



Friedel Dzubas, *Self-Portrait*, 1961. Oil on canvas, 43 ¾ x 54 in. (111.12 x 137.1 cm) Collection of the Friedel Dzubas Estate. Digital image by Jason Mandella © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

Allegories of Surface: Friedel Dzubas’s Retranscriptions of Memory in the “Black Drawings” of 1959–1962

Patricia L. Lewy

You know that my father is a Jew, and my mother comes from an ancient family of Catholic farmers. This, in essence, is my whole problem today. My father is a Jew, my mother is a Catholic, and I myself am nothing at all.

—Friedel Dzubas, letter to Prince Hubertus Löwenstein, February 4, 1941

From his birth, in Berlin in 1915, until his death, in Newton, Massachusetts,¹ in 1994, Friedebald Dzubas strove to repair the cleavages in a fractured identity. Emigration from Germany to

America in 1939 stressed an already delicate sensibility. In his final years, he vividly rephrased the oscillation between remembering and forgetting through a large-scale painting he titled *Cleavage* (1990). In an associative operation between the title and the surface's multidirectional bands of color, seemingly disbursed by the force of the light emanating from the painting's center, *Cleavage* allegorizes the disruptions of identity with which Dzubas struggled throughout his life [Fig. 1].



Born to a Jewish father, Martin Dzubasz (1875–1949), and a Catholic mother, Martha Medman-Schmidt (1880–1960) [Fig. 2], Friedebald would be designated a *Mischling*, a child of mixed race, under the Nuremberg racial laws put in place by the National Socialist Party—the Nazi Party—in 1935.² His paternal grandparents, Isaak (1833–1892) [Fig. 3] and Rosalie Dzubasz (1844–1922), were members of the Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin (the Jewish Community of Berlin), as were their five children. Despite assimilationist tendencies, the family observed the Sabbath and High Holy Days. On Saturday mornings, Friedebald and his elder brothers, Kurt (1903–1977) and Harry (1907–1992), attended the Neue Synagogue on Oranienburger Strasse, a large and elaborate building that was a gathering place for Jews of predominantly Eastern European descent. While his mother never converted to Judaism, Kurt and Harry underwent the ritual of bar mitzvah, through which boys aged thirteen were inducted into the Jüdische Gemeinde. Friedebald was the exception: in 1928, when he reached that age, the decision was made to forego this ritual, marking the start of what would become for him a protracted psychic state of indeterminate Jewish/non-Jewish (Catholic) identity.³

Fig. 1 Friedel Dzubas, *Cleavage*, 1990. Magna (acrylic) on canvas, 101 3/16 x 43 11/16 in. (257 x 110.9 cm). Private Collection. Digital image provided by the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Fig. 2 Friedebald (Friedel) Dzubasz's father and mother, Mannheim (Martin) Dzubasz (1875–1949) and Martha Medman-Schmidt Dzubasz (1880–1960), n.d. From the photo album assembled by Silvia Dzubas and Jürgen Dzubas. Photo restoration by Morgan Dzubas. Courtesy of Silvia Dzubas and Jürgen Dzubas



Fig. 3 Isaak Dzubasz (1833–1892), n.d. Friedebald's paternal grandfather was the first Dzubasz to arrive from Poland and settle in Berlin. From the photo album assembled by Silvia Dzubas and Jürgen Dzubas. Photo restoration by Morgan Dzubas. Courtesy Silvia Dzubas and Jürgen Dzubas

The 1920s were a time of radicalization for Jews, as it became evident that anti-Semitism was growing stronger. On its founding in 1920, the Nazi Party had issued a twenty-five-point agenda announcing that if they came to power, they would enforce a policy restricting the civil, educational, and human rights of Jews, with the final goal of entirely severing Jews and “partial” Jews, such as Friedebald, from the larger German (Aryan) community. By 1927, Friedel's eldest brother, Kurt, had joined the German Communist Party. It is doubtful that Friedel's disaffection went this far, although he would later claim membership in the party as the reason for his emigration.⁴

Friedel graduated from *Mittelschule* (middle school) in 1931, at the age of sixteen, with a degree called a *Mittlere Reife*. Had he instead earned an *Abitur*, a degree earned from an eight-year *Gymnasium*, he might have attended university, but the *Mittlere Reife* certified him only for vocational training and his father resolved to apprentice him for three years to a Jewish-owned wall-decoration firm in Berlin. As he wryly put it years later, “It was the only way to get close to a pot of paint.”⁵ Although Dzubas would later claim to have attended Berlin's Preussische Akademie der Künste, this is unlikely: a 1933 law against overcrowding in schools limited access to universities for *Volljuden* (full Jews), making very few exceptions for “half-Jews and quarter-Jews.”⁶ In the mid-1930s, in sheer frustration, he would write to a friend, “What is

most important, I am a painter, and my constant and consuming longing is to paint. To be able to follow this compulsion of mine is my entire task in life. Why is that so difficult?"⁷



The Nuremberg laws of 1935 effectively deprived the Jewish community of citizenship. Among these decrees was the Gesetz zum Schutze des Deutschen Blutes und der Deutschen Ehre (Law for the protection of German Blood and German Honor), which banned sexual relations and marriages between Aryans and Jews as defilements of the German race [Fig. 4].⁸

Fig. 4 Kulmbach, Germany, 1938. S.S. men are leading a woman through the streets; she wears a sign that reads: "I am a swine. I slept with a Jew, Karl Strauss, and thus polluted the German race." Courtesy of Yad Vashem 13961. Chaim Drush 3015/1

Not only Dzubas's mother but also several aunts and sisters-in-law—all Catholics married to Jews—would have felt the force of this decree. For the rest of his life, Dzubas would vacillate between his Jewish and his Catholic identities, professing a Catholic orientation yet donning a yarmulke, and telling his Jewish niece, the artist Silvia Dzubas, that he wanted to be buried in the family plot in the Jüdischer Friedhof Berlin-Weissensee [Fig. 5].⁹



Fig. 5 The Dzubasz family gravestones, Weissensee Jewish Cemetery, Berlin. Digital image by Patricia L. Lewy © Patricia L. Lewy
At the right is the original gravestone from 1892, placed to honor Friedel Dzubas's grandfather, Isak; and at the left is the gravestone erected in 2003, listing the names of Friedel's paternal grandfather and grandmother, his father, Martin Dzubasz and mother, Martha Dzubasz, along with his eldest brother, Kurt, his wife, Erna, and their eldest child, Ursula

As he would throughout his life, during this period in Germany, Dzubas generally kept his Jewish background ambiguous. He had so obfuscated his parentage that even his first wife, Dorothea Brasch, whom he married on June 22, 1939—and who was German-Jewish herself—did not know about it the previous year, when she wrote to him in Berlin from her home in Frankfurt, in some confusion: “We have heard nothing from my father [whom the authorities had taken into custody]. It is truly terrible. Tell me, are you in any danger? You are not Jewish at all, are you? Once, when I had not heard from you for four to five days, I suddenly had that fear.”¹⁰ The letter was written ten days after Kristallnacht, the violent pogrom of November 9–10, 1938, during which her father was taken to a concentration camp and their library of nearly a thousand books was pillaged.

