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JAN GRABOWSKI'S JUDENJAGD:
A CASE IN POINT FOR THE STUDY OF HOLOCAUST
DISTORTION

*J*udenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu (Judenjagd: The Hunt for the Jews, 1942–1945: A Study of the Story of One County) was supposed to be an attempt at reconstructing the dramatic fate of Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska and its environs during World War II. Has this intention been properly carried out? To answer this question, it is worthwhile examining the sources used by the author, what use he made of them and how he constructed his narrative, because such methodological matters are a decisive factor in assessing the credibility of any research project.

The discussion should start with archival research. Various Polish archives hold numerous documents relating to German policies towards Jews in the area in question from the start of the German occupation in 1939, as well as the later deportations and extermination of local Jewish communities as part of *Aktion Reinhardt* (Operation Reinhardt) and the hunts for Jews carried out by the occupier until the entry of the Soviet Army. Possibly the largest collection of files, the legacy of the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes (*Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich*, GKBZH), is kept at the Institute of National Remembrance

(Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, IPN). It contains a wealth of fundamental information on the fate of the Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska and its environs. These are records of the investigations into, and criminal prosecutions of, specific crimes committed by specific German criminals. There are hundreds of witness testimonies, normative documents and, for instance, official German wartime correspondence. The Cracow IPN Archives hold many volumes of relevant files organised under several score call numbers. They include the investigation and trial records of cases brought against German criminals. Held separately, the files of the Chief Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (*Główna Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu*) Branch in Cracow (today, they form their own archives of the IPN Prosecution Service), document additional investigations into crimes against Poles and Jews perpetrated by the Germans, including those that took place in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County (call numbers S.31.15.Zn and S.21.13. Zn). These consist of hundreds of pages of sometimes very detailed accounts by eyewitnesses of German crimes against Jews perpetrated by the Dąbrowa Tarnowska gendarmerie commander Rudolf Langraf and his subordinates.¹ In the Warsaw IPN Head Office, among many files of other cases, there are Chief Commission investigation files concerning scores of crimes committed by the Szczucin *Sonderdienst* chief Józef Preschl.² It should be noted that there are also files of an investigation against him deposited in the Cracow IPN Archives.³

These are invaluable documents relating to the persecution and killing of Jews perpetrated by the Germans in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, which provide a wealth of information on the places, methods and circumstances of murdering

¹ The author mentioned only that proceedings were conducted against Langraf in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1970s. He is unaware that Langraf was captured in Silesia in 1945, was investigated and was to be tried for numerous crimes (some of which he did not even deny). An indictment was even prepared. However, in February 1945, after contracting typhus in prison, he was hospitalised. He escaped from the hospital to Germany (this information can be found in the files). The author also ignored the investigation files concerning the “special” merits of Artur Zimmerman, one of his subordinates, in killing Jews and Poles (Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, hereinafter AIPN], Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce [Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, hereinafter GK], 164/4552).

² AIPN, GK, 164/65.

³ Oddziałowe Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Krakowie [Branch Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance in Cracow, hereinafter AIPN Kr], 010/6740. He is one of the major “absentees” in the book in question.

Jews by the Germans before, during and after the deportations. We can find there dozens of names, dates and circumstances of death of specific victims whose memory deserves to be restored when one is writing about the Jews of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. None of these people are remembered in *Judenjagd*.

Likewise, outside Jan Grabowski's research field of interest, are many of the Jews who survived in this area with the help of Poles. The names of the latter are left out as are even the names of those who paid the highest price for helping Jews. One of those was Franciszek Juzba, who shot dead with his wife on 3 December 1942 by the gendarme Engelbert Guzdek. One of the witnesses to this killing testified: "It was enough if Guzdek [learned] about a single instance of giving help [by providing food to Jews hiding in the forest – P.G.] to a citizen of Jewish nationality or putting him up for a short time, for him to shoot such a person, and there was no excuse [Guzdek would accept]."⁴

In *Judenjagd*, the materials collected by the GKBZH were rejected as having little credibility. The author writes:

A comparison of testimonies given between 1945 and 1950 with the testimonies from 1960–1975 reveals a considerable change in tone and a major "adjustment" of narratives. The latter testimonies were collected in Poland (on behalf of the German Prosecutor's office) by the GKBZH, in the presence of Polish prosecutors. We can take for granted that the last thing that Polish prosecutors would share with German prosecutors conducting investigations of Germans suspected of murdering Jews would be testimonies that, in any way, incriminated Polish citizens or hinted at their complicity in those crimes.⁵

These words are followed by the story of a Jewish fugitive about whom a witness testified in the 1970s that he was treated well by Poles, whereas the testimonies from the 1940s suggest that the fugitive was allegedly caught by peasants and handed over to gendarmes.⁶ We do not know where the later witness's knowledge

⁴ AIPN Kr, 307/28, vol. 2, Transcript of the interrogation of Stanisław Dykas, 16 April 1973, fol. 21v.

⁵ J. Grabowski, *Judenjagd: Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu* (Warsaw, 2011), p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

came from, nor is there any evidence that his testimony was “adjusted” under the influence of the “presence” of a GKBZH prosecutor. The claim that this single case illustrates a widespread distortion of collected testimonies is not substantiated in any way whatsoever. Moreover, there are other significant aspects of this matter. In the course of various investigations, the GKBZH collected hundreds of testimonies of crimes against Jews, attesting to mass shootings and deportations carried out by Germans after all. Many such testimonies were collected by various bodies in 1945–1950: the GKBZH, public prosecutors’ offices, Citizens Militia (*Milicja Obywatelska*, MO) and Security Office (*Urząd Bezpieczeństwa*, UB). Even though the comments in *Judenjagd* do not apply to these materials, they were nonetheless left out of the book. It is a pity, for had the author used them, his knowledge of the wartime fate of Jews would have been incomparably greater in all respects, for that matter, one example being the persecution of Jews even before the commencement of *Aktion Reinhardt* (Operation Reinhardt). The first mass murder of Jews in the area under discussion was probably perpetrated in Szczucin on 12 September 1939, when twenty or twenty-five Jewish men assigned to “cleaning up” were killed after the massacre by the *Wehrmacht* of Polish prisoners of war held in the local school.⁷ No account of this massacre, however, or many other similar ones perpetrated by the Germans in this area during the war can be found in *Judenjagd*. This comes as no surprise if one considers the fact (which is proven below) that the author was less interested in the fate of the Jews and crimes perpetrated against them by the Germans than in searching out evidence of the reprehensible deeds of Poles.

Symbolic of the author’s approach is the omission of many volumes of IPN Archives files – call number GK 164/619 – from the preliminary archival search undertaken for *Judenjagd*. Collected in 1945–1947, they hold evidence of crimes committed against Jews by the commanders of the local German security services and the complicity in such crimes of the German civil authorities. The chief representatives of the latter were the Tarnów County Head (*Kreishauptmann*) Alfred Kipke (vol. 1–2) and his deputy and principal “specialist” for Jewish matters, Karl Pernutz (vol. 3). Relying on lies they told at trials, resembling a farce, before

⁷ AIPN Kr, S8/2018/Zn/Kr.

German law enforcement bodies, these criminals – are presented in *Judenjagd* as typical “caring administrators,” who generally did not have anything to do with crimes against Jews. One of them, the Gorlice Landkomissar, was, according to *Judenjagd*, still shocked twenty years after the war by what had been done to the Jews: “We heard that horrible things were happening in Tarnów. They smashed children’s heads against the walls and killed them in such a way. Until this very day [the interrogation took place on 9 July 1965], I recall that the most terrible conditions reigned in Tarnów.”⁸ Even German occupation officials risked death. Ernst August Wedekind, a Tarnów municipal employee, supposedly testified after the war that he had narrowly escaped being shot when he went for a walk with his wife.⁹ Another German described the Tarnów County Head, Alfred Kipke, and his deputy, Karl Pernutz, as solicitous of sanitary conditions, because when deportations started and Jews were being killed in the streets, “he ensured that the corpses be disposed of and thus prevented an epidemic.”¹⁰ Besides these bizarre accounts and quotations, the book informs us about Poles “butchering” a Jewish woman while others ran amok and cried, “Catch the Jews.”¹¹ Incidents like this no doubt could have occurred, but the proportions of the scale and course of German deportations and murders of Jews have been turned upside down in this case. Moreover, what we are faced with here is the omission of hundreds of testimonies attesting to German crimes whose perpetrators are given the status of credible and praiseworthy witnesses of history. Grabowski judged:

The above-mentioned Dr. Karl Pernutz (from March 1942 vice-chief of the civil administration and the chief of the Department of Internal Affairs in Tarnów) recalled that on the day of the *Aktion* some SS officers showed up in his offices in the *Kreishauptmannschaft* building, and informed the staff about the upcoming operation. His superior, Dr. Kipke, issued an order prohibiting all German civilian personnel from entering the ghetto, and strongly advised against venturing into the city. It was a wise decision [...].

⁸ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, pp. 49–50.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

Meanwhile, County Head Alfred Kipke and his deputy, Dr. Karl Pernutz, who is presented as a “notary and lawyer” in *Judenjagd*, were the chief local architects of the German policy directed against Jews and Poles in the area under their control. The matter has been researched and described in the relevant publications.¹² It is Pernutz’s name that is signed under the German order posted in the city’s streets to deport Jews from Tarnów. “§1. On 16 September 1942, the deportation of Jews shall take place. §2. Any Pole who hinders the deportation in any way shall be subject to the most severe punishment. §3. Any Pole who, during or after the deportation, receives a Jew or gives him shelter shall be shot.”¹³ Presenting mendacious testimonies given in court by Pernutz as factual accounts and calling them “recollections” are a typical example of the bizarre whitewashing of Nazi criminals found in Jan Grabowski’s works and those of the “academic school” he represents.

The only trial dossier referred to in *Judenjagd* is that of one of the major German criminals in this area, gendarme Wilhelm Rommelman, who was convicted in Poland in 1948. It would be in vain, however, to look for accounts of the murders of Jews in the references to this dossier. They concern mainly testimonies in which he denies committing any crimes and claims that he did not perform any important function and generally did not do anything against the Jews.¹⁴ The kind of treatment given to this criminal is not an exception but rather a *modus operandi*, so to speak, of the book under review, in which German criminals are systematically whitewashed.

By analogy to the treatment of principal archival sources, *Judenjagd* has practically excluded works of local historians, i.e., Józef Kozaczka’s *Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska* (Assistance for Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County)¹⁵ and Jerzy Rzeszuta’s *Żydzi dąbrowscy* (Dąbrowa Jews),¹⁶ who collected

¹² See B. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden, 1999–2011). This book concerns another administrative area of the GG, but it also provides information on the Cracow District.

¹³ The document is published in B. Musiał, O. Musiał (collab.), *„Kto dopomoże Żydowi...”* (Poznań, 2019), pp. 294–295 (document source: AIPN, GK, 141/51). This document alone exposes the lies of this Nazi official, who claims that he learned of the deportation of the Jews from SS officers, since the poster with the announcement was commissioned by the county office at a local printing house (whose signature can be found on the poster) at least several days before the deportation.

¹⁴ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, pp. 102–103.

¹⁵ Article was published in *Polacy, Żydzi, 1939–1945*, ed. by S. Wroński and M. Zwolakowa (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 341–346.

¹⁶ Published in Dąbrowa Tarnowska in 1993.

accounts of residents of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County and Jewish survivors. These publications were discredited on account of their connection to the 1968 anti-Semitic campaign on the strength of a single case of a peasant, mentioned in one of the publications, who is said to have hidden Jews, while in reality, he reportedly killed three of them with an axe.¹⁷ Indeed, publications from that era should be read with a great deal of caution, but this does not predetermine the substantive value of the text and the entire book.¹⁸ On this matter, *Judenjagd* states: “Kozaczka’s list of ‘self-sacrificing rescuers’ included also a certain Michał K. who – according to the amateur historian from Dąbrowa – was supposed to have hidden ten Jews. Michał K. did indeed give shelter to three Jews, but butchered them with an axe in late autumn of 1944 when they had run out of money to pay for his hospitality.”¹⁹ No personal data of the alleged murderer are given, nor the source on which the author relied. It is hard to tell whether the reason was to avoid potential civil liability for libel or perhaps to prevent a systematic verification of the matter.

