

Photographs as evidence in war crime trials

Nathalie Patricia Soursos

Paper for

Vienna and Thessaloniki. Two cities and their Jewish histories

University of Vienna, Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

24-26 February 2022

On March 20, 1943, a few days before her birthday, the 17-year old Erika Myriam Kounio-Amariglio arrived in Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. She describes her arrival in her book “From Thessaloniki to Auschwitz and back”¹:

Και οι μπόγοι, οι βαλίτσες γίνονται βουνά μπροστά στα βαγόνια. Μια βαλίτσα άνοιξε καθώς έπεφτε από το βαγόνι και τα πράγματα σκόρπισαν, θυμάμαι πως ξεχύθηκαν φωτογραφίες οικογενειακές που σκόρπισαν εδώ κι εκεί. Οι Γερμανοί, ουρλιάζοντας πάντα, τις ποδοπάτησαν με ις μπότες τους. Εκείνη την ώρα μου φάνηκε σαν να σκότωναν τους ανθρώπους των φωτογραφιών. (Kounio-Amarillio 2006, 86-87).

Die Bündel und Koffer türmten sich vor den Waggonen. Ein Koffer war aufgeplatzt und der Inhalt verstreute sich. Ich erinnere mich, daß Familienfotos herausfielen, die nach allen Seiten davonflogen. Die Deutschen, immer schreiend, zertraten sie mit ihren Stiefeln, und in diesem Moment hatte ich den Eindruck, daß sie auch die Menschen auf den Bildern tottraten. (Kounio-Amarillio 1996, 48-49)

The bundles and suitcases piled up in front of the wagons. A suitcase had burst open and the contents were scattered. I remember family photos falling out, flying in all directions. The Germans, always screaming, trampled them with their boots, and at that moment I had the impression that they were also kicking the people in the pictures to death. (Engl. translation by N. S.)

Being the daughter of Salvator Kounio, the owner of a photo shop in Salonica, she had a special relationship with photographs. Her father knew lots of photographers and traveled in the 1920ies regularly to Germany to get informed about new techniques. In her memoirs, she mentions photographs several times: the value of a camera for access to her imprisoned parents during occupation, the names of friendly photographer (Jannis Kyriakidis, Melanidis) and the photographs reproduced for the book. The years narrated in the book form a visual gap, which is filled in the Greek version of the book with photographs from other publications out of which two were originally taken from the “Lili Jacob-Album” (Bruttmann 2020, photo 82 and 128).² Kounio-Amariglio’s caption is wrong (“Ένα μικρό ποσοστό Εβραίων που κρίθηκε ικανό για δουλειά στάλθηκε στα στρατόπεδα ανεξάρτητα από φύλο και ηλικία”). Only the first photograph shows Jewish women deemed fit to work “Noch einsatzfähige Frauen”. The women and children pictured in the second photograph were killed only a short time after they were depicted by the two SS photographers. The photos from the “Lili Jacob-Album” thus have been burned into our collective memory over the last decades. They are presented in a vast number of exhibitions, books, documentaries, media and press articles and have become symbols of the Holocaust. Lesser-known is the album’s role in war crimes trials.

I will return to these trials later. First I would like to say a few words about the photographs from Greece. Mentioning the “Lili Jacob-Album”, runs the risk of overestimating the number of surviving photographs. While

¹ Κούνιο-Αμαρίλλιο, Έρικα: Πενήντα χρόνια μετά: Αναμνήσεις μιας Θεσσαλονικιώτισσας Εβραίας 1995, 2006; Frz.: 1997; Engl.: 2000, Dt.: 1996, 2003,

² The photographs were taken in May or June 1944 by two SS men and show the arrival of Hungarian Jews. The “Auschwitz-Album” was rescued after the war by Lili Jacob-Zelmanovic Meier, who sold prints to the Jewish Museum in Prague, but kept the album until 1980 when she donated it to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. (Bruttmann 2020).

Marianne Hirsch classified the “Holocaust as one of the visually best-documented events in the history of an era” (Hirsch 2012) one can not agree regarding the photographs from the Greek Holocaust. Iro Katsaridou even came to the conclusion that “until quite recently, the years of the German Occupation were considered as the least photographed period in the city’s [Salonikas] history.” (Katsaridou 2017, 14). When searching for photographs depicting Jews or Jewish buildings and neighbourhoods in Salonica from April 1941 until the departure of the German troops in October 1944 the list is quite short.

