

# War, Constructions of National Identity, and Photography

## Abstract

Extending the concept of device (*dispositif*) – defined by Michel Foucault and developed by Gilles Deleuze and Giorgio Agamben – to photography as a whole, this essay discusses the various functions performed by images of war, especially during WWI. A set of portraits of drafted soldiers taken by Saverio Marra – a small town photographer from Calabria – further exemplifies the theoretical assumptions of the article, including the role of ‘consenting subjectivity’ in the celebration of war and military life.

## Keywords

ANTHROPOLOGY, DEVICE, SAVERIO MARRA, WORLD WAR I

**T**he link between photography and war, particularly the First World War, has been explored in specific studies, both in Italy and in the other countries involved in the conflict<sup>-1</sup>. These studies, however, seem to have had, alongside their undeniable philological importance and historiographical reliability (despite the extreme difficulty of having to deal with a variety of widely distributed sources, documents and archives, which are hard to access), limited critical incisiveness, and few theoretical implications for the medium as a whole and, more specifically, for the influence of the medium in the construction of national identity.

Reflection on images of the Second World War, of the mass deportations, of the persecution of Jews and the extermination of war prisoners in the camps, resulted in a frequent questioning of their political function and of the visual paradigm behind their existence. This led to a radical rethinking of the margin of visibility around the threshold of representation, of the relationship between *ethos* and *eidos*, and of the outcome, in terms of consent and dissent, of the policies of removal

of the gaze (and memory) in the construction of Western culture. We need merely think of a work such as *Images malgré tout* by Georges Didi-Huberman, dedicated to the analysis of the photographic representation of the unrepresentable, namely the Holocaust, for confirmation of this <sup>-2</sup>.

This did not happen to the same extent for the First World War, for reasons that I cannot examine here. Here I would like to contribute some brief reflections on a rethinking of the great corpus of photographic images from this conflict, the first phase of the European civil wars, as some innovative studies, including those of Isaac Deutscher, Ernst Nolte and Claudio Pavone, have shown <sup>-3</sup>.

From the perspective of critical anthropology, we can deconstruct the convictions sustained by immediate existential compromise, common sense (what David Foster Wallace calls “thinking in default mode”) <sup>-4</sup>, and the opinions produced by power and communications systems and other disciplinary apparatuses that reason by different means and serve different purposes. In our specific field of interest, this is a discipline that should contribute to denying an *a priori* assumption of photography – namely, ontological definitions – from the philosophical point of view, and offer, once and for all, a historical point of view. For anthropology, there only exist individual images and individual collections, concrete *corpora* of cultural and social determinations; these can be read in a relational perspective, according to complex coordinates which must always be re-identified, as they vary from time to time. This refusal of an ontological approach to photography (and to other types of iconic images), familiar to anthropology since the early work of Boas, is today expressed by scholars with a similar perspective, such as Didi-Huberman. In firmly rejecting apodictic definitions of images, and in particular photographic images, he recalls the substantial aporia of the ontological option; he reminds us that if the image is “first of all, the image of something else, there cannot be an ontology of the image” <sup>-5</sup>.

In my view, I study images as indispensable objects of my anthropological work. I feel that they constitute a key means of access to the cultural and social systems in which they are located. Through concrete objects used by actual people who make real things (to gloss the well-known formula of Sherry B. Ortner), it is possible to face the enigma constituted by the social structure of a given human group. Photographs then, among images, due to their modernity, their marked agentive nature, and their relational attitude, seem to me to constitute a privileged class of iconic objects, especially suited to revealing the complexity of the social body in which they are produced. They are ‘things’, and can, among other things, contribute to forming the concrete framework of social life. But they are also representations, introducing the fictional nature of many concrete things and the eternal navigation that human groups perform, in weaving the network of their social relationships, between reality and fiction. In this sense,

they constitute a valuable tool for anthropologists, allowing them to distance themselves from the realistic and objective assumptions that have characterized their work for decades.

Having made this premise, I would like here to look at some images of World War I, and consider their function as a device (*dispositif*).