Hence, it is worth explaining that the alleged murderer’s name was Michał Kozik, who, until 1944, sheltered the Glückmann family consisting of three persons.²⁰ A testimony before the Jewish Historical Commission in Cracow regarding the alleged killing of the Glückmanns by Kozik was given by Izaak Stieglitz, who identified as witnesses – as he was in a camp at the time – other Jews who had been hiding in that same area.²¹ They, however, either did not corroborate Stieglitz’s words or – as in Rachel Gruszów’s case – gave testimonies of little credibility. Kozik was not even put on trial. The Public Prosecutor’s Office discontinued the inves-

¹⁷ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 55.

¹⁸ One of the editors of the book was Stanisław Wroński (1916–2003), who is not a historian but a high-ranking official of the Communist Party-state apparatus associated with the faction of Mieczysław Moczar of the Polish United Workers’ Party. Nevertheless, Kozaczka’s own services in saving Jews during the war are well-known and indisputable (the author of *Judenjagd* mentions this in a footnote); moreover, after the war, Kozaczka collected information on the fate of Jews in the area under discussion and stayed in contact with Holocaust survivors.

¹⁹ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 55.

²⁰ Ryfka Glückmann and her two sons, Izrael and Berek. This last name is mentioned when the author describes the case a second time on p. 70. However, the reader may not realize that it refers to the same event – in this case this Jewish testimony does not facilitate verification.

²¹ AIPN Kr, 502/3939, Certified copy of a testimony transcript; the testimony was given by Izaak Stieglitz before the Voivodeship Historical Commission in Cracow on 12 September 1947.

tigation, being convinced that there was insufficient evidence that Michał Kozik had killed the Jews he sheltered, namely, Ryfka, Izrael and Berek Glückmann.²² Their fate remains unknown.

Whatever the nature of this matter, it should not serve as a pretext to reject the entire body of work of local historians, who also relied on the oral histories of Jewish survivors, collected over the course of decades information from witnesses and found many undeniably true facts about the rescue of Jews by local Poles. The evidence they gave was corroborated by many available sources (largely left out of *Judenjagd*). It can be legitimately argued that it was not due to their lack of credibility that the author chose not to refer to these publications, but rather that decision was based on finding a pretext to exclude them. Exactly the same procedure, by the way, was employed to discredit the GKBZH records kept at the IPN. The rejection of fundamental document resources and relevant literature carries with it obvious consequences. The failure to consider many fundamental files and documents relating to some matters has already been described in a manner that justifies classifying *Judenjagd* as a work that raises doubts about its research methodology and credibility.²³

It is not the case, however, that the author of *Judenjagd* did not make any use of the above-mentioned archives. Quite the contrary, he did peruse the State Archives in Tarnów, the Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance and the National Archives in Cracow. The problem is that in the first of these archives, he

²² This, however, does not definitely settle the question of Michał Kozik's guilt but merely tells us that there was no credible evidence that could be used against him at trial. Upon studying the case files, it appears, however, that Kozik was probably not guilty. The accusations against him were made by two peasants from the same settlement who fed falsehoods to the Jews who later testified. They, in turn, notified, in good faith, law enforcement agencies. On the one hand, this should be considered a typical village feud and, on the other, an instance of incredible or downright false accusations based on hearsay and rumours that frequently came before the Jewish Historical Commission and later made their way to prosecutors' and court files.

²³ B. Musiał, "Umiejętne działanie' czy zbrodnicza perfidia?," *Dzieje Najnowsze* 43/2 (2011), pp. 164–165; K. Samsonowska, "Dąbrowa Tarnowska – nieco inaczej," *Więź* 7 (2011), pp. 75–84. To mention one fact only, it should be noted that Samsonowska cited the records of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (*Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce*, CKŻP), which gave the number of Jews rescued in that area as being at least twice as high as that given in the book under review; it should be kept in mind that the figures she gave are incomplete. The same is true of persons awarded the Righteous Among the Nations medal by Yad Vashem, whose number is approximately twice as high as that given by the author. No less important here, for assessing the credibility of the book under review, are Prof. Musiał's comments.

