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Deportations from the Perspective of the Remaining Jews and the Surrounding Population

Narratives, Pictures and Films as Reflections of Social Reality

Abstract: This article focuses on the behavior and perception of the remaining Jews and the surrounding population during the deportation of the Jewish population within the German Reich between 1941 and 1945. This research interest emphasizes that the disenfranchisement and exclusion of the Jewish population and the resulting isolation, deportation and murder, were not only a political, but rather a social process. Therefore, deportations should also be considered as such. For this purpose, I analyze the processes before, during and after the deportation. Contemporary diaries and oral history interviews as well as deportation notices and other deportation artifacts of the impending deportations are the main sources to be examined in this article. The consideration of the gaze of the others further illustrates the objectified exclusion of the deported Jews. Spatial visibilities of the deportation that took place were also the sealing of apartments or rooms, accumulations of suitcases or signs on the doors like 'Here resided the Jew/the Jewess …'. Through the analysis of film material, the visual visibility of the deportation will also be taken into account.

Introduction

How did the remaining Jews experience the deportations of their former Jewish cohabitants, neighbors, their family and friends? In the collective memory of the remaining Jews and the non-Jewish population surrounding them, specific images have influenced and consolidated the perception of the deportations. Victor Klemperer described in his diary on July 13, 1942, the following deportation situation in the Henriettenstift at Güntzstraße 24 in Dresden that functioned as a '*Judenhaus*' ('Jews house').[1]

1 The results of this article are part of a dissertation project that deals with life in the so-called *Judenhäuser* in Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1945.

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> Beautiful Dresden – handsome squares, gardens, the Henriettenstift, an imposing building, also has a large garden. In a fairly gloomy entrance hall: a mélée, no space to move, chaos. Tied-up mattresses, trunks, evacuation luggage [...] piled up everywhere, in between them the toing and froing of star-wearing helpers, half the Community seemed to be helping the old ladies.[2]

Visually comprehensible is the same 'toing and froing' illustrated in a film, which shows another roundup at the Güntzstraße 24 in Dresden. The film of about 30 minutes documents how the Jewish inhabitants of the building were brought to the '*Judenlager*' *('Jewish Camp') Hellerberg* on November 23 and 24, 1942. In the first few minutes, the inhabitants with '*Yellow Stars*' on their coats carry suitcases, with their names written on them, together with pieces of furniture to a truck (see fig. 1[3]). Hellerberg, which was built in cooperation with Zeiss-Ikon AG and served as a labor and residential camp between November 1942 and March 1943, was located approximately seven kilometers outside of Dresden. The construction of the camp was initiated by the company and the local Gestapo.[4] Thus, it was not a site of the deportations in the classical sense. Rather, Dresden-Hellerberg was "the first evidence of a labor and residential camp that was supported jointly by the Gestapo and private industry and at the same time regarded as a collection camp for deportation".[5]

Fig. 2[6] shows a situation on the streets of Würzburg: Jewish men and women walking as a group, fully packed with bags and suitcases, through the streets to the train station. On the left side of the picture, two uniformed policemen are visible guarding the march; on the right side, passers-by can be recognized. Both, the still of the film and the photo, show different narratives of the expulsion of the Jewish population from Germany, each claiming interpretive sovereignty. The first picture is part of a film that illustrates the chaos but also the external control of the situation whereas the second photo exemplifies the

2 Victor Klemperer: *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years 1942–1945*, New York: Modern Library, 1999, 99.

3 "Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg", 2016.518, RG-60.0199, USHMM Film Archive, Washington. Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn599830. Last accessed: 21.01.2022.

4 Cf. Wolf Gruner: *Jewish Forced Labor Under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938–1944*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 78–79.

5 Ibid., 79.

6 "Wuerzburg, Germany, German policemen leading deportees to the train station", 25.04.1942, 7900/53, Yad Vashem Photo archive, Jerusalem. Available at: https://photos.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&displayType=image&strSearch=7900/53. Last accessed: 21.01.2022.


Fig. 1: Still image from the film Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg (timescale: 10:02:28:17), Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten (StSG). **Fig. 2:** Jews being marched through the streets of Würzburg to the train station, Staatsarchiv Würzburg.

deportation as a structured process that underlies a planned force and imposed external logic.

As different as the various deportations were, so different were the resulting images surrounding the deportations of the Jewish population from German cities from 1941 onward. Based on this, my research interest is driven by the question of how the deportees perceived the different situations. Precisely, this refers to their interactions in the various places of deportation: the houses from which people were deported, the streets on which they were brought to the train stations, the assembly points where they had to wait for the trains 'to the East', the train stations from where they were sent off and the assembly camps that served as the last stop, as well as the social relations in these various places. The questions guiding the research are hereby: How did the Jews who stayed behind and the non-Jewish population perceive the deportations? Which social relations become visible in the different (micro-)situations of the deportations? More abstractly, this is followed by the sociological question of which normatively valid order is reflected during the deportations? These questions aim at the inherent social order of the deportation. These questions emphasize that the disenfranchisement and exclusion of the Jewish population and the resulting isolation, deportation and murder, were not only a political, but rather also a social process.[7] Consequently, in this article, the main focus will be on the social inter-

7 Frank Bajohr bases his research on Alf Lüdtke's analysis of Nazi rule as 'social practice'. By this, Lüdtke means that the sharp separation of rulers and ruled is not considered, but rather the diverse forms of action and behavior in society need to be analyzed. Cf. Frank Bajohr: "Vom antijüdischen Konsens zum schlechten Gewissen: Die deutsche Gesellschaft und die Judenverfol-

actions during the deportation. For this purpose, the relationship constellations between all people involved in the deportation must also be considered.

In order to answer my research questions, first, I will examine written testimonies of those who participated in the deportations as observers. Secondly, I will analyze narrative perceptions, visual material and specific artifacts to show how the phenomena of exclusion and deportations were objectified in the apartments and '*Judenhäuser*', where the deportees had to live before they were deported. For that matter, the central assumption of this contribution is that the analysis of narratives and visual material on the deportation is suitable for reconstructing the specific situation of the deportation and for presenting the behavior of the people involved in a differentiated way. In the following, I will illustrate this primarily with examples from the deportations from Dresden and Leipzig[8] but also with reference to other cities, for example Hamburg or Würzburg. To strengthen my argumentation, I use a sociological approach. As a methodological basis for the analysis of the narratives,[9] images, films, and artifacts I apply the documentary method of Ralf Bohnsack.[10]

In the first part of this article, I briefly discuss the contextual and methodological basis of my reflections to unfold thematic considerations to deportations as the research object. Afterwards, I present the course of the deportations and thus the events surrounding them as a social situation. On this basis, I analyze the moving and still images as well as perceived impressions. Finally, in a summary, the view will be directed to the individuals in the deportation event and the chances, potentials, and difficulties of visual material on the deportations will be concretized.

