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Sois gentil et tiens courage! Reshaping Anne Frank's Diary Through New Imagery¹

Abstract: The contemporary *Graphic Adaptation* by Ari Folman and David Polonsky (2017) joins an editorial history, in which the perception of Anne Frank's story has been shaped. At the same time, ethics and aesthetics of remembrance have been consistently discussed, not only fuelled by discourses on memory but also the re-imagination of the past by new generations. As Marianne Hirsch states “[p]ostmemory’s connection to the past is thus actually mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation” (Hirsch 2012). Ari Folman and David Polonsky work with those imaginative approaches and reshape historical events on a narratively exigent level of the visual and the verbal. The author and the illustrator have already worked successfully together. Anne Frank's *Graphic Adaptation* is an extraordinary testimony of war, based on extensive research. Intermedial references, such as adopted historical photographs, documentaries and journal entries add authenticity to the *Graphic Adaptation* and enable the reader to travel back in time. This paper discusses the relationship between the visual representation of memory in Anne Frank's *Graphic Adaptation* and the reader. With this in mind, the author examines the *Graphic Adaptation's* potential for shaping and reshaping the readers' perception through Folman's and Polonsky's creation of multiple viewpoints and discusses its storytelling abilities between fiction and history.

Keywords: Anne Frank's Diary, graphic adaptation, empathy, Holocaust education, historical learning, collective memory

INTRODUCTION

As Gerrit Bolkestein, Education Minister of the Dutch Government in exile, claimed in 1944, personal documents such as diaries and letters provide following generations with the opportunity to visualize the fate and atrocity of which

¹ The article is a partially revised English version of the article *Figures of Memory: Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank zwischen Text und Bild, Wort und Symbol/Figures of Memory: Anne Frank's Diary between Text and Image, Word and Symbol* published in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* (Schulz 2019).

people had to suffer from during the Nazi-Regime. Even years after the release of the first edition of *Anne Frank's Diary*, the narrative still serves its purpose: offering an intimate insight into the well-known teenager's life in hiding and evoking empathy. Therefore, Ari Folman's and David Polonsky's *Anne Frank's Diary: The Graphic Adaptation* (2018) joins an editorial history (Caplan 2004), in which the perception of Anne Frank's story is being shaped. As a global well-known memory narrative *Anne Frank's Diary* (OV in Dutch 1947) plays an important role in *Holocaust Education*. Even though there are existing reservations against the terminology, which led to the term "Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust," every approach is "based on the assumption that some kind of a lesson can be drawn from the events," Oliver Plessow states (2019: 25). The contemporary *Graphic Adaptation* by Ari Folman and David Polonsky extends the canon of children's and youth literature chronicling the Holocaust. It maintains the cultural memory due to the publication itself and furthermore in the organizational structure on the basis of institutionalized communication (Assmann 1988: 12; Assmann/Czaplicka 1995: 129). It is part of a publishing history, in which the reception of Anne Frank's character is related to an international memory discourse. According to Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt the process of collective memory can be seen as "mediated representations of the past that involve selecting, rearranging, re-describing and simplifying, as well as the deliberate, but also perhaps unintentional, inclusion and exclusion of information" (2011: 3–4). However, the difference between memory and history should be clarified in a pedagogical context, in order to foster competencies to differentiate facts from fiction (Plessow 2019: 32). With imaginative approaches Folman's and Polonsky's visualization of the diary entries and its adaptation balances between factual and fictional storytelling. The visual representation of memories in the *Graphic Adaptation* could be seen as "figures for memory and forgetting," according to Marianne Hirsch (2001: 12). As Hirsch states, "[p]ostmemory's connection to the past is thus actually mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation" (2012). Ari Folman and David Polonsky work with those imaginative approaches and reshape the historical events at a narratively exigent level of the visual and the verbal. As the author and the illustrator have worked successfully on *Waltz with Bashir* (2009), Anne Frank's *Graphic Adaptation* is an extraordinary testimony of World War II, based on extensive research. Intermedia references, such as adopted historical photographs, documentaries and journal entries, add authenticity to the story and enable the reader to travel back in time, whereas Anne Frank's personal thoughts, visualized in mind maps, sequences and morphological signs, could be seen to mediate between fiction and history. In doing so, "the reader is obliged to reflect on how history is constructed," says Gorrara (2020: 577). Whereas Folman and Polonsky create multiple viewpoints, which guide the reader through Anne Frank's autobiographical approach, the focus in this paper will be the process during which a narrative or aesthetic aspect cre-

ates cultural memory. In this case questions, as Hirsch addressed in *The Generation of Postmemory*, would be applicable, namely “[w]hat aesthetic and institutional structures, what tropes and technologies, best mediate the psychology of postmemory, the continuities and discontinuities between generations, the gaps in knowledge [...]? And why have visual media, and photography in particular, come to play such an important role here?” (2012: 6).