Foucault's notion of the device <sup>-6</sup>, despite its relative lack of definition <sup>-7</sup>, often highlighted by critics, is useful, to a large extent, for my specific reflection. Here, I can only dwell on it in simple terms. As we know, for Michel Foucault, a device is something that has the qualities of Power; the device produces subjectivity and "freedom" of the subject, its assumption of responsibility with regards to itself and the social context in which it is found. While classical theories of Power revolve around a strong concept that tends to identify itself, necessarily and ultimately, with violence and repression, Foucault shows how the effective exercise of Power has as its aim, particularly in modernity, the establishment of the freedom of the subject. The scholar in fact recalls how Power is not the place of brutal violence, but on the contrary acts through objects and practices that work to produce a 'consenting subjectivity' <sup>-8</sup>. Already for Foucault, then, the device is essentially a hybrid element (in the sense that it is created by Power itself but also by those who are involved in its dynamics), which allows for a manipulation of reality and its adaptation to a strategy of shared desire.

But it may also be useful to dwell here on Giorgio Agamben's observations (in turn stimulated by Gilles Deleuze's reflection on Foucault), because, in his reading of Foucault's device, Agamben emphasizes the construction and deconstruction of subjectivity performed by the means of mass communication. These means involve, at the same time, the creation of subjectivity but also its transformation into illusory experience (in this perspective, he devotes particular attention to television and its use) <sup>-9</sup>.

It seems to me that photography, since its inception, and through its multiple technological developments, has the basic features of a device, as it has been defined along the Foucault-Deleuze-Agamben trajectory. It is something that works in the discourse of mediation and cultural sharing, and from the hegemonic perspective of the system that holds its keys. In particular, the function of the device is revealed in how it creates an implicit and sub-textual place of meaning (something that is there but not seen, as recalled by Foucault), a site multiple and shared, through the awareness and consent of the author, the system of communicative expression, and the viewer, and by the manipulation of social, spatial and temporal coordinates. But in particular, again, this manipulation and the consenting subjectivity that derives from it, shift the subject from the social reality in which it should exercise its interest to the field of illusory experience; social reality is lost in favor of another form of additional or secondary reality, which is that of representation.

Anthropology can help interpret the concrete ways in which photographs are placed in social and cultural processes, in their function as

a device; with anthropology, we can also identify the network of possible links that support the action of photographs. This means essentially deciphering the 'Western' inference which is expressed by processes of domination and social control, both on the domestic and exotic side, in the structure of modern Nation-States.

The First World War belongs to the founding confrontational (or re-founding) dynamic of the modern Nation-State<sup>-10</sup>. It represents the epilogue of long and bloody battles for the Nation-State's affirmation, for which Europe was for centuries the stage. It was an incomplete epilogue, as many historians have pointed out, which led to a catastrophic outcome twenty years later.

But a war, in order to be declared, waged and won, requires that 'production of consenting subjectivity' mentioned by Foucault. From this perspective, mass-media devices, and photography in particular, played a central function.

The entire apparatus of the photographic construction of the conflict serves as a device to produce subjectivity, consensus, and illusoriness in a time when the Nation-State requires standardization and a drastic reduction of the margins of individual freedom and dissent<sup>-11</sup>. In order to manage the war effort it is necessary that a group of individuals characterized as subjects, which is not to be confused with forms of subjection of the *ancien régime*, be reduced to a united collectivity. But to do so, we must first initiate in each individual a process of subjectivism (or incorporation) of the war that allows responsible membership of the group. War cannot be waged by deporting every soldier to the front and moving his family members to internment camps<sup>-12</sup>. War can 'also' be waged by shooting or hanging diehard dissidents (deserters, defectors, mutineers and self-injurers), but these should be limited and exceptional operations, with a high exemplary value precisely because of their uniqueness, otherwise the war would be lost before it had started. The construction of a belligerent subjectivity appears, ultimately, indispensable. Everyone must do their part, everyone has to wage their 'own' war and the war 'on their own,' even if this emergence of conflictual subjectivity must then be disciplined and focused, channeled. And everyone must consent and contribute to the war effort. Each case of acquired consent constitutes an extra chance of final victory, every conflictual body increases the chance of military success, and every consenting person means a further death in the enemy ranks. Every dissenter, on the other hand, is an enemy, in a view that fundamentally admits no neutrality<sup>-13</sup>.

This is the natural environment of photography. Not only of propaganda photography, we should note, or of that produced by institutional agencies to encourage military consensus. Photography as a whole is naturally part of the process of indoctrinating consent that I have described. This can also be seen in landscape photography produced commercially or independently by officers, soldiers, and amateur photographers, illustrating the beauty of the lost homeland and the homeland to conquer.

