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verena krieger · ella falldorf (eds.)

beyond irrepresentability

exploring images from nazi camps, ghettos, and the holocaust

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Beyond Irrepresentability

Exploring Images from Nazi Camps, Ghettos, and the Holocaust

edited by
Verena Krieger,
Ella Falldorf

BÖHLAU

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Artwork and visual artifacts created in National Socialist camps and ghettos, documenting the horrific conditions there but also expressing the will to preserve one's human dignity through aesthetic expression, have rarely been the subject of investigations. Thousands upon thousands of them were collected after the war and are preserved and exhibited in Jewish history and Second World War memorials and museums, where they are rightfully accorded a place of special dignity. However, research that takes them seriously as images that can and must be interpreted based on the knowledge and methods of art history and image studies has only occurred in a few, exceptional cases.

The contributors to this volume are international scholars from eleven different countries who examine images of camps and ghettos from a variety of perspectives. They provide us with detailed case studies on individual artifacts and insights into the conditions within which artistic production was possible in the respective camp or ghetto. The images examined are diverse and sometimes contradictory. They deal differently with compositional, stylistic, and iconographic traditions and articulate heterogeneous perceptions of the Holocaust and the Nazi crimes. Given the closely knit character of the field, all the contributions to this volume converse with one another in some way. To avoid a division by place of creation or the identity of the artists, we chose to arrange the articles into five thematic sections.

The first section, *Conceptual Considerations*, offers fundamental reflections on the historiography of the field. The chapters here ask, first, to what end and with which methods do we analyze the works from camps and ghettos as images (Verena Krieger/Ella Falldorf, Ziva Amishai-Maisels)? Second, how do we deal with the absence of images that could not be created, have been lost, or of which we know nothing (Michaela Haibl)? And finally, what role does the status of "authenticity" play in our evaluation of these images (Giedrė Jankevičiūtė/Nerijus Šepetys)?

The next section examines the *Social Dimensions* of artistic production in situ: in camps in Germany (Eugenia Alexaki) and Transnistria (Olga Stefan) and a ghetto in Poland (Agata Pietrasik). These chapters shed light on the conditions in which drawings, paintings, and albums were created, ask how the social dynamics between different prisoner groups manifested themselves in the images, or how their meaning was interpreted after the war in socialist countries.

The third section, *Diverse Iconographies*, deals with the pictorial artistic solutions for representing camp reality before the emergence of the increasingly standardized antifascist iconography after liberation. Whether by a close reading of one series of artworks (Daniel Véri, Manuel Fabritz), by situating one example within visual culture (Piotr Słodkowski), or by drawing on a broad range of examples (Kobi Kabalek), the authors present heterogeneous visual symbolizations of the Holocaust (whips, monsters, the

camp fence or resistance struggle). Their contributions raise questions about the role of narrativity, immediacy, and temporal as well as spatial distance.

The fourth section, *Transformations of Representations*, picks up these questions and applies them to images that were created both during the war and after the liberation. The chapters here focus on the transformations that prisoner art went through in the transition from artistic creation in the camps and after the liberation (Rachel Perry, Verena Krieger) and the everchanging receptions of the work within the French postwar discourse, where they were confronted with ignorance and neglect (Sarah Wilson, Julie Constant). Two articles analyze Boris Taslitzky's famous Buchenwald painting.

The final section, *Challenges of Exhibiting,* introduces the history and special features of these images at the Buchenwald Memorial in Germany (Volkhard Knigge) and at Yad Vashem in Israel (Eliad Moreh-Rosenberg). In addition, it contains two contributions that present approaches for educational work with the images in these exhibitions (Anna Paola Bellini, Mackenzie Lake).

All the different sections contain contributions detailing various aspects of eye-witnessing, the dissemination and reception of the images, and the functions of seriality. Another subject touched upon by many authors is the re-framing of the heterogeneous images of Holocaust Art in the antifascist postwar discourse. A final common point shared by many of the chapters concerns the discursive conditions for the decades-long exclusion of works by camp prisoners and Holocaust survivors from the cultural debates "after Auschwitz."

The contributors not only examine a broad range of visual material – including many previously little-known or wholly unknown or overlooked works – but also represent different premises and methods. Without claiming comprehensiveness, the volume thus provides a broad overview of current international research and encourages further in-depth academic discussions.

This book was written as part of a research project funded by the German Research Foundation, which aims to make the visual artifacts created in Nazi camps the subject of a systematic art historical approach and to bring together representatives of current research for this purpose. In the context of this project, the international conference "'To tear these images from time': Exploring Visual Representations from Nazi Camps, Ghettos, and the Holocaust" took place at the University of Jena (Germany) from October 9–12, 2023. Numerous contributions to this volume emerged from this conference and further contributions were added later. Artworks from the Buchenwald concentration camp are featured prominently in the volume, thanks to our collaboration with the Buchenwald Memorial.

The editors would like to thank all authors and interview partners for their outstanding commitment. We would like to further thank the German Research Foundation for its generous funding of the conference and this publication, as well as the Buchenwald Memorial and the Böhlau publishing house for their ongoing support. We would especially like to thank Noah Benninga for the thorough language editing, which benefited from his expertise in Holocaust Studies, and Alan Bade for his editorial assistance.

conceptual consideration

“to tear these images from time”

images created in nazi camps and ghettos during the holocaust from the perspective of art history

verena krieger/ella falldorf

> “For the price of survival, I made a pact. I had to engrave in my memory the everyday horror and draw, and draw, to tear these images from time, in order to, one day, remind the world about what had happened here.”
> – Walter Spitzer, *Sauvé par le dessin*[1]

Walter Spitzer (1927–2021) survived the Auschwitz subcamp of Blechhammer and Buchenwald as a teenager: the illegal camp resistance in Buchenwald saved his life in exchange for a promise to document his experiences visually. In his autobiography, written at a mature age, Spitzer used a strong, not often heard expression – “to tear these images from time” – to communicate the relationship between art such as his, created in the Holocaust during the circumstances of annihilation, in ghettos and camps, and the historical places where it was created and to which it sought to testify through visual depiction.