Furthermore most studies on visual history focus on Eastern and Central Europe, without mentioning Greece. Greek research includes just brief articles, a documentary, an exhibition and a workshop at the Jewish Museum in Athens (2018). No systematic and scientific study of the photographs of the occupation of Greece exists. One reason for this might be the diversity and archival distribution of the material. In order to make this complexity of photographic sources readable one must re-analyse widely-known photographs, open existing collections and search for new collections. I was not yet able to conduct research in these archives due to well-known reasons. Therefore I must confess that I’ll show you published and probably cut back photographs, photographs digitalised from archives without including the reverse side of the picture, photographs taken out from albums without further information about their sequence or arrangement (see e.g. Bakondy 2017). I did not have any of these photographs in my hands nor do I know their measurements, their order on the negative roll or (for most of them) their stamps and remarks on the reverse side. Therefore I hope for your understanding and your confidence in my knowledge of working with photographs and to exercise patience with me. It is my future goal to be able to fill these gaps soon.

In summary, I can say the following so far: A maximum of 100 photographs have survived. I have divided the photographs into 4 categories based on the photographer and the context of their creation and use.

(1) Private photographs were taken, either by a portrait photographer, a street photographer or by an amateur photographer and family member or friend. These photographs became extremely precious for those, who were forced to leave everything behind. They enable us to individualise the Holocaust. More than oral or written narratives, photographic images that survive massive devastation outline the depicted as ghostly revenants from a lost past world. In Greece only a few photographs survived the war. Some can be found today in archives and private collections as well as in autobiographies. Second, few photographs were taken. Although there was no specific legal framework that forbade photography during the German Occupation, taking photographs was quite difficult. On a second level, it was quite difficult to find photographic materials (Katsaridou 2017, 14). Erika Kounio-Amarilio mentioned that her father’s photo material and cameras were confiscated in the very beginning of the occupation (Kounio-Amarilio 1996).³ On a third level, there was any photographer working in the ghetto. We know from a letter written by the widow Matilda Baruch to her son Freddy at April 4, 1943 that she could not be portrayed. Probably she also preferred to send an older photograph of herself.

Είχα ετοιμάσει μια μικρή φωτογραφία για να σου στείλω όταν ήθρε το γράμμα σου που μου ζητούσες μια φωτογραφία. Δεν μπορούσα να πάρω μια καινούργια αμέσως γιατί δεν υπάρχει εδώ φωτογράφος. Σου στέλνω μια μαμά νέα, αυτήν που είχε ακόμη όλο το κουράγιο και την υπομονή για να σας μεγαλώσει και να σας αναθρέψει όπως το έκανα. Τώρα δεν έχω ούτε το κουράγιο ούτε την υπομονή να αντέξω αυτήν την δοκιμασία. Μακάρι ο Θεός να με βοηθήσει να αντέξω για να σας ξαναδώ όλους, αγαπητέ μου. (Saltiel 2018, 210)

I had prepared a small photograph to send you when your letter asking for a photo came to me. I could not get a new one right away because there is no photographer here. I am sending you a young mom,

³ Private photographs by German soldiers were either processed locally and carried a local censorship number (821) for private use, or they were processed after the soldier’s return to his home town and received a mark by the local dealer there; these dealers had an obligation to pre-censor all images. PK soldiers delivered their films locally or they went to Berlin to the central PK lab, where they were processed and judged by the Central Command (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, OKW). Those images that fitted Goebbels were handed over to the press, and thus found their way into the central PK archives. (Sachsse, 2020, 37; see also Lethen 2014, 188)

one who still had all the courage and patience to grow and nurture you like I did. Now I have neither the courage nor the patience to endure this ordeal. May God help me to endure in order to see you all again, my beloved. (Engl. translation by N. S.)

Beside these difficulties a few photographs from Salonica and the Baron Hirsch Ghetto do exist. In a publication by “the Foundation for the Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture” in Brooklyn New York (1998) one can find a family picture of the Guerchon family wearing the yellow Jewish star on May 15, 1943. All depicted were perished at Birkenau. Another photograph from the same publication shows four men – David Sion, Jack Maraeh, Ino Algava and Albert Nahmia – wearing the yellow star, taken in “Quarter 151” on March 7, 1943. Only David Sion (center standing) survived. Similar photographs with yellow star can be found in other archives.⁴ Rebacca Camhi Fromer reproduced two photographs from 1943 out of Albert Errera's album. The 15 family members of the Saportas family were depicted on a balcony and stairs. The subtitle says:

The Saportas gathered together to take this photo prior to deportation (...) Each wanted a memento in case they were separated (...) The Star of David evident here points the fact that the photo was taken after the promulgation of the Racial Law on February 6, 1943. (Fromer 1998, 76).

