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CABARET IDENTITY: HOW BEST TO PLAY A JEW OR PASS AS A GENTILE IN WARTIME POLAND

Beth Holmgren, Duke University

In the late 1980s, Stefania Grodzieńska (1914–2010), a Polish Jewish cabaret artist and satirical writer, composed her first work of nonfiction on a wave of fury. Titled *Urodził go Niebieski Ptak* (The Bluebird Brought Him), her book began as a biography of the great Warsaw cabaret director Fryderyk Jąrosy, and evolved into a personal recollection of the Holocaust and World War II, when she and her husband, songwriter Jerzy Jurandot, became close friends with him. Grodzieńska explained that she felt compelled to write “the truth” about Jąrosy after she had seen an inaccurate portrayal of him in the film *Miłość Ci Wszystko Wybaczy* (Love Forgives Everything; 1981): “I was furious. My rage exploded when [the film showed] a humiliated Jąrosy walking into the Ghetto.”¹ Like many interwar cabaret artists, Jąrosy disappeared during Warsaw’s occupation, subsequently quit Poland, and was not permitted to return. That he should be slandered in absentia and posthumously was more than Grodzieńska was willing to bear.

Yet “the truth” that Grodzieńska writes about Jąrosy is more broadly revealing. In foregrounding her Gentile professional idol, mentor, and beloved friend, she evokes a complicated portrait of her own, in parts spotlighted and elsewhere obscured. Grodzieńska explicitly seeks to restore Jąrosy to an ignorant Polish public, to bear witness to his consummate cabaret persona and his unseen artistry and bravery during the war. In the process, *The Bluebird Brought Him* underscores and validates Grodzieńska’s artistic development and its uses—her cabaret identity—and minimizes her identity and humiliation as a Jew during the Holocaust. As she writes it, Grodzieńska’s awed description of Jąrosy’s direction and performance showed her how best to play a Jew or pass as a Gentile in wartime Poland.

The Bluebird in Grodzieńska’s Life and Work

Grodzieńska’s *The Bluebird* marks a serious departure from the writing she produced before and after its publication in 1988. In the postwar decades, when her career flourished, Grodzieńska presented herself as an attractive,

sophisticated performer, a purveyor of light, well-made entertainment to an educated Polish audience. She regularly appeared in *Syrena*, a cabaret that she helped her husband and other prewar entertainers build in Warsaw, as the capital city was rising from the rubble. *Syrena* was to continue the tradition of the Polish-language literary cabaret insofar as this was possible under the increasing political censorship of the People's Republic of Poland.² A writer as well as an actress, Grodzieńska created sketches for the stage and contributed a bimonthly feuilleton to the satirical magazine *Szpilki*, a prewar periodical which resumed publication in 1947.

Grodzieńska's postwar work extended and developed the professional career that she had begun before the German invasion of 1939 overturned her world. She and Jurandot (Glejewicht) (1911–1979), both well aware of their Jewish background, had been raised in acculturating households and steeped in Polish language and culture since childhood. It may have been that “their desire for acceptance as Poles only deepened the suppression of their Jewishness,” as Karen Auerbach observes of the group of postwar survivors she analyzes in *The House at Ujazdowskie 16: Jewish Families in Warsaw after the Holocaust*.³ Certainly, the couple resembled other Jewish survivors in their primary attachment to their profession, though this term does not adequately convey the all-consuming work, lifestyle, and visibility of a performing artist's career. Grodzieńska's popular persona on stage and in print likely reinforced her cautious references to the still dangerous fact of being Jewish in postwar Poland.

By the early twenty-first century, when Grodzieńska, in her 90s, wrote somewhat more extensively about her prewar life in the 2007 memoir, *Nie ma z czego się śmiać* (There is Nothing to Laugh About), she revealed a short, barely rooted family tree. In contrast to the many-branched, multi-generational history of acculturating Polish Jews that Joanna Olczak-Ronikier chronicles in *In the Garden of Memory: A Family Memoir* (2005), Grodzieńska's memories hinge on just a few family members: her free-spirited mother, her stern maternal grandmother, and Maks, her loving and provident step-grandfather.⁴ Her self-portrait cuts her loose from family ties and traditions, tethering her only to a restless mother, who left her first husband (a Swiss citizen) while pregnant and quickly married again, this time to a Russian officer. Grodzieńska sums up her childhood as a zigzagging road trip: eight months in utero while in Geneva; three years with her mother and stepfather Misha in Moscow; five years with her mother and Misha in Berlin; and six years in Łódź with her maternal grandparents.⁵

Despite the fact that she endured long separations from her mother, who could visit her only in the summer, Grodzieńska professes the strongest attachment to and affinity for this parent, who is a “crazy person” in her grandmother's eyes. Though her mother did not model the life of a performer, she did place the pursuit of passion and pleasure above traditional family relations. She explicitly points her thirteen-year-old daughter in the direction of the Warsaw cabaret and the figure of Járosy. When they went to a performance at *Qui pro Quo*, the capital's best cabaret, “my thirty-some-year-old mother, who knew something about men,” kicked her in the ankle when Járosy ap-

peared, approving him as the best object for her schoolgirl crush.⁶ Captivated by her vivacious, wandering parent, Grodzieńska declares that her fundamental identity is that of “an emigrant child,” though she carefully inserts the caveat that she will always consider herself to be a Pole.⁷

In describing the six years she spent with her Jewish grandparents in Łódź, where she lived in “modest, but stable comfort,” Grodzieńska records no Jewish holidays, religious practices, customs, or foods as part of their daily life. Instead, she likens her new situation to that of the eponymous heroine in Lucy Maud Montgomery’s *Anne of Green Gables* and focuses on her step-grandfather’s choice of her Polish school. Like many Jews in interwar Poland, Maks admired Marshal Józef Piłsudski, the army officer who helped broker Polish independence, won a war against Soviet forces, and was well known for his religious tolerance.⁸ In lieu of placing his granddaughter into one of the Jewish schools available to Łódź’s large Jewish community, Maks insisted that Grodzieńska attend a Polish school with a Piłsudskiite headmistress. As a result of this schooling, Grodzieńska recalls “becoming more invested every day in Polish speech and culture.” Yet her identity as an emigrant child persisted. Her happiness was tempered by well-founded, constant worry about her mother.⁹ Of her three close relatives, only her mother was a direct victim of World War II, killed when she was stranded in Lithuania after her husband had been moved to the United States by his brother.