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gung 1933 – 1945", in idem. and Dieter Pohl (eds.): *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis: Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten*, Munich: Beck, 2006, 20 – 79, here 16.

8 In this article, I will not describe the specific deportation events of the different cities. This has already been done by other studies. I will only go into the specifics of the urban deportations to the extent that it supports my argument.

9 All interviews of the Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg were anonymized by the Forschungsstelle.

10 The method examines not only what is represented but above all how the documents, images and films are created and produced and how they are used in everyday life. The focus is on the reconstruction and interpretation of immanent (imaginable) meaning of narrative, interaction and discourse processes, but also of visual experience. The aim of this method is to reconstruct the action-guiding experiential knowledge in the everyday lives of individuals and groups in order to identify the interplay of social structures and individual or collective actions. See Ralf Bohnsack, *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung: Einführung in qualitative Methoden*. Opladen: Budrich, 2010; Ralf Bohnsack, *Qualitative Bild- und Videointerpretation: Die dokumentarische Methode*. Opladen: Budrich, 2011.

Deportations: Contextualization and Methodological Considerations

For the sociological question of the concrete spatial experiences of the deportations, the respective destination of the deportations is subordinated. Therefore, it seems appropriate to examine not only the deportations from the German Reich to the ghettos and killing sites in German occupied Central and Eastern Europe[11] between 1941 and 1945 (and locally limited deportations in 1940), but also to analyze the enforced expulsions from Jews from their homes and the incarceration in camps within Germany, which preceded the actual deportation, such as the expulsion to Hellerberg. Of course, the fundamental differences between deportations to 'the East' and expulsions within Germany should not be concealed here. For example, people were allowed to take furniture with them during the latter, as the film material on the forced relocation to the Dresden Hellerberg camp shows. Contrary, in case of the deportations to 'the East' in general only a suitcase with a strictly limited kg quantity was allowed. There were also differences in the extent to which people were informed about the destinations; so the Dresden Jews in the film knew exactly where they would be taken. As different as the various contexts are, I will concentrate in this article on the concrete spatial experiences and thus I will focus on the publicly visible eviction from the deportees out of their last inhabited apartment and the reactions of those witnessing it.

Furthermore, this article focuses on the deportations from the so-called *Judenhäuser* ('Jews houses'). The 'Law on Tenancies with Jews' of April 30, 1939, created the basis for dissolving tenancies with Jewish tenants without notice. As a result, certain buildings in most large cities were declared '*Judenhäuser*'. In these tenant buildings families and individuals, who were often strangers to each other, had to share an apartment. An exact number of the Jewish population that had to live in such houses is difficult to reconstruct and thus remains uncertain. Nevertheless, the numbers for certain cities can be reconstructed. For example, Beate Meyer estimates that in mid-1942 about half of the Jews still living in Hamburg had to live in '*Judenhäuser*'.[12] This concentration fundamentally

11 See Wolf Gruner, "Von der Kollektivausweisung zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland (1938–1945): Neue Perspektiven und Dokumente", in *Die Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland: Pläne – Praxis – Reaktionen 1938–1945*, edited by Birthe Kundrus, and Beate Meyer, 21–62. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004.

12 See Beate Meyer, "Judenhäuser", in *Das jüdische Hamburg: Ein historisches Nachschlagewerk*, edited by Kirsten Heinsohn, 130–132. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006, 132.

changed the urban configuration because, in many cities, these houses were centered in certain residential quarters. Thus, places of "Jewish presence"[13] were created.

This approach allows two extensions of the research focus. Deportations are not defined by their destination, but rather by characteristic events in those places where they began. In addition, the focus on the '*Judenhäuser*' brings deportation situations into view, in which a larger number of people were fetched at the same time and at the same place. These deportations were necessarily more visible in the cityscape and attracted more attention, since a large number of people, accompanied by local police and Gestapo, had to vacate their apartments and houses.

The development of a sociological perspective on the roundups in Nazi Germany up to 1941 evokes a specific methodological approach that combines the various sources, that means both visual and narrative descriptions of what was perceived. Thereby, I argue for a close connection of visual material with these descriptions.

In this contribution, three types of sources and their particular approaches are considered: (1) moving and still images as social practice, (2) narrative passages by the deportees and the remaining Jews as descriptions of the sensually perceived and (3) artefacts as materialized human expression. I will analyze visual material of the deportations, such as film documents and photographs. For this purpose, I will primarily examine the film material which shows how the Jews from the '*Judenhäuser*' in the Güntzstraße 24 and Sporergasse 2 in Dresden were brought into the camp at Hellerberg between November 23 and 24, 1942, but also photographs from the Yad Vashem archive, for example, showing the deportation of the Würzburg Jews.[14] Based on written testimonies, diaries or interviews I reconstruct statements about the perception of the visual impressions of the deportation, specifically the collection from domicile. The artifacts that were produced specifically around the situation of the deportations constitute a third group of material to be analyzed. These documents, lists, labeled suitcases and sealed doors are analyzed in their impact on the participants. Here, both

13 "Holocaust ghettoization involved both the removal of 'Jews' from large swathes of the city (and thus the creation of spaces of 'Jewish absence') and their relocation to one particular place – the ghetto (and thus the creation of spaces of 'Jewish presence')." Tim Cole, "Ghettoization", in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, edited by Dan Stone, 65 – 87. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 80.

14 For the deportations from Würzburg and other Franconian cities see the contribution by Alfred Eckert in this volume.

the described artifacts in the diaries, memories or interviews and the depicted objects in pictures and in the film come into focus.