However, even if artists succeeded in fulfilling Spitzer’s desire “to tear the images from time,” their works do not speak for themselves; they require analysis. Only in this way can we become informed about the artists’ choice of motif, artistic means, composition, and stylistic language, as well as the circumstances of production, purposes, and meaning of a given work. Some of the artists who created works in the camps and ghettos were professionally trained before the war; others were amateurs or simply regular people who could more easily express themselves through images than words – among them young children. Their works therefore can be categorized as Outsider Art. This is the reason why we prefer the terms ‘image,’ ‘visual artifact,’ and occasionally use ‘art’ synonymously, based on the broad concept of art established in the twentieth century.

The trained artists consciously drew upon the entire canon of art history in their creations. Meanwhile, works created by formally untrained artists also incorporate some of this canon, with which they were familiar from prewar everyday life. Here, alongside the art historical method, an image-analytical perspective should also be applied. This volume aims to explore both perspectives, thereby probing the full potential of art historical and image analytical perspectives on images created in camps and ghettos.

In his widely acclaimed book, *Images malgré tout* (Images in Spite of All), Georges Didi-Huberman calls for a close analysis of the four photos taken by the *Sonderkommando*

1 Walter Spitzer: *Sauvé par le dessin. Buchenwald*, Lausanne 2004, 11, see also https://www.auschwitz.org/en/museum/news/for-the-price-of-survival-i-made-a-pact-exhibition-of-works-by-former-auschwitz-prisoner-walter-spitzer-,1176.html, accessed March 3, 2025.

We thank Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, Volkhard Knigge, and Daniel Schuch for their comments on earlier versions of this text.

members in Auschwitz-Birkenau despite the limited visual information they contain.[2] He not only argues morally that these images were torn from a world that sought to render them impossible but also succeeds in demonstrating that, when viewed carefully, the images reveal much more about the historical conditions in which they were created than is apparent at first glance. Didi-Huberman's argument is evocative but limited to four unique photographs. He does not consider the far more numerous drawings, watercolors, prints, and small sculptures that were created in the Nazi camps and ghettos. Art historians have ignored these handmade images for far too long.

According to estimates by Sybil Milton, at least 30,000 works created in Nazi camps, ghettos, and in hiding have survived.[3] They include drawings, miniatures, paintings, sculptures, and prints; the pictorial genres range from individual and group portraits (approx. 25 %), to landscapes and still lives (approx. 25 %), scenes from camp reality (approx. 20 %), caricatures and, to a lesser extent, abstract art.[4] There are, for example, no handmade images from the killing sites of 'Aktion Reinhardt,' but multiple high-quality works of art from French internment camps have survived.[5] The diversity of the works and their subjects is related to the different histories of the various Nazi camps and ghettos, as each place had specific functions and conditions that were subject to change over time.[6] At the same time, each work also reflects the specific situation of its creator in the camp or ghetto, their status within the prisoner hierarchy, and their ability to obtain the materials and security necessary for creation. Art production in camps can be divided into three categories: official art produced for the SS, unofficial works commissioned by the SS or prisoner functionaries, and works created in secret.[7] However, the boundary between secret and tolerated work was fluid and often depended on the prisoners' negotiating skills and the arbitrariness of individual guards.[8]

2 Georges Didi-Huberman: *Images in Spite of All. Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, Chicago 2008 [French Original 2003].

3 Sybil Milton: "The Legacy of Holocaust Art," in Janet Blatter/Sybil Milton (eds.): *Art of the Holocaust*, New York 1981, 36–43, here 36.

4 Sybil Milton: "Culture under Duress. Art and the Holocaust," in Frederick Charles DeCoste/Bernard Schwartz (eds.): *The Holocaust's Ghosts. Writings on Art, Politics, Law and Education*, Edmonton 2000, 84–96, here 88–94.

5 An important exception are the eight drawings by Józef Richter that were most probably created right after he witnessed the 'Aktion Reinhardt' as a Polish laborer who worked on the railway nearby. Detlef Hoffmann: "Aktuelle Symbolisierungsstrategien im Umgang mit dem System Auschwitz," in Sven Kramer/Stephan Braese (eds.): *Die Shoah im Bild*, Munich 2003, 171–198, here 183.

6 Nikolaus Wachsmann: *KL. A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*, New York 2015, 21.

7 Michaela Haibl: "'Überlebensmittel' und Dokumentationsobjekt. Zeichnungen aus dem Konzentrationslager Dachau," *Dachauer Hefte* 18 (2002): Terror und Kunst. Zeugnis, Überlebenshilfe, Rekonstruktion und Denkmal, edited by Wolfgang Benz/Barbara Distel, 42–64, here 48–49; Stefanie Endlich: "Kunst im Konzentrationslager," in Wolfgang Benz/Barbara Distel (eds.): *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Die Organisation des Terrors*, vol. 1, Munich 2005, 274–295, here 275–276; Jörn Wendland: *Das Lager von Bild zu Bild. Narrative Bildserien von Häftlingen aus NS-Zwangslagern,* Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2017, 33–34.

8 Janet Blatter: "Art from the Whirlwind," in Janet Blatter/Sybil Milton (eds.): *Art of the Holocaust*, New York 1981, 20–35, here 20.

Due to their unique circumstances of creation, visual artifacts from Nazi camps and ghettos have a complex and ambivalent status as objects of investigation. They can neither be viewed in isolation from their extreme conditions of production marked by deficiency, persecution, and imminent threat nor can they be reduced to this context. They are both less and more than artwork: less because their creators could not elaborate them freely; more because they possess a testimonial value beyond their artistic one. This applies in particular to those images that document the camp reality. In this respect they are related to the social art of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but in contrast to this their creators were not free to choose the scenes of suffering in order to document them.[9] Instead, the images are saturated with direct experience of persecution.

Art and objects were created in the camps and ghettos for various reasons, fulfilling multiple functions that often seemed contradictory. These artifacts could aid in the everyday fight for survival, but they could also become a risk for their creators. While some objects were created to pass the time or shift inmates' attention from their immediate situation to their artistic work, others were made for the future, as testimonies and memorials for the dead. In any case, the fact that even under the most severe conditions of deprivation and threat to life, people nonetheless create art and artifacts points to an anthropological constant: the need to express oneself creatively and thus assert oneself, even if there is little or no surplus material available as a medium. Therein lies a fundamental connection between these works and all forms of artistic creation throughout human history.[10]

At the same time, the images created in Nazi camps and ghettos are thoroughly contemporary: their creators, even those who were not professionally trained artists, were involved in and influenced by the art and popular culture of their time. The images created in Nazi camps and ghettos were consciously created aesthetic products. They use established iconography and styles and are embedded in the history of art as well as the contemporary visual world.