was interested mostly in files where one could find information about the anti-Semitic attitudes of Poles prior to World War II,²⁴ while in the other two archives, he focused on post-war court files of cases tried under the August Decree (issued on 31 August 1944 by the Polish Committee of National Liberation [*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*, PKWN]), where he could find information on true or alleged criminal acts committed by Poles against Jews. These files, which deal with individual cases of denunciation or murder, were used in *Judenjagd* on an incomparably greater scale than the (largely left out) archival files of the very same courts or from the same archives that concern massacres of Jews and numerous instances when individual Jews were killed by Germans. This, in a way, seems to illustrate what the intentions of the author were and what Grabowski's study is about. It was clear from the outset that its purpose was not to reconstruct accurately the fate of the Jews, but to search for criminal acts carried out by Poles.

Not a lesser problem than the peculiar approach to archival searches is posed by the use that was made of those files. Attempts, in this context, to verify particular threads frequently bring astonishing results.

The historical narrative of *Judenjagd* begins with the chapter titled "Stosunki polsko-żydowskie na terenie powiatu dąbrowskiego w przededniu II wojny światowej" (Polish-Jewish Relations in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County Prior to the Outbreak of the Second World War).²⁵ There, we can read:

In order to study the situation in the late 1930s (when anti-Semitic sentiments grew across Polish society), we will rely on two credible sources. The first is detailed reports prepared by the Public Security Department of the Cracow Voivodeship Office [...] The second valuable source testifying to the evolution of anti-Jewish sentiments is court investigation files connected to the reports from Tarnów and vicinity. The documents from both collections clearly show that in the Tarnów area, just as in the entire Małopolska region, anti-Jewish incidents took on a massive scale during the course of the 1930s. An economic boycott, strongly advocated by the National Democratic Party since the beginning of

²⁴ The use of these files in the above-mentioned book will be discussed shortly.

²⁵ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 21.

that decade (with considerable support from the Catholic Church), became an everyday occurrence in the cities and towns of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County.²⁶

General information on the Cracow region was selected from the records of the Voivodeship Office without providing any examples from Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Many accounts of anti-Jewish tumults come from public prosecutors' files mentioned earlier, but frequently it is unclear what area they concern. In other cases, names of localities are provided, such as Ryglice, Szczurowa, Brzesko, and other towns and settlements, that lie outside the county. A local historian who was one of the first to react to this kind of writing regarding "the history of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County," in a text bearing a meaningful subtitle, "Poradnik – jak stworzyć coś z niczego?" (A manual – how to create something out of nothing?), argued in a somewhat emotional manner:

He sometimes searches desperately for signs of anti-Semitism in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County in the interwar period and asks the question: "**Was the population of Tarnów County...**?" [*sic!*]²⁷ already before the war "infected with anti-Semitism?" [...] Not finding satisfactory examples within the county, he writes about the spreading of anti-Semitic fliers at a farmer's market in **Ryglice**, about anti-Semitic campaigning in **Brzesko**, about policemen in **Szczurowa**, in reply to a complaint by a Jew of an assault, yelling, "What do you want here, you lousy Jew?" Moreover, the author too often makes use of the following sentence: "**In the absence of accounts concerning Dąbrowa**, I shall refer to the description of..." You can perhaps turn a blind eye when he refers to descriptions from Tarnów (although even this, as it seems, is unjustified because different social ties bound Poles and Jews in small towns than in large cities), but it is absolutely unacceptable to refer to examples from the former Russian partition, which is known to every Polish historian studying Polish-Jewish relations in the interwar period [original emphasis].²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁷ Indeed, on p. 24 of his monograph, Jan Grabowski confused Dąbrowa Tarnowska County with Tarnów.

²⁸ K. Struziak, "Judenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu." *Poradnik – jak stworzyć coś z niczego?*, <http://ksszczucin.prv.pl/grab.htm> (accessed 28 December 2022). The localities marked in bold by the author lie outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska County.

Three serious cases of anti-Jewish violence referred to in *Judenjagd* are worth discussing in some detail. They all supposedly happened in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County. The first is the “case of Stanisław Klekot from Otfinów, accused of instigating hate against Jews, smashing their windows, and setting their houses on fire.”²⁹ Actually, Stanisław Klekot was charged with “publicly [in his shop] abetting offences in Demblin in early October 1932, specifically beating Jews, and breaking their widows, and with approving such offences,”³⁰ which is an offence contrary to the Criminal Code, Art. 154(1).³¹ So it transpires that Stanisław Klekot, contrary to what *Judenjagd* says about him, did not break any windows, and, in particular, there is no mention in the case files of any “setting [Jewish] houses on fire.”

