

**A Study of Images in German Films:
Deconstructing the Nazi Body Aesthetic**

By

Theresa Larine McFarland
BA, University of Victoria, 2003

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Department of History

© Theresa Larine McFarland, 2007
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

A Study of Images in German Films:
Deconstructing the Nazi Body Aesthetic

By

Theresa Larine McFarland
BA, University of Victoria, 2003

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Thomas Saunders, (Department of History)

Co-Supervisor

Dr. Angus McLaren, (Department of History)

Co-Supervisor or Departmental Member

Dr. Annalee Lepp, (Department of Women's Studies)

Outside Member

Dr. Lianne McLarty, (Department of Film Studies)

Additional Member

Supervisory Committee

T. Saunders

Co-Supervisor

A. McLaren

Co-Supervisor or Departmental Member

A. Lepp

Outside Member

L. McLarty

External Examiner

Abstract

Films and their images function to disperse representations of the body that encourage viewers to adopt or reject certain represented appearances and actions. Using this proposition, this thesis explores how notions of the body are visualized in filmic images, such as film posters and photographs used for promotional purposes. In particular, this thesis focuses on how German identities from the end of the Weimar Republic through to the early years of the Third Reich were represented in filmic images. This paper questions whether the introduction of Nazi ideals and the establishment of a state controlled film industry led to new representations of the body in filmic images or whether there is continuity between these images and those of the Weimar Republic. Exploring which bodies, taking into account representations of race, class, gender and sexuality, were privileged and which were vilified in filmic images gives one an idea of how bodies were encouraged to conform socially in the years leading up to and during the Third Reich.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee.....	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Introduction: The Question of Nazi Film?	1 - 17
Chapter 1: Deconstructing the Represented Body	18 - 42
Chapter 2: Lights, Camera, Actions!	43 - 58
Conclusion	59 - 61
Bibliography	62 - 66
Figures 1 - 40	

Introduction

In recent years there has been much focus on the role of the cinema in controlling the masses during the Third Reich. The Ministry of Propaganda, which was controlled by Joseph Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister, is credited with manipulating Germans by controlling the images they saw on screen, including images of an idealized Nazi body aesthetic. The notion of a particular Nazi body aesthetic has emerged as a major theme in scholarly work. The study of films from the Third Reich has achieved a great deal of prominence in Film Studies, Sociology and History, particularly in the last twenty years, partially due to more recent cultural interest in the Nazi aesthetic. Academic focus on the Nazi body aesthetic is important if one hopes to understand how the body came to be of such paramount importance during the Third Reich, a time in which the male body was perceived as necessary for fighting and winning the war; the female body was perceived as essential for reproducing the 'German body'; and the Jewish, sexual or 'other' body was perceived as one of the major ideological pretexts for starting the Second World War and a body that needed to be destroyed. The idealized Aryan body type certainly was prominent in films created during the Third Reich; however, this does not necessarily mean that it was particular to the Nazis. Through an examination of film posters, promotional photographs and film pamphlets produced mainly in the late 1920s and 1930s, this thesis suggests that the notion of a Nazi body aesthetic specific to the Third Reich to some degree maintains the "legacy of National Socialist film,"¹ as a cinema that is at the same time vilified and glorified for its propagandistic intent and achievement. Furthermore, that approaching the films of the Third Reich as an isolated entity limits our understanding of the

¹ Anton Kaes, From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 8.

significance of a certain degree of continuity in terms of a privileged notion of the body from the culture and films of the Weimar Republic.

The body is at the forefront in almost all films, including those of Nazi Germany, which has both worked for and against the use of films as historical sources for approaching the body in history. As Kathleen Canning argues, "in studies of beauty, prostitution, witchcraft or female circumcision, for example, the body is so obviously present that it often seems unnecessary to comment upon or theorize its presence."² In much the same way that historians have attempted to access the body without using images, film historians have used images in films without historicizing the body. Film is a major area of historical inquiry where the body, including its aesthetics and actions, is so obviously present that it is often overlooked and can escape analysis altogether. Images of the body, produced in a specific time period, are a valid means through which historians can access a society's ideologies in relation to class, gender, sexuality and race. I suggest that putting the body at the forefront of an analysis of Nazi and Weimar film calls into question the existence of a specific Nazi body aesthetic, which is why this thesis focuses more on images from films, including film posters, photographs, and film pamphlets, than on the films themselves.

Historiography: The Question of Nazi Film

Approaching German films produced during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich with the body, as represented on film posters, photographs and pamphlets, at the forefront of analysis, as a means to explore apparent continuities between the two periods builds on a very extensive collection of analysis of both time periods' films by previous historians. One of the most significant advances

² Kathleen Canning, "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History," *Gender & History* 1999 11(3), 500.

in the study of films from the Third Reich was a shift towards highlighting the notion of 'Nazi film' as problematic. Is a 'Nazi film' one produced under the Third Reich or one promoting Nazi ideology? In the first approach, the notion of 'Nazi film' is directly connected to Hitler's period in power, such that any films released in Germany from the time of Hitler's ascendance to the Chancellery in 1933 up until the fall of the Third Reich in 1945 would be considered 'Nazi films'. While this might seem logical, it implies that they are a homogenous group representing the same ideologies, or that these ideologies are exclusive to the films from this time period. In a similar fashion, Linda Schulte-Sasse argues that the notion of a National Socialist narrative is dangerous, as it tends to "project homogeneity upon Nazism."³ Films are representative, to a lesser or greater degree, of the context in which they were produced, but this does not mean that all films from one time period should be considered homogenous.

Exploring 'Nazi film' as all films directly connected to Hitler's reign often leads to these films being approached in isolation, universally attaching them to the propaganda machine of Goebbels and the Third Reich. Eric Rentschler suggests that to many, "Nazi cinema is an infamous and abject entity; its most memorable achievement is the systematic abuse of film's formative powers in the name of mass manipulation, state terror, and world-wide destruction."⁴ Although I do not disagree that the Nazi state hoped to use film to manipulate the German population, like Rentschler, I question the historical value of approaching the cinema of the Third Reich as an 'abject entity,' a line of thought that can lead to distorted history. For example, Hilmar Hoffman argues that

³ Linda Schulte-Sasse, Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 11.

⁴ Eric Rentschler, The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Aftermath (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 2.

films of the Third Reich were involved in “‘mind-raping’ the masses,”⁵ making the films out to be aggressive propaganda. This argument leads to the historic ‘othering’ of the Third Reich cinema as universally representative of the Nazi propaganda machine and the denial of audience agency. Sabine Hake also warns of approaching films of the Third Reich as a homogenous display of Nazi propaganda, which she claims treats the films as the “ultimate Other of world cinema.”⁶ In this way, Hake rejects the strict distinction between propaganda and entertainment films that previous historians have identified. While it is important to keep in mind the context in which a film was produced, one cannot assume that each film was manipulated as propaganda to the same degree. Films from the Third Reich need to be approached in a more historically nuanced manner that pays closer attention to ideological subtleties, including both consistencies and inconsistencies in theme and imagery.

Instead of focusing on a time period as establishing what constitutes a ‘Nazi film’, some historians have focused on the role of ideology as the determining factor. Thomas Elsaesser, in his analysis of visual pleasure and Weimar cinema argues, “that it is the task of film history to clarify the points and circumstances under which the cinema was appropriated as an instrument of ideology.”⁷ Elsaesser is pointing out how at certain times film has been used as an instrument in the service of ideology but that this is not always the case and further highlights the importance of exploring a film’s connection to specific ideologies. This allows for distinguishing overt propaganda

⁵ Hilmer Hoffman, The Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism, 1933-1945 (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), 94.

⁶ Antje Ascheid, Stardom and Womanhood in Nazi Cinema (Temple University Press, 2003), 219.

⁷ Thomas Elsaesser, “Film History and Visual Pleasure: Weimar Cinema,” in Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices, ed. Patricia Mellencamp and Philip Rosen (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1984), 69.

from less manipulative films. However, identifying only specific films as propaganda is dangerous in that it implies that certain films are what David Stewart Hull refers to as ideologically “innocent.”⁸ Hull argues that most films of the Third Reich were free of ideology and that “only a small number of films made during the Third Reich contained propaganda.”⁹ I would question whether any film could be ‘innocent’ or free from propaganda as one should not ignore the ideology inherent in all films and not only in the overtly propaganda films of Goebbels and the Nazis. As Erwin Leiser writes, “of the approximately 1,150 feature films produced during the Third Reich, only about one-sixth were straight political propaganda. But every film had a political function.”¹⁰ Schulte-Sasse, who rejects the distinction made by historians between propaganda and entertainment films produced during the Third Reich, points out that no film can “escape the political, since we’ve come to understand the inscription of ideologies in classical realist narrative form, regardless of what a director might have intended.”¹¹ By highlighting the existence of certain ideological consistencies between Weimar and Third Reich filmic images, this thesis will show that there existed subtle continuities between the two time periods’ ideologies of the body and will bring into question the notion of Nazi film as an isolated entity.

While no film can escape the political, more recent studies of Nazi films have focused on their ideological contradictions instead of consistencies. As various historians have argued, there is no film that is ideologically wholly fascist. In fact, Schulte-Sasse points out how even the most

⁸ David Stewart Hull, Film in the Third Reich: A Study of the German Cinema, 1933-1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 16.

⁹ Hull, Film in the Third Reich, 36.

¹⁰ Erwin Leiser. Nazi Cinema, Trans. Gertrud Mander and David Wilson (London: Secker and Warburg, 1974), 12.

¹¹ Schulte-Sasse, Entertaining the Third Reich, 3.

overt anti-Semitic Nazi films, including *Jud Süß* (1940), have ideological contradictions.¹² In much the same manner, Ascheid argues that actresses' bodies, both on and off the screen, represent the Nazi "state's ideological dysfunctionality"¹³ through uncertainties and inconsistencies between the character's onscreen plot and the actresses' lifestyle. Hake also makes a similar point when she writes that "popular cinema of the Third Reich must be approached through its inherent contradictions."¹⁴

However, films from the Third Reich are not the only films to have ideological contradictions. Tom Saunders, who has explored Weimar film and history, also suggests that there is a connection between contradictions in films and society, in the sense that Weimar films "represented... the ideological and social confusion of the nation."¹⁵ Breaks in ideological consistency have therefore been interpreted as representative of ideological contradictions in Nazi society and social confusion in Weimar society. What can we make of these contradictions and their relationship to films from different times and contexts? What function do these contradictions serve?

Ideological inconsistencies could be interpreted as ideological safety valves in the sense that audiences might not have responded well to consistently overt ideology in films, since the latter was not always consistent with real life. Films needed to represent this tension, but even with inherent

¹² To read more on Schulte-Sasse's argument that *Jew Süß* (1940) compromises the Nazi message, see Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, 4.

¹³ Ascheid, *Hitler's Heroines*, 21.

¹⁴ Sabine Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), x.

¹⁵ Thomas Saunders, "History in the Making," in *Framing the Past: the historiography of German cinema and television*, ed. Bruce A. Murray and Christopher J. Wickham (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 58.

contradictions a film could still end ideologically secure. Ideological safety valves were essential so that films could maintain a balance between entertainment and ideology.

The degree to which ideological and other connections between films produced in the Weimar and Nazi periods existed has also been explored by historians. Many prominent historians have focused on the lack of continuity between the films of the two time periods. Rentschler argues that the Ministry of Propaganda, following the demise of the Weimar Republic, attempted to “remake German film culture in the service of remaking German culture and the nation’s political body.”¹⁶ Likewise, Hoffman suggests that there are only “superficial parallels”¹⁷ between Nazi symbols and the leftist symbols of the Weimar Republic, and instead focuses on the connection between Nazi and Hollywood cinema, a connection which Rentschler also makes.

Another way that historians have shifted away from the isolationist approach to the study of Nazi films, as all films produced between 1933 and 1945, is by exploring their connections to other times, particularly the Weimar period but also to the interwar Hollywood cinema. George L. Mosse, in his analysis of the intellectual world of the Third Reich, connects the social ideologies of the Nazis with those of the Weimar Republic when he writes,

The prewar [mid-1930s] developments were also of great importance; for it was during this period that the ideology was elaborated and diffused... these (ideological) presuppositions gave men and women their idea of their place in the country and society. It determined their image of themselves and the world in which they lived.¹⁸

¹⁶ Rentschler, The Ministry of Illusion, 16. Rentschler further argues, “Nazi film was at war with German cinema’s own past as well as with Hollywood competitors, many of whom were emigrants from Weimar.” Rentschler, The Ministry of Illusion, 212.

¹⁷ Hoffman, The Triumph of Propaganda, 27.

¹⁸ George L. Mosse, Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), 5-6.

I agree with Mosse that the late Weimar Republic was a significant time which witnessed the ‘elaboration and diffusion’ of Nazi ideologies and furthermore that this was in part accomplished through the medium of film. I would emphasize the significance of the connection between ideological diffusion and the way in which Germans ‘determined their image of themselves.’ In much the same manner, Hake argues that the films of the Third Reich, although marked by subtle yet important changes, purposefully projected an “appearance of continuity”¹⁹ with the culture of the Weimar Republic. In fact, Hake argues that it was these continuities that “sustained cinema after 1933,”²⁰ and therefore the continuity between the films of the two periods, particularly for my purposes in terms of filmic images, was itself functional in that the cinema drew on the familiar. In my view, the notion of the ‘appearance of continuity’ is essential to understanding the relationship between the images of the two time periods in that it highlights the degree to which there were subtle differences between the functions of certain images, although they appear to be similar in appearance. By appropriating pre-existing images from Weimar films the Nazis were, under the veil of continuity, able to more subtly introduce their often-contradictory norms and ideologies.