Previous research on Holocaust images and films in general and the deportations in particular has unfolded two analytical problems. First of all, photographs of the Holocaust have often been treated rather superficially in scholarly literature as they were primarily used as illustrations, thus they have hardly been the focus of historical analysis in the past.[15] Only recently this has changed. A second aspect that anyone researching visual material must deal with is that, as with all sources, the specific history of creation must be reflected. Photographs and films do not show much about the life of the victims but more about the view of the perpetrators. While the diaries and interviews focus on the perspective of the Jewish bystanders during the deportations, the film and visual material clearly show the perpetrator's perspective. Nevertheless, I argue in this article that also objectified statements about the content of pictures presumably taken by perpetrators are possible, which neither refer purely to the intention of the author nor to the – impossible to ascertain – perceptions of the portrayed.

The Perceived Impressions and Specific Visual Images Around Deportations

Raul Hilberg stated in *The Destruction of the European Jews:* "Each city has its own deportation history, and each history reveals a great deal about the mechanics of the deportations and the psychological environment in which they took place".[16] It is not the aim of this article to unify the different deportation histories. Rather, I intend to highlight similarities, without disguising the differences.[17]

15 Cf. Norbert Haase, Stefi Jersch-Wenzel and Hermann Simon: "Die Erinnerung hat ein Gesicht: Anmerkungen zu einem Filmdokument", in idem. (eds.): *Die Erinnerung hat ein Gesicht: Fotografien und Dokumente zur nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung in Dresden 1933–1945*, Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1998, 9–18, here 11. See also the contribution by Christoph Kreutzmüller in this volume.

16 Raul Hilberg: *The Destruction of the European Jews*, volume 2, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961, 320.

17 For a general view see Dieter Pohl: "Die Deportation von Juden aus dem Deutschen Reich 1941–1943", in Albrecht Liess (ed.): *Wege in die Vernichtung: Die Deportation der Juden aus Mainfranken 1941–1943*, Munich: Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Archive Bayerns, 2003, 57–72; Birthe Kundrus and Beate Meyer (eds.): *Die Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland: Pläne – Praxis – Reaktionen 1938–1945*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004, 20; Andrea Löw: "Die frühen Deportati-

The deportations differed, for example, in their organization – i.e., with the actors and institutions involved –, their concrete processes, and the destinations.

The actual deportations were preceded by rumors of forced relocation. The deportation included these rumors, the roundups and raids itself, the transfer to assembly camps and the deportation to the various ghettos, concentration and extermination camps. In addition, the events after the deportation were also part of the actual process. The deportation from a situationist perspective – i.e. the specific processes within the social situation of the deportation with the present and absent participants, the spatial setting and the atmosphere –, appeared as followed.

The first rumors about possible deportations represent an initial moment of the deportation situation. The news that other Jewish residents in other cities or neighborhoods would be deported spread,[18] but they knew neither where they would be deported to nor what was waiting for them at the destination.[19] These rumors become particularly clear in the diary of Victor Klemperer.[20] In general, the transports were not organized city by city or district by district, but rather simultaneously throughout the Reich and over a longer period of

onen aus dem Reichsgebiet von Herbst 1939 bis Frühjahr 1941", in "*Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre, vielleicht sein Leben*". *Deutsche Juden 1938–1941*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010, 59–76; Roland Maier: "Die Verfolgung und Deportation der jüdischen Bevölkerung", in Ingrid Bauz, Sigrid Brüggemann and Roland Maier (eds.): *Die Geheime Staatspolizei in Württemberg und Hohenzollern*, Stuttgart: Schmetterling-Verlag, 2013, 259–304. For a rather regional view on Hamburg, see Frank Bajohr (ed.): *Die Deportation der Hamburger Juden: 1941–1945*, Hamburg: Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte/Institut für die Geschichte der Deutschen Juden, 2002²; idem.: "Die Deportation der Juden: Initiativen und Reaktionen aus Hamburg", in Beate Meyer (ed.): *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der Hamburger Juden 1933–1945: Geschichte, Zeugnis, Erinnerung*, Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2006, 33–41; Beate Meyer: "Die Deportation der Hamburger Juden 1941–1945", in idem., Verfolgung und Ermordung der Hamburger Juden, 42–78; idem.: "'Ihre Evakuierung wird hiermit befohlen'. Die Deportation der Juden aus Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 1941–1945", in Rainer Hering (ed.): *Die "Reichskristallnacht" in Schleswig-Holstein: Der Novemberpogrom im historischen Kontext*, Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2016, 257–276. For a regional view on Leipzig and Dresden, see Ellen Betram: "Die Deportation aus Leipzig und Dresden am 21. Januar 1942", in Wolfgang Scheffler and Diana Schulle (eds.): *Buch der Erinnerung. Die ins Baltikum deportierten deutschen, österreichischen und tschechoslowakischen Juden*, Munich: Saur, 2003, 799–831.

18 Cf. interview by Mery Sagal, interview #45075, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

19 Cf. Else R. Behrend-Rosenfeld and Siegfried Rosenfeld: *Leben in zwei Welten: Tagebücher eines jüdischen Paares in Deutschland und im Exil*, Munich: Volk, 2011, 108.

20 Cf. Victor Klemperer: *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years 1933–1941*, New York: Modern Library, 1999, 615. In his diary entry from December 5, 1941, he wrote: "But the 'evacuations' continue, it can hit us any day."

time. In Leipzig and Dresden all residents of certain Jewish houses received deportation orders one after the other. Thus, after each of the nine deportations from Leipzig between 1942 and 1945, the number of '*Judenhäuser*' was reduced.[21] Reports about the deportations found their way to the other Jewish city residents. In general, no news was received from those who had already been deported, and if there were some, it usually was a short letter or postcard saying that everything was fine and that those who had stayed at home should send food and clothing.[22] From what is known about letters from other camps it can be assumed that they were written mostly by order and were also censored. When Else Behrend received the first news about the deportation of the Jews from Stettin and Pommern to Lublin in early 1940, she was shocked how 'primitive' the former neighbors had to live there and that they suffered from frostbites.[23]

And then suddenly the terrible news turned from a rumor affecting others to a fact in one's own life. The own deportation was initiated by the deportation order. In many cases, people had only a few days or even hours to leave their apartments or rooms in the '*Judenhäuser*', as Eva Wollenberg remembered.[24] Controlled by the Gestapo, the former residents left the building, carrying their suitcases in front of passers-by to the trucks or in the direction of the train stations from which they were driven to an unknown place.[25] In some cases people walked to the assembly camps, in other cases they were taken to the points by omnibuses, streetcars or trucks.[26] Henry Musat who was also forced to live in a '*Judenhaus*' and observed a deportation described a scene he wit-

21 For Leipzig, a total of nine deportations can be documented between 1942 and 1945. Cf. Manfred Unger: "Juden in Leipzig: Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung in archivalischen Quellen 1933 – 1945", in *Archiv Mitteilungen*, 38/5, 1988, 149 – 156, here 151; deportation lists, RG-14.035, reel 11 and 14, USHMM Archive, Washington.