Grodzieńska never discovered if the Soviet secret police or the Gestapo killed her mother. The Soviet Union first occupied Lithuania during the war and would have targeted her mother as the wife of a state enemy; under the subsequent German occupation, she might have been executed as a Jew.¹⁰ In any event, Grodzieńska had no graves to visit, like other Jewish survivors of the war, in part because the Germans destroyed the Jewish cemetery in Łódź where her grandparents were buried and in part because she did not know what had happened to her mother’s body.¹¹

The Bluebird predates *There’s Nothing To Laugh About* by almost twenty years, yet the older book is less playfully narrated, and its reiterated mission is more poignant, profound, and other-oriented. The war and the Holocaust loom large in Grodzieńska’s memoir of Járosy because, as she notes on its first page, Járosy, Jurandot, and she spent most of the occupation together, when they “talked together for hours and hours.”¹² As we learn over the course of the text, this trio was forever connected by their intensive work together in the cabaret, their efforts to protect and care for each other during the occupation, and their involvement in the Polish resistance. For all three, this period represented the most significant, terrible time of their lives. Grodzieńska pointedly cites Járosy’s 1946 letter to his young friends, in which he confirms the extraordinary intimacy that their ordeal forged:

I’m immeasurably happy that what we survived in common (in the most beautiful, least clichéd, most substantive sense of that term) turned out to be something everlasting, something that so bound us together that, after reading and cherishing your letter, I feel that even my sister, who’s given me a home, is not as close to me as you are, my co-combatants, my fellow sufferers.¹³

Járosy, a generation older than Grodzieńska and Jurandot, died in exile in 1960; she never saw him again after the Warsaw Uprising parted them in August 1944. Their common experience of the war remained fresh for her because it served her and her husband as a psychological lifeline in the 1970s. Jurandot suffered an incapacitating stroke in 1973 and, for the next six and a half years of his physically limited life, the couple immersed themselves in their “mutual passion” for remembering the war. Grodzieńska valorizes her depiction of the war a second time by citing these sessions: “We’d remind each other of different ordeals, we’d speak in abbreviations, [and] we’d dwell on the most dramatic points.”¹⁴ As much as Járosy’s humiliation onscreen provoked Grodzieńska into writing about her idol, so her husband’s death in 1979 appointed her the sole chronicler of the trio’s wartime conversations and exploits, the keeper of a collective record that she alone could set straight.

The Interwar Legacy of Polish-language Literary Cabaret

It was of particular importance to Grodzieńska’s record that her Gentile mentor and Jewish husband were renowned cabaret artists. In paying tribute to Járosy and remembering Jurandot, *The Bluebird* vouches for a shared cabaret identity established between Jewish and Gentile artists in interwar Poland. The Polish-language cabaret functioned as an inclusive oasis, a site of Jewish–Gentile artistic collaboration between the world wars.¹⁵ The producers and players in Warsaw’s interwar Polish-language literary cabaret evinced many of the same attributes and attitudes of the interwar Polish cultural intelligentsia. In *Caviar and Ashes*, her generational study of Warsaw intellectuals’ varied engagement with Marxism, Marci Shore acknowledges that, “in a sense, my whole book is about...the ‘Jewish question’ in Poland,” for so many of these intellectuals “were first- and second-generation assimilated Jews, Polish patriots and cosmopolitans, their families often split apart by differing responses to a modernity that had arrived somewhat later in Europe’s east.”¹⁶

As it happened, Polish Jews became the Polish-language literary cabaret’s chief producers and consumers. Most of the cabaret’s writers, underwriters, composers, and musicians had a Jewish background, and were very often the children of acculturated Jews who were established professionals (doctors, lawyers, academics, businessmen.) Marian Żuks points out, in his social history of Warsaw’s evolving Jewish community, that a high percentage of those patronizing pricey cabarets were upper- and middle-class Jews.¹⁷ The small circles of Warsaw’s liberal intelligentsia and Polish-language cabaret writers and reviewers were thoroughly intertwined, their shared artists featured on the pages of *Wiadomości Literackie* (The Literary News.) In historian Antony Polonsky’s assessment, this “leading literary weekly adopted impeccably liberal and universalist positions...supported cosmopolitan literary models...[and] strongly opposed integral nationalism.”¹⁸ The Polish Jewish poet Julian Tuwim and the poet/essayist Antoni Słonimski contributed high art and cultural commentary to *The Literary News* and let off tremendous lyrical and comic steam in the cabaret.

By their choice of language and general cultural orientation, Jews invested in the Polish-language literary cabaret stood distinct from Yiddish-language writers and performers, be these the actors in Warsaw's high culture Yiddish Art Theater or the producers and players in Yiddish *kleynkunst revii-teatrs* ("little art" revue theaters or cabarets), which tended to imitate successful Polish-language models.¹⁹ Most Jewish writers, composers, performers, and musicians pursued Polish-language cabarets and revues as the big time: where they could make the most money and the biggest metropolitan splash. Some bilingual performers shifted between the two cabarets as a matter of opportunity or divided loyalties. Renowned performers sometimes made guest appearances in *revii-teatrs* to support Yiddish-language culture. As Michael Steinlauf notes in his short history of Jewish theater in Poland, Gentile artists occasionally helped Yiddish-language troupes with direction, stage design, and choreography.²⁰ Even those acculturated Jews who felt most alienated by the Orthodox and Hasidim created sympathetic, albeit lower-middle-class Jewish characters for the Polish-language stage. Such famous writers as Tuwim and Słonimski, who made no secret of their distaste for Yiddish, and what they perceived to be the backwardness and mercenary obsessions of Orthodox Jews, transformed semi-assimilated Jewish characters into the comical everymen of a fast-developing Warsaw, as unsophisticated, plain-speaking, likable Varsovians trying to grasp and enjoy modern city life.²¹

In one major respect, however, all Jews and all producers and players in Polish-language literary cabaret were bound together before World War II as targets of the increasingly powerful *Endecja*, the Polish party of National Democrats. These Polish Catholic nationalists attacked a broad swath of Polish citizenry—Jews, ethnic minorities, liberal thinkers of all faiths, and any celebrity modeling a cosmopolitan, heterodox lifestyle—as enemies of what they deemed "pure Polishness."²² Polish-language literary cabarets offended the nationalists with their social satire, big city focus, and galleries of modern Varsovians, ranging from street toughs and beleaguered shopkeepers to sexually emancipated modern women.²³ These entertainment venues persisted in joining Jews and Gentiles together onstage and across the footlights, offering high quality, eclectic, and provocatively satirical entertainment even as the National Democrats dominated Polish politics and gained nationwide appeal, particularly outside of the cities in the late 1930s. Cabaret oases became increasingly isolated, but were destroyed only when the Germans occupied Poland's major cities and began hunting down Jewish performers and their associates.²⁴

