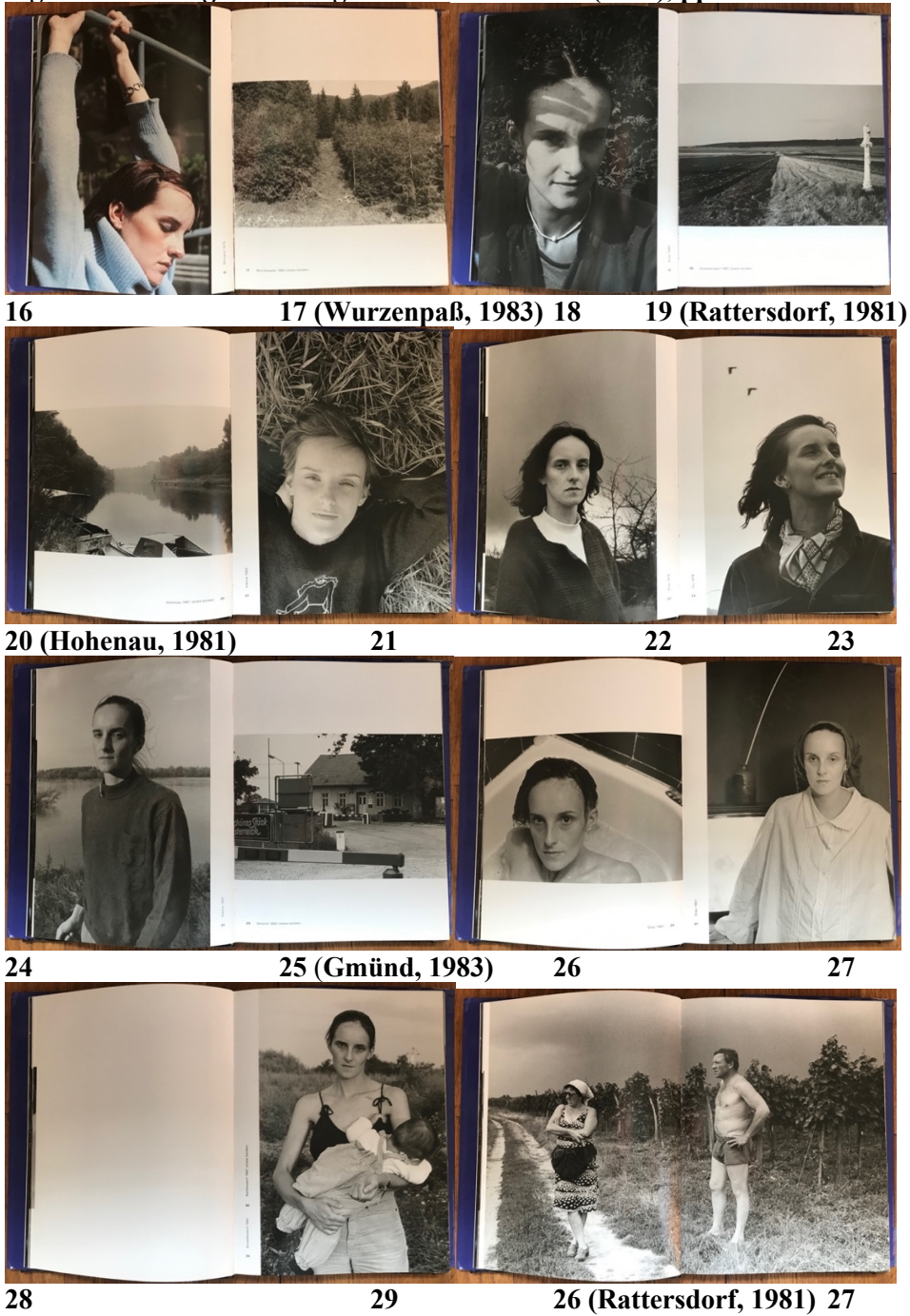
Conversely, the other two images are no longer distanced from their captions on Furuya's "empty space" of the photobook page, as they were in the 1985 "National Border" (Figure 52, pp. 22, 20). Rather, the captions are close under the images, themselves pressed to the top of their pages, such that they may tell different stories in this new combination. One story is that of German and Japanese postwar distancing from wartime pasts: the Hitler-Dubcek bridge is now "very quiet," and Japan is now part of "the free Western world."⁵⁵⁵ Combined with the "success story" of the Polish refugees crossing the border, Furuya's 1989 re-uses of images from the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* may be read in political terms – somewhat in keeping with his then new narrative of returning to Christine – as visualizing stability: in "the free Western world," away from the Eastern Bloc (pp. 26-27) and wartime pasts (pp. 28-29).

⁵⁵³ See also "National Border," (unpaginated: respectively, pp. 21-22, 20 from title page).

⁵⁵⁴ "War and Photography," 51.

⁵⁵⁵ "National Border," (unpaginated: 22 and 20 from title page, respectively).

Figure 55: *Staatsgrenze* images in *Mémoires 1995* (1995), pp. 16-31



Conversely, Furuya’s 1995 *Mémoires* volume dropped the original conversations (Figure 55) yet kept the English parenthetic “(state border)” alongside spare locations and dates – a gesture not afforded other images except those of the

Bosnian refugees, shown in their own section.⁵⁵⁶ Furuya's photobook thus may convey a sense of responsibility to history present but quiet in his work of "re-reading" his life with Christine.⁵⁵⁷ The sequence primarily may trace the following private narrative: encounter with Christine as somewhat childlike and fresh – in the only color image – yet perhaps shy, looking down as she hangs on something like a playground structure (p. 16); then variations in her relating to Furuya, where Furuya's 1983 *Staatsgrenze* images primarily furnish senses of deep space that may make Christine's close-ups feel "closer," yet not necessarily "connecting" personally (pp. 17, 19, 20); and Christine becoming a mother: pregnancy (p. 27), a blank page suggesting "birth" (p. 28), and holding Kômyô (p. 29).⁵⁵⁸ In the upper right distance of the last is a field crucifix – a chance echo of the European rural Catholicism depicted in Millet's *Angelus* – visible as a bright figure by the dark tuft of greenery protruding into the sky, the arms of the cross connected to the top by extra beams.

Near the middle (pp. 24-25) the portrait that Furuya told me that he placed both in Christine's coffin and on his office wall (p. 24) makes me sense the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* image beside it – that of the quaint but threatening guardhouse in the divided city of Gmünd – as somewhat more welcoming than her wary expression. The memory of the city as a divided whole, however, may accrue to a contextual theme of separation and intimacy across the two images. Finally, I imagine the image

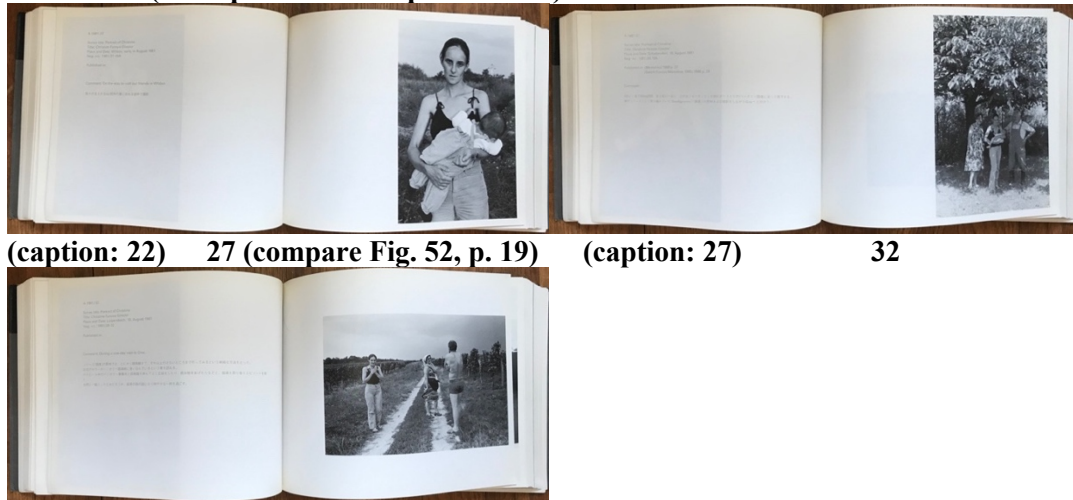
⁵⁵⁶ The undesignated series are listed by title on the back of the initial title page (the first page of print in *Mémoires 1995*). The refugee images appear on pp.113-123.

⁵⁵⁷ "Adieu-Wiedersehen," (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

⁵⁵⁸ I am grateful to Maria Evangelatou for suggesting the centrality of the birth story here.

of the vineyard couple receiving a double-page as though to intervene in Furuya's isolated relationship – hinting at the experience shown in Furuya's 1997 photobook.

Figure 56: *Staatsgrenze* and related images in *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), images no. A-1981/27-34 (note: photobook skips numbers)



(caption: 22) 27 (compare Fig. 52, p. 19) (caption: 27) 32
(caption: 32) 34 (compare Figs. 4, right; 52, p. 19)

Specifically, Furuya's 1997 photobook records the day that he encountered the couple in the vineyard – August 10, 1981 – through the following sequence: the image of Christine and Kômyô with the field crucifix (Figures 55, p. 29 and 56, no. 27); an otherwise unused image of Christine and Kômyô with an elderly couple under a tree (Figure 56, no. 32); and the first publication of an image of Christine *with* the couple in the vineyard, which Furuya later added to his 2014 treatment of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* (Figures 4, right; 56, no. 34; and 60, p. 22). I showed the last in the Introduction to gloss Furuya's chronological revisiting of images in changing relations to – and ongoing completion of his representation of – his life with Christine. Apropos to this – as well as to my previous points about the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* evoking borders as sites of human connection – Furuya's 1997 caption for the image of Christine and Kômyô with the couple (Figure 56, no. 32) records togetherness with

locals against casual dangers from border patrol. It is akin to his epigraph in Chapter 3 – his words to me that he did not support the “government” but only “the country”:

Gathering material for *Staatzgrenze*, I somehow found a simple way to try to go past the point where I was allowed at the border. I visited a family whose cellar supposedly dug into Hungarian territory. With the Hungarian soldiers on patrol at the narrowing border, we often stood around talking, pouring each other drinks and such, asking about episodes around the border. Maybe it was because Kômyô was with us that they got to talking about their grandchild and passed a friendly time.⁵⁵⁹

The above caption is from Furuya’s Japanese. His English reads “During a one-day visit to Graz,” likely meaning *from* Graz – in one of the day trips that Furuya told me furnished his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* material (in the epigraph to this chapter).

Conversely, there is no English caption to the image of Christine and Kômyô with the field crucifix (no. 27), to which Furuya attached the following Japanese:

On the 9th [of August] we visited Vienna and stayed at a friend’s house. That day, we followed the Austro-Hungarian border of Burgenland south. I photographed material for my collection *Staatsgrenze* as we headed for Graz.⁵⁶⁰

The image of Christine with the couple in the vineyard (no. 34) similarly bears the English caption “During a one-day visit to Graz” and similarly factual Japanese:

Following the border of Hungary, we came across a husband and wife in the middle of cutting grass in a spreading vineyard. We heard all kinds of stories woven around the border from them too. A picture that I took of them there became part of the *Staatsgrenze* series.⁵⁶¹

Finally, Furuya records his last 1997 use of an image related to the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* – that of Christine and Kômyô in front of the helicopter – as taken on

⁵⁵⁹ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1981/32.

⁵⁶⁰ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1981/27.

⁵⁶¹ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, caption for image number A-1981/34.

July 6, 1982, two days after what the original caption describes as the July 4 border-crossing of the Polish family in the helicopter.⁵⁶² His English and Japanese captions reflect this, though the English – as seen in Chapter 2 – is far less detailed:

English: At a wheatfield near Vienna where three Polish refugees landed in a helicopter. This is one of 23 pictures from the series “Staatsgrenze” (“Borderline”).

Japanese: I read the newspaper item “On July 4, Polish Family Successfully Defects to Austria Thanks to Helicopter.” As I was working on my *Staatsgrenze* series at just that time, we went as a family to see the site of the landing. This photograph became part of 23 in the series. Below is the original caption [same as earlier cited].⁵⁶³

Figure 57: *Staatsgrenze* image in *Mémoires 1978-1985* (1997), image no. A-1982/19



(caption: 18) 19 (compare Figs. 52, p. 21; 54, pp. 26-27)

In short, while Furuya’s 1997 photobook provides more details of Christine’s presence than his earlier publications, it also may serve to support my own earliest impression of his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* in terms of history, related postwar responsibility, a sense of the “familiar” and “foreign” in the landscape as a “space of belonging.” To reiterate: the project’s focus on borders does not necessarily mean a focus on division. As seen in my analyses above, the series evokes a setting in which the threat of division at borders can foster efforts to welcome, connect and protect those who do

⁵⁶² See e.g. “National Border,” (unpaginated: 22 from title page).

⁵⁶³ *Mémoires 1978-1985*, captions for image number A-1982/19 (English and Japanese).

not “belong.” In these terms, Furuya’s framing of *Heimat*-like space – the rural as “homeland” and “selfhood” in – to recall Derrida from Chapter 2⁵⁶⁴ – a falsely universal exclusion of others, also discussed in Chapter 1 – is less often exposed as a backdrop to defensiveness for a sense of belonging – in threat to others – and more often as I imagined Furuya’s meetings with Bosnian refugees. This was their “intervention” against the aesthetic of *Heimat* – in their “apartment gardens”⁵⁶⁵ – by forming connections to others within that space. In simplest terms, part of the effect of Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze* may be a critical taking back of *Heimat* by engaging otherness there – effectively the point of an ethics of belonging, as I unpacked at the start of this dissertation: to be a self for others.

