

NICOLÁS SÁNCHEZ DURÁ

No words for horror¹

I would like to defend that in the period between the two World Wars there was a remarkable awareness of the inadequacy of words to give an account of the horror of the mass slaughter of the First World War. Also, that this awareness is coincident with the appearance of the the photo book genre. That is, I want to show how the working-out of the experience of war in that period produced a shift in industrialised societies, irrespective of their political orientation, in relation to the ways in which they described themselves, turning from descriptions based on written accounts to representations based on photographs and films. This change was observed especially by a great many theorists and artists in Germany during the Weimar Republic. To conclude, I shall indicate that not only do some conceptions and uses of photography, in connection with the memory of war, especially those of the writer and philosopher Ernst Jünger, constitute an interesting historical document, the scope of which I shall define, but also many of their observations can profitably be used to assess how far the photographic image can constitute a medium for historical research.

So, I am going to compare three photo books that are based on the memory of the First World War that correspond to three very dissimilar political viewpoints and that imply very different conceptions of photography:

1) *Krieg dem Kriege! – Guerre à la guerre! – War against war!*, published by Ernst Friedrich in 1924; one of the first examples of the mobilisation of the Left in the field of photography;

2) *Kamerad im Westen. Ein Bericht in 221 Bildern* [Comrade in the West. A Report in 221 Pictures], published in 1930, anonymous;

3) Ernst Jünger's two photo books, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges. Fronterlebnisse deutscher Soldaten* [The Face of World War. Experiences of German Soldiers on the Front]² and

1. This text, which has never been published, is an abridged version of the one I submitted to the 18th International Seminar of Hermoupolis, organized by The National Hellenic Research Foundation, in the island of Syros. I met Prokopis Papastratis there, who had invited me. From that moment I have never stopped learning from his teachings.

2. Neufeld & Henius Verlag, Berlin, 1930.

Hier spricht der Feind. Kriegserlebnisse unserer Gegner [Here the Enemy Speaks. War Experiences of our Opponents],³ published in 1930 and 1931 respectively.

*Comrade in the West. A Report in 221 Pictures*⁴ (1930) is a photo book that shows a clear desire not to be belligerent on either the political Left or Right. The foreword takes good care to point out the great variety of age, education, «social position and political ideology» of the soldiers who took part in the fighting. This variety, it says, undoubtedly corresponded to an equal diversity of perceptions, experiences and memories. Yet this very fact simply resulted in the infinite fragmentation of the experience of war that had affected everybody at the time and when the book was put together. Nevertheless, «nowadays [i.e., in 1930] we are not especially interested in knowing how that war took place from a historical viewpoint», but rather in responding to the question of «how millions of people could put up with such atrocity for years». And so, «it remains for the survivors and the younger generation to give the significance they wish to this testimony» (the report with its 221 photographs).

However, that photo book was published with the conviction that a testimony of war could no longer be based merely on letters from the front, oral reports and the diaries of «simple soldiers», and should be based on photographs. In any case, «photographs of war are truthful reports», although very limited in terms of «documentary value». This is because it was thought that war photographs could not substantially capture more than isolated individuals or small groups. Therefore, they could not capture massive troop movements or fighting in all its complexity. And, although it is true that «a more extensive panorama was offered to the airman's camera», this was offset by the disappearance of the soldiers, who became invisible or else appeared, «at best, as tiny dots»: so that aerial photographs «gave little or no information». This sweeping devaluation of aerial photography is in keeping with the aim of the book – uninterested in the history of the war, its causes and its meaning; and interested, on the other hand, in reconstructing and transmitting the multitude of general and personal experiences of «simple soldiers». It is here that the value of photographs resides, because it lies within the possibilities of these pictures, considered as powerful portraits, to capture the suffering, the faith or agnosticism, the dejection or fortitude of the combatants; for all this «must have been discernible [...] in the soldiers' faces and behaviour».

Nevertheless, despite having stated that photographs of war are in themselves «truthful reports», the editor of *Comrade in the West* considers that another of their limitations is the fact that their ability to transmit, their effect, «depends on the moment when the picture is taken and the selection of the image»; in other words, «on what the photographer [...] considered essential». However, in view of the fact that the book contains over two hundred pictures by a great variety of photographers, all systematically identified in the margin in terms of authorship and provenance, it «must give an overall picture that in some way corresponds to reality». This is the value ascribed to the photo book considered as a whole: the ability to transmit a view of «the mental experience of war» and make it possible to «reconstruct that experience again», leaving the responsibility for doing so in the hands of each individual reader.

