



Visualizing the Holocaust

Documents, Aesthetics, Memory

Edited by

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4: No Child Left Behind: Anne Frank Exhibits, American Abduction Narratives, and Nazi Bogeymen

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IF, AS DOMINICK LACAPRA ASSERTS, “we awaken the dead in order to interrogate them about problems of interest to us,”¹ do deep-seated anxieties bring Anne Frank perpetually to the fore? Ghost-like, she haunts American culture. A “Spirit of Anne Frank Award” is given to noble Americans by the Anne Frank Center-USA. *Time* magazine included her in its “most influential people of the [twentieth] century” edition.² She has been reembodyed by Susan Strasberg, Millie Perkins, Melissa Gilbert, and Natalie Portman, revocalized by Glenn Close, and resurrected by Cynthia Ozick, Philip Roth, and David Sedaris,³ among others. Frank may even become the seventh honorary citizen of the United States, if legislation supported by the Holocaust Memorial and Educational Center of Nassau County, New York, and U.S. Representative Steven Israel is successful.⁴

In a symbolic attempt to keep Frank alive, Americans regularly celebrate her birthday. Her favorite thirteenth birthday gift, the plaid diary, led to our relationship with her, after all. Frank’s seventy-fourth birthday was fêted by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) for their own tenth birthday, marked by the 12 June 2003 opening of a rare exhibition of her manuscripts. Her seventy-fifth birthday festivities included a Grigori Frid opera in Cleveland, dramatic diary readings in Boise — home of the Idaho Anne Frank Human Rights Memorial — exhibits in Houston and New York of Otto Frank’s photographs of his daughters, and a Birthday Tribute Gala at which fellow ghost writer Arthur Miller posthumously received the “Anne Frank Human Writes [*sic*] Award.” It is often noted, however, that Frank’s story is unrepresentative of the estimated 1.5 million Jewish children killed in the Holocaust. So what keeps Anne Frank lurking in the United States?

Pascale Bos demonstrates that the diary’s mutability in American classrooms is a major reason for Frank’s longevity. She observes that aside from the historical, the diary is frequently used to teach moral and even nationalistic lessons: “Once her diary is covered, many curricula shift from the Holocaust and Jewish persecution to discrimination and (racial) oppression

in general, leading to discussions on contemporary conflicts in the United States or on wars and genocide and on broader moral lessons about human behavior and individual choice.” Educators can utilize it to meet legislated curriculum benchmarks as much as to teach civic and personal responsibility. Bos correctly asserts that “the use of Anne’s diary in teaching about the Holocaust also clearly serves to mitigate the horror of the Holocaust.”⁵ Another possibility is that Frank’s safe, perpetual resurrection allows readers and viewers to dabble in the Holocaust’s horrors.

When Americans confront representations of the Holocaust, we endure and exorcise some of our worst familial anxieties and spectacular cultural narratives, especially the fear of the missing, kidnapped child. Ironically, this often occurs in spaces and pedagogies designed specifically to allow children to confront the Holocaust’s horrors more safely. Among our children, an acting out of the consequences of abduction also occurs at some American Jewish summer camps and German language camps, where camp counselors at times imaginatively morph into Nazis and Kapos to control and terrorize their captive young campers. Fears of child-snatching and abusing bogeymen are safely projected onto a now distanced Holocaust and its most famous, immortalized child victim. As we navigate through museum exhibitions and their hazards of identification — made more treacherous by postmemorial modes of embodiment, discussed in this volume by Elke Heckner — America’s omnipresent surveillance technologies become a blessing, not a curse, keeping us and our children looked after in the present.

The theories of Marianne Hirsch on postmemory are useful in theorizing how and why the Holocaust’s abducted and murdered children resonate with us and horrify us, and why, among tons of material evidence, the oft-reproduced icon or exhibited relic of a child’s single shoe embodies an imminent threat in the same way that myriad accounts of the Lindbergh baby kidnapping once engrossed Americans. Hirsch claims that “The image of the child victim, which is also the image of the child witness, provides the disembodied wound of Holocaust destruction with a residence.”⁶ That residence is not fixed within Nazi Germany or the USHMM; it is situated in our children’s schools and bedrooms and our fear that someone may enter them with ill intent.

Frank’s frozen image resonates with Americans because we routinely circulate and consume icons of murdered or threatened girls, from JonBenet Ramsey to Baby Jessica. The 1996 murder of nine-year old Amber Hagerman, kidnapped while riding her bike in Arlington, Texas, led to the “AMBER Alert” system, namely “America’s Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response” — a series of broadcasts to alert the public about child abductions — and the Amber Hagerman Child Protection Act of 1996, which outlines penalties for the sexual abuse of children. These posthumous resurrections of Hagerman also formalized the iconic circulation of

photographs of the missing. The summer of 2002 saw the kidnappings of Danielle van Dam, Erica Pratt, Samantha Runnion, and Elizabeth Smart, to name a few, and a resulting media frenzy. In April 2003, President George W. Bush signed into law the PROTECT Act,⁷ which gave the Department of Justice oversight of national coordination of the AMBER Alert system. The image of the lost, endangered girl was everywhere in our cultural landscape before Frank's appearance at the USHMM in June 2003. Americans already were prone to hauntings by little girls.

Likewise, Marianne Hirsch has noted the particular infantilization and feminization of Holocaust victims.⁸ Whereas Hirsch's example of the Warsaw ghetto boy does not stay fixed for her thesis — she characterizes him at different times as a weak, “feminized” victim and a brave “remasculinized” hero⁹ — an equally famous example fits, namely the red-coat girl from *Schindler's List*, the focal point of the ghetto liquidation scene. Although *Schindler's List* does not focus primarily on the story of children in the Holocaust, the little girl is its icon, and the film's marketing reveals our desire to keep the most vulnerable posthumously alive through their endless reproduction as haunting ghosts. Her hand — on posters and videocassette boxes — holds an adult's, over which is superimposed the typewritten list. Purchasers of the 2004 collector's edition DVD receive an “authentically reproduced” Senitype — essentially, a digital print from a film frame — of her being led away by a soldier, along with its corresponding mass-reproduced film cell, fetishized and individually numbered, as well as a book of photographs by David James that begins with the extrafilmic image of Liam Neeson in character as Schindler carrying the little girl. The iconic status of these two children is obvious from their descriptive signifiers — “the little boy with arms raised in the Warsaw ghetto” and “the little girl in the red coat.” No longer Tsvi Nussbaum, the grown man who is frequently identified as its subject, or Genia from Thomas Keneally's original account,¹⁰ their singular identities and survival stories are cropped off to produce the “perfect,” easily marketable victim.

Hirsch asks a pivotal question: “Why are such a large number of the archival images used in the texts documenting and memorializing the Holocaust images of children?”¹¹ However, she does not mention that although the threatened child is omnipresent in this imagery, very few of the regularly reproduced atrocity images reveal a dead child's body. Hirsch refers to no camera images of visibly dead children in her essay “Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy,” but just to encounters with photographs of the living young confronted by a viewer who believes the child is already dead. Because children are rarely depicted as dead in Holocaust atrocity images and memorial spaces, because the violence of their deaths is cropped away, representations of the threatened child wound us deeply. From Christian Boltanski's blurry altars

to Yad Vashem's Children's Memorial and our own visual culture of abduction and loss (the low-resolution photos on milk cartons and direct mail flyers, the excision of photos from family albums for circulation and distorting enlargement, the uncanny age-progressed photo), the missing or endangered child is kept spectrally alive. A dead child's body plunges us past heteropathic identification into a melancholic abyss. To modify Hirsch, “the image of the [*dead*] child victim stands in for all that cannot be — and perhaps should not be — worked through.”¹² This image, also resistant to attempts to project our anxieties upon it, is, therefore, unpopular. Such anxieties keep Anne Frank alive in America. Her image circulates to defy her death.

I will examine the work of two contemporary American artists, Ellen Rothenberg and Rachel Schreiber, who, aware of our cultural appropriation of Frank, create postmodern scenes haunted by her disembodied presence. Then I will analyze a museum exhibition that tried to reembody Frank as the growing, changing adolescent who, unphotographed, authored the famous diary.

Embodying a Ghost? Ellen Rothenberg's *Anne Frank Project*

Ellen Rothenberg, as a dedicated feminist artist, must re-embody her dead adolescent subject without objectifying her — a difficult task. Her complex, ever-evolving installation, the *Anne Frank Project*, an installation series begun in 1990, succeeds where many representations of Frank fall short. It does not attempt to reanimate Frank or voyeuristically approach her; instead it emphasizes her abject death, problematizing our consumption of Holocaust suffering.