Figure 58: *Staatsgrenze* and related images in *Mémoires 1983* (2006), pp. 120-137

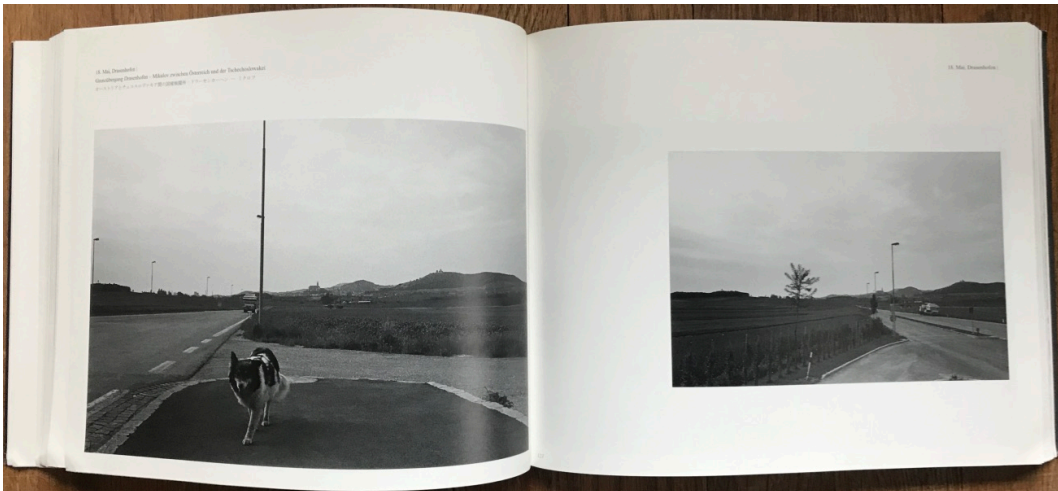


120 (both “May 18, Reinthal,” compare Fig. 60, pp. 44-45)

121

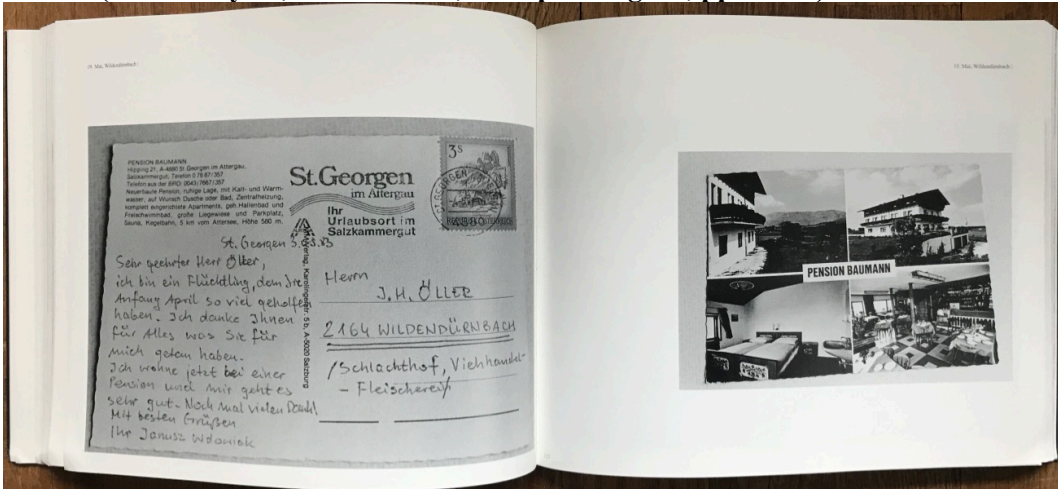
⁵⁶⁴ *The Other Heading*, 70-73.

⁵⁶⁵ “War and Photography,” 52.



122 (both "May 18, Drashenofen," compare Fig. 60, pp. 44-45)

123



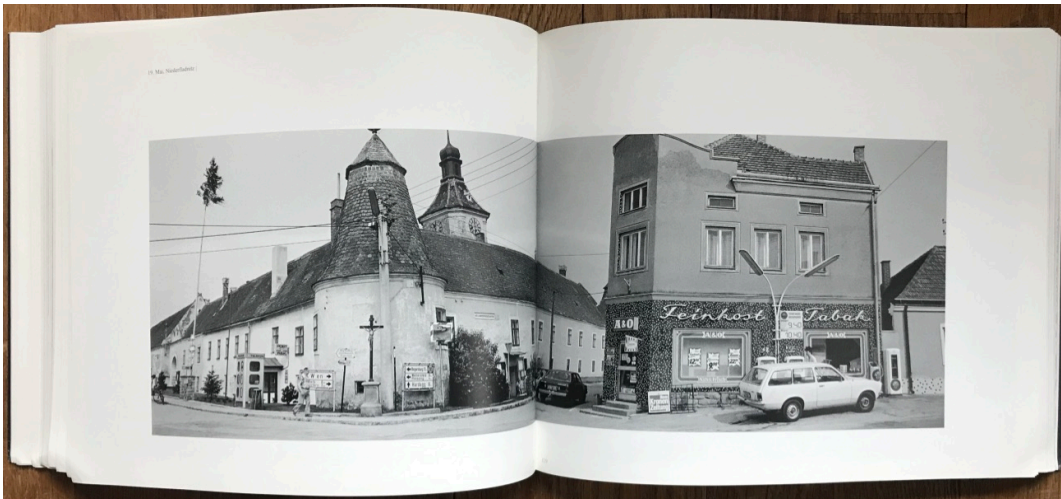
124 (both "May 19, Wildendürnbach," compare Fig. 60, pp. 46-47)

125



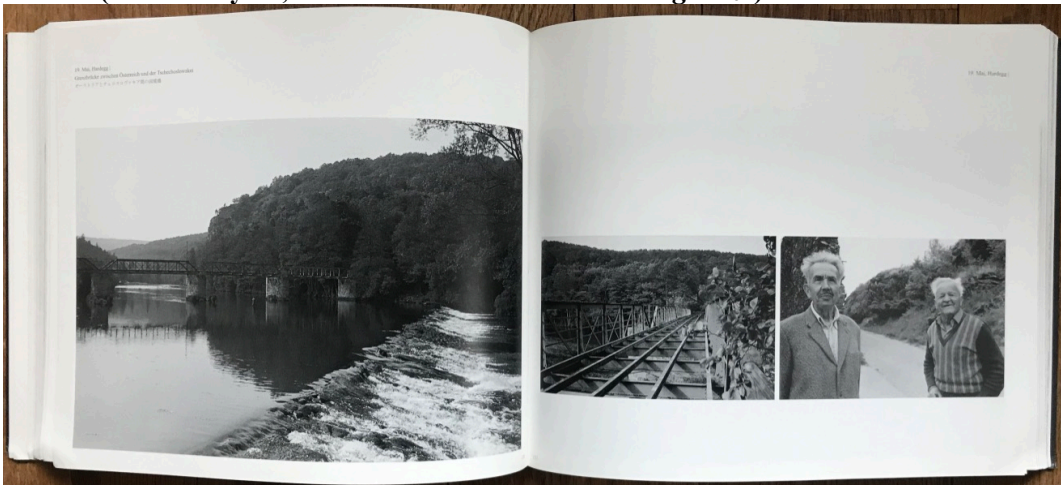
126 (both "May 19, Unterretzbach" compare Fig. 60, pp. 50-51)

127



128 (both "May 19, Niederfladnitz" – not in *Staatsgrenze*)

129



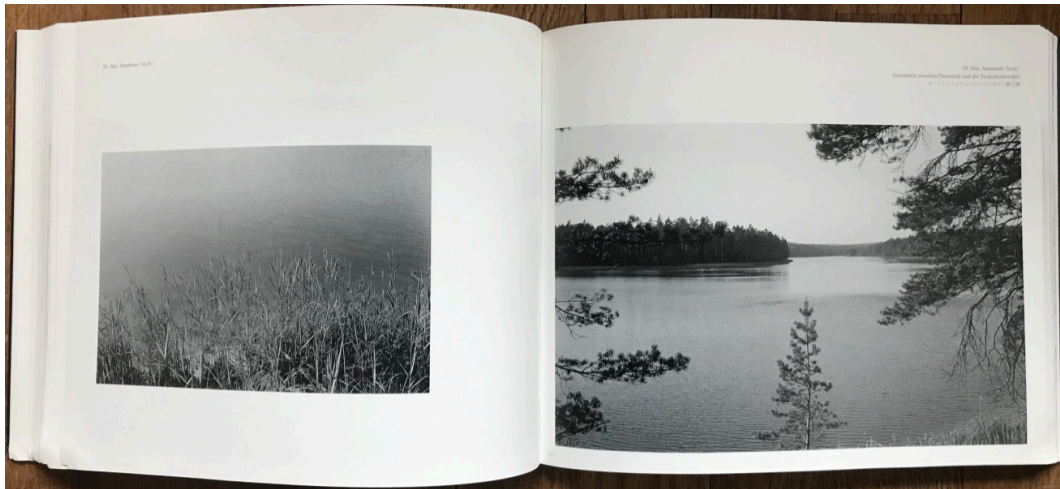
130 (both "May 19, Hardegg," compare Figs. 52, p. 22; 60, pp. 52-53)

131



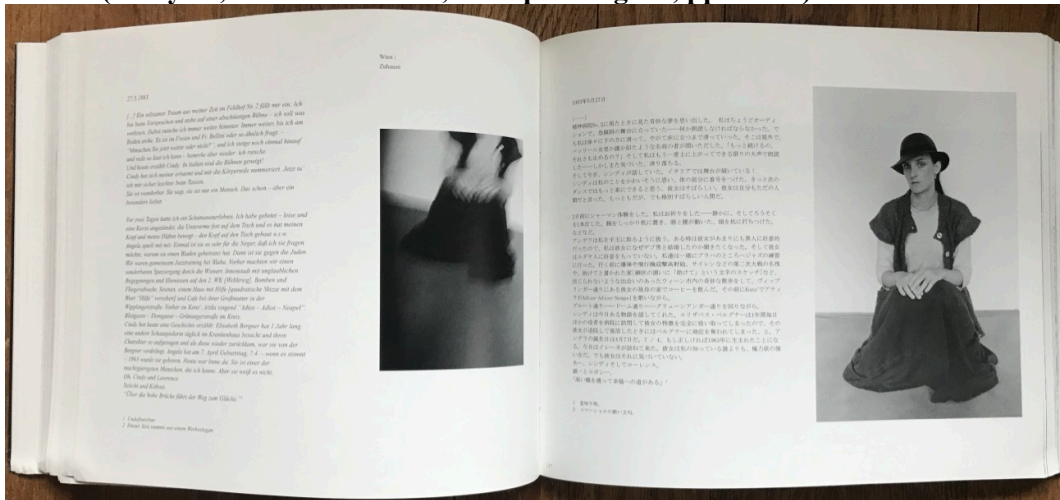
132 (both "May 20, Rottal," compare Fig. 60, pp. 58-59)

133



134 (“May 20, Stankauer Teich,” compare Fig. 60, pp. 60-61)

135



136 (both “May 27, 1985, at home – Christine’s diary entry”)

137

At the same time, the secondary point of an ethics of belonging – and the one often easier to achieve – is to recognize one’s own harm to others as a way to register and reach them. This in fact becomes a greater aspect of Furuya’s *Heimat* imagery as I share further captions that describe instances of greater prejudice, though the openness that I first noted also continues – in a sort of undulation of threat and protection. I now begin to trace this undulation in Furuya’s 2006 *Mémoires* volume (Figures 58-59) – though it does not include the original captions. I therefore draw on

Furuya's 2014 treatment of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* (Figure 60) in relation to nearly identical sequences in the 2006 volume (Figures 58-59) to compare emotional and ethical effects between the two. I particularly incorporate a diary entry by Christine that chances – chronologically – to “end” the first sequence.⁵⁶⁶ In fact, Furuya's 2006 uses of images from the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* chance to make two “sequences”: the first with Christine's text (Figure 58); the second only images (Figure 59).

To begin: Furuya presents a juxtaposition of trees (Figure 58, pp. 120-21). A road in the left-hand image catches the lacy shadow of a tree that appears dwarfed by it. I might imagine the shadow standing for memory of an absent other – like Furuya's of Christine – or – in the Cold War terms of the setting, where signs on the left warn of entering Soviet Czechoslovakia (CSSR) in twenty meters – the projection of oneself in the shadow of one's country – or, to recall Furuya's distinction to me in Chapter 3 – one's “government.”

Across the page, Furuya has cropped the branches of another tree to the effect of highlighting a thick stripe painted around its trunk. I think of pesticide painted around fruit trees, though it may not be that. In the context of Furuya's 1983 *Staatsgrenze*, I consider the balance of violence against “pests” to protect “one's own,” the compromise in guarding any border – whether geographically or – to recall Santner's notion from Chapter 1 – oneself as “well-defined, well-defended, and vacant Heimat.”⁵⁶⁷ The resemblance of the stripe to a bandage thus may yield the

⁵⁶⁶ *Mémoires 1983*, 136.

⁵⁶⁷ Santner, 162.

“story” that protection of oneself can make oneself both a weapon against others and a “wound” in – consequently – residing in an impoverished universality.

In the 2014 publication, Furuya re-uses only the tree with the “pesticide bandage” with the image that follows it in the 2006 sequence (Figure 60, pp. 44-45) – that of a husky-like dog on the side of a highway, a cargo truck in the distance (Figures 58, p. 122 and 60, p. 45). The effect may be to “shrink” the tree by centering it on the page in a thick frame – or “border” – of “empty space,” while the dog receives the top half of the facing page. Below the scene of the dog, the original statement from Furuya’s conversation there appears in a re-creation of the “distance” between image and caption seen in the 1985 “National Border”:

Can you believe – before 1938 there were 500 Jews in every 8,000 inhabitants (Nikolsburg/Mikulov). The Jews controlled everything. Then, thank God, our Führer came, and they disappeared! But then we lost the city itself.⁵⁶⁸

Perhaps unsurprisingly, I am led by Furuya’s caption to critique ongoing indifference – among some, such as the speaker of the caption – to National Socialist genocide, in visual terms. I continue to read the tree as an ideal-to-be-protected. In this story, the ideal is the supposed racial purity of “the city itself” that the speaker sounds sorry to have “lost.” I also detect a hint of guilt – seemingly unintentional – in the speaker’s choice of the passive voice: “they disappeared” rather than “(someone) killed them.” One way in which I might take this combination of enthusiasm and passivity is perhaps as a remnant of the somewhat mystical attachment to fascism that

⁵⁶⁸ *Staatsgrenze* (unpaginated: 45 from title page).

I earlier glossed through one scholar's estimation of "palingenetic"⁵⁶⁹: as an eternal and always meant-to-manifest-destiny-of-a-people (echo of US history intended), in which one's tastes happened to be accommodated as "natural." In this sense, the subject who spoke to Furuya echoes not only the hate language of fascisms but also less conscious and more affectionate accommodations of fascist goals – from Imperial Japan's nationalization of collectors' love for Korean ceramics – as both foreign and their "own" – to the range of localities absorbed in *Heimat* across ideals of "home" and "homeland" in the German-speaking worlds.⁵⁷⁰

I therefore may read the next three pages of Furuya's 2006 sequence as "turning away" from this poisonous sense of belonging, rather than – without the caption to the dog's image – conveying a perhaps less pointed humanitarianism. Briefly, the page opposite the dog (Figure 58, p. 123) appears to show the same highway from another angle, letting me imagine that the highway "turns back" from the dog (and its caption). Indeed, the further two pages – even without captions – evoke Austrians helping a Polish refugee (pp. 124-125), specifically through the two sides of what Furuya confirmed to me was the refugee's thank-you postcard.

Visually, the text-side opens and overshadows the picture side, which shows a guesthouse where the refugee was living. His message (written in German) explains:

Dear Mr. Öller,

I am a refugee whom you helped so much at the beginning of April. I thank you for everything that you did for me. I am living now in a guesthouse and am very well. Thank you so much again!

⁵⁶⁹ See Carstocea – particularly when quoting Griffin (p. 81, citation 10).

⁵⁷⁰ See e.g. Brandt; Hur; Gržinic; von Moltke and Urban. Compare also Robertson on *furusato*.

