Suturing In: Anne Frank as Conceptual Model for Visual Art

Daniel Belasco

Looking beyond the iconic smiling girl portrayed in a handful of widely circulated photographs of Anne Frank, contemporary artists have used diverse strategies to clear a path through the dense thicket of cultural construction around Anne Frank for a more personal and direct reconnection to her. Together, the diary and images offer a profound way into the Holocaust for European and American artists who have no personal or familial connections to the horror, but who were deeply affected as adolescents by their encounter with Anne Frank and her diary. Indeed, for some of them, Anne Frank and her diary became indistinguishable from their own hopes, fears, anxieties, and concerns, prompting them to seek formal means to gain distance from Anne Frank and her diary.

While some artists revalue Frank as a creative artist in her own right—as an active authorial voice and compelling subjectivity that could serve as a model and catalyst for their own creativity—or as a human rights icon, others focus on Anne Frank's iconic image and the images with which she surrounded herself. However different the media or motivation for their works, the artists discussed here engage with Anne Frank, her image and her diary, through a path of identification, disengagement, and selective reintegration.

Image: Anne Frank as Celebrity

The sense of personal responsibility for the fate of Anne Frank runs strong in works by European artists born after World War II. German Felix Droese, born 1950, evokes Frank's body through diaphanous in-

stallations that suggest the dematerialization of flesh into saintly status. His paper-cut installation Ich habe Anne Frank umgebracht (I Killed Anne Frank), created for Documenta in Kassel, Germany, in 1982, fuses the informal materials and techniques of post-minimalist sculpture with powerful historical content.² Through this work, Droese expresses German guilt and perhaps asks for forgiveness by exalting Frank as martyr. Droese trained at the Düsseldorf Art Academy with Joseph Beuys, who taught the working methods of social sculpture, which integrates the political, the personal, and the material in actions, installations, and time-based productions. Perhaps Droese responded to the sense of inerasable complicity of his teacher, a former Luftwaffe pilot who claimed to have undergone a mystical transformation after being shot down over Russia. By birth Droese certainly is not guilty of any crime; but as an artist who must grapple with tradition, he, like many German artists of his generation, such as Anselm Kiefer, sought reconciliation of his own identity with a national one defined by historical crimes. Active public memorialization of the Holocaust, which made awareness of those crimes ever present, had begun to emphasize an abstract vocabulary during the 1980s.

After the war, the victims of Nazi oppression gained moral authority. European artists, living in proximity to the scene of the crime, felt closer to Frank's fate as a victim, yet they also inherited national histories clouded by wartime complicity. Like Droese, Lotte Konow Lund, a Norwegian artist born in 1967, makes both the trauma and the collective guilt personal by identifying with them. Lund, like many postwar Norwegians, identified with Frank, as their country faced wartime depredations during the Nazi occupation. She says, "I grew up in a time and a place, where Anne Frank symbolically represented both the ultimate innocence and sacrifice. Even in Norway, [which,] as you probably know, was occupied during the WW2, there was a trauma to treat." Her suite of six drawings Self-Portrait as Five Dictators and a Victim (2007) explores her unease with the narrative limitations of the conventional portrait. In five grotesque drawings (figure 1), she merges her own face with each dictator in turn: Adolf Hitler, Saddam Hussein, Ayatollah Khomeini, Francisco Franco, and Idi Amin. The hybrids of male and female, aged and youthful, dead and living, disturbingly personalize

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her relationship to faces commonly identified with evil. Each drawing is small, roughly 4×6 in., and the suite is conceived as an installation hung on a pink painted wall, the small scale and soft color an ironic twist on the authority of the official portrait. The act of drawing has a provisional, exploratory feel, as if the series is an experimental thought-piece that develops through intuitive association without a defined ethical position.

About Anne Frank, the one representative victim in her suite, Lund said, "The more dictators I drew, the more heavy she weighed as a victim," no doubt because of Frank's gender and youth, guarantors of her innocence. While there are many well-known totalitarians of the twentieth century, there is a far smaller canon of victims or martyrs that she felt she could portray, and Frank's fame made her one of them. By not exploring Frank's life or work in any depth, by dealing with only the face, and not the deeds, of the historical figures, Lund exploits the familiarity of celebrity to make distinctions between good and evil and between self and other. She achieves a tellingly superficial integration of the stated binary conditions, with herself as the self-aware mediator of the limitations. The artist appears in this formula as a selector and reproducer of a highly personalized form of moral ambiguity more than as an active critic or polemicist.