22 Cf. Behrend-Rosenfeld and Rosenfeld, Leben in zwei Welten, 110.

23 Cf. ibid., 108. The transport went first to Lublin from where the deportees were taken to various smaller towns, mainly to Piaski.

24 Cf. interview by Eva Wollenberger, interview #19675, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

25 Cf. "Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg", 2016.518, RG-60.0199, USHMM Film Archive, Washington. Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn599830. Last accessed: 21.01.2022.

26 Cf. interview by Richard Marx, interview #15534, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation; Akim Jah: *Die Deportation der Juden aus Berlin. Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik und das Sammellager in der Großen Hamburger Straße*, Berlin: be.bra Wissenschaft, 2013, passim.

nessed in Leipzig in January 1942, in which the deportees walked through the streets to the assembly camp with everything they could carry.[27]

Bystanders watched or insulted those departing. Inge Weinke remembered how bystanders applauded as the bedridden residents of the Warburg-Stift nursing home in Hamburg were escorted to trucks.[28] Regina Rubinstein reported how some children clapped and shouted: 'The Jews go to Palestine!'[29] Most of the bystanders, however, ignored the situation; very few expressed pity or indignation.

The local Gestapo was responsible for making sure that the departure went as planned and inconspicuous as possible. Their last movement in the once familiar city led the deportees to one of the deportation assembly camps.[30] For example, on February 16, 1943, Leipzig Jews were taken to the 32nd elementary school at Yorckstraße 2/4, which had also served as an assembly place during the previous deportations. Here they met former neighbors and friends, who wanted to help them one last time with food or blankets.[31] Regina Rubinstein remembered, for example, how her aunt Marta Höriger helped her family. This aunt brought sandwiches to the assembly camp in Leipzig on the day of the deportation but was immediately sent away by the Gestapo or the police on guard duty under threats.[32]

From the assembly camps, people were brought to the train stations by buses, trucks or on foot and were then deported to the ghettos and camps in passenger or freight trains.[33] Some of the deportations were accompanied by physical and psychological violence, or they rather differed in the degree of brutalization: "The removal of the old people's home to Theresienstadt brutal [sic].

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27 Cf. interview by Henry Musat, interview #1889, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

28 Cf. interview by Inge Weinke, interview #34, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (FZH).

29 Cf. interview by Regina Rubinstein, interview #44414, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

30 Letter from Ernährungsamt, 17.01.1942, collection: Ernährungsamt, No. 6, p. 121, City Archive Leipzig.

31 Cf. interview by Rolf Kralovitz, interview #29877, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

32 Cf. interview by Regina Rubinstein, interview #44414, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

33 Cf. Gruner, Kollektivausweisung, 21; interview by Renata Adler, interview #12684, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation; interview by Regina Rubinstein, interview #44414, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

Truck with benches, crowded together, only the tiniest bundle could be taken, cuffs and blows".[34]

As can be seen impressively from Victor Klemperer's diary, those Jews who stayed behind had no illusions about their own fate. He knew that they had been spared only this time. He walked past the sealed rooms of their former roommates and remembered how just days before they had sat together with them in the evenings and talked.[35] The sealings[36] and the signs 'Here resided the Jew/Jewess ...'[37] made him aware of the situation again and again.[38] From now on he waited in the '*Judenhaus*' without illusions that they too would face the same fate as the former roommates and neighbors who had just departed. For some Jews, this was precisely the moment when they went underground.[39]

Basically, the atmosphere surrounding the deportations was characterized by uncertainty, differing degrees of physical and psychological violence, and perceptible exclusion, which was also reflected and spatially objectified in the deportation itself.

Deportation Situation as Depicted in the Film "Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg"

Even though the pickup of the Dresden Jews was not a deportation to the concentration or extermination camps, the case of the incarceration at Hellerberg camp shows exemplary moments of the exclusion of Jews from a situational perspective. By examining specific sequences of the film, the immanent meaning of narrative, interaction, and discourse processes can be reconstructed and interpreted. The specific deportation situation will be traced in its components through the transition from 'what' to 'how'. In a first step the aim is to work

34 Klemperer, I will bear witness 1942–1945, 90 (diary entry from 02.07.1942).

35 Cf. ibid., 132 (diary entry from 25.08.1942).

36 Cf. interview by Eva Wollenberger, interview #19675, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

37 Cf. Klemperer, I will bear witness 1942–1945, 29 (diary entry from 16.03.1942).

38 Cf. interview by Erwin Michalies, interview #568, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH.

39 Cf. Wolfgang Benz: "Überleben im Untergrund 1943–1945", in idem. (ed.): *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933–1945. Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1993[3], 660–701; idem. (ed.): *Überleben im Dritten Reich: Juden im Untergrund und ihre Helfer*, Munich: Beck, 2003.

out which themes and subthemes are presented in the film.[40] Subsequently, the contents of the film are interpreted.

The film of about 30 minutes shows the deportation of the Dresden Jews from two '*Judenhäuser*' to the Hellerberg camp on November 23 and 24, 1942. Each section of the film has a title reflecting the respective deportation situation: *Abholen des Gepäcks* (picking up the luggage), *Entlausung* (delousing), *Ankunft am Hellerberg* (arrival at Hellerberg), *Einige Beispiele jüdischer Ordnung* (some examples of Jewish order). Cameraman was Erich Höhne, born in Dresden in 1912, who worked at Zeiss Ikon in Dresden from 1942 onwards under the direction of Walter Riedel, the head of the film laboratory.[41] The function and the reception of the film is not conclusively clarified; so there is no information about who ordered the production of the film.[42] The transport from the '*Judenhäuser*' Sporergasse 2 and Güntzstraße 24 comprises a total of 31 scenes and lasts three and a half minutes, so the proportion of these scenes takes up only a tenth of the entire film. All scenes were recorded without sound. In addition, some filmic settings, such as the camera position, were repeated. The film does not allow any assumptions to be made about the chronological sequence of events.