In interviews, Rothenberg repeatedly stresses that her first experience of the diary at the age of twelve was haunting, due to its “dead-child role model”:¹³ “My parents gave it to me . . . and I was just terrified. You can't help but project yourself, and as a Jewish girl in the '50s, I had a certain level of identification with Anne.”¹⁴ In the first American edition, “there was no information regarding her experience after the arrest. That was an unarticulated horror . . .”;¹⁵ “there was a void, a looming horror, which went unnamed.”¹⁶ When she encountered the *Critical Edition* of the diary as an adult, published by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, all entries had been restored, and Rothenberg became interested in its former gaps, especially the stifling of Frank's sexuality.

Though Otto Frank claimed to have kept the diary's “essence,” Rothenberg rendered in 3-D one glaring omission — the detailed 24 March 1944 entry describing her genitals, naming it accordingly “*Das Wesentliche*” (1993). (This entry was first edited out by Frank's own hand

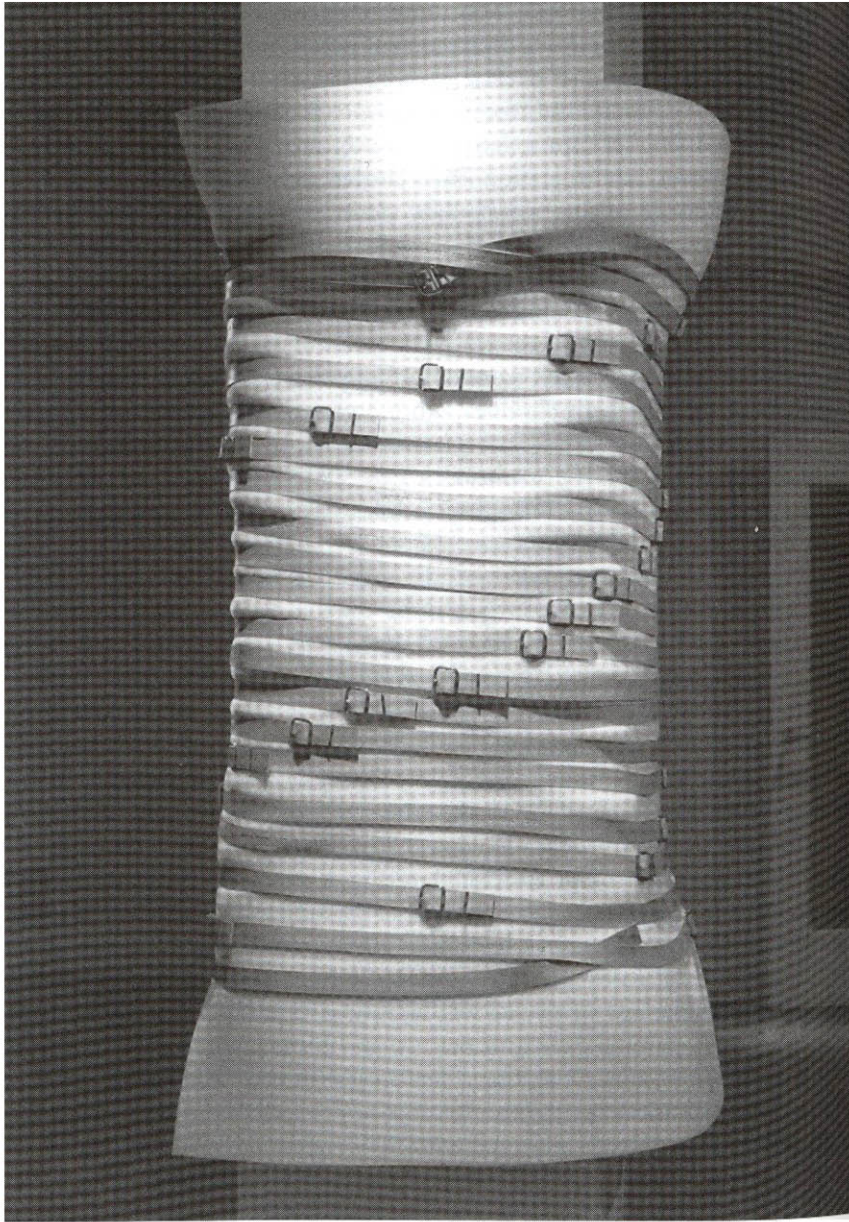


Fig. 13. Ellen Rothenberg, "Das Wesentliche" (*The Essence*), 1993. Forty-four leather belts with text, foam rubber. From *The Anne Frank Project*.

when she began to revise her diary after 29 March 1944 for future publication.) Its forty-four leather belts are stamped in English with the twice-omitted entry, and cinch a foam-covered pillar in each reinstallation of the *Project*. Rothenberg explains, "There's a real corporality of the object that is evocative of the body and sexuality," as the foam padding oozes out between the corseting bands of animal skin, a body both impalpable and constrained. The artist intended the reader, circling repeatedly around the belts, to have a "dizzying and disorienting [experience]. It is impossible to maintain any objective distance."¹⁷ However, can Rothenberg keep this tactile, textual reproduction of Frank's most intimately detailed entry free from voyeuristic objectification? Viewers circling around to read the explicit text also metaphorically prey upon and consume Frank's edited-out passage, translated into English for our easy consumption, but her body remains missing.

Rothenberg also utilized the extensive visual analysis of Frank's handwriting that prefaces the *Critical Edition*. This study — and this edition — could prove that Frank was the diary's author, especially for court cases against those who had called the work a hoax.¹⁸ In a litigious version of blaming the victim, the diary underwent a complete, five-year autopsy. Its fibers, inks, and adhesives were examined for age, and the microcharacteristics of her penmanship were laid bare — the appearance of her ascenders and descenders, the style of her ampersands, her pen pressure. Her prose was rendered into statistical certainty.¹⁹ And Rothenberg was "drawn to the graphic, gestural quality of the letters — separated, magnified, made strange and, ultimately, found to be *true* within the forensic frame. To be more exact, the constraints of forensic science could only establish 'a probability bordering on certainty,'"²⁰ which Rothenberg used to name this component of her *Anne Frank Project*. In "Handwriting Analysis" (1993), she blew up the scientific study — and Frank's script — larger than life on epidermal-like silk tissue. The trace of each stroke from the now missing hand is analyzed; an "o" bears eight numbered, accusatory arrows of analysis, an "n" six. The detailed scrutiny recalls the marking of wounds and velocities of trauma on an already victimized body — human skin becoming a manuscript, illuminated vellum. A ruler below each letter further evokes a crime scene.

One of the assemblages within her "Probability Bordering on Certainty" (1991) grouping is an adult-sized pair of footprints constructed from wax, rice paper, and felt. As observed by Elizabeth A. Brown, "This piece is particularly charged, suggesting the human presence that once inhabited them."²¹ Revealing Frank's handwriting within the warm, yellowish wax — a material frequently used by Rothenberg in the *Anne Frank Project* — they rest at the bottom of an otherwise empty vertical glass case tall enough to house an adult — the absent subject and museal specimen. Nearby are other artifactual age progressions, namely vitrines of business cards. Ten letterpress