Americans have a more geographically remote, if intellectually passionate, engagement with Frank's image. Their interest in Frank is filtered through popular culture more than personal and collective history. California-based photographer Rachel Schreiber (born 1965) uses Frank's image as a tool to investigate class and race differences in the United States. In the series *Anne in New York* (2001), Schreiber digitally inserts an image, resembling a spray-paint stencil, of Anne Frank into photographs she had taken of various sites in New York City. In the sardonic and reductive visual language of street art (figures 2 and 3), Anne Frank becomes equivalent to Andre the Giant, whose caricatured face was circulated internationally by artist Shepard Fairey. The series also recalls "Rimbaud in New York" by David Wojnarowicz (1978), a series of photographs of a man wearing a paper mask with the face of poet Arthur Rimbaud. Working in the studio, as opposed to on the street, Schreiber enjoyed greater flexibility to introduce Frank's image to more challeng-

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ing spaces, such as on the façade of Bergdorf Goodman, the upscale Fifth Avenue department store. There are about twenty images in the series, which the artist typically prints on soft rag paper, allowing the ink to saturate the surface and blur the distinctions between the artist's digital inclusion and the original photograph.

Schreiber has said: "There is a certain irreverence to using Anne Frank's visage in anything other than a sacred context. By doing so, I attempt to wrench the viewer out of the more familiar trappings of Holocaust imagery: barbed wire, flames, black and white images of trains, etc." The visual language of the ersatz spray-paint stencil icon speaks in the ironic aesthetic of the "Heeb" generation of American Jews, born in the 1960s and '70s; they rejected the melodramatic treatment of the Holocaust they grew up with—the theatrical and filmic portrayals of Frank have certainly kept her in the sentimentalist Holocaust canon for decades—and seek a new critical aesthetic, based in humor and irony. By turning Frank's face into street art, graffiti style, Schreiber engages a countercultural discourse associated with hip-hop to burlesque the mechanical reproduction and commercialization of images, Anne Frank's included, associated with branding and advertising.

Frank as street art makes her immediate and accessible to young Americans. The title of the series *Anne in New York* anchors the work in the system of reception of Frank, not her life or art. One can think of many Annes in New York: the Broadway play, the movies, and the publication of Philip Roth's novella The Ghost Writer (1979). Schreiber references Roth in conversation, especially how she was moved by Roth's vivid depiction of his alter-ego Nathan Zuckerman's fantasy of Frank alive in postwar America: vivacious and seductive. Zuckerman thinks when first seeing the woman he takes for Frank: "Where had I seen that severe dark beauty before? Where but in a portrait by Velásquez? . . . I saw myself married to the *infanta* and living in a little farmhouse of our own not that far away."8 I am struck how Roth compares Frank here, and again a few pages later, to Golden Age Spanish painting. An infanta of Velásquez recalls his masterpiece Las Meninas (1656). That painting investigates the act of looking and the triple identification that occurs in painting among the subject, the artist, and the viewer. The field of vision in Las Meninas is negotiated through an insertion of a self-portrait of the

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artist, as well as a mirror at the rear of the palace room, which brings the viewer into the conceptual space of the painting. The bright little princess, the ostensible subject of Velásquez, is echoed three dimensionally. Schreiber's move to pull the viewer into a self-conscious space of looking at oneself looking at a portrait of a certain kind of royalty—a princess of memory and martyrdom—updates the triangulated perspective of the Velásquez. The figures in the foreground of the two photographs illustrated in this volume are stand-ins for diverse viewers' engagements with Frank today.