1. ANNE FRANK’S DIARY

While first being published in 1947 in the Netherlands with the title *Het Achterhuis*, the first German issue was released by Lambert Schneider in 1950, titled *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank*, in the same year a French translation by Tylia Caren and Suzanne Lombard was established, *Le Journal d’Anne Frank*, and was followed by an English version in 1952, *The Diary of a Young Girl*.²

Especially the play directed by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett captured international attention. It led to George Stevens Hollywood film (1959) and additional publications (Barnouw 1999: 63), and strengthened the perception of Anne Frank as a symbol of hope. This reading corresponded simply to the need of an audience, “without having them overly frightened or repelled by too stark a sense of her end“ (Rosenfeld 2011: 104–105). With that in mind, relevant passages for the first German translation were altered by “eliminating specific references to the German nationality of the criminals” (Rosenfeld 2011: 127), so German readers would not have to identify themselves with the persecutors. Further editions all around the world, theatre productions, musicals, animated films, literary or pictorial interpretations followed and continued the publication history, while at the same time popularizing it. Ever since the 1950s the authenticity was doubted again and again, to which the *Netherlands Institute for War Documentation* reacted with a comprehensive review. As a result, a critical edition of Anne Frank’s diaries was published in 1986, first in Dutch and then in 1988 in German (Prose 2013: 546–552). The extended edition by Fischer (Anne Frank Fonds 2013) is suitable as a reliable historical source because it includes the three different versions of Anne Frank’s diary entries, manuscripts, stories, letters, memories and explanatory notes. As the different versions are available parallel for comparison, Anne Frank’s own writing process becomes apparent and within her aesthetic demand.

Folman’s and Polonsky’s *Graphic Adaptation* is not the first graphic adaptation, but the first one authorized by Anne Frank Fonds³. According to the organization the *Graphic Adaptation* “has complemented the existing valid

² In the following pages, quotations from *Anne Frank. The Diary of a Young Girl*, will be quoted from the definitive edition, edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler, translated by Susan Massotty (2002), and will be indicated with AFD and the number of the page.

³ In the following pages, quotations from Anne Frank Fonds will be indicated with AFF.

reader's edition and the complete edition" (AFF 2019). So far, the graphic adaptation was published in German (2017), French (2017), Italian (2017), Spanish (2017), Portuguese (2017), English (2018), Romanian (2018), Polish (2019) and Turkish (2019). It is a perfect opportunity, where there is a "real need for new artistic material to keep the memory [of Frank] alive" (Child 2013), as Folman puts it. Considering that, according to Gundermann, graphic versions can attract a new readership (2018: 261), Folman's and Polonsky's approach would be just right for a younger generation. Especially since Folman is not the only worried that "we're coming to an era where there won't be Holocaust survivors on earth, no living witnesses to tell the story" (Liphshiz 2017). One of the most difficult parts must have been choosing from the original texts, shaping them into a graphic adaptation, while doing Anne Frank's memory justice. The *Graphic Adaptation* approaches this aspiration with a wide range of access, all characterized by literary elements, intertextuality and cross-media references. Wertheim accurately brings the purpose of an adaptation to the point: „[w]hat we see in the adaptation of the diary into other media is what Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin have called 'remediation': the transference of one medium into another with the goal of obtaining a more direct connection to reality" (Wertheim 2009: 161). As an adaptation of Anne Frank's Diary, Polonsky's and Folman's *Graphic Adaptation*⁴ meets all of Linda Hutcheon's and Siobhan O'Flynn's criteria: it has to be "an acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works," "a creative and an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging" and has to enter into "an extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work" (2013: 8). According to Folman the original text of over 3.500 pages had to be broken down, so that the "four diary entries in the first eight days [...] in the graphic adaptation became one ten-page entry" (2018: 148). The idea of producing a visual version of the diary came with great challenges. Just as Alvin H. Rosenfeld, cited by Folman in the afterword, summarizes his research about the culture of remembrance of Anne Frank: "[t]o the million or more who perished we have given the collective name: *Anne Frank*" (2015: 95; emphasis in original). Just as Mirjam Pressler previously established in the biography *Ich sehne mich so: Die Lebensgeschichte der Anne Frank* (1992), Folman and Polonsky chose significant diary entries to facilitate multiple perspectives on Anne Frank's life. In addition to the literary side, Pressler created an opportunity for "a girl of flesh and blood, to express her wishes and hopes, her desires, her contradictions" (Pressler 1992: 8). Whereas Folman is responsible for the textual part, Polonsky illustrated Anne Frank's diary entries with a very clear visual language. Quoting Anne Frank's original diary entries in the caption, yet exceeding the boundaries of language through images, Folman and Polonsky use the graphic novel's narrative form to increase the synergy of