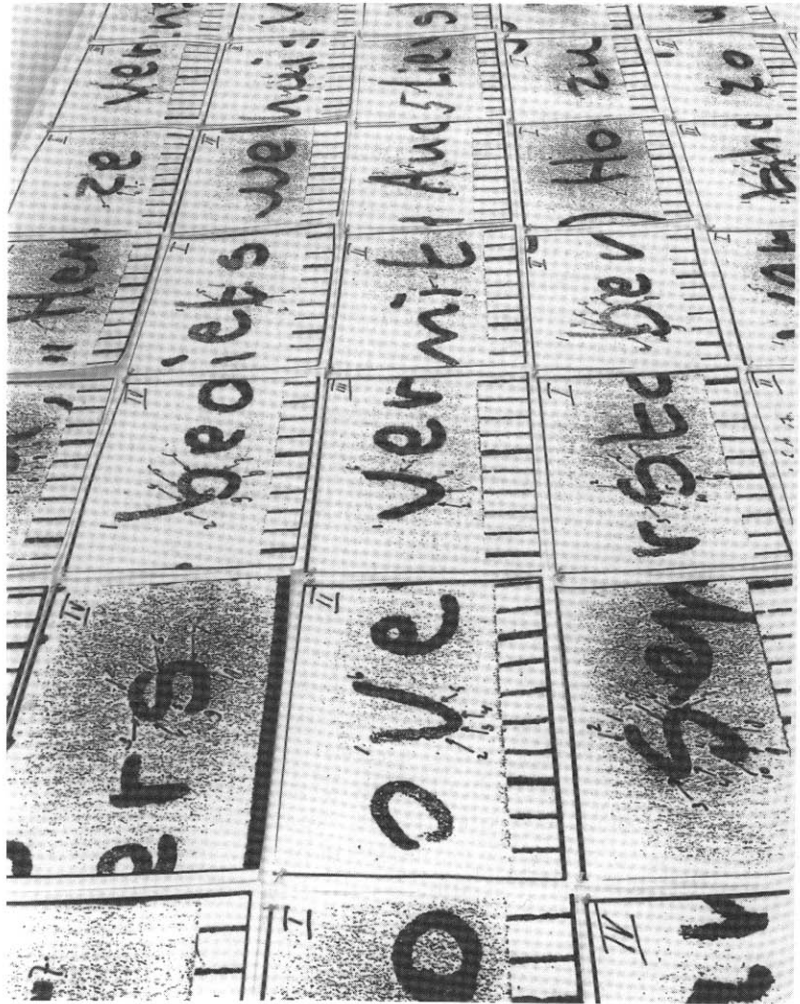


Fig. 14. Ellen Rothenberg, "Handwriting Analysis," 1993. Print on silk tissues, steel brackets. Collection Charlene Engelhard. From The Anne Frank Project.

stacks in German, English, and Dutch reading "Anne Frank, Author" (1992) provide additional evidence of the missing young woman who authored a bestseller without being seen.

These languages recur in Rothenberg's reproduction of the 1992 institutional signage within the Anne Frank House museum in Amsterdam. Uncanny in the Annex and ironic inside Rothenberg's installation, a sign reading "NOODVITGANG/EMERGENCYEXIT/NOTAUSGANG," unavailable to the Annex's first inhabitants, now aids the contemporary captive audience on the Prinsengracht. In Rothenberg's installation, it marked the entrance to an exitless gallery within which a video of the real, empty Annex by filmmaker Daniel Eisenberg looped endlessly. The sign suggests that the way out of the art gallery's archive of a missing young Frank, one haunted by an adult Frank's presence, is through the film screen. But this only allows a psychic escape to the Annex, its empty double. About the video, critic Achy Obejas observed, "the [Amsterdam] rooms are bare. But in the center of each room is a scale model of how they once were, with tiny beds and tables and other fixtures. The video goes from the real rooms to the models, often seamlessly. What the viewer is aware of is everything that's missing in real life."²² What remains at the site of the abduction is an elaborate, anachronistic dollhouse that calls more attention to the missing children.²³ Through Rothenberg's presentation, the dollhouse is turned into a forensic specimen via the video screen. The fraudulent museal artifact — the Annex model, Rothenberg's installation — is more real, enticing, dangerous, and memorable. It conceptually conflates our experience with those in the Annex, causing a projection into Frank's shoes. As claimed by Andreas Huyssen, "Real difference, real otherness in historical time or geographic distance can no longer even be perceived. In the most extreme case, the boundaries between fact and fiction, image and the real have been blurred to the extent of leaving us only with simulation, and the postmodern subject vanishes in the imaginary world of the screen."²⁴ Rothenberg's installation sets up the same eternal return as our reading of the diary, always accompanied by the latent image of Frank's ghost.

Another museum sign reproduced out of context by Rothenberg stresses the heavy absence of Frank that weighs on us through the endless reproduction of her image: "NIET FOTOGRAFEREN/NO PHOTOS ALLOWED/NICHT FOTOGRAFIEREN." And yet here is proof of Rothenberg's transgression — the photographed no-photography sign of the Annex-anopticon turned museum-panopticon — reproduced as a museum artifact of the Franks' scopophobia and our scopophilia. The last photographs of Anne Frank were taken more than two years before her death — during this time the family was cameraless, in hiding, annexed. Like her faded movie star pin-ups, Frank does not age photographically in the Annex. We can visualize only the preserved girl, not the physically changed young woman, not the prisoner of the Annex, not the author of the diary.

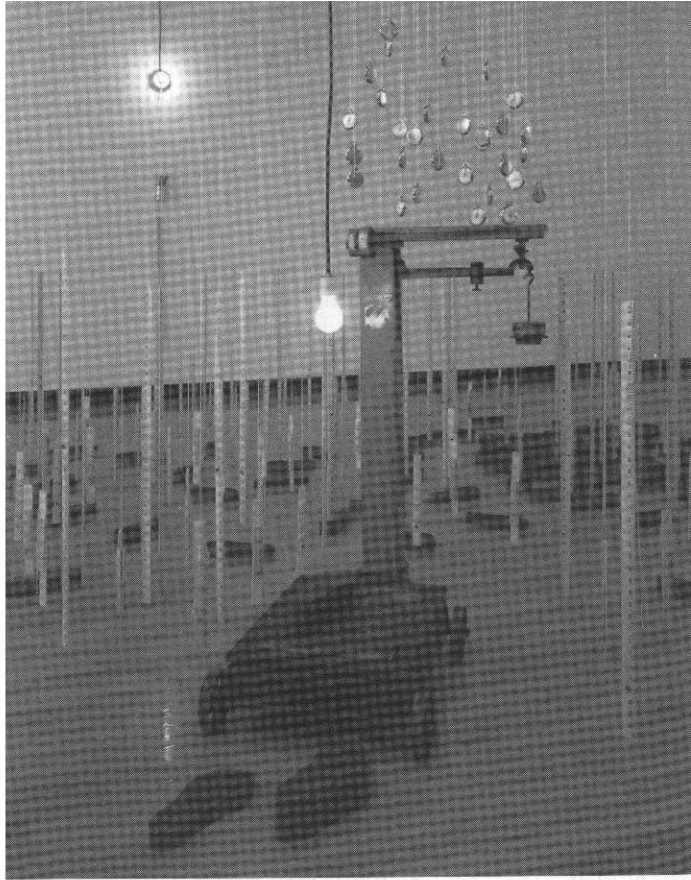


Fig. 15. Ellen Rothenberg, "Conditions for Growth," 1994.
Installation detail. From *The Anne Frank Project*.

In her "Conditions for Growth" installation, thick steel footprints haunt a room filled with scales, pocket watches, rulers, and thermometers, evocative of both a concentration camp's sterile display of material evidence and a littered *Umschlagplatz* (collection point), especially a grocer's scale that balances the words "YOU" against a loaf of bread. It appears heavily based on a historical knowledge of the Nazis' bureaucratic and industrialized killing, while epitomizing Arendt's "banality of evil." Visitors are encouraged to record their height on the gallery wall, not in a doubling homage to the loving father Otto Frank, who charted his daughters' growth in the Annex, but to subject us to surveillance while revealing our

performative relation to history, further exposing our (mis)identification with the Holocaust's victims. The installation questions how one displays or even looks at the human traces that remain and whether the surviving objects can adequately recall them or their fate, fulfilling Andreas Huyssen's ideas about effective Holocaust remembrance: "Post-Holocaust generations . . . can only approach that core [the "unrepresentable horror"] by what I would call mimetic approximation, a mnemonic strategy which recognizes the event in its otherness and beyond identification or therapeutic empathy, but which bodily innervates some of the horror and the pain in the slow and persistent labor of remembrance."²⁵ Pocket watches — at once referencing Nazi loot, train scheduling, temporal distance, and aural traces of beating hearts — hang suspended, ticking, while thermometers strapped to yardsticks display the arbitrary standards of normalcy and the loss of humanity in this standardization process. Rothenberg's *Anne Frank Project* displays the process by which the public has inverted the Annex into the Archive. As Wolfgang Ernst explains, "Archives traditionally belonged to the Arcanum of power, with the notion of secret space here being related to exclusion from public inspection."²⁶ We scrutinize the crime site for traces, but we can never locate Frank's ever absent body, despite her ever present likeness. This paradox forms the basis for Rachel Schreiber's work, staged outside museal culture on New York's streets.