In the first six scenes, there are no people to see. After the title of the first section of the film, 'Picking up the luggage', has been faded in, two images are shown: the street name "Sporer-Gasse" and the house number 2. Then, in the fourth scene, three overflowing garbage cans are shown, with things to be disposed of lying next to them.[43] In the seventh to seventeenth scenes, Jewish inhabitants with the 'Yellow Star' on their coats carry suitcases with names, pieces of furniture and household articles to a truck.[44] Repeatedly, men with the star on their jackets carry belongings out of the house in the Sporergasse and go back into the house. Two men wearing hats and trench coats face each other at the house entrance and watch (or rather guard) this process.

A long shot is usually chosen as the image section, whereat the camera filming inclines from above. Thus, the camera is not at eye level with the people being filmed. In some scenes, the camera follows the movements of the persons,

40 Cf. Bohnsack, Qualitative Bild- und Videointerpretation, 56–58.

41 Cf. Haase, Jersch-Wenzel, and Simon, Die Erinnerung hat ein Gesicht, 11–12.

42 Cf. ibid., 12.

43 Cf. "Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg", 2016.518, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) Photo archive, Washington. Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn599830. Last accessed: 21.01.2022. Timescale: 10.00.15 till 10.00.47.

44 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.00.47 till 10.01.54.

which indicates that it is not a consistently fixed still camera.[45] In the following scene, the camera changes the position to a more ground level location.[46] This scene shows only the footpath and the body of a man, but not his face. A 'Yellow Star' is attached to his clothing. He carries suitcases with white-painted names to the truck. In addition, an unknown pedestrian is walking by in the background. In the following scene, the position of the camera is a bit higher up, but at first one can only see the lower half of the people. During this scene, the camera moves upwards so that the upper half of the people is becoming visible.[47] For the first time, a person looks directly into the camera. The next two scenes show close ups of suitcases with names and addresses being taken away from a person that cannot be identified and a piece of fabric on a board with the inscription "Kinderbett für's Lager"[48] (crib for the camp) as well as a rack with wheels.[49] The camera setting is fixed in these scenes. The cameraman then films from inside the house entrance to the outside while men carry belongings into a truck. Conspicuous is a man who stands at the entrance and seems to be observing the procedure. A man with an umbrella passes the house entrance and seems to take no notice of the proceedings (see fig. 4).[50]

The following scenes show the deportation of the residents of the '*Judenhaus*' Güntzstraße 24. There are a total of four different camera positions. In the first position, the camera is at ground level diagonally behind the truck at the other side of the street.[51] In these scenes, people carry laced bags or suitcases to a truck. In addition, two other categories of people can be seen here: those who seem to be rather in control of the process and those passing by such as a woman with a small child in her arms.[52]

Similar to the first shot, the camera in the following scene is positioned diagonally behind the truck across the street. However, the scene is shot from a more distant location so that the entrance of the forecourt to Güntzstraße 24 is now visible. During the scene, in which several people carry the belonging to a truck, the camera moves in the direction of the truck. It seems to be very windy so that a man's hat flies off and he and another man run after it.[53]

45 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.00.47 till 10.01.41.
46 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.01.41 till 10.01.54.
47 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.01.47 till 10.01.54.
48 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.02.05.
49 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.01.54 till 10.02.08.
50 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.02.08 till 10.02.14.
51 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.02.15 till 10.02.22, 10.02.37 till 10.02.56, 10.03.34 till 10.03.39.
52 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.02.49 till 10.02.56.
53 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.03.19 till 10.03.34.

In a third position, the camera is placed at ground level outside the house and directed towards the entrance of the building. In this shot, the camera films how people with 'Yellow Stars' on their clothes carry packages out of the house and how others enter the house again empty-handed. The peculiarity here is that due to the position of the camera, the people coming out look directly into it.[54]

In the fourth shot, the camera is positioned diagonally behind the truck but films from the sidewalk. Here several people can be seen stowing the belongings carried out of the house in the truck; one person is in the truck.[55]

The mentioned scenes are designed to seemingly capture an 'ordinary' situation. The images are not initially specified by written additions; only later in the film there is a section that is introduced with the cynical sentence 'Some examples of Jewish order'. Nevertheless, the antisemitic character is clear, especially in view of the fact that overflowing garbage cans are shown at the beginning of the film.

The focus of these sequences lies on three groups of actors: First of all those persons who are marked with a 'Yellow Star' on their clothing and who, for the most part, take on the task of carrying the belongings out of the houses. A second group form those who do not wear a 'Yellow Star' but nevertheless stay longer at the depicted places. These persons – most likely members of the Gestapo or block guards – observe the situation. The third group are the passers-by, none of them stopping. With a few exceptions where the filmed persons look into the camera, the cameraman and the persons do not interact directly with each other.

(In)Visibilities of the Deportation Situation

In the following, I direct my analytical focus to three moments in the chronology of time to show how written memoirs, artifacts and non-verbal expressions materialized uncertainties and exclusion in the situation of the deportation. Although these processes are always intentional and directed – after all, they are conditioned by the Nazi policy of persecution and deportation – they also have unintended and contingent consequences. First, I consider the uncertainty inherent before the actual deportation, which also manifested itself visually. Subsequently, I will look at the specific situation of the deportation itself. The social relations between the present actors and the exclusion of the Jews were

54 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.02.22 till 10.02.37, 10.02.56 till 10.03.10.

55 Cf. ibid. Timescale: 10.03.10 till 10.03.19, 10.03.39 till 10.03.44.

objectified through the averting and pitying gaze of the non-Jewish bystanders. Finally, the spatial consequences of the deportation will be examined.