⁴ In the following pages, quotations from *Anne Frank's Diary. The Graphic Adaptation*. (2018), adapted by Folman, and illustrated by Polonsky, will be indicated with GA and the number of the page.

the verbal and pictorial. Classical panels dissolve into splash panels and cinematic strategies such as perspectives and picture settings help to identify with the character (Eder 2014). Regarding to the content and visuals Folman and Polonsky cross intermedial borders again and again, while inserting artworks such as Gustav Klimt's *Adele Bloch-Bauer I* (GA 55) or Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (GA 92–93) appearing as means for symbols. Characters, their emotions and their historical context are offered through pictorial quotations and historical documents to reflect on the cultural memory and therefore provide an imaginative approach. Directing the reader through meaning balanced between narratability and gaps the *Graphic Adaptation* is unlike *Anne Frank: The Graphic Biography* (Jacobson/Colón 2010) limited to the period noted in *Anne Frank's Diary*. Whereas Jacobsen and Colón trace Anne Frank's biography to Bergen-Belsen, her death and illustrate the first steps of the publishing history of Anne Frank's diary, Folman and Polonsky end the *Graphic Adaptation* orientated towards the original entry of 1 August 1944, simply commenting "Anne's diary ends here" (GA 144; AFD 336). The depiction of the red and white chequered diary frames at the beginning and at the end visually perceptible Anne Frank's diary entries. Anne Frank's death as well as the other Secret Annex' resident's and helper's fate are not excluded, but textually unfolded in the book's appendix: *Afterword* (GA 146–147). Therefore, the content of Anne Frank's diary entries differs from editorial contents in the front-matter section and the appendix. Folman's *Adapter's Note*, in which he describes his and David Polonsky's work process and their relationship with the work could be read as a paratextual feature (GA 148–149).

2. GRAPHIC ADAPTATION: HISTORICAL SOURCE BETWEEN FACTS AND FICTION

The AFF comments that the "adaptation by screenwriter and film-maker Ari Folman and David Polonsky uses illustrations to make the Diary understandable, while also conveying the historical and social context in which it was written" (AFF 2019). Subtling the adaptation as a *Graphic Adaptation*, emphasizes the adaptation's characteristics along the boundaries of fiction (Schröer 2016: 263–264). Whereas the English and Spanish edition explicitly point to *The Graphic Adaptation/La adaptación gráfica* (2018) on the cover, the German edition informs the reader in a subtitle on the title page about the format: *Graphic Diary*. No matter the edition, every version's title points to its source: *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank/Anne Frank's Diary/El diario de Anne Frank/O Diário de Anne Frank/Jurnalul Annei Frank/Dziennik Anne Frank*. The authorization of the institution founded by Otto Frank in 1963, AFF, frames the *Graphic Adaptation* paratextual and creates additionally authenticity (Gundermann 2018: 262).