Certain continuities between the filmic images of the Weimar and Nazi periods can, at least in part, be attributed to the structure and ideological predilections of the German film industry, in which the Universum Film AG (Ufa) was a central institution. While the Ufa under the Third Reich is often identified as the first to use the cinema for propaganda purposes, the Ufa, having been founded in 1917 during the First World War, was actually established as an instrument of propaganda. As Klaus Kremeier points out,

¹⁹ Hake, Popular Cinema of the Third Reich, 26.

²⁰ Hake, Popular Cinema of the Third Reich, 26.

It is of no little importance to the development of the German film industry in general and Ufa in particular that the industrialists who had shown an early interest in film belonged to the radically conservative Pan-German Party or to groups that shared its ideology.²¹

Therefore, the interests of the leading film company in Germany were 'radically conservative' and had propagandistic intentions long before it came under the control of Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda.

As was the case during the Third Reich, Ufa in its beginnings was under government control. State control of the industry was evident in the reintroduction of moderate censorship in the form of the Reich Motion Picture Law on 12 May 1920. However, in 1921 the government gave back its shares of Ufa, which it had acquired during the Ludendorff era, to the German bank, making it a private company.²² Although Kreimeier suggests Ufa held the strongest leadership position in the German film industry during these post war years, he also points out how no individual, group of people, company or government agency, had control over the entire German cinema of the early 1920s.²³ In addition, the audience in these early years was made up of mostly the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes.²⁴ Movies were attractive to German working-class audiences who needed to escape after the traumatic experiences of the war and who could, at this time, afford the ticket cost. The working-class makeup of the audiences in the early years of the cinema was heightened since the cinema was rejected by the upper classes as low art quite unlike the theatre, which was considered a higher form of art.

²¹ Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918-1945*, Trans. Robert and Rita Kimber, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 18.

²² Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story*, 66.

²³ Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story*, 6.

²⁴ Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story*, 35.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, Ufa became more powerful, buying entire film companies or the majority of their stock. Of equal significance, on 19 March 1927, Alfred Hugenberg, a “committed anti-Semite,”²⁵ assumed control of the Ufa and through it he began controlling film content more closely. Furthermore, with the onslaught of the depression in the late 1920s and with the increased costs involved in creating newly popular sound films, the production of films became too expensive for small companies, and many were forced to close down. This added production expense also reshaped film audiences, as the lower classes could no longer afford to see films to the degree they had previously. Furthermore, although some Jewish individuals in the film industry had decided previously to abandon Germany for Hollywood, beginning in 1933 Jews were systematically driven out of the German film industry, resulting in a major loss of talent, including actors and directors. This again increased production costs as most companies could not afford to pay the high costs demanded of the few remaining quality German film stars and directors. As a result of the depression, the introduction of sound films, and a lack of affordable German talent, by the mid 1930s, both small and mid-sized film companies had virtually disappeared, resulting in a centralized German film industry. Having an already centralized German film industry, as a result of cultural changes in the 1920s and early 1930s made the transition to Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda control in 1933 easier and in some ways more subtle.

From the time of the popularization of film during the First World War to the creation of the Reich Film Guild, established in 1933 and “charged with ‘Aryanizing’ the National Socialist art and cultural sectors,”²⁶ the German film underwent some major changes. These changes were not all, however, directly connected to the rise of the Third Reich but were the result of other cultural

²⁵ Kreimeier, The Ufa Story, 133.

²⁶ Kreimeier, The Ufa Story, 229.

occurrences. Before 1933, the German film industry was already centralized and becoming increasingly under the control of the Ufa and Hugenberg, with his anti-Semitic and conservative nationalistic designs. In 1942 Ufa was completely nationalized by the Third Reich, making it the German film industry's only remaining company, under which were absorbed all other production and distribution companies and studio facilities. Kreimeier points out how "preliminary political censorship did not conflict with the interests of Germany's essentially conservative film industry, which in part at least voluntarily aligned itself with the new regime."²⁷ Therefore, state control of the industry and increased censorship did little to affect the way the industry was being run. One area of German cinema that did not need policing during this shift in industry control was the representation of an idealized body aesthetic, which, I will show, had previous to the rise of the Third Reich been represented in a similar manner and would continue as such during the Third Reich. After the Second World War, Ufa was basically dismantled and while "a company was disposed of; the symbols – the myths – remained."²⁸ I suggest that part of the myth of the Third Reich cinema was the existence of a particular Nazi body aesthetic.

Hoffman, in his book The Triumph of Propaganda, maintains that the films of Leni Riefenstahl created "the aesthetic of the fascist film,"²⁹ which he suggests largely centred on the flag as symbolizing the Nazi program. While it would be impossible to suggest that the swastika did not constitute Nazi imagery, I would argue that the swastika rarely appeared in the realm of film imagery. In fact, as Hoffman himself points out, the "Nazi in uniform, swastika flags, and the

²⁷ Kreimeier, The Ufa Story, 224.

²⁸ Kreimeier, The Ufa Story, 66.

²⁹ Hoffman, The Triumph of Propaganda, ix.

obligatory fascist salute were largely banished from the screen.”³⁰ Goebbels had learned from the Weimar filmic focus on realism,³¹ that overt propaganda was not as effective as more subtle forms of intentionally including ideology. In other words, audiences did not respond well to overt propaganda as they were aware of its intentions whereas the subtler inclusion of propagandistic ideals could be slipped in under the guise of entertainment. Furthermore, if Riefenstahl is credited with creating the fascist aesthetic then this again links the two time periods as Riefenstahl gained prominence and caught Hitler’s and Goebbel’s attention through her work during the Weimar Republic.

Examining constructions of gendered, racialized, and classed bodies in film imagery and the meanings attached to them offers a means to explore ideological and aesthetic connections between the Weimar and Third Reich periods and to deconstruct the notion of a Nazi body aesthetic as an aesthetic that was represented solely under the Third Reich. In doing so it is important to keep in mind such factors as the specific historical context in which these images were produced, who produced them and why, as well as their functions in the two periods under study. At the same time, while the meanings associated with body images might have been different in the Weimar and Nazi periods, there is historical evidence to suggest that the two periods produced similar images of the body, making the divergent meanings of similar images (despite the ‘appearance of continuity’) particularly intriguing.

³⁰ Hoffman, The Triumph of Propaganda, vi.

³¹ For example, G. W. Pabst used actual miners to play the characters of the miners in his 1931 film *Kameradschaft* in an attempt at ‘realism’.

Historical Sources: A Body of Film

In exploring the aforementioned themes, my analysis focuses on bodily representations in film posters, promotional photographs, and film pamphlets produced in the Weimar period and during the Third Reich. Such visual artifacts should not be used simply as illustrations in historical writings, but rather as sources of inquiry themselves. This point became more relevant to me when I was reading Klaus Theweleit's much acclaimed Male Fantasies, in which Theweleit explores male and female relations as 'modes of production' under fascism. Although this book is filled with fantastic and intriguing illustrations, they remain mere illustrations and are never used in Theweleit's theoretical argument. Another example can be found in Claudia Koonz's Mothers in the Fatherland, which explores the functions and experiences of men and women during the Nazi period. Koonz examines how "loyal Nazis fashioned an image for themselves"³² without drawing on any images as sources. Like the recent 'linguistic turn' in the discipline of history,³³ I believe it is time for a 'visual turn', in which research and the production of history would take more seriously the role of visual historical sources.

During the course of my research, I selected specific promotional film materials from the vast archival collection housed in the German Film Museum in Berlin. I focused on the influential years between 1921 to 1940 and chose images in which the body was at the forefront. Since I am exploring trends in representations of the body, these historical sources serve two purposes. First, these sketches and photographs are a significant source because they stood in for the entire film in one image, meaning that these specific representations signified the body as it was projected in the film

³² Claudia Koonz, Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 17.

³³ For a discussion of the "linguistic turn" see F. R. Ankersmit, "The Linguistic Turn: Literary Theory and Historical Theory," in Historical Representations, 29-74.

and represented the most important characteristics and actions associated with that body. Second, these images on posters and pamphlets for a film were accessible to a wide range of people and hence, reached and possibly influenced a wider viewing audience than the films themselves. In fact, in Riefenstahl's memoirs she writes how the poster for the Luis Trenker film, *Mountain of Destiny* (1924), actually lured her into the film industry. She writes,

My eyes wandered over the colours of the posters on the opposite wall until abruptly they focused on something: a male figure clambering over a towering mountain chimney. Underneath, the poster said: '*Mountain of Destiny* – a film about the Dolomites by Dr. Arnold Fanck'. Still tormented by thoughts about my future, I stared as if hypnotized at the poster, at those steep walls of rock, at the man swinging from one wall to the next.³⁴

While this does not speak to the universal appeal of film posters it does highlight the potential influence of film posters over audiences and the importance of the images used in these representations. Therefore, this thesis focuses more on the promotional images created for these films, in the form of posters, photographs and pamphlets, than on the actual films.

While the focus of my analysis is on bodily representation in promotional materials, this invariably raises the issue of the extent to which images could influence the viewer. There are many areas, particularly when studying the body, in which historians argue the state attempted to shape the body politic. Dorinda Outram, who focuses on the body and the French Revolution, suggests that, "very visibly, emphasis shifted from the body as the arena of self-control, which the nineteenth century had stressed, to the body as an area where the sovereignty either of a mass politics or a mass culture was made manifest."³⁵ In much the same manner, Maurizia Boscagli points out how the

³⁴ Leni Riefenstahl, *A Memoir* (Picador, 1992), 41.

³⁵ Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 8.

body at the turn of the twentieth century, “came to represent a means of modern discipline.”³⁶

Cornelie Usborne argues that in Weimar Germany there was a drive to influence the individual body’s behaviour so it functioned appropriately in the national body. Here it is useful to borrow an element from a theory put forward by Michel Foucault in Discipline and Punish regarding the role of the spectacle, in which he suggests that punishment of the body in early Modern Europe was public because, in terms of crime and punishment, “not only must people know, they must see with their own eyes.”³⁷ In my case the spectacle of the cinema can be seen as a means of shaping conformity by encouraging identification with or against represented bodies. Sabine Hake argues that as film became increasingly popular “the question of cinema became inextricably linked to questions of identity,”³⁸ such as an individual’s national identity as gendered, classed, racialized and sexualized. Therefore as the cinema evolved in the 1920s to become a more regular facet of everyday life, its importance increased in terms of sculpting the identities of individuals and society as a whole. By exploring the depiction of the body in film and film images we can better understand how these mediums functioned to reinforce social norms by creating and dispersing specific identities associated with particular appearances and actions.

As Dorinda Outram states in her book on the study of the body in history, “it is impossible to write about the body without also writing about power,”³⁹ as both power and the body are linked to notions of gender, sexuality, class and race. In this way I see film as fitting into the framework laid

³⁶ Maurizia Boscagli, Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity in the early Twentieth Century (Perseus Books, 1996), 4.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison, Trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 58.

³⁸ Hake, The Cinema’s Third Machine, xiii.

³⁹ Dorinda Outram, The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 25.

out by Michel Foucault in his three volume series, The History of Sexuality, in which he argues that “power’s hold on sex is maintained through language, or rather through the act of discourse.”⁴⁰ He further argues, “There is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives.”⁴¹ Filmic images are also an ‘act of discourse’ through which power is exercised, which would imply that images from films fulfill particular ‘aims and objectives.’ I suggest that the ‘aims and objectives’ employed in filmic images function as examples that encouraged individuals to look and behave in a particular manner, while taking into account that audiences do have agency. As Outram points out,

To see bodies as symbols, metaphors and locations for the exhibition of power, and to ignore the extent to which they afford lived experiences to their possessors, or are indeed created by those possessors, in other words, represents a profoundly coercive understanding of physical experience.⁴²

Unfortunately, the extent to which audience members’ absorbed filmic images produced in the Weimar and Nazi periods is not known, but the possibility for agency is nonetheless present.

In the 1920s, films were a new medium with which to disperse cultural ideologies to a wide audience in a subtle fashion, as the cinema had, and still has, the guise of ‘entertainment’. With films and their associated promotional material, people were shown images of the ideal versus the vilified body in order to encourage their own body to function, by appearing and behaving, in a particular manner. Liz Conor illustrates how images of women functioned to make women “picture themselves as image,”⁴³ encouraging women to compare themselves to the women in the images. I

⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction, Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 83.

⁴¹ Foucault, The History of Sexuality, 95.

⁴² Outram, The Body and the French Revolution, 20.

⁴³ Liz Conor, The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 101.

suggest that images, of both men and women, functioned to create identities built on physical characteristics, activities and relationships with which audience members would in turn identify, disassociate from, or both.

To see Nazi film as a historical 'other' or its own 'entity' engaged in a mass manipulation campaign above and beyond anything else is, as argued above, misleading. To blame the cinema for manipulating the masses is an easy way to scapegoat Nazi films as the reason for fascist popularity, and avoid uncomfortable questions about mass psychology. Using Weimar films as a comparison will show that some images we tend to view as exemplary of the Nazi body aesthetic can be traced back to a time before Hitler and the Nazis came to power. I suggest that the Nazis encouraged the 'appearance of continuity' with the imagery of the Weimar Republic as a means of maintaining the cinema's function as disseminating normative representations of gendered, classed and racialized bodies and their associated identities. To understand the distribution of ideologies so directly related to ideal or 'othered' bodies, it is essential to explore how bodies were represented in German society leading up to the Third Reich.