In restructuring his Jewish identity as the exigencies of his situation demanded, Dzubas leaned toward the Catholicism of his mother and of his maternal grandmother, Marie Wilhelmine Amalie Elisabeth, who had lived with the family during his childhood and had reinforced in the young Friedel a mystical Catholicism. (His Catholic maternal grandfather, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Schmidt, a master carpenter, had died many years earlier.) Dzubas’s Jewish paternal grandmother, Rosa, had died when he was seven and his paternal grandfather, Isaak, before he was born. Consequently, his ties to Jewish religious ritual were mitigated both by the relative inattention of his parents and by the powerful Catholic “mystical visions” of Marie, who became his primary caregiver, “I being the youngest. . . . She was actually like a medieval peasant woman. She was full of superstition, full of fantasy, and would tell endless rather metaphysical stories and confuse my poor mind, I think, at a very early age; but at the same time, it was very comforting to be confronted with all these fantastic fantasies that she knew about.”¹¹ Dzubas cited Marie as the only person who fully recognized and encouraged his nascent artistic talent: when, as a twelve-year-old, he brought home a pastel drawing from school, her amazement and delight affected him deeply. “This very important figure thought I had done something so beautiful that it was too beautiful for words, and she couldn’t believe that I had done so. This, I think, cast my fate. This powerful figure thought that I had done something so beautiful she couldn’t believe I had done it. What could be more convincing?”¹²

As a young adult, Dzubas had also come under the influence of the celebrated Italian-German priest Romano Guardini (1885–1968), whom he heard speak on the theme of divine revelation in the early 1920s.¹³ In later life, he claimed to have been baptized, although no record of this ritual has been found. Even so, the artist Mary Kelsey was required to convert from Protestantism to Catholicism when she became his fourth wife, on July 13, 1973.¹⁴

The restructuring of ethnic and religious identity that Dzubas began in the later 1920s would be reinforced during the process of his emigration to America. Certainly by 1936, he knew that his only hope of becoming an artist lay in leaving Germany. That year, the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland (Federation of Jews in Germany), in partnership with the American Jewish Committee in New York, formed a notionally non-Zionist emigration training camp (*Auswanderungslehrgut*) near the village of Gross-Breesen in Silesia, which, despite strict quotas on the immigration of Jews to countries other than Palestine, was designed to prepare Jewish teenagers to move to South and North America.¹⁵ On February 20, 1936, an advertisement for the *Auswanderungslehrgut* appeared in the *C.V.-Zeitung*, a journal



Fig. 6 Friedel Dzubas harrowing a field with a team of horses, a privilege reserved for the *Praktikanten* (training assistants) at Gross Breesen, Silesia, Germany, ca. 1937–38. Photo restoration by Morgan Dzubas. Courtesy of Heidi Landecker

distributed weekly within the Jewish community that the Dzubas family received as a matter of course. Too old, at twenty-one, to be a trainee, Dzubas applied for a position as a *Praktikant*, a teaching assistant. Accepted as a Jew to this Jewish agricultural-training camp, from 1936 to 1938 he led art classes, acted in plays, created stage scenery, and oversaw Friday-evening Shabbat rituals, while also training as a farmer [Fig. 6].

On October 4, 1938, however, the Reich declared all passports issued to Jews invalid unless stamped with a “J,” a sign that it was beginning to close the German borders to emigration. This declaration was followed a month later, on November 9–10, by *Kristallnacht*, during which Dzubas’s brother Kurt’s newspaper and candy kiosk, given to him by his parents as a wedding gift, was burned and Kurt was sent to a labor camp. On November 10, Gestapo forces placed all the trainees at Gross-Breesen under house arrest and later shipped them either to a labor camp in the Netherlands or to farms in England and Scotland. Males over eighteen were taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Fortunately for Dzubas, he was in Berlin at the time.

To meet this crisis, an American Jewish organization, the Joint Distribution Committee, devised a rescue plan: Under its auspices, 1,600 acres of farmland in Virginia, called Hyde Farmlands, were purchased to accommodate over 100 of the Gross-Breesen youth.¹⁶ Sponsors provided affidavits, and entry permits were negotiated with the US State Department designating these teenagers “landowners,” a legal loophole to circumvent the US agricultural quota. In the end, though, only thirty-six people were successfully transferred—one of them being Dzubas, who fled Germany for Hyde Farmlands on October 6, 1939. Joined later by his wife, Dorothea, he lived there as a farmer for the next year. “And I ran, and my family, who I had to inform in five minutes that I was disappearing, . . . immediately said, ‘Typical for you, escapist. . . . Typical for you, what do you want? You want to . . . You’re running off to America? What do you want to be, a shoeshine boy?’ You know, and that was my goodbye to my family.”¹⁷

Throughout his life, Dzubas presented various personae to family and friends. They included: professed Communist Party member (unverified); “Fred Martin,” a name he assumed to raise funds from friends and American strangers for his wife’s passage from Germany to Virginia;¹⁸ “Frank Durban,” the name he chose from a phonebook in 1941 when he took out