When I first looked at this picture I felt like Marianne Hirsch after she scanned and enlarged a photograph from her parents in order to analyse a bright spot on Carl Hirsch's left lapel (Hirsch 2021, 57). After enlarging the photograph, taking magnifying glasses, playing with photoshop and finally talking to her parents, she came to the conclusion that it could not be the yellow star, especially as Lotte had no star. Here in the photograph of the Saportas family there are white spots on the lapel of two people at the edge. Is is unclear why these two are the only one supposedly wearing the star. The context, heavily emphasised in the subtitle, is just less obvious when looking at the picture. Therefore further research and a contextualisation of this photograph within the Errera-album is necessary. The album was found when Alberts brother, Elias, who returned to Salonica in 1945:

The next stop was #51 Mizrahi. My parents, sister and I had lived there from the time Sol and I were babies, and it was the only home my brother Albert had known. The new tenants were understanding and kind; they took me in, allowing me to visit each room. When I asked if anything that once belonged to us had remained, they looked for and found my brother's photo album [Footnote: Most of the photos representing here came from Albert's album]. After I left, a new wave of sorrow swept over me. Albert's album was in hand and I, beset by the past, was swarmed by memories of happier days. (Fromer 1998, 136).

Beside these family-portraits and group pictures there is one photograph I could not clearly allocate. It can be also a photograph from a professional Salonican photographer. The photograph is today in the Archives of the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki. It is dated April 9th, 1943 and shows the transfer of Jews from the ghetto of Queen Olga to that of Hirsch, across Egnatia Street. The Jews are walking in the middle of two rows of citizens watching the scene. The photo was taken from a balcony, “where the photographer's father and sister can also be seen.” (Saltiel 2018, o. S.) A witness of this scene was Rosina Asser Pardo, back then a little girl hiding in a christian house with her family. (Asser Pardo 2018)

(2) A second group of photographs were taken by foreigners. The **Red Cross** was documenting winter 1942-1943 the desecrated graves of the destroyed Jewish graveyard, the entrance of the Baron Hirsch Ghetto and two Jewish men with the yellow star on the streets. The photographer is unknown.

Furthermore I found two photographs entitled on the backside with „Judenverfolgung Saloniki“ at the Austrian National Library in the collection Fritz Zvacek (1905–1975), somehow in connection with World Press Photo and its office in Vienna. The archive gave the titles “Pferdewagen mit Habseligkeiten“ and “Frau mit Bub hält Petroleumlampe in der Hand“. In both cases further research is needed.

⁴ See for example: Archive Liliane Arditti-Beizermann (Saltiel 2021, Figure 0.3.) or the archive of the U. S. Holocaust Museum.

(3) In 2016 photographs from the *Byron Metos' collection* were presented in an exhibition at the *Museum of Byzantine Culture*. It seems like **German soldiers** traveling with their cameras were happily recording the antique monuments and local sights as well as everyday life scenes in the German occupied areas. By focusing on touristic images these photographs are downplaying the occupation. The soldiers were reputedly less interested at picturing the life of Greece's Jewish residents. Out of roughly 3.000 photographs from Greece and 650 images from Salonica one finds only a handful photographs picturing Salonica's Jewish neighbourhoods. This number is suspiciously small. Although censorship was strikt, we know from other publications, that the Jewish population was frequently depicted by German Soldiers. Therefore Rolf Sachsse's explanation that these photographs underwent several rounds of censorship, latest by the anonymous collector's daughter before the sale to Mr Metos, is certainly true (Sachsse 2017, 58; Sachse 2021, 37; Katsaridou 2017, 16). The collection includes only three snapshots of the destroyed Jewish cemetery and one photograph by a photographer named Wolf showing the installation of the ghetto in the Baron Hirsch quarter. On the back the picture reads: "Saloniki vis à vis to the railway station. Filthy, smelly, ramshackle." / "Das ist Saloniki, vis à vis vom Bahnhof: Dreckig, stinkig, baufällig. 5. Mai 41". The photograph does not show these elements, whereas the description on the back tells how to read it. Therefore these photographs can also be analysed for a history of prejudices, stereotypes, and interest caused by existing photographers and furthermore for the interests caused by the collectors.