Folman and Polonsky present this real-world reference visually, verbally and contextually and refer to the *Graphic Adaptation* as documentary evidence and, again, to the conditions that led to the publication. Folman and Polonsky present Anne Frank with her diary, when writing, writing utensils or parts of the original manuscript. This strategy aims at authenticity (Gundermann 2018: 270–271), the reader is expected to trust (Pandel 2007: 346). Authenticity is established in the *Graphic Adaptation* by what Christine Gundermann describes as strategies of historical simulations, namely by using techniques that mark the past (2018: 263). Through historical figures, events, buildings or objects, landscapes and icons of that time, the past is simulated authentically towards textual and visual strategies (Gundermann: 263–270). Folman and Polonsky create diverse perspectives with intermedial references, such as historical photographs and documents which lead the reader through Anne Frank's autobiographical approach. According to Schröder the metaphorical transfer and translation from text to visual only allows an approximation of "reality" (2016: 269). While comics deepen topics with sensuality and emotionality in the perspective of a dimension of experience, they have, according to Hans-Jürgen Pandel, the capacity to contribute to an aesthetic of historical awareness and rhetoric of historical narrations (2007: 354). Historiography built a historical ensemble towards different narratives; in any form they might be materialized. Hence collective identity is constituted (Wyrobnik 2005: 249–250). When creating the *Graphic Adaptation*, Folman and Polonsky took public images like photographs, archived by the AFF and the Anne Frank Museum, into account. Knowledge about the past is therefore conveyed through pictures and narratives, which are available to the public (Hirsch 2008: 112). The graphic adaptation of the well-known original manuscript makes it possible to activate the recipient's previous knowledge, which is linked to the cultural memory (Straumann 2015: 252; Schüwer 2002: 187). The consequence is that meaning lays between text and image, word and symbol.

2.1. (DON'T) JUDGE A BOOK BY ITS COVER

Before the reader flips the book open, the cover gives initial information offering orientation and serving as a "threshold," as Genette would describe it (2010: 2). As a paratext the front cover frames the reading process and the reader's response with a lot of pre-information such as the title, the name of the author, a genre indication and an illustration (Genette 2010: 24). What we see on the cover of the *Graphic Adaptation* is a remodelling of a photography, which presents Anne Frank at her desk, laying her hands protectively on her diary. Due to symbols such as a fountain pen between her index and middle finger, the inkwell to her left, photographs and a pair of scissors to her right, we are able to identify Anne Frank as an author, as the author of the globally well-known *Diary*. The adapted photograph, which is archived in the first red and

white chequered diary, aims at recognition. According to Hirsch, photographs as a form of reminder signals can create a link to the past and reactivate political and cultural structures of memory (2012: 36). The very prominent presentation of Anne Frank at the centre of the cover fulfils just that. According to Hirsch, “family photos, and the familial aspects of post memory would tend to diminish distance, bridge separation, and facilitate identification and affiliation” (Hirsch 2012: 38). The image of Anne Frank serves as an iconic sign, which is reminiscent of her historical figure and at the same time refers to herself as an emblematic character. These visual signifiers refer, since they shaped our cultural memory, to the past by creating closeness and thus assisting in the identification (Hirsch 2008: 116). Anne’s red cardigan and her promising smile draw and focus the attention. The frontal view, which turns her gaze towards her vis-à-vis, creates the impression of intimacy. However, even if something familiar could be recognized, the image is tied to a visual complexity, which goes far beyond the ordinary. A closer look is leading the viewer behind Anne herself, from her room through the door frame showing a cut-out of her life in the Annex. To the left there is Anne’s family, Otto, Margot and Edith Frank. Peter van Daan is depicted on the upper edge of the picture on the ladder to the attic, holding his cat in his arms. Peter’s parents and Albert Dussel are pictured to the right, Petronella van Daan holding a chamber pot, Hermann van Daan holding a cup of tea, and Albert⁵, presenting himself with a pair of forceps. The depiction of all the people in hiding can be interpreted as a preview of the *Graphic Adaptation* and refers aside from that to Anne Frank’s self-chosen title, which corresponds to the first Dutch edition: *Het Achterhuis*⁶.

By that Folman and Polonsky make it clear that Anne Frank’s notes present her point-of-view, which present the reader the events through her lens. This individual perspective facilitates an insight into the fear, tension, darkness, and also support and community, which the people in hiding experienced from 1942 to 1944 at Prinsengracht. Anne Frank always remains the central memorial figure, which characterizes herself in a network of relationships.

