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# Holocaust. The Photographs of the "Sonderkommando Auschwitz" 1944

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**Tags:** holocaust, genocide, national socialism, ns racism, photography, sociology

**Editor's note:** The photographs of the "Sonderkommando Auschwitz" show a group of Jewish women who were to be led next into the gas chamber from a distance. The extent to which Nazi terror can be documented and represented in photographs becomes evident at the questions that have been raised at the example of these historical testimonials. The photos of the Sonderkommando document the last station of the German "administrative mass murder" in the death factory Auschwitz-Birkenau. They are the only photographs from a German death camp taken from the perspective of prisoners working on site.

# Holocaust. The Photographs of the "Sonderkommando Auschwitz" 1944

# Miriam Yegane Arani

The most famous crime of the Nazi dictatorship – apart from the unleashing of the Second World War – is the Holocaust. The former concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz, built by the SS in German-occupied Poland, became the central site of international remembrance of it. The industrial-scale murder of European Jews that proceeded here is considered by some to be disbelievable and by others to be unimaginable. Only in one case did Jewish victims of the Nazi extermination policy manage to secretly photograph moments immediately before and after people were murdered in a gas chamber. The authorship of these unique pictorial documents from Auschwitz-Birkenau was long attributed to Dawid Szmulewski. In the last decade, the view has prevailed that a Greek-Jewish prisoner named Alex is their author. Behind the story of the creation and transmission of the photographs lies an extraordinary group effort involving a large number of participants. After the war, the photos became the object of fundamental controversies about whether and how to deal with images of Nazi crimes.



Fig. 1

Fig. 1: Secret photographs of Sonderkommando prisoners at Crematorium V in Auschwitz-Birkenau, shortly before 4.9.1944: Sonderkommando prisoners burning corpses in large pits in the open air. Contact copy from a  $6 \times 6$  cm negative on  $6.5 \times 4.8$  cm photographic paper. Probably 2nd image of the series of photographs.

Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, Neg. No. 281

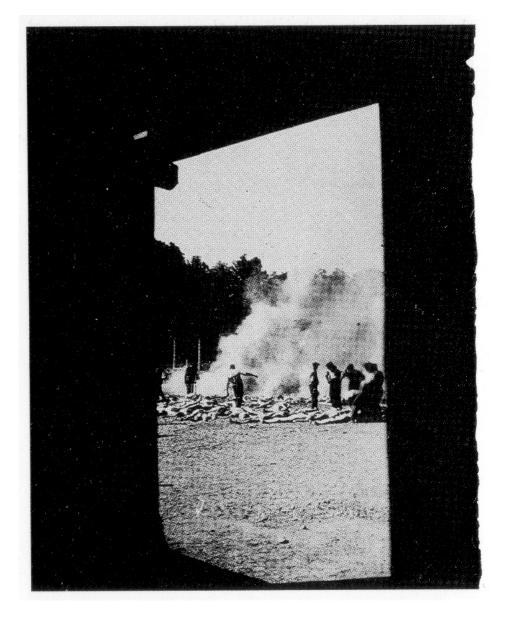


Fig. 2

Secret photographs of Sonderkommando prisoners at Crematorium V in Auschwitz-Birkenau, shortly before 4.9.1944: Sonderkommando prisoners burning corpses in the open air. Contact copy from a  $6 \times 6$  cm negative on  $6.5 \times 4.8$  cm photographic paper. Probably 1st picture of the series.

Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, Neg. No. 281

### Between doubt and curiosity

Proving the murder of European Jews was difficult because the SS had burned almost all written evidence of their crimes before the Allies arrived. But the results of decades of research are clear. Nevertheless, some consider the Holocaust to be implausible, including, initially, the Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac. Full of doubts, he reviewed the sources on the Auschwitz concentration camp and was the first to deal scientifically with the photographs shown here. Pressac described the number and nature of the surviving photographs, located the places where they were taken, and attempted to reconstruct the context in which they were taken. By comparing the photographs with the surviving construction plans and ruins of the Auschwitz crematoria, he came to the conclusion that all four photographs were taken on the grounds of Crematorium V in the far northwest of Birkenau. The many trees in the pictures are an important clue to this, since only Crematorium V was surrounded by a "grove." A prisoner of the so-called Sonderkommando first took two pictures from the northern gas chamber of Crematorium V: They show other prisoners burning corpses in pits under the open sky. Then he took photos in the southeast of the fenced-in area around the crematorium and took two shots against the light towards the south.