Fryderyk Járosy (1889–1960) was already a cabaret fixture by the time Grodzieńska and Jurandot entered the business. Járosy had cast his lot with the cabaret community and its primarily Jewish writers from the moment he settled in Warsaw. Of Hungarian, Croatian, and Austrian background, Járosy had married a Russian aristocrat, Natalia von Wrotnowsky, just before World War I, and had fled Russia with his wife and two small children during the Bolshevik Revolution.²⁵ In the postwar aftermath of dismembered empires, Járosy chose to become an Austrian citizen, yet his passion for the cabaret superseded both national and familial attachments. By 1921, he was tour-

ing Europe with the Russian émigré troupe, "*Sinniaia ptichka*" (The Bluebird, named in Grodzieńska's book title), learning on the job the art of the conferencier, the cabaret's combined announcer of acts and show-shaping host. When the troupe wowed Warsaw audiences in 1924, Járosy left it for the tantalizing professional opportunities this foreign capital offered him.²⁶ By 1925, he had learned enough Polish to star as the charismatic conferencier of *Qui pro Quo*, the best literary cabaret in the city, and had been embraced as a boon companion by the circle of writers affiliated with *The Literary News*: Tuwim, Słonimski, Jan Lechoń, Kazimierz Wierzyński, and the journal's editor, Mieczysław Grydzewski.²⁷

Over the next fourteen years, Járosy hosted *Qui pro Quo* (1919–1931) and directed its critically acclaimed, much shorter-lived successors, including *Banda* (The Band), *Cyganeria* (Bohemia), and *Cyrułik Warszawski* (The Barber of Warsaw).²⁸ Given the literary cabaret's dependence on excellent original songs and sketches, Járosy worked in intensive collaboration with Tuwim and another talented, prolific Jewish writer, Marian Hemar (Jan Maria Heschel), who moved from his hometown of Lwów to Warsaw in order to feed a repertoire-voracious *Qui pro Quo*.²⁹ Together, Járosy, Tuwim, and Hemar, dubbed the "Three Musketeers," presided over auditions and rehearsals in the front row of whichever theater they had rented for their current enterprise.³⁰ More than any other artist, Járosy figured as the public face of a Polish-language literary cabaret that was cosmopolitan, metropolitan, and sophisticated, an entity where outsiders in Polish society qualified as insiders thanks to their talents, temperaments, and professional aspirations.

One Cabaret Family in Wartime

In *The Bluebird*, Grodzieńska more or less chronologically tracks her relationship with Járosy, and then with Járosy and Jurandot, as she ventured onto the Warsaw cabaret scene. A serious student of modern dance, Grodzieńska hoped to pay the rent when she auditioned as a *girlsa* (chorus girl) in Járosy's "Bohemia" in 1934. "The next phase of my work with Járosy," she notes, "began my relationship with Jurandot."³¹ Her future husband, born into an established, middle-class, tightly knit Warsaw Jewish family, at last had fulfilled his dream to write for the Polish-language literary cabaret in 1937. When Grodzieńska tried out for Járosy's next cabaret, "The Barber of Warsaw," she reached "a turning point" in her career and life.³² Not only did she fall in love with Jurandot, who occupied one of the coveted front-row seats along with Járosy during auditions, but she also discovered a director who sensed her talent as a writer and an actor.³³

Professional ties blossomed into friendship when the director and his then-current romantic partner, the singer Zofia Terné (1909–1986), invited Grodzieńska and Jurandot to vacation with them after he had taken a cabaret troupe on tour in the summer of 1939.³⁴ Terné was a well-established star vis-à-vis Jurandot and Grodzieńska, but she was close to them in age and also happened to be Jewish, a transplant to Warsaw from eastern Poland. In

the world of the cabaret, Jews and Gentiles regularly formed romantic attachments: the Jewish writer and actor Konrad Tom (Runowiecki) and the Gentile bombshell-comedienne Zula Pogorzelska served as the poster couple for such long-term relationships. Járosy's romance with Terné fell into roughly the same category, though it was cut short by the war. According to Grodzieńska, "Járosy never got involved with women 'from the audience'" — that is, women not in show business.³⁵ In his case, his partner's professional orientation and temperament mattered far more than her faith and heritage.

After the German invasion of September 1939, Járosy sheltered the Jurandots, along with Terné, in his home as a matter of course; the couple's apartment was seriously damaged in the German bombardment. Thus, his most intimate circle was made up of three much younger Jewish theater folk, all of whom looked to him for professional direction and moral support. As the four coped with early wartime chaos, Grodzieńska invariably represents Járosy as their leader: "Járosy would not have been Járosy if he hadn't immediately started organizing everyone."³⁶ She recalls his extraordinary efficiency as a fire marshal during the bombardment, and how he fed them all by selling his smoking jackets: "How many more times during the war did Fryderyk save his and others' lives due to his unconventional way of thinking, his special logic and belief? 'Here's my seismograph,' he'd say, pointing just above his breastbone."³⁷

Grodzieńska vouches for the Austrian Járosy's voluntary sharing of their fate, and attempts to scuttle any circulating rumors about his possible collaboration with the Germans. On October 24, 1939, the Gestapo arrested Járosy and Terné, deporting the singer to her place of origin in eastern Poland, then under Soviet occupation, and pressuring the director, a *Reichsdeutscher* (designated an ethnic German citizen of the Reich by the Nazis), whom they presumed would cooperate to assemble a German-sponsored cabaret in the city. Grodzieńska shares the details of this protracted negotiation, information she surely learned from Járosy: the Gestapo's threats, blandishments, and good treatment of the prisoner, and the prisoner's cultivation of both his interrogators and guards. She does suppose that the Gestapo enabled Járosy's escape in spring 1940 and thereby provided him with a back story for his future negotiations with patriotic Polish artists.³⁸ But Grodzieńska carefully chronicles how Járosy used that escape to disappear rather than collaborate. Once he had disguised himself as Franciszek Nowaczek, a graying old Czech with a brush cut, mustache, spectacles, and cane, he moved into the Glejgewicht family apartment, which she and Jurandot shared with her husband's parents.³⁹