For the *Graphic Adaptation* Folman and Polonsky based their design on the graphic reconstruction of the *Secret Annex* to the last detail, such as the towel at the wall. Whereas the *Secret Annex* could be discovered virtually on the website of *Anne Frank House* (2018), Folman and Polonsky breathe life into the spatial design by using Anne Frank’s notes. However, the *Anne Frank House*,

⁵ Peter van Pels, Auguste van Pels, Hermann van Pels and Fritz Pfeffer are named with the pseudonyms Anne Frank has invented: Peter van Daan, Petronella van Daan, Hermann van Daan and Albert Dussel (AFD vii-viii)

⁶ ”And now something else. You’ve known for a long time that my greatest wish is to be a journalist and, later on, a famous writer. We’ll have to wait and see if these grand illusions (or delusions!) will ever come true, but till now I’ve had no lack of topics. In any case, after the war I’d like to publish a book called *The Secret Annex*” (GA 133, emphasis in original; AFD 294).

administered by *Anne Frank Stichting* and founded in 1957, offers authenticity on the basis of the cultural framing. Thus, another institution plays an important role in communicating and archiving Anne Frank's memory. Testimonies of the past, such as the original manuscript of the Diary, a long-term loan from the Dutch State, can be visited and memory can be bought, inter alia, in the form of the historical cardboard model of the *Anne Frank House*. As Wertheim states, media such as museums "are regarded not only as reflecting the past, but also as constituting an integral part of this reflection," the marketing of memory creates approaches for a wider public but is at the same time risking the exploitation of Anne Frank's remembrance, "in sentimentalizing or romanticizing" it (2009: 159). However, Wertheim recognizes irrespective of the economic interest that "for mediatizations of the diary to 'work' to find their audiences, and be a source of moral inspiration to them, the claim of a more truthful representation had to be made" (2009: 166).

2.2. IMAGINING THE SURVIVING IN THE SECRET ANNEX: VISUALISATIONS

In the combination of the verbal and pictorial narration Folman's and Polonsky's *Graphic Adaptation* serves as a perfect foil for imaginative learning. With recourse to the reader's own experiences as well as mental images and furthermore through Folman's and Polonsky's composition and the pictorial view in a sequence as a story, the pictures and texts are completed, the characters animated, and the individual images processed. Readers have to construct a plot, which, according to Grünewald, is shown as a process – similar to a theatre performance or a film, in their mind (2014: 41). Whether the topic is hunger, air strikes, conflicts, fear or even love – Anne Frank's emotions such as depression or infatuation, her nightmares as well, are visualised in the combination of the verbal and pictorial in the *Graphic Adaptation*.

2.2.1. "I'M CURRENTLY IN THE MIDDLE OF A DEPRESSION"

One prominent example of this provides the diary entry of 16 September 1943. While on the left page the daily threat of being discovered is represented by the mistrustful storekeeper van Maaren, on the right page Anne Frank's nightly fears are visualised as nightmares. The team of creators staged the daily threat and the nightly fear as two different sequences. The top of the night scene is therefore sliced up into narrow vertical panels, in which Anne Frank looks nearly squeezed into. Echoing the anxiety Anne Frank is facing, the vertical slices depict her lying in bed in her small room in the Annex with the blanket up to her neck, red-eyed with the fear creeping into every fold. "I've been taking valerian every day to fight the anxiety and depression," informs the caption (GA 79). Even if the label of the pillbox and the pill itself are realized in gentle pink, and she falls asleep with pastel coloured flowers all over her, the treatment couldn't help her with the life-threatening situation in the Annex. Anne

Frank remains narrowed and threatened by nightmares, which are shown in the concluding panel: the flower blanket bursting into flames, Anne, filled with horror, plunging into cohorts of Wehrmacht soldiers. In a complex depiction the *mise-en-scène* is showing Anne Frank's feelings and fears by using colour, perspective construction, the meaning-enhancing panel design, and historical references as part of her desperate situation. In sight of the reader, the narrative force is evolving from one panel to the next constructing Anne Frank's anxiety states. Restructuring some parts of the original text the reader is involved in a more direct approach, and at the same time informed by the caption, titling the daily and nightly threats. Therefore, the original text⁷ differs from the caption, being graphically depicted instead of verbally or adapted as dialogue.