Yet despite this, works retrieved from Nazi camps and ghettos have rarely been the subject of art historical inquiry or image analytical research.[11] Their value is not primarily based on a revolutionary concept of art or a distinctive style or a great impact on contemporary culture. As a result, they fall through the cracks of art history as a discipline. The same applies analogously to history, which – even when it recognized these images as historical sources – often considered them unreliable due to their subjective and aesthetic character. For these images, the mainstream art historical perspective and the mainstream historical perspective are the Scylla and Charybdis in whose maelstrom

9 Sybil Milton: "Kunst als historisches Quellenmaterial in Gedenkstätten und Museen," in Thomas Lutz/Wulff E. Brebeck/Nicolas Hepp (eds.): *Über-Lebens-Mittel. Kunst aus Konzentrationslagern und in Gedenkstätten für Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*, Marburg 1992, 44–63, here 47.

10 See Agata Pietrasik: *Art in a Disrupted World. Poland 1939–1949,* Warsaw 2021, 16, 43.

11 On this absence in Polish art history see Luiza Nadar: "The Sticky Spot of Crime – Rethinking Art History in Poland," EHRI Document Blog, https://ehri-project.eu/sticky-spot-crime-rethinking-art-history-poland, accessed March 4, 2025.

they usually perish. However, if we acknowledge the multifaceted character of images from the camps outlined, an in-depth analysis allows us to draw meaningful conclusions about the perceptions, interests, and interpretations manifested in these images. Excluding this corpus from systematic consideration prevents insights that might be gained by engaging with visual responses to Nazi persecution created by witnesses and supports the questionable assumption of irrepresentability.

This chapter pursues a double goal: on the one hand, to integrate the works created in Nazi camps and ghettos into art history as a relevant object of study in its own right and not a suspiciously eyed 'marginal phenomenon.' On the other hand, we want to bring art historical and image analytical methods and perspectives into the field of Holocaust studies to a greater extent than has been the case to date, and to bring them into dialog with other disciplinary perspectives and approaches.

But before going into more detail about what this means, we must first address the history and the different motivations for collecting and exhibiting pictures from Nazi camps and ghettos, seeking to understand why art institutions and academic art history have shown such little interest in them for so long. We illuminate this question by discussing the political, cultural, and philosophical debates that occurred during and after the Cold War, which indirectly shaped – and, more significantly, obscured – the perception and understanding of these works. Finally, based on research history and current approaches, we outline five premises regarding how the knowledge and analytical methods of art history and visual studies can be applied to art and artifacts from the Nazi camps and ghettos.

collecting and exhibiting as political practice

Only fragments of the vast cultural productions created in Nazi camps and ghettos or hiding were preserved.[12] Today, these artifacts are mainly kept in concentration camp memorials, in international Holocaust research institutions, in historical institutions dedicated to the twentieth century or Jewish history, or in private collections. Information about the artists is compiled in exhibition catalogs published by archives, collections, and museums. These institutions are often state-funded and thus must fight for their political independence, making them vulnerable to being easily instrumentalized by the governments that fund them.

Most collections are in possession of artwork from specific places and prisoner groups.[13] These collections emerged from the persistence of a few survivors, archivists, historians, and activists. The history of this collection process is its own subfield that deserves further attention, encompassing the history of the artwork's provenance,

12 Elizabeth Maxwell assumed that up to 98 % of the aesthetic artifacts created in Nazi concentration camps and ghettos were destroyed, Elisabeth Maxwell: *Remembering for the Future,* exhibition catalog Royal Institute of British Architects in London, London 1988, 5.

13 Miriam Novitch, who built the art collection in the Ghetto Fighters' House in Israel, collected many works of art created in French internment camps, Yad Vashem has a vast amount of works from Theresienstadt, the Buchenwald Memorial owns many works from political prisoners etc.

preservation, and cataloging. From the beginning, the effort to "collect and display" followed a political agenda in two closely linked ways:[14] on the one hand, the incentive was to show the world what had happened and to convey the truth about the Nazis' crimes, a motivation that relates to the images' content and evidential character. On the other hand, the creation of cultural artifacts in extremis has, historically, been regarded as an expression of the victims' spiritual steadfastness, an effort to preserve the core of their humanity through art that resisted the Nazi attempt to completely 'dehumanize' their victims.

The first initiatives to compile images and other cultural artifacts began already in the camps and ghettos during the Second World War.[15] Shortly after the Allies liberated the concentration camps and the war ended in Europe, these images were publicly distributed alongside (and at times in opposition to) photos shot by war photographers. The pictures were used in trials,[16] published as albums, discussed in newspapers and displayed in art and historical exhibitions.[17] In early publications in the first decade after the war, such art was displayed in commemoration of murdered artists,[18] and was taken as a self-evident accusation against fascism.[19]

14 Rachel Perry/Agata Pietrasik: "Collect and Display! Exhibitions as a Medium of Holocaust Memory in the Immediate Postwar Period," *Journal of Holocaust Research* 37/1 (2023): Exhibiting the Holocaust in the Immediate Postwar Period, Histories, Practices and Politics, edited by Rachel Perry/Agata Pietrasik, 239–243.

15 As, for example, the collection of the *Moorsoldaten* song from the Emsland camps, see Corinna Bittner: "Tracing an Icon – Illustrated Scores of the Peat Bog Solider 1933–2024," EHRI Document Blog, https://blog.ehri-project.eu/2025/06/05/illustrated-scores-moorsoldaten-19332025/, accessed June 16, 2025. Or the Oneg Shabbat underground archive of the Warsaw Ghetto initiated by Emmanuel Ringelblum. This archive also preserved works by the artists Gela Seksztajn. The collection can be viewed today through the art department at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. See Samuel D. Kassow: *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive,* Bloomington 2018, 4–5, 167. In Buchenwald the resistance organization was also collecting documents and objects before the end of the war, see Ella Falldorf: "Journeys of Visual Knowledge. Images from Concentration Camp Inmates Before and After the Liberation," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (forthcoming).

