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SONIC TRANSFORMATIONS

Urban Musical Culture in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940–1942

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It has long been known that the Warsaw Ghetto was a noisy, musical place. Beggars sang for alms on its street corners, and starving professional musicians busked in courtyards. Audiences gathered for performances that lasted into the morning hours in the large ghetto buildings. Nearly one hundred cafés lined the central streets of the ghetto, many offering musical entertainments. The official governing body of the ghetto, the Judenrat, sponsored an orchestra, which performed canonic repertoire on a regular basis, and over a thousand artistic events were overseen by Jewish aid organizations. Nor are such instances of the ghetto's music-making evident only to the historian: in recent years, the music of the Warsaw Ghetto has achieved world-wide fame thanks to the release of the Academy-Award-winning film *The Pianist* (2002), based on the memoirs of Władysław Szpilman.

Despite these numerous sonic traces, there have been few scholarly discussions of the Warsaw Ghetto's music-making. Those that have been written, at least in English and Polish, have been broad surveys of musical activities, usually framed around questions of whether music enabled internees to resist Nazi persecution, or instead, inspired complacency among ghetto audiences.[1] While this line of inquiry is not inherently misguided, it does have limitations, as scholars such as Barbara Milewski, Amy Lynn Wlodarski, and James Loeffler have pointed out.[2] Approaching music of the Holocaust through the lens of resistance and complacency, they observe, shoehorns the diverse experiences of persecuted musicians into a standard mold. It is an approach that often reflects present-day anxieties about the power and limitations of music as an artform, and it can, in turn, foreclose an engagement with the beliefs and experiences of the victims themselves. This chapter proposes an alternative line of inquiry, one that situates music within the urban spaces of Nazi-created ghettos.[3] This approach asks how the ghetto's music was both an outgrowth and transformation of the prewar urban musical

culture in which many ghetto musicians had once participated. In turn, it analyzes how victims invoked music to comment on the experience of ghettoization and on the radical remaking of their cities under German rule.

As for the case of Warsaw, within a matter of weeks in fall of 1940, a new collectivity had been created within the city out of the hundreds of thousands of prisoners confined to the ghetto walls. The ghetto's extreme population density (of over 200,000 people per square mile), rampant poverty, soaring disease, and widespread death stretch to the limit any comparison between it and prewar Warsaw. Yet, for all this undeniable upheaval, the ghetto's 1.2 square miles were still a part of the city, carved out of Warsaw's dense urban fabric, in an area just north of the city center. Unlike Nazi concentration and death camps, which were often isolated from population centers, the ghetto and its musicians had countless ties to both prewar Warsaw and to the so-called Aryan side beyond the ghetto walls.[4] If the ghetto had been created through a violent transformation of Warsaw, one that never fully erased the ghetto's urban qualities, how did the music that had helped define Warsaw as a metropolis before the war—its vibrant concert life, cabarets, and dance halls–continue within the ghetto? To answer this question, I suggest that we attend to the places in which music was made in the ghetto and ask how these often-familiar locales were both outgrowths and transformations of the prewar city.

Examining the continuities and ruptures in the music-making of Warsaw Jews across the period of ghettoization is a methodologically fraught task. As the historian Amos Goldberg has noted, the scholar is faced with a fundamental challenge when embarking on such a study: "how is it possible to write the history of *helplessness*" in the Nazi ghettos, he asks, "without sliding into heroization on the one hand, or obscuring the magnitude of the crisis on the other, but also without [helplessness] becoming a sanctified and melodramatic icon?"[5] A focus on the continuities in institutions, people, and projects between the prewar city and the ghetto can, he notes, downplay the trauma that the ghetto's prisoners faced, erasing their helplessness and its myriad impacts on their sense of self. But it is also possible to go too far in the other direction, by aestheticizing and romanticizing the victim's experiences, a recurring trope, he believes, in how the Holocaust has entered mass awareness in the West.[6] Musicologists have been especially attuned to this second tendency, because music of the Holocaust has sometimes been programmed and marketed in ways that suggest that it is uniquely posed to offer audiences access to Holocaust experience.[7]

In response to this challenge, Goldberg urges scholars to study the "transformations" that took place within what he describes as the "deep level of the fundamental concepts that constitute culture" in the ghetto.[8] Put differently, he asks scholars to consider how ghettoization changed not only the everyday lives of internees, but moreover the practices of meaning-making through which they organized their lives. I argue here that such transformations in ghetto culture were not only embedded in language and discourse, Goldberg's primary focus, but also evinced through the musical and listening practices of the ghetto. Sound became a way for prisoners to describe the newness of the ghetto and its various crises, as well as a way of commenting on the relationship between the present realities of the ghetto and its prisoners' prewar lives.

This chapter considers how three aspects of ghetto performance culture took shape out of prewar Warsaw: the courtyard and house-based performances, the cafés, and, finally, the performance traditions of the cabaret. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to two essays written for the Oyneg Shabes archive. The first, by the actor Jonas Turkow, explores the rapid growth in courtyard performances in the ghetto, while the second, by Stanisław Różycki, focuses on the café as a space of musical listening and sociability. The focus on these essays allows for a closer view on the Oyneg Shabes, an underground, secret archive situated in the ghetto named after the traditional Sabbath gathering, in light of its organizers holding their regular, clandestine meetings on the Sabbath.[9] Although one of the most significant sources concerning the Warsaw Ghetto, it has seen little attention from music scholars. Begun by the historian Emanuel Ringelblum in its earliest form in October 1939, it preserves thousands of contemporary documents, mostly in Polish and Yiddish, which in 1942 and 1943 were buried in metal boxes and milk canisters below the ghetto and partially recovered after the war.[10] Because the archive's dozens of associates believed that evidence drawn from everyday life in the ghetto would be crucial to creating a history of Jewish persecution, the reports it commissioned and collected preserve keen observations about the catastrophe engulfing Jewish Warsaw. The Oyneg Shabes sources are supplemented, in this chapter, with musical works and memoirs, although as explored in the conclusion, relying uncritically on memoirs can be problematic, since they inevitably reflect the postwar conditions in which they were written.