Fig. 3

Secret photographs of prisoners of the Sonderkommando at Crematorium V in Auschwitz-Birkenau, shortly before 4.9.1944: Jewish women destined for gassing undressing in the open air in the "little forest". Contact copy from a 6 x 6 cm negative on 6.5 x 9.5 cm photographic paper. Probably 3rd picture of the series. *Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu*, Neg. No. 282

One of these shots shows women undressing at a great distance. In the picture, some already undressed women run out of the group in the background to the front left, while the others are still undressing. Geographically, they are walking toward the east; the gas chambers of Crematorium V were outside the field of view to the west. The women in the foreground did not walk directly to the gas chamber. They walked around the clearing waiting, thinking they were about to take a bath.

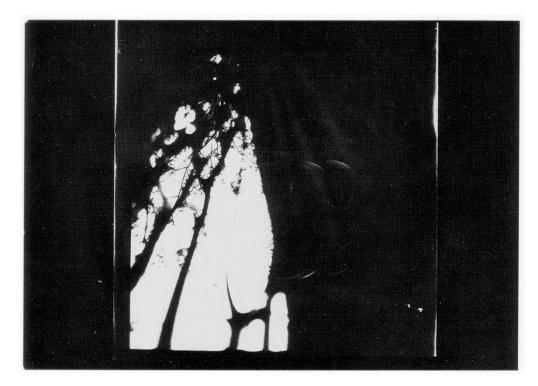


Fig. 4

Secret photographs of prisoners of the Sonderkommando at Crematorium V in Auschwitz-Birkenau, shortly before 4.9.1944: trees in the "grove" and an object in the foreground that cannot be precisely determined. Contact copy from a  $6 \times 6$  cm negative on  $6.5 \times 9.5$  cm photographic paper. Probably 4th image of the series of photographs.

Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, Neg. No. 283

# "Eye Work"

It is due to the survival skills of some prisoners in the Auschwitz concentration camp that any prisoner at all managed to take pictures of the top-secret events in Birkenau. Since 1940, the German executive had imprisoned tens of thousands of Poles as "political" prisoners in the new concentration camp. To avoid the many dangers, some of them deadly, that threatened them in the concentration camp, the Polish prisoners learned "eye work" – quickly observing their surroundings to see if SS men or prisoner functionaries were approaching.

The SS used the majority of the prisoners for hard physical labor. Those who spoke German well tried to get clerical jobs in the camp administration. They began to organize secretly and

occupied more and more key positions, which increased their chances of survival and those of other Poles in the "mordownia" (roughly: murdering). At the end of 1941, all Polish resistance circles in the Auschwitz concentration camp succeeded in uniting into an organization with a common leadership. Thus, the Poles gained unofficial primacy position among the inmates.

The Polish "political" prisoners were mistreated in the same way as the Jewish prisoners, but the Poles had better chances of survival because they could establish contacts with the outside world more easily. Since 1942, some of them were sent food to the camp. In contrast, the Jewish prisoners from different European countries, who were brought to the concentration camp in increasing numbers, usually had nothing in common except their religious affiliation and were not even allowed to send or receive letters.

# Other pictures of Auschwitz prisoners

Photographs are not well suited to depict the experiences of concentration camp prisoners. Some survivors of the former concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz artistically processed what they experienced there. The drawings by Mieczyslaw Koscielniak provide an insight into the terrible everyday life of the prisoners. The paintings by David Olere convey the horrific experiences of the Jewish Sonderkommando.