16 See Christiane Heß: *Eingezeichnet. Zeichnungen und Zeitzeugenschaft aus Ravensbrück und Neuengamme*, Berlin 2024, 299–324; Idit Gil/Dana Kaplan: "The Beauty of Ugliness. Naomi Judkowski's Cugani (New Prisoners), Sexual Violence, and Aesthetic Capital in the Holocaust," in Frédéric Bonnesoeur/Hannah Wilson/Christin Zühlke (eds.): *New Microhistorical Approaches to an Integrated History of the Holocaust,* Berlin/Boston 2023, 199–220; Stefanie Pilzweger-Steiner/Andrea Riedle (eds.): *Beweise für die Nachwelt. Die Zeichnungen des Dachau-Überlebenden Georg Tauber*, exhibition catalog Gedenkstätte Dachau, Berlin 2018.

17 See especially the Special Issue edited by Rachel E. Perry and Agata Pietrasik: "Exhibiting the Holocaust in the Immediate Postwar Period: Histories, Practices and Politics," *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 37/3+4 (2023). Heidrun-Ulrike Wenzel: *Vergessen? Niemals! Die antifaschistische Ausstellung im Wiener Künstlerhaus 1946*, Vienna/Berlin 2018, 152. See also the contribution by Julie Constant in this volume.

18 Hersh Fenster (ed.): *Undzere Farpaynikte Kinstler. Mit a vort frier fun Marc Chagall*, Paris 1951; Chil Aronson (ed.): *Œuvres d'artistes juif morts en déportation*, exhibition catalog Galerie Zak, Paris 1955; see also Rachel Perry: "Inserting Hersh Fenster's Undzere Farpainikte Kinstler into Art History," *Images. A Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture* 14 (2021), 109–135.

19 Henri Pieck: *Buchenwald. Reproducties naar zijn tekeningen uit het concentratiecamp/ Reproductions of his Sketches form the Concentration-Camp*, Den Haag 1945; Simon

From the beginning, the political agenda of revealing the truth about the Nazis' crimes was closely linked to framing these artifacts as expressions of resistance. This is particularly noticeable in the groundbreaking work of Miriam Novitch, a co-founder of the Ghetto Fighters' House in Israel and art collector, who stated: "Every single work of art that was 'born' during the occupation not only represents historical documentation of that horrendous period, and an indictment of the atrocities that were committed but also represents an expression of steadfast spiritual resistance."[20] Already in the early 1950s, the Ghetto Fighters' House, which was founded by Holocaust survivors, prominently portrayed these pictures as examples of spiritual resistance: "These pictures are of extreme importance, not only as living testimony to the horrors of those years but also as witness to the spiritual strength of the inmates of the ghettoes [sic!] and camps."[21]

In 1959, the first art exhibition catalog from Yad Vashem employed similar words to describe this art, despite its differing political perspective: "Their struggle to put down on paper the facts that form an unprecedented indictment belongs to the highest deeds of heroism of those days."[22] A decade earlier, in 1949, German communist survivors of Buchenwald made an almost identical claim: "If all these works could be published together, there would be no better monument to the unyielding will and strength of the inmates of KL Buchenwald."[23] This publication was supposed to be the last of three volumes about the concentration camp, but after the GDR was founded, the SED leadership disempowered the communist camp survivors' associations in the course of Stalinist purges, and thus, the planned publication was never realized.[24]

Although the Auschwitz art collection was only institutionalized in 1965, the former inmate artists who were involved in establishing the memorial began collecting artwork created in the camp from the beginning.[25] When the museum opened in 1947, postwar

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Wiesenthal: *KZ Mauthausen.* Linz/Vienna 1946.

20 Miriam Novitch, undated report, quoted in: Pnina Rosenberg: "Art = Remembrance. The Art Collection of the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum," in idem (ed.): *Art = Remembrance. Artists in the Holocaust,* Beit Lohamei Haghetaot 2007 (Hebrew/English), 120–111, here 118.

21 "The Holocaust and the Visual Art," *Yediot* 2 (January 1952), The Itzhak Katzenelson Museum of the Holocaust Heritage and Resistance at the Ghetto Fighters' House, 4 (in Hebrew), quoted in: Rosenberg, "Art = Rememberance," 120.

22 Arieh Leon Kubovy: "Preface," in B. M. Ansbacher/Yehuda Bacon (eds.): *The First Exhibition of Paintings from Camps and Ghettos: From the 'Yad Washem [sic!] Archives,'* exhibition catalog Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1959, [1].

23 Walter Bartel/Stefan Heymann/Josef Jenniges (eds.): *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald. Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees,* vol. 1, Weimar 1949, 174. See also Bruno Apitz: "The Arts in Buchenwald," in David A. Hackett (ed.): *The Buchenwald Report*, Boulder 1995 [1945], 263–265.

24 Volkhard Knigge: "Opfer, Tat, Aufstieg. Vom Konzentrationslager Buchenwald zur Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte der DDR," in Volkhard Knigge/Jürgen M. Pietsch/Thomas A. Seidel (eds.): *Versteinertes Gedenken. Das Buchenwalder Mahnmal von 1958*, vol. 1, Spröda 1997, 5–94; Philipp Neumann-Thein, *Parteidisziplin und Eigenwilligkeit. Das Internationale Komitee Buchenwald-Dora und Kommandos,* Göttingen 2014. See also the interview with Volkhard Knigge in this volume.