Music in the Jewish Metropolis

In the decades prior to the Holocaust, Warsaw had a Jewish population of over 300,000, making it one of the world's largest Jewish metropolises.[11] Jews also played an integral role in the city's musical life. Biographical surveys of Polish-Jewish musicians shed light on many dimensions of Jewish music-making in the city, from Yiddish-speaking klezmer musicians, to cantors, to big-band musicians, to classical virtuosos, composers, and orchestral players.[12] These latter two categories—the stars of the popular music and classical scenes—are especially salient to this chapter's focus on the links between music and urban experience in the ghetto. Indeed, Jewish patronage has been central to the establishment of some of the main institutions of classical music in Warsaw, most notably the Warsaw Philharmonic, and by the interwar years, the prominence of Jewish audiences and musicians in the Philharmonic was a topic of ongoing commentary.[13] If anything, Jews were even more important to the ebullient world of "light" or popular music in interwar Poland, where Jewish musicians and songwriters led the creation of Polish-language tangos, foxtrots, and rumbas, among other dance genres.[14] Such music was not only frequently performed in the city's dance halls and cabarets; it also often commented on urban experience—its dislocation, confusion, and anonymity.[15] Although popular and classical music were certainly not confined to Poland's

metropolises, music was, for city denizens, a significant component of what it meant to participate in metropolitan modernity.[16]

The Jewish musicians active in Warsaw's classical and popular music worlds had a wide range of views on Jewishness. Many belonged to Warsaw's middle class and, as was common for this group, spoke Polish and were acculturated into Polish culture. This did not necessarily mean that they were assimilationists or rejected Jewish identity, however.[17] Other musicians had chosen to baptize, or their parents had done so. Although they did not necessarily see themselves as Jewish, they were still considered as such by the German occupiers. Still other figures such as the historian Emanuel Ringelblum and actor Jonas Turkow were multilingual, but chose to write and work in Yiddish, the language of the Jewish masses that they believed could form the basis for a secular Jewish culture.[18]

The beginning of World War II in September 1939, the rapid defeat of the Polish defense of Warsaw, and the city's subsequent occupation by Germany threw the city's musicians into crisis. Unlike in France, where the German occupation allowed performances to continue to a significant degree, the occupation of Warsaw involved a rapid closure of cultural institutions.[19] Major performance venues for classical music such as the Warsaw Philharmonic and the Polish Radio were shuttered, forcing musicians to find work elsewhere, often in cafés. In the early days of the war and occupation, some Jewish musicians were able to flee the city, most commonly to the east, where they soon found themselves under Soviet rule.[20] Some converts and acculturated Jews managed to hide their backgrounds and continue to live outside the ghetto. But many had no choice but to move into the ghetto.

The area of Warsaw in which the ghetto was established, slightly north of the city center, had been a center of Jewish inhabitance before the war. But it was not exclusively a Jewish neighborhood, and Jews had also lived elsewhere in Warsaw. In March 1940, the German authorities began to fence off Jewish-inhabited areas on the pretense of containing a typhus pandemic, the first phrase in the creation of the ghetto. The ghetto was officially decreed on October 2, 1940, at which point Jews were required to live within its arbitrary boundaries and Poles were required to leave said territory. The decreeing of the ghetto unleashed a panic as Jews attempted to find apartments within the ghetto boundaries; all told, around 138,000 Jews and 113,000 Poles had to change their residence (a process that would be repeated as the ghetto's boundaries were changed several times over the following years). By the time the ghetto was sealed in November 1940, nearly 400,000 Jews were confined to an area of just under 1.2 square miles. In addition, the ghetto also saw the influx of around 150,000 refugees who had been deported to the ghetto from elsewhere. These conditions persisted until the so-called *Großaktion Warschau*, when from July 22 to September 21, 1942, over 300,000 ghetto prisoners were deported and murdered in Treblinka.[21]

The ghetto's relation to both the prewar city and the so-called Aryan side were complex. Ghetto internees could not leave the ghetto, at least not easily and certainly not legally. The ghetto was cut off from the city by walls and barbed wire, and the entry points were guarded by Jewish and Polish police, as well as German gendarmes. Poverty,

hunger, and infections were rampant, and thousands died per month of disease and starvation even before the deportations to death camps began. Yet there were also reminders that the ghetto prisoners were still living in Warsaw; there were postal deliveries, tram services, telephone connections, and continuous smuggling across the ghetto walls, on which the ghetto internees depended to survive. As Barbara Engelking has noted, the ghetto existed "behind a 'half-drawn curtain' "; its prisoners still lived in the city of Warsaw, but a city remade in countless horrifying ways.[22]

An Emerging Public for Ghetto Performances

The traumatic remaking of the city was audible to those writing in or about the ghetto. Witnesses observed how the collapse in musical employment meant more and more musicians were performing on ghetto streets. Stanisław Gombiński, who was a police officer in the ghetto, mentions in the first chapter of his memoirs from April 1944 that the "noise of the ghetto street was loud."[23] His ear was drawn not only to the sounds of people begging and selling wares, but also to the less expected sounds made by musicians. "Singing and music with every step, on the street, blocking traffic, in courtyards, on squares," he wrote. Some of what he heard were beggars singing for alms, but he also described the sounds of trained musicians. "Again, scales of the most varied types—singers, excellent opera arias and beautiful songs, voices, which had sung in concert halls and opera houses. Verdi, Puccini, Meyerbeer, Moniuszko, Niewiadomski and—oh Jewish impudence—Schubert, Schumann, and Wagner."[24] The repertoire that Gombiński heard (or chose to list) included Italian, Polish, and German composers that far exceeded the "Jewish" music the ghetto prisoners were exclusively supposed to perform. Beyond this, his description of such sounds early in memoirs conjures the aural newness of the ghetto, underscoring how ghettoization had dislocated music from the concert hall onto the street.

The *Gazeta Żydowska* (Jewish newspaper) gave this phenomenon a positive veneer. It described how "With the lyre in her hand, Polyhymnia, the muse of music, has left behind those venues that are today no longer needed. She has left the stifling and always crowded venues of the night-time dance halls as well as the serious temples of this art. She has gone onto the cobbled street in order to survive the difficult period of the war."[25] This statement should be interpreted within the context of its publication in the *Gazeta Żydowska*, the official paper of the Jewish community in occupied Poland, which was published in Polish. Although this periodical is an important source about musical life in the ghetto because of its extensive concert reviews, it was also widely despised by ghetto prisoners for promoting German propaganda and downplaying the severity of ghetto life.[26] The article quoted above, titled "Art on the Street," was written less than a week before the ghetto would be sealed from the city, at a time when thousands of Jews had just moved into the ghetto and others were desperately attempting to find apartments in it.

The writer euphemizes ghettoization by describing it as the "difficult period of the war" and paints the mass unemployment among musicians, which was the reason musicians went onto the street in the first place, as a democratization of art. The critic's attempt to project normalcy onto the transformation of the ghetto's aural spaces does, if nothing else, suggest that the changing sounds of the ghetto street were becoming ubiquitous, so difficult to ignore that they called for a euphemistic interpretation.