A totally different case is that of Ernst Friedrich and his pacifist photo book *War against*

3. Neufeld & Henius Verlag, Berlin, 1931.

4. *Kamerad im Westen. Ein Bericht in 221 Bildern*, Societäts-Verlag, Frankfurt a. M., 1930. All the quotations come from the introduction, which is anonymous, as also is the editor of the book.

War! (1924), which contains over 180 photographic reproductions.⁵ Friedrich – a militant of radical social democracy who subsequently ended up in anarchism and, much later, after the Second World War, in the PSF – was not interested in the general or personal experiences of specific individuals, whether they were combatants or civilians. He was interested in people in the abstract, as humanity, although his interest immediately changed into a defence of the proletarians who had been deceived and massacred for the sake of the capitalists' war.

In principle, Friedrich appealed to the «human beings of all lands» or «the people of all nations», ending with the exhortation «Mothers of all countries, unite!». This appeal was based on a naturalist universalism whose postulate is that we all react equally to pain and pleasure, and therefore we are all vitally concerned to fight in order to put an end, once and for all, to the mass murder of war. However, inasmuch as the cause of all war is the robbery perpetrated by capitalism at home and abroad, putting an end to war is only possible if the proletariat confronts the nationalists, the military, the press, the church and, above all, the final cause of all wars. Consequently, Friedrich's humanitarian and cosmopolitan initial starting-point, based on an abstract concept of humanity, turned into an affirmation of irreconcilable, antagonistic differences: those of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. That is why his pacifism did not prevent him from criticising «the pacifist bourgeois who try to fight against war with mere caresses, teacakes and pious gestures». On the other hand, in Friedrich this militant desire – disposed to persuade his readers of the deceptions and responsibility of capitalism in all wars – is combined with a realist conception of photography.

He says in the foreword – as *Comrade in the West* had also said – that «in the present and the future» all «the wealth of words» was not sufficient to give a «proper depiction» of the appalling butchery. But the fact is that, «partly by accident and partly by intention», an «objectively truthful and faithful» picture of war remains «photographically inscribed for ever» in his book. Nobody would dare to say that those photographs «are not truthful and do not correspond to realities», since they were obtained «by incorruptible, inexorable photographic lenses». Let us be quite clear on this: photographs, individually and in conjunction, are considered by Friedrich to be unmistakable in their meaning, infallible in their testimony and incapable of being refuted by any opposing evidence.

Nevertheless, the method used for the composition of the book mostly consists of pairs of opposites. For example (fig. 1), the left-hand page shows a studio photo of the kind frequently used as postcards and then incorporated into family souvenir albums; it shows a man standing in front of a painted landscape, adopting a stiff military pose and pointing at the camera with his rifle. On the right-hand page we see a group of soldiers, with one of them, like someone showing off a big game hunting trophy, exhibiting the remains of a mangled corpse whose shattered legs are a shapeless mass. The caption of the picture on the left says: «The pride of the family (An “interesting” photographic pose)»; and on the right: «The pride of the family (The other side of the image, a few weeks later)».

The captions generally contrast with the images, and from the combination of the two elements one deduces the disavowal or denunciation of cynicism and hypocrisy and of the patriotic, moral and political declarations made by high-ranking officials in the armed forces,

5. Friedrich E., *Krieg dem Kriege! – Guerre à la guerre! – War against war!* The Real Comet Press, 1997. The quotations come from the introduction, p. 21-28.

De trots van de familie: (een «interessante» kiek).

Der Stolz der Familie: (Eine «interessante» gestellte Photographie).



The pride of the family: (An "interesting" arranged photograph).

L'orgueil de la famille: (Une photographie « intéressante » posée).

De trots van de familie: (De keerzijde van de kiek, enkele weken later).

Der Stolz der Familie: (Die Kehrseite des Bildes, einige Wochen später).



The pride of the family: (The other side of the picture, a few weeks later).

L'orgueil de la famille: (Le revers de la médaille quelques semaines plus tard).