Before the Deportation: Materialized Change Between Certainties and Uncertainties

The deportations were characterized by constant uncertainty. This was caused by the fact that temporary certainty was often quickly expired by opposing orders. In their memoirs, survivors very often write about the problematic handling of these permanently changing conditions associated with the deportations:

> Lissy Meyerhof unexpectedly included among those to be evacuated. Furniture confiscated for auction. Transport (to Poland or Russia) scheduled for November 27, postponed at the last moment, it is said until January. No one knows any detail, not who will be affected, nor when, nor where to. Every day news from many cities, departure of large transports, postponement, then departures again, sixty-year-olds, without sixty-year-olds – everything seems arbitrary. Munich, Berlin, Hanover, Rhineland [...]. The army needs the trains, the army has released trains [...]. Everyone wavers, waits from day to day. Today an urgent communication from the National Association: Who has war decorations? Will that be of any use against deportations?[56]

Through *bulletins* at the building of the Jewish Community or *personal deportation orders*, the remaining Jews in German cities were informed that they were being 'evacuated' or would have to 'emigrate' ('*abwandern*'). Esra Jurmann, who lived as a child in a '*Judenhaus*' in Dresden, recalls the official wording:

> You are scheduled for evacuation transport on [...] January 20, 1942. You are allowed one piece of luggage per person. You must deposit 150 Reichsmarks for the trip. We again emphatically point out the regulation that strictly forbids the transfer of Jewish property.[57]

Victor Klemperer, who had to live with his wife in a house for Jews and non-Jews in 'mixed marriages', drew attention to a similar aspect in his diary:

> Kätchen gave me the documents to read that are handed out to those listed for transportation. Their property is confiscated, they have to make an inventory on printed forms. These forms go into the most wretched detail: "Ties ... shirts ... pajamas ... blouses ...[58]

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56 Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1933–1941, 612 (diary entry from 28.11.1941).

57 Interview by Esra Jurmann, interview #36824, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation. Translation by the author.

58 Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1942–1945, 12 (diary entry from 09.02.1942).

However, certainty existed only with regard to the deportation itself taking place – the destination and detailed purpose of the deportation usually remained unclear to the Jews. The accompanying uncertainty was therefore not resolved by the lists and individual deportation orders. Lucille Eichengreen from Hamburg, for example, remembered that the deportation order meant for them that they might be sent to Poland, but could continue their lives there with some degree of normality.[59]

This uncertainty manifested itself visually. Victor Klemperer's description of the "tied-up mattresses, trunks, evacuation luggage" and the "toing and froing of star-wearing helpers"[60] was already cited above. In addition, on November 30, 1941, he wrote in his diary:

> Chaotic conditions in the deportation business; transports leave, are cancelled, leave after all. Those designated drag their suitcases to the station, drag them back, wait – in Hanover the women from an old people's home are sitting on their suitcases.[61]

Of course, Klemperer's description cannot be generalized to all deportations in the German Reich – after all, he describes a specific situation in November 1941. However, it illustrates an important point that can be abstracted. Here, too, uncertainty about chaotic conditions materializes as the people are moving through the streets with their suitcases, heading for ever-changing destinations.

Another visible sign of this was the objectification of chaos because of the uncertainties of the place to which they were being taken. Regarding the luggage and what to take with them, there was a high level of uncertainty among the deportees. Elena Bork remembered that her mother packed canned food,[62] Regina Rubinstein that her mother forbade packing mattresses.[63] Inge Weinke memorized how she helped the elderly in the Warburg-Stift to pack and label their suitcases in the course of their deportation. She sewed a lady's fur coat into a muff so that she could take it with her.[64] Thea Meixner was surprised, for example, that a woman, while packing her suitcase, absolutely wanted to take perfume with her but forgot to do so:

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59 Cf. interview by Lucille Eichengreen, interview #52330, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

60 Both quotes Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1942–1945, 99.

61 Ibid., 614 (diary entry 30.11.1941).

62 Cf. interview by Elena Bork, interview #112, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH.

63 Cf. interview by Regina Rubinstein, interview #44414, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.

64 Cf. interview by Inge Weinke, interview #34, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH.

> Mrs. Möllerich was insanely excited because she no longer knew which clothes to take with her. I can still hear her crying out: "For God's sake, I didn't pack my perfume". In 1943 we received pre-printed cards from the people of Litzmannstadt asking us to send them money. My father did that, but then we heard nothing more.[65]

Another example illustrates the uncertainty associated with the deportation even more concrete. Victor Klemperer wrote in his diary on July 16, 1942:

> Seliksohn here yesterday afternoon. He now appears to live in large part from his work as a hairdresser and he goes about it with great eagerness. He did the hair of the whole Henriettenstift before they were transported, this coming Monday afternoon he will deal with all the inhabitants of our house.[66]

Thus, the uncertainty about the destination and purpose of the impending deportation could be seen on the faces of the inhabitants of the '*Judenhäuser*'. Besides the haircut, the choice of clothing for the deportation is also illustrative: *"And all pull on, one on top of the other, as many clothes, pieces of underwear and socks as they possibly can"*.[67]

Thea Meixner remembered the deportations from the Israelite Hospital in Schäferkampsallee in Hamburg, which at that time functioned as a '*Judenhaus*', that she witnessed as a 26-year-old. She described a pictorial situation that most probably happened on February 23, 1945, when 194 people in so-called mixed marriages were deported: "When a transport was announced, the first thing that was done was to move the beds into the corridor because of the expected suicide cases".[68] She did not describe personal circumstances or the suffering of particular people, rather she recalled the image of the beds being pushed into the corridors as a visible sign for the general desperation of people in the face of the impending deportations. Meixner does not recall the exact function of these beds. Constitutive for the situation before and even during the deportation was thus the permanence of uncertainty.

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65 Interview by Thea Meixner, interview #11, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH. Translation by the author.

66 Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1942–1945, 102 (diary entry from 16.07.1942).

67 Ibid., 131 (diary entry 23.08.1942).

68 Interview by Thea Meixner, interview #11, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH. Translation by the author.

During the Deportation: Exclusionary Gaze – Between Contempt, Aversion and Pity

The non-Jewish population knew about the deportations but mostly tried to *dispute* and *deny* what was happening. This was illustrated in the film material of the deportations from Dresden. The pictures do not allow any guess about why those passing by did not pay attention to the deportation, i. e. showed neither approval nor disapproval.[69] They rather leave room for speculations about how this indifference affected the situation itself and those who were to be deported. Any communication requires a common definition of the situation by every participant. If a certain situation does not cause outrage or revolt, this does not necessarily imply consent, but it does send a certain signal to those involved. "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences"[70] according to the Thomas theorem. For the evaluation of the situation, it did not matter whether the bystanders agreed with or were actually disgusted by or opposing the deportation. Thus, the situation was determined by the fact that there was no significant resistance from the non-Jewish population. As long as there were no visible or perceivable protests against the deportations, they could be conducted without major problems. The possibilities for protest or even resistance of the deportees themselves were limited to going underground or fleeing to avoid deportation.