Holocaust Tagging in Manhattan: Rachel Schreiber's *Anne in New York*

Anne Frank conceptually graffitied Manhattan in the work of Rachel Schreiber. Schreiber's 1999 series *Anne in New York* exposes the American (mis)identification with Frank, perceptively illustrating the words of Philip Roth's Nathan Zuckerman in *The Ghost Writer*: "Oh. . . . If only I could invent as presumptuously as real life! If one day I could just *approach* the originality and excitement of what actually goes on!"²⁷

Imagine this: an artist makes a stencil of one of Frank's favorite photographic portraits,²⁸ apparently the same image Roth immortalizes in his novel about the (mis)appropriation of Anne Frank: "Remember the shadowed eyes innocently uplifted in the clever little face? Remember the dark hair clipped back with a barrette? Well, this is she. . . . Anne. . . ." ²⁹ Schreiber proceeds to stencil her all over Manhattan, high and low. Frank's iconic visage competes with the best graffiti tags on light posts, Jewish Federations, dumpsters, loading docks, and newspaper boxes, notably *USA Today*. Frank greets us at a 24-hour peepshow door, appears outside the Café Tabac, and graces the granite, limestone, and marble exteriors of Fifth Avenue. Passersby, it appears, are inoculated to the omnipresent icon and the visual culture it recalls — a traumatic one for the missing — though



Fig. 16. Rachel Schreiber, "Untitled," from the series *Anne in New York*, Iris print, 1999.



Fig. 18. Rachel Schreiber, "Untitled," from the series *Anne in New York*, Iris print, 1999.



Fig. 17. Rachel Schreiber, "Untitled," from the series *Anne in New York*, Iris print, 1999.

a sniffing Rottweiler looms perilously close to one stencil on a street vendor cart (as if one could market "Anne Frank franks"), perhaps threatening a tag of its own. Schreiber then photographs her handiwork and displays her prints in an art gallery, its visitors no doubt incredulous and bemused, wondering: How was Schreiber able to mark all these locations? How could they have overlooked all these Franks? (Certainly some must claim to have seen them firsthand.) Will it cause trouble? Is graffiti art? Is this an acceptable form of memorialization? Should the icon of the girl who once believed in the goodness of all people appear on the side of a Good Humor Ice Cream cart? In *Anne in New York*, Schreiber records both an event that never happened and an image, according to Nicholas Mirzoeff, that "is always already there."³⁰

Schreiber digitally inserted this Warholesque serial of Frank into New York using Adobe Photoshop, not spray paint. Nonetheless, as Mirzoeff observes, people can be easily duped by her exhibit because "the gallery audience finds Anne Frank too iconic to be a manipulation."³¹ Schreiber was interested in exposing the "Cult of Anne Frank" and questioning how she "has come to symbolize the suffering of millions of people. Can one image really bear that kind of weight?"³² But, according to Schreiber, savvy New Yorkers knew that a graffiti artist — and Frank — could not penetrate the surveillance of Bergdorf Goodman or Central Park.³³



Fig. 19. Rachel Schreiber, "Untitled," from the series Anne in New York, Iris print, 1999.

Not averse to tragedy or controversy, Andy Warhol, America's iconic iconographer, never did a *Four Annes* screenprint or an *Anne Diptych*, suggesting that even the rampant commercialization of Frank surrounding the 1955 Broadway play and the 1959 Hollywood film did not produce the photographically iconic Frank that we cannot help but recognize today, one that Roth described in 1979. Nor did he serialize her dramatic counterparts, Susan Strasberg and Millie Perkins. Yet even without Warhol's illumination, Anne Frank has become an American product, something Schreiber makes clear when she photoshops Frank's head onto a telephone booth's DKNY ad featuring a typically emaciated model. Schreiber's macrocephalic DKNY-Anne reads like Zuckermann's description of Amy Bellette (Frank's double) in *The Ghost Writer*:

[T]he striking head had been conceived on a much grander and more ambitious scale than the torso. . . . mostly it was the drama of that face . . . that rendered all other physical attributes (excluding the heavy, curling hair) blurry and inconsequential. Admittedly, the rich calm of those eyes would have been enough to make me wilt with shyness, but that I couldn't return her gaze directly had also to do with this unharmonious relation between body and skull, and its implication, to me, of



Fig. 20. Rachel Schreiber, "Untitled," from the series Anne in New York, Iris print, 1999.

some early misfortune, of something vital lost or beaten down, and, by way of compensation, something vastly overdone.³⁴

As if to indict Zuckerman's imaginative, appropriating project — and America's own — the side of the bus passing by reads, "You were wrong."

Little did Schreiber know at the time of her series that New York Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton and Representative Steven Israel would lobby the government and Citizen's Stamp Advisory Committee unsuccessfully in 2003 for a 37-cent stamp based on the same photograph.³⁵ The latent image, the ghostly stencil, was being vivified. In another eternal return, Frank herself influenced its selection. In the diary, the original May 1939 photo bears a melancholic caption by Frank: "This is a photograph of me as I wish I looked all the time. Then I might still have a chance of getting to Hollywood [*sic*]. But at present, I'm afraid, I usually look quite different."³⁶ Frank captioned this photo on 10 October 1942, three and a half years later and in hiding, her body significantly changed. She approvingly sticks another smaller version of it in her diary in early November, along with three other identity photos labeled "pity about the ugly teeth," "obviously a flop," and "nice."³⁷ Because Frank illustrates her diary with photos of herself, belatedly commenting upon them, Amelia Jones's claims about self-portrait

photography are here relevant: “[I]n spite of its obvious promise of delivering an unmediated, indexical image of the real or of the deep emotional thoughts and feelings of its maker . . . [photography] is also an inexorable sign of loss and absence. . . . The photographic portrait in one sense, then, is a death mask, a coffin, a lifeless screen stifling all breath and sensation and movement.”³⁸ Mirzoeff observes, “Like Freud, Anne Frank was dismayed by her own double, its uncanny quality enhanced precisely by her homeless condition.”³⁹ As Frank examines this photo looking for what is lost, so do we. No longer photographically recorded and unable to view herself in the Annex as she wished due to its limited hygienic possibilities, the amorphousness of puberty, and enforced invisibility, an enticing, distant stranger returns her gaze.

“Anne Frank is always already in New York because she enacts a displacement and disavowal of the new anxieties in the ghost of the old,” according to Mirzoeff. The old ghost is the Holocaust, and he notes that Frank is “perhaps the best known ghost of the Shoah.”⁴⁰ New York, then, given its large survivor and second- and third-generation communities, would be particularly unsurprised by her haunting. One might contrast the implied invisibility of Schreiber’s Anne Franks with the hypervisibility of artist Shimon Attie’s *Writing on the Wall* projections (1991–93) in Berlin’s Scheunenviertel neighborhood, which provoked hostile reactions from the residents. As explained by James Young, Attie found Berlin “a city haunted by the absence of its murdered and deported Jews. Like many Jewish Americans preoccupied by the Holocaust and steeped in its seemingly ubiquitous images, he saw Jewish ghosts in Europe’s every nook and cranny. . . . He chose, therefore, to actualize these inner visions, to externalize them, and in so doing to make them part of a larger public’s memory.”⁴¹ Attie created a society of witnesses to the crimes by projecting photographs from the 1920s and 1930s of the now missing Jewish residents back onto their surviving buildings. His ghosts instantly haunted the space. As Young details, a man “suddenly came running out of the building shouting that his father had bought the building ‘fair and square’. . . .” Another contacted the police, angered that “Attie’s projections of Jews onto his building would make his neighbors think that *he* was Jewish.”⁴²

In *Anne in New York*, Schreiber wanted to “put the punctum *into* the photo.”⁴³ A feminist inversion of Barthes’s model, she pricks her photographs of New York with the image of Anne Frank. Schreiber’s project prophetically anticipated how the entire city would be visually stigmatized by the photographic traces of the missing 9/11 victims, similarly posted over Manhattan’s surfaces. And Schreiber’s question is answered: Anne Frank’s image cannot even bear the memory of the suffering of thousands, let alone millions, despite the response of Holocaust institutions and educators after the attacks, which offered her up one more time as a solution.