In Chapter 1, I use film posters, pamphlets and photographs from the Weimar and Third Reich periods to compare and contrast how the represented body in these filmic images was constructed and how this construction was related to specific character traits and identities. In Chapter 2, I use similar filmic images to explore how actions were represented in images of the body and how these actions were related to the constructed body visualization as dealt with in Chapter 1. By exploring why specific characteristics and actions were associated with specific bodies we can better understand the evolution of ideologies in Germany from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich and debunk the notion of an idealized body image as being created by and specific to the Third Reich.

Chapter 1:

Deconstructing the Represented Body

With the represented body as my main focus of inquiry I now begin to explore the relationship between the function of the represented body in film and the construction of German identities in the years leading up to and during the Third Reich. Using film posters, pamphlets and promotional photographs I analyse how the represented body was constructed, by exploring how in a filmic image a represented body's character traits were related to their visualization.

Historians who focus on the role of the body in history have pointed out the connection between physical appearance and assumed personality traits. Nicholas Mirzoeff in his work on the body and the ideal figure writes that in defining the 'other' as wholly different from the self, "it was crucial that difference should not only be known but visible."⁴⁴ Building on Mirzoeff, I suggest that filmic images functioned to create ideals through which visibility became the major means of separating the self from the 'other'. Michael Hau, who writes on the body in Weimar Germany, argues that, "by educating one's eye one would soon realize that beauty and ugliness were other terms for good and evil."⁴⁵ Hau makes an important point, in that individuals were socially educated to base personality judgments on physical appearance. I would build on this argument by suggesting that images from film posters, pamphlets and other promotional material were one means of educating society about these ideals. The represented bodies would act as examples with which viewers would be encouraged to either identify, disassociate from, or both. However, when one analyzes the images from Germany in the years leading up to, and during, the Third Reich more

⁴⁴ Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Bodyscape: Art, modernity and the Ideal Figure* (Routledge, 1995), 17.

closely, the difference between how good and evil are represented through the body is much more complex than representing bodies as beautiful or ugly, in that beauty did not always stand for good and ugly did not always stand for evil.

This chapter focuses on the physical characteristics of specific bodies, by questioning which characteristics were associated with which bodies in this particular time and place. Doing so will show us which physical characteristics came to be privileged as representing which personalities in German culture. This concept was of particular import during the Third Reich, a time when personalities or a person's character could be based almost entirely on physical appearances and actions and could have dire consequences for one to even appear as an 'other'. While this might not have been specific to the Third Reich, in that as Michael Hau argues, beginning in the nineteenth century German society became "increasingly body conscious,"⁴⁵ it did take on a life or death urgency during the Nazi period. Even looking like what a Nazi supporter perceived to be Jewish was enough to land an individual in a concentration camp. In this way one could judge another individual on his/her physical appearance, based partially on the criteria represented in the aforementioned promotional filmic literature.

While the represented body is the main focus of analysis, this chapter also explores the role of context or the setting of the images, such as rural versus urban, and how this relates to the body. The landscape in which the represented body is situated is linked to the created identity with which it is associated. Exploring how bodies are represented in relation to setting will aid in our understanding of the function of the images. While the images function to create identities with

⁴⁵ Michael Hau, The Cult of Health and Beauty: A Social History 1890–1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 40.

⁴⁶ Micheal Hau, The Cult of Health and Beauty: A Social History, 1890-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 3.

which people were to compare themselves and others, locating the body spatially was another means of encouraging how bodies should be perceived. In this sense, setting serves as symbol in filmic images.

Exploring these images and the notions inscribed on them will give us a better idea of how identities were created and inscribed onto the body. At the forefront of my analysis will be the role played by sexuality, gender, class and race in constructing German identities. I will approach the bodily images of men and women separately so that I can fully investigate the ways in which these films functioned in policing masculinity and femininity, as cultural constructs of a specific place and time. Exploring the construction of these images will help to deconstruct notions of masculinity and femininity and their relation to German identities during the crucial years leading up to the Third Reich.

The Ideal Woman?

Some historians have privileged the image of the masculine as being representative of Nazi imagery, filmic or otherwise. For example, David Welch writes that the major themes of the Third Reich cinema were, "Comradeship, heroism and the party, blood and soil (Blut and Boden), the Leadership Principle (Führerprinzip), War and the Military Image, and the Image of the Enemy,"⁴⁷ all of which are associated with the masculine. Even in his exploration of the 'enemy' he focuses purely on the Jewish or Communist enemy and completely ignores the sexual enemy of the Third Reich. Although the sexual enemy was often personified as the Jewish male predator, as is the case in *Jud Süß* (1940), it also took the form of a sexualized women, who was seen as challenging gender

⁴⁷ David Welch, Propaganda and the German Cinema: 1933-1945 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 46.

norms and exemplary of a declining social moral code. However, while we might be more fascinated by Nazi imagery of the masculine this does not mean that the feminine did not have its place. In this section, I explore how female bodies were represented in film posters, pamphlets and promotional photographs as both idealized as innocent and saintly or vilified as sexual. I also examine contradictions visible in this dichotomy and how these related to constructed notions of femininity in the German context.

The first image, Fig. 1, comes from a pamphlet for *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), a film directed and written by Arnold Fanck that stars Leni Riefenstahl and Luis Trenker. This is Riefenstahl's first film and it is considered one of the more significant mountain films of the Weimar Republic. In the film two mountaineering best friends both fall in love with and try to win the heart of Riefenstahl's character. After a brief fight over Riefenstahl results in one of the men hanging dangerously over a mountain cliff, the two men end up dying together in a final scene glorifying the fierce comradery of the two men. Although Riefenstahl's character is represented in the film as a temptation that destroys the lives of the two men, in the images for the film Riefenstahl is often represented as a saint. In Fig. 1, we see Riefenstahl represented in an almost entirely white image. Riefenstahl, visualized as an angel, wears a white dress, with the white of her hair blurred to appear luminescent and her hands held in a half prayer. The same visualization of the female body is repeated in Fig. 2, another image that predates the Third Reich, and Fig. 3, an image created during the Third Reich and after the start of the Second World War. In Fig. 2, another photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), we again see Riefenstahl, this time dressed in a classic Virgin Mary veil. In an almost identical fashion, Fig. 3, from a pamphlet for *Jud Süß* (1940), represents Kristina Soderbaum dressed as the Virgin Mary. In *Jud Süß* (1940), Soderbaum's character is representative of feminine innocence. Her character is defiled by a vilified Jewish character and ends up committing suicide as

a result of the shame over the loss of her innocence. In this way, the image from the film pamphlet and the characterization of Soderbaum in the film both represent her as the ideal, innocent female.

Mirzoeff suggests that artistic representations of the female body are “recognized as the Madonna by her Raphaelesque clothing and headdress, complete with the typical Ingresque hairstyle in which the hair is centrally parted and severely swept back.”⁴⁸ Both of these images, one from 1926 and the other from 1940, represent the physical characteristics of the female body in this manner. Clearly all three images are meant to connect the physical characteristics of the characters to those of the Madonna and, since physical characteristics represent personality traits, link the represented character’s personalities to those of the Madonna.

The clothing worn by the women in these representations should not be thought of as coincidental but rather as intrinsically connected to the identity they are supposed to represent. Fashion, whether in the form of costume or regular clothing, as Irene Guenther argues, is not at all coincidental or irrelevant but rather “has much to do with politics.”⁴⁹ Jane Gaines further argues that in fashion discourse the personality of the wearer and her/his dress are often confused as one and the same. This trend, she argues, is linked to the fact that “in the service of narrative ideas costume is assigned one main function: characterization.”⁵⁰ Individuals are encouraged to associate people’s

⁴⁸ Mirzoeff, Bodyscape, 122.

⁴⁹ Irene Guenther, Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich (New York: Berg, 2004), 7.

⁵⁰ Jane Gaines, “Costume and Narrative: How Dress Tells us the Women’s Story,” in Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body, Ed. Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog (New York: Routledge, 1990), 193. She further stresses this point by arguing “the dress is charged with expressing only one trait or reinforcing one quality. While the body was used in acting to express emotional complexities and to enunciate subtle gradations of feeling, costume was expected to simplify.” Gaines, 187.

personalities with their clothing partially because costumes in films are chosen to enhance or draw attention to the personality traits of characters.

Since the costumes chosen for the images found in Figures 1, 2 and 3, are all reminiscent of the Virgin Mary, the audience or viewer is encouraged to assume the characters' innocence by relating their personalities to their clothing. Therefore these images present the idealized feminine as the Madonna, linking it to notions of virginity, motherhood and sacrifice. These images illustrate how this feminine ideal is present in films from the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, linking images of the female body to cultural notions of the ideal woman in the two time periods. While this does not illustrate a consistently represented body, in that I did not have at my disposal enough images to make that argument, it does show that this notion did not disappear during the Third Reich, nor that it was a notion of the ideal feminine that was created by the Third Reich.

Another way in which these images are similar is that all three bodies are looking away from the camera. The use of the gaze and its relationship to power is a concept explored by Laura Mulvey in her classic essay on feminism and film theory entitled "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Mulvey argues that controlling the gaze in film is a function of power, a theory that remains prominent in film studies and film history. She writes that,

The man controls the film phantasy and also emerges as the representative of power in a further sense: as the bearer of the look of the spectator, transferring it behind the screen to neutralize the extra-diegetic tendencies represented by women as spectacle.⁵¹

She further maintains that this is not only the case between characters in the film (i.e. the male watching the female dance), but also between audience members and characters. In the cinematic negotiation, Mulvey argues that "traditionally, the woman displayed has functioned on two levels:

⁵¹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Feminism and Film Theory*, Ed. Constance Penley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 63.

as erotic object for the characters within the screen story, and as erotic object for the spectator within the screen.”⁵² In Fig. 1, Riefenstahl is the only body represented and she is looking down, displaying a powerless gaze. Therefore it is not the masculine but rather the audience who controls the power of the gaze in this image, leaving Riefenstahl as an innocent spectacle to be gazed at but never to return the gaze. In the film *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), the image in Fig. 1 is on the wall at the theatre in which Riefenstahl’s character, Diotima, performs. In one scene, following her dance performance, her two male admirers gaze at this same image. Therefore, in the film it is the two male admirers who have the power of the gaze over the image, while as a photograph used to promote the film it is the viewer who holds this power. While this image first of all privileges physical characteristics associated with the angelic, it also associates a lack of power with the feminine through the use of the gaze. Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 also offer two representations of the female gaze as powerless. In Fig. 3, from *Jud Süß* (1940), Soderbaum seems to be gazing in the direction of the light shining down on her and in Fig. 2, from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), Riefenstahl glances off to the side. In neither image does the character control the gaze, placing both of them in the position of subordinate spectacle. In this way, we see the idealized feminine, through the subtle placement of the eyes, being associated with a lack of power.

The use of lighting in all three images is also relevant as their hair and faces glow under the lighting, adding to their appearance as angelic. There are no shadows cast on their faces to hint at mystery or danger, making these images consistent representations of the ideal feminine. Hence, through physical characteristics, clothing styles, the gaze and lighting, the women’s bodies are constructed as virginal, motherly, saintly and furthermore, powerless.

⁵² Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 62.

The space often associated with the female body is the natural setting. For example, Fig. 4, and Fig. 5, both from posters for *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), and Fig. 6, a poster for *Das Blaue Licht* (1932), all clearly connect the feminine with nature by representing the female body as a continuation of a mountain. *Das Blaue Licht* (1932) was Riefenstahl's first attempt at directing and again she played the female protagonist. Interestingly, this film was released only one year before Hitler's rise to power, in an important time of transition between the two periods. This film, like *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), is considered one of the Weimar Republic's most important mountaineering films. In *Das Blaue Licht* (1932), Riefenstahl plays Junta, who is driven out of her village because the locals fear she is a witch as she is the only person who can climb the local mountain to see the blue light.

As the director of this film, Riefenstahl had much more control over the image of her character than she had in her previous film, *Der Heilige Berg* (1926). However, we see much of the same imagery depicted in both films, particularly in the feminine form's connection to the mountain setting. In Fig. 5, a poster for *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), we see a drawing of Riefenstahl dressed in a veil glistening like the mountains behind her. Her veil continues and blends with the mountains, making her appear as connected to them. As well the light appears to glisten off of her as if she is frozen like the mountains. In Fig 4, we see the same idea represented slightly differently with her veil appearing as part of the icy mountain itself. Furthermore, her face in this image appears half frozen in death. Fig. 7, another photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), shows Riefenstahl framed in the window with the mountains behind her, again linking idealized female bodies to nature and the natural setting.

Subtle ideological contradictions surrounding female bodies are, however, noticeable in both the film plot of *Das Blaue Licht* (1932) and in two promotional images for the film. In the former,

Riefenstahl's character, Junta, is considered to be a witch by the locals but ends up as an innocent martyr. As depicted in Fig. 6, most of Riefenstahl's body is hidden behind the mountain, in one sense connecting her to the mountain, but what we do see of her is naked, suggesting that she might be completely so and highlighting her body as sexual. Fig. 8, another promotional photograph for *Das Blaue Licht* (1932), shows Riefenstahl biting into an apple, an unavoidable allusion to the biblical story of Eve's seduction by the senses and her connection to the devil. Furthermore, she is again connected to nature, as part of a tree is clearly visible in the bottom corner. At the same time, the light in this shot is angled to appear as a halo resting on her head, giving her the appearance of innocence. Her gaze is focused coyly off to the right instead of strongly towards the audience, representing her feminine powerlessness. These images are examples of the contradictory representations of the ideal feminine body, as both innocent/natural and sexual.