American artists ruminate on the proliferation of Anne Frank images by proliferating them. Abshalom Jac Lahav (born 1977), based in Brooklyn, has conducted an experimental painting series, 18 Anne Franks (2008 to the present), questioning the long afterlife of Frank's portrait. Each painting is a distortion of one iconic photograph of the writer. Like Schreiber, Lahav works in a standardized, modest scale, painting on square 24×24 in. canvases. The limited frame is a way to defeat the overdetermined scale of celebrity in the imagination. Lahav has become known for his wide-ranging painting project "48 Jews" (2007–2009), which explores the myths and authentic bases of contemporary Jewish identity in the diaspora. Though Lahav has painted variations of several subjects in the series, including Bob Dylan and Barry Manilow, no single figure has received the sustained attention and array of treatments as has Anne Frank. Lahav explains: "Anne Frank holds a great depth of emotional content. Her image has become synonymous with her work and its message of hope and despair. I saw in her work a union of opposites; the lowest pits of human depravity coupled with the highest level of strength and hope."9

One version, titled *Anne Frank* (2007), presents the recognizable silhouette of an image of Frank. Her visage is blurred beyond recognition, however, in a grisaille palette that recalls the gray-scale paintings after photographs by Gerhard Richter (figure 4). Lahav's entire series of Jewish portraits is an expressionist riposte to Richter's controversially uninflected portrait series of modern German writers and historical figures 48 *Portraits* (1971), first presented in the German pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 1972. By adopting Richter's emblematic painting style, Lahav interrogates Richter's aloof, conceptual mode, which deflects the

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content of memory in photography. Lahav says he is exploring "the idea of the photo" through the contrasting tactility of painting "between the background and the foreground: the background is wiped down and painterly, bringing one back to the paint and surface, yet the foreground image is photo finish." Lahav's paintings combine the unknowable quality of Frank's photographic image with an empathetic connection to her materialized in paint.

Lahav's Anne Frank (Obama Shirt) (2008), makes explicit the connections that he and many other artists perceive between Frank and other representatives of human rights struggles (figure 5). "Living in Brooklyn after the Obama election, we saw everyone wearing Obama shirts in support. I think if Anne Frank were alive today, she would have probably been wearing an Obama shirt. This replicates the notion of hope," Lahav says. 11 Obama has joined the limited group of international celebrities whose image on t-shirts represents a single idea, as Che Guevara stands for resistance, Marilyn Monroe for sexual desire, and Obama for hope (at least up to the 2008 election). Lahav's painting inverts Anne's presence, imagining her as a twenty-first century teenager stumping for Obama, and putting the president in the position of dematerialized icon. Lahav joins with Schreiber to reclaim Frank, if ironically, from a kitsch celebrity by rendering her image as a kind of urban punk antihero who is an especially dynamic presence in American conversations about race and class.

Text: Anne Frank as Artist

The publication in English of the *Critical Edition* of *The Diary of Anne Frank* in 1989 initiated an important shift in works of visual art that deal in some way with Anne Frank. The exhaustively researched book revealed to many the reality of Frank as a self-conscious, purposeful writer, who revised her diary for publication. Cynthia Ozick, Francine Prose, and others have asserted the desire of many artists to rethink Anne Frank as an artist, not simply as a victim. ¹² Joe Lewis III and Ellen Rothenberg explore this representational shift through text and language, rather than image, as a way of connecting Frank and her diary to human rights movements, particularly the fate of blacks and minorities around the

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world fighting racist discrimination. The diary becomes a text of mental liberation conceived in physical captivity, comparable to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s letters from the Birmingham jail and Nelson Mandela's imprisonment on Robben Island.

The connection is most explicit in the large mixed-media sculpture *Mandela and Anne Frank Forever: Endless Column* (2000; figure 6), by California-based American installation artist Joe Lewis III (born 1953). The zigzagging structure is inspired by Brancusi's *Endless Column*, a modernist sculpture that was rediscovered by minimalist sculptors in the United States in the late 1950s. Lewis has said in an interview:

An ongoing personal struggle within my work is how to present challenging issues without agitprop or beating someone over the head. How do you create a space where someone can understand content as a springboard into their own unknown? Minimalism offers an ideal pathway. When you hang something ironic on a Minimalist framework, you provide ample conceptual space and encourage self-exploration.¹³