2.2.2. "AND TODAY'S SUBJECT: DINNER"

Another example that demonstrates in which way the original text is reshaped for the graphical adaptation, lays in the depiction of Anne Frank's diary entry of Monday 9 August 1943. Whereas in the original text Anne Frank describes each Annex' resident's behaviour at meals on two pages, Folman and Polonsky condensed the depiction in one splash panel on a double spread page (GA 74–75). According to Anne Frank's characterisations, Folman and Polonsky anthropomorphised the characters. Facial expressions and gestures of the depicted animal figures emphasize parts worth telling, caricature their behaviour to the point and illustrate Anne Frank's point of view. Even if not all information of the original text is resumed, the characters are represented through thought balloons and specific animal species. Whereas Anne Frank describes Hermann van Daan as a "Danaidean vessel that never gets full" (AFD 124), Folman and Polonsky transfer the depiction visually as *hungry as a bear*. Albert Dussel's illustrated behaviour, *hungry as a wolf*, refers through the text in his thought bubble "I'd rather skip dinner. Anyway, the best stuff is hidden under my bed" (GA 75) to what the residents discovered. Anne Frank wrote in her diary on May 1, 1943: "[y]ou mustn't get the idea that he's starving. We found bread, cheese, jam and eggs in his cupboard" (AFD 98). His character is illustrated as a predator through the stereotype of the wolf as an evil beast. As a chick, the youngest at the table, Anne Frank is given a minor although morally superior role in this constellation of characters. She is sitting in front of an empty plate thinking "[f]ood is so overrated" (GA 74). The conjunction of verbal and pictorial becomes apparent in the visualisation of phrasemes.

The *Graphic Adaptation* provides multi-faceted perspectives on the characters hiding in the Annex, not lastly because of the emotional approaches towards the pictorial. Fear, love and hunger are examples of feelings which

⁷ "I've been taking valerian every day to fight the anxiety and depression, but it doesn't stop me from being even more miserable the next day" (AFD 134) / "I'm currently in the middle of a depression. I couldn't really tell you what set it off, but I think it stems from my cowardice, which confronts me at every turn" (GA 79).

allow for different approaches to historical learning. The reader is able to construct meaning on the basis of a multi-layered narration. Imagining the living conditions of Anne Frank and the other residents of the Annex through a verbal-pictorial co-text leads to metaphorical interpretations of meaning.

3. HISTORICAL LEARNING BETWEEN ENTERTAINMENT AND PROPAGANDA

The diary entry of 24 June 1942 is an excellent example of Folman's and Polonsky's *Graphic Adaptation's* potential for shaping and reshaping the readers' perception through multiple viewpoints such as intermedial references and Anne Frank's journal entries inviting the reader to explore history and reflect on cultural memory. Therefore, Folman and Polonsky remediated Anne Frank's situation by visualising the historical background. Established in a single splash panel, the *Graphic Adaptation* illustrates the impact of the restrictive measures against Jews with an example. The caption at the edge of the page states: "[o]nly now do I realize how pleasant a tram is, but we Jews are no longer allowed to make use of this luxury; our own feet are good enough for us" (AFD 12–13; GA 13). Shortly after the Netherlands was occupied by Nazi Germany, measures against Jews were implemented, resulting in administrative, economic and cultural exclusion, and since 1942 in deportations to the camps (Hirschfeld 2013). Anne Frank is informing the readers about those developments in the diary entry of 20 June 1942:

After May 1940 the good times were few and far between: first there was the war, then the capitulation and then the arrival of the Germans, which is when the trouble started for the Jews. Our freedom was severely restricted by a series of anti-Jewish decrees: Jews were required to wear a yellow star; Jews were required to turn in their bicycles. (AFD 8; GA 10–11)

Any restrictions on freedom and rights against the Jewish population and their successive isolation were recognized by Anne Frank at a very young age, and she described them in her diary, as Piet Mooren (2005) states. Anne Frank's records show clearly her understanding that all these measures were just the first steps of what later on would lead to Auschwitz (Mooren 2005: 191). According to Annette Kliever, (2005) the child-like eye appears obviously far from naïve. But at least undermining the solidarity of the Dutch population was not successful in every way. Anne Frank noted in her diary that it is "not the fault of the Dutch that we Jews are having such a bad time" (AFD 13). "There are still some good people out there: the ferryman at Jozef Israelskade took us across when we asked him" (GA 13).