That Italian harmony of rural landscapes, the harshness of snowy peaks and mountain crags, the sequence of church spires and country villages, rivers, borders and the last lines of defense are used to create, even in those who live far away, in areas of the country which in no way resemble such scenes, a sense of sharing and belonging. Landscape photographs, in this way, testify to national unity and continuity.

Or consider the portrait and snapshot sent from the front. There, despite his obvious poverty and instability, a young man stands smiling and, on the back of the photograph, he writes words of greeting and reassurance: he communicates his consent and asks others to share in that consent. Portraits of soldiers, taken even before leaving, in the old-fashioned studio of the town photographer, a sort of initiation rite for war and departure, for the permanent peasant diaspora, a sort of registration in the ledger of the national state, are a manifestation of consenting subjectivity, destined to affect all those to whom the image is addressed. Family photographs, taken during brief and hopeful visits home; photomontages of distant sweethearts enclosed in the heart of eternal love; votive photographs (but also paintings or etchings) <sup>-14</sup> that give the body in the form of an image to the divinity, so that the body in flesh and blood is preserved: these build a fictitious reality around the concrete reality of the obligation to take part <sup>-15</sup>.

It is not only war photography, in short, that performs its essential function as a device. All forms of photography practiced in the war and around it, for its duration, perform that function. Even in those rare cases of critical reception and careful reading, images tend to be already inscribed within the practices of a consenting subjectivity. They do this by pointing out to others who they aim to involve, pointing out the pain and atrocities of war, or pointing out the unjust plight of foot soldiers and junior officers. (Take for instance the brutal images that accompany Carlo Salsa's realistic and bitter notes in his *Trincee: Confidenze di un fante*, a book published for the first time in 1924 and then repeatedly and heavily censored) <sup>-16</sup>.

Of course these processes are contrary to the social interest of the subject and of the soldier. In line with the views of Agamben, the skillful manipulation of illusory experience, which photographers can engage in with confidence, achieves various objectives: not only does it make it possible to demonstrate the rightness and inevitability of a patriotic war, these images can also point out the eastern backwardness of the South, show the timelessness of exotic societies, and magnify the futuristic progressive destiny of a new form of Nation-State.

But the snapshot, portrait, landscape, and action photo are commonplace. What particularly strikes me and arouses my interest are those scattered and "spontaneous" images that turn up in surprising places. With various intents and aims, and using various means, styles and aesthetic standards, but always with the common end of eliciting consent, these images contribute to the celebration of the military life and its inevitability <sup>-17</sup>.

I will take as a small example of images of war without war or conflict a group of photographs taken in 1915-1918 by Saverio Marra, a Calabrian photographer whose work I have studied closely for a long time. I will discuss only three of about a hundred photographs in the collection. In these images of war without war and conflict, we see soldiers from the Great War, but also police, forest rangers, and tax collectors (uniforms are a significant element in the social universe of San Giovanni in Fiore and the Sila mountains where Marra worked) –<sup>18</sup>.

It is first of all interesting to note that all of the young photographer's initial professional experience took place in the war, and this gave him, a carpenter who had dropped out of school, the opportunity to grow culturally and socially. While he learned the rudiments of photography during colonial expeditions to Libya, in 1912-1913, it was in the war that he sharpened his skills. Also during the war, he met a doctor-captain, also a keen photographer, who helped have him assigned to the Health Service, at the field hospital in Latisana, near Udine. His rapport with the captain was strong – Marra became his attendant – and the young man learned from him further, more specialized photographic concepts, as well as chemistry, medicine and healthcare techniques. During the war, Marra took portraits of doctors and nurses, as well as many wounded soldiers, and, under the guidance of the officer, documented the effects of the fighting on the soldiers and, above all, the surgical operations carried out in the hospital. His exemplary journey outlines the birth of photography from military practices and describes its full adaptation to its function as a device.