Minimalist sculpture, through the use of stark geometries and industrial materials, makes powerful claims on the viewer's physical experience of art while providing little in the way of overt or explicit subject matter. Lewis found a way to aestheticize political content by constructing a vertical form with dozens of Manhattan White Pages: the thick books of names symbolize an inventory of the millions of Jews and blacks victimized during the twentieth century. Mirrors mounted facing inward at the top and bottom of the piece give it the illusion of endless recession both upward and downward. Neon signage spells the names of the two heroes: Anne Frank and Nelson Mandela. Lewis was moved to make the work after learning that Mandela read, and was inspired by, the diary during his long prison sentence. This work brings the two histories together in a single monument representing a continuity of human rights discourse running from Frank's diary to South Africa's new constitution.

The most extensive work of contemporary art to critically reevaluate Anne Frank is the three-part exhibition series, the *Anne Frank Project* (1991–1994), by Chicago-based installation and performance artist Ellen Rothenberg (born 1949). Based on a careful exploration of sources, the series encompasses virtually every aspect of Frank, her life, her diary,

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and her legacy. The first part, "Partial Index," presents large blow-ups of documents in an architectural setting that explores Frank's authorial voice and its specific milieu. The second, "A Probability Bordering on Certainty," employs pseudo-artifacts to explore Nazi distortions of Jewish history and identity. The third, "Conditions for Growth," uses quantitative devices and rhetoric to face the impossibility of measuring the loss of life during the Holocaust. In sum, Rothenberg deals with the social context of Jews in occupied Holland, the material culture of the period, floor plans of the Annex, photos from the walls of Frank's room, contemporary tourism, and the complex reception both by those who revere her and by those who claim her diary is a forgery. The artist unifies intensive research with material and spatial construction and image that "questions the social construction of Anne Frank." Handwriting Analysis and A Probability Bordering on Certainty exemplify Rothenberg's approach to materializing Anne Frank as artist rather than icon.

Large scale blowups of pages of the diary appeared in the first installation of *Handwriting Analysis* (1991; figure 7). Rothenberg had the opportunity to interview at length the graphologist who painstakingly analyzed Frank's handwriting to affirm that she is the sole author of the diary and thereby counter claims of Holocaust deniers and anti-Semites that the diary was a ghost-written hoax. She was also able to compare examples of Frank's known handwriting in the archives at the Anne Frank House and Museum and the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation. The emotive power of the diary meets the cold eye of forensics in a contest for Frank's status as an authentic creative artist.

Aestheticizing the analysis of the characteristics of handwriting as the basis of the authenticity of the diary, Rothenberg depicts the minutia of the politics of moral suasion unfolding in space. Magnified and printed many times their actual size, the letters and the marks of the analysis become abstract swirls and lines, recalling the oversized calligraphic gestures of mid-twentieth-century paintings by Franz Kline and Pierre Soulages. The endless translation and transmutation of her story into dozens of languages, countless plays and theatrical productions, movies, documentaries, music, song, and other creative and documentary expressions shows the fungibility and exchange value of each letter of each word, so powerfully fetishized over the years.

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In the second installation, "A Probability Bordering on Certainty," Rothenberg produces ersatz historical artifacts and memorabilia—emblematic of postmodernist art, which conjoins the actual and the possible—forming a trove of objects that exist as counterfactual documents and narratives. Business Cards (1992; figure 8) consists of piles of mundane business cards for Anne Frank that Rothenberg had printed. They are in a variety of rectangular shapes and sizes, each with a different typeface and language (English, Dutch, and German) that state: "Anne Frank/author." Through these imaginary documents of Frank's life, had she survived the concentration camps, Rothenberg suggests that Frank aspired to a professional existence as a writer and not an afterlife of iconic martyrdom—perhaps an obvious statement, but one worth making in confrontation with the often overbearing sanctimony that constructs the posthumous image of Frank that Rothenberg seeks to recalibrate. These stacks of professional memorabilia, seen near pink erasers with the word "guilt" printed in gothic script, use humor and irony to take Frank down from the pedestal and bring her into our time.