Instead of organizing a German-sponsored cabaret, therefore, Járosy followed in Grodzieńska's footsteps, becoming one more beloved adopted member of the Glejgewicht clan. What did this membership signify? Grodzieńska reports in *The Bluebird* that she had embraced Jerzy, his parents, and his sister Zosia (Zocha) as her surrogate family and household just before the war. Her depiction of the Glejgewichts accents their assimilation into Polish society, particularly their acceptance of the politically progressive Polish identity that she too had learned in childhood. Her in-laws outstripped Grodzieńska's step-grandfather in their adamant loyalty to the state of Poland and their partisan love for their city. The Glejgewichts and the Jurandots remained in the

capital after the German invasion for reasons of family solidarity and Polish patriotism. Neither Jurandot nor Grodzieńska would abandon Jerzy's parents and sister. Grodzieńska praises the warmth, tolerance, and hospitality of her in-laws without claiming any typicality; the family's one distinctly Jewish attribute, she implies, was that the elder Glejgewichts could not pass as Aryans. All three young people, in turn, worked for the resistance movement, and Zosia distinguished herself as an Underground leader and martyr. Her key involvement in the movement required that she move to a secret location to carry out her duties. Zosia Glejgewicht was killed by a grenade while she defended the city in the final days of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, serving as one of the soldiers who protected rebels fleeing the Germans.⁴⁰

The Gentile Járosy fit just as easily as Grodzieńska did into this progressive Polish/Jewish family. Grodzieńska mock-complains that, after the Glejgewichts accepted the fugitive from the Gestapo in 1940, Járosy eclipsed her in the older couple's affections.⁴¹ She underscores the speed with which Járosy and her in-laws grew close and came to treat each other with great consideration. Knowing how much he endangered his Jewish hosts, Járosy perfected the art of hiding; when the Glejgewichts entertained visitors, he ensconced himself for hours in their bathtub, fortified by the works of Balzac and a pack of cigarettes. When Járosy later found refuge from the Gestapo in the Ghetto itself, he truly learned "to play dead" in a tiny corner, concealed by a sofa and a chest of drawers.⁴² In this way, he shared in part the fate of Polish Jews who could not pass for Aryan, since his elaborate disguise could guarantee neither his anonymity nor his life.

Nevertheless, Grodzieńska insists, Járosy's indebtedness did not humble him. He never relinquished what she maintains was his natural role as leader or, in her categorical wording, "he remained himself." The high-living director surprised everyone with his adaptability and pragmatic skills. He treated the entire family to his excellent cooking, improvising according to whatever ingredients were available. He grew healing herbs and knew how to refurbish rags into usable clothing. Járosy also asserted himself as their best wartime guide. Grodzieńska observes how he "took part in family councils, behaving without any complexes...and permitting only Jurek [Jurandot] to weigh in on important matters."⁴³ Even though he was dependent on the Glejgewichts for his life, the Járosy that Grodzieńska depicts functioned as the resourceful, resilient head of their family for the extent of his stay.

The Cabaret's Value During the War

More predictably, Járosy never stopped behaving as the head of their cabaret family, the professional community that had drawn the three of them together. When the Germans began bombing Warsaw on September 2, 1939, Grodzieńska recalls how the theater building itself seemed her best refuge. At that point, the troupe—primed to play the opening night of Járosy's new show—gathered early on the stage, for "it was completely natural in such moments to run to the theater as if it were one's closest family. We felt united,

like a clan."⁴⁴ That same clan had sung the national anthem during their final rehearsal, on the eve of the German invasion, and some of its most seasoned troupers, Járosy among them, ended the song in tears.⁴⁵

It was fortuitous, then, that Járosy's temporary refuge with the Glejgewichts reconstituted an embryonic cabaret team, linking the impresario, as Grodzieńska notes, with "his people." *The Bluebird* fixes our attention on this private tableau in the second year of the war: how the artists Járosy, Jurandot, and Grodzieńska realized the power and comfort of playing cabaret in the tiny Glejgewicht apartment on Złota Street. Theater folk, Grodzieńska explains to the lay reader, share "a quick, impetuous sense of humor, tolerance due to their passing regard for high principles, and an ease bordering on recklessness."⁴⁶ She displaces any distinction between Gentile and Jewish performers with the distinction between artists and audiences. When Járosy had to hide with more conventional conspirators, he would beg Grodzieńska and Jurandot for a dose of playacting and stupid jokes during their infrequent visits. His idea of everyday behavior did not correspond to that of his commendable hosts, as he confesses to his fellow cabaret folk: "Thank you. I already feel better. Listen, do you think I'm being ungrateful? [These people] are marvelous, wonderful, things are good for me here except that they are—how to say it—they are *normal*. Do you understand?"⁴⁷

When Grodzieńska recounts their time together with her in-laws, she foregrounds how their closeted cabaret afforded them therapeutic escape and professional practice. She avoids describing the horrors outside—distancing her account and her readers from the Germans' systematic persecution of the Jews—and dwells in detail on the performances that the trio staged in the confines of their shared bedroom after the elder Glejgewichts had fallen asleep. To a great extent, her narrative remains within the physical limits and moral sanctity of Járosy's purview as a fugitive, a man who would not collaborate. During these nighttime sessions, Járosy shed his disguise as Nowaczek and evoked their longed-for "atmosphere of working in the theater."⁴⁸ Reprising an at-home version of their cabaret rehearsals, Járosy and Jurandot sat on their respective beds and demanded that Grodzieńska entertain them like an auditioning player. She complied with her own material (gypsy songs and dances) or responded to Járosy's demanding improvisational prompts.