The images (figs. 1-3) of men in military uniform were shot in the harsh, poor farming environment of San Giovanni in Fiore and the Sila mountains. It was a marginalized society in which strong social tensions were expressed in class micro-conflicts, protests and claims for land. Marra photographed his fellow citizens, often in relation to interpersonal and communication requirements associated with emigration, which had decimated and continued to decimate the village. The form of these photographs transcribes in images the social and individual tensions of the individual portraits, clearly and without pretense. Farmers, laborers, shepherds, craftsmen and forestry workers are portrayed in their social roles, with the tools of their trade in what appears to be a kind of micro census, as in August Sander's *People of the Twentieth Century (Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts)* –<sup>19</sup>. The device, in this case, appears to operate in other directions and to support visual and social orders of a different type and different level.

But the photographs of soldiers are there to testify to the widespread penetration of social strategies related to the war, and to the symbolic effectiveness (as Claude Levi-Strauss put it) that emanates from the device. Unlike other portraits in civilian clothes, in which feelings and emotions are shown, here impassivity and distrust dominate. It is the military mask that we see. This mask subtracts from the anonymous and undifferentiated universe of poor farmers and forestry laborers,



**01**

**Saverio Marra,**  
"Infantryman," 1915-1918.  
Glass negative, 18×13 cm.  
Saverio Marra Archive,  
Museo demologico  
dell'economia, del lavoro e  
della storia sociale silana,  
San Giovanni in Fiore  
(CS), Italy

**02**

**Saverio Marra,**

"Infantry corporal and his children," 1915-1918.

Glass negative, 18×13 cm.

Saverio Marra Archive,  
Museo demologico  
dell'economia, del lavoro e  
della storia sociale silana,  
San Giovanni in Fiore  
(CS), Italy



**03**

**Saverio Marra,**

"Infantry corporal and his wife," 1915-1918.

Glass negative, 18×13 cm.

Saverio Marra Archive,  
Museo demologico  
dell'economia, del lavoro e  
della storia sociale silana,  
San Giovanni in Fiore  
(CS), Italy





and re-assigns a form of subjectivity and, at the same time, a defined collective identity. The ostentation of the uniform, together with the inscrutability of the emotions that run through the body, have the duty of marking a recruitment, that is, indicating entry into a national community of which they have never really been a part. In this way, the image successfully identifies a consenting subjectivity. The ostentation of the uniform additionally inscribes the consenting person in an illusory space (a space that hesitates in the face of death or a return to the sad original condition). We also see this illusory space in the canvas with an exotic landscape (a relic inherited from another conflict, the colonial war): here it is used to sweeten the anodyne message that could emanate from the roughly painted anonymous canvas often seen behind the farmers, or in the disorienting background depicting harsh northern landscapes. The military status stands before a comforting scene of water and palm trees, not against snowy peaks and rugged cliffs. A cigar or cigarette between their fingers speaks of a possible reward, of status and small privileges acquired, in a world in which these luxury goods mean hard cash. The uniforms are basically neat, clean cloths, totally different from the poor patchwork of ordinary country garments. The resting arm suggests calm, self-control, and a sense of responsibility. And, the supreme fiction, when applicable, a wife and little children can be introduced into the new status. The harsh separation that awaits is exorcised by the eternal (perhaps so) presence on the kitchen dresser of the united couple. The male son? Still little more than a baby, he wears his middle-class Sunday best (as does his little sister, moreover, wearing the ancestral jewel which sanctions her condition of future bride with a dowry), but the little military-style hat and especially the gun, resting against his foot and held by the barrel, in a realistic imitation of a soldier at ease, express a need for continuity, for the possibility of replacement and continuation, for a new, illusory, consenting subjectivity.

—<sup>1</sup> Among the vast literature in Italian, see at least Bertelli / Bollati 1979, vol. 2, pp. 134-136 and sect. V; De Luna 1986, Fabi 1998, Isnenghi 2005, Schwarz et al. 1980. For a critical analysis of the historical and anthropological aspects governing the formation of national features, see Barberis 2004, Bollati 1983, Isnenghi 2010, Isnenghi 2014, Viroli 2001.