25 Jürgen Kaumkötter: *Der Tod hat nicht das letzte Wort. Kunst in der Katastrophe 1933–1945*, Berlin 2015, 272–277.

works by Mieczysław Kościelniak, Tadeusz Myszkowski, and Jerzy Adam Brandhuber were displayed, and "in the following years, other former prisoners […] made works illustrating life in the camp for the permanent exhibition. They were intended to fill gaps in the illustrative material and help understand some of the issues presented in the exhibition."[26] According to Irena Szymańska, artwork created during the camp's operation was integrated into the historical exhibition in the 1960s.[27] Today, the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum holds the world's most extensive collection of concentration camp art.[28] But although this institution was one of the first to exhibit prisoner art, its current display is limited to a small exhibition cabinet next to the offices.[29]

From the 1940s to the 1960s, exhibitions about the camps and ghettos have incorporated wartime and postwar artwork into their historical narratives, alongside other documents, artifacts, and photographs.[30] Following the 1960s art exhibition at the Auschwitz Memorial, several exhibitions and publication projects devoted exclusively to art from camps and ghettos were launched in the 1970s. In 1972, the Terezín Memorial in the Czech Socialist Republic housed one exhibition.[31] And in 1975, Wolfgang Schneider and his team in the GDR created the exhibition *Art Behind Barbed Wire*[32] based primarily on pictures from Buchenwald, and Janina Jaworska published her compendium about Polish artists in camps.[33] At the end of the decade, survivor and artist Nelly Toll published her first book in the United States,[34] and Miriam Novitch and her team

26 See Agnieszka Sieradzka: "Art in Auschwitz," in *Face to Face. Art in Auschwitz. On the 70th anniversary of creating the Museum on the site of the former German Nazi concentration and extermination camp*, exhibition catalog National Museum Kraków and The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Cracow 2017 (English/Polish), 13–24, here 22.

27 Irena Szymańska: "Kunst im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz," *Dachauer Hefte* 18 (2002), 73–96, here 73.

28 According to Agnieszka Sieradzka they hold "about two thousand works in the Museum collections made by prisoners during the war, and more than two thousand post-war works of art by those who survived," Sieradzka, "Art in Auschwitz," 20.

29 Ibid.

30 Scholars have started to work on such exhibitions, but a detailed analysis of the function of images in the various cases deserves further analysis. See for example Chelsea Haines: "Traumatic Realism and Exhibition Design at the Ghetto Fighters' House, 1953," *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 37/3 (2023), 341–359. Agata Pietrasik: "Exhibiting the Holocaust at the Majdanek Concentration Camp and the Bergen-Belsen DP Camp," *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 37/3 (2023), 271–296. Later exhibitions include, among others: *Résistance, Liberation, Déportation* by the Comité d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale in Paris (1954/55) as well as an exhibition by the same committee on occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the liberation (1965) and the permanent historical exhibition at the Buchenwald memorial, opened in 1964.

31 *Kunst in Theresienstadt 1941–45*, exhibition catalog Terezín Memorial 1972.

32 Wolfgang Schneider: *Lebenswille hinter Stacheldraht. Internationale Ausstellung aus Anlaß des 30. Jahrestages der Befreiung vom Hitlerfaschismus,* exhibition catalog Museum für Deutsche Geschichte Berlin/Kunsthalle Weimar, Weimar 1975.

33 Janina Jaworska: *Nie Wszystek Umrę. Twórczość Plastyczna Polaków w Hitlerowskich Więzieniach i Obozach Koncentracyjnych [Not All of Us Will Die. Plastic Art by Poles in the Nazi Prisons and Camps]*, Warsaw 1975.

34 Nelly Toll: *Without Surrender. Art of the Holocaust*, Philadelphia 1978. That year the "first International Conference on the Lessons of the Holocaust" took place in Philadelphia. See Richard Firster/Nora Levin (ed.): *The Living Witness. Art in the Concentration Camps,* Conference Report, Philadelphia 1979. The conference included an exhibition of artwork

would launch the groundbreaking traveling exhibition *Spiritual Resistance*.[35] The first catalogs appeared in the 1970s, in the GDR and Poland, followed a few years later by Israel and the United States. In 1980, also in West Germany an exhibition of art works from Auschwitz took place.[36] Despite diverging concepts and political motives, these projects share the perception that art created in the camps and ghettos is an expression of resistance and self-assertion and depict the artists as martyrs.[37]

The interpretation of handmade images from the camps and ghettos as a pure expression of the artist's attitude persists in variations to this day. In the last decades, memorials and museums started to exhibit and research their collections systematically, publishing case studies on individual artists or works from a given camp or ghetto. These compendia made numerous images and biographical sketches of the artists accessible.[38] Yet, these works, although vital because they draw attention to the images created in camps and ghettos, often fail to engage in in-depth readings of the artwork they treat and lack image analysis.

the ignorance of art institutions towards holocaust art[39]

Art museums and art history research institutes are the most experienced institutions in image analysis. But despite the continuing effort to collect the visual artifacts from the Holocaust, art institutions have widely neglected such art. To date, few exhibitions

done in the concentration camps (organized by artist Mary S. Costanza) at the Museum of American Jewish History; see Mary S. Costanza: *The Living Witness. Art in the Concentration Camps and Ghettos*, New York 1982; Blatter/Milton, *Art of the Holocaust*.

35 Miriam Novitch: *Resistenza Spirituale/Spiritual Resistance: 1940–1945. 120 disegni dai campi di concentramento e dai ghetti,* exhibition catalog Comune di Milano, Milano 1979.

36 Marina Stütz (ed.): *überleben und widerstehen: Zeichnungen von Häftlingen des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–46*, exhibition catalog Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaft Deutschland e. V., Cologne 1980.

37 Lutz/Brebeck/Hepp: *Über-Lebens-Mittel*, 8.

38 See Maike Bruhns: *"Die Zeichnung überlebt…" Bildzeugnisse von Häftlingen des KZ Neuengamme*, Bremen 2007; *Face to Face;* Eliad Moreh-Rosenberg/Walter Smerling (eds.): *Art from the Holocaust. 100 Works from the Yad Vashem Collection,* exhibition catalog Deutsches Historisches Museum, Cologne 2016 (German, Hebrew, English); Jürgen Kaumkötter/Agnes Ohm (eds.): *"Écraser l'infâme!" Künstler und das Konzentrationslager. Die Kunstsammlung der Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen*, exhibition catalog Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen et al, Berlin 2021; Christian Rapp/Ursula Schwarz (eds.): *Wider die Macht. Die Kunstsammlung des Dokumentationsarchivs des österreichischen Widerstandes,* exhibition catalog Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance, Salzburg 2022.