Fig. 1

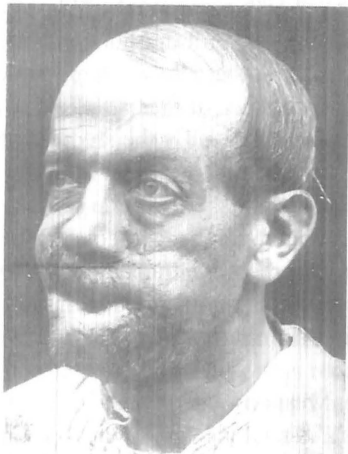
the church and the various governments and individuals of the warring dynasties. Declarations, moreover, that Friedrich knew also formed part, to a large extent, of the «common sense» of the population in general. The fact is that one of the visually most intense sections in the book is the series of twenty-four photographs that bear the title *Das Antlitz des Krieges* (figs. 2). This section does not have the rhetorical structure that I described earlier. It consists of twenty-four portraits of frightfully mutilated soldiers and utterly disfigured after the countless surgical operations they have undergone, remaining, nevertheless, still alive. The captions are generally confined to indicating the name of the soldier, his peacetime occupation, when and how he was wounded, the number of medical operations undergone, etc.

What strikes our attention now is the fact that the author of such a carefully composed book of photographs, with its elaborate rhetorical mechanisms, should be silent about or unaware of all that his work contributes –in terms of signifying intention and elaboration of meaning– to the bare photographic prints.

Jünger's two photo books are conceived as a diptych, the overall title of which is that of the first volume. Between them they contain over three hundred photographs, all with their corresponding captions, together with various texts by Jünger himself and other authors (in the case of *Here the Enemy Speaks* the texts are by authors from the countries that fought against Germany). For him, the photograph is a product that comes from a common root that nourishes the whole period: the dominion of technology and the total mobilisation of society by work. The mass quality of photography, the possibility that anyone can extend the sense of sight with a photographic lens, for him is expressive of the nature of the world in the

Franz Damman, teekenaar, 44 jaar, gewond Mei 1915. Door granaatpluiter oer en onderkaak met gebuilde weggeslagen. Vervangen met vleesch uit het dijbeen. (Tot dusver 30 operaties.)

Franz Damman, Zeichner, 44 Jahre, Verwundet Mai 1915. Durch Granatplücker Ohr und Unterkiefer mit dem Gaumen ausgeschlagen, mit Fleisch aus dem Oberschenkel ersetzt. (Bisher 30 Operationen.)



Franz Damman, designer, 44 years old. Wounded in May 1915. By grenade splinters, the ear, lower jaw with gums were blown away. Replaced by flesh from upper thigh. (Up to now 30 operations.)

Franz Damman, dessinateur, 44 ans, blessé en mai 1915 par un éclat d'obus. Oreille et mâchoire inférieure détruites; reconstruites de chair prise de la cuisse supérieure. (Jusqu'à 30 opérations.)

Karl Marzahn, ijzerwerker, 37 jaar, Gewond 26 Oct. 1918. Onderkaak, tanden en tong weggeknikt, gerepareerd met vleesch uit hoofd en borst.

Karl Marzahn, Eisenhobler, 37 Jahre, Verwundet 26. Oct. 1918. Unterkiefer Zähne und Zunge abgerissen, ausgefüllt mit Fleisch aus Kopf und Brust.



Karl Marzahn, iron planer, 37 years old. Wounded 26 Oct. 1918. Lower jaw, teeth and tongue torn away. Patched up with flesh from head and chest.

Karl Marzahn, fabrikant de ier, 37 ans. Blessé le 26 octobre 1918. Mâchoire inférieure, dents et langue arrachés. Reconstruits de chair prise de la tête et

Fig. 2

early thirties. «We live in a world,» he says, «that on the one hand is utterly like a workshop, and on the other is totally like a museum.»⁶ The museum implies historical fetishism, the storage and conservation of «so-called cultural assets»; the workshop quality, on the other hand, comes from the renunciation of monumentality, the limited period of usage of products and the characteristic of the ephemeral, contrasting with the admiration aroused by any creation that is intended to endure.

The workshop quality fits in with photography, Jünger says. And war photography appear as something natural, a product of a period whose full expression is war, because in war the total mobilisation of society, which previously had barely begun, bursts forth in all its fullness. There is a profound connection between war and photography, because both are an expression of technical progress and a means for technical progress:

«The intellect that knows how to strike the adversary to an accuracy of seconds and metres with its weapons of destruction operating over great distances, and the intellect that strives to conserve great historical events in their most minute details, are one and the same».⁷

Friedrich had said that «all the wealth of words» would not serve to describe the war, and Jünger also declared that «a wealth of pictures» had been created, so that «the historian who

6. Jünger E., *El trabajador. Dominio y Figura*. Tusquets, 1990, p. 190.

7. *War and Photography*. From this point onwards I shall quote from the recent edition contained in Sánchez Durá, N. (ed.), *Ernst Jünger: Guerra, técnica y fotografía*. Universitat de València, 2000, p. 123.