American naturalization papers;¹⁹ and self-proclaimed devoted Catholic, although no baptismal record survives. He was an artist whose sole training consisted of a three-year apprenticeship to a wall-painting firm in Berlin; a self-avowed Post-Painterly Abstractionist whose inspirations came primarily from Baroque church decoration and historical Italian fresco painting;²⁰ and a Color Field painter who abjured the soak-stain technique of pouring diluted pigment onto unprimed canvas in favor of traditional methods of paint application, using “two-handed,” flamboyant brushwork and canvases prepared with gesso. Further, Dzubas would come to choose associative titles that might evoke an emotional subjectivity inhering in colors and shapes, even hinting at a degree of spatial illusionism. Such features of his style confounded the definitions of modernist painting posited by the critic Clement Greenberg, originator of the phrase “Post-Painterly Abstraction”: anti-illusionism, the foregrounding of the continuous flat support and its limiting frame, and the release—not the enclosure—of color. While an art critic as astute as Barbara Rose put Dzubas at the forefront of the newest trends in painting, other critics considered him anachronistically in thrall to German Romanticism.²¹

At once strategic and intuitive, Dzubas understood that success in the US art world of the late 1940s would mean aligning himself with Greenberg, the period’s most powerful art critic. Thumbing through a 1948 issue of *Partisan Review*, he found a want ad from Greenberg seeking a summer home for himself and his son. Dzubas, his second wife, Marilyn Morgan, and their daughter, Hannele, had just leased a large summer sublet in Bethel, New York. Dzubas drove to the offices of *Partisan Review* to meet Greenberg for the first time and to offer him summer accommodations.²² Thus began a close, if fraught, personal relationship that lasted until 1994, the year both men died. There is no documentation to show that Dzubas discussed with Greenberg either his past life in Germany or his immigration experiences and religious beliefs.

An essay Greenberg wrote for *Commentary* in 1950, “Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism,” is relevant to Dzubas’s experiences of migration and his search for a stable identity.²³ “The main struggle, at least for us in America,” Greenberg wrote, “still has to be fought inside ourselves. It is there, and only there, that we can convince ourselves that Auschwitz, while it may have been an historical judgment, was not a verdict upon our intrinsic worth as a people.”²⁴ It was characteristic of Dzubas to sidestep the issue of his Jewish identity. In an interview with Charles Millard, for instance, curator of his only monographic exhibition at the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, DC, in 1983, he denied stronger reasons for entering Gross-Breesen and Hyde Farmlands than simple expediency: asked whether he had joined merely as a means of survival, he responded, “That’s right. That was all. That was all.” He also described the ethical training he had received at Gross-Breesen and Hyde Farmlands as “a kind of usable value system that we established that seems to be as current today as [it] w[as] lifesaving then,” asserting that he prized it but making no connection between it and Jewish culture.²⁵ Even so, one suspects that, as Kurt Lewin wrote in 1941 of the Jew in the United States, “Being unable to cut himself entirely loose from his Jewish connections and his Jewish past, the hatred turns upon himself.”²⁶

After the end of World War II, he began to receive letters from his family, whom he had left in harrowing circumstances in Berlin. They had endured food rationing and other shortages,

had been forced out of their homes, had had to sew the yellow star that designated its wearer as Jewish onto their clothes, had had their passports stamped with the letter “J.” His brothers Kurt and Harry had been sent to labor camps, but had survived them; his father had been spared, probably owing to his World War I service as a translator from French to German. But several uncles and cousins had died in the camps.²⁷ Dzubas’s father wrote to Friedel in 1946, “A great many of our family who had become victims of the Nazis—are no longer alive. . . . From 180,000 Jews in Berlin there are now only 7,000 to 8,000 remaining. You have certainly read in the American press and you will have been frightened (or had been anxious) for us.”²⁸ Yet it was only after several letters from his father and Kurt that Dzubas responded, finally sending them the clothing, funds, and food supplies they had requested. His mother did not disguise her anger. In a sharp letter that she wrote to her youngest son in 1948, she expressed her dismay:

To be quite honest, it is very difficult for me to write because I am so angry, but I must add, only angry with my loving son. I am very distressed and disappointed at his estranged conduct. How can you let so much time pass without doing anything at all to facilitate the emigration of your old parents and of your brother Harry? You probably know nothing of how much we have suffered and what we went through. And now things are picking up again, but we can no longer take part! In time, the final end will take place.²⁹



Fig. 7 Friedel Dzubas, *Blackbird*, 1960.
Oil on canvas, 57 in. diameter (144.78 cm).
Collection of the Estate of Friedel Dzubas. Digital image
courtesy of Loretta Howard Gallery, New York © 2021 Estate of
Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Fig. 8 Friedel Dzubas, *Monk*, 1960.
Oil on canvas, 93 x 72 in. (237.4 x 184.1 cm).
Collection of the Estate of Friedel Dzubas. Digital image
courtesy of Loretta Howard Gallery, New York © 2021 Estate
Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

It was only in 1959, two decades after leaving his family and, interestingly, the same year he was granted American citizenship, that Dzubas traveled to Berlin to reunite with his family.³⁰ In a letter to Leo Castelli, the powerful art dealer who had begun to show Dzubas's pictures the year before, he exclaimed, "Leo, I tell you it is wondrous where I, Friedel Dzubas, came from." He averred that the source of his artistic vision and emotional life lay in his family—"so full of sentiment, so many tears, so much kissing and sitt[ing] around the table in the *gute Stube* [parlor]."³¹ Two months later, Dzubas wrote again from Berlin to Castelli, "As far as I have gone, as much as I am removed, again I am made aware in myself where some mighty and deep sources of my artistic fertility come from and also have formed as an emotional human being."³² Castelli encouraged Dzubas in this emotional journey, and to that end he arranged for the Belgian-born dealer Robert Elkon, who was about to open his first gallery in New York, to add Dzubas to his roster of painters and to exhibit twelve of Dzubas's twenty-one "black drawings" at his gallery under the title *A Series in Black: Oil Drawings*.³³

If any material surface in Dzubas's paintings manifests the trauma of repression and the loss of family and country—if surface elements and the manner of their execution anywhere perform the profound melancholy and depression, and the continuous layering of personal and artistic identities, that persisted as a through line in Dzubas's life—it is in this series of "black drawings," begun in 1959 and completed between 1961 and 1962 [Figs. 7 and 8].³⁴ These works amplify the equivocation in his relationship to his Jewish and Catholic identities through the