39 The concept of 'Holocaust Art' has been established in the field at least since Blatter and Milton's 1981 publication, and it is often used as an umbrella term for any artistic production during and after the Holocaust. However, this term obscures the fact that a relevant part of the works created in the camps were not produced by Jews nor do all of them depict Jews' experiences. We maintain that it would be historically inaccurate to subsume all artistic production in places like Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, or the Emsland camps under the term Holocaust Art. Moreover, it remains open to debate whether all images created by victims of the Nazis can be classified as art. Therefore, we prefer to speak of images or visual artifacts created in Nazi camps and ghettos, using the term Holocaust Art only occasionally when referring to the broader phenomenon that is not limited to a particular site of persecution (including the experiences of Jews in hiding, exile, or partisan groups) or particular groups of victims.

of Holocaust Art have taken place in art museums or art-related venues.[40] This is partly because, as examined further below, these works were denied artistic value; even when the works are clearly of high artistic quality, there is a conspicuous lack of interest in them. A striking example is the extensive cycle of gouaches *Leben? Oder Theater?* (Life? Or theater?) created by the German-Jewish painter who was killed in Auschwitz, Charlotte Salomon (1917–1943), in French exile between 1940 and 1942.[41] The cycle is an original work that was published after the war as a graphic novel, combining text and image with scenographic elements. Although the cycle was exhibited internationally several times in the 1960s, Salomon's heirs tried in vain to find it a permanent home in a renowned art museum.[42] Today, it is kept in the Jewish Museum in Amsterdam.

The ignorance of art institutions towards images that represent immediate camp experiences was also directed against works by surviving artists created *after* the war using a *contemporary* pictorial language, as exemplified by Józef Szajna. After the war, this Polish resistance fighter, who was deported to Auschwitz and Buchenwald when he was 19 years old, made a successful career as a theater director, stage designer, and artist. His avant-garde productions won international acclaim. In 1970, he represented Poland at the Venice Biennale with a 140 square meter art installation entitled *Reminiscences*, commemorating the professors and students of the Kraków Art Academy who the Nazis murdered in Auschwitz. The capital work was awarded the Silver Lion and was prominently exhibited in Germany. However, no German art museum (and not even a museum of German history) was willing to take over the work permanently until the Buchenwald Memorial finally acquired it in 2020.[43]

The fact that 80 years after the war, works created during the event itself have only been marginally examined in art history demands a deeper explanation. Why have art museums and academic art history stubbornly persisted for so long in ignoring these

40 Exceptions are several, mostly very small exhibitions, such as: *Art et Résistance*, Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne Paris 1946; *Remembering for the Future*, the Royal Institute of British Architects London 1988; *Arrivals-Departures*, Hecht Museum Haifa 2018; *"Écraser l'infâme!" Künstler und das KZ – die Kunstsammlung der Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen*, Museum of Contemporary Art in Kraków (MOCAK) 2019; *Harald Pickert: Die Pestbeulen Europas. Naziterror in Konzentrationslagern, 1939–45*, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte Munich 2020. *Responsibility for Memory. The Role of Art in Holocaust Remembrance*, Museum für verfolgte Künste Solingen 2023.

41 Charlotte Salomon: *Life? Or theatre?,* New York 2017.

42 The donation was rejected by both the Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum and the Tel Aviv Art Museum, and finally the heirs gave it to the Jewish Museum in Amsterdam. It was only later that Solomon's artwork became widely recognized, not least through its presentation at Documenta 13 in 2012. See Griselda Pollock: *Charlotte Salomon and the Theatre of Memory*, New Haven/London 2018. For an even more recent comment, see Brita Sachs: "Sie unternahm Verrückt-Besonderes," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (April 19, 2023), 11.

43 See Volkhard Knigge: "'Für mich ist einfach noch nicht die Zeit gekommen, wo nur die Rosen blühen.' Józef Szajna und sein Environment Reminiszenzen," *Reflexionen. Jahresmagazin der Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora* (2021), 86–97, particularly 94–97. Even if drawings from camps entered collection holdings at art historical institutions across Europe, they are likely to be treated as historical objects, which means that they are (or were for long time) not preserved in acid-free paper and passe-partouts, that they remain taped on the cartons the artists had used for stabilization, or that notes and inventory numbers of the institutions were written across them, endangering the artifacts integrity.

works? We argue that this exclusion from the art canon and the broader cultural discourse 'after Auschwitz' was based on an intersection of two main factors.[44] First, there was a general devaluation of figurative and realistic art in Western mainstream cultural politics during the Cold War context; this trend exacerbated doubts about the artistic quality and, more broadly, the artistic character of the works in question. Second, the establishment of the topos of the irrepresentability of the Holocaust, which quickly gained momentum after the liberation in the West, further shifted the focus away from art created in camps and ghettos. Both points are explained in further detail below.

'after auschwitz': in the crosshairs of political-aesthetic discourse during and after the cold war

As mentioned above, Holocaust Art contains an inherent tension between its artistic and documentary values. Not only do these values appear mutually exclusive, but their simultaneous existence in one object raises questions about both. Doubts about the artistic character of the works are reinforced by the fact that the concept of autonomy is inapplicable here; in Nazi camps and ghettos, artistic creation was only possible within a network of dependencies or collective support. Created without full freedom, these works hardly correspond to the idea of artistic genius fundamental to the modern understanding of art, which has become even more important in the Western art world since 1945. This concept sees art as something created freely, of its own accord, without being bound to a specific purpose. Whatever merits and deficiencies such a definition may have, it also served a political purpose during the Cold War by denying artistic status to Socialist Realism, the prescribed artistic approach in the Soviet Union, and the Eastern Bloc. Socialist Realism was established as a state doctrine, a nation-building tool that was useful to the regime as a medium to convey the communist message.[45] The Soviet Union suppressed modern and abstract art as "formalist," and in response, the Western cultural policy rehabilitated and increasingly absolutized abstraction.[46] From the 1950s onwards, abstract painting, as represented by American Abstract Expressionism,

44 Already in the 1990s Monica Bohm-Duchen responded to Theodor W. Adorno's formulation with the exhibition *After Auschwitz. Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art,* exhibition catalog Northern Centre for Contemporary Art, London/Sunderland 1995.