wishes to report about this war will find himself in difficulties more because of an abundance than a scarcity of sources». Unlike Friedrich, however, he immediately adds that it is a wealth «that can be arranged in various ways». And whereas the anonymous introduction of *Comrade in the West* stated that photography could not give an account of large-scale military combats –because, in reducing the soldiers to «tiny dots», it did not capture their psychological portraits, which was what mattered and what photography made possible– Jünger declares that photography makes it possible to obtain «the face of the battlefield at moments of silence and at the maximum intensity of movement», as seen by the soldier either in the trenches or from «flying height».

When one reads «War and Photography», one can establish a constant parallel between the development of weapons and the development of photography. Moreover, the rhetorical structure is such that in the descriptions there is an imperceptible transition from one to the other, shifts that make the reader feel that between these two manifestations of technical progress there is something more than a relationship of similarity. Weapons and cameras are both «instruments of technical awareness».

Moreover, the intensity of mechanisation causes weapons and cameras to be ever «more mobile and utterly effective at increasing distances». Jünger also says that weapons and cameras are instruments of «special precision», which does not save them from becoming increasingly «abstract», as demonstrated by the appearance of poison gases that cover vast spaces, or aerial photography that reduces them to a geometrical pattern, or the development of artillery that makes the terrain indistinguishable and so eliminates it and abolishes it as landscape. Finally, weapons and cameras are taken up in the same places and circumstances of combat and just as he speaks of «lucky shots with the camera», he says that «the instantaneous shutter» was operated by hands that had momentarily stopped firing a rifle or throwing a grenade.

For Jünger, however, the photographic image is no use on its own. It is not unequivocal as a document –versus what Friedrich says– but, instead, it «complements written annotations», and «one cannot expect [...] more than it can give».⁸ A photograph is a mark, a trace of what happened, and it must be interpreted. It is curious that Jünger here uses the viewpoint defended by Peter Burke.⁹ Even by making use of the same metaphor from palaeontology, Jünger understands photography as a «trace» or «vestige». And so he takes photographs from archives, newspapers and private individuals, ignores their authorship even if he knows it, cuts them up to form new compositions, decides on the size of the reproductions, arranges them and establishes a sequence, and interlaces them with texts by himself and other authors.

In short, in keeping with the «workshop» quality, he uses them as items in a vocabulary that only «speaks» by and through the combination of the image and the written word, through their combination in accordance with the syntax of the layout of the book. On this point, Jünger is of the same opinion as Walter Benjamin when he considers that the photo caption is «the most essential component of the photograph» and that «like a fuse it leads the

8. Jünger E., «Guerra y fotografía», *op. cit.*, p. 124.

9. Cf. *Eyewitnessing* [Spanish translation *Visto y no visto*. Crítica, 2001, p. 40-41.]

critical spark to the mixture of the image».¹⁰ For Benjamin, the caption «meshes the literarisation of the conditions of life into the photograph» and without it «any photographic construction remains uncertain». So true is this, that the caption, he says, will become «the most essential element of the shot». Stress has been placed on this *besoin de légènder* pictures, especially in connection with photographs of war, because, despite all their imposing appearance, they are really non-significant.¹¹

I will not comment here on Jünger political point of view in the thirties. Nevertheless, I think that Jünger's viewpoint, as expressed in his photo books, is still interesting today. Let me conclude by making a comparison with a recent photo book that, despite the differences, is similar to those German books of the thirties that thought words were inadequate to give an account of horror.

Some years ago the photographer Simon Norfolk and the essayist Michael Ignatieff published a photo book called *For most of it I have no words*, subtitled «Genocide. Landscape. Memory».¹² The book's title comes from the words spoken by the American broadcaster Edward R. Murrow at the end of his report on Buchenwald in 1945: «I pray you to believe what I have said about Buchenwald. I have reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it. For most of it I have no words». The book by Norfolk and Ignatieff seeks to give an account of various genocides: Rwanda, Cambodia, Auschwitz, the slaughter in Armenia in 1915, and the killing of the Herero practically exterminated by the Germans in 1904 in nowadays Namibia. It also includes the air-raids on the city of Dresden in 1945 and the four million Vietnamese deaths in Vietnam war. The cases selected set out to show that the practice of genocide extends throughout the entire twentieth century, from the Herero (1904) to Rwanda (1994). But they also suggest that genocide is not a characteristic of any particular political regime: ranging from colonial slaughter to interethnic conflict in a new postcolonial state, and including German fascism and Stalinist communism or the terror of a totalitarian regime after the victory over American expansionism in the Cold War.