## The alleged author

What took place in German-occupied Poland could only be partially clarified by the law enforcement authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany after the war. From 1963 to 1967, trials against 22 former members of the SS staff of Auschwitz took place in Frankfurt/Main. During the investigation of the trials, Dawid Szmulewski, a Polish citizen, testified in German on July 13, 1961, how he had taken the two photographs that were published in 1957 in the book by the Polish examining magistrate Jan Sehn on the "Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau) Concentration Camp" as Figures No. 31 and 35. Szmulewski testified that from the end of 1942 to November 1944 he had worked as an Auschwitz prisoner mostly as a roofer and had belonged to the resistance movement. From the latter, he had received a camera in the summer of 1944 to take pictures at the crematoria. Other prisoners had caused damage to the roof of the crematorium building so that he was allowed to enter the grounds for repairs. He had hidden the camera under his jacket and taken the pictures through a buttonhole; only two of the photographs had turned out to be usable. The resistance movement then smuggled them out of the camp with an accompanying letter.

The images in Jan Sehn's book are two enlarged sections of the Sonderkommando photographs. The scenery visible inside the door frame at the cremation pits was enlarged, the other parts of the picture field became "waste". The same happened with the shot of the women undressing in the "little forest". A section that is less than a quarter of the original negative was greatly enlarged and also retouched; the traces of the shooting situation that were visible in the complete image field were eliminated.

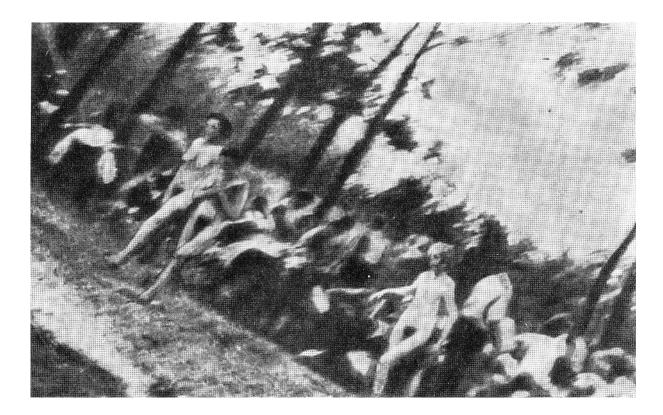


Fig 5. Retouched detail enlargement in Jan Sehn, *Konzentrationslager Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Warsawa 1957.

Dawid Szmulewski's photographic heroic story seemed all too fantastic in terms of camera technology, since he would have had to have had a special device at his disposal for taking pictures through a buttonhole. But neither the Polish nor the German jurists were interested in the technical details of photography. Their attention was focused on the facts to be cleared up. Not only two photographs, but also a multitude of witness statements and evidence proved that crimes of the greatest magnitude had taken place.

Dawid Szmulewski stated in 1961 that the negatives of the photographs were in Poland; their whereabouts remain unclear to this day. Negative materials rarely survived the destruction caused by the war and the post-war turmoil in Poland. As early as October 1960, Wladyslaw Pytlik had given paper prints of the same photographs to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, which former prisoners set up on the former concentration camp grounds soon after the end of the war. Pytlik had been an underground resister against German occupation policies during the war. He was among the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, founded in 1940 in the mining town of Brzeszcze, which acted as a hub of underground contacts between camp inmates and Polish organizations in Krakow. Polish civilian workers assigned to the concentration camp and Polish prisoners working outside the camp secretly transported food, medicine, clothing, etc. into the concentration camp and prisoners' messages out. Pytlik reported in 1960 that he had received the negative film with the photos of the gas murders in Birkenau in 1944 via this courier service and had forwarded it to Krakow, where a number of

prints had been made. He himself fled from Brzeszcze to Kraków at the end of September 1944 to avoid arrest by the Gestapo.