In addition to playing on the streets, unemployed musicians also began touring among the ghetto's courtyards, offering makeshift concerts in these large spaces that were enclosed by the ghetto buildings. These performances began in the first months of the occupation, before the ghetto was created, at a time when a "fever for entertainment" swept Jewish Warsaw, according to the actor and impresario Jonas Turkow, who wrote an essay on this topic in Yiddish in 1941.[27] The courtyards became important venues for performances in part because Jewish life turned inward, and the courtyard became a focus of socializing for those living within a building. The predominant housing stock in the ghetto were large buildings that could house hundreds of residents, if not more. These buildings had become a basic unit of social organization in the ghetto, and most of them had a house committee dedicated to various self-governance tasks.[28] As the dangers of the street grew during the occupation, Turkow described how "in almost every house [in Jewish Warsaw] there are either night-long parties, or at the very least, ones lasting until curfew."[29] These events were often organized by the house committees, and they could be rather formal, advertised through posters that listed performers and dates.[30] Unemployed musicians and actors could earn some money pooled from the inhabitants of the building.[31] "People who for years occupied renowned places on global stages, now travel from courtyard to courtyard in order to not die from hunger and often captivate us with their splendid sounds," Turkow observed.[32]

The creation of the ghetto briefly paused, but did not stop, this fervent artistic activity. Turkow described the newness of the sealed ghetto by recounting the sounds and sights of its streets, much like Gombiński and the critic writing for *Gazeta Żydowska* had done, albeit in more gruesome terms:

> A few steps further—there is a corpse covered with paper, from which a hand or leg sticks out; next to it—a violinist, who with a trembling hand and faded eyes bows the strings; a little farther, a woman with a small child in a pushcart, singing opera arias to the accompaniment of her child's cries; next to her, a cantor with a child in hand singing liturgical melodies . . . such scenes take place along all the streets and passages [of the ghetto].[33]

The courtyard performances and events organized by the house committees were, as Turkow described, set away from the misery of the street. That he saw the courtyards and houses as part of an emerging semi-public artistic space in the ghetto is further suggested by his overriding concern with shaping these performances. He not only worried that organizers were passing their parties off as charitable fundraisers, but also that the events were of low artistic quality and conducted in Polish, rather than Yiddish.[34] Turkow's concern with the language of performance in the ghetto reflected

a broader interest, namely in treating Yiddish, the vernacular of the Jewish masses in eastern Europe, as a foundation for a national Jewish culture.[35] Indeed, before the war, Turkow, along with his brother Zygmunt, had been especially influential in the movement among Jewish intellectuals to reform the Yiddish theater and to turn it into a venue for high art.[36]

Turkow was able to act on these concerns because in September 1940 he had been put in charge of the newly created Centralna Komisja Imprezowa (Central Commission for Events, CKI). The CKI was intended to regulate the performances organized in the ghetto houses, a task it could carry out because it operated under the auspices of the Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Society for Public Welfare), under whose aegis the house committees also operated.[37] The idea was that every performance to be organized in the houses first had to be vetted by the CKI, who would use this power, Turkow hoped, to "raise the cultural level of events" and "to fight with assimilation by supporting Yiddish during performances and events, to create in this manner a center of Jewish culture."[38]

In addition to approving events, the CKI also organized its own performances, some in coordination with house committees and others in the extensive network of soup kitchens and orphanages run by the self-help organization.[39] Turkow claimed that the CKI organized 1,814 performances (not all of them musical).[40] This volume of performances was crucial to enacting the regulation and betterment of artistic life that Turkow believed was sorely needed. Over 250 artists registered with the CKI, turning it into what he described as a "camouflaged professional union," and this in turn allowed the CKI to gain "control over all the events" and "in most cases decide on the program," while also "engag[ing] the most serious artists performing in Yiddish and performers of Jewish music."[41] Nor must we only take Turkow's word: the extant archives of the CKI confirm that it operated on a wide scale.[42] Suggestive of the volume of musical performances that it facilitated, in one representative month, May 1941, thirty-nine musical programs were to be performed on twelve different days. Most of these concerts involved singers, violinists, or pianists.[43] Virtually no lists of repertoires are preserved in the CKI's archive, but one exception is a June 1941 program of the singer Dina Turkow, the wife of Jonas, who went by the stage name Diana Blumenfeld. Her program was primarily in Yiddish, with songs by Mordechai Gebirtig, Dawid Bajgelman, and Iso Szajewicz, among others.[44]

More intriguing than the CKI's reach, however, is how Turkow frames his actions in terms of regulating, shaping, and bettering the ghetto's public. His is not only a description of the artistic "chaos" that he saw prevailing in Jewish Warsaw, but also an attempt to transform the new performances in the ghetto in line with his commitment to highbrow artistic production and Yiddish culture.[45] In asserting that the CKI was successful in this endeavor, he painted a picture of a new Jewish public coming into focus around the events:

> In contrast to other venues and private ventures, the broad crowds of the Jewish masses and intelligentsia attended the events organized by the Central Commission

> for Events. These audiences had finally found a place where they could gather in a warm, cultured atmosphere and listen to artistic performances of recitations, songs, and music while not being exposed to the company of the so-called new "elites." These events enjoyed a good opinion in the better environments of Jewish society and were attended by them on a wide scale.[46]

The clear optimism in this passage is, in no small part, due to the time at which the essay was composed and the period it covers—late 1940 into early 1941 was the high point of the house committees' activities.[47] Even so, we see him here placing the CKI within the ghetto's social worlds, positioning its events as bridging masses and intelligentsia while implicitly excluding the smugglers, criminals, and others who had become wealthy in the ghetto and formed its "new elite." In positioning the CKI against the exclusivity of both "private ventures" and spaces frequented by the half-world of criminals, he alludes to the emergence within the ghetto of other publics, to which he was opposed but over which he could exercise little control. The most significant of these spaces was the ghetto café.

Overhearing the Ghetto's Cafés

Whereas the CKI and house-committee performances grew out of the ghetto's social-welfare organizations, the dozens of cafés in the ghetto operated on a commercial rather than charitable footing.[48] More problematically, in the minds of many, they were associated with the so-called new elites who had gained wealth in the ghetto from the dangerous, lucrative, yet essential work of smuggling food and goods into the ghetto. Some ghetto chroniclers, such as Ringelblum and Turkow, noted that the cafés depended on protection from the Jewish police and Gestapo, too.[49] For others, the cafés epitomized the disregard shown by the wealthy for the plight of their immiserated neighbors. Chaim Kaplan wrote in his diary, for instance, about the contrast between "the lavishly dressed crowds enjoying the music, pastries, and coffee [in a luxurious café]" and how "[s]ometimes at the very entrance of one of these elegant cafés [a visitor] might stumble on the corpse of a victim of starvation."[50] Guided by such remarks, prior scholarship has pointed to the cafés as an example of how access to musical performance had become restricted within the ghetto.[51]

A more ambivalent view of the ghetto cafés is presented by Stanisław Różycki in an essay titled "Kawiarnie" (Cafés), written for the Oyneg Shabes archive. Little is known about Różycki, although he was likely a high school teacher in Warsaw before the war and, in 1939, had fled to Soviet-occupied Lviv, before returning to the Warsaw Ghetto in October 1941.[52] His essays for the Oyneg Shabes archive are written in an elegant Polish. They focus on the Jewish street, documenting the sights, smells, and dangers of the ghetto's most public domain. In reading his essay of the cafés, we should keep in mind that for intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s in Poland, cafés were far more than

places to drink coffee or eat cake. Indeed, Warsaw's prewar cafés had been mythologized as a quasi-public sphere in which forward-looking artistic movements of the 1920s and 1930s had been born.[53]

A trace of the idea that the café held a social function exceeding its culinary one is evident in the very opening of Różycki's essay. In the second and third sentences, he observed:

> The ghetto cafés play a very significant role, not only in the ghetto's social life, but also in its public life due to the lack of clubs, unions, associations, markets, parks, cinemas, fields, dance halls, and so forth. The café thus substitutes for the theater, the cabaret, the variety show, the cinema—but not only— because alongside cabaret and music, the café is also a grocery store and restaurant, illicit trade occurs here, smugglers meet here to discuss their business, exchanges take place, goods are offered and searched for, there are rooms for lovers, and trade in living wares also finds protection here, not to mention that prostitution—as always—is rife in bars.[54]