Fig. 9 Friedel Dzubas, *Betrayal*, 1960.
Oil on canvas, 95 x 71 in. (241.3 x 180.3 cm).
Collection of the Estate of Friedel Dzubas. Digital image provided by Patricia L. Lewy © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Fig. 10 Friedel Dzubas, *Temptation*, 1960.
Oil on canvas, 93 x 72 in. (237.4 x 184.1 cm).
Collection of the Estate of Friedel Dzubas. Digital image courtesy of Loretta Howard Gallery, New York © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

metonymic transposition of psychic conflict into pictorial representation. As has often been asserted, they also represent an act of stylistic exorcism, expunging the black and white skeins seen in Jackson Pollock's 1951 exhibition at the Betty Parsons Gallery in New York. Dzubas had met Pollock through Greenberg, and in the late 1940s and early '50s he often vacationed with Greenberg and others near Pollock's home in Easthampton. He had reacted violently to Pollock's sudden death, in 1957, two years before his return visit to Germany.³⁵ Pollock's influence on Greenberg, Dzubas, Helen Frankenthaler (with whom Dzubas shared a studio in 1952), and other Post-Painterly Abstractionists cannot be overestimated. More important, however, Dzubas's "black drawings" can, and should, be understood as an instance of what Sigmund Freud called *Nachträglichkeit*, a belated response to psychic wounds sustained in early life. It was Dzubas's return to Berlin that catalyzed this outburst of black, gray, and white calligraphy, an obsessive drawing and redrawing of repressed conflict and rage. Begun in Germany but completed in America, these works might also suggest Dzubas's frustration as an outsider in America.³⁶

In all twenty-one pictures, insistent, crisscrossing calligraphic lines and halos flatten space. The key characteristic of these massed scrawls, charged with emotion, is compression. One reviewer interpreted them as made under "an oppressive (religiously inspired) mood,"³⁷ and many of their titles suggest events in the life of Christ, as such bespeaking Dzubas's Catholicism: telling examples are *Betrayal* (1961, the betrayal being Judas's of Christ), *Temptation* (1960, Satan's testing of Christ), and *Rex* (1961, a reference to the crown of thorns) [Figs. 9–11]. For some of the "black drawings" Dzubas chose the round, tondo format, a shape that often occupies the highest and most imposing space in the medieval churches and cathedrals of France. Radiating from a central point, the rose or Catherine window is characterized by dense tracery around interlocking pieces of stained glass. Dzubas's "black



drawings," particularly the tondos, mime the intricacies of those crisscrossing vectors through black ribboned bands against gray washes. "I wanted to have an overall thing of a linear fabric, really, that could bespeak all kinds of drama and feeling, like so. Abstractly," Dzubas would recall.³⁸ A link between the "black drawings" and trauma can be located pictorially as skeins and loops are juxtaposed and

Fig. 11 Friedel Dzubas, *Rex*, 1961. Oil on canvas, 80 in. diameter (203.2 cm). Collection of the Estate of Friedel Dzubas. Digital image by Jason Mandella © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

overwritten, so that they seem to constrict, even cancel, not only space but also light and color. Appearing here for the first time in Dzubas's work, the tondo again points to his rekindled ties to Catholicism: "In those ten months in southern Germany and Austria, . . . I rediscovered certain attitudes that come out of Catholicism as being quite potent."³⁹ The ten-month visit he referred to was his first return to Germany, in 1959. During that trip, he visited the cathedrals of Dürnstein, Melk, Birnau, Altenburg, Vienna, and Mariazell, and was deeply affected by their grand statements of the Baroque:

I discovered in myself the affinity and the potency of Baroque architecture and painting, which I hadn't known in me before. I mean my fascination and my responding to it. I had no idea, and I can tell you, I made one pilgrimage after another in southern Germany and in Austria to look at things. It was endless. . . . And also, I got a huge, peculiarly huge mountain of visual imagery as I was looking at things. . . . I was ravenous, I couldn't get enough of it. And it was like a dream.⁴⁰

Dzubas imagined displaying the "black drawings" in "a little chapel . . . just white-washed inside. And I would cover this whole Baroque architecture, inside, with [them]." It was as if he were creating a shrine, he said, "for the [Catholic] church and my art. . . . But there was a connection between the whole Baroque experience and my newly discovered curiosity and affinity for certain Catholic thoughts."⁴¹ Begun in Germany and finished in America, Dzubas's "black drawings" can be read both as allegories of his immigration experience and as overt statements of his identification with Christian sacrifice and salvation. "And this black-and-gray writing, all over writing that I conceived, was part of [my turn to Catholicism]. I wanted to create an ambiance with my feeling for the church and my art."⁴²

The artist Malinda Hatch, Dzubas's companion during his last years,⁴³ recognized the duality of his identity: "He made a point of visiting with his friends from Gross-Breesen who survived the war over the years, [but] he identified more strongly with Catholicism." Of his final trip to Berlin, in 1990—not incidentally, the year he created the painting *Cleavage*—Hatch writes, "I was also impressed by his donning a yarmulke and visiting his parents' graves in Berlin. He was at home there. His friends from Germany seemed largely secular Jews, with some exceptions, and to me, he expressed his identification with his mother's Catholicism as important spiritually for his art and [he] had a stained-glass window of the Virgin Mary installed in his studio."⁴⁴

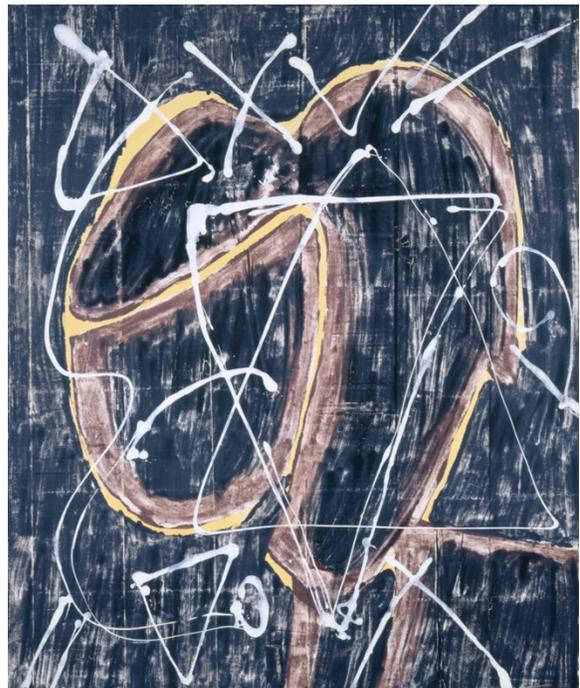


Fig. 12 Morris Louis (1912–1962), *Man Reaching for a Star*, 1952. From the series "The Charred Journal Series," 1951–52. Magna (acrylic) on canvas, 34 × 28 1/2 in. (86.4 × 72.4 cm). Jewish Museum, New York © 2021 Jewish Museum, New York / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Fig. 13 Friedel Dzubas, *Early Grave*, 1957.
 Oil on canvas, 94 7/8 x 47 in. (241 x 120 cm).
 Middlebury College Museum of Art, Middlebury, Vermont
 © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