Above all, Grodzieńska cherishes these underground sessions as artistic training. As she improvised for her two-person audience, Járosy divined her particular gift as a writer/actor: "If you write a role for yourself, then you can play it."⁴⁹ Through periodic flash-forwards to her postwar career, she proves the worth of all that Járosy succeeded in teaching her: "For forty years in the profession up to the present day, I often find myself referring to the lessons of this short author-actor apprenticeship on Złota Street." During this time she became her cabaret mentor's one and only protégée, as Járosy wryly noted: "Think how lucky you are that there's a war on... You have your beloved director all to yourself, understand?"⁵⁰

Grodzieńska also invokes Járosy's actions to prove the heroism of the cabaret artist in wartime. Her spotlight on her mentor expediently leaves her own painful and complicated experience in the shadows. In fact, both Grodzieńska

and Jurandot accompanied the elder Glejgewichts into the Ghetto, where Jurandot directed the cabaret *Femina*, in which his wife and other Jewish artists performed. Though the underground authority of the Association of Polish Stage Artists generally banned performers from playing in venues permitted by the Germans, it relaxed that ban for artists trapped and starving in the Ghetto. After the war, however, one's work in the Ghetto's cabarets and cafés opened up a Pandora's Box in terms of accusations and rumored allegations. As journalist Agata Tuszyńska remarks in her biography/reflection about Jewish cabaret singer Vera Gran, a woman accused and only partially exonerated of charges that she collaborated with the enemy, innocents could easily be tarnished by another Holocaust survivor's prejudiced testimony. Grodzieńska's silence about this episode in her life helped shield her and Jurandot from similar charges.

Once she was an old woman, Grodzieńska agreed to be interviewed for Tuszyńska's book, yet according to the author, the artist "never officially defended Vera Gran, which Gran for a long time held against her [Grodzieńska]."⁵¹ In one such session with Tuszyńska, Grodzieńska remembers how effectively her husband countered the insinuations of their "collaborat[ing] with the Gestapo" made by Władysław Szpilman, the musician featured in Roman Polański's film *The Pianist*.⁵²

The only professional wartime performance that Grodzieńska describes in *The Bluebird* occurred before the Glejgewicht family was forced into the Ghetto—that is, presumably before *Femina's* existence. It may be that Grodzieńska admits this modest gig in her 1988 book because it would spark no controversy, yet allow her to admit, on a small scale, her selfish desire to perform regardless of the war. In her narrative, she rationalizes that working as a chorus girl guaranteed food for the family and, at the same time, sated her desperate longing for the stage: "Today no one will truly understand how much it meant to me to leave the house for performances, to sit in the dressing room. I very much needed a break from my life and its problems."⁵³

What Grodzieńska most highlights in this section, however, is how Járosy trained her to do the seemingly impossible in order to obtain the job. When band leader Ivo Wesby regretfully told her that he needed a singer rather than a dancer, her at-home director taught her how to pass as one: "If you try to do something that's not your specialty, then consider what you have to work with"—in Grodzieńska's case, a dancer's grace, good looks, and excellent enunciation.⁵⁴ Járosy rehearsed her intensively the night before her audition, directing her to dance as she sang and showing her how to bridge a song's shift from verse to refrain with patter. As a result, Grodzieńska landed the job and won applause for the short time this venture lasted.

A Voluntary Jew

Grodzieńska's brief description of the Warsaw Ghetto in *The Bluebird* emphasizes the very different people that the Nazis forced into its cramped space, squeezing together "the Orthodox who knew no Polish and officially identified themselves as Jews" and "Poles [her word] who at some point

happened to learn that some long-dead grandfather or grandmother was of the Hebrew persuasion."⁵⁵ In lieu of observing Jewish services and religious rituals, Grodzieńska remarks on the Ghetto's two churches, which were filled with converted Jews every Sunday because such attendance signified "Polishness" long before any Resistance work was possible. Grodzieńska also points out the many mixed-faith couples who lived there because the "Aryan" spouse refused to separate from his or her Jewish partner. With her focus on those whose plight was determined by a random ancestor or a beloved partner and her use of "Polishness" to imply both secular Jewishness and patriotism, she seems to be assuring her overwhelmingly Polish Gentile audience that "we assimilated Jews are Poles just like you." That assurance conveniently sets Grodzieńska apart from all Jews who had chosen not to assimilate, who would or could not "pass."

Though Grodzieńska never discloses this in *The Bluebird*, we know from a November 7, 2010 Internet posting by her daughter, Joanna Jurandot-Nawrocka, that she and Jurandot "moved into the Ghetto voluntarily because they adored [Jurandot's] parents, who would not have been able to hide." The young couple fled the Ghetto when the German "'actions' so intensified that there was no chance to save [Jurandot-Nawrocka's] grandparents."⁵⁶ In other words, the elder Glejgewichts were doomed by their Semitic features. We also know that Grodzieńska published a book of poems about her time in the Ghetto under her mother's surname. In Stefania Ney's *Dzieci getta* (Children of the Ghetto), each poem, dedicated by name, tells the wrenching story of its subject—the homeless, starving eleven-year-old orphan Dawid, and the three-year-old Zosia, whose mother poisons her to protect her from a more terrible death in Treblinka.⁵⁷ In the briefest of forewords, the author vouches for her knowledge of these most poignant Holocaust victims and cedes them center stage.⁵⁸

Grodzieńska does not air these painful experiences in *The Bluebird*. She cryptically refers to the breakup of the Glejgewicht household but refuses to provide further details for these "would be too complicated, and reading them would be tedious."⁵⁹ Her decision to omit details of this "too complicated" tragedy conveys her extreme discomfort, be it with her own feelings of guilt, trauma, and/or her fear of her readers' reaction (the jarring "tedium" she invokes.) Grodzieńska highlights only one person's Ghetto ordeal: Járosy's. Indeed, with the same seeming concern for reader interest, she characterizes Járosy's decision to join the Jews as "zabawny" (funny, ridiculous), though she spells out the serious stakes involved: "What else would you call a situation when a religious Catholic of Aryan ancestry, recognized by the Gestapo as *Reichsdeutsch* and promised all manner of wealth if he founded a theater, barges his way into the Ghetto?"⁶⁰

Grodzieńska clearly wants Járosy to make his entrance in style, braving the horror with a showman's verve. In *The Bluebird*, she maintains that he crossed over into the Ghetto "without ever losing his sense of humor," conveying, at the very least, an impressive insouciance.⁶¹ She embellishes on this image in a digression included in *There's Nothing to Laugh About*. Remembering how the film *Love Forgives Everything* falsely dispatched a humiliated Járosy to the Ghetto, Grodzieńska imagines a montage that could figure in a musical:

If Járosy had actually been a Jew and had been driven into the Ghetto, you could be certain that he'd show no sign of humiliation. He'd walk in like a lord, with an expression letting people know that they should envy him this adventure, and with a bearing that would set an awed Warsaw to whispering: "Did you hear? Járosy went into the Ghetto. And he looked like a prince on a stroll!"⁶²