The Jewish Community felt separated from the rest of the population during the Nazi period – and they were indeed spatially and socially disconnected. This perceived status as strangers was reinforced by two different processes that related to the gaze of others during the deportations: On the one hand the refused or ignored gaze and on the other hand the compassionate gaze of others. Two stills, taken from the film material of the deportation from Dresden, show how passers-by hurriedly walk by and do not give the scene a glance (see fig. 3[71] and fig. 4[72]). In fig. 4, it is apparent that a man nevertheless attends the scene as an observer. However, this person can be seen several times, which indicates that he is not a

69 Frank Bajohr examined whether the deportations were perceived as casual everyday incidents or as extraordinary events. As a result, he described the aura of the sensational and extraordinary that surrounded the deportations and attracted especially young people. Cf. Bajohr, Vom antijüdischen Konsens zum schlechten Gewissen, 48 – 49.

70 William Issac Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas: *The Child in America: Behavior Problems and Programs*, New York: Knopf, 1928, 572.

71 Cf. Norbert Haase, Stefi Jersch-Wenzel and Hermann Simon: "Momentaufnahmen aus einem Film", in Haase, Jersch-Wenzel, and Simon, Die Erinnerung hat ein Gesicht, 19 – 86, here 26.

72 Cf. ibid., 31.

passer-by, but rather a police officer in civilian clothes. During all scenes, this person monitors the events without interacting with the people who carry the belongings to the trucks or even helping them. Passers-by however completely ignored the situation of deportation. The 'we didn't know about it!'[73] rather meant 'we knew, but we didn't want to know about it!'

Fig. 3 and **Fig. 4:** Still images from the film *Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg* (timescale: 10:01:05:24 and 10:02:14:08), StSG.

Another picture, already referred to by historian Konrad Kwiet, shows the image of a young girl who witnessed the deportation of the Jews from Kerpen.[74] There was a second form of reactions by the non-Jewish population that the excluded perceived: contact through the other's expression of solidarity or condolences. However, these forms of interaction also only cemented the status of the excluded in their perception that they were no encounters of equal value. The averted gaze increased the distance and separation of the participants from each other and at the same time objectified this social relationship status.

As a result, the exclusionary look was the visible sign for those involved (i. e. both for the guarding authority and for those deported) that there would be no obstacles for the process of deportation on part of the population. The question of whether the deportations were a public or a non-public process is not the central one, even though in this case it can clearly be described as a public process. The deportations were visible to all; it was not under the cover of night or in secret that the perpetrators had to act. The film and the descriptions show that it

73 Cf. Peter Longerich: *"Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!" Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945*, Munich: Siedler, 2006.

74 Cf. Konrad Kwiet: "Without Neighbors: Daily Living in Judenhäuser", in Francis R. Nicosia (ed): *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany: Dilemmas and Responses*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2010, 117–148, here 130.

was not necessary to deport the Jewish population in secret. It rather shows that even a societal crime, which the deportations undoubtedly were, can be turned into a public event through denial and ignorance. Acceptance and even support, mostly illustrated by the active observation passers-by, were further possible reactions of the non-Jewish population.

In most situations, the deportees apparently avoided eye contact with the passers-by. However, it is also noticeable that the deportees looked directly into the camera at several points in the film.[75] It is clear from both the written narratives and the film footage that the people did not interact with the passers-by. The few gazes of those who carry the belongings from the former houses reveal that they were aware of the recording. These brief interactions between the filmed and the camera – it remains open to what extent the cameraman was seen by the filmed – illustrates a distanced relationship.

After the Deportation: Sealing As a (Failed) Attempt to Make Jews Invisible

The next step after picking-up the Jews was the deprivation of the assets of the deportees. With the deportation of the Jewish population, the social process of deportation was not yet completed. What remained were their belongings like furniture and objects of value in uninhabited rooms, which lingered as traces of their former owners. These remaining belongings made it impossible to immediately eliminate the memory of the Jewish deportees; they were still present through these belongings.

The ongoing deportation was also accompanied by another sign: the names on the suitcases. In a longer shot, they can also be seen in the film (see fig. 5[76] and fig. 6[77]). Klemperer noticed them in his hallway as well:

> Her trunk, with "Jenny Sara Jacoby" in big letters, is already in the hall. That is all that is left to her of the grand villa. Beside it is another suitcase: "Rosa Sara Eger." She is the old mother of [Robert] Eger, who is married to an Aryan; they own the big clothing store.[78]

75 Cf. "Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg", 2016.518, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) Photo archive, Washington. Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn599830. Last accessed: 21.01.2022. Timescale: 10:01:53 and 10:03:08.

76 Cf. Haase, Jersch-Wenzel, and Simon, Momentaufnahmen aus einem Film, 28.

77 Cf. ibid., 29.

78 Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1942–1945, 137 (diary entry from 04.09.1942).

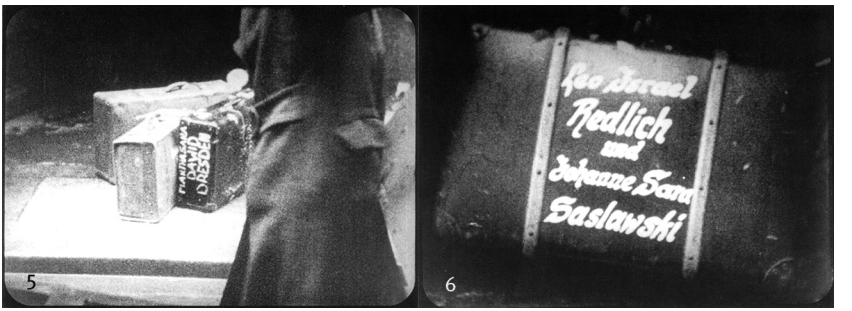

Fig. 5 and **Fig. 6:** Still images from the film *Deportation of Dresden Jews to Hellerberg* (timescale: 10:01:42:13 and 10:01:55:07), StSG.