While Szmulewski spoke of two "successful" photographs in 1961, Pytlik had given paper prints of three "successful" photographs to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in 1960. These were two similar-looking but different photographs of the prisoners at the cremation pits and one of the women undressing in the "little forest." They, too, were enlargements showing only part of the entire image field. The enlargement of the women undressing in front of the gas chamber had also been retouched in this case. The reason for this was not necessarily political: the images were adapted to the quality expectations and perceptual conventions of their viewers.

The retouchers made the blurred image of the doomed women more precise according to their respective ideas. The retoucher of the print for Jan Sehn's publication emphasized above all the contours of the women in the foreground and supplemented their surroundings with additional lights and blacks. They appear very roughly "realistically" inked – with hanging breasts and partly distorted faces. In contrast, the retoucher of the paper print that was used as the print for the illustration in Gerhard Schoenberner's book *Der gelbe Stern* (1960) remodeled the women's bodies in the foreground. They appear as slender beauties with taut breasts and finely drawn faces.

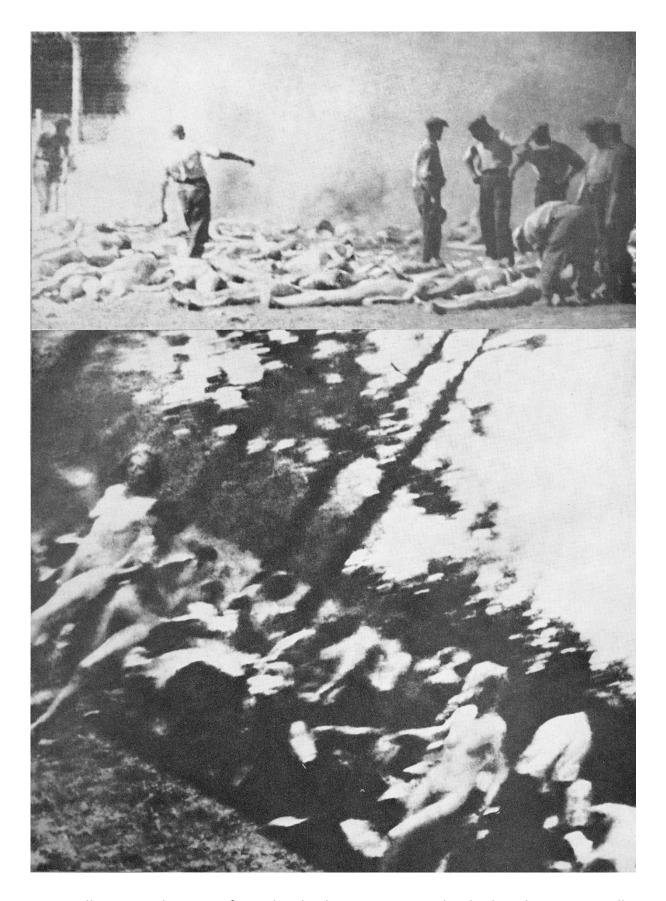


Fig 6. Full-page combination of two detail enlargements in Gerhard Schoenberner *Der gelbe Stern. Die Judenverfolgung in Europa 1933 bis 1945*, Hamburg 1960.

The display of faceless, naked women in front of a gas chamber was obviously unimaginable for both retouchers. They turned a blurry shot that raised many questions into sharp images that promised to give an accurate answer, while at the same time being highly different.

#### Gestural traces

The complete image fields of the original photographs became available to the public only when Danuta Pytlik donated the contact prints of the original negatives to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in 1985 after the death of her husband: There are seven contact prints from four different negatives. Two of them show the prisoners at the cremation pits. Only the contact copies reveal that these pictures were taken from a dark room through an open door. A third contact copy shows many trees and a very small group of women undressing in the "grove" at the bottom left of the picture. A fourth does not seem to contain anything in specific – a few trees photographed out of focus against the sky.