As argued in the introduction, a body representation is intrinsically connected to the bodies that created it and for whom it was created. E. Bruce Elder, in his book *The Body in Film*, argues, "creating images of the body is... a means of thinking about the self."⁵³ Riefenstahl, as the creator of the images from *Das Blaue Licht* (1932) and often the represented body herself in images from both *Das Blaue Licht* (1932) and *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), is particularly intriguing for a historian. This was one of the rare cases in which a woman, Riefenstahl, held a powerful position in the film industry, which meant that Weimar and Nazi filmic images were not universally controlled by men. At the same time it is important to distinguish between the level of power she had in the film industry during the Third Reich and during the Weimar Republic. Her primary role in the interwar years was as an actress, as in the 1926 film *Der Heilige Berg*. However, by 1932 she was both the lead actress and director of the film, *Das Blaue Licht*. As Nazi power continued to increase

⁵³ R. Bruce Elder, *The Body in Film* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1989), 6.

throughout Germany so too did Riefenstahl's power in the film industry. By 1935 she had directed *Triumph of the Will*, documenting the Nazi party rally in Nuremberg in 1934 and by 1938 she had directed *Olympia* (1938), a documentary feature on the controversial Olympic games held in Berlin in 1936, which won the Mussolini Cup at the Venice Film Festival in 1938 for Best Film.

As a woman, does Riefenstahl's work challenge the representation of gendered bodies in German ideology? Riefenstahl's own body image, as a director and an actor, played an important role in the ideological framework of the Nazis and the cinema of this period. An example of this can be seen in Fig. 9, a photograph of Riefenstahl used in a pamphlet for *Olympia* (1938), which she directed. The importance of this image in the pamphlet for the film is that Riefenstahl is represented as the director and not as a character. However, this image is almost identical to Fig. 8, a photograph of Riefenstahl from *Das Blaue Licht* (1932) discussed above, with the same face angle and illuminating lighting only minus the tell-tale apple. As the director of *Das Blaue Licht* (1932) and *Olympia* (1938), Riefenstahl constructed the images from both films. Therefore, Riefenstahl's body as the director, not as a character, is representative of the ideal feminine, minus any contradictions evident in Fig. 8. This image is of greater significance as Riefenstahl is the only director of the films I am analyzing to have her photograph included in the pamphlet for her film. Although I am aware of the danger of analysing an absence like this, this absence could highlight the importance of Riefenstahl's body image as a director over the body image of other German directors. This suggests that for a woman to hold such power in the film industry of the Third Reich, she had to be presented as the ideal woman, without contradictions.

The sexual woman had a prominent place in filmic images of the Weimar Republic. Much has been written about the emergence of the New Woman and her link to overt sexuality in this period. The notion of the New Woman emerged around the end of the First World War, as women

became more educated, had increased economic opportunities and freedom, enjoyed more sexual freedom (including the ability to decide how many and when to have children) and were breaking away from the confining and restricting clothing styles of the Victorian era in order to wear more free fitting clothing. Germany, and particularly Berlin, in the 1920s was the ideal setting for the New Woman and it is therefore not surprising that German films from the late 1920s and early 1930s are credited with creating the image of the New Woman. Cornelia Osborne, in her work on women's bodies in Weimar Germany, makes an important point when she questions "whether the notion of female sexual permissiveness was as much a creation of the media and of popular moral panic as it was a reflection of reality for wide sections of the population."⁵⁴ In much the same way I approach images of the New Woman in film posters as representing a moral panic functioning to create fear of the sexual woman instead of as an actual sexual crisis in the late Weimar years.

The representations of the sexual woman, much like that of the idealized woman, are complicated and often contradictory. In particular, these images break down the notion of a dichotomy between good and evil represented as beautiful and ugly. Hau argues that in Weimar Germany "women who aroused sexual interest could... not serve as a standard for beauty,"⁵⁵ highlighting his argument made earlier, that beauty and ugliness stood for good and evil. However, the images I will be analyzing feature some of the most beautiful women of the Weimar period, including Lilian Harvey and Marlene Dietrich, as the most sexually promiscuous, making the image of the vilified feminine a complicated image to understand.

⁵⁴ Cornelia Osborne, The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 89.

⁵⁵ Hau, The Cult of Health and Beauty, 92.

For example, Fig. 10, a poster for *Die Keusche Susanne* (1926), shows a caricature of Lilian Harvey on the shoulders of four admiring men. Much like the contradictory representations of Riefenstahl as the ideal woman in Fig. 6 and Fig. 8, both photographs from *Das Blaue Licht* (1932), this image represents Harvey in a contradictory manner. The title of the film translates in English to *The Innocent Susanne*; however the image would lead us to believe the character is anything but innocent. Harvey's clothing is the most significant conveyor of meaning in the image. In contrast to the Madonna veil sported by the women discussed earlier, Harvey is wearing a form fitting flapper dress and top hat. The flapper costume is an allusion to female sexuality and power and an example of the more free fitting style of clothing chosen by the New Woman. Liz Conor argues, in her study of women as spectacles in the 1920s, that to society, "the Flapper was deceptive, illusory and sexually manipulative of men."⁵⁶ Conor further argues that the Flapper "by constituting herself as spectacle... was asserting her sexual agency."⁵⁷ Therefore, while powerlessness is associated with the idealized feminine, power and agency would appear to be associated with the sexualised New Woman. The top hat is also an important element of her costume, as it is both representative of wealth and economic agency and a piece of clothing generally assumed to be masculine. Therefore, the top hat is representative of social fears of female economic agency and of displaced gender roles, which most segments of German society in the late 1920s feared the New Woman was creating. In Fig. 10, the top hat is not only representative of her wearing a man's garment; it is also an upper class symbol. Harvey wears the top hat while three of the four men carrying her wear none, making its symbolic significance all the more striking.

⁵⁶ Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 222.

⁵⁷ Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 13.

Furthermore, Harvey controls the power of the gaze in the image by staring out of the picture at the audience. She also controls the power of the gaze over the four men in the film poster, in that their gaze is fixed on her and not returned. This brings me back to Mulvey's notion of the power of the gaze in which she argues that the "pleasure of looking has been split between active/male and passive/female."⁵⁸ However, in this image Harvey is actively in control of the gaze, which still could support Mulvey's theory, in that this action is one of the ways in which she is vilified as a woman, by associating her with a combination of masculine and sexual power.

Another image of the cabaret dancer or flapper is Fig. 11 from *Das Blaue Engel* (1930), an important film in the history of German cinema. *Das Blaue Engel* (1930), starring Marlene Dietrich and Emil Jannings, is Germany's first production filmed in both English and German, in an attempt to break into the American market. This film also made Dietrich one of the major sexual icons of the 1930s, so that it is a particularly significant example of how the female body is represented. In Fig. 11 we see Dietrich, often credited as iconic of the New Woman, posing promiscuously on a chair. Her sexuality is alluded to through both the open positioning of her legs and her revealing flapper dress. Like Harvey, she sports a short hairdo, unlike the images of the ideal feminine who have hair like the Madonna which is long and severely pulled back. Also like Harvey, Dietrich controls the gaze. As a cabaret dancer she is linked to economic autonomy in that she works for a living. Therefore this image also shows the vilified female body as being associated with economic autonomy and sexual power.

Finally, visualizing the legs of the female body was an oft-repeated image associated with the sexualized woman. While almost all of the promotional images of the idealized femininity were headshots, showing little to none of the female body, the entire body and in particular the legs are

⁵⁸ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 62.

important characteristics of the sexual body and its identity. Fig. 12, a poster from *Die Drei Mannequins* (1926), and Fig. 13, a poster for *Durchlaucht Radieschen* (1926), are both examples of a cultural fixation on the legs of certain women. Even in Fig. 11, for *Das Blaue Engel* (1930), and Fig. 10, a poster for *Die Keusche Susanne* (1926), the legs are very prominent in the images and contribute to the sexualization of the image. In Fig. 13, the poster for *Durchlaucht Radieschen* (1926), we see that balancing on the woman's extended leg is a crown, which could allude to her controlling the king with her sexuality, as represented by her exposed leg. On the shelf we see a top hat and a military helmet, accessories of her other conquests, indicating that she controls the men of every important position in society, from the military to the wealthy elite. The leg is of central import, as it is literally in the centre of the image and balances the crown. Therefore, a woman's leg, when depicted in this manner, was representative of her sexual power.

These images highlight the beginning of a new way of objectifying women by focusing on individual body parts over the entire body. This new method of objectification became popular in the late 1920s as a result of new methods of cutting and using angles in films. It also emerged in the context of fashion changes, such as the shortening of skirts, and a shift in cultural notions associated with the female body in which exposed legs became a woman's main sexualized feature. Liz Conor refers to this new method of objectification as "techniques of appearing" through which "the manner and means of execution of one's visual effects and status – women's bodies became a place of action in modern visual culture."⁵⁹ Therefore, as fashion trends featured shortened dresses, filmic images created identities to go along with the new clothing styles, in this case an often-vilified sexualized female identity. Fig. 12, a poster for the film *Die Drei Mannequins* (1926), in which we see nothing but the legs of three women, is the main example of this 'technique of appearing' as the legs become

⁵⁹ Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 2.

the literal fragmented representation of a woman with three sets of legs being all that is shown in the image.

Women's bodies were also associated with the urban environment in the Weimar period. There has been much written about the associations made between the street and danger and evil during the Weimar Republic, and in Mein Kampf, Hitler repeatedly referred to the city as dangerous.⁶⁰ In fact, film historians, like Siegfried Kraucauer, analyze specific films from this period in terms of their direct relationship to notions of the street, which they refer to as 'Street films'. Paul Monaco writes that in German films of the 1920s, "the street is portrayed as dark, gloomy and dangerous."⁶¹ While none of the films I am analysing are included in Kraucauer's discussion of 'street' films, the significance of the street in the imagery is still worth investigating.⁶² Liz Conor, in her exploration of images of the 1920s in Australia, argues that the city is presented "as contaminating and mutating the feminine body until it is unsuited for domesticity."⁶³ This notion is visible in images from the German context, which by linking the female body to the street connected the feminine to danger, sexuality and evil. For example, Fig. 14, a poster for the film *Luxusweibchen* (1925), and Fig. 15, a poster for *Die Kleine vom Bummel* (1925), both show women as sexualised bodies with the city as the setting framing the body. The bodies in these images have the same physical characteristics of the flapper, with powerful gazes staring straight at the audience,

⁶⁰ Hitler writes, "My aversion grew against the metropolis which so greedily sucked the people in only to destroy them." Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf Trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 36.

⁶¹ Paul Monaco, Cinema and Society: France and Germany during the Twenties. (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 137.

⁶² Siegfried Kraucauer, From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of German Film (Princeton University Press, 1947), 157-60.

⁶³ Conor, The Spectacular Modern Woman, 54.

short hair and even shorter dresses that expose the legs. These images show how women's bodies were further sexualized in their relation to the city or street. Therefore the vilified female body was represented in the Weimar period as connected to the urban setting and to such characteristics as sexuality, economic freedom, and above all power.

Man versus Beast:

Joseph H. Pleck, in The Myth of Masculinity, argues that the Male Sex Role Identity (MSRI) or the gendered notion of the masculine “paradigm is, ultimately, a product of its culture.”⁶⁴ Recently, theorists have begun exploring ‘masculinity’ as a social construct. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford point out how “the masculinity that once believed itself to be at the pinnacle of the natural hierarchy of things is now being slowly exposed for what it is: a subjectivity that is organized within structures of control and authority.”⁶⁵ As with the feminine, films are a tool or a mechanism through which masculine identities have been positively or negatively constructed. While Pleck and others are able to highlight how a masculine identity is shaped through both reinforcement and cognitive learning it is rare to see films listed as a reinforcing agent.⁶⁶ For example, Pleck highlights “many different potential reinforcing agents: mother, father, teachers,

⁶⁴ Joseph H Pleck, The Myth of Masculinity, (Cambridge: MIT press, 1981), 7.

⁶⁵ Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford, “The Forward March of Men Halted,” in Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity, Ed Jonathon Rutherford and Rowena Chapman (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988), 11.

⁶⁶ Ian M. Harris argues how “male behaviour is strongly influenced by gender role messages men receive from their social environment,” without delving into which sources influence ‘masculine’ behaviour, such as popular entertainment like films. See Ian M. Harris, Messages Men Hear: Constructing Masculinities (London: Taylor and Francis, 1995), 1.

other adults, peers and social institutions,”⁶⁷ but not popular culture or more specifically the cinema. Jonathon Rutherford, on the other hand, uses masculine characters, such as those played by Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger, as examples of the “retributive man” in the modern age, connecting filmic images to constructed identities.⁶⁸

Although ‘masculinity’ is a construct in the same manner as ‘femininity’, it is constructed in such a way as to give it a privileged position of power in society. This is an important point that is often not delved into and sometimes not even mentioned in some theories of masculinity. For example, Pleck describes the different sex roles of masculine and feminine identities as having traits that are considered “desirable” by societal standards.⁶⁹ While this might have been Pleck’s attempt to highlight the different degree to which ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ are privileged in our society, I believe it is inadequate. The use of the term ‘desirable’ is dangerous in that it in no way acknowledges the role of power. While certain male traits may not be ‘desirable’, they function to reinforce the societal power associated with the masculine identity.

In this section I use images of the male body from German films of the late Weimar Republic and early Third Reich to explore the construction and maintenance of a German masculine identity. In terms of how the bodies are racialized, in the images I will be using, there are only two racialized bodies represented, the Aryan and the Jewish men. Therefore, I will be referring to the Aryan male body as the male body. The first representations of the ideal masculine are Fig. 16 and Fig. 17, both from the film *Olympia* (1938) and Fig 18, a poster for *Kameradschaft* (1931). The first film,

⁶⁷ Pleck, *The Myth of Masculinity*, 58.