Secondly, the book mentions that anti-Jewish incidents took so violent a course that “sometimes – to disperse aggressive rioters – the police had to use firearms,”³² and that the dossier of one of such cases allegedly bore the heading: “Proceedings against Stanisław Węgrzyn in the matter of a fatal shooting by a policeman during anti-Jewish riots.”³³ Upon verification, it appears that Stanisław Węgrzyn, in whose case an investigation was held and discontinued, was a policeman who, during a manhunt for bandits living in the village of Jadowniki on 2 July 1933, fatally shot Władysław Adamski, a wanted man. In this case, there were no riots or any Jews.³⁴ The made-up dossier heading in *Judenjagd*, just as the information about aggressive anti-Jewish tumults during which the police “sometimes” had to use firearms, not so much concern history *per se*, but rather appear more to justify raising the question here of scholarly mystification, something I have previously contended with respect to Jan Grabowski’s work.³⁵

²⁹ The author wrote: “This [allegedly large scale of anti-Jewish violence – P.G.] is illustrated by the titles of successive investigations by the Tarnów Public Prosecutor’s Office” (Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 25), and he then listed these alleged titles.

³⁰ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie Oddział w Tarnowie [National Archives in Cracow Branch in Tarnów, hereinafter ANKr OT], Tarnów Public Prosecutor’s Office, 54, Indictment of 22 November 1932.

³¹ “Any person who publicly incites others to commit an offence or approves of it shall be subject to 5 years’ imprisonment and/or arrest” (*Dziennik Ustaw* [The Journal of Laws] 60 [1932], item 571, p. 1165).

³² Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 27.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ ANKr OT, Tarnów Public Prosecutor’s Office, 65, Letter from County Police Headquarters in Brzesko to the Prosecutor of the District Court in Tarnów, 3 July 1933.

³⁵ P. Gontarczyk, “Między nauką a mistyfikacją, czyli o naturze piśmiennictwa prof. Jana Grabowskiego na podstawie casusu wsi Wrotnów i Międzyzyles powiatu węgrowskiego,” *Glaukopis* 36 (2018), pp. 313–323.

The third case concerns Stefania K., who in 1937 was supposedly accused of breaking windows and attempting to set fire to the synagogue in Wietrzychowice. Indeed, in 1937, the Tarnów Public Prosecutor's Office held an inquiry into an offence contrary to the Criminal Code, Art. 215(1),³⁶ against Stefania K., who, on 13 September 1937, set fire to three Jewish farms (not a synagogue), owned respectively by Rufin Walaszek, Benjamin Kejner and Izaak Braw. Afterwards, she reported to a police station and explained what she had done as an "irresistible internal compulsion." During her examination by expert psychiatrists, she admitted to breaking windows in Jewish houses and in the Wietrzychowice synagogue. The psychiatrists subsequently found her to be insane. Contrary to what is alleged in *Judenjagd*, she was never charged because the case was dropped. Having been found to be a danger to the public, she was put away in an insane asylum.³⁷ Thus, Stefania K. did not attempt to set a synagogue on fire, as *Judenjagd* states; in any event, there was no synagogue in Wietrzychowice. "Historical facts" constructed in this manner serve as a basis for describing Dąbrowa Tarnowska in the 1930s, in the book under review, as follows: "Over time acts of enmity against the Jews escalated in ferocity, synagogues were set ablaze."³⁸ What attracts one's attention here is a characteristic trick: the use of the plural ("synagogues were set ablaze"), although the only such case described in the book is a (false claim of) setting on fire a (non-existent) synagogue in Wietrzychowice.

A special role in the *Judenjagd* narrative, however, is played by "building something out of nothing," which was mentioned already earlier, that is, the writing of the history of Dąbrowa Tarnowska based on information (not always true) collected from elsewhere. While in the case of Polish-Jewish relations during the Second Republic, data from adjacent counties were used, with respect to the operations of the blue police, fire brigades, *Baudienst* and the conduct of Poles towards Jews during the occupation, examples were taken not only from other counties but also from the entire territory of occupied Poland, including the lands incorporated into the Third Reich. One thing at a time, however.