Among avant-garde painters of the 1950s, Morris Louis (1912–1962) was a major influence on Dzubas. His work also crucially informed Greenberg’s theoretical construct of Post-Painterly Abstraction, in which color is freed from contour to become an independent agent of meaning and emotional expression. Greenberg had credited Pollock with the elimination of tactile associations in his canvases, which became “painting in itself, color in itself, like dyed cloth,” but Louis, he felt, went further: “Louis began to feel, think, and conceive almost exclusively in terms of open color.”⁴⁵

Before Louis’s major achievements of the late 1950s and early ’60s—the *Veil*, *Unfurled*, and *Stripe* paintings—he had produced several works that grappled with his identity as a Jewish artist deeply affected by those who had perished in or suffered through the Holocaust. These early works, which include *Untitled (Jewish Star)* (1952) [Fig. 12], have stylistic and emotional links to Dzubas’s “black drawings.” Created between 1951 and 1952, the series, variously titled *Charred Journal: Firewritten I–V*, *Charred Journal: Firewritten*, *Untitled A* and *Untitled B*, and one work, simply *Charred Journal*, have been linked to the book burnings undertaken by the Deutsche Studentenschaft, the student union, at Berlin’s Opernplatz on May 10, 1933. This ritual

“cleansing” fire was purported to have destroyed at least 25,000 “objectional” books. Black, brown and black, or blue backgrounds, some with thin horizontal and vertical black grids suggestive of barbed wire, are overpainted with dripped white Magna acrylic resin (Louis uses yellow dripped and smeared hue in a single work of this group), evince a stylistic resonance with Pollock’s black and white enamel paintings on raw canvas shown in 1951 at Betty Parsons. *Untitled (Jewish Star)*, sometimes referred to as *Man Reaching for a Star*, is the most pointed, with its free-form yellow and brown abstract form evocative of written Hebrew, overlaid by a Jewish star of David, fractured and then reconstituted in dripped white skeins. A small form lower left has been interpreted as a person in the act of reaching toward this Jewish symbol.



Dzubas himself rarely literalized religious symbols in this way. Instead, he constructed allegories, as in the “black drawings,” and in later abstractions based his compositional dispositions on Catholic references, such as *Early Grave* (1957), *Virgin* (1962), and *Patmos* (1974–75) [Figs. 13–15].

Fig. 14 Friedel Dzubas, *Virgin*, 1962. Oil on canvas, 65 x 77 in. (165.1 x 197.4 cm). Digital image by Baxter Buck. Private Collection © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

Like Dzubas, Louis exhibited his *Charred Journal* paintings as a group, believing in their collective viability as a signifying statement. Embedded in these aesthetic statements is a coded emotionality involving guilt, expiation, and reparation.⁴⁶ In leaving bodily traces—the effects of physical gestures—both artists limned the painterly field of lived experience.

Dzubas’s obsessive loops and scribbles over the course of twenty-one canvases suggest the repetitive motions of Freud’s theory of “Fort-Da” (“Gone Away—Here It Is”). The game of throwing out a knitting spool and pulling it back again, which Freud observed his grandson playing, he understood as an attempt to master abandonment, to reassert control over the lost object. In Dzubas’s arcs and curves, even in his compulsive scrawls over the fields of his “black drawings,” the artist seems to be enacting a similar exercise of mastery.



Fig. 15 Friedel Dzubas, *Patmos*, 1974–75. Magna (acrylic) on canvas, 3 ft. 5 in. x 17 ft. 4 in. (104.1 x 528.3 cm). Private collection. Digital image courtesy of David Mirvish Gallery, Toronto © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Invested in fashioning his identity as an American modernist without reference to his Jewish roots, Dzubas instead made frequent references to Catholicism. Interestingly, though, he included a self-portrait [Fig. 16] in the “black drawings.” Here, black-ink-like splotches frame a washed tonal area eerily reminiscent of the interrupted pictorial fields in Pollock’s *Out of the Web* [Fig. 17].⁴⁷

Fig. 16 Friedel Dzubas, *Self-Portrait*, 1961. Oil on canvas, 43 ¾ x 54 in. (111.12 x 137.1 cm) Collection of the Friedel Dzubas Estate. Digital image by Jason Mandella © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

This gray area, absent of gesture, rends the engulfing fabric of Dzubas’s calligraphy, forming a negative contour, a “frame,” that presumably hints at a facial structure. The manic, muscular laying down of loops, crosshatches, and interlaced iterative patterns forms a whorl of gestural traces, creating a nearly impenetrable spatial wall that paradoxically blocks and erases vision. Displaced onto Catholic themes, Dzubas’s fragile and unacknowledged Jewish identity is allegorized as present even in absence.



Fig. 17 Jackson Pollock, *Out of the Web: Number 7*, 1949, 1949. Oil and enamel on Masonite, 48 x 96 in. (121.5 x 244 cm). Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany © bpk Bildagentur / Staatsgalerie Stuttgart / Art Resource, NY

In exhibiting his “black drawings,” Dzubas publicly engaged with his memories, presenting a metonymic or substitutional relationship between painted marks and their psychic referents. In resisting explicit representational painting, he invited multiple readings that had to account, in a sense, both for the biblical story of Christ’s Passion and for the Holocaust—the near total annihilation of the Jewish body in the Germany in which he had abandoned his family. To the extent that the “black drawings,” these fields of writing and overwriting in oil, solicited viewers’ participation in Holocaust memory, Dzubas also excavated and reinscribed his own personal pain. Toward the end of his life, he obsessively paged through Yitzhak Arad’s *Pictorial History of the Holocaust*, rarely releasing it from his grip.⁴⁸ Even then, the psychic work of reparation was far from complete.