Historical newspapers and magazines also provided crucial information. In particular, the ideological and cultural configurations that we analyze here are expressed with extreme clarity in “L’Illustrazione Italiana” for the years 1915-1918. For the larger international context, see Brothers 1997 (which pays particular attention to the British and French perception of civil Spanish

war covered by the national press); Marien 2003, esp. the chapter *A New Vision (1918-1945)*, mostly dedicated to WWII; Roberts 2014, which discusses several national situations. Marra’s photographs are published here courtesy of the Museo demologico di San Giovanni in Fiore and Pietro Mario Marra, whom I warmly thank.  
—<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Didi-Huberman 2003. It is not possible

—  
Note

here to discuss the issue of the impossibility of representing the Holocaust, which has received extensive scholarly attention. The genocide of WWII resulted in a radical reconsideration of the ways in which representation is conceived and memory organized. As Andrea Minuz has observed, “dealing with these images [of the Holocaust] is [...] a task that seems inseparable from the interrogation of the codes of representation in which they are configured” (Minuz 2010, p. 57). A key reading on this topic is offered by Jean-Luc Nancy in a illuminating essay in which among other things says: “What the camps will have brought about is, above all, a complete devastation of representation or even of the possibility of representing, to such an extent that there is not even any way to represent this devastation or to put representation to its own test – to the test, that is, of making what is not of the order of presence come to presence.” (Nancy 2005 [2002], p. 34). The same professional photojournalists, following the allied forces, such as Lee Miller, Margaret Bourke-White, George Rodger, Eric Schwab, Germaine Krull, Walter Rosenblum, were shocked by what they observed, not only because of what they witnessed (“I have met my share of evil people and know what they are capable of. I was at the liberation of the camp of Dachau...,” Rosenblum, in Fugenzi 2014, p. 5), but

also because of the change in visual culture which they sensed was gaining headway. An example is the Rodger’s position regarding the visions of the concentration camp of Bergen Belsen in Germany, in 1945. He summed this up in a passage, repeatedly mentioned, commenting on some images: “It was not even a matter of what I was photographing, as what had happened to me in the process. When I discovered that I could look at the horror of Belsen – 4.000 dead and starving lying around – and think only of a nice photographic composition, I knew something had happened to me and I had to stop. I felt I was like the people running the camp – it didn’t mean a thing.” (Hill / Cooper 2002, p. 89). On Rodger’s experience in the broader context of the problems of war photography, see Clarke 2009, pp. 180 ff. Basic texts outlining the issues that I discuss in this note are Zelizer 2001 and Hirsch 2004. Important considerations can be found in Berkowitz 2015. For a philosophical reflection on the ethos of unrepresentability, see Agamben 1998. Exemplary, in witnessing the importance of photography in relation to the authoritarian apparatus and World War II, is the work by Brecht 1955. On this work, see the reflections of Fragapane 2015.

– <sup>3</sup> Deutscher had expressed, during a series of seminars and lectures held at the University of Cambridge, at the end of the 1960s, the idea of

World War II as a further step in a European civil conflict. This idea was taken up by Nolte 1987. See also Pavone 1991.

– <sup>4</sup> Cfr. Foster Wallace 2009, esp. pp. 143-166.

– <sup>5</sup> “We cannot say that an image is this or that. We can only say: this image *works* like this or like that, *transforms* this or that, *becomes* like this or like that”: Didi-Huberman, in Augé / Didi-Huberman / Eco 2011, p. 72 (my translation).

– <sup>6</sup> The term *dispositif* is variously translated into English, even in the same book, as “device,” “machinery,” “apparatus,” “construction,” and “deployment”.

– <sup>7</sup> Foucault provided a definition of the term in a 1977 interview: “what I’m trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements” (*The Confession of the Flesh*, in Gordon 1980, pp. 194–228).

– <sup>8</sup> The notion of device is crucial in Foucault’s work. Important considerations on the perspective I adopt here can be found in Foucault 1966, Foucault 1971, Foucault 1975 and Foucault 1976. For a critical analysis, see Redaelli 2011.

–<sup>9</sup> Cf. Deleuze 1992 [1989] and Agamben 2009 [2006]. I quote here two paragraphs from their respective works in which the concept of device is closely related to Foucault's thinking: "We belong to social apparatuses [*dispositifs*] and act within them. The newness of an apparatus in relation to those that have gone before is what we call its actuality, our actuality. The new is the current. The current is not what we are but rather what we are in the process of becoming – that is the Other, our becoming-other" (Deleuze 1992 [1989], p. 164). "I shall call an apparatus literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings. Not only, therefore, prisons, madhouses, the panopticon, schools, confession, factories, disciplines, judicial measures, and so forth (whose connection with power is in a certain sense evident), but also the pen, writing, literature, philosophy, agriculture, cigarettes, navigation, computers, cellular telephones and – why not – language itself, which is perhaps the most ancient of apparatuses – one in which thousands and thousands of years ago a primate inadvertently let himself be captured, probably without realizing the consequences that he was about to face. [...] I call a subject that which results

from the relation and, so to speak, from the relentless fight between living beings and apparatuses" (Agamben 2009 [2006], p. 14).