The desire to connect with the creativity of the "real" Anne Frank runs strong for visual artists. More recently, the cerebral and ironic tactics of Rothenberg and Lewis have been replaced by more sensual strategies. New York-based painter Keith Mayerson (born 1966), known primarily as a portraitist of popular and subcultural celebrities, has created a trio of paintings that project the subjectivity of Frank within the claustrophobic space of the Annex, specifically the visual and architectural elements that embody her creative mindscape. Three colorful, richly painted works from 2007 portray her room as a magical environment, an effect that is heightened and distorted by the artist forcefully removing the room from the world, yet still infusing it with fantasy and cultural representation. Mayerson has said,

When I first went to the Anne Frank House in the late '80s after college, I was deeply moved by the experience, and in particular, was struck by the way that she had pasted, salon-style, images that gave her optimism, contemplation, and hope in her room. I found an affinity in how she was able to juxtapose art reproductions with pop iconography, and, by being on the same plane and surface, make powerful historical images equitable (and more personable) by bringing them next to charming illustrations and photos from her everyday world. 16

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Anne Frank's Wall (2007; figure 9) presents the diverse images of Hollywood actresses, magazine clippings, and Leonardo da Vinci reproductions that Frank pasted to her wall to decorate her room. Frank was a passionate consumer of diverse imagery as well as a producer of personal narrative. She received Anton Springer's five-volume survey of art history for her fifteenth birthday and hoped to study art history in London and Paris after the war.¹⁷

Frank's interest in pop culture, celebrity, and film magazines humanizes her and makes her seem like a typical teenager. It also anticipates her own celebrity, which is another way to interpret her desire to publish her diary, even selecting her author photographs, as the original diary has multiple photographs of Frank pasted into it. The popular culture imagery on Frank's wall—celebrities to whose status she and others might aspire—is as resonant today in Mayerson's gentrified New York as it was then in Frank's wartime Europe. Mayerson's work suggests that the collage-like process of looking, selecting, and arranging is comparable to how a person comes to know herself and, by extension, how we can come to know the person. These little images are the familiar stepping stones across the abyss of time.

Anne Frank's Room (2007; figure 10), evoking the claustrophobia of Van Gogh's apartment, offers a way to understand Frank through her environment. Blending fact and fiction, the artist uses furnishings to connect himself empathetically to his subject. Mayerson describes his method in terms of acting and performance:

Much like a method actor who would suture his own life into his character in order to both better understand his subject and to breathe life and real emotion into his performance, I try my best to understand the person I'm portraying as I'm painting a portrait, or world of a person or a culture, as to help animate it and make it become alive.¹⁸

This process-based painting and drawing project allows Mayerson to "suture in" to the reality of Frank beyond her image. ¹⁹ Scott McCloud, in *Understanding Comics*, describes the process whereby the reader actively uses imagination to create a complex emotional identification with a schematically rendered cartoon image. ²⁰ Deconstructivists attempted to undo suture in order to reveal the constructedness of images and filmic narratives; they assumed a strong image and a weak viewer. Mayerson,

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however, reverses the formula; he proposes a strong viewer and weak image, thereby making suture an empowering merger between the self and other, with image as intermediary. Here, the word *suture* characterizes the desire to access histories beyond personal experience, bringing us to Frank's own emotional life in the Annex, where she wrote that she went into "ecstasy" every time she saw a female nude, like the Venuses in her Springer. ²²

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Anne Frank, icon and artist, image and text, continues to inspire contemporary artists by her power to create a new world beyond her limited existence in the Annex. For many visual artists, Anne Frank and her diary represent the inchoate power of art to expand one's consciousness and therefore the world. In many ways, artists' reinterpretations of their experiences reading Frank become the primal scenes of their coming to awareness of their own potential to create new visions from the stuff of their daily lives. Though their personal situations are not comparable to Anne Frank's perilous one, they nevertheless find her an instructive model and authentic voice navigating the personal and the political. The installation and performance artist Fawn Krieger put it most directly in her description of an unrealized project to create a set of short videos about Frank: "I see Anne Frank's historical position as a portal to a time and place where the personal trauma of war can be internalized and processed, and where a deep, enlightened belief in people and positive action revived."23 Artists, fearing that this portal is continually at risk of oversentimentalization, work to keep Anne Frank and all that she represents fresh.