⁶⁸ Jonathon Rutherford, “Who’s that Man?” in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, 28.

⁶⁹ Pleck writes, “Rosenkratz et al. (1968) find that their procedure for investigating sex role stereotypes yields 29 socially desirable male-valued and 12 socially desirable female-valued traits.” Pleck, *The Myth of Masculinity*, 137.

Olympia (1938), is one of Riefenstahl's directorial works produced for Hitler and is a documentary about the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. *Kameradschaft* (1931), directed by Georg Wilhelm Pabst, is an anti-war film in which miners from Germany and France who are caught in an underground explosion must work together to save themselves. While Pabst's film reads as more leftist than the Nazi sponsored Riefenstahl film, both films represent the idealized masculine body in a similar manner. All three masculine bodies found in Fig. 16, Fig. 17 and Fig. 18, have the strong facial features associated with the Germanic race, as well as the sculpted physique made popular in images of the ancient Greek and Roman empires. This imagery dominates representations of the idealized male body as heroic.

What is intriguing about these three images is that they highlight the degree to which the masculine was a spectacle, in that male audience members are asked to take pleasure in gazing upon other male bodies. This is in contrast to arguments put forward by theorists of masculinity who suggest that a masculinity in which men "are stimulated to look at themselves – and other men – as objects of consumer desire"⁷⁰ is a more recent phenomenon. More specifically, the male bodies in these images are topless; in fact some are wearing even less clothing than the sexually suggestive female bodies. The showing of flesh, which makes a sexualised spectacle of the body, has been viewed as making the body vulnerable⁷¹ and is often associated with the feminine. For example, Rutherford argues that, "Men have associated women with the Earth, the flesh subordinate to men's

⁷⁰ Frank Mort, "Boy's Own," in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, 194.

⁷¹ Chapman, who studies male nudity in images, argues that "flesh equals vulnerability, regardless of sex, and thus to remove our clothes should render us all equally vulnerable." See Chapman, "The Great Pretender, Variations on the New Man Theme," in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, 237.

reason.”⁷² While historically women might be associated with flesh, in the filmic images of the 1930s male bodies were visualized with their flesh exposed almost more than female bodies. These images illustrate that masculine bodies were considered to be sexualized objects on which both female and male audiences members were to gaze. However, this is not to say that men and women are sexualized spectacles to the same degree or in the same way. For example, while men may be visualized as sexual objects this is not the sole function of the represented male body in the image, as it often is with images of the sexualized female. While this will be discussed further in the next chapter on the actions of the body, it is important to point out how the actions of male bodies in the images distinguished them as more than solely sex objects.

The appreciation of a muscular male physique over intellect, although increasingly promoted by the Third Reich, was not an invention of fascism but rather was connected to larger shifts at the fin de siècle in terms of gender, class, sexuality and race. Michael Hatt, although looking at a more general European context, argues that “the increasing popularity of sport and physical culture through the 1880s and 1890s”⁷³ was fundamental to a new paradigm of gender construction and in particular a new ideal of the male body. Where previously the idealized masculinity was associated with civility and separated from the literal body by being connected to the rational and the intellectual, the new masculinity was “one in which masculinity is directly connected to the male body, literally embodied,”⁷⁴ with a focus on physical prowess. This shift may account for why, in

⁷² Jonathon Rutherford, “Who’s that Man?” in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, 49.

⁷³ Michael Hatt, “Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins’ *Salutat*,” in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance*, ed Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993), 58.

⁷⁴ Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, “Bodies of Masculinity” in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance*, ed Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993), 53.

these images, the muscular body is of central import to the image and therefore to the new masculine ideal.

By associating idealized masculinity with the physical, with which the German male would be encouraged to identify, Hatt argues that German society was shifting towards “a desire for a regulated masculinity,”⁷⁵ a masculinity more directly connected to the physical body and therefore more easily controlled. This suggests that an individual worried about his physical appearance would be considered easier to control as he would spend less time educating himself, making himself more open to subtle forms of manipulation, and would be busy training his body in a manner that the state might require, for example, for military purposes. I would suggest that masculinity has always been regulated but that there was a shift in what was now associated with the idealized masculine. Fig 18, from *Kameradschaft* (1931), illustrates that a new masculinity, based on a sculpted physical form, had emerged before the Third Reich as a heroic ideal body with which men were encouraged to identify.

For one type of masculinity to be privileged, another must be marginalized or oppressed. Rutherford asserts that, “Men’s struggle to produce order between our interior world and an acceptable masculine persona produces a regime that punishes others.”⁷⁶ This theory is particularly intriguing when dealing with a regime like the Third Reich, which is known for its punishment of others. However, I would suggest that the male other is itself a masculine identity, but an identity that is negatively enforced or vilified. As Angus McLaren argues, “certain types of men had

⁷⁵ Hatt, “Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins’ *Salutat*,” 60.

⁷⁶ Rutherford, “Who’s that Man?” 26.

forfeited the right to be treated as human beings.”⁷⁷ But these men should not be viewed as outside of the masculine as their ‘otherness’ is a result of a “failure to live up to the newly created standards of masculinity,”⁷⁸ making their male identity inseparable from the ideals of the masculine since they are defined in relation to one another. As Frank Mort argues, “we are not dealing with masculinity, but with a series of masculinities.”⁷⁹

In terms of the vilified masculine body, I will analyze the images of the years leading up to and during the Third Reich in light of Theweleit’s question: how does a scapegoat become a scapegoat?⁸⁰ Fig. 19, a photograph from *Nosferatu* (1921), Fig. 20, from *Jud Süß* (1940), and Fig. 21, a photograph used to promote the film *M* (1931), all represent the male body with the same dark features and pointed angles. F.W. Murnau’s film, *Nosferatu* (1921), is considered a classic of early German cinema. The character of *Nosferatu* is, of course, a vampire who plagues the town and ends up feeding on the blood of the innocent heroine. *M* (1931), produced ten years after *Nosferatu* (1921), was directed by Fritz Lang and follows a child murderer as he is stalked and captured by locals and the police. Finally, *Jud Süß* (1940), one of the most notoriously anti-Semitic films produced during the Third Reich, follows Süß as he manipulates situations and people until he is finally in control of the local ruler, rapes the innocent heroine and is hanged for his deeds. The fact that these images span a twenty-year period, from 1921 to 1940, makes the imagery of the vilified

⁷⁷ Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries 1870-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 13.

⁷⁸ McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity*, 14.

⁷⁹ Mort, “Boy’s Own,” 195.

⁸⁰ Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 227.

masculine in the film posters all the more essential to explore if one hopes to understand the evolution of a scapegoat.

For example, images of Peter Lorre from the film *M* (1931), seen in Fig. 21, who played the villain in the film and who was a Jewish actor, would later be used in anti-Jewish propaganda by the Nazi state.⁸¹ This is not to say that Fritz Lang, the director, chose Lorre because he was Jewish. Nor is it to say that Nosferatu was a Jewish caricature, but rather to point out how the Nazi caricature of ‘the Jew’ evolved out of an already established caricature of a vilified male body image.

The images and notions of the vilified masculine are also often associated with the animal world and in particular in the years leading up to and during the Third Reich, with rats. Nosferatu is the epitome of this association of the male body with the animal. Fig. 22 and Fig. 23, both from the film *Nosferatu* (1921), are two examples of the animalizing of the vilified masculine body. Fig. 22, a poster for *Nosferatu* (1921), shows the character of Nosferatu with wings and an altered face reminiscent of a bat. In Fig. 23, also a poster for *Nosferatu* (1921), we see Nosferatu clawing at the air with numerous rats jumping at his side, making it appear as though he and the rats are moving together. In Fig. 23, we also see an example of the vilified masculine body being connected to the urban environment as we see Nosferatu and the rats with a clear cityscape behind them. Hitler, in *Mein Kampf*, often compared what he saw as Jews infesting Germany to the infestation of rats.⁸²

⁸¹ Hoffman argues how images from both Fritz Lang’s *M* and Fedor Ozep’s *Der Morder Dimitri Karangoff* were used in the Third Reich to “personally identify Fritz Kartner and Peter Lorre with psychopathic roles they played in these movies as seducers and as murderers.” Hilmar Hoffman, *The Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism 1933-1945* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), 175-6.

⁸² Hitler argues, “Marxism thought only to break out its dangerous national poisonous fang” in essence comparing Marxism to a vampire like Nosferatu. See Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 292. He further calls a Jew “the eternal blood-sucker.” Ibid, 427.

However, clearly the association with vilified male characters and rats was not a creation of Nazi ideals and cinema but had been used in filmic imagery as early as 1921.

Another way that theorists argue images of the body can be dehumanised is through fragmented images of the body, such as the images of female legs discussed above. The major image associated with male fragmentation is the poster for the film *M* (1931), Fig. 24, in which we see only the murderer's hand with the tell-tale M, for murder, imprinted on it. Pinkus, in Bodily Regimes, argues that "as a fragment, the hand loses its human anchoring and takes on the over productive qualities of the machine,"⁸³ suggesting that a fragmented hand is dehumanized by being detached from a human. In this way, the vilified masculine body was fragmented and dehumanized by using the same visual method as with the female sexualized body, but with different connotations. The fragmentation of the hand can also be read as a form of castration, as the hand, like the penis, is in a vulnerable position as an extremity of the body. Pinkus further argues that the fragmentation of the hand from the body is linked to male castration anxiety:

The hand is a figure for the body (the body politic, the national body, the body of the enemy, the body of the workers), but it is also a figure of great ambiguity and vulnerability because of its position as an extremity of the body.⁸⁴

The fragmented hand represents a literal loss of the masculine, further 'othering' the character portrayed by Peter Lorre. Although I did not come across any examples of this fragmentation from filmic images of the Third Reich, this example does highlight the degree to which objectifying and fragmenting bodies, as a means of vilifying the imaged bodies, was not solely associated with the sexualized woman in the Weimar period.

⁸³ Pinkus, Bodily Regimes, 123-4.

⁸⁴ Pinkus, Bodily Regimes, 123.

Another way the vilified male body was visualized was through the use of shadows, with the shadow often replacing the body altogether. For example, Fig. 25, a photograph from a pamphlet for *Nosferatu* (1921), Fig. 27, a photograph from *Metropolis* (1926), and Fig. 26, a photo used for numerous pamphlets and posters for *M* (1931), all use shadows as a method to displace the body from the realm of the human. Furthermore, all of the shadows extend towards a female victim, making them a threat to the female body. Therefore, the male body identified with these characteristics is further vilified as 'inhumane'. These filmic images, then, used tactics such as shadows, fragmentation and comparison with animals to dehumanise the 'other' masculine body, a body that in the plot of the film is often attacking, killing, or raping women.

In this chapter I have attempted to illustrate how conceptualization of the body in filmic images functioned to create German identities by constructing which physical characteristics and clothing styles were associated with which identities. In terms of the identities associated with the body in the Weimar Republic and early Third Reich, we see a return to age-old notions of how to represent the ideal body, such as visualizations of the Madonna and the Romanesque physiques of ideal males. At the same time we also see completely new representations of the body, such as visually fragmenting the body.

We see a certain degree of continuity in how the idealized female body is represented in filmic images from the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. In both time periods I have shown an example of the idealized female body dressed as the Madonna to symbolize innocence and motherhood. As well, these examples all show the woman looking away from the audience, giving the power of the gaze to the viewer of the image and in essence leaving the female body in the image powerless. This idealized female body juxtaposed with the sexualized female body of the Weimar cinema, represented by her flapper dress and often provocatively positioned body, economically self-

sufficient and powerful in terms of the gaze. The two female representations are also contrasted in terms of setting, with the idealized female body being connected to the natural landscape and the sexualized female body being connected to the city or urban landscape.

In terms of the masculine, I have shown examples of filmic images from the Weimar Republic and Third Reich, which similarly illustrate the idealized male body as muscular and chiseled, imagery reminiscent of Roman sculptures of the masculine form. At the same time, filmic images from the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich represent the vilified male body as having angular and dark facial features, or dehumanized by being represented as a shadow, as an animal or, in the case of *M* (1931), as castrated.

These images functioned to illustrate new and old identities for Germans to absorb and identify themselves with or against. These images, from film posters, pamphlets and promotional photographs, illustrate that there is a certain degree of continuity between ideology and visual images of the female and male body from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich. As laid out in this chapter, there is an integral connection between the images of the two time periods but also a certain degree of discontinuity in how the body was visualized. In Chapter 2, I focus on how actions are visualized to further enhance our understanding of this suggested connection between the ideals of the Nazi body and the images of the body in Weimar films.

Chapter 2:
Lights, Camera, Actions!

Historians have analyzed the actions in which the body engages, in a specific time and place, for the story they tell about that period's social and cultural history. W.H. McNeill in his book on dance and drill in human history argues that rhythmic and muscular actions are essential modes of communication in human society.⁸⁵ He "places bodily activity as a mode of expression and communication at the core of human sociality."⁸⁶ In the twentieth-century German context, Claudia Koonz argues that, "where Nazi power reigned, men and women remained separated by function, personality and responsibilities."⁸⁷ In other words, how a body acted was integral to its gendered function in society. She points out that men and women did not partake in the same actions and therefore, did not serve the same function. In this chapter, I expand Koonz's time frame and analyse film posters, pamphlets and promotional photographs produced in the years leading up to and during the Third Reich in order to examine not only the role played by gender, class, race and sexuality in visualizing actions of the body and their relationship to idealized notions of masculinity and femininity, but also how representations of ideal masculine and feminine actions show both continuity and discontinuity between Weimar and the Third Reich notions of the body.