If a resident or an entire family had to move out of their room because of the deportation order, the Gestapo usually sealed the rooms, in Dresden even with a 'No Entry!'sign.[79] Victor Klemperer described his visit to the '*Judenhaus*' Strehlener Straße in his diary on March 16, 1942:

> So, yesterday afternoon in the Judenhaus in Strehlener Strasse. A notice on every door: "Here resided the Jew Weiler ..." – "Here resided the Jewess ...". These are the people who have been evacuated, whose household goods have been sealed up and are gradually being removed.[80]

Seven months later, he reported in his diary the now *familiar* sight of these signs:

> Today in beautiful, mild autumn weather went to see Neumark a second time because of the hat left me by Neumann, this time successfully: I met Neumark at one o'clock, and we chatted for a whole hour. The beautiful heirloom was hanging in the hall, on the room to the side the familiar seal, more precisely two red fiscal stamps holding a strip of brown paper stretched across door and doorframe and the familiar "here lived the Jew ... and the Jewess ...".[81]

Objectivations of the deportation that had taken place were the sealing of and the signs on the doors. The seals[82] and the signs made the remaining Jews

79 Cf. interview by Erwin Michalies, interview #568, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH.
80 Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1942–1945, 29 (diary entry 16.03.1942).
81 Ibid., 151 (diary entry 07.10.1942).
82 Cf. interview by Eva Wollenberger, interview #19675, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation; interview by Hans-Joachim Recker, interview #15, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH.

aware of the situation repeatedly.[83] Thus, from now on, they waited without illusions that they too would meet the same fate as the former roommates who had just departed. They walked past the sealed rooms of their former roommates and remembered how they had sat and talked with them every evening just days before.[84] "Before a deportee goes, the Gestapo seals up everything he leaves behind. Everything is forfeit."[85]

However, the sealing also had another important latent meaning, which must be examined in connection with the remaining belongings of the deportees. Paradoxically, the sealing involved two opposing processes: On the one hand the sealing amounted to making the Jews and the former Jewish presence invisible. Therefore, it aimed at preventing all remembrance. Artifacts have inherent, often symbolic meaning. The seal is an artifact of the Gestapo; only they were entitled to enter a room after sealing it and then to seal it again. Sealing limited who could enter the rooms of the former residents. To seal something is the act of closing something in such a way that others can no longer gain entry unnoticed.

On the other hand, the process of sealing itself and the subsequent asset liquidation process were designed to redistribute Jewish property and thus to recall the former Jewish presence. The phrase 'We didn't know about it' is thus once again exposed as false. The exploitation of the property of the deportees as the institutionalized process of asset taking (*Vermögensverwertung*) was an integral part of the deportations. Frank Bajohr negotiates this social practice under the term 'interest activation through persecution of Jews'.[86] Around this social process of exploitation arose special visual impressions. Thereby this was not only an economic process of the robbery but involved also a temporal social reorganization. In Leipzig, for example, there were approximately 14 days between deportation and realization of assets, with the exception of the deportation on January 13, 1944, when 43 days passed between deportation and auction.[87] During these days, the rooms, apartments, and houses of the deportees were usually sealed. Sealing has so far been negotiated in scholarly discourse more as a proc-

83 Cf. interview by Erwin Michalies, interview #568, Werkstatt der Erinnerung at the FZH.

84 In his diary, Victor Klemperer wrote on 25 August 1942: "The sealed ground floor, the solitude in the house – we were never especially intimate with Elsa Kreidl – the ending of our evening visits downstairs: la maison juive morte." (Klemperer, I Will Bear Witness 1942–1945, 132).

85 Ibid., 9 (diary entry from 21.01.1942).

86 Cf. Bajohr, Vom antijüdischen Konsens zum schlechten Gewissen, 30–34.

87 Cf. Thomas Ahbe: "Das Versteigerungshaus Hans Klemm und die Ausplünderung der Leipziger Juden im 'Dritten Reich'. Opfer – Täter – Nutznießer", in Susanne Schötz (ed.): *Leipzigs Wirtschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Akteure, Handlungsspielräume, Wirkungen 1400–2011*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2012, 305–325, here 311.

ess of 'Aryanization' and economic plunder of the Jews than of a process that reveals a social order of exclusion.[88]

Concluding Remarks

This analysis of the visually perceived during the deportations can contribute to answering the question how the Jews who stayed behind and the non-Jewish population experienced the deportations. The analysis of the deportations has shown that processes of exclusion, antisemitism and insecurity materialized in it.

The deportations were recognizable as deportations in many ways. It was not an 'ordinary' procession, rather the deportees were aware that they were going to an unknown place where their situation would probably worsen. The deportations were accompanied by uncertainty and insecurity for the Jews who stayed behind as well. Both contemporary diaries and oral history interviews as well as deportation notices and other deportation artifacts were examined in this article. Spatial visibilities of the deportation that had taken place were also the sealing of apartments or rooms, accumulations of suitcases, or signs on doors ('Here lived the Jew …'). They all illustrate the inherent uncertainty of the deportation situation, but also the exclusion and the attempt by the Nazis to banish the deported Jews from memory. These moments can be reconstructed by analyzing the visual material or the situational perceptions of the participants reflected in diaries or oral history interviews. Subsequently, insights into spatial reassignments and regionalization can be made.

But even for the surrounding non-Jewish population the deportations were recognizable as deportations. Accordingly, the attempts to normalize this situation or to integrate this deportation into everyday life required active efforts by those involved. The situation of the deportation in itself contains a fundamental antisemitic attitude, which becomes apparent through the various ways in which the individual actors distance themselves from the situation, for example through the various forms of gaze. The people who were to be deported were not strangers like forced laborers. They were former friends, colleagues, and neighbors. Distancing oneself from people who were once known to one because of their 'Jewish' status required an active distancing.

88 In Leipzig, the auctions and sealings were mainly organized by the Chief Financial Office Leipzig (Oberfinanzpräsidium Leipzig). Ahbe, Versteigerungshaus Hans Klemm, 311; Christiane Kuller: *Finanzverwaltung und Judenverfolgung: Die Entziehung jüdischen Vermögens in Bayern während der NS-Zeit*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008.

In this article, I focused more specifically on the space and the visual aspects of the deportations by examining narrative descriptions, visual material, and artifacts. Images, photographs, and films involve also specific risks, because they pursue an inherent political purpose, can manipulate and burn themselves deeply into the social (national) memory. Therefore, more intensive research is needed on the role and intent of film and visual material surrounding the various types and aspects of deportations.