In effect, Grodzieńska transforms Járosy into a cabaret hero of a Holocaust story. Not only does Járosy resist and escape the Gestapo, but he also excels in the part of a voluntary Jew, living with Jews outside and inside the Ghetto and sharing their hardships with equanimity and resourcefulness. As she conjures him up for the reader, this voluntary Jew would be consistently dapper and defiant, a show business celebrity whom "an awed Warsaw" (a Gentile Warsaw) would envy rather than shamefully ignore as he sauntered to his fate. In Grodzieńska's compensatory fantasy about the Holocaust, the lead would not be played by such revenge-dealing characters as the Jewish survivor Shosanna and the officer-rescuer Lieutenant Aldo Raine in Quentin Tarantino's 2009 film, *The Inglourious Basterds*, but a Central European version of Fred Astaire, the idol of the interwar cabaret. Grodzieńska's montage overwhelms Járosy's inaccurate degradation in the 1981 film; it likely assuaged her own feelings of guilt and shame by proxy. Yet, like all revenge fantasies, it tacitly dismisses the real suffering of Holocaust victims and critiques the millions who perished without fanfare or revenge.

Gentile Impersonation

Citing the wisdom and effectiveness of her mentor in a wartime context builds on earlier passages in *The Bluebird* where Grodzieńska portrays Járosy as an actor's director. During her stint as a chorus girl in "Bohemia," she had been prescient enough to spy on him when he worked with stars one-on-one. As she could report fifty years later: His genius as a director stemmed in part from the fact that he never demonstrated

what to do and never took to the stage, but stayed put in his third-row seat and conveyed everything clearly to even the dimmest performer. He was infallible: he knew in advance just what he could expect from whom. Often he had a performer keep repeating a phrase with no discussion or criticism, just explaining what was needed as briefly as possible. His comments often went something like this: "Now do the same, only take two steps forward." "Stop, not three steps, just two. You think this song needs three steps? Take two." Or (I remember this very well!): "After the refrain let your arms drop and just dangle there. Leave everything else as it is now." "No, no, don't lower your arms, let them dangle helplessly. Like two sausages." I saw it myself. When those arms were at last dangling like two sausages, the performer's interpretation changed, as did the timbre of her voice and the way she looked!⁶³

By establishing the bedrock of Járosy's directing talent and admitting readers into his rehearsals, Grodzieńska advances her boldest compensa-

tory thesis: that good directing and the good acting resulting from it saved lives during the war. This thesis raises cabaret artists out of the moral murk of self-indulgence and suspect collaboration and renders them survivors and saviors—to a certain extent, masters *over* their identity. It also presumes that one possesses the talent and passable Aryan appearance to fool the enemy. Nevertheless, the notion of successful impersonation, like the image of the insouciant prince of the Ghetto, offers the illusion of agency.

As the quote above implies, Grodzieńska's thesis is connected with the repertoire and artistry of interwar Polish-language literary cabaret. Impersonation was one of its staple devices. Mirroring the evolution of a modern metropolis, talented cabaret performers tried on the city's many identities, including real-life politicians, high society hostesses, jazz-age bon vivants, lower-middle-class shopkeepers, poor shop girls, cabbies, gigolos, and dancers for hire. Men played women and women played men. One celebrity mimicked another. Sometimes Gentiles impersonated Jews, though these Jewish characters differed markedly in language and sophistication from the actual Jewish performers. Much more often, Jews impersonated almost every type of Gentile.

During the Holocaust, many Jews were taught how to pass as Aryan by individual and organizational rescuers or learned how to do so on their own. One did not need a mentor from the cabaret to succeed in such impersonation. As Gunnar S. Paulsson points out in *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945*, perhaps the best strategy for Jews striving to elude German detection was “simple chutzpah,” a confidence requiring “extraordinary discipline and self-control.”⁶⁴ For the purposes of her redemptive biography-memoir, Grodzieńska instead spotlights Járosy as the master director best qualified to prepare novices for their most desperate show. During the Great Liquidation *Aktion* in summer 1942 and the attempted deportations in January 1943, Járosy was hiding with the woman who became his last life partner. Janina Wojciechowska was a Polish Jewish patriot, just like Zosia Glejgewicht, and served in the Home Army's Central Intelligence Communications.⁶⁵ Járosy found in Wojciechowska a brave, generous rescuer who was his opposite in temperament and vocation, but his superior in the organization of the Underground. His relationship with her placed him in the thick of the action as Jews fleeing the Ghetto made their way to her apartment, in desperate need of a bath, food, clothing, forged documents, and concealment or safe placement on the Aryan side.⁶⁶ Járosy immediately recognized that the refugees required more than new clothes to survive over the long haul. Those who looked Jewish were forced to hide, but the others, who could pass as Gentiles, needed acting lessons that would sell their disguise. Accustomed to coaching cabaret artists with simple, pragmatic instructions, Járosy conducted for these fugitives individual workshops on behaving as everyday non-Jewish Varsovians. Grodzieńska summarizes the rehearsals in Wojciechowska's apartment:

... Járosy's room became a transit point through which dozens of people passed. There they [the refugees] received their first pointers: how much a tram ticket or a loaf of bread cost and how to comb their hair and mold their

facial expression to best look like an Aryan. This phenomenal director and creator of stage personalities never expected that his art would one day help save people's lives.⁶⁷

Through his attachment to Wojciechowska, Járosy had the advantage of knowing the future situations in which his amateur performers would be cast and could prepare them accordingly. Cabaret performance depends on reading one's audience quickly and improvising appropriate responses. Járosy therefore could advise his students how to play to their new bosses and colleagues. In this regard, he shepherded both novices and experienced performers. When Jurandot and Grodzieńska had to separate during the Ghetto's liquidation, Járosy managed to cast Grodzieńska in a household outside of Warsaw where she would cook, clean, and babysit two boys. He convinced his apprehensive pupil that she could perform these duties and taught her how not to fear her future employer, a woman who "looked distinguished, but expressed herself harshly": "Just look her in the eye and you'll calm down right away." As Grodzieńska predictably reports, his advice worked perfectly.⁶⁸

The Cost of Cabaret Identity

In *The Bluebird Brought Him*, her most serious work, comedienne Stefania Grodzieńska set out to write Fryderyk Járosy as a convincing, charismatic hero and a director for all seasons and situations. Her righteous anger over his humiliation in a 1981 film unleashed a flood of memories about Járosy's friendship, risk-taking, discipline, and ingenuity. Her testimony about his post-arrest performance is critical to maintaining his directorial image, for after September 1939, Járosy never again set foot on a Polish stage. Very few witnessed his artistry and leadership once he was forced underground.