With best greetings, your

Janusz Wolowiak

In comparison, the 2014 *Staatsgrenze* makes Wolowiak's voice on the postcard the largest image and on the righthand page – the “last word” when reading right-to-left (Figure 60, p. 47) – in small amplification of its effect. In the caption far below the image, the recipients of the card describe “everything that [they] did”:

Four weeks ago, around 9pm, a Pole with only underpants and his travel documents was standing completely soaked before our door. He said he had swum over the Thaya and then followed the light from our natural gas [*Erdgasquelle*]. Already earlier, we had heard shooting for a while. Until midnight, the border was lit brightly. He showered and ate at our place. We gave him clothes and called the police from Laa on the Thaya.⁵⁷¹

In fact, the “police from Laa” – an Austrian town on the Thaya river – may serve to complicate stereotypes of defensive state power that I have allowed to obtain thus far – for these police apparently helped the refugee – yet the threat of shooting by the border patrol may temper an image of their help. It is an example of the human variation that may emerge when Furuya shares the voices of the people he encounters. This is the heart of my argument for a multinarrative ethics “from the start,” so to speak, in which readings such as mine are continuing the conversations of Furuya and his subjects.

In fact, the next conversation might be considered to have begun in my family before I was born (see Chapter 3). In the next set of images – as Furuya told me – he met a woman whom we determined – after some thought – to be a “German,” who – as we had to understand her words – was deported “back” to the Austrian side of the

⁵⁷¹ *Staatsgrenze* (unpaginated: 47 from title page).

then Czechoslovakian border in 1945. At the time, Czechoslovakia – and other formerly Nazi-occupied countries – were ejecting those of German descent after World War II.⁵⁷² In the opposite effect of the Laa police – who lent some humanitarianism to a hitherto faceless image of law enforcement in the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* – her wartime perpetrator status may qualify Furuya’s previous images of deportees and border-crossers as innocent: Turkish refugees under fire (Figure 52, p. 18); Jewish subjects who “disappeared” under Hitler (Figure 58, p. 122) and the grateful Woloniak (Figure 58, pp.122-124). The woman – like Grandma’s cousin Hans in Chapter 3⁵⁷³ – dwells on losing the pre-1945 place that she still calls *Heimat*:

Our *Heimat* lies over there [on the Czech side]. For thirty-eight years, it has been here [the Austrian side] – yes, 1945 – we were driven out with just the clothes on our backs and a few bundles. We could not stay in Austria, so we went to Germany. I have never forgotten my *Heimat* – even as we are away from there.⁵⁷⁴

Whether what she calls “here” refers to Germany or Austria (it is ambiguous), it is clear that “our home” – *Heimat* – is “over there” on the Czech side, from which she felt “driven out” rather than – like the refugees hitherto considered in Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze* – choosing to leave for “the free Western world.”⁵⁷⁵ In fact, I omitted the woman’s initial remark to Furuya to explain that she uses an ethnic slur for the Roma to describe herself – “I am a [pejorative for the Roma].”⁵⁷⁶ It likely reflected her idea of herself as having no *Heimat*, because the Roma have been known as a culture of nomadic groups, though perhaps by necessity due to historical

⁵⁷² For context on such displacement through cinematic depiction, see von Moltke, 135-169.

⁵⁷³ “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation.”

⁵⁷⁴ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 51 from title page).

⁵⁷⁵ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 20 from title page).

⁵⁷⁶ I thank Hunter Bivens for discussing the likelihood of this self-deprecation in the woman’s usage.

persecution – including extermination campaigns under National Socialism. She also, however, fails to recognize nomadism as itself a model of “home” in Roma culture.⁵⁷⁷

Finally, as Furuya told me, the woman’s husband – his finger in a bandage that Furuya could not explain – regards their old *Heimat* with binoculars as she – conversely – looks away. Perhaps she was unwilling to see what she had lost. The image on the facing page – her *Heimat* – appears to show cultivated fields edged by distant houses, its distance highlighted by the thick border of white space that separates it from the couple at the right side of its page. Recalling the “pastoral to suburban” trajectory that I considered for Furuya’s 1985 “National Border,” I now may observe that his 2006 sequence has begun to trace the opposite – from the highways and guesthouse (Figure 58, pp. 120-125) to this agricultural setting. In keeping with this trend, the next use of an image from the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* both incorporates a “wilder” woodland as well as resumes wartime content in the caption – the bridge claimed by Hitler and then Dubcek (Figures 52, p. 22 and 58, p. 130).

Between the images of the woman and the bridge, however, is a photograph not otherwise used (Figure 58, pp. 128-129). It is apparently the road through the suburbs *to* the bridge. The bridge’s location, “Hardegg,” appears on a street sign by a crucifix in the center of the left-hand page (p. 128), such that the sign’s upward arrow – “straight ahead” – appears to indicate driving into the church. On the facing page, a *Tabac* – a shop for cigarettes and other conveniences – advertises the right-leaning

⁵⁷⁷ As explored, for example, in the documentary *Latcho Drom* – Romani for “safe journey” – dir. Tony Gatlif (France: produced by Michèle Ray-Gavras, 1993).

Vienna newspaper *Kronen Zeitung*. Though small, the detail may add to an overall reading of a casually conservative environment.

That small hint of conservatism – in the church and the mainstream but right-wing media – might furnish a story of the scene as the remnant of (or precursor to) the Hitler-Dubcek bridge (pp. 128-130). In fact, knowledge of the earlier caption to the bridge may magnify this story. Perhaps the large, near, present, solid street is “regrown” from the small, distant bridge that – as remembered from the caption – was left defunct.⁵⁷⁸ Alternatively – told in the 2006 order of images: one’s path toward the past (in memory) dissolves as one navigates it – from the solid street to the unpassable bridge and liquid water. Remembering earlier in the 2006 sequence, however, the swimming Polish refugee Janusz Woloniak (p. 124) found success in a liquid path through help from citizens and police who did not revive their conservative past after all. These are some of the undulating stories of threat and protection that I anticipated earlier. The close-up of the stripped traffic surface of the bridge on the next page then may evoke a sort of balancing act over a surface full of gaps – physically on the inoperative bridge and perhaps mentally through both incomplete memories and such ethical undulations (Figure 52, p. 22).

In fact, I may note an undulation across the 2006 and 2014 photobooks as well. In 2006, the image next to the bridge surface on the same page (Figure 58, p. 131) puts “faces” to the Hitler-Dubcek memory. It shows two somewhat disarming old men, whom Furuya replaces in 2014 with a less personal view of the distant river,

⁵⁷⁸ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 22 from title page).

forest and other faint elements. He thus may remove an ethically ambiguous depiction of comfortable living in legacies of harm. I read this “comfortable living” in the men’s somewhat stiff but smiling reactions to Furuya and their “typical,” rural Austrian garb – suit coat or sweater-vest, hair somewhat sculpted but awry. In short, they may soften the text’s implication that one of them presumably had the memory of welcoming Hitler as a boy – on the “swastica”-festooned bridge – and push the image toward the complacent feeling that “it has been very quiet here.”⁵⁷⁹

Conversely, Furuya’s treatment of the next site, Rottal (Figure 58, pp. 58-59), keeps almost the same juxtaposition in 2014 as 2006 (Figure 60, 132-133). In light of the previous, the image of the man by the woods may read as less disarming than that of the old men and perhaps therefore more acceptable. His eyes are in shadow. The caption – spoken by him, as Furuya confirmed to me – authoritatively identifies the scene as “the northernmost point of Austria.” The original 1983 *Staatsgrenze* image of Rottal – indicated by its placement on the same page as the caption in the 2014 volume – is the cluster of trees by the river (Figures 58, p. 132 and 60, p. 58). In terms of *Heimat*, Rottal might be a wilderness “tamed” through the man’s knowledge.

Finally, the last 1983 *Staatsgrenze* image in the 2006 sequence might read as the most untouched (looking) “wilderness”: the lake landscape “Stankauer Teich/ Staňkovský rybník” (Figure 58, pp. 134-135). On the left, Furuya has presented reeds on the bank as somewhat distanced in a thick, white space on the page. On the right, a wide shot of the water, framed by pines, fills the page as – recalling my analysis in

⁵⁷⁹ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 22 from title page).

Chapter 2 (Figure 24) – a “way in” for the viewer. Furuya did not re-use either of these images in his 2014 volume, however, but chose instead a view of the pine-framed lake with a small, manufactured marker (Figure 60, p. 61). Its caption reads, “Four years ago, a Czech with a diving suit fled through the lake to Austria. After this incident, the Czech Republic stretched a continuous net through the lake.”⁵⁸⁰

The *Heimat* trajectory that I have been tracing now seems to have come from suburban back to wild. It is the reverse of my tracing in the 1985 “National Border.” The caption for “Stankauer Teich” shows, however – like that of the “National Border” image of the forest where the Turks came under fire by the Yugoslavian border patrol (Figure 52, p. 18) – that the “wilderness” can be a literal trap as well as an “entrapping” element in ideological and emotional formations of *Heimat*.

In fact, the last juxtaposition in the first 1983 *Staatsgrenze* sequence from 2006 (Figure 58, pp. 136-137) lets Christine return the conversation to consequences of that ideological and emotional deception. First, however – in perhaps a chance foretelling of Furuya’s 2014 statement for his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* – he paired a blurry image of Christine with her original, German text but a focused one with its Japanese translation. It might be felt as a whisper of attention to what might be called his late, “Japanese angle” for the work, considered at the end of this section.

For Christine’s part, her focused image may beg attention to her choice of clothing as a sort of balance of incongruous elements (p. 137). It puts me in mind of the woman who seems to have been a German deportee (p. 126) – “driven out with

⁵⁸⁰ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 61 from title page)

just the clothes on our backs.”⁵⁸¹ Christine wears a brimmed, felt hat at a jaunty angle over her serious face. A chain with huge links circles her neck, its clasp not in the back but the front – and off-center. Her sweater may seem small, its fibers somewhat bunched, perhaps as though shrunken in the wash. A long skirt wraps her like a blanket as she crouches – yet with dignity – on the floor. While it was Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze* that moved me to frame her “thrown-together” style as reminiscent of war-related displacement, her diary pulled other war legacies from her own daily life:

May 27, 1983

A strange dream from my time at Feldhof No. 2 has occurred to me: I am at an audition and stand on a sloped stage – I am supposed to read something out loud. Then I slide further and further down. Further and further, until I stand on the ground. It is outdoors, and Mrs. Bellini or someone asks: “W-will you go further now or not?” and I climb back up again and speak as loudly as I can – but notice again: I am slipping.

And today Cindy said: in Italy the stages are inclined!

Cindy had pity on me and numbered the parts of my body. Now I’ll certainly dance easier.

She is wonderful. She says she is just a person. Sure – but a particularly dear one.

Two days ago, I had a shamanic experience [*Schamanenerlebnis*]. I prayed – softly, and lit a candle, my forearms flat on the table, and it moved my head and my hips – beat my head on the table and such.

Angela was playing with me. Sometimes she is so for the [German slur for black subjects] that I want to ask her why she married a fat man [*Blade*]. And then, she is against the Jews.

We were in Blaha’s jazz training together. Before, we took a strange walk through the center of Vienna with unbelievable encounters [*Begegnungen*] and traces [*Hinweisen*] around WW2, bombs and anti-aircraft defense, sirens, a house with “Help” [original editor’s note: “square sketch with the word “help”] and coffee at her grandmother’s in Wipplingerstraße. Earlier, in Kons,⁵⁸² Attila singing “Adios – Adios – Neapel.” Around Blutgasse – Domgasse – Grünangerstraße in a circle.

⁵⁸¹ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 51 from title page).

⁵⁸² Original editor’s note: “indefinable.”

Cindy told a story today: Elisabeth Bergner visited another actress daily in the hospital for a year and absorbed her character to the extent that – when the actress came out – she had been replaced by Bergner. Angela has her birthday on April 7, 4/7 – properly stated, she was born in 1963. Today Irene was here. She is one of the most power-hungry people I know. But she does not know that.

Oh, Cindy and Lawrence.

Seiichi and Kobosi.⁵⁸³

“Over the high bridge leads the way to fortune.”⁵⁸⁴

Among the many details that could be unpacked from Christine’s diary entry – most of which I shall not, as they are personal to her life with her friends – I might note that – having “set a scene” of interpretation through dreams and “shamanic experience” – she enters a sort of mystical tone in describing how a simple walk bears “unbelievable encounters and traces around WW2.” The physical walk apparently passes actual war traces yet seamlessly extends through the sensory transition of the “sirens” – perhaps both extant loudspeakers and a sense of their vibrations– to include “coffee at [Angela’s] grandmother’s in Wipplingerstraße.” This street housed an early 20th century gambling concern that used the advertising slogan “Over the high bridge leads the way to fortune.”⁵⁸⁵ Superficial details may “pop” in echoes of World War II fascism elsewhere in the passage: Italy in Christine’s dream; the theatrical

⁵⁸³ Christine’s nickname for Kômyô.

⁵⁸⁴ *Über die hohe Brücke führt der Weg zum Glücke*. Original editor’s note: “This sentence originates in an advertising slogan.” (See citation of advertisement below).

⁵⁸⁵ As shown in an advertisement for the Glückstelle Stein Free Lottery, preserved at Vienna’s Museum of Applied Arts: “‘Pst! Über die hohe Brücke führt der Weg zum Glücke,’ Werbeanzeige für Klassenlose bei der Glückstelle Stein Wien I. Wipplingerstrasse 21 [‘Pst! Over the high bridge leads the way to fortune,’ advertisement for the Free Lottery at the Glückstelle Stein, Vienna I. Wipplingerstrasse 21],” ca. 1924-1926, inventory number KI 9410-15: https://sammlung.mak.at/en/collection_online?id=collect-189160 (accessed March 18, 2021).

anecdote about Elisabeth Bergner, who embarked on her international career partly to escape her home in Austria as it was aligning with the Third Reich.⁵⁸⁶

More substantially, Christine's friend Angela occasions what today may seem jarringly casual references to being "for" or "against" black or Jewish people in daily conversation, such that Christine herself uses words that I cannot reproduce. I wonder whether Christine would have marked what she called "unbelievable encounters and traces around WW2" without perhaps a prick of conscience from Angela's remarks. Her bothering to write them down – somewhat as in Furuya's choice to write in a mood of misgiving for some of his Japanese relations in Chapter 2 – lets me imagine that prick of conscience. Even the site of Christine and Angela's "playing" – apparently "Blaha's jazz training" – lets the instructor's surname bring to mind the then Austro-Czechoslovakian border and the divided city of Gmünd – with the sign about the "beautiful piece of Austria" (Figure 52, p. 23).