Fig 18 Friedel Dzubas with Helen and M. Hughton in 1977 at Andre Emmerich HF Opening © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

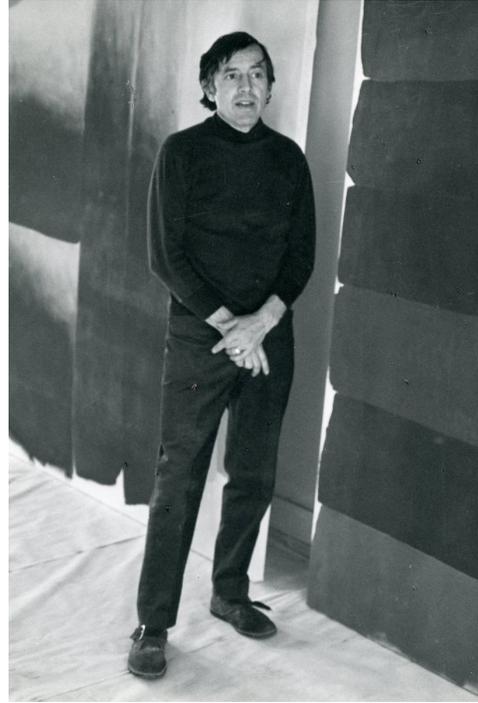


Fig. 19 Friedel Dzubas in his studio in Ithaca, NY, ca. 1974 with Trough, 1972 (l.) and Found, 1972 (r.) © 2021 Estate of Friedel Dzubas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

1. The Certificate of Death for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts lists Newton in the county of Middlesex as the place of death. The given address is the home of his final companion, artist Malinda Hatch.
2. The major work on the subject is Beate Meyer, “Jüdische Mischlinge’: Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrung 1933–1945,” *Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte*, 6 (Hamburg: Dölling and Galitz, 1999). See also Jeremy Noakes, “The Development of Nazi Policy toward German-Jewish ‘Mischlinge’ 1933–1945,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 34, no. 1 (1989): 291–354; “Judenverfolgung in Deutschland nach der Machtübernahme der Nazis 1933”: <https://www.holocaust.cz/de/geschichte/endloesung/general/die-verfolgung-deutscher-juden-nach-der-machtuebernahme-der-nazis/> (accessed July 25, 2021); and Walter Seger, *Die Jüdischen Bewohner in Zepernick 1933–1945* (Panketal: Panketaler Geschichtsverein “Heimathaus” e.V., 2020), 24. An instructional chart for determining racial status, housed in the Stadtarchiv und Landesgeschichtliche Bibliothek Bielefeld, is available online at <https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/nuremberg-race-laws-defining-the-nation/documents/instructional-chart> (accessed July 25, 2021); and another such chart designed in 1935 for the Reichsausschuss für Volksgesundheit (the Reich committee for public health) is available online at *Lebendiges Museum Online*, <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/d2z09371> (accessed July 25, 2021).
3. No surviving documents make clear how it was decided that Friedel Dzubas would not become a bar mitzvah. The Neue Synagoge continued to engage in such rituals until well after the Nazis came to power.
4. “My father was a lifelong Social Democrat, . . . and of course, since we rebelled, I rebelled against my father. I had to go a step further. It was just when the Nazis came to power. I joined a Communist youth organization in 1933. . . . Those first two years, really between 1932 and 1934, . . . I was involved.” Dzubas, in an interview with Charles W. Millard, Part II, Friedel Dzubas Estate Archives (FDEA). The interview was conducted on the occasion of Dzubas’s retrospective at the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, DC, June 16–August 14,

1983, which Millard curated. Excerpts from the interview were published under the title “Interview with Friedel Dzubas” in the exhibition catalogue: Millard, *Friedel Dzubas* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 20–32. Part I of the interview was conducted at the Hirshhorn on August 2, 1982; part II took place at Dzubas’s home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 17, 1982. The transcript, unedited and unpaginated, is held by the FDEA and is referred to in the notes below as Millard-Dzubas interview transcript, Part I or Part II.

5. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript, Part I, Series 6.

6. Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen (Law Against Overcrowding in German Schools and Institutions of Higher Learning), enacted on April 25, 1933. See *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*, <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/2022-ps.asp> (accessed July 25, 2021).

7. Dzubas, letter to Hans (last name unknown), November 1936. FDEA. Trans. Josef Eisinger.

8. For the Gesetz zum Schutze des Deutschen Blutes und der Deutschen Ehre, September 15, 1935, see United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Documents: Nuremberg Race Laws, <https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/nuremberg-race-laws-defining-the-nation/documents/nuremberg-race-laws> (accessed July 25, 2021). See also Greg Bradsher, “The Nuremberg Laws: Archives Receives Original Nazi Documents that ‘Legalized’ Persecution of Jews,” *Prologue Magazine* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2010), <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/winter/nuremberg.html> (accessed July 25, 2021).

9. At her home in Berlin in the summer of 2013, Silvia Dzubas spent many hours with this writer, relaying family history, sharing photographs, and touring the Jüdischer Friedhof Berlin-Weissensee, the major Jewish cemetery in Berlin.

10. Dorothea Brasch, letter to Dzubas, November 20, 1938. Series 10, Personal Library Holdings, FDEA. Trans. Josef Eisinger.

11. Millard–Dzubas interview transcript, Part I. (See n.4.)

12. Millard–Dzubas interview transcript, Part I.

13. “The importance of Catholicism to Dzubas—particularly, one suspects, mystical Catholicism—cannot be overestimated.” Millard, Introduction, *Friedel Dzubas*, 19, n.3. Dzubas had shared with Millard the early influence on him of the Catholic theologian Romano Guardini’s lectures. Adam Gray Dzubas, a son from Dzubas’s third marriage to Alison Gray, also describes the influence of Guardini’s lectures on his father. Adam Gray Dzubas, email to the author, August 11, 2018.

14. Father Patrick J. Frawley, a priest of the Diocese of Brooklyn and president and chief executive officer of Fidelis Care, the New York State Catholic Health Plan, attempted to help follow the trail of Dzubas’s alleged baptism: “The plot thickens, but with another dead end. Friedel and Mary were married in the Catholic Church at [sic] St. Francis on July 13, 1973. The marriage register, which notes the baptismal information for marriages, has a notation for Friedel that reads ‘claims was baptized, records burned.’” Frawley, email to the author, May 29, 2014.