Beside the *Byron Metos' collection* a second important collection by Andreas Assael contains the photographs from the *Black Sabbath* taken by the soldier Werner Range. These photographs were shown in the previous talk by Maria Kavala and therefore I will not get into detail. (see Kavala 2014, Assael 2003, Myrtsiotis 2011).

Other photographs in this category are missing. According to Michael Molho the SS-Hauptsturmführer and deputy of Adolf Eichmann, Dieter Wisliceny, was photographing or accompanying a Jewish photographer in Salonica. The fate of the photographs (or album) is unknown. I also could not yet find the name of the Jewish photographer.

Wisliceny always had a camera with him. He ambushed strange types, strange faces, picturesque angles. He went to Mounth Athos specifically for the purpose of expanding his photo collection [...]. He made a valuable album in which, amidst the colorful mixture of types and locations, one could also see photographs taken from each train departed for Poland or Hanover. He had hired a Jewish photographer to serve him personally and set up a well-equipped laboratory for him. It was just under the main apartment on Velisariou Street.

Wisliceny hatte immer einen Fotoapparat bei sich. Er lauerte merkwürdigen Typen, seltsamen Gesichtern, malerischen Winkeln auf. Er fuhr nach Ajon Oros speziell zu dem Zweck um seine Fotosammlung zu erweitern [...]. Er fertigte ein kostbares Album an, worin inmitten buntgemischter Typen und Örtlichkeiten auch Fotografien [sic!] zu sehen waren, die beim Abfahren jedes einzelnen Zuges nach Polen oder nach Hannover gemacht worden waren. Er hatte zu seiner persönlichen Bedienung einen jüdischen Fotografen angestellt und hatte ihm ein gut ausgestattetes Labor eingerichtet. Es befand sich genau unter der Hauptwohnung in der Velisarioustr. (Mohlo Dt. 1981, 118).

This is the only source I found regarding Wisliceny and his passion for photography.⁵

(4a) Some of the surviving photographs were commissioned works. The **Rosenberg Institut der NSDAP zur Erforschung der Judenfrage** (IEJ) or *Institute for the Investigation of the Jewish Question* in Frankfurt commissioned photographs in September 1941 and January 1943 documenting the poor souls living in a "Judenviertel", the destruction of the Jewish graveyard, some buildings of Jewish organisations in Salonica and synagogues in Greece. (Mazower 2004, 423 / Naar 2016, 73) A part of the Institute's archive made its way to

⁵ Wisliceny headed the *Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten* in Salonica from 1943 to 1944. In 1944, after the German occupation of Hungary, he joined Eichmann's *Sondereinsatzkommando* in Budapest. During the Nuremberg trials, he testified for the prosecution. He was then handed over to the Czechoslovakian authorities, tried, and finally executed on February 27, 1948. (Michman, 2018).

the *YIVO* in the period after the war.⁶ It includes two albums from the „Jewish Quarter of Salonica“. (Varvaritis 2018) Their pseudo-documentary aesthetic not only refers to the documentary-photographs of refugees from the 1920s, they are also an important source for the depiction of Greek Jewish women and children. Unknown is thus the photographer probably part of the Institutes “Bildstelle”. In his final report⁷ on the activities of the Institute out of 84 employed persons in Salonica, none was classified as photographer.

(5b) Finally, the photographers of the **propaganda-units** (PK), documented major events as e. g. the *Black Sabbath* (July 11, 1947) in Salonica, photographed by Walter Dick. The propaganda-units' purpose was to document military actions and support the war with propaganda material. For the Balkans and Greece PK 690 was responsible (Sachsse 2017, 25-26; Xanthakis 2012). The *Digital Picture Archives of the Federal Archives* (Bundesarchiv) in Berlin presents roughly 60 photographers' names and 800 photographs from Greece, including images of brutal terror committed by the German soldiers. Not all of these images were made by PK 690, there are also inclusions from SS photographers. Within the collection are 47 film rolls assigned to Walter Dick, a young Cologne journalist, “well known in his home town as a fierce Nazi ideologist” (Sachsse 2017, 27).