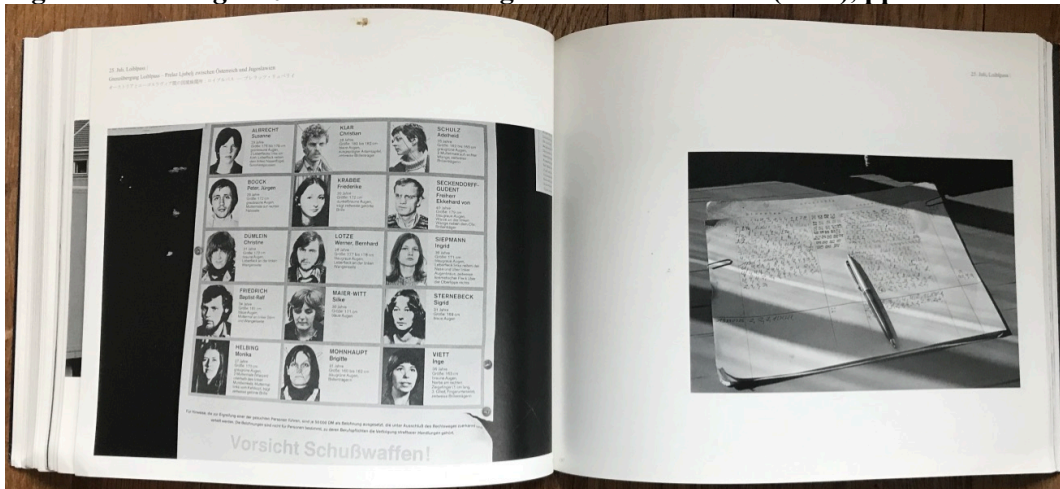
Elsewhere, Christine also inserts Angela into a diary entry about far-right chanting around her during an average ride on the train. As Christine writes of imagining columns of doomed Holocaust victims at the time, she adds "even Angela has rightist tendencies [*rechte Ansätze*]. Earlier, she used to like going off on [German slur for Yugoslavians], Turks, even Jews."⁵⁸⁷ What I earlier considered Christine's unconscious gesture toward rejecting anti-Semitism in Catholicism,

⁵⁸⁶ See Bergner's biography at IMDB: https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0074949/bio?ref=nm_ov_bio_sm. Compare also Filmportal: https://www.filmportal.de/person/elisabeth-bergner_c3823dc092e0420fa8fc17c248207493 (both accessed May 28, 2021).

⁵⁸⁷ *Mémoires* 1983, 260.

discussed in Chapter 3,⁵⁸⁸ in fact occurred during Easter with Angela. Christine’s “interventions” thus may be seen in a context of casually ubiquitous prejudice.

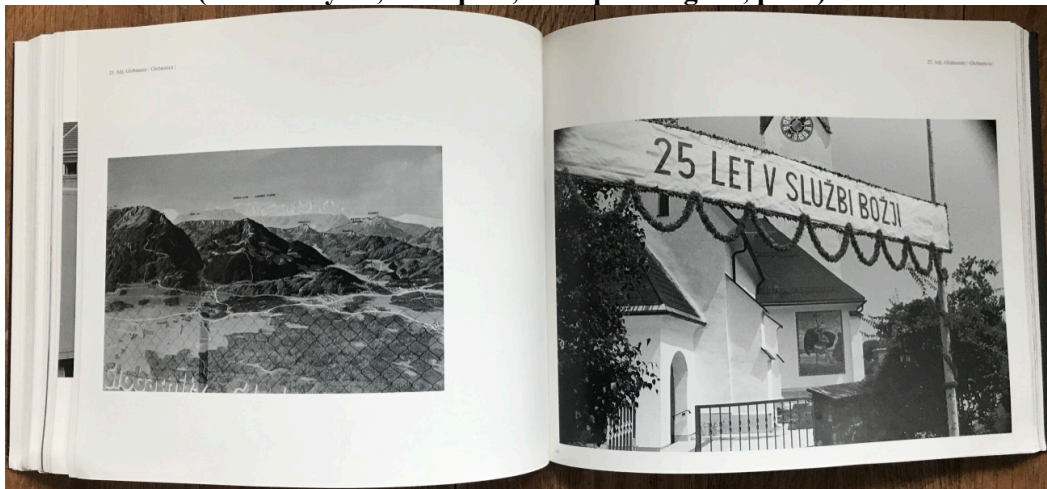
Figure 59: *Staatsgrenze* and related images in *Mémoires 1983* (2006), pp. 196-201



196

(both “July 25, Loiblpass,” compare Fig. 60, p. 11)

197

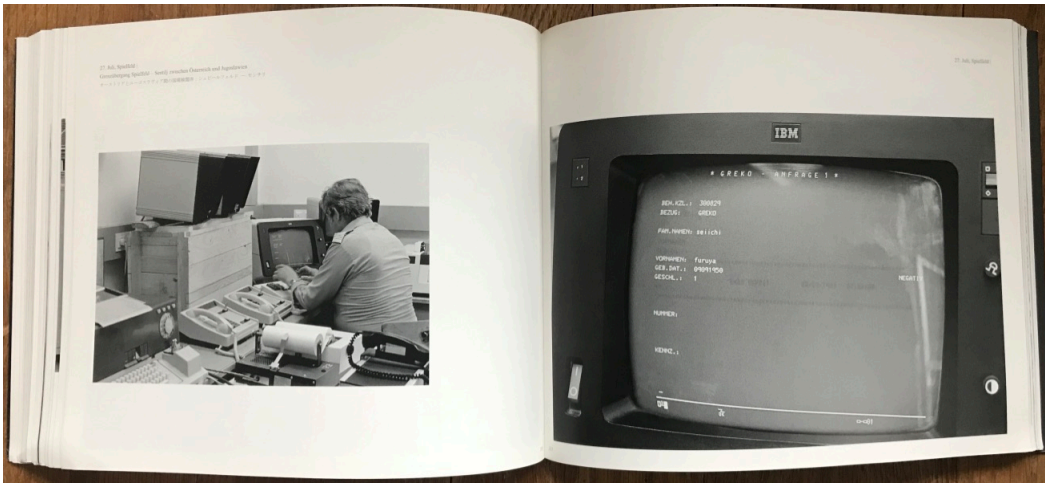


198

(both “July 25, Globlasnitz,” compare Fig. 60, p. 14)

199

⁵⁸⁸ Christine mentions Angela talking to her at that time, when their families were staying together over Easter – see *Mémoires 1983*, 92.



200

(both “July 27, Spielfeld,” compare Fig. 60, p. 19)

201

In fact, however, I now have noted all that Christine has said on that subject (that I know). Furuya’s last use of 1983 *Staatsgrenze* images in his 2006 photobook does not include her texts (Figure 59). As seen above, it also uses a different style of framing that departs from landscape and deep space. Rather, it shows interiors or flattened space – in short, perhaps, fewer “ways in.” Similarly, the captions may push the viewer laconically into the Cold War “present” as a similarly “flat” era – perhaps no longer stretching back to the past. One effect, however, may be to evoke a “story” of critiques of modernity. I referenced these briefly in Chapters 1 and 3: “urban” or “artificial” space as opposed to “rural” and “real.”⁵⁸⁹

Compositionally, Furuya’s “empty space” itself assumes a regular order: a smaller image in thick white space opposite a larger, space-filling one. Recalling Furuya’s discussion of “repetition” in his 1994 text on his Bosnian refugee project (Figures 7, 51),⁵⁹⁰ all the photographs are similarly “pushed up against” the viewer –

⁵⁸⁹ See, for example, Marx, *Urban and Gržinic*.

⁵⁹⁰ “War and Photography,” 51.

akin to the mugshot effect of Furuya's images of the refugees. The first image in fact shows actual mug shots (Figure 59, p. 196). As noted in the caption from Furuya's 2014 *Staatsgrenze*, it is a "Wanted Poster for RAF Terrorists," referring to the Red Army Faction (or Baader-Meinhof Gang), a militant, German leftist group. Some of their faces are crossed out with pen, echoing the image on the facing page. It is a paper titled "statistics," marked with numbers and crosses set in squares, perhaps the next "stage" of dehumanization after the wanted poster. In the 2014 version of this composition (Figure 60, pp. 10-11), the statistics "lead in." Their stripes of shadow mirror a fence through which Furuya framed a pony in a field – perhaps turning that rural image of *Heimat* toward one of urban imprisonment and dehumanization.

Across the next pages in the 2006 sequence, landscape similarly flattens into a map – another image not re-used in 2014 (p. 198). A church in shallow space might be felt to "turn" its doors and windows "away." Its avenging saint appears from afar as a painted mural rather than – closer to the viewer – as a "window into" the saint's space (p. 199). The caption in the 2014 publication might be rendered as, "It says on the banner, '25 Years in the Service of God' in Slovenian, because in this community they understand that better." The German pronoun, however – *man* – like the French *on* – also allows the rendering: "in this community *we* understand that better" (emphasis added). Insofar as the speaker is translating the Slovenian banner into German for Furuya, the speaker might fall into either identification. Furuya told me that the speaker was a priest, though little more:

SF: I also spoke with the priest of this church. I've just found that in the cassettes. [...] And I made a very long interview with him. I found these

cassettes, and it's very interesting now. Back then it was still Yugoslavia – not Croatia and Slovenia.

ET: You spoke about politics?

SF: About the situation, about the border and so forth, *ne*.

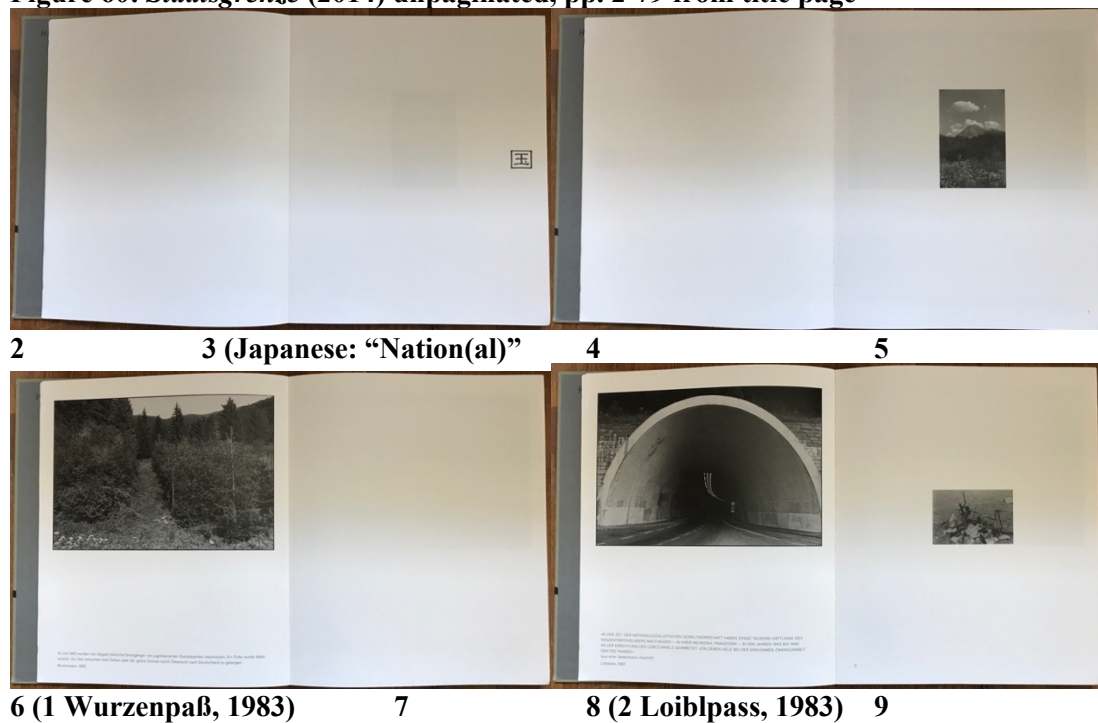
There was no time to hear the tapes, however, and no more that Furuya wanted to include from them in his 1983 *Staatsgrenze*. In fact, the last juxtaposition in Furuya's 2006 sequence bears almost no verbal context. The first image (p. 200) might be described as a real human – as opposed to a mug shot on a wanted poster (p. 196) – installed in the nonhuman machinery of surveillance (shades of the paper marked “statistics,” p. 197). It is not re-used in the 2014 publication. The photograph on the facing page may evoke the story that this person is processing Furuya's own *Anfrage* – inquiry into his identity. This word appears at the top of the computer screen in the image to indicate his return from Greece (*Greko-Anfrage*) through Spielfeld, the border station named in the caption in the 2006 publication (p. 201). Spielfeld is also the station closed to the Syrian refugees in “Staatsgrenze 2016,” as I shall consider in the third section of this chapter (Figure 61).

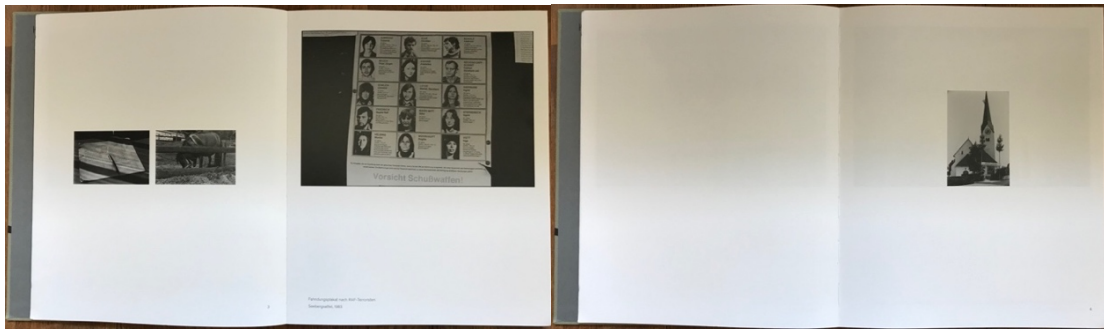
Returning to this image, however: it is captioned only “Greek inquiry” (*Greko-Anfrage*) in the 2014 publication (Figure 60, p. 19). The computer terminal is labeled International Business Machine (IBM), showing not only the reach of that technological company but also its uses for the regulation of human mobility. Apropos to this – as well as the earlier images of the wanted poster and “statistics” notes (Figure 59, pp. 196-197) – Furuya's own demographics appear aligned under the heading “Greek-Inquiry.” These include country of passage, given name,

surname, birthdate and gender. Opposite them is the word “NEGATIVE.” In real life, this might have indicated that Furuya was not recognized by the early database. In a more imaginatively allegorical “story,” however, it might convey a refusal of this trajectory into technology and regulation – even of categories of identity.

I now briefly turn to this issue of identity in Furuya’s comprehensive 2014 volume of images from the time of his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* (Figure 60). It is perhaps a question of self-description over self-definition. I address it in small references to Japanese culture added to the framing of elements that I have considered before.