–<sup>10</sup> My implicit reference to the Nation-State – understood as the result of continuous strategies of foundation and re-foundation, manipulative dynamics, continuous processes of inclusion and exclusion, aggregation and differentiation; as an ordering force of hidden social principles, order and rule; such as political legitimacy – is based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and on the main currents of contemporary anthropology in the English-speaking world.

The course that Bourdieu taught at the Collège de France from 1989 to 1992 remains crucial (Bourdieu 2012), but see also the chapters and paragraphs dedicated to the State in Bourdieu 1997. Among the vast literature, see also Faubion 1993, Gellner 1983, Handler 1988, Herzfeld 1986, Herzfeld 1997 and Herzfeld 2009.

–<sup>11</sup> Even if paradoxically different regimes of photographic practice correspond to this unitary function. See Sorlin 1997, ch. 3.4.

–<sup>12</sup> In other words, it is important to construct an ideology of war as a system of "socially shared beliefs," following Geertz 1964, pp. 47-76.

–<sup>13</sup> Clear evidence supporting the perspective that I am proposing is offered by the spontaneous truces

at Christmas or Easter, which, beginning with the Christmas of 1914, took place between opposing sides of combatants (particularly on the Western Front between Germans, Belgians, British and French, but also on the Eastern front between Austrians and Russians). The truce was accompanied by handshakes, shared Christmas carols, the exchange of gifts, and football matches. Ignored by the press of the nations involved in the conflict (occasional mention was made in newspapers in the United States, at the time a neutral country), these episodes were violently deprecated, censored and suppressed by the chiefs of staff, the military authorities and senior officers, to the extent that they ceased in 1916. There are many photographs witnessing the ceasefires and their methods, which were banned for decades, and have come to light only recently, as a result of a new pacifist sensibility. For this aspect of the Great War, see Jürgs 2003 and Weintraub 2001.

–<sup>14</sup> It is highly significant, in my view, that the silver-plated figurine that has come to 'represent,' *in conspectu divinitatis*, the soldier per se of every subsequent war has the uniform, helmet and weapons of a World War I infantryman. I recently saw one in Ottaviano, near Naples, offered on the occasion of the war and Italian 'peace mission' to Iraq. If for example

we think about the skills and inventiveness of Neapolitan craftsmen who, in their 'traditional' earthenware votive statuettes, were able to place Maradona in Purgatory for having missed a penalty during a football game of the local team, we cannot but reflect on the persistence and weight of the Great War in the Italian popular imagination.

– 15 For an example, see the "Banca dati degli ex-voto pittorici piemontesi" curated by Renato Grimaldi and Roberto Trincherò at the University of Turin, Facoltà di Scienze dell'educazione e della formazione, in collaboration with the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, whose exhibits linked to World War I can be seen online at <<http://www.bibliolab.it>> (05.09.2016). See also the paper presented by Barbara Bracco (*Scampare la guerra, riparare il trauma. Le fotografie votive del Fondo Cesare Caravaglio dell'Archivio della Guerra di Milano*) to the Conference *Il dolore, il lutto, la gloria. Rappresentazioni fotografiche della Grande Guerra fra pubblico e privato, 1914-1940*, organized by the Società Italiana per lo Studio della Fotografia and the University of Bologna, Ravenna, 26-28 May 2016.

– 16 Salsa 2011. Excellent supplementary reading are the memoirs of Rabito 2007, pp. 45-135. See also the well-known work by Friedrich 1924: introducing the brutal sequence

of images that should divert humanity from war, Friedrich strongly emphasizes the need to create a community of those consenting to refusal ("I refuse. Our will is stronger than violence, bayonet and rifle! Repeat these words 'I refuse!' [...] All the capital in the world, kings and presidents can do nothing against all the peoples that together shout: 'we refuse!'" (p. 17).