Transformations and Transportations: Time-Traveling to the Holocaust

Like a post-Auschwitz Brothers Grimm, popular American Holocaust narratives often function as more than historical education; they frequently serve as didactic, cautionary tales for children — to initiate them into their Jewish heritage, to impress them with distant horrors, or to scare them into good behavior. One day during our 2003 *Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst* seminar at Cornell, several colleagues spontaneously recalled past experiences in German language or Jewish youth camps across the country in which “camp” counselors “played” Kapos or Nazis, assigning novices the role of persecuted Jews. They were surprised that among our group this seemed to be the norm, having imagined their camp experience uniquely, sadistically warped. Instead, summer camp hazing had been routinely camouflaged through Holocaust simulation games as group-building historical lessons. Similarly, precocious suburban children play the Holocaust in the documentary *Put the Camera on Me* (2003), about home movies created in an affluent 1980s Los Angeles neighborhood. The Jewish boy on the block, Marc Entous, phones to Israel and says he is about to be killed in a concentration camp, before his friends “gas” him on a parquet kitchen floor with a bicycle tire pump. After his execution, the video dissolves to an overexposed poolside and Entous states “I am in heaven. The Nazi has killed me and ten thousand million other Jews.”

These role-playing games are related to American stories of problem children transported back into the Holocaust. Jane Yolen’s *The Devil’s Arithmetic* features the irreverent teenager Hannah Stern, who, upon opening the door for Elijah at Passover Seder, is transported as “Chaya” to a shtetl and eventually a concentration camp.⁴⁴ Dallas-based Christian filmmaking company Grace Products Corporation employs a similar device in *Forget Me Not: The Anne Frank Story* (1996), when neo-Nazi Mat Fritzlinger, while spray-painting swastikas inside the Simon Wiesenthal Center’s Museum of Tolerance on a high-school fieldtrip, walks through a magic door and is transported as a Jew to 1944 Amsterdam. He is pursued by the Germans, whereupon none other than Anne Frank opens the Prinsengracht door to give him shelter. In return, he reveals the family’s hiding place to the Nazis. (The betrayer found at last — in Los Angeles, not Amsterdam!) Guilt leads to his reformation, however, and a subsequent time-travel trip to Bergen-Belsen convinces him that concentration camps existed. As absurd as it sounds, American cautionary tales for disrespectful children after Auschwitz have become “Behave, or you’ll be sent to the Holocaust.”

In American classrooms, students are similarly turned into Holocaust time-travelers. The most egregious example of identificatory Holocaust

teaching with Frank's diary is a curriculum from Florida State University's English Education Program, published on the Web for teachers' use. These "WebQuests were designed as a way of making the Internet accessible *and safe* for students."⁴⁵ Its pedagogical method involves the students in imaginary time travel through a "Timeline Adventure." The Anne Frank WebQuest gives the adolescent an imaginary assignment as a journalist who must report on Frank and the Holocaust: "Your time travel journey will take you through the places, meet the people, or experience the horrors that Anne Frank and other Secret Annex residents witnessed and were involved with. . . .⁴⁶ [Y]ou will record your thoughts, eye witness accounts, and pictures that you have taken in your own travel diary, which will be published, when (or if) you return. . . ."⁴⁷ Each historical period within the assignment features an unnerving, threatening travel scenario. For example, "If you are reading this then you have been successfully transported to Amsterdam in the year 1942. . . . Try to be inconspicuous as possible since you don't want to alert the Nazis. . . ."; "Quick!! Press the button on your control panel that says 'II' for the next time and location! A German SS soldier is coming your way. . . ."; "you are ready to take the next time leap. . . scroll down to 'III' when you feel fully prepared to experience the death camp known as Auschwitz. . . ."; and "Welcome to Auschwitz." Clarification is here provided: "You will be transported to a time in which Auschwitz has been abandoned, and is now a memorial. . . . Because of the extreme nature of the atrocities that went on, a direct time transfer to Auschwitz during WWII would be inappropriate, but you will get the main idea nonetheless!" Given the insensitivity of this WebQuest on multiple levels, one may rightly question how it makes the Internet safer for students, or whether the objective to make the Holocaust "safe" is even a moral one. Its cautionary language implies that if children learn and heed the lessons of the Holocaust and its Nazi bogeymen, they will be kept safe.

The assignment's creators, students in the English Education Program, repeatedly suggest that imagination approximates lived experience. They ask, "What would it be like to hide in the Secret Annex?" "How would you feel if you are not a part of this 'Master Race'?" "In a sensory way, describe Auschwitz"; "How did you feel when you saw the gas chambers?" "[W]hat would you do in order to survive and keep up your morale?" The WebQuest's objective becomes increasingly implausible as it asks students to study the concentration camp paintings of David Olère — one of the most viscerally graphic Holocaust survivor-artists — and annotate his depictions of daily camp atrocities and medical tortures with quotations from Frank's diary. (Probably, for once, the oft-repeated aphorism "in spite of everything I still believe that people are truly good at heart" will not be chosen!) The final stated goal of the WebQuest is intellectually (and grammatically) lamentable: "Ultimately, because students

experience events Anne must have seen herself, and then expressing their own feelings, they will thereby make this 'time travel' all the more real and remembered." The "safe" assignment has turned the Holocaust into a game that motivates students through pretend-danger. It is, therefore, hard to imagine Florida State University's Anne Frank WebQuest effecting more than "facile cathartic empathy."⁴⁸

The Hollywood version of an impetuous child's journey to an unknown, dangerous world not surprisingly has led screenwriters of Holocaust fables to reference Dorothy's trials in Oz. In the film version of *The Devil's Arithmetic* — though not in the novel — the protagonist, played by Kirsten Dunst, entertains those in her *shetel* and camp with American stories, amusing them particularly with the escapist tale of *The Wizard of Oz*. In another apparent homage to Oz, the 2001 Disney-ABC miniseries that has come to be known as *Anne Frank: The Whole Story* shows Frank at her thirteenth-birthday party, not only receiving a pair of red shoes recalling Dorothy's ruby slippers, but holding them and clicking their heels together, as if to signal to American viewers that there is indeed "no place like home." These shoes are never mentioned by Frank in her diary's second-entry inventory of birthday gifts, which lists the trivial, such as "a box of Droste. . . a roll of acid drops. . . a bar of chocolate,"⁴⁹ but instead were recollected by surviving friend Jacqueline van Maarsen.⁵⁰ When, in the miniseries, Anne drops these shoes to the floor before hurrying off to the secret Annex with her knapsack, it is a visual cue that, unlike Dorothy, she will not be coming back.

Should we embrace the conflation of rapper JNYCE (Janice Richardson) with Anne Frank in the film *Anne B. Real* (2002), "a cinematic hip-hop tribute to Anne Frank"?⁵¹ The Anne Frank-Fonds did. Soon after it had denied use of the diary's text to the Disney *Anne Frank* miniseries (resulting in executive producer Steven Spielberg's departure from the project), indie director Lisa France received the legitimizing blessing of Bernd Elias, Frank's first cousin and the Foundation president.⁵² The film's protagonist, a teenage girl and aspiring rapper, uses Frank's diary for literary inspiration. Like Frank, she endures a claustrophobic apartment with its quarrelsome, potato-peeling inhabitants, and a dangerous setting — in this case, the poverty-, drug-, and crime-infested streets of her Morningside Heights, NYC neighborhood at 112th and Amsterdam Avenue. The Cathedral of St. John the Divine is mapped onto the Westerkerk. Her best friend — none other than Kitty — encourages her rap rhymes before being killed when a nearby drug deal turns into a shoot-out. Kitty's death inspires her to go public as a rapper. As Andreas Huyssen mused, "For if it is our concern and responsibility to prevent forgetting, we have to be open to the powerful effect that a melodramatic soap opera [the 1978 miniseries *Holocaust*] might exert on the minds of a younger generation which could find its way toward testimony, documentary, and historical treatise precisely

via a fictionalized and emotionalized Holocaust made for prime time television.”⁵³ According to film critic Jan Lisa Huttner, Fonds members “told Ms. France that when they finally saw her film, they were so moved that they watched it twice in a row.”⁵⁴

American visual Holocaust narratives often encourage not mere identification with the victims but conflation. Not only will the prevalence of narcissistic pedagogies and identificatory representations affect our experience of Holocaust exhibitions, but museum practice has shaped itself to allow for them, and perhaps this is necessary. However, the psychic displacement that occurs when hearing or reading Holocaust testimonies is not the same as what results from the spatial experience of their musealization.