Representations of human actions give us further insight into how the body was encouraged to behave, not just look, according to social and cultural norms. Historians who explore actions

⁸⁵ W. H. McNeill, Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History (Cambridge: Cambridge MA, 1995), 156.

⁸⁶ Paul Filmer, "Embodying Citizenship: Corporeality and Civility in Early Modernity," *European Review of History*, March 2000 Vol 7 (1), 3.

⁸⁷ Claudia Koonz, Mothers in the Fatherland, 16.

suggest approaching them as a mechanism used for disciplining the individual or body politic into societal norms. In “Embodying Citizenship,” Paul Filmer has linked this process to the beginning of citizenship in the early modern period in Europe. He argues,

Through competent bodily action, the individual can bring their body to a condition in which relations with other, comparably reflexive embodied individuals can be sustained in ways stable enough to make social and political order possible.⁸⁸

Therefore, individuals began to partake in ‘competent bodily actions’ in order to fit in with other individuals whom they perceived through visual recognition to partake in the same ‘competent bodily actions.’ The importance of this argument is that it highlights the direct connection between appearances and actions of the body and their relation to social inclusivity. Filmer further writes that with an increasing interest in finding methods to control individual’s physical activities, “people come to increasingly perceive themselves as separate, detached and different from others as well as developing a greater degree of reflexivity about their bodies,”⁸⁹ which he connects to Norbert Elias’s ‘civilizing process.’ Filmer argues that this in turn was “essential to the elaboration of social distinctions and differentiations.”⁹⁰ In other words, with the privileging of certain physical activities, society created a means for men and women to be reflexive about their own bodies and through this process become increasingly aware of physical and visual differences between themselves and others. Filmic images enhanced self-awareness of appearance and behavior in assessing individual identities.

⁸⁸ Filmer, “Embodying Citizenship,” 3.

⁸⁹ Filmer, “Embodying Citizenship,” 5.

⁹⁰ Filmer, “Embodying Citizenship,” 5.

As I have previously mentioned, historians have suggested that the body by the turn of the twentieth century had become a site of modern discipline, in that people under the guise of controlling their own body were really being influenced by social norms. There is no greater means of disciplining individual bodies to fit the body politics' needs than through encouraging the body to partake in specific actions deemed useful to the state and thereby mould "potentially rebellious subjects"⁹¹ into hard working or appropriately functioning citizens. Filmic images are a valuable source for exploring not only how the ideal masculine and feminine bodies were visualized, but also what actions were associated with these ideals and conversely which actions were deemed undesirable. Images from films were one major medium through which specific actions would be represented as a means to encourage audience identification.

The Working Man:

As laid out in the previous chapter the muscular male body was associated with an idealized masculinity in the 1930s. Furthermore this visualization was integral to projecting the male body as a symbol of state power in that "his powerful body personified the powerful state."⁹² However, understanding the visual is only half the story. German sport and body historian J.A. Mangan rightly argues that in the Nazi state,

⁹¹ Hau, The Cult of Health and Beauty, 5.

⁹² J. A. Mangan, "Global Fascism and the Male Body: Ambitions, Similarities and Dissimilarities," *International Journal of the History of Sports*, 1999 16(4), 5.

Male association, identification and effort were bound together by a single purpose – to prepare the male body for the highest and most specific form of masculinity: military action in pursuit of a supreme Fascist state.⁹³

He further argues that, “sport was an important part of Fascist socialization. The reasons are not hard to find. Sport develops muscle and muscle is equated with power – literally and metaphorically.”⁹⁴ Filmic images of the male body from the Third Reich support Mangan’s theory regarding Nazi Germany’s idealization of masculinity and sport. Fig. 16, from a poster for *Olympia* (1938), is a classic example of the Nazi fascination with sport and the ideal masculine body. In this image we see an idealized male body, emulating the sculptures of the Greeks, as the body poses on a sculpture’s pedestal and is partaking in the physical activity of sport, specifically discus throwing.

Arnd Kruger echoes Mangan’s argument when he suggests that the Nazis emphasized the importance of physical fitness in order to “ensure that in the case of war German youth would be fit enough to need only a short period of military training.”⁹⁵ Kruger further maintains that the attempt to shape the Nazi superman “lasted only twelve years,”⁹⁶ indicating that this male body, as well as its association with sport and the physical, had only been idealized during the reign of the Third Reich.

However, Hau points out in his study of the body in Weimar Germany, that even before the First World War “sport functionaries had stressed the importance of sports mainly for military

⁹³ J. A. Mangan, “Global Fascism and the Male Body,” 10.

⁹⁴ J. A. Mangan, “Global Fascism and the Male Body,” 1.

⁹⁵ Arnd Kruger, “Breeding, Rearing and Preparing the Aryan Body: Creating Supermen the Nazi Way,” *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 1999 16(2) 46.

⁹⁶ Kruger, “Breeding, Rearing and Preparing the Aryan Body,” 61.

preparedness. In the 1920s, they frequently emphasized that sports contributed to the health of the nation.”⁹⁷

To address the gaps in Kruger’s and Mangan’s arguments, I examine the connection between the represented body of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich as well as how positively enforced male body actions shaped German notions of masculinity in these two periods. The examples that I will examine illustrate that in fact both time periods represented idealized male bodies partaking in similar physical activities. As in the previous chapter, my analysis will take into account the role of setting in determining whether actions are vilified or idealized.

The major theme associated with the idealized male was action itself. Hatt argues that “the transmission of masculinity is dependent on the visual economy of these spaces.”⁹⁸ He further maintains that men watching men is considered a masculine activity if it takes place in an “exclusively male site”⁹⁹ that displays “an economy of power,”¹⁰⁰ his example being the boxing ring setting of the 1898 painting *Salutat*. This argument is applicable to the representations of male interaction in images from Weimar and Nazi film posters and promotional photographs from film pamphlets.

In Fig. 28, a promotional photograph from *Kameradschaft* (1931), we see men cleansing themselves and (in the background) cleansing each other’s bodies. These bodies have the same physical characteristics of the idealized male as laid out in the previous chapter. Also, the bodies would appear to encourage men looking at men as eroticised since the men are all nude. However,

⁹⁷ Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty*, 127.

⁹⁸ Hatt, “Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins’ *Salutat*,” 62.

⁹⁹ Hatt, “Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins’ *Salutat*,” 62.

¹⁰⁰ Hatt, “Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins’ *Salutat*,” 62.

unlike the female bodies, which are made a spectacle through eroticisation, these bodies are associated with actions that masculinize their characters, maintaining them as the ideal. If we apply Hatt's argument to this image it would appear that the action is associated with the idealized masculine body since it takes place in the 'exclusively male site' of a mine. Furthermore since the image is located in a mine, a site of work, it displays 'an economy of power', another aspect that Hatt argues maintains the masculine association. While mine labour is not an action that would be considered a sport it is clearly associated with the physical, in this case physical labour.

Kruger and others argue that the nudism movement in Nazi Germany "with its emphasis on perfection of the body – through exercises and breeding – was part of physical culture and sport."¹⁰¹ However in Fig. 28, a poster from *Kameradschaft* (1931) created during the Weimar Republic, it is not sport that is the method through which the perfect male body was achieved but rather it is physical labour and, like certain ideologies of Nazi Germany, this image seems to favour nudism. This is representative of the late-nineteenth-century shift in the masculine ideal from the mental to the physical, and from the upper class to the working class. Power is represented in this image through the physical strength of the miner's bodies. Also, indicative of the leftist perspective of the film and its director, G. W. Pabst, since it is the lower class or worker's bodies that are visualized as exemplary of ideal masculinity it would seem that the 'economy of power' is in the hands of the working class.

Another image that privileges the physical labour of the working class man is Fig. 18, another poster from *Kameradschaft* (1931). This image displays two idealized masculine bodies which, in both their bodies and faces, are sculpted to replicate Greek and Roman sculptures, an

¹⁰¹ Arnd Kruger, Fabian Kruger and Sybille Treptau, "Nudism in Nazi Germany: Indecent Behaviour or Physical Culture for the Well-being of the Nation," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2002 19 (4), 35.

idealization that connects Nazi notions of the body to those of the Weimar Republic. In the image the two male bodies are each holding a shovel and a pick, thereby associating the bodies with physical labour. Therefore this representation of the male body reinforces the notion that physical labour is a positive bodily action associated with the idealized masculinity. And again we see that the idealized male, visualized nude and therefore creating a spectacle, is able to maintain his masculinity through actions associated with his body and physique.

While historians have suggested that all actions can be seen as a means of disciplining the individual, the actions of the military body represent the height of control and discipline of the male body. For the military body, marching is a visual metaphor for the direct control of the national body over the individual body.¹⁰² Fig. 29, from a pamphlet for *Triumph des Willens* (1935), is a good example of the control and discipline associated with the military body. *Triumph des Willens* (1935) was the first major film directed by Leni Riefenstahl for Hitler and Goebbels and it focused on the 1934 Nazi Party rally in Nuremberg. Therefore, most of the film's images are representations of the idealized masculine body partaking in military activities. This film is often thought to epitomize Nazi filmic propaganda and is representative of the idealized Aryan body as visualized by Riefenstahl. In Fig. 29, the bodies are standing in such strict formations and clean lines, highlighting the degree of control that the body on the podium at the front of the formations, in particular Hitler, has over the other bodies. The images from this film are some of the first to represent the male body in military action in such a idealized fashion. In Fig. 30 and Fig. 31, both from a pamphlet for the film *Triumph des Willens* (1935) we see the Hitler Youth marching in formation. While this also highlights military discipline, it also represents continuity between idealized actions of the Weimar

¹⁰² To read more on the action of marching as a means of discipline, see Theweleit, Male Fantasies, 49.

Republic and those of the Third Reich. For example, the soldiers in this image are holding shovels, a symbol that represents physical labour and as previously shown is used in images from *Kameradschaft* (1931). The shovel, as symbol in *Kameradschaft* (1931), is representative of physical labour and a lower class 'economy of power', representations and notions taken up by Riefenstahl and the Nazi State. In this sense the Nazis appropriated symbols of the Weimar Republic and especially those that were in keeping with Nazi ideological emphasis on labour and incorporated them into the notion of the idealized military body.

One masculine action that proliferated in filmic images from both the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich is that of mountain climbing, an action that takes place in the natural setting, and illustrates a similar interest in sport in both time periods. The lasting power of representations of this masculine action is largely thanks to Riefenstahl. Fig. 32 from a poster for the film *Der König des Mont Blanc* (1934) shows a male body fighting adversity to climb a mountain, in essence representing two privileged male actions. Physical actions associated with the idealized masculine body are never projected as easy and therefore fighting adversity is a common motif. While it is tempting to see this as purely a fascist phenomenon of preparing the male body for military responsibilities and hardships, it is also a trend that is visible in Weimar filmic images. For example, Fig. 33, a poster for *Kameradschaft* (1931), shows the idealized masculine bodies associated with physical labour fighting the adversity of a mine explosion. Fig. 34, a photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), shows Luis Trenker climbing a steep mountainside. It is important to remember, as I laid out in the previous chapter, that the female body is often visualized as representative of mountains and therefore these images of the male body conquering a mountain could be read as the masculine conquering the feminine. Therefore, these images are representative of both the male

action of overcoming adversity and the physical action of mountain climbing, which can be further interpreted as conquering a woman.

The last action associated with the ideal masculine body is that of saving or rescuing. An early example of this is found in Fig. 35, a poster for the film *Die Insel der Verbotenen Kusse* (1926), in which we see the same idealized masculine face and body as in other images, such as Fig. 18 from *Kameradschaft* (1931). In Fig. 35, we see the male saving a woman, which is representative of the age-old notion of the ideal masculine rescuing the ideal feminine. However, women are not the only bodies who are rescued by the male. For example, Fig. 33, a film poster for *Kameradschaft* (1931), illustrates the rescuer and rescued body in almost an identical fashion to Fig. 35, except that the body being rescued is male. Just like in Fig. 35, the rescued body has its head thrown back and appears to be unconscious and the rescuer has his arms wrapped around the rescued body. As well, Fig. 36, a photograph used for promotional purposes for the film *Kameradschaft* (1931), shows one male body saving another. Again there are other symbols present in this image that give us clues as to its meaning, such as the mask worn by the rescuer. Having seen the film one would easily recognize this mask as representing a gas mask used to protect the rescuer because of the mine explosion. However, to the viewer of the poster who had not seen the film, the mask could also be seen as a gas mask used in military combat, shifting the space of the photograph from a mine to a battlefield. The ambiguity of the mask as symbol gives the image deeper meaning as it interweaves the plight of the soldier with that of the labourer and at the same time presents both as idealized masculine actions, in both the plot and the promotional imagery for this film. Furthermore in both of these masculine sites, male comradeship and physical contact are clearly condoned and even encouraged. Therefore, while we see symbols of physical labour in images from the Third Reich

such as Fig. 30 and Fig. 31, both photographs from *Triumph des Willens* (1935), we also see allusions to military action in images from the late Weimar Republic.

What is further interesting about Fig. 36 and Fig. 33, both images from *Kameradschaft* (1931), is that both men remain idealized masculine bodies even though one is in a position of power as the rescuer and one is the rescued. As previously noted, Hatt argues that men watching men as represented in images of male nudity is still considered heterosexual if they are located in an exclusively male site. I would argue that the representation of a man in the position of being rescued, in the same manner as a representation of a man as spectacle, could be still visualized as masculine so long as the action takes place in an exclusively male site as it does in this image. This argument works no matter how the audience interprets the setting of the image, as a military or a mining site, since both are exclusively male sites.