– 17 Perfect examples were shown in an exhibition organized by the Laboratorio di Storia at the Fondazione Museo Civico di Rovereto in 2015-2016. The exhibition, which included a vast range of photographs commissioned and taken in various places, described the immense suffering experienced by refugees from Trentino in preparation for and during the war, when huge numbers of people were deported to allow the battle zones to be prepared and kept deserted, with an attentive eye to the national and ethnic dimension of the Italian, Slovenian and Austrian populations. The extent of the inevitability, acquiescence and docility emerges strongly, next to the discriminatory violence of the event and the suffering linked to it. The exhibition has been published in a catalogue. See Rovereto 2015.

– 18 In 2010, I had an opportunity to show some of Marra's photographs in Ravenna during the Conference *Forme di famiglia, forme*

*di rappresentazione fotografica, archivi fotografici familiari*. I would like to refer to my paper presented on that occasion. On the figure and work of Marra, see Faeta 1984 and Faeta 2007.

– 19 Sander 1962.

- Agamben 1998** Giorgio Agamben, *Quel che resta di Auschwitz. L'archivio e il testimone*, Turin, Bollati-Boringhieri, 1998.
- Agamben 2009 [2006]** Giorgio Agamben, *What Is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009 [original Italian edition 2006].
- Barberis 2004** Walter Barberis, *Il bisogno di patria*, Turin, Einaudi, 2004.
- Berkowitz 2015** Michael Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography in Britain*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2015.
- Bertelli / Bollati 1979** Carlo Bertelli / Giulio Bollati (eds), *Storia d'Italia, Annali 2, L'immagine fotografica, 1845-1945*, Turin, Einaudi, 1979.
- Bollati 1983** Giulio Bollati, *L'italiano. Il carattere nazionale come storia e come invenzione*, Turin, Einaudi, 1983.
- Brothers 1997** Caroline Brothers, *War and Photography: A Cultural History*, London and New York, Routledge, 1997.
- Bourdieu 1997** Pierre Bourdieu, *La misère du monde*, Paris, Seuil, 1997.
- Bourdieu 2012** Pierre Bourdieu, *Sur l'Etat. Cours au Collège de France (1989-1992)*, edited by Patrick Champagne / Remi Lenoir / Franck Poupeau / Marie-Christine Rivière, Paris, Seuil, 2012.
- Brecht 1955** Bertolt Brecht, *Kriegsfiabel*, Berlin, Eulenspiegel Verlag, 1955.
- Clarke 2009** Graham Clarke, *The Photograph. A Visual and Cultural History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Deleuze 1992 [1989]** Gilles Deleuze, *What Is a Dispositif?*, in *Michel Foucault, Philosopher*, trans. Timothy J. Armstrong, Brighton, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992, pp. 159-168 [original French edition 1989].
- De Luna 1986** Giovanni De Luna, *L'Italia in guerra*, in Omar Calabrese (ed.), *Italia moderna. Immagini e storia di un'identità nazionale*, vol. 2, *Dall'espansione alla Seconda guerra mondiale 1900-1939*, Milan, Electa, 1986, pp. 163-190.
- Didi-Huberman 2003** Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images malgré tout*, Paris, Minuit, 2003.
- Augé / Didi-Huberman / Eco 2011** Marc Augé / Georges Didi-Huberman / Umberto Eco, *L'expérience des images*, Paris, INA, 2011.
- Fabi 1998** Lucio Fabi, *Storia fotografica della società italiana. La prima guerra mondiale, 1915-1918*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1998.
- Faeta 1984** Francesco Faeta (ed.), *Saverio Marra fotografo. Immagini del mondo popolare silano nei primi decenni del secolo*, with essays by Marina Malabotti and Marina Miraglia, Milan, Electa, 1984.
- Faeta 2007** Francesco Faeta (ed.), *Gente di San Giovanni in Fiore. Sessanta ritratti di Saverio Marra*, Florence, Alinari, 2007.
- Faubion 1993** James Faubion, *Modern Greek Lessons. A Primer in Historical Constructivism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Foster Wallace 2009** David Foster Wallace, *This Is Water. Some Thoughts, Delivered on a Significant Occasion, About Living a Compassionate Life*, New York, Little, Brown and Company, 2009.
- Foucault 1966** Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines*, Paris, Gallimard, 1966.
- Foucault 1971** Michel Foucault, *L'ordre du discours. Leçon inaugurale du Collège de France*, Paris, Gallimard, 1971.
- Foucault 1975** Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, Gallimard, 1975.