What anxieties accompanied visitors through “Anne Frank the Writer: An Unfinished Story,” the 2003 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum exhibit? What did it signify to American audiences during the second consecutive “Summer of Kidnapped Girls”?⁵⁵ For museum visitors who have long demanded a substantial Anne Frank exhibit, missing-child guide Anne Frank was brought back temporarily to life.⁵⁶

The exhibition opened for Frank’s seventy-fifth birthday with a visit by First Lady Laura Bush, just two weeks after she visited the Auschwitz camps with her husband, and three months after she was reported to be reading W. G. Sebald’s *Austerlitz*,⁵⁷ a novel about a lost child — a grown *Kindertransport* survivor trying to recover his life before he became a four-and-a-half-year-old émigré. The appearance highlighted not only her personal campaign against illiteracy but also the President’s “No Child Left Behind” education platform. Writings that were never before seen outside the Netherlands were brought to the museum by David Barnouw of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation with a police escort. And as this exhibit opened, kidnapped nine-year old Jennette Tamayo was released by her abductor and safely returned by police to her parents. Three months earlier, fifteen-year old Elizabeth Smart was rescued after nine months in captivity.

At the entrance to the USHMM exhibition, an anachronistic, dissolving image of Frank writing a year before the diary begins was reproduced behind the show’s title. About a similar photograph, Victoria Stewart has said,

The photograph of Anne Frank sitting at her school desk, pen at the ready, smiling, has taken on an iconic status: this image fixes Anne Frank and it is of course impossible to imagine what she might have looked like after her two years shut away. What information we can glean from Anne Frank’s own account serves to place her at a distance from the image in the photograph. The gap between the visual image and the textualized one is impossible to bridge; the text would seem to promise to animate, prosopopoetically, the image, but the distance between the two simply widens.⁵⁸

Sensing this chasm, visitors who wanted to get closer to the girl and her story entered the exhibition.

Fresh from a national television landscape of domestic horrors, visitors could read the museum displays like a trail of clues, an “America’s Most Wanted” reenactment, or an episode of “CSI,” despite the best intentions of its curators. Klaus Müller and USHMM director Sara Bloomfield wanted to reveal Frank’s exceptional, varied prose style, to dispell popular perceptions of her diary as juvenilia, and to reconstitute her from reductive aphoristic cliché and an anachronistic smiling photo. Yet visitors ascended a curving flight of stairs, psychically mapping their movement onto the twisted staircase to the 263 Prinsengracht Annex.⁵⁹ They confronted a larger-than-life blurry image of children skating. There was Frank, second from the left, still recognizable to those who never knew her, though the grainy enlargement has distorted her and blackened her eye sockets — a billboard for the lost girl, or a Boltanski altar memorializing already dead children. Then a hallway of school photos, from right to left, most recent to youngest — an archaeology of Frank’s physical development, an age regression. To enhance their documentary status, even imperfect photos were included in this visual timeline (a heavy lidded profile for 1935; closed eyes in 1940), all annotated in Frank’s hand. Museum-goers looked for all the evidence of her life, even what Frank may have edited out. Every view was provided — frontal, full profile, three-quarter — mapping Frank’s visage for the spectators like a mug shot.

Inside the first gallery rested the family photo album, sealed into a plastic vitrine. One photo was missing on the selected page. The empty photo corners magnify absence, illustrating Christian Metz’s reading of photography as fetish: photography is “an instantaneous *abduction* of the object out of the world into another world, into another kind of time. . . . Photography is a cut inside the referent, it cuts off a piece of it, a fragment, a part object, for a long immobile travel of no return.”⁶⁰ Nearby, a video played on an elevated television screen — actually, the only film footage that exists of Frank, looking out a window, caught by a 1941 wedding party movie camera from the Merwedeplein square below. Fleeting. Looping. Its mere seconds slowed down “to allow the recognition of Anne.”⁶¹ Frank pulls her head back inside, hiding from the gaze, recreating the scene as one of concealment. She should not have been caught in the camera’s vision field and she should not yet be hiding. Why did she pull back into her family’s apartment? It seems that the moment she does, it is already too late, that moment of too-lateness that obsessed Claude Lanzmann’s postmemorial project *Shoah*.⁶²

Our fascination with looking at Frank temporarily resuscitates her; it is an obsessive projection of our own “urgent need for the fantasmatic Other’s Gaze serving as the guarantee of the subject’s [that is, our] being: ‘I exist only insofar as I am looked at all the time.’”⁶³ The film functions

as a clue to identity, but here an identity ever lost, regardless of how many times the film replays.⁶⁴ This same clip appears anachronistically at the end of Jon Blair's otherwise rigorously chronological documentary *Anne Frank Remembered*, like a relic or recovered time capsule. The footage rolls twice — the second time substantially slowed down — framed by two lengthy freeze frames. After providing witness testimony to her death and showing the piles at Belsen, Blair uses the clip to revivify Frank and pull viewers out of mourning. As Christian Metz observes, "Film [unlike photography] gives back to the dead a semblance of life, a fragile semblance but one immediately strengthened by the wishful thinking of the viewer."⁶⁵

Another vitrine held the fake diary, a perfect copy, a ghostly reenactment. Captured photos, film, albums, letters, a private diary — these are the "arts of surveillance."⁶⁶ For the Frank family, it was all about not being seen. Here is our nightmare laid bare, the intruder in the children's room, the disappearance, the attempt to reconstruct an image with frozen traces. The Franks' hypervisibility; our hypervisuality.

Within three months of her sedentary life in hiding, Frank gained seven-teen pounds and soon grew out of her clothes.⁶⁷ Pencil marks on the Annex walls show she grew over five inches unseen.⁶⁸ By the time her body is in proximity to a camera again — with the dead at Bergen-Belsen — we cannot imagine her there. To represent Frank's final fate near the exhibition's end, curator Klaus Müller opted for a more iconic image of Auschwitz-Birkenau's entrance — through which all Annex residents passed — not the camp in which she spent the most time and died. According to Müller, "The photo of Auschwitz was a deliberate choice as it is the most recognizable image of a camp to a general audience; its main purpose was its symbolizing death and destruction. If we had chosen Bergen-Belsen, we would have needed to include text — which throughout the exhibition we tried to avoid as much as possible in order to let Anne talk."⁶⁹ The Auschwitz photo is an index of Frank's suffering legible to the masses. President George W. Bush had just walked across its rail spur on our front pages. Young visitors animate this photo, turned diorama, just one museum floor below by "going to the concentration camp" in the "Remember the Children: Daniel's Story" permanent exhibition. Bergen-Belsen is less iconic, except for its image of the British bulldozing bodies into mass graves. Although it is possible, though not probable, that Frank, one of the tens of thousands who died in the month before liberation, also faced such a burial, given the numbers of putrifying bodies encountered by the British, how could we animate her further? As Alvin Rosenfeld observes, "this image of the emaciated, disease-ridden girl lying dead amidst the human waste of the camp latrine, then dumped into a huge hole that served as a mass grave, forms no part of the cherished 'legacy of Anne Frank.'⁷⁰ Who has connected her very active presence in our cultural memory to those revolting piles? Who has looked for her likeness in the face

of those corpses? Given Frank's regular appearance in our Holocaust remembrance and social justice politics, I imagine few, if any.

I do not claim that exhibit designers Klaus Müller and Sara Bloomfield had a motive other than expanding the public's knowledge about Frank and her diverse writing. Müller's explanation for using the blurry skating photograph was simple and pragmatic; it had been relatively unseen by the public, and "portrays Anne with her friends outside — the counter image, if you want, to her later restriction to the confines of the secret annex." The exhibition ably addressed an ahistorical trend he noticed:

Commonly, images of Anne (all of them taken before she went into hiding) are used to visualize her at a later age and in the time period when she started to write. The image of her as a child or young teenager, coming from these photos, in my view altered the reading of her diary as we assume a much younger Anne as the author of her writings. In the exhibition, we wanted to make clear that the Anne of the diary is a person we have no image of and that the only way to know her is through her own text. For that reason we did not use any photographs dating from the time period before the Frank family went into hiding to visualize her as an author.⁷¹

However, the American context effects and affects its reading, without being planned by Müller in his Dutch office or Bloomfield in DC. The large, blurry photo of Frank skating, in conjunction with the nine school-type photos, evoked a pictorial construct of the missing, threatened child to viewers, who weekly consume blurred, low-resolution images of kidnapped children on direct mail flyers, billboards, and milk cartons to help locate them. The inclusion of the short film and the centrally displayed photo-album page with its one missing photograph — the unpreventable transformation of the family album into forensic tool when a child disappears — all produced a haunting narrative of loss in the way they suggested the hazards of recovery, the fetishizing of traces. The fact that the exhibit opened the week that Jennette Tamayo was both kidnapped and recovered meant that, practically hourly, CNN and Fox News viewers saw the dark-haired, dark-eyed girl, first a focused image of her to aid in her rescue, then a blurred one — a belated attempt to protect her identity when reports that she had been sexually assaulted began to air. Still haunted by 9/11's visual culture of the missing and subjected to two summers of media frenzies about other kidnapped girls, Americans could visit "Anne Frank the Writer" for another cautionary Holocaust tale to exorcise their worst fears.