In these two dizzying, list-filled sentences, Różycki underscores the simultaneous narrowing and widening of the café's role in the ghetto. He distinguishes only to collapse the difference between "social" (*towarzyski*) and "public" (*publiczny*) life in the ghetto, suggesting that the cafés had now been asked to fulfill the role formerly played by institutions of the public sphere, such as professional unions and voluntary associations. On the cafés writ large, he reserves judgement, underscoring the essential social function they serve while enumerating, in the same breath, their sordid aspects. In concluding his essay on the cafés, he returned to this point. He noted that "the existence of venues of this type is not in itself bad." Rather, he wished that the cafés would "not only be for snobs and layabouts, smugglers and speculators, but also for working people, office workers, the working intelligentsia, the proletariat."[55] While the promise of the café as public space was valid, he believed, the ghetto conditions prevented the cafés from fulfilling their potential.

Różycki's views on the ghetto café were further developed against his observation on the collapse of the Jewish street, much like Turkow had also done. To leave one's apartment was a treacherous undertaking, which required navigating children begging for food, strangers infected with typhus, and dead bodies.[56] In essays written for Oyneg Shabes with titles such as "Street Scenes from the Ghetto" and "Morality of the Street," he described streets littered with human waste and a collapse in public decency.[57] He saw the elitism of the cafés, which offered shelter from these conditions, as reflecting this broader collapse. "Because—if such a general and shameless public demoralization rules, such places [as the cafés] must exist and are only a natural emanation of the general conditions."[58]

Różycki describes the interiors, people, and sounds of the ghetto cafés in order to paint a picture of the differences among the ghetto's various well-to-do subgroups and their reactions to ghettoization. Despite the many reasons that led patrons to the cafés, he noted, "All have or wish to have the delusion that the atmosphere of the café separates them from the reality of the street, from the darkness of everyday life."[59] To make this point when he visits L'Ours, one of the ghetto's larger cafés, he calls attention to the

difference between the trappings of the café and the conversations of its patrons. "There are no traces of the war, imprisonment, the ghetto. The faces are not at all haggard, rather the opposite—they look normal, well fed."[60] The patrons are, as he describes, a mix of those who still have savings and those who have become rich off of illicit activity in the ghetto. But as he listens more intently to the patrons, he notes that "the topic of conversation is the same, reduced to a common denominator. What's new, when's the offensive, how are you doing today with bread? . . . Neither the content nor the form is different from all our everyday, identical, stubbornly repeating questions, the answers to which are monotonously sad and hopelessly desperate."[61]

Różycki repeatedly evokes music in the essay to describe the patrons and atmosphere of each venue. When he visited the café Arizona, which he claimed was almost exclusively frequented by smugglers, his description of the café's music paints its patrons as isolated from the everyday concerns of the ghetto. They "dance, and dance with verve, with temperament, with humor, speeding up, stamping their feet to the beat, demanding encores."[62] When one of the musicians sang about a poor orphan begging for bread on the street, Różycki describes how one of the richest patrons, Jerzyk Kupfer, began to cry. "The asshole indeed shed a teardrop and quickly poured a drink of advocaat as consolation, though it made no difference."[63] Różycki's description of Kupfer's single teardrop points to the chasm separating him from the ghetto's realities: his reaction is trite compared with the immense and quotidian misery of the ghetto, Różycki implies, while his attempt to ameliorate the emotion through expensive alcohol is both futile and self-centered.

If Różycki described the song about the orphan to cast into relief the distance between street and café, elsewhere in the essay music serves to underscore the division between the present reality of the ghetto and memories of the pre-ghetto life. When visiting the café Splendid, where Artur Gold played with what Różycki considered to be the best jazz band in the ghetto, he wrote that the "wild rhythms, unbridled jazz orchestra, playing in a negro tempo is a dissonance, a clash with the slow, monotonous life, entirely ruled by everyday dullness. And this expresses, this creates a kind of un-natural, sick atmosphere; it appears as something unreal, not from this world. The contrast is too brutal."[64] He was more sympathetic to the music that he heard in the café Fontanna, which offered performances by Leon Boruński (a laureate of the 1932 Chopin Competition), Erwin Wohlfeiler, and songs from the soprano Marysia Ajzensztadt (the daughter of a well-known cantor). But here too, music seemed to express first and foremost a disjunction between sound and reality: "The mood that dominated here was as if in essence people had escaped to hell to listen to music, to raptly take in melodies, to remind themselves of the content of songs on which they had once been intoxicated."[65]

That Różycki discusses the music of each café that he visited not only confirms that the cafés were a major venue in which music was made. It also suggests that music played a central role in how he grasped the café's function in the ghetto. In some instances, he turns to music to sharpen the distinction that he draws between interior and exterior, bringing into focus the distance between the café audiences and the street. At other times, music serves as an emblem of the past, appearing to him to conjure the audiences' links to and desires for the world before the ghetto. Put differently, the contradictions

that Różycki believed defined the ghetto cafés were as much heard as they were seen. Similar to Gombiński, who chose musical and sonic terms to evoke the newness of the ghetto street, Różycki heard in music a way of describing the café as social space, a sonic marking of the distance between audiences' hopes and their reality.

Café Sztuka and the Polish-Speaking Intelligentsia

On one level, the ghetto's courtyard and café performances were indebted to the architecture of the city and its prewar practices of urban socializing. Their social role in the ghetto was further defined by how they offered refuge from the street and its noisy, musical poverty. A third aspect of Warsaw's urban culture that both continued and changed through ghettoization pertains to the music and performances of the Polish-speaking intelligentsia interned in the ghetto. The bastion for such artists was the café Sztuka (Art), whose patrons would have been familiar with the cultural touchstones of the prewar intelligentsia, having frequented the famous literary café Ziemiańska, read the *Wiadomości Literackie* (Literary news), and attended the witty and urbane Qui pro Quo cabaret.

Turkow and Różycki both wrote with disdain about Sztuka, a stance that at least in part reflects larger concerns among those working with the Oyneg Shabes archive about language and assimilation within the ghetto.[66] Turkow, after insinuating that the café had connections to German officialdom, quipped about how "Yiddish grated unpleasantly on the ears" of Sztuka's patrons.[67] Różycki went even further, describing Sztuka's audience as "converts, educated bourgeoisie" who were "proud that before the war they had been rich . . . [and] can't stand the fact that they have been made equal with the 'scabs, Yids' with whom they share a common fate."[68] These observations do represent one point of view on Sztuka, but such dismissals should not be taken at face value: the fate of the acculturated, the baptized, and the Polish-speaking intelligentsia within the ghetto is also a part of the ghetto's history.