Let's zoom-in here. On Saturday July 11, 1942, the German Occupation forces ordered all the able-bodied Jewish men of Salonica, to assemble in the city's Freedom Square (*Plateia Eleftherias*).⁸ Surrounded by armed German officers and soldiers, the men had to wait for hours in the hot summer sun in order to register for service in forced labour battalions. As they waited the German military personnel humiliated them by compelling them to perform various gymnastic and physical exercises. Spectators gathered to view this degrading spectacle and some also applauded from the balconies of the square's surrounding buildings. This event, later known as *Black Sabbath*, was captured by at least two photographers: Walter Dick, the soldier Werner Ranke and presumably by Greek photo-reporters (Berger et. al. 2017, 543). Dick's three dozen photographs show the square from a bird's eye view, the gymnastics, the brutality of the soldiers, the laughing spectators and some selected Jewish individuals.

After 1945, the photographs became “icons of annihilation“ (Ikonen der Vernichtung) and symbols of the beginning of the end of the “Jerusalem of the Balkans“. They were reprinted in press, exhibited - e. g. at the “Wehrmacht exhibition“ (1995) - and reproduced, recently in the movie “The Waldheim Waltz“ (2018), although Kurt Waldheim arrived more than a year later in Salonica. Beside their usual use as evidence for a committed crime, these photographs are a rare document of visual antisemitism. While it is probably true, that the soldiers were less critical when choosing their victims for the gymnastics – Nechama said in this testimony “any Jew [was selected for gymnastics], whichever, it was at random“ (The Trial of Adolf Eichmann 1992, vol. 2, 853) while Samuel Ovavin reported that especially socially superior looking men were chosen (Berger, 669) – the photographers eye was well trained in antisemitic propaganda. The portraits and group-portraits of Jewish men are based on the racial type of a „typical Jew“ and clearly address racial iconography and the perpetrator's gaze. (Arani 2008 + 2011). It is thus striking that these images of shabby dressed men are almost never reproduced. Instead, especially the photograph depicting the forced exercising and the German soldier with the stick is chosen.

For most Jews of Salonica the *Black Sabbath* was a turning point in their life. Many men were taking part, or had family members standing at Freedom Square. In memorial literature Dick's photographs were either closing

⁶ Varvaritis: these photographs were used in a number of postwar Greek-Jewish publications [Εβραϊκή Επιθεώρησης φ.9 30.3.1953 & David Recanati (et al), Zikhron Saloniki Grandeza i destruyicion de Yeruchalyim del Balkan (Tel-Aviv: El Comitato por la edition del Livro sobre la Communita de Salonique, 5732-5746) 2v]

⁷ Abschlussbericht über die Tätigkeit des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg in Griechenland (15. November 1941), in: Bundesarchiv, NS 30/75. <https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/3c934f31-2011-4c9a-af1a-771858bcb4ac/pdf>

⁸ See amongst others: Mazower (1993, 2004), Fleischer (1986), Benveniste (1998), Etmektsoglou (2007), Fleming (2008), Bowman (2009), Antoniou/Moses (2018), Naar (2016).

a gap, a lack of images in the author's life, or they were used as evidence, as illustration of the story. Rebecca Camhi Fromer chooses for her translation of Elia Haim Aelion's text a photograph by Dick. In the subtitle the men are identified and the situation is contextualised:

Black Sabbath: Three men in foreground: right, Samuel Jacob Rouben; middle, Leon Jacob Rouben, his brother; and left, unidentified. Leon was heavysset and could not keep up with the pace of the "sport". Sam, who was younger than his brother, tried to help him. For this, the German beat him mercilessly, leaving him bloodied and bruised. His wife, Mary, tended Sam's wounds for an entire week. Leon never spoke of the event. (Fromer 1998, 12).

Also known is Itzchak Nechama's account. Nechama was during the Eichmann trial the only witness from Greece. He started to talk about the experienced humiliation at *Black Sabbath* after looking at ten photographs [T975-T984] presented to him on the witness stand. The last was depicting himself that day.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Finally, Mr. Nechama, I show you a picture [handing it to him] of a man exercising at the orders of a soldier - Army or SS, it is impossible to specify this here - who is standing in front of him. Do you recognise this picture?

Witness Nechama: It is me.

Presiding Judge: Is this you with your knees bent?

Witness Nechama: That is me. If you could have seen me on Saturday at 2:30, the state I was in after these excercises, the blows I got, why - I do not know. [...]

State Attorney Bar-Or: Who took these pictures, Mr. Nechama?

Witness Nechama: It could be that the German girls up on the balconies, that the photographed such things. There were girls standing there, and every time there was a beating or something like that the applauded gleefully.

State Attorney Bar-Or: You were at any rate not aware that pictures were being taken?