Therefore in the film posters discussed above we see examples of Hatt's "homosocial visual economy"¹⁰³ as coexisting with notions of idealized masculinity. However, what disrupts this idealized man viewing another man in a masculine spatial environment is the role and makeup of the audience. During the Weimar period and even more so during the Third Reich as a result of men being drawn away to battle, women were the primary viewing audience, placing this idealized masculine space in a position to be viewed by a female majority audience. In this way it is not a two-way gaze but rather a triangle in which we have the two male characters in the film and also the audience gaze. Hatt argues that "to counter the threat of the eroticisation of the male body, *Salutat* requires an imaginary female viewer."¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the homosocial spatial environment free of the feminine is only necessary for the setting in the filmic image, and in fact to keep this environment legitimately masculine it is essential that the audience actually consisted of female viewers. While

¹⁰³ Hatt, "Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins' *Salutat*," 63.

this might seem like it gives the female viewer power as the controller of the gaze it can actually be read as a means of using the female viewer to keep the homoerotic, masculine world free of the feminine while legitimising its masculinity through the gaze of the female audience member.

I have attempted to show which male actions were idealized in German film posters, pamphlets and other promotional photographs of the late 1920s and 1930s. While it has been suggested that the privileging of sport as an idealized masculine action was a Nazi Germany phenomenon, the examples that I have shown illustrate that in fact Weimar Germany idealized many of the same masculine activities. These actions were consistently associated with the physical, including mountain climbing, physical labour, sport, military service and rescue operations. Furthermore I have stressed the importance of setting and how it relates to masculine representation in both time periods. For instance, if a space is represented as an exclusively male site, such as a labour camp or a military camp, then the idealized masculine can act in ways that would otherwise be deemed homoerotic and unmanly and include nudity, men cleansing each other and being men rescuing men.

Hatt argues that the newly idealized masculinity, which was associated with the physical, was set against a negative masculinity that was viewed as “overcivilised, overgenteel and overfeminine.”¹⁰⁵ While I did not uncover such images of unmanly men in my research, the major action associated with vilified manhood in filmic images from the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich was stalking a woman or the innocent.

Fig. 27 from *Metropolis* (1926), Fig. 26 from *M* (1931) and Fig. 25 from *Nosferatu* (1921) all show dehumanised male bodies involved in the action of stalking a female victim. Fig. 37, from a pamphlet for the film *Jud Süß* (1940), shows the vilified male body, representing the Jewish villain,

¹⁰⁴ Hatt, “Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins’ *Salutat*,” 68.

stalking the idealized female represented by Kristina Söderbaum. While similar images of evil and predatory men appeared in German film posters of the Weimar and Third Reich periods, the poster promoting *Jud Süß* (1940) in Fig. 37 presents a racialized image, in keeping with the Nazi notion that Jewish men posed a sexual danger to innocent German women. This suggests both continuity and change in masculine representation – in terms of appearance and action – between the two eras.

Dancing Around Discipline

This section will examine the actions associated with the female body in the late 1920s and 1930s in filmic imagery. One action that surfaced repeatedly in film posters from both time periods was dance, which was linked to either idealized femininity or what was considered to be transgressive female behaviour.

Since dance as a female action is represented both positively and negatively, one needs to look for other clues in the image to decipher its message. Fig. 38, a promotional photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), is an image that represents dance as a positive female body action. The first time Riefenstahl performs this dance in the film it takes place by the water in a natural setting. However, in this image we see her performing the dance on a stage and therefore presumably for an audience. Unlike the masculinized and sexualized depictions of the cabaret dancer in a flapper dress found in Fig. 11 from *Der Blaue Engel* (1930), in Fig. 38 Riefenstahl is wearing what appears to be a wedding dress with a veil on her head. As a bride, she represents such feminine ideals as innocence and virginity and symbolizes the maintenance of the gender order (i.e. the transfer of the woman from her father's control to her husband's).

¹⁰⁵ Hatt, "Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins' *Salutat*," 59.

Dance for the idealized female body seems to be equivalent to sport for the male body. An example of this is found in Fig. 39, a photograph used for promotional purposes for the film *Olympia* (1938), in which we see a nude female body gracefully extending backwards. Her body is angled so as to appear open to the warmth of the sun and the natural environment, again connecting the female body to nature. While the nude male body needs to be in an exclusively male environment to represent the idealized masculinity, it is possible that the nude female body needs to be in the natural setting, or a feminine environment, for it to be positively represented. However, unlike the male body, which is photographed for *Olympia* (1938) in positions associated with sporting events such as Fig. 17, in which we see an almost nude male body throwing the discus, in this image the female body appears to be performing gymnastics or dancing.

Similar to sport in the case of men, dance was a tangible and symbolic means of disciplining the female body. Hau argues that, “the beauty of graceful movements... was the result of body discipline.”¹⁰⁶ Mark Franko in his work on dance in the Renaissance writes, “The physical discipline required by dance was in many ways indistinguishable from that required by civility.”¹⁰⁷ Filmer echoes this argument by suggesting that social dances “epitomised the importance of the controls required of the body by the new codes of civility.”¹⁰⁸ Physical discipline was required in both the strictly controlled dance and the freer dance style of the Weimar period. Fig. 38, a photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), and Fig. 39 from *Olympia* (1938) suggest continuity in the depiction of dance, especially in a natural setting, as an idealized feminine action and as symbolic of maintaining gendered social order in the 1920s and 1930s.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty*, 97.

¹⁰⁷ M. Franko, *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography* (Birmingham, 1986), 31.

¹⁰⁸ Filmer, “Embodying Citizenship,” 3.

Conversely, objectifying images of cabaret dancers from the Weimar period as depicted in Fig. 11 from a promotional photograph for *Der Blaue Engel* (1930), with their sexual, class, and masculine connotations suggests a loss of sexual self-control and actions transgressive of gender norms. Other transgressive female activities found in film posters of the 1920s and 1930s were drinking and smoking. Fig. 40, a photograph from *Der Blaue Engel* (1930), shows Marlene Dietrich drinking wine. In the image she controls the power of the gaze by staring out of the photograph at the viewer, and therefore is presented as a powerful and dangerous female figure. Furthermore, she is drinking, which is associated with gluttony and sexual freedom, notions often attached to the figure of the New Woman. Fig. 13, a poster for the film *Durchlaucht Radieschen* (1926) shows a female body involved in another promiscuous female activity, smoking. Again the female body is depicted as dangerously powerful through her sexuality as she dangles the crown on her extended and exposed leg.

Aside from certain forms of dance, the other action associated with the ideal feminine is, not surprisingly, inaction, whereby the body is represented purely through appearance. Examples of this can be found in Fig. 3, a photograph from *Jud Süß* (1940), and Fig. 2, a photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926). The essence of these images lies in the angelic and even more so the Madonna-like qualities of the female figure while the female body in the images remains inactive. Fig 7, another photograph from *Der Heilige Berg* (1926), shows Riefenstahl sitting in front of the German mountain landscape. Instead of climbing the mountain, which is an activity reserved for the male lead in film posters, in this image Riefenstahl is just sitting. This is particularly interesting given that in the film we see Riefenstahl both climbing and skiing with the male characters, whereas in the promotional literature, she is either dancing or inactive in a natural setting.

When comparing the actions associated with the feminine and those associated with the masculine, it is evident that the idealized masculine is associated with physical action and the vilified male body is associated with predatory behaviour; the idealized feminine is associated with inactivity and the sexualised female body is associated with activity. Where this generalization does not apply is to dance, which is represented either positively or negatively. Location is as important to the act of dance for women as it is for male activities. However, while for men it is important for the action to take place in an exclusively male site, for women it seems equally important for dance to take place in a natural landscape rather than in a cabaret for it to be considered ideally feminine, which is evident in images from both time periods. Besides cabaret dancing, actions that are associated with the transgressive female body are those related to certain kinds of consumption, including drinking and smoking.

In this chapter I have examined the idealized and negative depictions of male and female bodily actions in German film posters produced during the Weimar and early Third Reich periods. These images illustrate an 'appearance of continuity' between the ideologies of the two time periods in terms of the ideal body and its function in society. For example, these images show the continuity of male working class relations and class symbols, such as the shovel, an idea borrowed from the Weimar images and reinterpreted by the Nazis. Furthermore, these images have shown that at least to some degree both time periods privilege actions that require the most discipline and control over the body, such as mountain climbing, military training or dance, which hint at more general forms of social discipline. However, there were also shifts in the visual representation of social ideologies. For instance, we see an increase in the prominence of the military body and military actions during the Third Reich as well as more severely racialized representations of the male villain, although there were also glimpses of these depictions in the Weimar period. By privileging certain actions

and associating specific body types with these actions such images further established ideals against which individual bodies were encouraged to judge themselves and those around them, notions that were, at least to some degree, similar in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich.

Conclusion:

What is the Nazi body aesthetic? To understand what evolved to be known as the Nazi body aesthetic I have approached the represented body as a site through which we can explore how films, and in particular filmic images, function as a means of encouraging social norms specific to their context. By analyzing how bodies were represented in film posters in terms of physical characteristics and actions I have hoped to show how what we now think of as the Nazi body aesthetic was really a continuation of pre-existing notions about the body in the German context. These images show the 'appearance of continuity' in notions of femininity and masculinity between the two time periods. Furthermore they illustrate how, for really the first time in film's short history, individuals and the body politic were encouraged to associate visual attributes, such as physical characteristics, clothing, activities and locations, with a person's personality. This is an extremely important function of filmic images, which has previously gone unstudied, and which likely aided in the rule of a regime like the Third Reich, which was built so strongly on visual differences between the ideal German and the Jewish or communist 'other'.

In Chapter 1 I suggested how analyzing filmic images from the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich illustrates that there existed a certain degree of continuity between how the idealized female body was visualized. The similarities between the images included costume choices, lighting techniques and looks that lacked the power of the gaze. The examples that I analyzed, using these similar techniques represented the idealized female body as innocent, motherly and powerless. These images were in contrast to images of the sexualized female body which proliferated in the Weimar cinema and which, using similar techniques, was represented as sexual, economically self-sufficient and powerful. In terms of images of men, I showed how the male body was glorified and

in fact made a spectacle of, similarly to the female body, prior to the Third Reich. In filmic images from both the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich we see the same idealized masculine representation, reminiscent of Roman sculptures, in which the body is highly muscular with Caucasian facial features and colourings. I also showed examples of the vilified male body from both time periods to illustrate that the caricature of the villain from the Third Reich, often represented as Jewish, was a similar caricature to that of the villain represented in filmic images from the Weimar Republic, as is visible in films such as *M* (1931) and *Nosferatu* (1921).

In Chapter 2, I showed how filmic images give us examples of how bodies were encouraged to act as well as appear. Building on examples and trends illustrated in Chapter 1, I showed how dance was an idealized bodily action for the female body, in images from the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, as it could both keep the female body fit and, to a certain degree, control the female body. I also showed how the action of the body is inseparable from the appearance of the body since dance was also an action associated with the sexualized female body. However, visual techniques such as costume selection, in this case a flapper dress, and setting, in this case urban, as well other subtle symbols from filmic images would indicate that for these female bodies the action of dance was sexualized and not idealized. In terms of the male body, I showed how the connection between sport and the idealized male body is represented in filmic images from both the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. In particular, examples of filmic images from both time periods showed the idealized male body partaking in physical actions such as mountain climbing, labour and daring rescue. On the other hand, I also showed examples from both time periods visualizing the vilified male body stalking female victims, although by the time of the Third Reich this body was much more racialized than it had previously been.

These images show how the Third Reich did not create a new ideal of the functioning citizen but drew on already established images of the body and its actions to further its ideological intentions. Understanding this connection helps us to better understand how individual Germans were able to adapt quickly to such strict limitations on personal freedom of choice and expression, and social ideologies in terms of chosen identities and body ideals. Furthermore, by exploring the messages and meanings connected to images of the body in Weimar Germany I have hoped to suggest how it is not just the film industry of totalitarian regimes, like the Third Reich and the Italian Fascists, which encourage social conformity. With the visual world becoming increasingly prominent, it is the job of historians to return to the early years of filmic imagery to explore how films have functioned in the past so that we can better understand their function in the present. Understanding, on a microcosmic level such as the cinema, the existence of some consistencies between the Third Reich and the Weimar Republic will help us to understand on a larger level the evolution of one culture into another. Although this thesis limits itself to how German film posters visualized the body, it is my hope that this trend will be further explored in order to better understand how encouraging bodies to look and act might actually have influenced these bodies.

Bibliography

- Adelson, Leslie. Making Bodies, Making History: Feminism and German Identity. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
- Adler, Kathleen and Marcia Pointon, "Bodies of Masculinity." In The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual culture since the Renaissance. Ed Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993.
- Ankersmit, F.R. Historical Representation. California: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Ascheid, Antje. Hitler's Heroines: Stardom and Womanhood in Nazi Cinema. Temple University Press, 2003.
- Berman, Patricia G. "Body and Body Politic in Edvard Munch's *Bathing Men*." In The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual culture since the Renaissance. Ed Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993.
- Boscagli, Maurizia. Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity in the Twentieth Century. Perseus Books, 1996.
- Bulter, Judith. Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Canning, Kathleen. "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History." *Gender & History*, 1999 11(3): 499-513.
- Chapman, Rowena, and Jonathan Rutherford. "The Forward March of Men Halted." In Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988.
- Conor, Liz. The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Elder, R. Bruce. The Body in Film. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1989.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Film History and Visual Pleasure: Weimar Cinema." In Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices. Ed. Patricia Mellencamp and Phillip Rosen. Frederick: University Publications of America, 1984.
- Elyot, Sir Thomas. The Book Named the Governor. London: 1962.
- Feher, Michel. "Introduction." In Fragments for a History of the Human Body. New York: Zone, 1989.