Many of the performers at Sztuka had cut their teeth in prewar Warsaw's cabaret scene, including Leon Boruński, Wiera Gran, Pola Braun, and Władysław Szlengel. The interwar cabaret had been distinguished by its topical commentary, satire, and quick-paced production schedules in performances that integrated Jewish and Polish performers, who played to a mixed audience. This Polish-language cabaret was also noteworthy for combining music—especially "light" music of internationally popular dance genres—with scenarios penned by some of the most eminent poets of the Polish language, such as Julian Tuwim.[69] The artists at Sztuka did not abandon these values when they were interned in the ghetto. One audience member, Mary Berg, a teenager imprisoned in the ghetto, described in her diary that at Sztuka, "one can hear songs and satires on the police, the ambulance service, the rickshaws, and even the Gestapo in a veiled fashion." Perhaps she had in mind Szlengel's *Żywy dziennik* (The living newspaper), a literary-artistic satire on events in the ghetto. In discerning such meanings,

Berg believed that the songs of Sztuka carried a significance that could not be reduced to escapism or nostalgia: "It is laughter through tears, but it is laughter. This is our only weapon in the ghetto—our people laugh at death and at the Nazi decrees."[70]

We gain a sense of what Berg might have had in mind by turning to one of the extant works premiered at Sztuka: a musical composition titled "Jej pierwszy bal" (Her first ball), which was originally premiered as part of one of *The Living Newspaper* performances.[71] The piece for voice and two pianos is around fifteen minutes long and includes narrative recitation as well as singing. The text was written by Szlengel, a prominent poet in the ghetto and the key figure behind *The Living Newspaper*. Its music was composed by Władysław Szpilman, a stalwart performer at Sztuka. Before the war, he had established himself as a respected interpreter of Chopin and a composer of classical music, having studied during the early 1930s with the renowned pedagogue Franz Schreker in Berlin.[72] *Her First Ball* was sung by Wiera Gran, who had risen to fame before the war by performing in the Warsaw cabarets while still a teenager, and whose popularity ballooned in the ghetto.[73] Szpilman, and his duo partner Andrzej Goldfeder, accompanied her.

Her First Ball is a series of variations on a waltz from Ludomir Różycki's opera *Casanova* (1922). The title alludes to the plot of a recent French film (*Un carnet de bal*, 1937) in which the widowed protagonist revisits the fates of her suitors twenty years after her debut ball. To reflect the varied life paths of the suitors, Szpilman composed each variation in a different musical style, including a slow-fox, rumba, tango, Tyrolian waltz (complete with yodeling), and a mazurka "à la Chopin."[74] The work's blending of genres—drawing from opera and the dance hall, Chopin and yodeling—evinces an interest in blurring high-low divides that was also characteristic of the prewar Polish-language cabaret.[75]

For many listening closely to *Her First Ball*, the piece was likely more than a lighthearted commentary on the foibles of past flirtations. Consider this following passage, sung about the final suitor, a "melancholy composer":

Bicie naszych serc
W nokturn się zmieniło
Będzie dłużej żył
Niż nasza miłość
Rytmy, rytmy łzy
Ścielą się pod stopy
Umrze może wielka miłość
Lecz zostanie Chopin

The beating of our hearts
Turned into a nocturne
It will live longer
Than our love
The rhythm, rhythm of tears
Flows under our feet
Perhaps great love will die
But Chopin will remain

The music here transforms from a waltz into a mazurka, both dances that share the same triple meter but have distinct rhythmic profiles. Audiences would have doubtless understood that the interpolation of the mazurka was no accident; indeed, it was the genre of Chopin's that had become most closely interwoven with Polish national identity.[76] Within the context of occupied Warsaw, the piece's allusion to Chopin in both text and music was daring. Outside the ghetto, his music was banned for the first years of the occupation, because of its strong associations with the Polish national cause.[77] Inside the ghetto, meanwhile, Jews were ostensibly banned from performing all "Aryan" music, although this ban was routinely ignored. Interpreted against this background, the line "But Chopin will remain" is not only a claim that musical works are more enduring than youthful love. It was also a suggestion that Chopin—and perhaps Polish nationhood along with it—will endure the latest cataclysm visited upon it.[78] Gran, who sang the piece, recalled that audiences understood the weight of Chopin allusion. She described how it felt risky to include the line and how it brought Sztuka's audiences to tears.[79] In this brief musical moment, the connections between the Szutka performers and the prewar milieu of the Warsaw cabaret, defined by double meanings and social commentary, comes to the fore. But we also gain a glimpse of how Sztuka's artists understood themselves in terms of the Polish musical and literary culture to which they had long belonged and which, for years prior, they had been integral to creating.

Coda: The Death of a City

Several traces of Warsaw's prewar musical world persisted in the ghetto: from the musicians interned within it, to the urban housing stock that became the stage for hundreds of performers, to the musical genres popular in the ghetto, to the salience of the café and cabaret as sites of public life and social commentary before and during ghettoization. Despite these continuities, there are notable shifts in what music meant to ghetto listeners and commentators. The texts of Turkow, Różycki, Szlengel, Szpilman, and others elucidate a hermeneutics of listening that developed within the ghetto. They suggest how the noisy, chaotic, and immiserated street was never far from performers' and commentators' ears, forming a sonic counterweight to artistic performances in houses and cafés. They also reveal how musical performance could index the world beyond and before the ghetto, providing these authors with tools for describing and perhaps critiquing the illusions and realities of the ghetto. In this sense, the music of the ghetto both was shaped by the place and spaces of the ghetto and also became a way of commenting on this space. Doubtless, there were other ways of listening to—and in—the ghetto. But these examples suffice to remind us that listening in the ghetto was constituted as much by the social relations created in the ghetto's spaces as by musical performance itself.

To conclude, I will shift from wartime documents to postwar memory, and consider how the most famous account of music in the urban space of the ghetto—that of

Władysław Szpilman—entered the public. Decades before Szpilman's story would reach worldwide audiences through the film *The Pianist*, a book appeared in Warsaw in 1946 with the title *Śmierć miasta: Pamiętniki Władysława Szpilmana, 1939–1945* (The death of a city: The memoirs of Władysław Szpilman, 1939–1945).[80] Szpilman's memoirs were published during a brief moment between the end of the war and the consolidation of Stalinist rule in Poland. During this time, organizations such as the Central Jewish Historical Commission collected thousands of survivor testimonies, and at least some Polish intellectuals showed considerable interest in the moral issues raised by the Holocaust.[81] The title of the 1946 memoirs is significant, because it frames Szpilman's experiences in terms of the destruction of Warsaw. Indeed, the memoirs document not only the German invasion and Szpilman's forced relocation into the ghetto, but also his harrowing survival of the ghetto's liquidation and his hiding in the ruined city following the systematic destruction of Warsaw in fall 1944. The city-based perspective would have resonated with a Polish-speaking readership in 1946, many of whom would have witnessed the destruction of the city first-hand. Portraying the fate of Polish Jews as part of the history of the city was also a trope embedded in prominent postwar Polish films, most notably *Zakazane piosenki* (Forbidden songs, 1946) and *Ulica graniczna* (Border street, 1948).[82]