Viewed in the context of her personal and professional biography, *The Bluebird* also traces Grodzieńska's adult discovery of a stable family and a beloved vocation. The child of a Polish Jewish mother and an absent Swiss father, Grodzieńska was never grounded in a conventional family circle or religious tradition. She was encouraged instead by her step-grandfather to embrace Polish language and culture as her own. Her dependence on the only parent she knew, her freewheeling mother, reinforced her sense of rootlessness as well as her attraction to charismatic, pleasure-loving, pleasure-giving individuals. *The Bluebird* tells the carefully censored secondary story of Grodzieńska's coming of age, as she finds her soul mate and professional partner in Jerzy Jurandot, becomes a beloved member of the Glejgewicht family, and blossoms as the friend and lone professional protégée of Fryderyk Járosy during the war.

Unfortunately, resurrecting Járosy and her happy, formative bond with him also meant that Grodzieńska had to negotiate her memories of the Holocaust, a trauma she contains largely by deflection. In *The Bluebird*, Járosy's non-Jewish heritage made him an essential partner in Grodzieńska's strange dance between re-envisioning and disguising her Jewishness, depending on

the circumstances. She emphasizes that the Austrian Járosy did not simply choose Poland as his homeland, but elected to settle in its rarefied cabaret oasis, where he found the best writers, the best players, and the best friends and lovers—most of whom were Jewish. Grodzieńska and Jurandot were admitted into this charmed circle by 1937. In Warsaw, Járosy developed into the sort of cosmopolitan Polish patriot that most of his Jewish cabaret intimates, including Grodzieńska and Jurandot, had been raised to be. Járosy's outside endorsement becomes even more critical in her account when he rejects the safety and material gains of collaboration for the peril and hardship of hiding through most of the war. Confronting the gravest test of his loyalties, Járosy opts to side with his Polish Jewish friends rather than his ethnic compatriots.

It is important for readers to recognize that Járosy was not Jewish, regardless of his war-long flight from the Gestapo. The relationship between Jews and Gentiles, even those once joined by the cabaret, drastically changed when the Germans forced Jews from Warsaw and elsewhere in Poland into the city's Ghetto. Grodzieńska, Jurandot, and other Jewish artists were literally trapped by a stigmatized Jewish identity of Nazi design. Vilified and persecuted as Jews, Grodzieńska and her loved ones were humiliated, impoverished, and terrorized. The Germans murdered her beloved in-laws as well as the children she eulogized in her book of poems, and she and her husband were powerless to save them. When Grodzieńska and Jurandot publicly asserted their identity as cabaret artists in the Ghetto, they exercised an agency that other survivors could subsequently label collaboration with the enemy.

Instead of baring her own trauma during the Holocaust and admitting her helplessness and possible complicity in print, Grodzieńska reconstructs and showcases Járosy as a voluntary Jew talented and resourceful enough to withstand both guilt and death. Depicting him as the combined leader of her intimate and professional families, she highlights how Járosy managed to live the life of a Polish Jew during the war (almost) without succumbing to despair and degradation. Her biography of her mentor shows him to be unfailingly vigilant, adaptable, pragmatic, sardonic, directorial, and charming. In her representation and fantasy, the Holocaust could not strip Járosy of his cabaret identity, for he was capable of strolling into the Ghetto "like a lord," neither humiliated nor rendered invisible in Gentile eyes. This is the cabaret identity to which Grodzieńska aspires, the way one should play a Jew regardless of the consequences.

Just as important, the Járosy who coached Grodzieńska to write and sing during the war not only affirmed the inherent value of cabaret artistry, but also demonstrated how that type of artistry, practiced offstage, could confound an essentializing enemy and save Jewish lives. By observation and experience, Grodzieńska traces how Járosy's direction honed better, more versatile artists. He improved their skills in impersonation, in adopting effective personae as singers and actors; Grodzieńska's development as a cabaret artist under his exclusive tutelage serves as a case in point. By extension, she strongly suggests that Járosy's intensive sessions with Jews fleeing the Ghetto transformed helpless victims into actors with some degree of control over their fates. Given his expertise, a modern dancer could pass as a cabaret singer or a qualified

housekeeper. A Jew could pass as a Gentile. For a superb artist such as Járosy, Grodzieńska implies, Jewishness or non-Jewishness was simply a matter of performance.

Of course, Grodzieńska's reverent, instrumentalized portrait of Járosy's character and actions means that she glosses over the terrible fates of hundreds of thousands of Jews in and from Warsaw who were starved, beaten, tortured, shot, and gassed—all those who could not escape and did not benefit from Járosy's special services for scores of fugitives. Her highly selective focus allows her to circumvent her feelings of humiliation, guilt, helplessness, and grief as a Jew in occupied Poland, and to preempt any criticism of her and her husband's involvement in a Ghetto cabaret. Grodzieńska uses Járosy to imply that acculturated Jewishness could be acceptable and positive, yet also fundamentally mutable; that the degradation the Nazis imposed on all Jews could be transcended through performance; and that cabaret artistry, especially impersonation and improvisation, could be empowering under the direst circumstances. *The Bluebird Brought Him* conveys the ambiguous, contingent, inevitably composite meaning of acculturated Jewishness and argues that professional identity, personal affinity, and *Polish assimilation* most reliably linked Jewish and Gentile artists and intellectuals in interwar and wartime Poland. As such, Grodzieńska's memoirs incarnate, in a compelling and disturbing way, what Erica Lehrer terms "the *logic* of Jewish identity in Poland" which "allows for the existence of particular types of 'hybrid' or non-normative Jewishnesses that the larger—that is, the non-Polish—'Jewish world' does not."⁶⁹