45 Harold Marcuse: "Holocaust Memorials. The Emergence of a Genre," *American Historical Review* 115 (2010), 53–89, here 73; see also Marta Kapełuś/Michał Krasicki/Piotr Słodkowski (eds): *Monuments to Resistance. Memory of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in Artistic Sources 1943–1956*, Warsaw 2023 (Polish/English); Daniel Véri: "Commissioned Memory. Official Representations of the Holocaust in Hungarian Art (1955–1965)," in Kata Bohus/Peter Hallama/Stephan Stach (eds.): *Growing in the Shadow of Antifascism. Remembering the Holocaust in State-Socialist Eastern Europe,* Budapest/Vienna/New York 2022, 175–206.

46 Gerda Breuer (ed.): *Die Zähmung der Avantgarde. Zur Rezeption der Moderne in den 50er Jahren*, Wuppertal 1997; Eckhart Gillen: *Feindliche Brüder? Der Kalte Krieg und die deutsche Kunst 1945–1990,* Bonn 2009; Stephanie Barron/Sabine Eckmann (eds.): *Art of Two Germanies. Cold War Cultures,* exhibition catalog Los Angeles County Museum of Art 2009; *Kunst und Kalter Krieg. Deutsche Positionen 1945–1989*, exhibition catalog Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg 2009/Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin 2009/2010; Steffen Dengler: *Die Kunst der Freiheit? Die westdeutsche Malerei im Kalten Krieg und im wiedervereinigten Deutschland,* Munich/Paderborn 2010.

was seen as the epitome of autonomous art and became the Western counter-model to the art of the communist states. In this process, however, all forms of realism came to be considered of lesser artistic value and, in some cases, potentially suspect.[47]

Artwork created by former inmates of Nazi camps and ghettos often aimed to show the daily reality the prisoners experienced and, as such, is predominantly characterized by figurative and realistic visual language.[48] However, this stylistic choice subjected the works to the negative political connotations inherent in the evolving visual language of the confrontation between the Eastern and Western Blocs. Once again, art from camps, ghettos and the Holocaust fell through the cracks: from an artistic perspective, these works neither met the ideological requirements of Socialist Realism for heroic depictions nor did they fulfill the conditions demanded by the Western perspective.[49]

By ignoring images from camps, ghettos and the Holocaust, Western art criticism missed art historical insights into realism. For one thing, no consideration was given to the difference between the use of figurative imagery in Socialist Realism and Holocaust Art. Whereas in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence figurative realism was used to imagine an idealized world after the triumph of communism, works created in camps and ghettos used the figurative mode of representation almost forensically to attest to real crimes visually. Another fact that was too quickly overlooked was that realistic representations are by no means an unfiltered reproduction of external reality. They are, instead, idiosyncratic artistic interpretations of reality whose full meaning only becomes apparent through analysis.[50]

Although the narrow, politically influenced view of realist art is not scientifically tenable, it continues to have an impact today. Realistically depicted images are often read as though they were "transparent" in the sense of Louis Marin,[51] as unambiguous referents that eyes shaped by the Western concept of modern art often labelled as 'simple' or 'artisanal.' Consequently, from the perspective of academic art history, images from camps and ghettos seemed marginal and even questionable. Those who nevertheless chose to deal with these works were under pressure to justify themselves.[52]

47 Martin Damus: *Kunst in der BRD 1945–1990. Funktionen der Kunst in einer demokratisch verfaßten Gesellschaft,* Reinbek bei Hamburg 1995; Norbert Schneider: "Chancen und Funktionen des Realismus im westlichen Kunstbetrieb der Nachkriegszeit," *Kunst und Politik. Jahrbuch der Guernica Gesellschaft* 16 (2014): Die Wirklichkeit der Kunst. Das Realismus-Problem in der Kunstgeschichte der Nachkriegszeit, edited by Norbert Schneider/Alexandra Axtmann, 13–26; James E Young: *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, New Haven 1993, 8–15.

48 Blatter, "Art;" Lutz/Brebeck/Hepp, *Über-Lebens-Mittel*.

49 See the contributions of Agata Pietrasik, Piotr Słodkowski, Daniel Véri and Sarah Wilson in this volume.

50 For more on the history and various forms of realistic representation, see Boris Röhrl: *World History of Realism in Visual Arts 1830–1990. Naturalism, Socialist Realism, Social Realism, Magic Realism, New Realism and Documentary Photography*, Hildesheim 2013.

51 Louis Marin: "Opacity and Transparence in Pictorial Representation," in Karin Gundersen/Ståle Wikshåland (eds.): *EST II. Grunnlagsproblemer I Estitsk Forskning*, Oslo 1991, 55–66.

52 It is significant that the author of the Auschwitz exhibition catalog 2017 sees the need to explicitly address this view: "Although many of the works created in the Auschwitz camp would meet critical criteria, an artistic evaluation of these works is devoid of any sense because of the specific conditions in which they arose. Among them are works that might strike us today

Faced with this situation, the sparse art historical literature that did concern itself with images created in camps, ghettos, or hiding tended to take a reactive stance: it either ascribed artistic character to all the works in question in a wholesale manner,[53] or focused predominantly on works created by victims who were recognized as 'great artists' before or after the Nazi period.[54] This strategy led to certain individual artists achieving fame – among them Yehuda Bacon, Max Ernst, Boris Lurie, Felix Nussbaum, and Boris Taslitzky – while the majority of the artists and their works vanished into obscurity. Moreover, although focusing on works with 'high' artistic character aimed to ennoble the object of investigation, it neglects the attribute of these works that makes them most unique: the historical context in which they were created, which was the same for trained artists and amateurs alike. In many cases, the latter, and not the former, were exposed to the full cruelty of ghettos and camps, if only because professional artists sometimes found recognition for their talents even during the Holocaust.

In addition to the cultural policy resulting from the bloc confrontation, the discourse on the irrepresentability of the Holocaust also implicitly contributed to discrediting the visual artifacts from the camps and ghettos – and that brings us to the second point. After the liberation of the camps, debates about the representability of Nazi crimes increasingly focused on their unprecedentedness and universal dimension as a "break of tradition" (Hannah Arendt).[55] The socio-political abstraction from the concrete locations of the crimes was intended to make German postwar society aware of the unprecedented character of the crime but also encouraged mystification.[56] The transformation of 'Auschwitz' into a symbol for the murder of the Jews is part of this context.[57]

In Western Germany, in particular, this must be seen against the backdrop of the socio-political debates about guilt and public relativization.[58] Theodor W. Adorno's

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as overly conventional naturalistic, and at times even banal. It seems, however, that these works cannot be assessed from today's point of view because they were, after all, created in a totally atypical atmosphere – an atmosphere of the ubiquitous and inevitable death of oneself and one's friends," Sieradzka, "Art in Auschwitz," 18.