15. The original estate in Silesia, then part of Prussia, was located near Obernigk in the district of Trebnitz, thirty kilometers north of Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland). The land was donated by a Polish Jew, Willi Rohr. See “Historical Note,” Jüdisches Auswanderungslehrgut (Gross-Breesen, Silesia) Collection, n.d., Identifier AR 3686, Center for Jewish History, New York, <http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=475516#serII> (accessed July 18, 2021). See also Werner T. Angress, “Gross-Breesen Training Farm,” in *Between Fear & Hope: Jewish Youth in the Third Reich*, trans. Angress and Christine Granger (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 43–76.

16. See Robert A. Gillette, *The Virginia Plan: William B. Thalheimer and a Rescue from Nazi Germany* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2011), 103, 144–54.

17. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript, Part I. FDEA. (See n.4.) Rebecca Erbeling, in her essay, “American Immigration Policies from World War I through World War II,” posted on this site, provides documentation that Dzubas came to America not through his status as an “agricultural farmer,” a category under which Dzubas may well have been allowed to enter America in 1939, but rather on a non-preference quota visa. See her 16: Raymond Geist, “Immigration Visa Applicants of German Jewish Agricultural Students, August 11, 1939; RG-59, General Visa Correspondence, 1940–1944, Box 231, 811.11184/Hyde Farmlands, NACP.”

-
18. According to Dzubas, a certain Ted Frank, the amusement-page editor for *New York Daily News*, who “had been known to help political exiles, refugees in emergency situations,” “christened” Dzubas “Fred Martin” to make introductions easier. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript, Part I. FDEA.
19. “[I chose it] out of the telephone book, Richmond telephone book. I just went down the D’s, you know, and Durban sounded good, not too American. It sounded a little bit exotic, but was easy to pronounce, easy to spell, and I wound up with Frank Durban. And that name, I kept it for a long time.” Millard-Dzubas interview transcript. Dzubas’s only child with Dorothea Brasch—a son, Gabriel—still uses the surname Durban.
20. On Dzubas’s later painting style see Patricia L. Lewy, *Friedel Dzubas* (Milan: Skira Editore, 2019), 139–335.
21. See Barbara Rose, “In Absence of Anguish: New Works by Friedel Dzubas,” *Art International*, September 23, 1963, 97. Rose would later revise her views; see Rose, *Friedel Dzubas: The Early Years*, exhibition catalogue (New York: Elkon Gallery, in cooperation with the Leo Castelli Gallery, 1993), 1. On Dzubas and German Romanticism see Lewy, *Friedel Dzubas*, chapter 2, “Absorbing Influences,” 57–104.
22. For more on the first meeting between Dzubas and Clement Greenberg see Lewy, “Greenberg on Dzubas,” *nonsite.org* no. 16 (June 22, 2015), <https://nonsite.org/article/greenberg-on-dzubas> (accessed July 18, 2021).
23. See Greenberg, “Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism: Some Reflections on ‘Positive Jewishness,’” *Commentary*, November 1950; reprinted in Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 3, *Affirmations and Refusals*, ed. John O’Brian (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 45–58. The journal *Commentary* was sponsored by the American Jewish Committee.
24. Greenberg, “Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism,” 53.
25. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript. (See n.4.) Dzubas’s experiences in Silesia and Virginia created bonds that he never severed. He received the *Gross-Breesen Rundbrief*, a newsletter mailed to former trainees there, enabling them to share their experiences and opinions and organize reunions at various American locations, several of which he attended. I would like to thank Ann Strauss (given name Annaliese Fränkel), who welcomed me into her home near Washington, DC. She remembered Dzubas fondly and lent me her set of the *Gross-Breesen Rundbrief* newsletters.
26. Kurt Lewin, “Self-Hatred Among Jews,” *Contemporary Jewish Record* 4, no. 3, quoted in Greenberg, “Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism,” 45. (See n.23.)
27. In an email to this author dated January 4, 2022, Beate Meyer writes that the fate of the *Mischlinge* might well have been extermination had the extremists prevailed: “While the ministerial bureaucracy of the Nazi state tried to prevent an extension of the concept of Jews to *Mischlinge*, the hardliners in the SS [Schutzstaffel] and NSDAP [Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei], the functionaries around Leonardo Conti [National Socialist physician and functionary], the Contagonists (persons who believed that every drop of Jewish blood would “contaminate” German people for generations; Hitler belonged to this group) tried again and again to include the *Mischlinge* in the deportations (or at least to further exclude them from society). Their efforts were successful in terms of exclusion, but they were unable to achieve inclusion in the Holocaust. What they did accomplish, however, was the arrest and placement of *Mischlinge* in prisons or concentration camps (after 1942). The affected *Mischlinge* of the first degree registered the intensification of the measures directed against them very closely and feared for their lives. In this respect, it is understandable that some of them suffered a lifelong trauma that continued to have an effect even after the war.”
- Also see Meyer, “‘Jüdische Mischlinge,’” 10, where she quotes Raul Hilberg, a prominent historian of the *Mischling* policy: “It was a common goal of some to include *Mischlinge* in the extermination process.” Hilberg interprets this as a failure in the strict Nazi Socialist sense. In practice, the *Mischlinge* were considerably worse off--Dzubas's brothers were thrown into harsh labor camps--than a strict interpretation of the existing laws would lead one to believe. (See n.2.)
28. Martin Dzubas, letter to Friedel Dzubas, June 2, 1946. FDEA.
29. Martha Dzubasz, letter to Friedel and Marilyn Dzubas, July 7, 1948. FDEA. Trans. Josef Eisinger. According to Silvia Dzubas, an uncle perished in the Theresienstadt camp, and one of his children and a grandchild died in the Auschwitz and Reval camps. Several more of Dzubas’s cousins were also killed, as was his brother’s fiancée. Martin Dzubas, letters to Friedel Dzubas, January 31, 1946, and June 2, 1946. FDEA.