With the photographic films commonly used at the time, which had a light sensitivity of about 16° DIN, outdoor shots were only possible in good weather. The contact prints of the original negatives prove that the prisoner had to master various difficulties with the camera during the taking of the photographs. He moved extremely carefully on the grounds; under no circumstances was he to be seen. In order to photograph the other prisoners at the cremation pits, he hid in a room without lights, where he could operate the camera under the cover of darkness. He photographed the group of Jewish women who were to be led next into the gas chamber from a great distance. The entire image is distorted and spatially disoriented; the horizon line is no longer horizontal, but diagonal. Another shot with blurred tree trunks seems to have been triggered involuntarily. Presumably, parts of the clothing of another prisoner, who was protecting the photographer from the gaze of outsiders, have unintentionally entered the upper right of the picture.

The prisoner's gestural trace, discernible from the contact prints, gives an idea of his precautions and his great restlessness when photographing in the open. The way he moved through the space testifies not only to the fear of the murderous terror of the SS, but also to the unconditional will to capture in the picture what happened in the crematoria of Auschwitz. The person who presumably still made the contact copies of the negatives at the end of 1944 used photographic paper in the format 6.5 x 9.5 cm as sparingly as possible for this purpose. The pictures taken from the dark room show a predominantly black surface and, not quite in the center, the scene at the cremation pits framed by the door frame. The person in the laboratory contact copied only about three quarters of the image field and placed the scene recognizable to her or him in the door frame in the center of the image on 6.5 x 4.8 cm photo paper, which she or he produced by dividing the 6.5 x 9.5 cm paper into two halves of equal size. With the pictures in the "little forest", she or he could not immediately recognize the content of the picture as intended by the photographer. Therefore, she or he copied the entire negative image field onto the larger 6.5 x 9.5 cm photo paper in each case. These contact copies show the complete negative image field in the format 6 x 6 cm.

## The probable originator

In 1985, the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum recorded a new statement about the origins of the photographs. A former Sonderkommando prisoner named Stanislaw Jankowski, alias Alter Feinsilber (also spelled Fainzylberg or Foincilber), testified in Polish that Dawid Szmulewski had not been the photographer of the photographs. There were differences of opinion between Feinsilber and Szmulewski, two former prisoners of Polish-Jewish origin, about the authorship.

Alter Feinsilber was assigned to Crematorium V from July 1943 until mid-January 1945. He reported that he was housed with other Jewish men of the Sonderkommando in Section B II d in Block 13, a closed block which they were only allowed to leave for work in the crematoria. A small group of them wanted to secretly take photographs of their forced labor at the gas chambers. This group included him, Szlomo Dragon and his brother, and a Greek Jew named Alex. Feinsilber said he obtained the camera, which already had a film in it, from Szmulewski and then smuggled it from Section B II d to the grounds of Crematorium V. Since he knew nothing about photography, he gave the camera to Alex – the only one of them who knew how to use a camera. The other three secured him while taking the pictures and kept a lookout for SS men. Even though Alex ultimately pressed the shutter, all of the Sonderkommando's inductees – including him and the Dragon brothers – participated in the creation of the four shots. Feinsilber said that he then smuggled the film from the crematorium grounds back to Section B II d and handed it over to Szmulewski. He had kept the camera and later buried it near the crematorium; he had already pointed this out during his first testimony in April 1945.

Various indications allow the assumption that the photos shown were taken with a vest pocket folding camera common at the time – such as the Agfa Billy or Balda Fixfocus. This type of camera used a  $6 \times 9$  cm roll film. But it could also be used to take pictures in a  $6 \times 6$  cm format, which was more economical in terms of film usage. The film usually ran from right to left on these cameras, so that on a developed negative strip, the first pictures taken are on the right and the last pictures taken are on the left.