Conclusion

Andreas Huyssen claimed in 1993, "I would indeed suggest that it is the material reality of the object in the museum, of the monument in a

reclaimed public space in pedestrian zones, in restored urban centers, or in preexisting memorial spaces that attracts a public dissatisfied with simulation and channel-flicking.⁷² In fact, the museum's canonization of the television, the screen, and simulation, as seen in the blurry photos, looping films, and artifacts — real and simulated — create and ensure its public. Historical Holocaust exhibits utilize a theatricality (for lack of a better word), once the domain of television or conceptual art installations, to evoke a sense of “being there.” At the end of the “Anne Frank the Writer: An Unfinished Story” exhibition, Frank's handwritten 26 March 1944 essay “Give!” covered a giant screen, a technological masterpiece. Her Dutch manuscript morphed into an English typescript as the words were narrated by an American girl's voice — also heard as part of the on-line exhibition. While the size magnified her literary accomplishments, the technology assigned her a familiar voice, reanimating her as one of us, one of our own.

Ellen Rothenberg finds problematic the “directed experience of historical and institutional displays” at Holocaust museums, and the theatricality and simulation that they evoke. In contrast, she does not want her *Anne Frank Project* “to be a reenactment of a process that's already finished.” Instead, she is “interested in blurring between real space and imagined, reconstructed space.”⁷³ As Marguerite Feitlowitz describes it, “That sense of *missing* what is right before our eyes is an essential part of a Rothenberg experience. . . . For each of us, certain images remain *indelible*, and these, I would suggest, induce the complicated experience that is our own inward memorial: the after-image we articulate to ourselves and attempt to share with others.”⁷⁴ “Anne Frank the Writer,” then, might meet with Rothenberg's approval.

The frequent private consumption of her diary⁷⁵ — including all the sections that Frank edited out — has fueled our public scopophilia for Anne Frank. The heavily photographic “Anne Frank in the World” exhibit regularly circulates through our communities. She's in our museums, art galleries, and on our screens, big and small. Her presence on the Internet grows exponentially. (In February 2005, Google Web and image searches using the exact phrase “Anne Frank” yielded 1,670,000 and 30,700 sites respectively. In June 2007 those numbers have risen to 2,150,000 and 86,200 hits.) We have yanked Frank out of her Annex-anopticon into an American panopticon so she may belatedly occupy and not disappear from our public visual field. We can read about her fear of being seen, her developing body, and her masturbatory desire; we can anachronistically view a smiling Margot powdering her infant butt or see her head peeking over the Merwedeplein balcony. But if she pulls out of the movie camera's gaze prematurely, we will slow down or endlessly loop the footage. On diary editions, her ever-smiling youthful face — an antidote to the Holocaust — has produced a reductive visual culture akin to her too oft-quoted line about

people being good at heart, one resisted in the complex conceptual work of American artists Ellen Rothenberg and Rachel Schreiber but less able to be resisted in historical displays because of their necessary reliance on the now fetishized museal object.

Back in the Annex, Frank, a lover of Greek mythology, had contemplated the alias “Aulis” for her family's surname in her diary revision.⁷⁶ Aulis is the port where the Greek warriors set sail for Troy, a site that marks the unlikelihood of returning home. Frank, a native of Frankfurt am Main, stripped of any German citizenship or nationalism by the Third Reich, must have seen a connection. But before the Greeks' departure, there was the sacrifice at Aulis of Iphigenia by a well-intentioned father and nation, in order to rescue one who was abducted into a foreign, hostile world. Although Frank ultimately chose the surname “Robin” for her diary instead, her future disappearance into American culture was sealed with its writing.

Notes

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies contributed significantly to the research for this article while I was a participant in their 2003 Holocaust literature seminar. While each member of our 2003 Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst seminar improved the clarity of its topic, Dan Magilow and Brad Prager provided me with more sources for its writing than I will ever remember to thank them for. I especially wish to thank Klaus Müller, Ellen Rothenberg, and Rachel Schreiber for generously sharing with me their interesting ideas about representing Anne Frank.

¹ Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1994), 33.

² *Time*, 14 June 1999.

³ Portman portrayed Anne Frank in the 1997 revised Broadway production of *The Diary of Anne Frank* by Wendy Kesselman. Close narrated Frank's diary in Jon Blair's 1995 documentary *Anne Frank Remembered*. Ozick began her legendary *New Yorker* essay “Who Owns Anne Frank?” in the *New Yorker*, 6 Oct. 1997, 76–87, repub. in *Quarrel and Quandary* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 74–102, imagining Frank had survived. Roth resurrects her in *The Ghost Writer* (New York: Vintage, 1995). Sedaris's tale of visiting the Anne Frank House after a frustrating apartment search rivals Roth's sacrilegious Nathan Zuckerman: “We entered the annex behind the famous bookcase, and . . . I felt . . . an absolute certainty that this was the place for me. . . . In plays and movies it always appears drab and old ladyish, but open the curtains and the first words that come to mind are not ‘I still believe all people are really good at heart’ but ‘Who do I have to knock off in order to get this apartment?’”! See David Sedaris, *Dress Your Family in Corduroy and Denim* (New York: Little, Brown, & Co., 2004), 184.