In this photo book, too, the pictures are accompanied by texts that indicate how they are to be interpreted. Some of the pictures are terrible, horrific (fig. 3), corresponding to the same category as the *gueules cassées* used in the section *The Face of War* in Ernst Friedrich's book. But most of them are not pictures of people dying or of mass deaths, but of the present landscapes, where the genocide of the Ukrainians, the Armenians and the Herero took place. In fact, we can compare the photographs used by Friedrich to denounce the killing of the Armenians in his book *War against war!* (fig. 4) and the ones used by Norfolk and Ignatieff (fig. 5). From the caption that accompanies the picture of the telegraph pole we know that the authors think that technical devices made that genocide possible, a genocide that began suddenly with coordination by telegraph, and also that some monks were crucified on telegraph poles.

But we also have the impression that now, at the close of the twentieth century, Norfolk and Ignatieff think that not only are there no words to transmit horror but that even those pic-

10. *Petite Histoire de la Photographie. Études photographiques*. offprint of issue no. 1, November 1996, p. 29.

11. Cf. Gervereau, L. *Les images qui mentent*. Seuil, 2000, p. 308 ff.

12. Dewi Lewis Publishing, Heaton Moor, 1998.



Fig. 3

tures –in whose power the German authors of the thirties trusted– are to some extent ineffective. Only to some extent, for these authors proceed with the publication of a photo book, although now with pictures that are mostly enigmatic landscapes.

The viewpoint underlying Norfolk and Ignatieff's photo book is certainly moral and metapolitical. Metapolitical in the sense that they do not think that the genocides that pervade the century are characteristic of any particular political regime. With their photographs of the landscapes in which those terrible events occurred they wish to show that «entropy is a moral scandal», that «the desolation in these photographs is beautiful, but their beauty is suspect [...]. They are documenting vanished crimes and in doing so they put their own beauty in question.» So that one might say that what is defended here is also a politics of memory, for «in remembering we make our stand against the indifference of nature». A po-

Armeniërs, die uit hun vaderland zyn weggeſtuurd en onderweg door honger en uitputting zyn neergevallen. Op deze wyze zyn honderdduizenden ellendig verrekt. (Hooft het wel: honderdduizenden.)

Armeniërs, die aus ihrer Heimat verſchleppt wurden und unterwegs vor Hunger und Erſchöpfung liegengeblieben ſind. Auf dieſe Weiſe ſind Hunderttauſende elend verreckt. (Hört es wohl: Hunderttauſende!)



Armeniërs who were dragged far away from their home and left on the road to die of hunger and exhaustion. (In this manner hundreds of thousands died in untold misery and suffering.)

Des Arméniens dérochés de leur patrie, qui ſont reſtés en chemin épuisés de faim et de fatigues. De cette manière des centaines de milliers devaient périr. (Écoutez bien: des centaines de milliers!)

Fig. 4



Fig. 5

litics of memory that must be unceasing to safeguard us from a kind of *fatum* that causes all traces, all documents and even all photographs ultimately to decay and disappear. One might say that the position of Norfolk and Ignatieff lies halfway between the «moralist» viewpoint and the political commitment. Also, that this politics of memory is a form of politics and morality that could be called «minimalist» on account of its scepticism:

«These photographs express this universal need to redeem the dead through memory. Each photograph here is like those pebbles placed on the top of gravestones in Jewish cemeteries.... But these photographs also tell us that nature will wash away both pebbles and headstones alike. All we can do is to place them there, over and over, from generation to generation, for as long as we can.»¹³

The position of Ernst Friedrich and Ernst Jünger corresponds completely to a political commitment. They both used photographic documents as «agents of history», not only because they retained the memory of what had occurred but also because they wished to influence the way in which those events should be perceived in their own time. Friedrich defended a pacifism that did not renounce the idea of a final war to annihilate all wars. Jünger, on the other hand, criticised that pacifism for being a covert mobilisation, or a «pathos that it is so easy to produce when one is sitting behind some desk in Europe», as easy as the accelerated rearmament of the time.¹⁴

13. Loc.cit.



Der Moment der Explosion.



Zwei Sekunden später.



Aëraufnahme vor der Beschichtung 1915.



Aëraufnahme 1917.