#### The invisible web

Most of Feinsilber's statements complement statements by other former prisoners about the creation and transmission of the photographs to form a continuous storyline. Among the most important informants are the former prisoners Hermann Langbein and Stanislaw Klodzinski. In 1942/43, a small group of Austrian prisoners – among them Hermann Langbein – initiated the formation of an international, socialist-oriented resistance group with a meeting place in the prisoners' infirmary of the main camp. The Polish prisoner doctor Stanislaw Klodzinski and Dawid Szmulewski also belonged to this "Auschwitz Combat Group" or "Grupa Bojowa Oświęcim". By means of a secret courier network, the Poles transported documents about the crimes committed by the SS, as well as tiny, partly ciphered cassiber, out of the concentration

camp. In them they transmitted data collected by them about the number of prisoners, murders, arriving and departing prisoner transports, SS personnel, etc. to Poles in the area. Among the preserved cassibers is also a written note by Stanislaw Klodzinski about the photos he had taken on 4.9.1944. He wrote that he was sending along snapshots of the murder by gas in Birkenau to be taken to Krakow to Teresa Lasocka-Estreicher. He said they were shots of one of the places where bodies were burned when the capacity of the crematoria was insufficient. A place in the forest where people had to undress before being taken to the gas chamber could also be seen, he said. He emphatically asked for two more roll films in the format 6 x 9 cm, because there would be the possibility to take photographs. The camera was therefore – as Alter Feinsilber reported and Szlomo Dragon later confirmed in conversation with Gideon Greif – still available.

In August and September 1944, Klodzinski wrote almost daily to Teresa Lasocka-Estreicher, the driving force behind a Polish aid organization for Auschwitz prisoners (PWOK), which, among other things, provided medication for the camp inmates. Klodzinski had already written to her that on August 22, 1944, a transport consisting of 40 wagons with Jews from Lodz had arrived at the concentration camp, and that all of them had been murdered immediately. On 30.8. he wrote that at present transports with Jews from Lodz, Holland and Italy were arriving and would be gassed. On 6.9. he again reminded of the recently sent photos. As Hermann Langbein reported, Klodzinski also knew where the camera came from and how the film was brought from the concentration camp: Polish civilian worker Stanislaw Modarski smuggled the camera into the camp in a double-bottomed lunch pail. The film, exposed on the crematorium grounds, was hidden in a toothpaste tube in the main camp by Helena Daton, a Polish woman employed in the SS canteen, and brought out of the concentration camp to Brzeszcze.

For the "political" prisoners organized in the Kampfgruppe Auschwitz, establishing contact with the "Jewish" prisoners was extremely difficult. Szmulewski was a liaison between these two categories of prisoners created by the SS. He had been transferred from the main camp to Birkenau to Section B II d at the end of 1943 and worked in a detachment that was able to get to different places in the concentration camp and thus secretly connect different resistance circles. As a Polish-speaking representative of the Kampfgruppe Auschwitz, he established contact in Birkenau with members of the resistance circles in the Jewish Sonderkommando who spoke the same language and who had been planning an armed uprising since April 1944. Through him, the Sonderkommando prisoners asked the international resistance circle if they could get a camera to photograph the gruesome work they were forced to do by the SS. Since the outside world at the time did not believe the news of the Polish resistance groups about the mass extermination of Jews in Auschwitz-Birkenau, the group in the main camp supported the project. Szmulewski was to obtain photographs of the extermination in Birkenau.

Without the contact created by Szmulewski, the Sonderkommando prisoners would not have been able to smuggle the unique photos out of their shielded world of the crematoria. Some of them buried reports and letters on the crematorium grounds in the hope that traces would be

searched there later. After the war, seven canned manuscripts of Jewish prisoners of the Sonderkommando were found during targeted excavations.

As Feinsilber's statements show, none of the Polish Jews in the Sonderkommando who were privy to the plan knew how to use the camera. In what language they communicated with Alex from Greece is unknown. Feinsilber testified in 1945 that he knew seven languages. None of them could have taken and delivered these photos alone. But the resulting network of Polish resistance groups, Polish Jews and a Jewish Greek succeeded in laying a photographic trail to that which is so difficult to grasp and convey linguistically: the extermination of more than a million people as if on an assembly line.