- Filmer, Paul. "Embodying Citizenship: Corporeality and Civility in Early Modernity." *European Review of History*, March 2000 Vol 7 (1), 109-121.
- Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Foucault, Michel. The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Franko, M. The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography. Birmingham, 1986.
- Gaines, Jane. "Introduction." In Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body. Ed. Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Gaines, Jane. "Costume and Narrative: How Dress Tells us the Women's Story." In Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body. Ed. Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Godmillow, Jill and Ann-Louise Shapiro. "How Real is the Reality in Documentary Film?" *History and Theory*, 1997 Vol 36 (4): 80-101.
- Guenther, Irene. Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich. New York: Berg, 2004.
- Hake, Sabine. Popular Cinema of the Third Reich. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.
- Harris, Ian M. Messages Men Hear: Constructing Masculinities. London: Taylor and Francis, 1995.
- Hatt, Michael. "Muscles, morals, mind: the male body in Thomas Eakins' *Salutat*." In The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual culture since the Renaissance. Ed Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993.
- Hau, Michael. The Cult of Health and Beauty: A Social History, 1890-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Hitler, Adolf. Mein Kampf. Trans. Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943.
- Hoffman, Hilmar. Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism, 1933-1945. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996.
- Hull, David Stewart. Film in the Third Reich: A Study of the German Cinema, 1933-1945. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Kaes, Anton. From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- Koonz, Claudia. Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Kracauer, Siegfried. From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of German Film. Princeton University Press, 1947.
- Kruger, Arnd. "Breeding, Rearing and Preparing the Aryan Body: Creating Supermen the Nazi Way." In *International Journal of the History of Sport*. 1999 Vol 16(2): 42-68.
- Kruger, Arnd. "There goes this art of manliness: Naturism and Racial Hygiene in Germany." In *Journal of Sport History*, Spring 1991 Vol. 18 (1): 135-158.
- Kruger, Arnd, Fabian Kruger and Sybille Treptau. "Nudism in Nazi Germany: Indecent Behaviour or Physical Culture for the Well-being of the Nation." In *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2002 Vol. 19(4): 33-54.
- Leiser, Erwin. Nazi Cinema. Trans. Gertrud Mander and David Wilson. London: Secker and Warburg, 1974.
- Outram, Dorinda. The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Mangan, J.A. "Global Fascism and the Male Body: Ambitions, Similarities and Dissimilarities." In *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 1999 Vol 16(4): 1-26.
- McLaren, Angus. The Trails of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries 1870-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- McNeill, W.H. Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History. Cambridge: Cambridge MA, 1995.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. Bodyscape: Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Monaco, Paul. Cinema and Society: France and Germany during the Twenties. New York: Elsevier, 1976.
- Mort, Frank. "Boy's Own." In Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity. Ed. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988.
- Mosse, George L. The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966.

- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In Feminism and Film Theory. Ed Constance Penley. New York: Routledge, 1988, 57-68.
- Outram, Dorinda. The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Parr, Joy. "Gender History and Historical Practice." In *Canadian Historical Review*, 1995 Vol 76 (3): 354-376.
- Parr, Joy. "Notes for a More Sensuous History of Twentieth-Century Canada: The Timely, the Tacit, and the Material Body." In *The Canadian Historical Review*, 2001 Vol 82 (4): 720-745.
- Pinkus, Karen. Bodily Regimes: Italian Advertising under Fascism. Minneapolis, 1995.
- Pleck, Joseph H. The Myth of Masculinity. Cambridge: MIT press, 1981.
- Rentschler, Eric. The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Aftermath. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Riefenstahl, Leni. A Memoir. Picador, 1992.
- Rutherford, Jonathan. "Who's that Man?" In Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity. Ed Jonathon Rutherford and Rowena Chapman. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988.
- Saunders, Thomas. "History in the Making." In Framing the Past: The Historiography of German Cinema and Television. Ed. Bruce A. Murray and Christopher J. Wickham. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992, 42-67.
- Schulte-Sasse, Linda. Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Schulte-Sasse, Linda. "Leni Riefenstahl's Feature Film." In Framing the Past: the Historiography of German Cinema and Television. Ed. Bruce A. Murray and Christopher J. Wickham. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992, 140-166.
- Theweleit, Klaus. Male Fantasies. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Usborne, Cornelia. The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Welch, David. Propaganda and the German Cinema: 1933-1945. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Witte, Karsten. "The Indivisible Legacy of Nazi Cinema." In *New German Critique*, 1998 Vol 74: 23-30.

Usborne, Cornelia. The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Figure 1

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.



Figure 2

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.



Figure 3

Jud Süß, Veit Harlan, Dir., Terra-Filmkunst, 1940.



Figure 4

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.



Figure 5

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.



Figure 6

Das Blaue Licht, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion, 1932.



Figure 7

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.

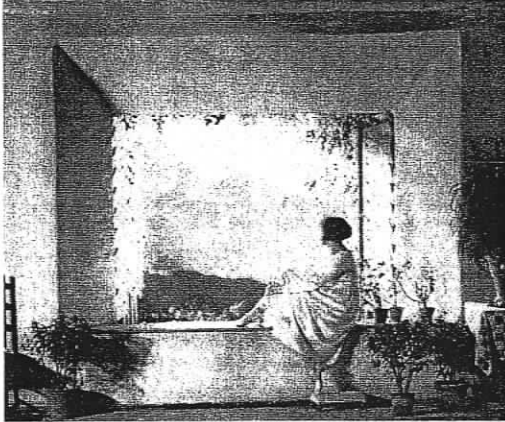


Figure 8

Das Blaue Licht, Leni Riefenstahl, Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion, 1932.



Figure 9

Olympia, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., International Olympic Committee, Olympia Film, Tobis Filmkunst, 1938.



Figure 10

Die Keusche Susanne, Richard Eichberg, Dir., Richard Eichberg-Film GmbH, 1926.



Figure 11

Der Blaue Engel, Josef von Sternberg, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1930.



Figure 12

Die Drei Mannequins, Jaap Speyer, Dir., Terra-Film, 1926.



Figure 13

Durchlaucht Radieschen, Richard Eichberg, Dir., Richard Eichberg-Film GmbH, 1927.



Figure 14

Luxusweibchen, Erich Schönfelder, Dir., Richard Eichberg-Film GmbH, 1925.



Figure 15

Die Kleine vom Bummel, Richard Eichberg, Dir., Eichberg-Film GmbH, 1925.



Figure 16

Olympia, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., * International Olympic Committee, Olympia Film, Tobis Filmkunst, 1938.



Figure 17

Olympia, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., * International Olympic Committee, Olympia Film, Tobis Filmkunst, 1938.



Figure 18

Kameradschaft, Georg Wilhelm Pabst, Dir., Nero-Film AG and Gaumont-Franco Film-Aubert (G.F.F.A), 1931.

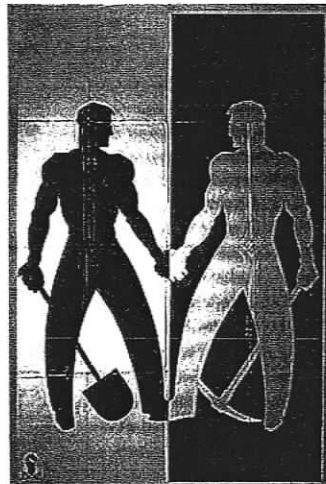


Figure 19

Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens, F.W. Murnau, Dir., Jofa-Atelier Berlin-Johannisthal and Prana-Film GmbH, 1921.



Figure 20

Jud Süß, Veit Harlan, Dir., Terra-Filmkunst, 1940.



Figure 21

M, Fritz Lang, Dir., Nero Film AG, 1931.



Figure 22

Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens, F.W. Murnau, Dir., Jofa-Atelier Berlin-Johannisthal and Prana-Film GmbH, 1921.



Figure 23

Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens, F.W. Murnau, Dir., Jofa-Atelier Berlin-Johannisthal and Prana-Film GmbH, 1921.



Figure 24

M, Fritz Lang, Dir., Nero Film AG, 1931.



Figure 25

Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens, F.W. Murnau, Dir., Jofa-Atelier Berlin-Johannisthal and Prana-Film GmbH, 1921.



Figure 26

M, Fritz Lang, Dir., Nero Film AG, 1931.



Figure 27

Metropolis, Fritz Lang, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1927.

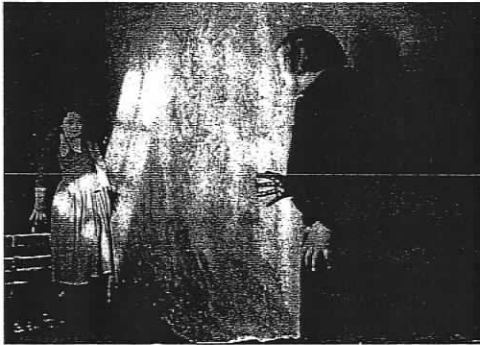


Figure 28

Kameradschaft, Georg Wilhelm Pabst, Dir., Nero-Film AG and Gaumont-Franco Film-Aubert (G.F.F.A), 1931.



Figure 29

Triumph des Willens, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion and NSDAP Reichpropagandaleitung Hauptabt Film, 1935.

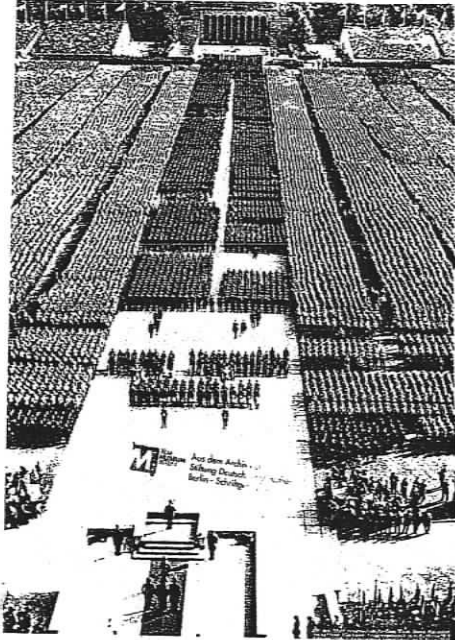


Figure 30

Triumph des Willens, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion and NSDAP Reichpropagandaleitung Hauptabt Film, 1935.



Figure 31

Triumph des Willens, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion and NSDAP Reichpropagandaleitung Hauptabt Film, 1935.

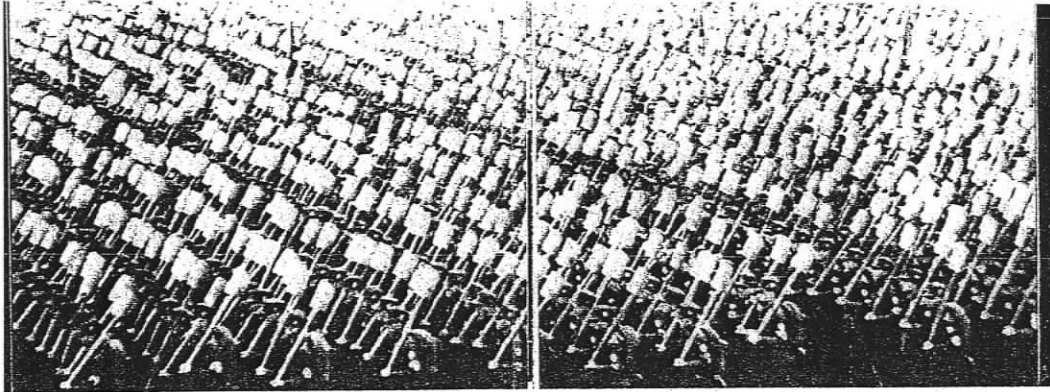


Figure 32

Der König des Mont Blanc, Arnold Banck, Dir., Cine-Allianz Tonfilmproduktions GmbH, 1934.



Figure 33

Kameradschaft, Georg Wilhelm Pabst, Dir., Nero-Film AG and Gaumont-Franco Film-Aubert (G.F.F.A), 1931.



Figure 34

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.



Figure 35

Die Insel der verbotenen Kusse, George Jacoby, Dir., Georg Jacoby-Film GmbH, 1927.



Figure 36

Kameradschaft, Georg Wilhelm Pabst, Dir., Nero-Film AG and Gaumont-Franco Film-Aubert (G.F.F.A), 1931.



Figure 37

Jud Süß, Veit Harlan, Dir., Terra-Filmkunst, 1940.



Figure 38

Der Heilige Berg, Arnold Fanck, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1926.

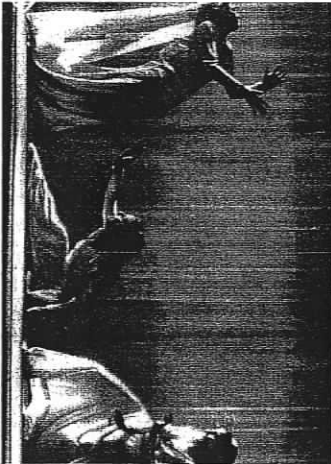


Figure 39

Olympia, Leni Riefenstahl, Dir., * International Olympic Committee, Olympia Film, Tobis Filmkunst, 1938.



Figure 40

Der Blaue Engel, Josef von Sternberg, Dir., Universum Film A.G. (UFA), 1930.