Fig. 6

These are the historical uses of published photography as they were understood by those German authors in the thirties. But the question is: how can we use those photographs now? By way of a reply, I shall comment on one of the two-page spreads in Jünger's book (fig. 6). At the top of these two facing pages we read «Two moments in the blowing up of a bridge over a canal carried out by the French»; the caption for the picture on the left says «The moment of the explosion», and on the right we see «Two seconds later». In the lower part of these two pages, on the left there is an aerial photograph of the landscape of Merkem (Flanders) reduced to a geometrical pattern, and the succinct caption says «Aerial photograph before the bombardment, 1915»; in the picture on the right, which is also an aerial photograph, we see the same area churned up countless times by explosions, it is no longer possible to recognise any of the features of the land in the photo on the left, and the equally austere caption reads «Aerial photograph, 1917».

In the four photographs arranged for us to see we find those characteristics of the instrument of technical awareness, supremely effective at short and long distances, precise and at the same time abstract, mobile and accompanying weapons in identical places and circumstances. But also, Jünger shows us that the ability to be so precise in the instantaneous capturing of an explosion, the capability of obtaining such finely adjusted graphic representations (two seconds before or after the blast), is concomitant with our power of abstraction, of reducing space and people to determinable quantity; land stripped of its qualities is no lon-

14. Jünger, E. *Aquí habla el enemigo*, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

ger landscape, the people are nothing but mass, the «tiny dots» of which the editor of *Comrade in the West* complained.

In other words, for us, apart from certain insights about photography in general that are still stimulating, the photo books by Friedrich and Jünger are a powerful source of information about the cultural material of that war. Jünger did not opt for pictorialism, or the still very frequent photographs that were like *tableaux vivants*, or portraits of officers and generals in grave attitudes, or «trench» genre photographs, and he also rejected images that might recall the historical paintings produced to commemorate great battles. Instead, the photographs that Jünger selected emphasised the perilous moment of an explosion or impact, the new relationship between weapons and space, the transformation of war into a technified war of matériel, mass devastation and the action of troops in their tactical movements. In other words, war not as a confrontation between warriors who, even in their fight to the death, recognise each other as individuals, but as soldiers whose indiscriminating fire indiscriminately kills an enemy configured as abstract mass, space and resources to be annihilated.¹⁵

But above all, when compared, these photo books are an invaluable indication of the way in which some sectors of those who fought represented the war to themselves, how they lived it symbolically, in the broadest sense of the term. They are also an indication, among others, of how the experience of the First World War was used and interpreted differently in the ideological and political combat that pervaded the Weimar Republic.

In Jünger's case, by a kind of historical inversion, what is described is no longer one particular battle or another but rather the face of modern war. A war in which there is no longer any heroism because really there are no warriors. His representation of the war implies a criticism of the category of progress – a notion, incidentally, that was used by all sides as a justification for their struggle. They all said that they were defending progress and civilisation and fighting against barbarity. But technical progress had produced that previously unknown destructive capacity; and the moral invocation of the very same concept had helped to reduce the value attributed to the enemy to a point where any cruelty was possible. For now the enemy was no longer seen as someone opposing a particular interest but as the enemy of the entire human species.

I shall conclude by quoting Umberto Eco: «The visual work of art [...] now forms part of our memory [...] and seems to confirm a hypothesis that was already known, which is that the new generations have projected as components of their behaviour a series of elements filtered through the mass media [...] the immediate political situation has never been so impregnated, motivated and abundantly nourished by the symbolic as it is now. To understand the mechanisms of the symbolic through which we move means engaging in politics. Not understanding them leads to the practice of a mistaken politics. Reducing political and economic events to mere symbolic mechanisms is undoubtedly a mistake, but to ignore this dimension is equally mistaken.»¹⁶

15. This is evident if, for example, we look at the pictures in the monumental *Grosser Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges 1914-19*, Bruckmann, Munich, 1919, in three volumes which contain about six thousand pictures.

16. Eco U., «Una fotografía», in *La estrategia de la ilusión*. Lumen, p. 222-223.



Αποτυπώσεις της Ευρωπαϊκής Ιστορίας

*Κείμενα αφιερωμένα στον
Πρόκοπη Παπαστράτη*

Επιμέλεια:

Λη Σαράφη

Ειρήνη Λαγάνη

Δέσποινα Παπαδημητρίου

Μαρία Σπηλιωτοπούλου

Depictions of European History

*Papers dedicated to
Prokopis Papastratis*

Edited by:

Lee Sarafi

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Βιβλιόγραμμα
ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ

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