Looking into Folman's and Polonsky's *Graphic Adaptation* the reader can see the ferryman taking Anne Frank on board. With Margot waiting behind

her sister looking down the quayside, the three characters are arranged in a triangular composition, symbolizing a form of resistance. In the background one could recognize the small towers of the bridge over the Amstel at Scheldestraat. Those are silhouetted against the block of houses, behind which the church spire of the Catholic Vredeskerk rises. Therefore, Anne Frank's diary entry can be contextualised locally on account of the visualisation of the Amsterdam cityscape and temporally for the dating. In the foreground of the panel a shining and high-headed appearance of Marika Röck is prompting on an advertising column of the first German *Agfacolor* motion picture, "FARBEN-GROSSFILM." It is titled *Frauen sind doch bessere Diplomaten* (Ufa 1941). This screen advertising contextualises Anne Frank's diary entry not only culturally, but also controls the scene depicted. Dominating the foreground, the actress' glance guides the observer's eye out of the film poster across the triangular composition of Anne Frank, Margot and the ferryman. Thus, the marginalized group remains in the small limited range of the advertising column's shadow and is at the same time linked to a paramount importance, which refers symptomatically to the political context (Eder 2014: 521–560).

By acting and singing in a large number of operettas and revue films Marika Röck placed herself with her popularity at the service of the National Socialist regime. To what degree her work contributed to the National Socialist ideology can be seen in Folman's and Polonsky's depiction of Anne Frank's diary entry of 24 June 1942. According to Knut Hickethier (2004) the conjunction of ideology and entertainment is especially reflected in NS film industry's media productions (2004: 229). Defined in that sense, most of the productions cannot be described as evident propaganda films, but the illusion of happy endings served within the dream machinery the purpose of the National Socialist state's apparatus of repression, Hickethier points out (2004: 232). The Nazi German *Universum Film AG* (Ufa) played a central role by shaping the viewer's attention during this time, distracting attention from the war and motivating to persevere. However, within the comic panel the supposedly non-political movie is unmasked by the statement Folman and Polonsky attributed to Marika Röck in a speech balloon: "I DON'T PERFORM FOR JEWISH SWINE!" (GA 13; emphasis in original). The *Graphic Adaptation's* mise-en-scène reflects the systematic isolation and discrimination which was supported by the consolidation of the National Socialist state's apparatus clearly in its multiple layers. For actresses like Marika Röck the conventions of illusionism provided an excellent framework portraying themselves as non-political. In her biography Marika Röck described herself as not being able to evaluate the regime (Röck 1974: 128). How the *Graphic Adaptation* reshapes cultural memory by pointing to entertainment regarded as harmless and stressing the linkage to the uninterrupted popularity NS actresses enjoyed after 1945 becomes strikingly obvious when you bear in mind that Marika Röck resumed her career on

stage and television successfully, which allows for critic reflection. According to Sabine Hake,

apolitical entertainment provides justification for the pervasive presence of these films in today's culture, whether in the form of television programming, video releases, or film retrospectives. This insistence on a sharp distinction between politics and entertainment allows audiences both young and old to indulge freely in nostalgic celebrations. (3)

Films with leading stars such as Marikka Röck in *Ufa* productions, just as reports about them in the yellow press, connect values and norms to their star persona. In other words, Folman and Polonsky dealt with the function of the depicted film-stars as a subject of cultural memory, which is also linked to Anne Frank's passion for cinema and film-stars. "I still spend many of my Sundays sorting out and looking over my film-star collection, which has grown to a respectable size. Mr Kugler makes me happy every Monday by bringing me a copy of *Cinema & Theatre* magazine" (AFD 176), Anne Frank wrote on 28 January 1944. Her passion is illustrated in the *Graphic Adaptation* entry of that day with a contrasting juxtaposition of past and presence, Hollywood and NS film industry. One shallow appearing, glossy and nameless starlet, showing her naked shoulders and burrowed in feathers on a cover of *Cinema & Theater* versus six different sepia tone portrait photos in which Anne Frank is depicted impersonating worldwide successful Oscar winning actresses of Hollywood: Bette Davis, Joan Fontaine, Carole Lombard, Katharine Hepburn, Ingrid Bergman, Marlene Dietrich. "I read all the reviews, I know all the plots of the leading films by heart, and the entire cast of course. I love to sail in with a new hairstyle, inspired by my beloved actresses" (GA 98), Folman and Polonsky sum up Anne Frank's words (AFD 176).