Figure 60: *Staatsgrenze* (2014) unpaginated, pp. 2-79 from title page





10

11 (3 Seebergsattel, 1983)

12

13



14 (4 Globasnitz/Globasnica, 1983)

15

16

17 (5 Südteirische
Weinstraße, 1983)

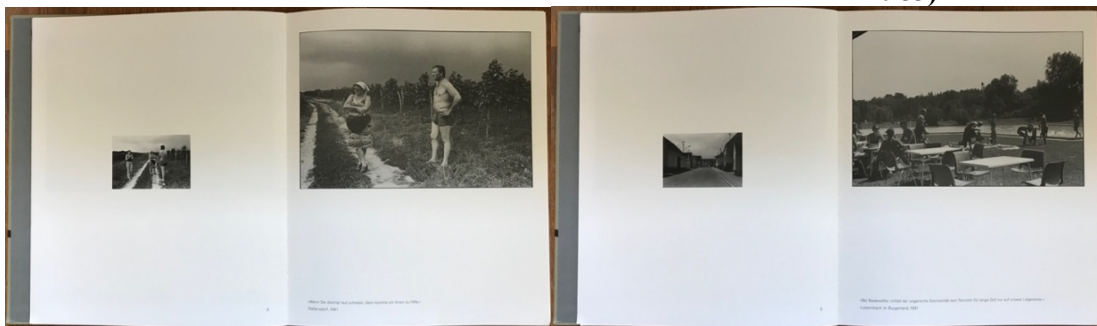


18

19 (6 Spielfeld, 1983)

20

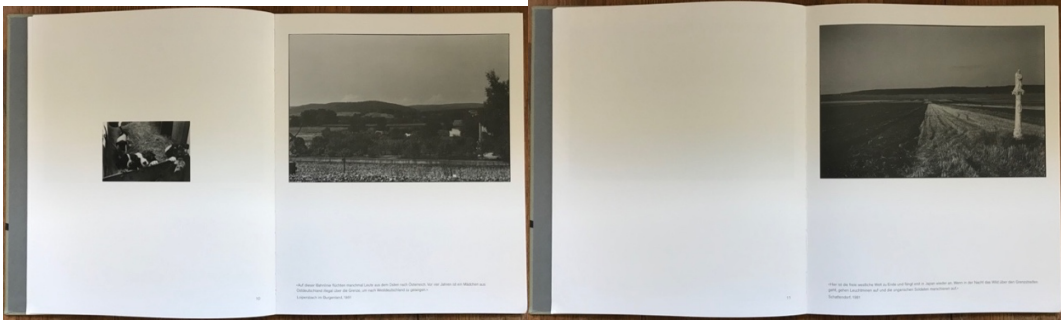
21 (7 Radkersburg,
1983)



22

23 (8 Rattersdorf, 1981) 24

25 (9 Loipersbach
im Burgenland,
1981)



26

27 (10 Loipersbach im Burgenland, 1981) 28 29 (11

Schattendorf, 1981)



30

31

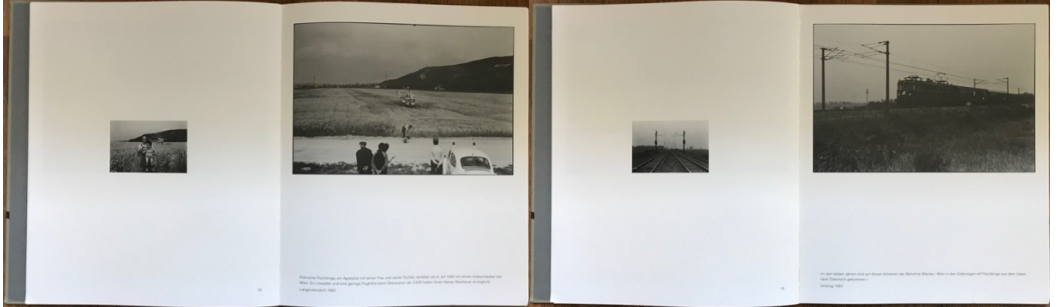
32

33 (12 Andau, 1981)



34

35 (13 Deutsch Jahrndorf, 1981) 36 (14 Marchegg, 1981) 37



38

39 (15 Langenzersdorf, 1982) 40

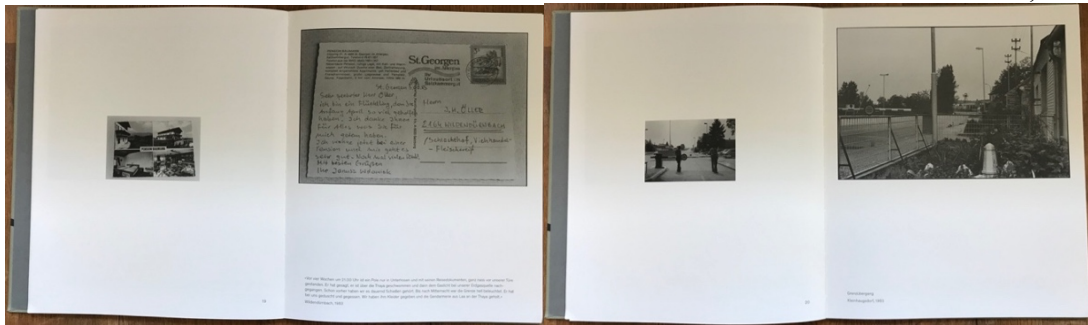
41 (16 Drösing, 1983)



42

43 (17 Hohenau, 1981) 44

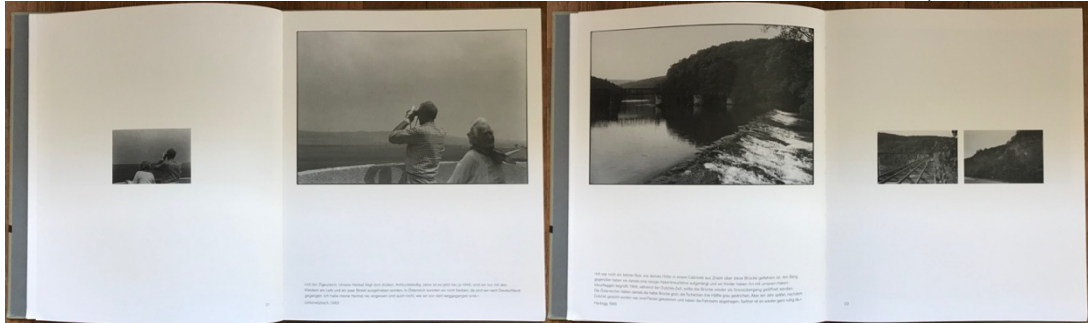
45 (17 Drasenhofen, 1983)



46

47 (19 Wildendürnbach, 1983) 48

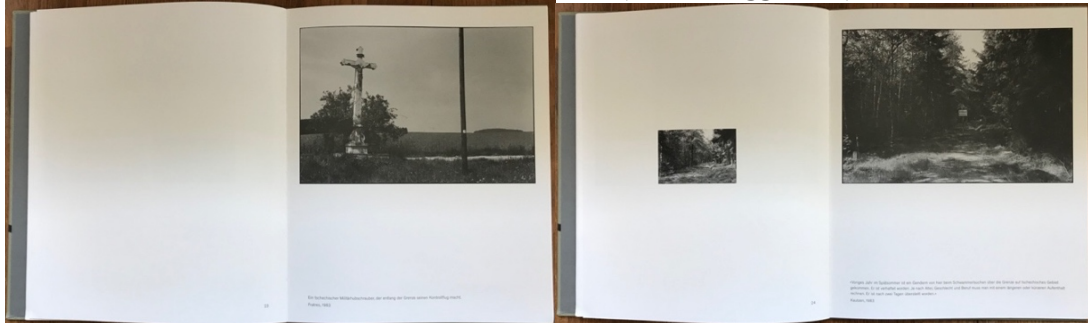
49 (20 Kleinhaugsdorf, 1983)



50

51 (21 Unterretzbach, 1983)

52 (22 Hardegg, 1983) 53



54

55 (23 Fratres, 1983)

56

57 (24 Kautzen, 1983)



58 (25 Rottal, 1983)

59

60

61 (26 Stankauer Teich/Staňkovský rybník 1983)

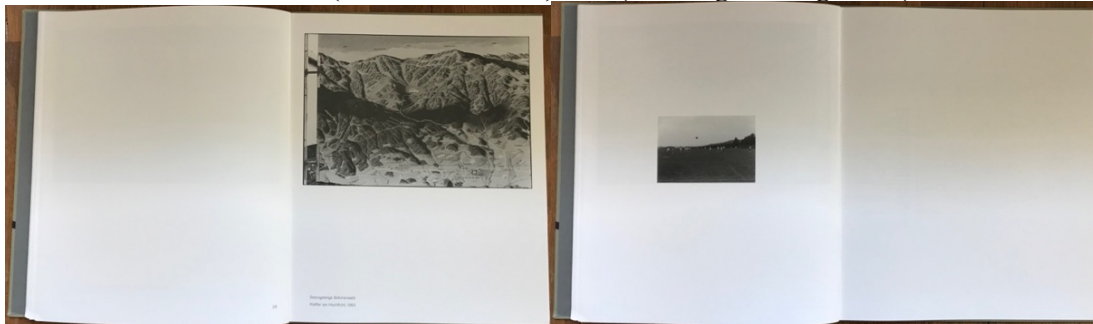


62

63 (27 Gmünd, 1983)

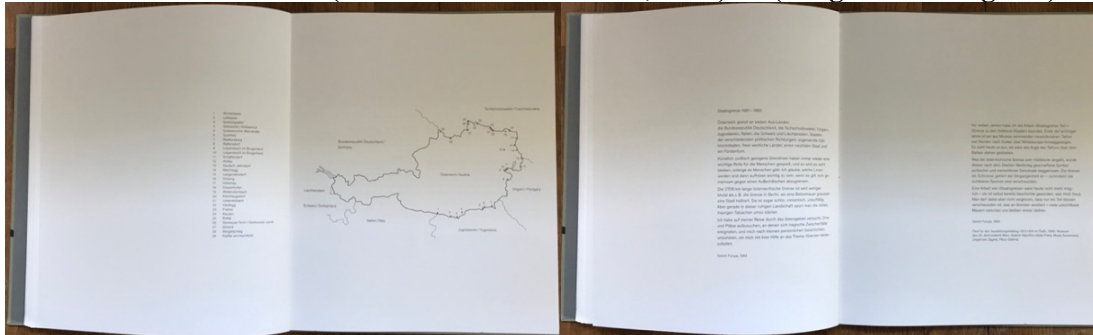
64 (28 Weigetschlag, 1983)

65



66

67 (29 Klaffer am Hochficht, 1983) 68 (image of soccer game) 69



70 (list of border towns) 71 (map of towns) 72 (1983 statement) 73 (1990 statement)



74 (Hablturm 1981) 75

76 (Izu, 1978) 77



78 (2013 statement) 79 (Japanese: “Border”)

For example, the photobook is most obviously “bookended” by the two Chinese characters that form the Japanese translation of *Staatsgrenze* or “state border” (国境 *kokkyō*, pp. 3, 79). Its physical structure cleverly splits the word with a figurative “journey” through the pages of photographs and captions between, which may expand the feeling of limits that the word is supposed to denote. Factually, the photobook records conditions at actual borders of nations, yet some of them now are gone, while some are new. These conditions – as I have considered for most of this chapter – negotiate relative ideas of “familiar” and “foreign” as well as complications in innocence and guilt. All stage encountering and sometimes countering what Furuya called in 1990 “many invisible walls [that] always remain between us.”⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹¹ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 73 from title page).

In terms of Christine, Furuya's 2014 photobook "confirms" hints at her involvement with the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* from earlier photobooks. He does so through re-uses of images (pp. 22, 30, 39) and the introduction of one hitherto unpublished, which shows a "family-photo"-style treatment on the same day as the painterly, "official" image of Christine and Kômyô with the helicopter (p. 38). The closing photograph – a tiny boat in an expanse of water and sky, from the time and place of Furuya's wedding – "Izu, 1978" (pp. 76-77) – honors a condition that Furuya's 1997 text observed in his first two *Mémoires* volumes of 1989 and 1995. As he wrote, "The 'now' of 1989 and the 'now' of 1995 became the starting points, but my work for both ended in 1978."⁵⁹² In fact, Furuya "sets up" his Izu photo with an evocation of its opposite – nets of perhaps electrified or barbed fencing, though the monochrome and fog obscure it – from his 1983 *Staatsgrenze* travel (pp. 74-75). At the same time, "Izu, 1978," is not the last word, but the Chinese character for "border." Between Furuya's personal Izu and that abstraction – a Japanese word evoking what Furuya called "the 'border' phenomenon" in 1983⁵⁹³ – is Furuya's 2013 statement:

In 1983 I produced the portfolio "Staatsgrenze 1981-1983, Part I," 23 photographs furnished with short texts like a map, on which were documented the places where I had recorded them. I therefore called the work "Part I," for I intended to follow it soon with a second part – a photo series on the borders of the other neighboring countries of Austria that did not belong to the Eastern Bloc. In early 1984, however, a sudden move to Dresden became necessary, and my family situation was so difficult around that time that I had to put my artistic activities completely aside. Thus, "Part II" never emerged.

On the occasion of my solo show at the Heidelberger Kunstverein ("Wo die Wahrheit liegt [Where the truth Lies]," 2014), it was decided to publish the work as a book: *Staatsgrenze 1981-1983*. Thirty years now have

⁵⁹² "Adieu-Wiedersehen," (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

⁵⁹³ "National Border," (unpaginated: 17 from title page).

passed since the production of the portfolio, a time in which the situation at the borders changed dramatically. A few countries have disappeared from the map, others newly appeared. Thus, I began to look anew at the material from back then – from today’s perspective and awareness of the historical change that has happened since. This led to the extension of the original 23-part work to about a further six photographs, so that the book now contains the border (hi)stories [*Grenzg Geschichten*] of 29 settings.

The *Staatsgrenze* project came from a very simple question, which gradually occurred to me to after my move to Central Europe. Coming from a land with no artificially drawn borders, I could not imagine how a border physically manifested in the landscape. I had the decisive experience when I once photographed at the border between Austria and Yugoslavia. I kept looking back and forth between the map that I had brought and the wheat fields that spread before me, until it became clear to me that the rivulet flowing by my feet was the border. I never shall forget the peculiar feeling of success mixed with disappointment.

It is now forty years ago that I left Japan and crossed the ocean-border [*Ozeangrenze*] of the Pacific and the Sea of Japan [*japanischen Meeres*].⁵⁹⁴

Although this statement needs little explanation, I might note that it only hints at Furuya’s life with Christine through his “family situation,” somewhat as in an initial statement to me that the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* had “nothing to do with Christine.” This time, however, he may trust his newly incorporated images of her to cover that story. Furuya’s mention of Japan also might read as a nod to that aspect of his public image and private experience, yet it also stays somewhat “contained” by his assertion of how long he has “left” – forty years (now more). In fact, his contrast of the vast ocean between himself and Japan with the small rivulet in Europe is bittersweetly ambiguous to me. It may evoke Japan across a great divide, Europe comprised of small divides, or perhaps Japan as nearly but never escaped – in “the peculiar feeling of success mixed with disappointment.”

⁵⁹⁴ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 78 from title page).

In fact, I am pricked by one Japanese postwar detail – the casual use of the name “Sea of Japan” (German: *japanisches Meer*; Japanese: *Nihonkai*) for the body of water called – from the perspective of the Koreans – the “East Sea” (*Donghae*).⁵⁹⁵ I also notice that the first image – a small, previously unused view of a mountain from the same place as the forest with the Turkish border-crossers – looks slightly like Mount Fuji without snow (pp. 4-7). Rather than discuss this, however, Furuya took pains to describe the second station to me – Loiblpass (pp. 8-9) – specifically in terms of the small picture in the thick white space on the righthand page, also newly added:

that is where someone grilled [food] and the traces of the grill. And that, that, that, that also says a lot for me, *ne*. That’s meat, leftover meat, and it says a lot. That also can communicate very well, *ne* – the history, these refugees – how many hundred people died, *ne*, through the tunnel, building this tunnel. And so now this meat and – I mean, everything is really right here. The toll, that is, customers – the toll officer counted how many cars today, over the border [...] drove over. And that is directly on the border, this production.

The image that precedes the small image of the grill is the original 1983

Staatsgrenze image, a tunnel with a memorial inscription reproduced in the caption:

In the era of National Socialist tyranny, a few thousand political prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp – mostly French – worked on the construction of the Loibl Tunnel. Of these, many met a horrible death in forced labor.