³⁶ "Any person who brings about the danger of a fire, flooding, collapse of a building or a catastrophe in land, water and air transport shall be subject to imprisonment" (*Dziennik Ustaw* 60 [1932], item 571, p. 1168).

³⁷ ANKr OT, Tarnów Public Prosecutor's Office, PT 218, Decision of Tarnów District Court of 27 November 1937 to place Stefania K. in the institution for the mentally ill in Kobierzyn.

³⁸ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 27.

Grabowski's study does not provide any evidence of the participation of firemen in the deportations of Jews from Dąbrowa Tarnowska County. The only such case comes from Mazowsze (Mazovia). The author relied on that case, even though he knew full well that the very same newspaper he quoted had corrected this erroneous piece of information in one of its successive issues.³⁹

No less interesting in terms of records used and described facts, the chapter entitled "Baudienst" numbers about seven pages and includes twenty footnotes. It is worth discussing briefly the sources relied on and quoting selected fragments so as to give a taste of its tenor and content.

The chapter begins with these words: "Apart from the police, gendarmerie and fire brigades, the *Baudienst* (construction service) also participated in the liquidation of the ghettos and deportations of the Dąbrowa and Tarnów Jews to the extermination camps."⁴⁰ Initially (on p. 121), the reader may find it unclear why a monograph of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County mentions adjacent Tarnów County, but all is made clear towards the end of this chapter (on p. 127).

Page 121 is dedicated to structural issues and besides the sentence quoted above there is nothing on Dąbrowa Tarnowska County. Neither is there anything on page 122. On page 123, there is information that the Tarnów *Baudienst* outpost had three sections: "Tarnów, Lisia Góra and Szczuczyn." The same "Szczuczyn" can be seen in a footnote and the geographical index; hence, this is not a typographical error. Besides, the same "Szczuczyn" is found in the English-language version of the book under review.⁴¹ To those who are less versed in the geography of Poland, I can offer the explanation that the closest locality by the name of Szczuczyn lies in Podlasie, over 400 km away from Dąbrowa Tarnowska and that it did not lie within the General Government (GG) during the war, so there was no *Baudienst* there. The town of Szczucin, however, does lie near Dąbrowa Tarnowska.

³⁹ See *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 41/145, 22 October 1942; *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 48/152, 10 December 1942. The information given in *Judenjagd* was taken from a text by Dariusz Libionka, "Polska konspiracja wobec eksterminacji Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim," in *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, ed. by B. Engelking, J. Leociak, and D. Libionka (Warsaw, 2007), pp. 443–504.

⁴⁰ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 121.

⁴¹ J. Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington–Indianapolis, 2013), <http://www.scribd.com/doc/163928125/Hunt-for-the-Jews-Betrayal-and-Murder-in-German-Occupied-Poland> (accessed 20 February 2024).

Let us go back, however, to the chapter on the local *Baudienst*. On page 124, the name Dąbrowa Tarnowska is mentioned twice – in the sentence: “Let’s go back, however, to Tarnów and Dąbrowa on the days when the ghettos were liquidated” and “after all, the entire Dąbrowa and Tarnów both resonated with gunfire” – but there is no information about the *Baudienst*. Furthermore, on the same page, the author refers to a testimony given by a German engineer who was reportedly stationed in Tarnów during the war; after the war, he testified before a German court that “Junaks” (i.e., *Baudienst* workforce members) were assigned to secure Jewish possessions. It follows rather from this testimony that they did not take part directly in actions against Jews. The author of *Judenjagd* cites this information but considers it untrue.