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Figure 1. Lotte Konow Lund. Self-Portrait as Five Dictators and a Victim, 2007. Graphite on paper, six pages, each 4×6 in. National Museum of Art, Architecture, and Design, Oslo. Photographer: Dag A. Ivarsøy

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Figure 2. Rachel Schreiber. Untitled, from Anne in New York, 2001. Iris print, 28 × 20 in. *Courtesy of the artist*

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Figure 3. Rachel Schreiber. Untitled, from Anne in New York, 2001. Iris print, 28×20 in. Courtesy of the artist





Figure 4. Abshalom Jac Lahav. Anne Frank, 2007. Oil on canvas, 24×24 in. The Jewish Museum, New York / Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Ardon bar Hama





Figure 5. Abshalom Jac Lahav. Anne Frank (Obama Shirt), 2009. Oil on canvas, 24 × 24 in. Courtesy of the artist





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Figure 6. Joe Lewis III. Mandela and Anne Frank Forever: Endless Column, 2006. Neon sign, telephone books, mirrors, wooden/metal column, 20 ft. \times 48 in. Courtesy of the Museum of Arts and Design, New York. Photographer: Ed Watkins





Figure 7. Ellen Rothenberg. Anne Frank Project: "A Probability Bordering on Certainty." $Handwriting\ Analysis$, 1993. Installation view: University Art Museum, University of California Santa Barbara. Dimensions: 84×360 in. Collection of Charlene Engelhard. Photographer: Sky Bergman









Figure 8. Ellen Rothenberg. Anne Frank Project: "A Probability Bordering on Certainty." *Business Cards*, 1991–1992. Ten sets of letterpress cards in editions of 100. Dimensions variable. *Courtesy of the artist. Photographer: Bruce T. Martin*









Figure 9. Keith Mayerson. Anne Frank's Wall, 2007. Oil on linen, 40 \times 60 in. Courtesy of Zach Feuer Gallery

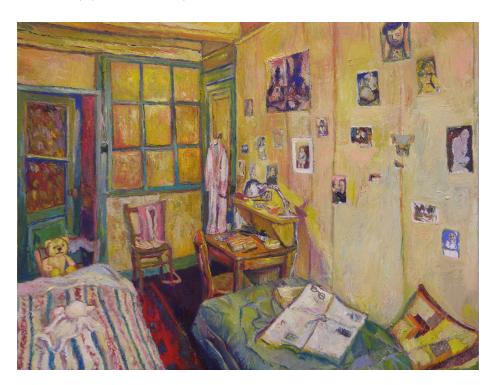


Figure 10. Keith Mayerson. Anne Frank's Room, 2007. Oil on linen, 26 \times 34 in. Courtesy of Zach Feuer Gallery

- 41. Marjorie Agosín, *Dear Anne Frank: Poems*, trans. Richard Schaff (Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 1998), vi, vi, ix, ix, vi, vi.
 - 42. Ibid., viii, vi, vii.
 - 43. Ibid., 105, 107, 119, 121.
- 44. Scott Simon, "Anne Frank Exhibit," Weekend Edition Saturday, National Public Radio, July 19, 2003, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId =1342383.
- 45. Zlata Filipović, *Zlata's Diary: A Child's Life in Sarajevo*, trans. Christina Pribichevich-Zorić (New York: Viking, 1994), 29.
 - 46. Ibid., 171, iv, 171, 193.
- 47. Francine Prose, "A Little Girl's War" [review of *Zlata's Diary* by Zlata Filipović], *New York Times*, March 6, 1994, 7.
- 48. Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, "Another Diary of a Young Girl" [review of *Zlata's Diary* by Zlata Filipović], *New York Times*, February 28, 1994, C15.
- 49. All citations are from Francine Zuckerman, dir., *Punch Me in the Stomach*, based on the stage play by Deb Filler and Allison Summers [DVD], National Center for Jewish Film, 1997.
- 50. Zygmunt Bauman, "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in *Modernity, Culture and the Jew*, ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 143; Bryan Cheyette, "Neither Excuse nor Accuse: T. S. Eliot's Semitic Discourse," *Modernism/Modernity* 10 (September, 2003) 3: 433.
- 51. All citations are from Lisa France, dir., Anne B. Real [DVD], Screen Media
 - 52. Lisa France, phone interview, March 20, 2011.
 - 53. Ibid.
 - 54. Ibid.
- 55. Meyer Levin, "The Child Behind the Secret Door: An Adolescent Girl's Own Story of How She Hid for Two Years During the Nazi Terror" [review of *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank], New York Times Book Review, June 15, 1952, 1.