It is significant, then, that the English-language reissue of the Szpilman memoirs has changed the title to *The Pianist: The Extraordinary True Story of One Man's Survival in Warsaw, 1939–1945*.[83] The focus of the title has shifted from Szpilman as a metonym for Warsaw's destruction to Szpilman as the exceptional individual.[84] While the new version has often been discussed as if it were more complete or uncensored than the 1946 publication, the text is almost entirely identical to it. Indeed, as the literary scholar Jacek Leociak has pointed out, there appear to be no passages in the memoirs that were restored in the new version.[85] Yet, the new version does make one crucial change: it rearranges the chapter order, such that the memoirs begin *in medias res* with Szpilman in the ghetto. Not only is the chronology of the memoirs disrupted, but readers also lose a sense for how the establishment of the ghetto was a rupture in Szpilman's relation to the city of Warsaw and his artistic milieu.[86]

The most significant change to the memoirs, however, concerns their authorship. Recent publications of the memoirs describe the book as if Szpilman had written it alone, but this is incorrect. In the original (1946) edition we see that the music critic Jerzy Waldorff "opracował" the memoirs, a word that can mean to "edit," "work through," or in music, "to arrange." Waldorff was a non-Jewish Pole and had not been interned in the ghetto. Before the war, he had expressed anti-Semitic views and shown sympathy for Italian fascism.[87] After the war, in the preface to *The Death of a City*, he explained how he saw in Szpilman's story a distillation of German brutality.[88] He also commented on how the memoirs had come into being: "in writing Szpilman's odyssey, I tried to give it a literary form that would," in addition to being factually accurate, "most faithfully convey the emotional content of the story of my friend."[89] He spelled out the relationship between Szpilman and himself in even more explicit terms in 1947, when he complained that the publisher, Wiedza, had removed his name from the cover of the book. After noting that Szpilman had approached him about writing the memoirs, he claimed,

> As concerns our collaborative technique, we worked together in such a manner that [Szpilman] recounted his experiences to me and gave me chronological notes, and I composed this information into a literary whole, giving it the form of a book in which—I underscore—Szpilman wrote not a word.

Because of his name's removal from the cover, he quipped, "Szpilman was turned into the writer, the author of *Death of a City*, when he was not the author of the book, but rather its main character."[90]

We are not obliged to take Waldorff at his word, and the boundaries between author and protagonist are routinely blurred in collaborative memoir. Nonetheless, the widely available present-day editions of the memoirs have gone fully in the other direction, excising Waldorff's role altogether and ignoring his literary ambitions for the text. They do not mention Waldorff at all, they remove the preface he authored, and they have replaced it with a preface by Andrzej Szpilman, Władysław's son, which asserts Szpilman's authorship.[91] When the 1998 German translation appeared without Waldorff's name, he was furious: an act of literary collaboration has been passed off as one of individual testimony.[92]

Ultimately, Waldorff's removal from the new editions of the memoirs distances Szpilman from the literary and intellectual community through which his story first circulated and thanks to which it entered the public. Unlike Turkow, who left Poland soon after the war concluded, Szpilman had a flourishing career in postwar Poland, leading the popular music section at the Polish radio for nearly two decades, composing dozens of songs, and concertizing with his classical quintet.[93] The fact that he had met Waldorff before the war (in the spa town of Krynica in 1938) and that the two met again at the Polish radio studios shortly after liberation exemplifies that both belonged to the Polish-speaking intelligentsia. In the early postwar years, Waldorff not only saw the memoirs into print, but also promoted Szpilman's music, celebrating *Her First Ball* as an example of a popular yet artistic composition that should be emulated.[94] Other intellectuals, most notably Czesław Miłosz, also became fascinated by Szpilman's story and planned to turn it into a film.[95] But because Waldorff's role in giving Szpilman's experiences "a literary form" has been excised, today's readers—the vast majority of whom cannot find much less read the 1946 version—lose a sense of how this text was shaped by an early postwar intellectual community. Although the memoirs themselves remain (largely) in their original form, the erasure of authorship behind the present editions means that readers have lost insight into how the music of the Warsaw Ghetto was first transmitted into the postwar imagination: as part of the history of Warsaw's urban space.

Notes

1. See Marian Fuks, "Muzyka w gettach," *Muzyka* 16, no. 1 (1971): 64–76; Marian Fuks, "Życie muzyczne w gettach," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 82, no. 2 (1972): 41–56; and Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chapter 1.

2. See Barbara Milewski, review of *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* by Shirli Gilbert, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21, no. 1 (2007): 129–132; Amy Lynn Wlodarski, "Musical Memories of Terezín in Transnational Perspective," in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 54–74; and James Loeffler, "'In Memory of Our Murdered (Jewish) Children': Hearing the Holocaust in Soviet Jewish Culture," *Slavic Review* 73, no. 3 (2014): 585–611.
3. I build here on the work of historians who have applied the methods of urban studies to the ghettos of German-occupied Europe. See, for example, Gordon J. Horwitz, *Ghettostadt: Łódź and the Making of a Nazi City* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008) and Tim Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
4. Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, ed. Gunnar S. Paulsson and trans. Emma Harris (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), 81–214.
5. Amos Goldberg, "The History of the Jews in the Ghettos: A Cultural Perspective," in *The Holocaust and Historical Methodology*, ed. Dan Stone (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 95.
6. Amos Goldberg, "The Victim's Voice and Melodramatic Aesthetics in History," *History and Theory* 48, no. 3 (2009): 220–237.
7. See Lily E. Hirsch, "Righting and Remembering the Nazi Past: 'Suppressed Music' in American Concert Performance," *Music and Politics* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2016): https://doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0010.102; and James Loeffler, "Why the New 'Holocaust Music' Is an Insult to Music—and to the Victims of the Shoah," *Tablet Magazine*, July 11, 2013.
8. Goldberg, "The History of the Jews in the Ghettos," 95. See also his study of the transformation of the ghetto's public sphere in "Rumor Culture among Warsaw Jews under Nazi Occupation: A World of Catastrophe Reenchanted," *Jewish Social Studies* 21, no. 3 (2016): 91–125.
9. The definitive account of the archive is Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).
10. The content of the archive has been published by the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw as *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, 35 vols. (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 1997–2018).
11. Anthony Polonsky, "Warsaw," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, www.yivoencyclopedia.org.
12. See Leon Tadeusz Błaszczyk, *Żydzi w kulturze muzycznej ziem polskich w XIX i XX wieku: Słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Polsce, 2014); Isaschar Fater, *Muzyka żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym*, trans. Ewa Świderska (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1997); and Marian Fuks, *Muzyka ocalona: Judaica polskie* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Radia i Telewizji, 1989).
13. See Halina Goldberg, "'On the Wings of Aesthetic Beauty Toward the Radiant Spheres of the Infinite': Music and Jewish Reformers in Nineteenth-Century Warsaw," *Musical Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2019): 407–454; Marian Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie: Życie codzienne, wydarzenia, ludzie* (Poznań: Sorus, 1992), 241–249, 342; and Magdalena Dziadek, "Zdzisław Birnbaum: Zapomniany kapelmistrz filharmonii," *Ruch Muzyczny* 45, no. 22 (2001): 13–17.
14. Tamara Sztyma, "On the Dance Floor, on the Screen, on the Stage: Popular Music in the Interwar Period— Polish, Jewish, Shared," in *Jews and Music-Making in the Polish Lands*,

ed. François Guesnet, Benjamin Matis, and Antony Polonsky, Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 32 (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2020), 165–175; Robert A. Rothstein, "The Polish Tin Pan Alley, a Jewish Street," in Guesnet, Matis, and Polonsky *Jews and Music-Making in the Polish Lands*, 147–163; and Beth Holmgren, "Cabaret Nation: The Jewish Foundations of Kabaret Literacki, 1920–1939," in *Poland and Hungary*, ed. François Guesnet, Howard Lupovitch, and Antony Polonsky, Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 31 (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2019), 273–288.