53 See Jürgen Kaumkötter: "Holocaust-Kunst. Ein schmaler Grat," *Dachauer Hefte* 18 (2002), 34–41, here 38.

54 See Blatter/Milton, *Art of the Holocaust*; Glenn Sujo: *Legacies of Silence. The Visual Arts and Holocaust Memory*, exhibition catalog Imperial War Museum London 2001.

55 E. g. Hannah Arendt: "Tradition and the Modern Thought", in idem: *Between Past and Future*, New York 1968 [1954], 17–40, here 26.

56 Nikolaus Wachsmann: "The Dynamics of Destruction. The Development of the Concentration Camps, 1933–1945," in Jane Caplan/Nikolaus Wachsmann (eds.): *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany. The New Histories*, London/New York 2010, 17–43, here 17.

57 Detlev Claussen: "Nach Auschwitz. Ein Essay über die Aktualität Adornos," in Dan Diner (ed.): *Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz*, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, 54–68; Imke Hansen: "Als Auschwitz noch nicht Holocaust bedeutete. Konkurrierende Geschichtsbilder im Nachkriegspolen," in Regina Fritz/Éva Kovács/Béla Rásky (eds.): *Before the Holocaust Had its Name. Early Confrontations of the Nazi Mass Murder of the Jews*, Vienna 2016 (German/English), 201–222.

58 Karl Jaspers: *The Question of German Guilt,* New York 1946; Norbert Frei: "Von deutscher Erfindungskraft; Oder, Die Kollektivschuldthese in der Nachkriegszeit," in idem: *1945 und wir. Das Dritte Reich im Bewußtsein der Deutschen*, Munich 2005, 145–155.

dictum that "writing a poem after Auschwitz is barbaric."[59] which was directed at that postwar society and triggered a long-lasting debate, had a particularly powerful impact.[60] Although this sentence, which Adorno later took up several times,[61] is to be understood less as a ban on representation than as a cultural critique; it created a pressure to legitimize not only poetry but all the arts. The questions of poetry or art 'after' Auschwitz and 'about' Auschwitz became intermingled, while art 'from' Auschwitz was not even mentioned.[62] The possibility of realistic representation was not considered. In poetry, for example, the works of Paul Celan and Nelly Sachs were cited as a refutation of the sentence.[63] Adorno himself attributed the formal experiments of the avant-garde in general and Celan's poetry in particular with the potential to express the "negativity of suffering," while criticizing realist art as affirmative and stating its "impossibility" in the face of historical reality.[64]

After Adorno's dictum was applied to the literary field, it spread to the visual arts and media, where it was reformulated as the topos of the 'irrepresentability' of the Holocaust. This view was shared by Claude Lanzmann, whose documentary film *Shoah* (F 1985) is a consistent implementation of this principle. In the film, Lanzmann explicitly states his "deepest conviction that any representation is forbidden" and radically renounces any visual representation of what the survivors reported.[65]

Historians and philosophers have formulated objections to the topos of irrepresentability in many ways since the 1980s.[66] In *Probing the Limits of Representation* Saul Friedländer compiled authors who discussed the implications of figurative and meta-

59 Theodor W. Adorno: "Cultural Criticism and Society" [1951], in Rolf Tiedemann (ed.): *Can One live after Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader,* Stanford 2003, 146–162, here 162.

60 See Petra Kiedaisch (ed.): *Lyrik nach Auschwitz? Adorno und die Dichter,* Stuttgart 1995; Robert Weninger: "Adornos lyrischer Leitsatz im Dialog," in *Streitbare Literaten. Kontroversen und Eklats in der deutschen Literatur von Adorno bis Walser,* Munich 2004, 32–49; Burkhardt Lindner: "Nach Adorno mit Adorno. Holocaust, Kunst und die mediale 'Aufarbeitung' eine Skizze," in Ursula von Keitz/Thomas Weber (eds.): *Mediale Transformationen des Holocausts*, Berlin 2013, 245–270; Wolfgang Johann: *Das Diktum Adornos. Adaptionen und Poetiken, Rekonstruktion einer Debatte*, Würzburg 2018.

61 See Rolf Tiedemann: "Introduction," in idem, *Can One Live after Auschwitz?*, xi–xxvii, here xv–xvii.

62 Petra Kiedaisch: "Einleitung," in idem, *Lyrik nach Auschwitz*, 9–26, here 12.

63 Hans Magnus Enzensberger: "Die Steine der Freiheit" (1959), in idem: *Einzelheiten,* Frankfurt a. M. 1962, 249–251; Ruth Klüger: *weiter leben. Eine Jugend,* Göttingen 1992, 36, 110, 125–126; Ruth Klüger: "Paul Celan: Todesfuge. Abstrakte Zeitgeschichte," in *Gemalte Fensterscheiben. Über Lyrik,* Göttingen 2007, 139–147, here 146–147; see Dieter Lamping: "Sind Gedichte über Auschwitz barbarisch? Über die Humanität der Holocaust-Lyrik," in idem: *Literatur und Theorie. Über poetologische Probleme der Moderne,* Göttingen 1996, 100–118.

64 Theodor W. Adorno: *Aesthetic Theory,* edited by Gretel Adorno/Rolf Tiedemann, newly translated, edited, and with a translator's introduction by Robert Hullot-Kentor, Minneapolis 1997, 257, 322.

65 Interview with Claude Lanzmann for *Le Monde,* March 3, 1994: "A propos de 'la Liste de Schindler,' dernier film de Steven Spielberg. Holocauste, la représentation impossible," https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1994/03/03/a-propos-de-la-liste-de-schindler-dernier-film-de-steven-spielberg-holocauste-la-representation-impossible_3801953_1819218.html, accessed March 24, 2025.

66 For an overview see Stefan Krankenhagen: *Auschwitz darstellen. Ästhetische Positionen zwischen Adorno, Spielberg und Walser*, Cologne 2001.