The illustration of her immersing in Hollywood can be interpreted as more than just an amusement and escapism towards a masquerade. Folman and Polonsky depict Anne Frank inspired by Hollywood cinema: from Nazi Germany's point of view, Hollywood was audience-darling and ideological opponent at the same time, hand-crafted pattern and cultural counterpart (Eder 2004: 381). Although Hollywood and the NS film industry shared the same objectives of propaganda, they differed clearly in cultural values. While Hollywood was consistently orientated to a world market, NS film industry was focused on a national and homogenous audience (Eder 2004: 400–401). As a result, connecting Anne Frank in the *Graphic Adaptation* particularly to values and norms Dietrich might embody, thwarts Nazi cinema's ideology. Even more, when we consider that Anne Frank's source of information about movie stars has been the magazine *Cinema & Theater*, which has been unmistakably "pro-Duits"⁸ during the war years.

⁸ *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* as *Anne Frank House* point out that the magazine *Cinema & Theater* turned during the war, 1939–1945, pro-German.

4. CONCLUSION

Folman's and Polonsky's *Graphic Adaptation* reshapes *Anne Frank's Diary* through a mosaic of verbal-visuals and manages to engage with history and represent multiple perspectives in its multi-layered approach. As a remediation, this adaptation creates an expanded literary representation towards Holocaust remembrance and education. Through this, the *Graphic Adaptation* correlates with what Aleida Assmann and Linda Short define as the process of collective memory (2011: 3–4). The reader is navigated through selected issues of *Anne Frank's Diary*, visualised on the basis of comprehensive investigations centred on Anne Frank as main memorial figure: persecuted by and hiding from the National Socialists, a mother's daughter, a father's daughter, a sister, a teenager in love, a flatmate, a friend, and especially a prospective writer. Folman and Polonsky proceed to show Anne Frank as a historical witness and a figure of remembrance with an emblematic character towards a detailed depiction related to an authentic context, mediated through cultural formation and institutional communication. Hence, Folman's and Polonsky's *Graphic Adaptation* reveals what Jan Assmann describes as "the connection between time, identity, and memory in their three dimensions of the personal, the social, and the cultural" (2008: 110) and becomes a medium that simultaneously shapes and reshapes "between a remembering mind and a reminding object" (Assmann 2008: 111). In Rosenfeld's readings "historical memory in a popular culture is determined chiefly by popular forms of representation" (54).

In mapping this process, I hope to have shown how Folman and Polonsky constructed selected issues of *Anne Frank's Diary* as "figures for memory" (Hirsch 2001: 12). While factuality or fictionality are communicated through signals, Folman's and Polonsky's attempt to navigate the reader's attention between the factual and fictional evokes reflection and induces varying degrees of immersive experience through the lenses of narration. However, this multi-layered narrative remediation speaks to an experience of postmemory by engaging the reader/viewer in a third-hand experience of reading about and perceiving the events as a complex exchange of history, generational perspectives, and negotiations in the process of collective memory. In this way, the remediation raises questions concerning aesthetics of the medium, the reader's/viewer's engagement and their moral response. Folman's and Polonsky's attempt to direct the reader's/viewer's attention to the historical events towards textual and visual strategies deepens at the same time with sensuality and emotionality towards colours, perspectives and symbols. Referring to historical references and creating an emotional approach towards aesthetic strategies invite readers/viewers to imagine and reflect the past. This also applies to the previous given examples depicting the Annex, depression, dinner, entertainment and propaganda. As a popular cultural product, the *Graphic Adaptation* establishes aesthetic aspects which mediate and enhance the engagement

with the testimony. Narrative empathy as “sharing of feeling and perspective-taking induced by reading, viewing, hearing, or imagining narratives of another’s situation and condition” (Keen 2104: 521) can play a role in readers’ moral development through experiences of fictional representation of empathy. The crucial link between sympathy and moral reasoning plays an important role. “Certain moral principles, for example, might direct attention to others’ needs and, hence, foster sympathy” (Eisenberg 2018: 171). In the end, the key mode of response might be historical and political learning as well as the cultivation of values and sentiments to change what Adorno claimed: “[t]he inability to identify with others was unquestionably the most important psychological condition for the fact that something like Auschwitz could have occurred in the midst of more or less civilized and innocent people” (Adorno 1998: 198).

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