9. SUTURING IN

- 1. Most, but not all, of the interpretations in this essay have emerged from conversation with the artists and from looking at the works of many other artists, not discussed here, that deals with Frank and her legacy. An incomplete list of other visual artists with notable works on Anne Frank created since 1990 includes Deborah Grant, Jason Lazarus, Greg Tricker, Lena Liv, David Altmejd, Doug and Mike Starn, Shimon Attie, Melissa Gould, Miriam Schapiro, Nathania Rubin, and Harmony Korine. Thanks to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Aviva Weintraub for informing me about some of these projects.
- 2. Michael Schwarz, Felix Droese, Ich habe Anne Frank umgebracht: Ein Aufstand der Zeichen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1988).
 - 3. Lotte Konow Lund, email to author, August 25, 2009.
 - 4. Ibid.

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- 5. Rachel Schreiber, statement, http://www.rachelschreiber.com/anne/anne .html, undated. Also telephone interview with author, September 16, 2009.
- 6. Steven M. Cohen and Ari Y. Kelman, *Cultural Events and Jewish Identities: Young Adult Jews in New York* (New York: National Foundation for Jewish Culture, 2005), 75, http://huc.edu/faculty/faculty/pubs/StevenCohen/CulturalEventso6.pdf (accessed January 20, 2011).
- 7. The relationship with Roth is discussed in L. J. Nicoletti, "No Child Left Behind," in *Visualizing the Holocaust: Documents, Aesthetics, Memory,* ed. David Bathrick, Brad Prager, and Michael David Richardson (London: Camden House, 2008), 95–100. See also Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Ghost Writing: Working Out Visual Culture," in *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies,* Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
- 8. Philip Roth, "The Ghost Writer," in *Zuckerman Bound* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1985), 17.
 - 9. Abshalom Jac Lahav, email to author, September 3, 2009.
 - 10. Ibid.
 - 11. Ibid.
- 12. Cynthia Ozick, "Who Owns Anne Frank?" *The New Yorker*, October 6, 1997. See also Francine Prose, *Anne Frank: The Book, The Life, The Afterlife* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009).
 - 13. Walter Robinson, "Joe Lewis: Clairvoyance," ArtNet.com, August 16, 2007.
- 14. Ellen Rothenberg, *The Anne Frank Project* (Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California, 1993).
- 15. "Anne Frank Project," http://www.ellenrothenberg.com/anne-frank-project-about.html (accessed January 24, 2011).
 - 16. Keith Mayerson, email to author, August 26, 2009.
 - 17. RCE, 658 (May 8, 1944), 694 (June 13, 1944).
 - 18. Keith Mayerson, email to author, August 26, 2009.
 - 19. Keith Mayerson, interview with author, August 2007.
- 20. Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper, 1994).
- 21. This emphasis on the imagination filling the space between self and visual images is a very different concept of "suture" than the psychoanalytic definition of Lacan, which has been adapted by Kaja Silverman and others within film studies to describe how emotion is used to manipulate audiences. For related discussion of "suture" in film in connection to the Holocaust, see Margaret Olin, "Graven Images on Video?: The Second Commandment and Jewish Identity," in *Complex Identities: Jewish Consciousness and Modern Art*, Matthew Baigell and Milly Heyd eds. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 37.
 - 22. *RCE*, 463 (January 6, 1944 [version a], January 5, 1944 [version c]).
- 23. Fawn Krieger, proposal, 2006. Artist files, Six Points Fellowship, Foundation for Jewish Culture, New York. Access to these files generously provided by Rebecca Guber, director of the Six Points Fellowship.

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