15. See Beth Holmgren, "The Polish-Language Cabaret Song: Its Multi-Ethnic Pedigree and Transnational Adventures, 1919–1968," in *Being Poland: A New History of Polish Literature and Culture since 1918*, ed. Przemysław Czapliński, Joanna Niżyńska, Agnieszka Polakowska, and Tamara Trojanowska (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 258–272.
16. On the emergence of urban identities in Poland, see Nathaniel D. Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010).
17. See Anna Landau-Czajka, *Syn będzie Lech: Asymilacja Żydów w Polsce międzywojennej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Neriton," 2006).
18. See David E. Fishman, *The Rise of Modern Yiddish Culture* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010).
19. See Leslie A. Sprout, *Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).
20. See Beth Holmgren, "How the Cabaret Went to War," *Cosmopolitan Review* 6, no. 3 (2014): http://cosmopolitanreview.com/how-the-cabaret-went-to-war/.
21. See Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*, trans. Emma Harris (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 36–72.
22. See Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, 82–83.
23. Stanisław Gombiński (Jan Mawult), *Wspomnienia policjanta z warszawskiego getta*, ed. Marta Janczewska (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2010), 47. "Odgłosy ulicy ghetta brzemią donośnie."
24. "Śpiew i muzyka na każdym kroku, na ulicach—tamując ruch, w podwórzach, na placach i skwerach. Znów gama najprzeróżniejszego rodzaju—śpiewacy i śpiewaczki, wspaniałe arie operowe i pieśni cudowne, głosy, które się na salach koncertowych i w gmachach operowych rozlegały, Verdi, Puccini, Meyerbeer, Moniuszko, Niewiadomski i o bezczelności żydowska! —Schubert, Schumann i Wagner." Ibid., 47.
25. "Wyszła Polihymia, muza muzyki z lirą w ręku z niepotrzebnych dziś dusznych i zawsze tłoczonych lokali nocnych dancingów oraz poważnych przybytków tej sztuki, wyszła na bruk uliczny, by ciężki okres wojny przetrwać." Sara W., "Sztuka na bruku," *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 8, 1940.
26. See Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 35–36; Goldberg, "Rumor Culture," 95.
27. Jonas Turkow, "Warszawa się bawi . . .," trans. Aleksandra Geller, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, 26:16.
28. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 119–124.
29. Turkow, "Warszawa się bawi . . .," 16.
30. Ibid., 9. See also, Marcel Reich-Ranicki, *The Author of Himself: The Life of Marcel Reich-Ranicki*, trans. Ewald Osers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 153.
31. See the entry of April 26, 1941, in Emanuel Ringelblum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emanuel Ringelblum*, trans. Jacob Sloan (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 158;

and Jerzy Jurandot, *City of the Damned: Two Years in the Warsaw Ghetto*, trans. Jolanta Scicińska (Warsaw: Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2015), 75.

32. Turkow, "Warszawa się bawi . . .," 9.
33. Ibid., 20.
34. Ibid., 12.
35. See Fishman, *The Rise of Modern Yiddish Culture*, chapters 6 and 7.
36. See Debra Caplan, *Yiddish Empire: The Vilna Troupe, Jewish Theater, and the Art of Itinerancy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018); and Mirosława M. Bułat, "Turkow Family," *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/turkow_family.
37. See Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 123.
38. Turkow, "Warszawa się bawi . . .," 16.
39. See ibid., 17.
40. See Jonas Turkow, *C'était ainsi: 1939–1943, la vie dans le ghetto de Varsovie*, trans. Maurice Pfeffer (Paris: Austral, 1995), 169–171.
41. Turkow, "Warszawa się bawi . . .," 18.
42. See copies of performance schedules sent to the Abteilung für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda by the CKI. Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (AŻIH), 211 (Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna), Aneks 252 (ŻTOS Centralna Komisja Imprezowa), pp. 4–60.
43. CKI to Abteilung für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, April 30, 1941, AŻIH 211, Aneks 252, p. 13.
44. Dina Turkow to Abteilung für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, AŻIH 211, Aneks 252, pp. 17–32.
45. Turkow, "Warszawa się bawi . . .," 16.
46. See ibid. 19.
47. See Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 128.
48. [Stanisław Różycki], "Kawiarnie," in *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, 5:67–76, here 68. Engelking and Leociak find evidence of ninety-five ghetto cafés or similar establishments. *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 634–640.
49. See Turkow, *C'était ainsi*, 168; and Ringelblum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, 125.
50. Chaim Aron Kaplan, *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*, trans. Abraham Isaac Katsh, rev. ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1981), 291.
51. See Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, 28–30.
52. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 253.
53. See Shachar Pinsker, *A Rich Brew: How Cafés Created Modern Jewish Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 55–97; and Andrzej Z. Makowiecki, *Warszawskie kawiarnie literackie* (Warsaw: Isrky, 2013).
54. "Kawiarnie gettowe spełniają bardzo doniosłą rolę w życiu nie tylko towarzyskim, ale i publicznym wobec braku klubów, związków, stowarzyszeń, giełd, parków, kin, boisk, dancingów, itd. Jest to miejsce zastępujące więc teatr, kabaret, rewię, kino, ale nie tylko to, bo obok kabaretów i muzyki jest tu i sklep spożywczy i restauracja, odbywa się handel pokątny, spotykają się szmuglerzy dla umawiania swych interesów, kwitnie tu pośrednictwo, oferuje się i poszukuje towaru, są gabinety dla zakochanych, a również handel żywym towarem znalazł tu schronienie nie mówiąc już o tym, że i prostytucja—jak zawsze—panoszy się w knajpach." [Różycki], "Kawiarnie," 67.
55. Ibid., 76.