- ⁴ Current honorary Americans are the Marquis de Lafayette, William Penn, Hannah Callowhill, Winston Churchill, Raoul Wallenberg, and Mother Theresa. The Dutch television network KRO made a similar, unsuccessful bid in the Netherlands in 2004.
- ⁵ Pascale Bos, "Reconsidering Anne Frank: Teaching the Diary in Its Historical and Cultural Context," in *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust*, ed. Marianne Hirsch and Irene Kacandes (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2004), 348–59; here, 350.
- ⁶ Marianne Hirsch, "Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy," in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover, NH: UP of New England, 1999), 2–23; here, 22. For an extended discussion of Hirsch's notion of postmemory, see Elke Heckner's essay in this volume.
- ⁷ *Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today Act of 2003*, Public Law 108–21; 117 Stat. 650 (30 Apr. 2003).
- ⁸ Marianne Hirsch, "Nazi Photographs in Post-Holocaust Art: Gender as an Idiom of Memorialization," in *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, ed. Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2003), 19–40; here, 22.
- ⁹ Hirsch, "Nazi Photographs in Post-Holocaust Art," 30.
- ¹⁰ Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List: A Novel* (New York: Touchstone, 1982).
- ¹¹ Hirsch, "Projected Memory," 10.
- ¹² Hirsch, "Projected Memory," 20–21.
- ¹³ Ellen Rothenberg, telephone interview, 9 Jan. 2004.
- ¹⁴ Ellen Rothenberg, quoted in Achy Obejas, "Beyond Anne Frank: Artist Explores the Mutations of History," in *Chicago Tribune* final edition (4 Mar. 2001), 10.
- ¹⁵ Ellen Rothenberg, quoted in Johanna Branson, "Interview with Ellen Rothenberg," in *Ellen Rothenberg*, ed. Johanna Branson (Medford, MA: Tufts U Art Gallery, 1994), 13–24; here, 21.
- ¹⁶ Ellen Rothenberg, quoted in Marguerite Feitlowitz, "Taking Our Measure: The Quest for Meaning in Ellen Rothenberg's *Anne Frank Project*," in *The Anne Frank Project: An Installation by Ellen Rothenberg* (Chicago: Gallery 312, 2001), 10–21; here, 12.
- ¹⁷ Ellen Rothenberg, telephone interview, 9 Jan. 2004.
- ¹⁸ See David Barnouw, "Attacks on the Authenticity of the Diary," in Anne Frank, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition*, ed. David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stroom, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans, B. M. Mooyaart-Doubleday, and Susan Massotty (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 84–102.
- ¹⁹ See H. J. J. Hardy, "Document Examination and Handwriting Identification of the Text Known as the *Diary of Anne Frank*: Summary of Findings" and "Scientific Examination of a Few Previously Unknown Pages to Determine Whether They Belong to the *Diary of Anne Frank*" in Frank, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition*, 109–71 and 172–85 respectively.
- ²⁰ Marguerite Feitlowitz, "Taking Our Measure," 15.
- ²¹ Elizabeth Brown, "Reading the Anne Frank Project," in *The Anne Frank Project* (Santa Barbara, CA: UCSB University Art Museum, 1993), 1–9; here, 6.
- ²² Achy Obejas, "Beyond Anne Frank," 10.
- ²³ The Anne Frank Center-USA in Soho also features a large dollhouse-style model of the Annex, with cut-out views of its furnished interior, largely intended to better explain the space to the schoolchildren who visit.
- ²⁴ Andreas Huyssen, "Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 6.2 (1993): 249–61; here, 254.
- ²⁵ Huyssen, "Monument and Memory," 259.
- ²⁶ Wolfgang Ernst, "Beyond the Rhetoric of Panopticism: Surveillance as Cybernetics," in *CTRL [SPACE]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin, Ursula Frohne, and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2002), 460–63; here, 463.
- ²⁷ Philip Roth, *The Ghost Writer*, 121.
- ²⁸ Reproduced in Frank, *Diary*, 302.
- ²⁹ Roth, *The Ghost Writer*, 159.
- ³⁰ Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Ghostwriting: Working Out Visual Culture," *Journal of Visual Culture* 1.2 (2002): 239–54; here, 247.
- ³¹ Mirzoeff, "Ghostwriting," 247.
- ³² Rachel Schreiber, "Anne in New York" (n.d., accessed 18 Feb. 2005), <http://www.art.uh.edu/dif/schreiberStateBio.html>.
- ³³ Rachel Schreiber, telephone interview, 24 Feb. 2005.
- ³⁴ Roth, *The Ghost Writer*, 23–24.
- ³⁵ This congressional initiative, also supported by Representative Frank Wolf (VA), was introduced on Frank's seventy-fourth birthday for issue on her seventy-fifth birthday.
- ³⁶ Frank, *Diary*, 302.
- ³⁷ Frank, *Diary*, 313.
- ³⁸ Amelia Jones, "The 'Eternal Return': Self-Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27.4 (2002): 947–78; here, 953–54.
- ³⁹ Mirzoeff, "Ghostwriting," 247.
- ⁴⁰ Mirzoeff, "Ghostwriting," 246, 247.
- ⁴¹ James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000), 64–65.
- ⁴² Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 72.
- ⁴³ Rachel Schreiber, telephone interview, 24 Feb. 2005.
- ⁴⁴ Jane Yolen, *The Devil's Arithmetic* (New York: Puffin, 1990).
- ⁴⁵ Florida State University, "Florida State English Education WebQuests" (n.d., accessed 1 Jul. 2003), <http://www.fsu.edu/~CandI/ENGLISH/web.htm>, 1. Emphasis added.
- ⁴⁶ All quotations have been exactly reproduced from the original; I have not noted with "[sic]" the WebQuest's multiple grammatical problems.
- ⁴⁷ Florida State University, "Anne Frank: A Timeline Adventure" (n.d., accessed 1 Jul. 2003), <http://www.fsu.edu/~CandI/ENGLISH/fsuwebquest3/annef.htm>.

⁴⁸ Huyssen, "Monument and Memory," 260.

⁴⁹ Frank, *Diary*, 198.

⁵⁰ In *Anne Frank Remembered*, videocassette, dir. John Blair (Columbia TriStar, 1995).

⁵¹ Jan Lisa Huttner, "Anne B. Real: A Cinematic Hip-Hop Tribute to Anne Frank," *Films42.com* (1 Apr. 2004, accessed 24 Jan. 2005), http://www.films42.com/_columns/anne_frank.asp.

⁵² DVD commentary for *Anne B. Real*, dir. Lisa France, perf. Janice Richardson, Carlos Leon, and Ernie Hudson (Rêve Entertainment Group, 2002).

⁵³ Huyssen, "Monument and Memory," 256–57.

⁵⁴ Huttner, "Anne B. Real," last par.

⁵⁵ Julie Hilden, "The Summer of Kidnapped Girls: Could an Expansion of Megan's Law Help to Prevent More Abductions?" in *FindLaw* (6 Aug. 2002; accessed 23 Jun. 2003), <http://writ.findlaw.com/hilden/20020806.html>.

⁵⁶ USHMM director Sara Bloomfield reported that the two most common questions fielded by staff at the museum's information desk are "Where are the bathrooms? and Where is the Anne Frank room?" Elizabeth Becker, "Museum Gives Anne Frank Her Space," *New York Times*, 12 Jun. 2003, E1, E5).

⁵⁷ Elisabeth Bumiller, "As World Waits, Quiet on the West Wing Front," *New York Times*, 17 Mar. 2003, A20.

⁵⁸ Victoria Stewart, "Anne Frank and the Uncanny," *Paragraph* 24.1 (Mar. 2001): 99–113; here, 107.

⁵⁹ It is unlikely that visitors were unfamiliar with the way the Annex was reached, given all the documentary and dramatic filmmaking of that space and Frank's own discussion of the building's stairs: "a very steep staircase led upstairs to the large kitchen-living room for the van Pels family" (*Diary*, 231); "a wooden staircase leads from the downstairs passage to the next floor. . . . One of those really steep Dutch staircases runs from the side to the other door opening onto the street" (235); "when we arrived at 263, Prinsengracht, Miep led us quickly through the long passage, up the wooden stairs, straight to the 'Secret Annex'" (235).

⁶⁰ Christian Metz, "Photography and Fetish," *October* 34 (Fall 1985): 81–90; here, 84. Emphasis added.

⁶¹ Klaus Müller, E-mail to author, "Re: About Your Anne Frank Exhibit" (6 Jan. 2004).

⁶² This footage is first described, with melancholic longing, in Ernst Schnabel's chapter "Ten Seconds," in his *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Harcourt, 1958). Describing a freeze frame as the death of the subject, he states, "The smile stood still . . .; it was no longer alive, and when I walked forward so close to the screen that I could have touched it, it ceased to be a smile, ceased even to be a face, for the canvas was granular and the beam of light split into a multitude of tiny shadows, as if it were scattered upon a sandy plain" (62).

⁶³ Slavoj Žižek, "Big Brother, or, the Triumph of the Gaze Over the Eye," in Levin, Frohne, and Weibel, *CTRL [SPACE]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2002), 224–27; here, 225.

⁶⁴ The belatedness of camera surveillance and the latent significance of its imagery have been expertly discussed by Winfried Pauleit in his "Video Surveillance and Postmodern Subjects: The Effects of the Photographesomenon — An Image-Form in the 'Futur Antérieur,'" in Levin, Frohne, and Weibel, *CTRL [SPACE]*, 465–79.

⁶⁵ Metz, "Photography and Fetish," 84.

⁶⁶ Levin, Frohne, and Weibel, *CTRL [SPACE]*, 11.

⁶⁷ Frank, *Diary*, 304.

⁶⁸ Ruud van der Rol and Rian Verhoeven, *Anne Frank, Beyond the Diary: A Photographic Remembrance* (New York: Puffin, 1995), 73.

⁶⁹ Müller, E-mail to the author. "Re: About Your Anne Frank Exhibit" (26 Apr. 2004).

⁷⁰ Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "Anne Frank — and Us: Finding the Right Words," *Reconstruction* 2.2 (1993): 86–92; here, 88.

⁷¹ Müller, E-mail (6 Jan. 2004).

⁷² Huyssen, "Monument and Memory," 255.

⁷³ Rothenberg interview.

⁷⁴ Feitlowitz, "Taking Our Measure," 21.

⁷⁵ Frank wrote, "I don't intend to show this cardboard-covered notebook, bearing the proud name of diary to anyone, unless I find a real friend" (*Diary*, 200); "I'm going to . . . make sure it doesn't . . . fall into anyone else's hands" (201); and "Dear diary, I hope no one will ever read you except my dear sweet husband . . ." (247). In her own diary revisions, she annotates earlier sexually explicit passages with comments like "I shall never be able to write such things again!" (307).

⁷⁶ Frank, *Diary*, 60.