Witness Nechama: No, I was told about this later, because I was unconscious at the time.⁹

Although the photographer stood behind the German soldier, facing Nechama directly, the witness did not notice him. He - and others too - thought the photographer must have taken the pictures from the balcony of a surrounding building. Dick thus took only two photographs from above. Nonetheless it is possible that there was another, unknown photographer, female or male. Witnesses often refer to the women watching their humiliation. German actresses from "Kraft durch Freude" and/or military personell were standing on the balconies and applauding, whereas Jewish women were waiting, crying and shouting in the nearby streets (Ovavin 2017, 670; Bowman/Matarasso 135; Molho, 72). Women are not depicted on the *Black Sabbath*-photographs, although testimonies mention their presence. I tried my best to zoom in, but I could not recognise anybody standing on one of the surrounding balconies. I even found this missing element of bystanders a striking difference to the photographs of the Austrian "Reibpartien". Followed by the fact that women were also forced to participate at the "Reibpartien". When using Dick's iconic photographs without mentioning the "invisible" women, gender is split off from the larger history of the Holocaust in Greece.¹⁰

The combination of visual and oral/written evidence can help us to fill the blind spots, persons and details inside the picture. We can allocate elements outside the pictures frames as well as the history behind the photographs and the photographer. Despite all possible retouching, what can be seen on analog photos was usually what the photographer saw when he pressed the button on his camera. Nonetheless the photographs needed proof of provenance or photographer. This is one reason why in the post-war war crimes trials photographs¹¹ were

⁹ State of Israel: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Vol. 2 (1992), 853.

¹⁰ Young (2009).

¹¹ This includes also reproductions. The materiality of the photo – negative, contemporary print, later reproduction, retouching – played no role. (Brink 2003, 21)

surprisingly rarely presented as evidence. One can divide the use of photographs in court as follows: (1) photographs made after the war for the trials in order to locate the deeds (2) Photographs taken by the Allies after the liberation of the camps. (3) Photographs taken by members of the German Wehrmacht or SS.¹² (3) Photographs taken by prisoners and/or photographers secretly.¹³ (4) Private photographs depicting the witnesses. As photographs are seldom self-explanatory, survivors and witnesses had to evoke their „memoire volontaire“ on the witness stand by looking at the photographs presented. In most cases, either the pictured person or the photographer were interrogated.

In the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem (1961) they could have also called the photographer Walter Dick to the witness stand. Dick lived in Cologne after the war and left after his death in 1976 over 80.000 photographs from his hometown without any trace to his past activities as PK photographer. It is not yet clear how Dick's photographs got to Jerusalem, who found them and which ones were selected. Another open question is if Nechama was called to the witness stand because he was depicted. When the “Lili Jacob-Album” was shown in the 1st Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial (1963-1965), Lili Jacobs herself resigned as a witness. (Bruttmann 2020, 56) The photos were secondary. In the Eichmann trial the photographs were shown although Adolf Eichmann could not be identified in any. The court's main concern was to prove that the photos were authentic by identifying the victims. Witnesses were Friedrich Bedřich Steiner, who used 34 of the photos for a documentary volume entitled “Tragedy of the Slovak Jews” (Tragédia slovenských Židov, 1948), and Esther Goldstein, who was asked to identify herself, her father, sister and neighbours from the city Técsö in the pictures. Finally, the album was presented in the Lüneburg Auschwitz trial in 2015 and served as central evidence there.

Regarding photographs from Greece I have not been able so far to find any further evidence of the use of photographs in court. Neither in the trials of the collaborators (1946) nor in the trial of Maximilian Merten (1959), who besides was not present at *Black Sabbath*.¹⁴ None of the perpetrators depicted in the photographs of Walter Dick was identified.

All in all, for a fuller understanding of the history of these iconic photographs we need to zoom-in AND to go beyond the pictures frame. The past should not be presented as a homogeneous construct from one perspective, instead the variety of voices, discourses and interpretations of historical events should flow into the interpretation.

¹² This also includes the “Lili Jacob-Album” as well as the photographs of the identification service from Mauthausen smuggled out by photographer Francisco Boix. Boix's photos and testimonies were used in the Nuremberg trials, primarily against Ernst Kaltenbrunner and Albert Speer. The portraits of the SS also belong to this category. A subcategory are the photographs of medical experiments.

¹³ Four photographs from Auschwitz-Birkenau depicting the mass killing at the gas chambers; H. Ross from the Ghetto Litzmanstadt.

¹⁴ Other trials were: the Treblinka trial in Düsseldorf (1963-1964), the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt (1964);