Endnotes

- 1 Stefania Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, co-author Joanna Jurandot-Nawrocka (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Latarnik, 2007), 239–40.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 103.
- 3 Karen Auerbach, *The House at Ujazdowskie 16: Jewish Families in Warsaw after the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 64.
- 4 Joanna Olczak-Ronikier, *In the Garden of Memory: A Family Memoir*, trans. Antonia Lloyd-Jones (London: Phoenix, 2005.)
- 5 Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, 50.
- 6 Stefania Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak"* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Radia i Telewizji, 1988), 11–12.
- 7 Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, 11–12.
- 8 *In Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 37, Gunnar S. Paulson observes that "Jews generally viewed him [Piłsudski] with favour. (Adam Czerniakow, chairman of the Warsaw Jewish Council, kept a picture of the Marshal above his desk." Olczak-Ronikier remembers how her great uncle, the communist Maks Horwitz, initially loved the charismatic Piłsudski, who "had no anti-Semitic prejudices and did not divide people into Jews and non-Jews." See *In the Garden of Memory*, 57.
- 9 Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, 24.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 30, 31, 40, 41.
- 11 Noting how Polish Jewish survivors differed from their Gentile counterparts, Auerbach points out that Jews "had few or no graves to visit." See *The House at Ujazdowskie 16*, 93.
- 12 Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak"*, 5.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 92.
- 15 Beth Holmgren, "Acting Out: *Qui Pro Quo* in the Context of Interwar Warsaw," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 27.3 (May 2013): 205–223.
- 16 Marci Shore, *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918–1968* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 2, 5.
- 17 Marian Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie: życie codzienne, wydarzenia, ludzie* (Poznań: Sorus, 1992), 329.
- 18 Antony Polonsky, "'Why Did They Hate Tuwim and Boy So Much?': Jews and 'Artificial Jews' in the Literary Polemics of the Second Polish Republic," in *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. Robert Blobaum (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 194.
- 19 Michael C. Steinlauf, "Jewish Theatre in Poland," *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, v. 16, "Focusing on Jewish Popular Culture in Poland and Its Afterlife," ed. Michael C. Steinlauf and Antony Polonsky (Portland, OR: Oxford, the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003): 83–85, 87.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 21 On Tuwim and Stonimski's attitudes towards the Orthodox, see Shore, *Caviar and Ashes*, 131–32, 136–38. On *szmonecs* in the cabaret, see Ryszard Marek Groński, *Jak w przedwojennym kabarecie: kabaret warszawski 1918–1939* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe Warsaw, 1978), 42, and Holmgren, "Acting Out," 216–219.
- 22 Polonsky, "Why Did They Hate Tuwim and Boy So Much?" 196–208.
- 23 Dorota Fox, *Kabarety i revue międzywojennej Warszawy* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2007), 169; Eva Plach, *The Clash of Moral Nations: Cultural Politics in Piłsudski's Poland, 1926–1935* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006), 144–46; Holmgren, "Acting Out."
- 24 See, for example, the memoirs of cabaret comedienne Mira Zimińska, *Nie żyłam sobie samotnie* (I Never Lived Lonely) transcribed and edited by Mieczysław Sroka (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1985.) When the Gestapo threw Zimińska into prison, they interrogated her exclusively about the Jewish writers and comedians with whom she had worked, trying to find out their locations; 189.
- 25 Anna Mieszkowska, *Jestem Jąrosy—zawsze ten sam!* (Warsaw: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie, MUZA SA, 2008), 25–32.
- 26 Most biographical accounts of Jąrosy maintain that he remained in Warsaw because he had fallen in love with the future star Hanka Ordonówna. Anna Mieszkowska argues in *Była sobie piosenka: Gwiazdy kabaretu i emigracyjnej Melpomeny* (Warsaw: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie, MUZA SA, 2006), that Jąrosy broke with *The Bluebird* here because the caba-

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- ret's powerful director, Iakov Iuzhniĭ, was jealous of the younger man's talents and would not allow him the chance to direct; 20–21.
- 27 Mieszkowska, *Jestem Járosy*, 56.
- 28 See, for example, Edward Krasieński, *Warszawskie sceny, 1918–1939* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1976), 241–243.
- 29 Anna Mieszkowska, *Ja, kabareciarz: Marian Hemar od Lwowa do Londynu* (Warsaw: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie MUZA SA, 2006), 34–38.
- 30 Mieszkowska, *Jestem Járosy*, 98.
- 31 Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak,"* 18.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 51.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 145.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 74.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 121.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 95, 122.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 123; Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, 87–88.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 123.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 149.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 123, 125.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 45 Jerzy Jurandot, *Dzieje Śmiechu* (Warsaw: Iskra, 1959), 67.
- 46 Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak,"* 157, 159.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 154.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 137.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 *Ibid.*, 134–35.
- 51 Agata Tuszyńska, *Vera Gran: The Accused*, trans. Charles Ruas (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013): 129.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 122.
- 53 Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak"* 1988, 138–39.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 56 www.beitkrakow.pl/2010/04/stefania-grodzienska. Query April 28, 2010; response November 7, 2010; accessed February 23, 2014. A query sent to *Beit Kraków*, a website for the city's Reform Jewish community, shortly after Grodzieńska's death in 2010, elicited this surprisingly intimate response from Joanna Jurandot-Nawrocka. The daughter attempts to fill what the questioner calls "a hole in her [Grodzieńska's] life story."
- 57 Stefania Ney, *Dzieci getta*, 1949, 41–44.
- 58 In April 2014, Agnieszka Arnold, with Jurandot-Nawrocka's permission, saw to the publication of Jerzy Jurandot's memoir, *Miasto skazanych: 2 lata w warszawskim getcie* (City of the Doomed: Two Years in the Warsaw Ghetto), coupled with the republication of Grodzieńska's *Dzieci getta*, along with other works by Jurandot. According to Arnold, Grodzieńska had entrusted her with "two yellowed manuscripts" twenty-five years before and specified that they not be published during her life. See Jerzy Jurandot, *Miasto skazanych: 2 lata w warszawskim getcie* i Stefania Grodzieńska, *Dzieci getta* (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich, 2014), 11. My thanks to Ewa Małkowska-Bieniek, the museum's exhibits curator, for the gift of this extraordinary volume, the publication of which was supported in part by EEA and Norway Grants.
- 59 Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak,"* 147.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, 240.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 64 Paulsson, *Secret City*, 107, 108.
- 65 Grodzieńska, *Nie ma czego się śmiać*, 128; Grodzieńska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak,"* 159.
- 66 Mieszkowska, *Jestem Járosy*, 128.

67 Grodzińska, *Urodził go "Niebieski Ptak,"* 37.

68 *Ibid.*, 166.

69 Erica Lehrer, "Bearing False Witness? 'Vicarious' Jewish Identity and the Politics of Affinity," *Imaginary Neighbors: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations after the Holocaust*, ed. Dorota Głowacka and Joanna Żylińska (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 92.