-
30. The reasons for the delay seem to have been several—Dzubas’s leaving his first wife and son; marrying his second wife, Marilyn Morgan, and their having two children, Hannele (1946) and Morgan (1949); a hiatus from painting between 1952 and 1956; but the primary one had to do with lack of money. For a detailed chronology of Dzubas’s life see Lewy, *Friedel Dzubas*, 350–70.
31. Friedel Dzubas, letter to Leo Castelli, January 13, 1960. Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880–2000, series I, “Correspondence, 1948–1999,” box 9, folder 1, Archives of American Art. This collection is referred to in the following notes as Leo Castelli Gallery Records.
32. Friedel Dzubas, letter to Castelli, March 2, 1960, Leo Castelli Gallery records. (See n.31)
33. While Castelli and his then-wife Ileana Sonnabend were close friends of Dzubas’s, Castelli was becoming enthralled with the work of Jasper Johns and other artists who represented a new trend in painting. When Dzubas returned from Germany in June of 1960, he faced a gentle removal from Castelli’s stable. He signed a contract between Castelli and Elkon on October 7, 1960. Leo Castelli Gallery records. (See n.31)
34. All twenty-one black oil drawings—but for a single tondo, *Crossing*, 1960, donated to the Leo Baeck Institute—are held by the Estate of Friedel Dzubas.
35. Janice Van Horne, who had married Clement Greenberg in 1956 (Dzubas and his two children counted among the mere nine mostly family members who were in attendance), described Dzubas’s near-psychotic reaction to Jackson Pollock’s death: “But first Friedel needed calming down. He had been awakened from a drug-induced sleep and was now up and roaming the house, wild-eyed and wailing about the hand of God.” She later recalled that at Pollock’s burial, “[Friedel] stood so close to the grave, sobbing, staring down at the coffin, that I was sure he was going to jump in.” In Janice Van Horn, *A Complicated Marriage: My Life with Clement Greenberg* (Berkeley, Calif.: Counterpoint, 2012), 84, 90. It is important to note that Dzubas never dropped paint from the air or stained raw canvas with medium, as Pollock did. See also Lewy, *Friedel Dzubas*, 76, 342. (See n.13)
36. Dzubas’s anger was only heightened by the lack of sales from the show: writing to Castelli, he blamed Elkon for misunderstanding the works. He also proposed returning to Europe, so that he would no longer “accumulate . . . the kind of bitterness that eventually would poison all that which is good and valid in me.” Dzubas, letter to Castelli, November 11, 1962, Leo Castelli Gallery records. (See n.31)
37. Ti-Grace Sharpless, “Reviews and Previews: Friedel Dzubas,” *Artnews* 61, no. 7 (November 1962), 12.
38. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript. (See n.4) Dzubas goes on to say that he had thought of creating works like these black oil drawings ten years earlier: “They . . . had been overdue for ten years, because evidently ten years previous I wanted to do black pictures like that.” This statement places the conception of these works virtually simultaneously with Jackson Pollock’s black and white stain pictures of 1951.
39. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript.
40. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript.
41. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript.
42. Millard-Dzubas interview transcript.
43. Malinda Hatch met Dzubas as a student at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where he had been teaching informal painting seminars as a visiting faculty member since 1981. Their relationship extended from approximately 1990 through to his death in 1994. Dzubas had four wives: Dorothea Brasch (m. June 22, 1939); Marilyn Morgan (m. June 5, 1945); Alison Gray (m. April 27, 1963); and Mary Kelsey (m. July 13, 1973). Before Hatch became his companion, he lived with Marianne Hicks (companion, 1980–1989).
44. Malinda Hatch, email to the author, August 14, 2018.
45. Greenberg, “Louis and Noland,” in Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism-4, Modernism with a Vengeance, 1957–1969* (1995), 96.
46. The Maryland Institute of Art’s catalogue raisonné, completed in 2014, lists *Untitled (Jewish Star)* as *Man Reaching for a Star*, ca. 1951. Diane Upright [Headley], author of the 1985 catalogue raisonné, makes explicit reference to the influence of “Pollock’s draftsmanship and suggestive figuration” in *Morris Louis: The Complete Works* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1985), 11. Upright Headley’s earlier catalogue raisonné of Louis’s drawings states that according to artist Leon Berkowitz, Louis arrived at the black, grid-like surrounds by “pressing

lengths of toilet paper into the wet paint of the background.” See Upright Headley, *The Drawings of Morris Louis* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 51 and 67n55.

Several works from the series *Charred Journal: Firewritten* were displayed in 1953 in the exhibition *Morris Louis*, held at the Workshop Art Center Gallery in Washington, DC, April 12–30. Confusion surrounding which works belong to the series date from this exhibition, despite the existence of a checklist of sixteen paintings and collages that also includes drawings. In her 1979 catalogue raisonné of Louis’s drawings, Upright Headley writes that “It is uncertain precisely how many paintings comprise this series.” Upright Headley, *Drawings*, 67n54. The title of the painting in figure 12 of the present essay, *Untitled (Jewish Star)*, is used by Upright Headley. However, when in 1997 the Jewish Museum, New York, displayed all seven works in the series in its exhibition, *Morris Louis: The Charred Journal Series, 1951*, it included *Untitled (Jewish Star)* and titled it *Man Reaching for a Star*, ca. 1951. The Maryland Institute of Art, which holds the Morris Louis papers, provides a detailed list of paintings and exhibitions. It, too, titles the work *Man Reaching for a Star*, <http://www.morrislouis.org/paintings/early-paintings/du29>. Yet, like Upright Headley, the art historian and curator Mark Godfrey, titles the work *Untitled (Jewish Star)* in two separate publications (1999 and 2007, listed below).

This work had been given to Leonard Bocour soon after its completion. Bocour and his nephew Mark Golden had invented and aggressively marketed Magna (acrylic paints), which would be taken up for a time by Pollock and Louis, among others. By 1965, it would become the sole medium on which Dzubas relied to the end of his career.

The 1997 Jewish Museum exhibition catalogue referenced the Nazi-instigated book burnings, the Star of David, and Louis’s own Jewish background. See the exhibition brochure: Mira Goldfarb Berkowitz and Susan Chevlowe, “Morris Louis: The Charred Journal Series, 1951; Rico Lebrun: The Holocaust Paintings,” January 19–April 13, 1997. Also see Mark Godfrey, “Keeping Watch Over Absent Meaning: Morris Louis’s ‘Charred Journal’ series and the Holocaust,” *Jewish Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1999): 17–22, and more recently, “Morris Louis’s Charred Journal: *Firewritten* paintings, 1951,” in *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 23–50.

47. On the notion of “absence” and “presence” in Pollock’s *Out of the Web*, see Michael Fried, “‘Some New Category’: Remarks on Several Black Pollocks,” in Gavin Delahunty, *Jackson Pollock: Blind Spots*, exhibition catalogue (London: Tate Publishing, 2015).

48. Yitzhak Arad, *The Pictorial History of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1992).