Furuya’s own story of this juxtaposition adds a sign of survival and escape to the grim description of the concentration camp prisoners: of living off the land with the makeshift grill. In doing so, he effectively re-imagines the prisoners as – in his word to me – “refugees,” likely because we had been discussing his “Staatsgrenze

⁵⁹⁵ See e.g. Sakura Murakami and Josh Smith, “Japan Complains over US Military’s Use of Term ‘East Sea,’” *Reuters*, March 25 (2021): <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-missiles-japan-usa/japan-complains-over-u-s-militarys-use-of-term-east-sea-idUSKBN2BH1F2> (accessed April 26, 2021).

2016” at the same time (on which see the next section). Continuing Furuya’s line of thinking, the Baader-Meinhof wanted poster on the next page (pp. 10-11) may invite viewers to compare *that* leftist resistance to that of the Mauthausen French: the former attacked West German democracy, the latter, National Socialism. As with the “German” deportee from Czechoslovakia (Figures 58, p. 126 and 60, p. 51), the bluntness of wartime and Cold War references complicates categories of innocence and guilt. National categories are complicated next – across Austria, the Eastern Bloc and the not-yet-divided Yugoslavia – in the church where Furuya talked to the priest (pp. 12-15 and Figure 57, p. 199). Following, however (pp. 16-17), is a simpler expression of violence that undercuts the rural scenes: “For God’s sake, stay out! This is Yugoslavia. If the soldiers come by, they will take you along!” It may serve to lend a more sinister mood to the re-use of the “Greek Inquiry” image (pp. 18-19).

In a slightly new kind of story, however, the quiet river that follows (pp. 20-21) bears a report of smuggling goods – not people – in a little boat like the one pictured:

The bad supply chain in Yugoslavia let a Viennese smuggling ring become active. At the beginning of 1983, a rubber raft laden with 300 kg of smuggled coffee grounds capsized in the mud by Bad Radkersberg.

This crafts the somewhat bizarre notion of a caffeinated lake – perhaps as though the landscape – the *Heimat* – were hyper-charged. In the next juxtaposition, what I earlier imagined as an offer of help to the Turkish refugees – from the couple in the vineyard – now may “preside over” the tiny image of themselves with Christine that Furuya showed in 1997 (Figures 56, no. 24 and 60, pp. 22-23). I might tell the

“story” that the little image is a transition from the insecurity of the lake to the “small” acquaintance of the couple and then “large” confirmation of their support.

The mood thus may be “lightened,” but the next images darken it somewhat – though remain light-hearted in a sinister sense (pp. 24-25). Briefly, the caption describes a disturbingly flirtatious – or voyeuristic – mood of surveillance at a swimming pool. “In swimming weather, the Hungarian border soldiers point their telescope for a long time only where we sunbathe.” The following pages then chance to offer a more “wholesome” aesthetic of puppies and tree-covered houses by a railway (pp. 26-27). The caption evokes success in border-crossing. “Sometimes people flee on this railway from the East to Austria. Four years ago, a girl came illegally over the border from East Germany to get to West Germany.”

Next comes an “empty space” that may clear such chatter for the silence of the Christian statue in the field – yet the caption inserts the “signal mines” of the Hungarian soldiers and Japan being part of the “free Western World” (Figure 52, p. 20 and figure 60, pp. 28-29). Similarly, the next two pages place a tiny version of the image of Christine, Kômyô and the field crucifix – seen earlier in both 1995 (Figure 55, p. 29) and 1997 (Figure 56, no. 27) – in its own vaster-looking space (Figure 60, pp. 28-31). The crucifix may echo the field statue on the previous page and complete a sort of Christian-coded interval that also may speak to loneliness: the “free Western world” ends at the border – then an expanse of silence.

Reports of military activity then resume, undercutting a continuation in agricultural imagery (pp. 32-33). “Here is where the Hungarian fighter plane MiG-21

crashed. Soon after, the Hungarians picked up all the plane debris and the pilot.” It is unclear if the pilot lived. The neat marks left on the dirt suggest a tractor rather than a plane crash, however, though the efficiency of the “pick up” may haunt the innocent-looking ground. My eye is tempted to skip from this ground over the little image on the next page (p. 34) to the image of sky and “freedom” a page over – a flight of birds captioned “legal border-flyers” (p. 35). The tiny image leading into them, however, shows a man apparently reloading a pistol, prompting me to read him through symbolism of the border patrol (p. 34). I then imagine the birds falling from the sky. The next pages report a refugee drowning (pp. 36-37). Visually, Furuya pairs a crucifix on a brick building – a greenery-covered memorial – and a quiet river, captioned: “In 1980 Dlubáč Milan, a twenty-two-year-old Czech, tried to cross the River March by swimming at high water, and he arrived at the cost of his life.”

In the undulation through the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* that I earlier mentioned, however – between threat and protection – the next images (pp. 38-39) feature Christine and the helicopter that brought the Polish refugee family into Austria, followed by a similar success story. It hinges on a railway and – in an unusual directness – simply accompanies an image of train tracks and a train (pp. 40-41). “In the last few years eleven refugees from the East came to Austria in the cargo trains on these rails of the Břeclav-Vienna Line.”

Falling into a mood of threat again, however, the next pages show another view of the March before the pairing of the tree and the dog with the caption about “our Führer,” yet then – as in 2006 – comes the story of Janusz Wolowiak helped by a

local family and police (Figures 58, pp. 122-125 and 60, pp. 42-47). Then comes a caption-less view of borders in the kind of space that I have described as “suburban” (pp. 48-49) and – falling back into the German past – two versions of the woman who described being deported *into* Germany in 1945. First, she looks toward what she calls her “*Heimat*” over the border. She then looks away, squinting in the sun or pinched in a painful emotion – at Furuya (pp. 126-127). In effect, she may “replace” the old men whom I earlier found Furuya to “cut” from the next images – the site of the Hitler-Dubcek bridge (Figures 58, pp. 130-131 and 60, pp. 52-53). Unlike in my analysis of the men, the disarming aspect of her age and engagement may not so easily dismiss the wartime past as “quiet” now – because of her own claim to ongoing attachment to her wartime *Heimat*.

Next comes a blank page – perhaps a “reset.” The composition begs the comparison of an ornate, stone crucifix with the rough wood of what appears to be a telephone pole. Perhaps the pole may serve as a foil to the pomp of the crucifix (Figure 58, pp. 54-55). The base of the crucifix bears the name “Georg Babisch,” a Slavic-derived surname that may span history from the crucifix to Furuya’s caption: “A Czech helicopter that makes its patrol flight along the border.” The helicopter is just visible as a grey smudge low on the horizon between the crucifix and wooden pole, leading me to imagine the invisible vibrations of its sound – likely the primary experience of taking the photograph, which otherwise would have been lost.

Somewhat similarly, the next image shows what at first may appear a soft and silently welcoming path through dappled woods. It is initially framed as though a site

of solitary communion with the *Heimat*, the forest canopy parting to the sun (p. 56). In keeping with Furuya's mode of undercutting such effects, however, the next and larger image – from the original 1983 *Staatsgrenze* series – reveals a sign in the path reading “Achtung! Staatsgrenze [Attention! State Border]” (p. 57). The caption references gradations of penalties for border violations through the penalization of a policeman, who perhaps received among the lightest:

That year in late summer, a policeman from here [in Austria] went over the border into the Czech area while picking mushrooms. He was arrested. For each age, gender, and vocation, they calculate a longer or shorter sentence. He was released after two days.

In fact, the mental image of the policeman mushroom-picking may capture tensions in the image of *Heimat* between the Third Reich and the Cold War, between German state concepts of belonging as racial (“European”) and political (“East” or “West”). In this sense, the policeman is a representative of “Western Bloc” authority enjoying an activity earlier rooted in traditions of *Heimat* as ownership of and “belonging in” the (Austrian) forest, which – while physically remaining the same *Heimat*-like space – actually turns into the Czech forest. Invisibly (but for the sign) *Heimat* becomes no longer *Heimat*. In this sense, I may imagine a “story” of Cold War divisions – though causing many problems – usefully disrupting habituations of landscape as the old-fashioned, pan-“European” *Heimat*, not only from the Third Reich but also – recalling Chapter 3 – today's PEGIDA movement (Figure 50).

The next images have been analyzed already in the contexts of earlier photobooks. They let me continue in this vein. The woodsman shows passive authority over the forest – through knowledge of it as “the northernmost point of

Austria” (pp. 58-59). The Czech state actively asserts authority *in* the forest – through the net to catch swimming refugees in a cross-border lake (pp. 60-61). Recalling the 1985 “National Border,” the un-cropped image of Gmünd shows the letter “N” changing the sign’s message – from “a beautiful piece of Austria” to “no, beautiful piece of Austria (you cannot)” (Figures 52, p. 23 and 60, pp. 62-63).

In fact, I now may end this section on the last image that is captioned by conversation (as opposed to description, which I address in the next and last section). It shows a fake silhouette of a bird on an office window. Furuya frames it from inside – looking out on trees, concrete and little houses (pp. 64-65). The caption explains:

Four years ago, the new tollhouse was built here. Back then, many birds daily flew against the windowpanes and died. We inquired with Nature Conservation and obtained a sticker – I believe from Switzerland. Since then, it has been calm.

I recall the Hitler-Dubcek bridge – the caption “it has been very quiet here”⁵⁹⁶ paired with an image that does not show traces of the harm that is now “quiet[ed]” (Figures 52, p. 22; 54, p. 28; 58, p. 130; and 60, p. 52). By comparison, the bird sticker is a visual evocation of the harm that it tries to prevent. It resembles a bird that – in the words of the caption – “flew against the windowpanes and died,” so that other birds – to continue my clumsy analogy – will not forget, or – if they have not learned – learn about and from this violence. In short, the crude expedient of the bird-silhouette on a window may resemble most what I have been doing in this dissertation. I have attempted to devise and apply a multinarrative ethics and ethics of belonging to inscribe images of harm in the spaces where harm occurs if they are

⁵⁹⁶ “National Border,” (unpaginated: 22 from title page).

not inscribed there – as markers to teach myself and others to redress and prevent harm in its myriad iterations. All markers, however, lose their meaning if their stories are not told. I am “making” markers by telling their stories, which are not only my stories but part of their effects in the world.

Imagination Without Conversation? – Ethics of Silence in “Staatsgrenze 2016”

Figure 61: “Staatsgrenze 2016,” unpaginated, pp. 2-3, 8-9, from title page



I now end this chapter – and nearly this dissertation – by reiterating that the main effect of remaining silent in the presence of ethically recuperable narratives may be to avoid awkwardness, not defeat discursivity. I have honored that wish to defeat discursivity throughout this dissertation, however, for it was personal before I began and now is even more personalized through my intimate considerations of Benjamin, Tosaka, Furuya’s colleagues and others whose wishes for improved human relations I share. This last section is for them – my concession that refraining from sharing stories that others have shared – or exploring the possibilities of such stories – is not always ethically effective. I previewed this consideration at the start of the chapter through Furuya’s 1993 piece on the Bosnian War – in which he showed the faces and descriptions of refugees whose stories he had heard but not shared (Figure 51).⁵⁹⁷ I now share a few words on Furuya’s “Staatsgrenze 2016” through my earlier idea of it as a continuation from his 1993 piece. At the same time, “Staatsgrenze 2016” clearly reprises the format of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* by using jarring words to undercut a sense of familiarity in images. Furuya scatters words from German-speaking reports about refugees in the “empty space” around scenes of toys (Figure 61, bottom).

Before turning to this, however, I may “re-lead” into “Staatsgrenze 2016” through the last images of Furuya’s 2014 treatment of the 1983 *Staatsgrenze* – those before his ending with Izu as the unspoken site of his wedding with Christine,⁵⁹⁸ which I discussed earlier (Figure 60, pp. 67-68). Briefly, the flattened topographical map (p. 67) may receive its own space as – in addition to being the last geographical

⁵⁹⁷ See particularly “War and Photography.”

⁵⁹⁸ “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

site on the path around the border – a reminder of the silence of the “big picture” of a map. A map shows little of the personal, though Furuya has included grass and flowers at the lower left, showing that the map is painted on what appears an industrial door open to the outside. Somewhat as if to undo that impersonal touch – to follow the flowers – the next image shows a soccer game with a ball high in the air (p. 68). It chances to anticipate Furuya’s “Staatsgrenze 16” through the name of the border crossing that it featured near his home: Spielfeld, literally “playing field.”

Briefly, as glossed in the introduction to this chapter, “Staatsgrenze 2016” shows Furuya’s use of toys to imagine Syrian refugee experience (e.g. Figure 61, pp. 8-9) rather than try to “speak for” refugees whom he encountered at the Spielfeld border crossing. He thus offers an Austrian audience a “familiar” feeling of comfort through the toys, undercut by – in addition to the aforementioned phrases from news media, which I consider at the end – reports of a government fence appearing around Spielfeld to block immigration, as well as closure of a route through the Balkans that led to Austria.⁵⁹⁹ As Furuya told me, the toys recreate news stories of journeys where refugees often died. As Lübbke-Tidow wrote, “Furuya is [...] reconstructing scenes [...] as an indication of personal disgust [...] like his very work with those (at times repulsive) slogans that currently dominate the abysmal political discussion and media representation of refugees. These slogans are scattered around the photographs.”⁶⁰⁰

In short, “Staatsgrenze 2016” uses media “slogans” where Furuya’s 1983 *Staatsgrenze* used voices of his Cold War subjects – met on perhaps more friendly

⁵⁹⁹ “Staatsgrenze 2016,” 18.

⁶⁰⁰ “Eine nicht hinnehmbare Situation,” 23.

and “mutual” terms than today’s encounters, even when his subjects expressed prejudiced or compromised views.⁶⁰¹

I might say that Furuya’s Cold War-era, interpersonal encounters were mediated by private lifestyles, while his later encounters with refugees – though also mediated at that face-to-face level – increasingly answer to a caution about media depictions in both senses of the word: in both “media” – of photographs and words – as well as the news media. At least, so I say from the single “Staatsgrenze 2016” example that I am willing to interpret a *bit* multinarratively (Figure 61, pp. 8-9). I do not do so with my usual goal of seeking connection, however – in this case, to the refugees – but rather, taking a cue from Furuya, in exposing media disconnect.

Visually, Furuya presents phrases from the German-language media as partly “swallowed” by the fold between the pages. It is an opposite formation from his usual “*distance*” among elements on the “empty space” of the photobook page. Rather, *closely* packed words require concentration to untangle – but still never, as in my complement to Furuya’s mode, a multinarrative ethics, in only one message. I translate these stacked words and phrases from left to right, top to bottom:

legal; fence; send back [*zurückshicken*]; taking back [*Rücknahme*]; register; annihilate; inundation; memory; slaughter; we can do this [*Wir schaffen das*]; Europe; emigrants; radical; utopia; equality; generation; expulsion; war and peace; European Union; Parndorf; Angela Merkel; future; wiring; Dresden; fail; asylum-seeker; refugees; intruders; assault; flood; Parndorf; social freeloader; transit zones; attack; this hasn’t happened before; cross over; overload; mother tongue; fatherland; border fence; zone; newcomers; welcome package; right to stay; war and force; Germany helps.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰¹ For example, *Staatsgrenze*, 45, 51-52.

⁶⁰² “Staatsgrenze 2016,” (unpaginated: 8-9).