## Public displays

The first prints of enlarged sections of individual photographs of the Sonderkommando in Poland can be traced back to the mid-1950s in legal publications. They were presented as evidence of Nazi crimes in Poland. In 1959, an illustrated book entitled 1939-1945: We Have Not Forgotten was published in Poland, translated several times and addressed to a mass audience worldwide. It presents numerous photos of physical acts of violence committed by uniformed Germans against Polish civilians. Among them is a retouched enlargement of the photograph of the women in front of Crematorium V.

Poland's international publicist objection to oblivion was directly related to the impending statute of limitations for Nazi crimes in the Federal Republic and the change in the approach to legal investigations in this regard since 1958. Since the secret protocol to the 1950 Goerlitz Agreement prohibited Poland from taking action against Nazi criminals living in the GDR, the Polish government aimed to prosecute perpetrators living in West Germany. Publicistic attacks on the Federal Republic coupled with anti-imperialist propaganda were opportune in the Soviet sphere of influence. And unlike in the Federal Republic, some of the former Auschwitz prisoners held high state offices in Poland, above all Jozef Cyrankiewicz.

In West Germany, the photos of Nazi crimes from Poland were usually only reluctantly acknowledged and branded as communist propaganda. The almost ritualized defamation of "Polish" sources was broken by Gerhard Schoenberner, who presented numerous photos from "Eastern Bloc" archives in his illustrated book *Der gelbe Stern (The Yellow Star)*, published in 1960, including two cropped enlargements of the Sonderkommando photos. For the first time, Schoenberner visually conveyed to a broad audience the stringency with which the Nazis had persecuted and murdered the religious minority of Jews in Europe.

Since the 1960s, the Nazi crimes in the German-occupied East, which were taboo in West Germany, were increasingly reduced to the crimes against Jews and to Auschwitz as a symbol of unspeakable events. In the Federal Republic, "Auschwitz" took on a life of its own and became an imaginary construct, illustrated with photographs that did not reveal any physical violence against the persecuted ( > TORHAUS AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU). Only the

American television film Holocaust, which was broadcast in West Germany in 1979 and also showed photos of the Auschwitz Sonderkommando, made the crime somewhat more comprehensible from the perspective of the victims.

# Georges Didi-Huberman on the significance of the photographs:

"The four photographs [...] address the unimaginable, as which the Shoah is so often seen today, and they refute it in a tragic way. [...] The four photographs taken by the members of the Sonderkommando are nothing more than 'moments of truth' – no more than four glimpses of the summer of 1944. But these moments are invaluable, because they are almost 'all (of the visible) that we have in this chaos of horror'."

In France, where Clement Cheroux and Georges Didi-Huberman presented the four pictures of the Sonderkommando in an exhibition of photos from German concentration camps in 2001, some critics vehemently polemicized against their public display. They said that the Holocaust was unimaginable and therefore could not be depicted in pictures. This dogmatic hostility to images is contrasted by various attempts to clarify more precisely the extent to which Nazi terror can be documented and represented in photographs.

The photos of the Sonderkommando document the last station of the German "administrative mass murder" in the death factory Auschwitz-Birkenau. They are the only photographs from a German death camp taken from the perspective of prisoners working on site. They are of utmost importance for the visual memory of the industrial murder of Europe's Jews in German-occupied Poland. Their context of origin and transnational distribution show that these images fulfilled a transnational function from the very beginning and became part of the visual universe of democratic industrial societies.

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#### About the author

Miriam Yegane Arani did her doctorate at the UDK in Berlin under the supervision of the photo historian Prof. Diethart Kerbs. Her work focuses on the survey and analysis of photo-historical materials from the NS period. Her dissertation dealt with the Reichsgau Wartheland, where the Nazis implemented "exemplary" oppressive measures against the native Polish population. Similar methods were soon to be used in the old Reich territories in an increased dimension against the antagonized parts of the German, especially the German Jewish population. In the "Reichsgau Wartheland", a German administrative unit newly formed from previously Polish territories after the military occupation, the Nazi regime realized its population and settlement policy plans for Eastern Europe in an exemplary manner.

#### Tierautonomie

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