- Foucault 1976** Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 1, *La volontà de savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1976.
- Fragapane 2015** Giacomo Daniele Fragapane, *Brecht, la fotografia, la guerra*, Milan, Postmedia, 2015.
- Friedrich 1924** Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege! Guerre à la guerre! War Against War! Oorlog aan den Oorlog!*, Berlin, Freie Jugend, 1924.
- Fugenzi 2014** Manuela Fugenzi (ed.), *They Fight With Cameras. Walter Rosenblum in WWII from D-Day to Dachau*, Rome, Postcart, 2014.
- Geertz 1964** Clifford Geertz, *Ideology as a Cultural System*, in David Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, New York, Free Press, 1964, pp. 47-76.
- Gellner 1983** Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Gordon 1980** Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1980.
- Handler 1988** Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Herzfeld 1986** Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, New York, Pella, 1986.
- Herzfeld 1997** Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy. Social Poetics in the Nation-State*, New York, Routledge, 1997.
- Herzfeld 2009** Michael Herzfeld, *Evicted from Eternity. The Restructuring of Modern Rome*, Chicago-London, The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Hill / Cooper 2002** Paul Hill / Thomas Cooper (eds), *Dialogue with Photography*, Stockport, UK, Dewi Lewis Publishing, 2002.
- Hirsch 2004** Joshua Hirsch, *After Image: Film, Trauma and the Holocaust*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2004.
- Isnenghi 2005** Mario Isnenghi, *Le guerre degli Italiani. Parole, immagini, ricordi, 1848-1945*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005.
- Isnenghi 2010** Mario Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Strutture ed eventi dell'Italia unita*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2010.
- Isnenghi 2014** Mario Isnenghi, *Il mito della grande guerra*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2014.
- Jürgs 2003** Michael Jürgs, *Der kleine Frieden im grossen Krieg*, München, Bertelsmann Verlag, 2003.
- Marien 2003** Mary Warner Marien, *Photography. A Cultural History*, London, Laurence King Publishing, 2003.
- Minuz 2010** Andrea Minuz, *La Shoah e la cultura visuale. Cinema, memoria, spazio pubblico*, Rome, Bulzoni, 2010.
- Nancy 2005 [2002]** Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Ground of the Image*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2005 [original French edition 2002].
- Nolte 1987** Ernst Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917-1945. Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus*, Frankfurt am Main, Propyläen, 1987.
- Pavone 1991** Claudio Pavone, *Una guerra civile. Saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza*, Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 1991.
- Rabito 2007** Vincenzo Rabito, *Terra matta*, Turin, Einaudi, 2007.
- Redaelli 2011** Enrico Redaelli, *L'incanto del dispositivo. Foucault dalla microfisica alla semiotica del potere*, Pisa, ETS, 2011.
- Roberts 2014** Hilary Roberts, *Photography in 1914-1918*, in Ute Daniel et al.,

*International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, Berlin, Freie Universität, available online at <<http://www.1914-1918-online.net/>> (10.08.2014).

- Rovereto 2015** Laboratorio di Storia di Rovereto (ed.), *Gli Spostati. Profughi. Flüchtlinge. Uprchlici, 1914-1919*, with essays by Diego Leoni and Paolo Malni, Trento, La Grafica, 2015.
- Salsa 2011** Carlo Salsa, *Trincee. Confidenze di un fante*, Milan, Mursia, 2011.
- Sander 1962** August Sander, *Deutschenspiegel. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Gütersloh, Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1962.
- Schwarz et al. 1980** Angelo Schwarz *et al.*, *La guerra rappresentata*, special issue, "Rivista di storia e critica della fotografia", vol. 1, n. 1, October 1980.
- Sorlin 1997** Pierre Sorlin, *Le fils de Nadar. Le "siècle" de l'image analogique*, Paris, Éditions Nathan, 1997.
- Viroli 2001** Maurizio Viroli, *Per amore della patria. Patriottismo e nazionalismo nella storia*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2001.
- Weintraub 2001** Stanley Weintraub, *Silent Night. The Story of the World War I Christmas Truce*, London, Pocket, 2001.
- Zelizer 2001** Barbie Zelizer, *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, London, Arthlon Press, 2001.