Thoughtful word-association is apparent – e.g. “send back; taking back” or “mother tongue; fatherland.” The few positive words – such as “utopia” and “equality” – might be felt as planted to be overrun and undercut by the many negative ones. The only repeated word, “Parndorf,” refers to an Austrian border town and echoes the situation at Spielfeld. The other proper names are larger influencers – “European Union,” “Angela Merkel” – and her upbeat slogan on the immigrant crisis, “we can do this” – even “Dresden.” Among other things, the last recalls to me that part of Dresden’s postwar image gained innocence through the suffering of refugees in the city when it was bombed.⁶⁰³ I also wonder how the last phrase might operate: “Germany helps.” The phrases leading to it might be felt as alternating in xenophobic defensiveness – “fatherland; border fence; zone” – and its opposite – “newcomers; welcome package; right to stay.” The phrase itself is allotted to the grouping “war and force; Germany helps.” While echoing a historical image of Germany in which its realm is war and force, the idea that “Germany helps” – depending on the nature of its help – may intervene against that history of force. For me, at least, this is an apt stopping point in my readings. It is a “last word” that “says” not to stop, but to help.

⁶⁰³ See e.g. Irving, 76, 79-80, 92, 190, and “Dresden: Eingesammelte Wirklichkeit,” 33.

Conclusion: *This Is Not About Photography (But Photography Is About This)*

In her I've seen a woman passing by me, sometimes a model, sometimes the woman I love, sometimes the woman who belongs to me. I feel bound by duty to photograph constantly the woman who has different meanings for me. Thus, as I see her, photograph her, look at her in a picture, I find myself.

- Seiichi Furuya on Christine Furuya-Gössler, likely co-written by her, 1979(80)⁶⁰⁴

I might summarize the findings of this dissertation in the above statement.

It is from the first exhibition of photographs of Christine that Furuya ever held, partly quoted in Chapter 2. He speculated after her death that she had co-written it – at least, rendered it into German for him. This lets me imagine that she articulated his “readings” of her: from a distant “model” to the more intimate “woman I love” to – perhaps overstepping the limits of that love – “the woman who belongs to me.” Her words – and Furuya’s early practice – effectively foretold the photobooks that I have considered in this dissertation: “bound by duty to photograph [and re-arrange photographs to find] different meanings.” I humbly have extrapolated this process to find more “stories from the empty space” of the photobook than Furuya may have seen, yet I never lost the thread that connects my ethics to his and my content to his.

Not least in the fibers of this thread was my finding a deeper and more far-reaching sense of Christine’s own concerns with legacies of Catholicism and World War II in her own life. These were akin to not only those of German authors who “spoke to us” in Chapter 3 – to intervene in anti-Semitic and assimilatively

⁶⁰⁴ *Mémoires 1978-1988*, 94, also quoted in “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated, p. 1 of piece). Furuya explains his memory of Christine helping with the wording on the same page in Japanese.

cosmopolitan uses of Dresden in image and memory⁶⁰⁵ – but also perhaps the philosophical misgivings about discursivity that I considered in Chapters 1 and 2. These included Benjamin’s critique of religious “cult value” – in his experience under the rise of German fascism; Tosaka’s of socially aesthetic “custom” under Japanese fascism; and Derrida’s of “universality” in the aftermath of those fascisms.⁶⁰⁶ Put too simply, all critiqued a habituated sense of self that excludes or even annihilates others by feeling itself to be everything.

In Chapter 2, I continued the above ruminations through concerns for false universalities, such as I ultimately considered in myself through Furuya’s use of his Amsterdam series. Briefly, though I found Furuya’s work with these images often to evoke a sense of “Western” oppression – amenable to Japanese evasions of postwar responsibility, whether in terms of exoticization of Asia and American Occupation or an Asia-less binary of “black and white” – his “re-reading” of that project in terms of his private life chanced to reveal a blind spot of identity that let me face my own sense of a false universality. I named it “Japaneseness” for the context in which I chanced to find it, though it is characterized more by lack of signifiers than the specific trappings of any culture. In it, as will be recalled, one exists as a mode of service to others – before they ask and before one realizes that this mode is not reality. Furuya’s 1997 Amsterdam sequence staged stories that could describe a process – as though it were his – of realizing that “Japaneseness” is just a mode.

⁶⁰⁵ *Mémoires 1983*, 86, 92; Irving; Wiemer; “Dresden: eingesammelte Wirklichkeit;” “Gedanken über Krieg und Deportation” and the letters of Franz Mutsch and Franz Erdely.

⁶⁰⁶ “The Work of Art;” *Das Kunstwerk*; *Shisô to fûzoku*; *Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader*; *The Other Heading*, 70-73.

My fourth chapter feels so heavy on this conclusion that I am tempted to forego its recap. Thematically, however – if Chapters 2 and 3 intervened against different formations of an interior “self” – whether the “nonself” of my sense of “Japaneneseness” or Santner’s “well-defined, well-defended, and vacant Heimat”⁶⁰⁷ – then Chapter 4 addressed exterior landscape as a “space of belonging” through elements of *Heimat* that I first examined in Chapter 1.⁶⁰⁸ My tracings of that rural-to-suburban, “natural” or “everyday” aesthetic found its visual senses of safety, belonging and potential nationalism in aspects of Furuya’s landscapes – the reason why, as I quoted from Gržinic in the Introduction, “Nature is always already infected”⁶⁰⁹ – undercut and complicated by the words that he paired with them.

These words came from people in those landscapes and – later – Furuya and Christine’s thoughts in “dialogue” with images of the landscapes and their textual echoes across Furuya’s “empty space” of photobook pages. Originally, some subjects showed wartime prejudices or memories that betrayed xenophobic legacies, others an easier openness to helping outsiders, and still others – such as the “German” deportee of 1945,⁶¹⁰ or the Laa police helping a refugee instead of enforcing borders⁶¹¹ – who dislodged notions of belonging and not belonging, innocence and guilt. All agreed to share their stories with Furuya, however, and he to share their sharing.

This is why I must add – at this moment in Summer 2021, years after I began this project as – if I may confess – a study of Furuya, then a study of Furuya’s effects

⁶⁰⁷ Santner, 162.

⁶⁰⁸ Notably through Gržinic.

⁶⁰⁹ Gržinic, 14.

⁶¹⁰ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 51 from title page).

⁶¹¹ *Staatsgrenze*, (unpaginated: 47 from title page).

on me, now a study of how these effects might be useful for humanity – my hope that some of this dissertation might be recuperated for increased human understandings. If not for my general methods – should they seem too bizarre – then perhaps my work might operate through its invitation to witness the personalities of Furuya, Christine, the other writers cited in this dissertation and myself.

I shall not repeat the world events that spur me in this ethical labor and injunction at this moment. Some are cited – primarily in Chapter 3 – and will have changed when this text is read any time after a few moments from now. At the same time, I have been gratified to find that Furuya – and the rest of the “us” whom I have discussed as sharing an ethics of questioning discursivity – seem to have held to a fairly constant instinct not to take reality or other people for granted. “We” have done so since before World War II and the Asia Pacific War – though I also suspect that “our” contexts in the shadows of those wars might be part of the reason.

Another reason, however, is likely that most of “us” are also interested in photography and film. “We” saw or see filmed images – still or moving – as ideal sites for responsibility to a sense of truth as complex and contingent: in a wariness of external power, internal reception of that power, and that reception’s bearing on understanding and caring for others. This is because the truth claims of (analog) film both promise a record of reality and warn of deception through that promise. I thus might understand Furuya and Christine’s epigraph to this conclusion as charging each other with responsibilities of seeing and showing by using photography – in my clumsy phrase – to “seek increasingly universal connections.”

To conclude, then: I have expanded and answered that charge in my dissertation. I have articulated and engaged other aspects of Furuya, Christine and more who “answer” the ethical and emotional cues of what I now consider Furuya and Christine’s work as an anchor for more work. Even those of “us” not focused on photography treat(ed) words or memory through the same combination of promise and warning. *This* is what photography is “about.”

Coda: Learning from Filmed People (Retelling My Ethical Foundations)

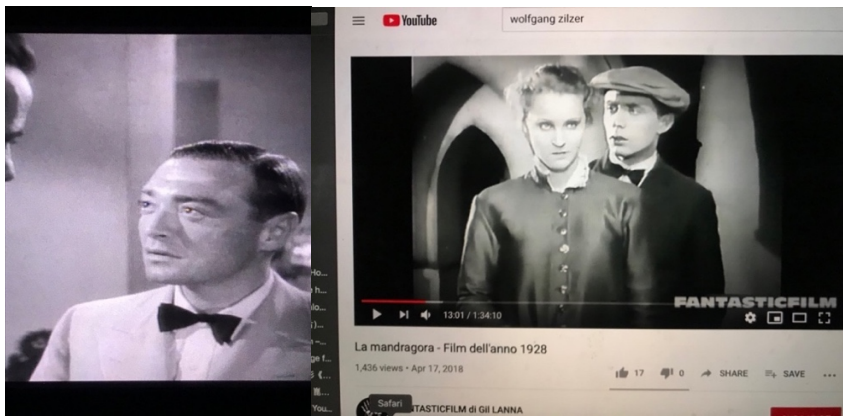


Figure 62: top left, in the air between Frankfurt, Germany and San Jose, CA, USA, April 2, 2019; top right, Santa Cruz, CA, USA, April 12, 2020

“Re-reading” smartphone photos since interviewing Furuya,⁶¹² I was moved to retell my dissertation’s ethically foundational story. I refer to my sensational-but-true story of seeing Goebbels on TV when I was learning to walk, identifying with his physical vulnerability and later recuperating that fraught connection to consider how to avoid disaster despite having other things in common with him. Specifically, I failed to mention our obsessive interest in and attraction to film. In fact, Goebbels was the start of this – as the first filmed person I remember “meeting,” at an age when I felt TV space as my own, physical space. When I was older – starting at three or four – I learned more consciously from other filmed people. Many of them were Weimar actors who left Goebbels’ world of film for various reasons, which I did not know at first. I would like to mention two who taught me the most. I am sorry that I could not have started with them, for I had to unpack our wartime past, though one day I would like to give them more (Figure 62).

⁶¹² “Adieu-Wiedersehen,” (unpaginated: 9 from start of piece).

The first was Peter Lorre (born Ladislav Loewenstein, 1904-1964), whom I photographed in *Casablanca* during my return flight from Austria (Figure 62, left).⁶¹³ I was three or four when my dad used Lorre’s role in the Weimar film *M* – as a child-murderer – to teach me to care for dangerous people.⁶¹⁴ The second was uncredited in *Casablanca* (right)⁶¹⁵: Holocaust survivor Johann Wolfgang Adolf Zilzer (1901-1991), alias “Paul Andor” in Hollywood, echoing the German *andere Paul* (“different Paul”). Like me, Zilzer was born in America and raised with Weimar film – he, by his actor-father to perform in it, I, by my parents to watch it on TV. I noticed Zilzer under that name very late, mistakenly thinking that I had not seen him before. He struck me as typecast – as in my photo of him – as somewhat overwrought and in love. In Hollywood, in fact, I might say that he brought that “type” to the role of Goebbels himself – in a 1944 sort of anti-Nazi, non-sex thriller (genteelly handled by current standards), where the character had a pre-Nazi moment under his first name – “Paul” – echoing Zilzer’s alias, “different Paul.”⁶¹⁶ When I saw this, I was afraid to do what I now have done: “play Goebbels” but “differently” – the opposite of him, as I said before, which let Zilzer lead me to his own story, after all – or its start.

⁶¹³ *Casablanca*, dir. Michael Curtiz (Hollywood: Warner Bros. Pictures, 1942). I take Lorre’s biography from the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek database: <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118640623> and Filmportal: https://www.filmportal.de/person/peter-lorre_167dd47a58b7400ab846ca10391437fb (both accessed May 14, 2021).

⁶¹⁴ *M*, dir. Fritz Lang (Berlin: Nero-Film AG, 1931).

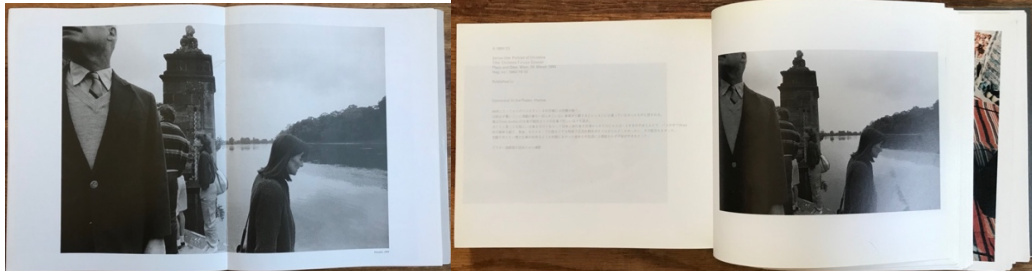
⁶¹⁵ I take Zilzer’s biography from the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek database: <http://d-nb.info/gnd/116992433> and Filmportal: https://www.filmportal.de/person/wolfgang-zilzer_1e82d4e5eb0e42d0b4647c633d37c60f (both accessed May 14, 2021). Pictured: *Alraune*, dir. Henrik Galeen (Berlin: Ama-Film GmbH, 1927), uploaded to YouTube by FANTASTICFILM di Gil, April 17, 2018: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PY3wiD1gY74&t=703s>.

⁶¹⁶ *Enemy of Women*, dir. Alfred Zeisler (Hollywood: W.R. Frank Productions, 1944); DVD: New York: Troma Entertainment/Roan Group Archival Entertainment, 2005.

Appendix: Further Cross-Reference of Furuya's Dresden Images: Furuya (1989-2010) and Völter (2016)

1.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine on the Elbe, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in June 1984”)



(1989) 85-86

(1997) no. A-1984/24



(2010) 44-45

(2016/Völter) 44-45 (coincidentally same as 2010)

2.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô with motorcycle in foreground, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in June 1984”)



(1997) no. A-1984/27

(2016/Völter) 30-31

3.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine in wind, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in June 1984”)



(1997) no. A-1984/28

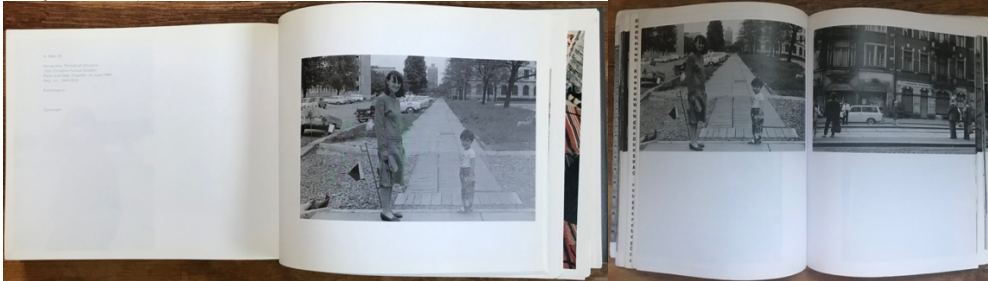
(2010) 46-47



(2016/Völter) 158-159

4.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô on sidewalk, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in July 1984”)



(1997) no. 1984/29

(2016/Völter) 90-91

5.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô in line, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in July 1984”)



(1997) no. A-1984/30

(2016/Völter) 172-173

6.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô with “E.T.” toy at upper left, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in August 1984”)



(1997) no. A-1984/31

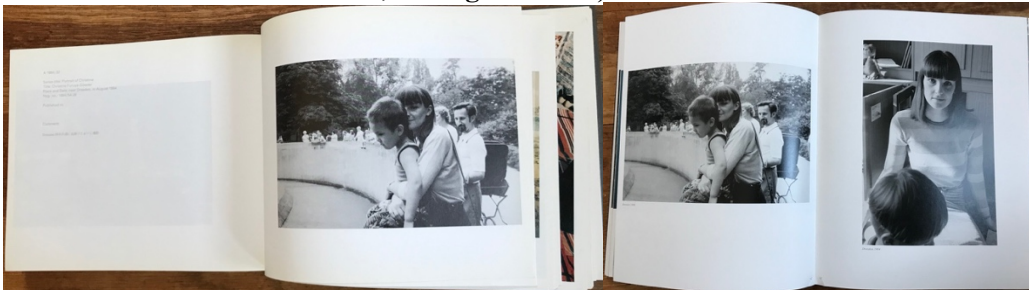
(2010) 62-63



(2016/Völter) 22-23

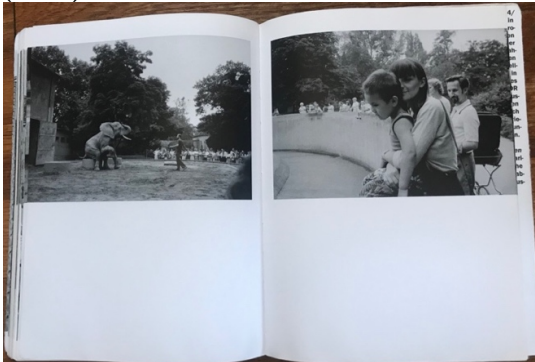
7.

“Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô leaning on concrete animal pen at zoo, described in 1997 as “Dresden, in August 1984”)



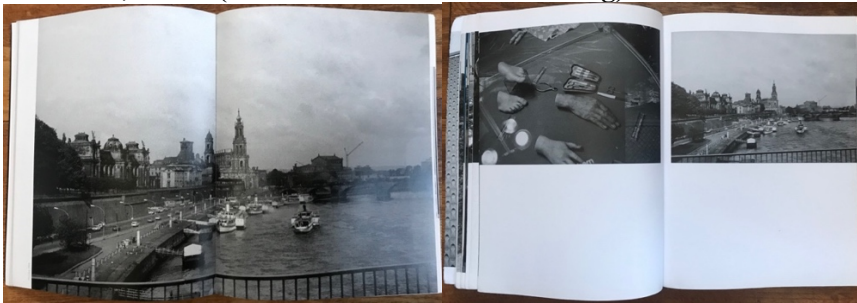
(1997) no. A-1984/34

(2010) 62-63



(2016/Völter) 180-181

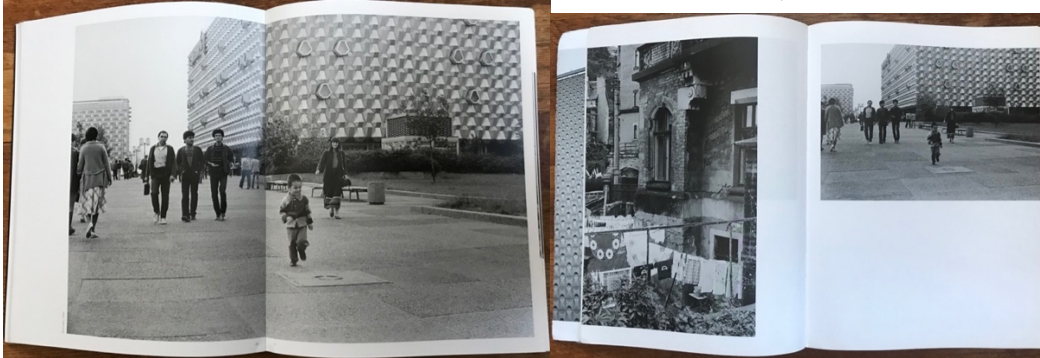
8.
“Dresden, 1984” (view of river over metal railing)



(2010) 24-25

(2016/Völter) 40-41

9.
“Dresden, 1984” (Kômyô running ahead of Christine on street)



(2010) 26-27

(2016/Völter) 10-11

10.
“Dresden, 1984” (back of woman regarding ruins)



(2010) 28-29

(2016/Völter) 14-15

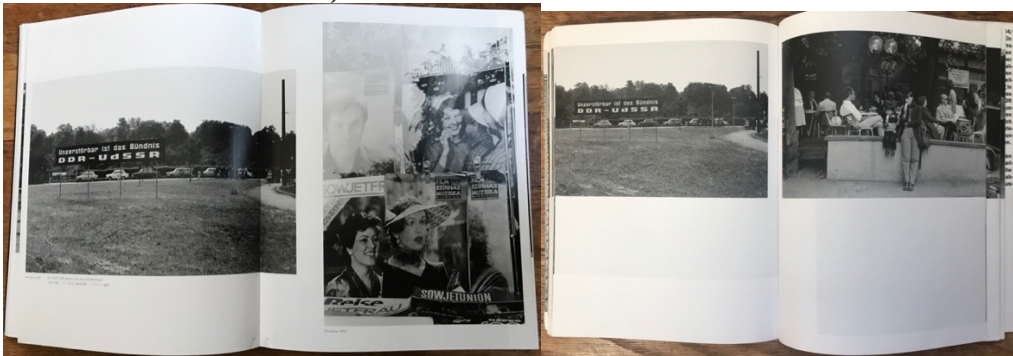
11.
 “Meißen, 1984” (two women at table with drinking glasses)



(2010) 30-31

(2016/Völter) 124-125

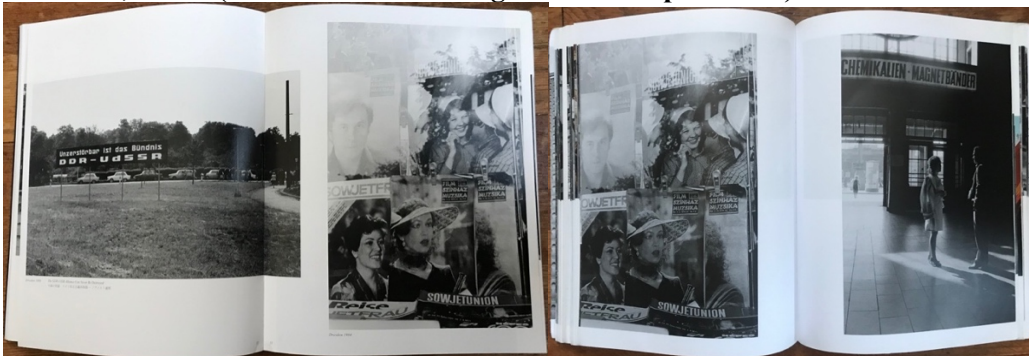
12.
 “Dresden, 1984” (sign: *Unzerstörbar ist das Bündnis DDR-UdSSR* “The GDR-USSR Alliance is Indestructible”)



(2010) 32-33

(2016/Völter) 154-155

13.
 “Dresden, 1984” (Slavic/Soviet film magazines in shop window)



(2010) 32-33

(2016/Völter) 130-131

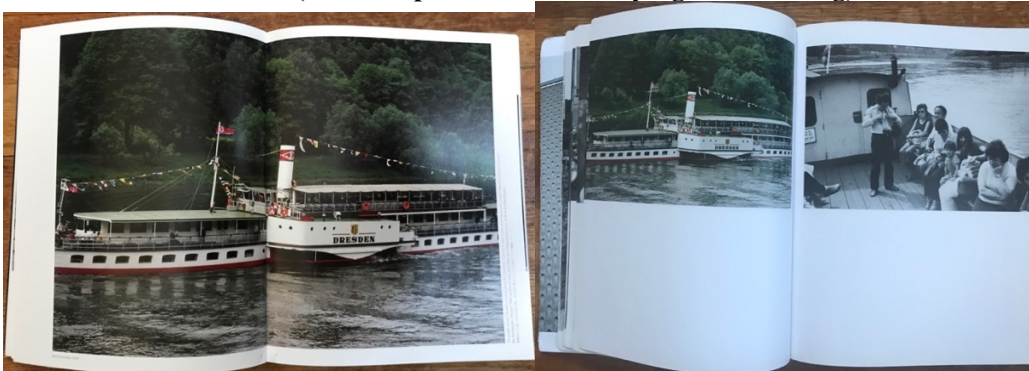
14.
“Dresden, 1984” (train passing building with sign: *DER SOZIALISMUS SIEGT*
 (“SOCIALISM TRIUMPHS”))



(2010) 34-35

(2016/Völter) 26-27

15.
“Bad Schandau, 1984” (steamship “Dresden” carrying Kim Il Sung)



(2010) 38-39

(2016/Völter) 46-47

16.
“Bautzen, 1984” (room with portrait of Ernst Thälmann)



(2010) 40-41

(2016/Völter) 120-121

17.
"Dresden, 1984" (Christine and Kômyô on train)



(2010) 42-43

(2016/Völter) 54-55

*For 2010, pp. 44-45 see entry 1, "Dresden, 1984" (Christine on the Elbe)

18.
"Dresden, 1984" (cropped image of baroque statues)



(2010) 46-47

(2016/Völter) 110-111

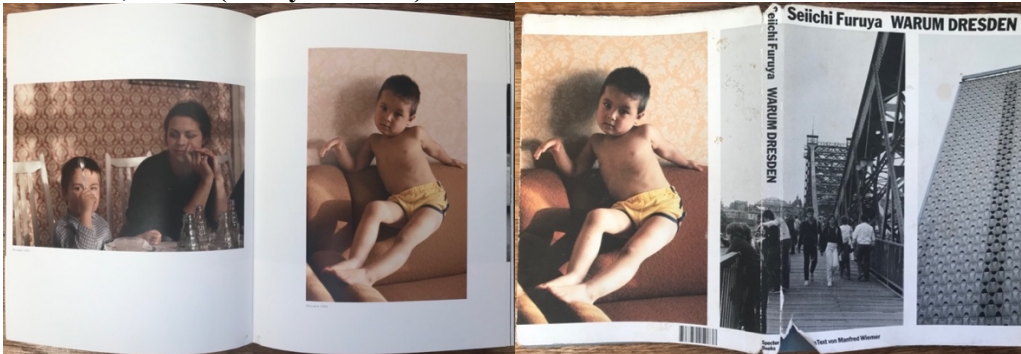
19.
"Dresden, 1984" (*close variations of Christine with wind-blown dress: NOT THE SAME IMAGE)



(2010) 48-49

(2016/Völter) 34-35

20.
“Dresden, 1984” (Kômyô on sofa)



(2010) 52-53

(2016/Völter) book jacket

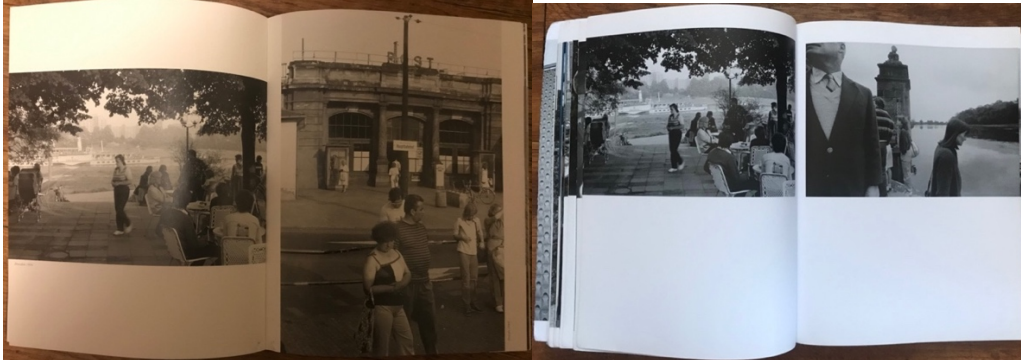
21.
“Dresden, 1984” (night view of sign: *DER SOZIALISMUS SIEGT* (“SOCIALISM TRIUMPHS”))



(2010) 54-55

(2016/Völter) 18-19

22.
“Dresden, 1984” (steamship “Dresden” in the background of picnickers)



(2010) 56-57

(2016/Völter) 44-45

23.
“Dresden, 1984” (motorcyclist on street)



(2010) 58-59

(2016/Völter) 126-127

24.
“Dresden, 1984” (Kômyô with other children)



(2010) 60-61

(2016/Völter) 184-185

25.
“Dresden, 1984” (chimpanzee in zoo)



(2010) 60-61

(2016/Völter) 178-179

*For 2010, pp. 62-63 see entry 7, “Dresden, 1984” (Christine and Kômyô leaning on concrete animal pen at zoo)

26.
"Dresden, 1984" (carnival ride)

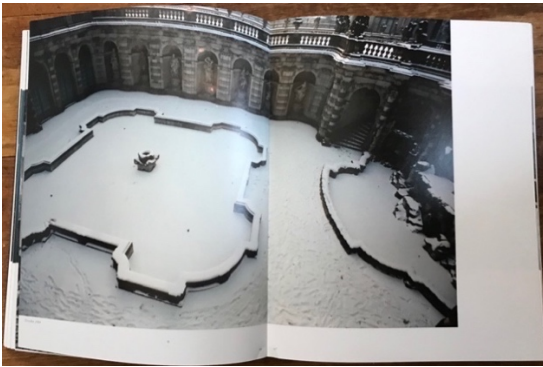


(2010) 64-65



(2016/Völter) 96-97

27.
"Dresden, 1984" (Nymphenbad courtyard in snow)



(2010) 66-67



(2016/Völter) 166-167

28.
"Dresden, 1985" (apparent pairing of images from Kômyô and Furuya photographing each other)

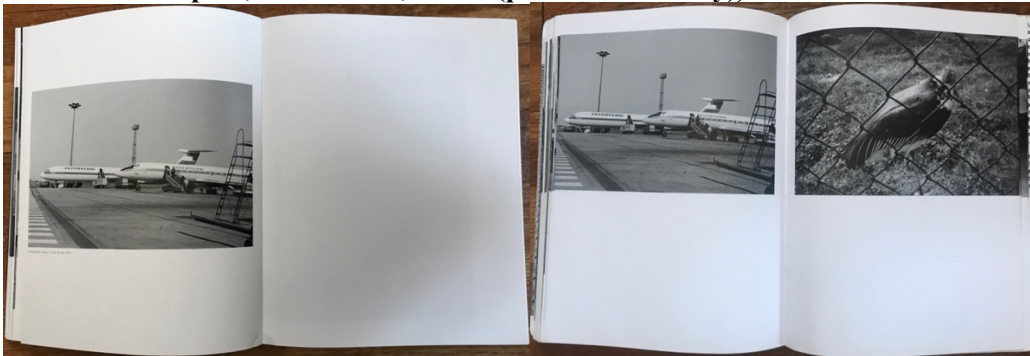


(2010) 68-69



(2016/Völter) 164-165

29.
"Schönfeld Airport, East Berlin, 1985" (planes on runway)



(2010) 74-75

(2016/Völter) 168-169

30.
"East Berlin-Vienna, February 12, 1985," (Christine and Kômyô on plane)



(2010) 76-77

(2016/Völter) 116-117

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