56. See Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, 251–255.
57. See Stanisław Różycki, "Obrazki uliczne z getta," and [Stanisław Różycki?], "Moralność ulicy," in *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, 5:19–36, 37–51.
58. "Bo — jeśli panuje taka ogólna i bezwstydna demoralizacja publiczna, takie lokale muszą istnieć i są tylko naturalną emanacją warunków ogólnych." [Różycki], "Kawiarnie," 76.
59. "Wszyscy mają lub chcą mieć złudzenie, że atmosfera kawiarni oddzieli ich od rzeczywistości ulicy, od czarnej codzienności." Ibid., 67.
60. "Nie ma żadnych śladów wojny, niewoli, getta. Twarze wcale nie wymizerowane, wprost przeciwnie, normalne, dobrze odżywione." Ibid., 69.
61. "Temat ten sam, zglajchszachtowany. Co nowego, kiedy ofensywa, jak tam dziś z chlebem . . . Ani treść, ani forma nie różnią się od wszystkich naszych codziennych, tych samych, uporczywie powtarzających się pytań, odpowiedzi, jednostajnie smutnych, beznadziejnie rozpaczliwych." Ibid., 70.
62. ". . . tańczą, tańczą z werwą, temperamentem, humorem, przyśpieszają, przytupują do taktu, żądają bisu." Ibid., 71.
63. "Drań uronił istotnie łezkę i prędko na pocieszenie wychlał ajerkoniak, choć był do niczego." Ibid., 71.
64. ". . . rytm dzikiej, nieokiełzanej orkiestry jazzowej, dającej murzyńskie tempo jest dysonansem, zgrzytem na tyle powolnego, jednostajnego życia, i zupełnie opanowanego przez szarzyzny dnia. A to razi, tworzy jakąś nienaturalną, chorobliwą atmosferę; wydaje się czymś nierzeczywistym, nie z tego świata. To zbyt brutalny kontrast." Ibid., 74.
65. "Nastrój panuje tu, jakby istotnie lud[dzie uciekli do] piekła, aby posłuchać muzyki, wsłuchać się w melodie, [przypomnie]ć sobie treść pieśni, które ich upajały kiedyś." Ibid., 74.
66. See Katarzyna Person, *Assimilated Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940–1943* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 21–23; Justyna Majewska, " 'Czym wytłumaczy Pan . . .?': Inteligencja żydowska o polonizacji i asymilacji w getcie warszawskim," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i Materiały* 11 (2015): 325–346; and Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?*, chapters 1–4.
67. See Turkow, *C'était ainsi*, 168.
68. [Różycki], "Kawiarnie," 73. "mechesi, wykształcona burżuazja . . . dumni, że i przed wojną byli bogaci, z pogardą patrzą na nowobogackich paskarzy. . . . nie znoszą faktu, że są zglajchszachtowani z 'parchami, Żydłakami,' że dzielą wspólny los."
69. See Holmgren, "Cabaret Nation."
70. Mary Berg, *The Diary of Mary Berg: Growing up in the Warsaw Ghetto*, ed. Susan Lee Pentlin (London: Oneworld Publications, 2006), 104.
71. Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 588.
72. Filip Mazurczak, "Władysław Szpilman's Post-War Career in Poland," in Guesnet, Matis, and Polonsky *Jews and Music-Making in the Polish Lands*, 219–234.
73. See Agata Tuszyńska, *Vera Gran: The Accused*, trans. Charles Ruas (New York: Knopf, 2013), 69–71. On Tuszyńska's powerful and controversial probing of Holocaust memory in *Gran*, see Jolanta Wróbel Best, "The Other Heroine Is Memory (A Conversation with Agata Tuszyńska)," *The Polish Review* 60, no. 1 (2015): 85–95.
74. Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek and Andrzej Spóz, eds., *Okupacyjne losy muzyków: Warszawa 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo im. Witolda Lutosławskiego, 2015), 2:143–146.
75. Holmgren, "Cabaret Nation," 288.

76. See Barbara Milewski, "Chopin's Mazurkas and the Myth of the Folk," *19th-Century Music* 23, no. 2 (1999): 113–135.
77. See Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek, "The Use of Polish Musical Tradition in the Nazi Propaganda," *Musicology Today* 7 (2010): 243–259.
78. On a similar portrayal of Chopin in the film *Zakazane piosenki* (1946), see Barbara Milewski, "Hidden in Plain View: The Music of Holocaust Survival in Poland's First Post-War Feature Film," in *Music, Collective Memory, Trauma, and Nostalgia in European Cinema after the Second World War*, ed. Ewelina Boczkowska and Michael Baumgartner (New York: Routledge, 2020), 111–137.
79. See Tuszyńska, *Vera Gran*, 87–88.
80. See Jerzy Waldorff, ed., *Śmierć miasta: Pamiętniki Władysława Szpilmana, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Wiedza, 1946).
81. See Laura Jockusch, *Collect and Record! Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 3; Bret Werb, "'Vu ahin zol ikh geyn?': Music Culture of Jewish Displaced Persons," in Frühauf and Hirsch, *Dislocated Memories*, 75–96, especially 81–82; and Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *Polish Literature and the Holocaust: Eyewitness Testimonies, 1942–1947* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2019).
82. See Milewski, "Hidden in Plain View."
83. See Władysław Szpilman, *The Pianist: The Extraordinary Story of One Man's Survival in Warsaw, 1939–45*, trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Picador USA, 1999).
84. See Piotr Kuhiwczak, "Mediating Trauma: How Do We Read the Holocaust Memoirs," in *Tradition, Translation, Trauma: The Classic and the Modern*, ed. Jan Parker and Timothy Mathews (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 283–97. The English translation is not based on the original Polish, but most likely on the prior German translation.
85. See Jacek Leociak, "Pamiętniki Władysława Szpilmana: Zdumiewająca przemiana," *Rzeczpospolita*, March 1, 2001. The nationality of Wilm Hosenfeld, who helped Szpilman survive, was corrected from Austrian to German, however.
86. See Kuhiwczak, "Mediating Trauma."
87. See Jerzy Waldorf, "Totalisytczne finezje," *Muzyka Polska* 6, no. 2 (1939): 74–77; Jerzy Waldorff, *Sztuka pod dyktaturą* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Polska, 1939).
88. See Waldorff, *Śmierć miasta*, 7–8.
89. "Pisząc szpilmanowską odyseję, starałem się jedynie przekazać ją czytelnikowi w takiej formie literackiej, która by oddała jak najwierniej także i treść emocjonalną opowieści mego przyjaciela." Ibid., 8.
90. "Technicznie współpracowaliśmy w ten sposób, że on opowiadał mi swoje przeżycia i dostarczał chronologicznych notatek, a ja te wiadomości komponowałem w literacką całość, nadawałem im formę książki, w której—podkreślam—Szpilman nie napisał ani słowa. . . . Na literata, autora "śmierć miasta" został kreowany Szpilman, będący nie autorem, lecz bohaterem książki." Jerzy Waldorff, "Moja sprawa," *Przekrój*, July 16, 1947, 18.
91. Szpilman, *The Pianist*, 8.
92. Waldorff eventually ceded his authorial rights in exchange for 12,000 German marks, a substantial sum for Poland's literary market of the late 1990s, but likely a small amount considering the royalties the memoirs eventually generated. Mariusz Urbanek, *Waldorff: Ostatni baron Peerelu* (Warsaw: Iskra, 2008), 153–163.
93. See Mazurczak, "Władysław Szpilman's Post-War Career."

94. See Jerzy Waldorff, "Życie muzyczne w kraju: Warszawa," *Ruch Muzyczny* 1, no. 5 (1945): 12–13.
95. The film was released in 1950 as *Miasto nieujarzmione* (The unvanquished city) but Szpilman's story was changed beyond recognition and Miłosz had backed out of the project.

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