On the following page, the robbery of possessions left by Jews in Żabno (Dąbrowa Tarnowska County) is described, but there is no mention of Junaks. Only in the middle of page 125, does the description of this formation, which was harnessed to help in the deportation of Jews from Działoszyce and Książ Wielki, start. These towns, however, are not located in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County. Both towns were then in Miechów County, presently part of Cracow and Świętokrzyskie Voivodeships, and not in the Tarnów area. On page 126, the name of the county is not mentioned, but what is said concerns true and alleged *Baudienst* operations in Tarnów. On page 127, mention is made of the number of “working days” Junaks were expected to complete, performing all kinds of auxiliary tasks in German operations of deporting Jews, and of Cardinal Adam Sapieha’s protest against the demoralization of Junaks by plying them with vodka and employing them in extermination operations. This information, however, concerns either Małopolska or the Cracow District. No evidence is provided for the use of the *Baudienst* in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County. With this, the chapter ends.

This chapter is somewhat of a curiosity: it presents accounts, facts and quotations from various regions of Poland (Podkarpacie, Małopolska, Świętokrzyskie and Mazowsze) and even mentions a *Baudienst* unit in “Szczuczyn”. Curiously enough, in a publication which is supposed to be a monograph on Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, in a chapter that refers to the participation of the *Baudienst* in “the liquidation of the ghettos and deportations of Jews to extermination camps,” there is not a single document or fact from the area in question.

The chapter on the activities of the blue police makes use of numerous files of August Decree cases. Most are stored at the National Archives in Cracow and a few at the IPN Archives. Of the former, almost half concern Dąbrowa Tarnowska, while the other half record events in other counties, mainly Miechów, but also Mielec, Dębica, Tarnów, and Limanowa. Of the three IPN file call numbers which were used, one – referred to in a way that makes it untraceable⁴² – concerns Wieliczka (another county), while the other two concern Mińsk Mazowiecki, a town in Mazowsze, a few hundred kilometres away from Dąbrowa Tarnowska.⁴³ These files are used in a characteristic manner, often without a precise geographic description, but with the names of small towns and villages, whose exact locations are rather unknown to the average reader, mentioned in a way that prevents the reader from realizing that the history of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, as presented in *Judenjagd*, has little in common with its actual history. Another curious trick used in the book consists in describing various cases of pathological behaviour of Poles (denunciations and murders) from across the country and suggesting, or even writing outright, that the same thing happened in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.

However, the use of records from other regions of Poland in what purports to be the monograph of a single county is only one aspect of the problem. It is not only a question of their quantity, but also one of quality. After analysing the key chapters of the book, it turns out that **all** of the most dramatic – and unfavourable to Poles – descriptions of Jewish tragedies concern **other counties or even other regions of Poland**. The quotation used as a motto for this chapter, referring to blue policemen who reportedly shot Jews after consuming alcohol, comes from the file of a case that took place in Dębica County. The way the author of *Judenjagd* describes the case and his choice of quotation suggest that the Jews were shot dead

⁴² The author wrote in a footnote: “AIPN, SO Kr, 552, case against Zygmunt P” (Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 118). At the IPN Archives there is no file collection named “District Court in Cracow”. Such a collection is stored in the National Archives in Cracow. The number “552” is neither the number of a file collection nor is it a file call number; and, if it refers to the National Archives in Cracow, it does not assist in finding any specific documents. Actually, this must be file AIPN Kr, 502/1309, Zygmunt and Monika Pawlik. Whether providing an incorrect call number in the book was intended or was simply an error cannot be determined.

⁴³ AIPN, Sąd Wojewódzki dla Województwa Warszawskiego [Voivodeship Court for Warsaw Voivodeship, hereinafter SWWW] GK, 318/322 (Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 110) and AIPN, SWWW GK, 318/574 (*ibid.*, p. 117).

by a blue policeman. According to the case file, however, the crime could have been committed by German gendarmes.⁴⁴

Another part of that chapter reads: "There survives a shocking account left by a witness of the tortures to which peasants subjected their Jewish neighbours whom they had caught earlier. After locking up the Jews in a dark chamber, farmers in Gniewczyna set out to beat the men and rape the women."⁴⁵ A long account of these dramatic events follows, regarding which a single brief footnote adds the following information: "Here, I give an example from outside the county, from around Łańcut."⁴⁶ In other words, not from Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, again. A little further on, one can read about "a certain ritual of drinking vodka in order to pluck up courage before shooting a victim," which was supposed to have been "observed by functionaries of the Polish Police in the Tarnów area."⁴⁷ The story continues: "This ritual was also known **elsewhere** [emphasis mine – P.G.]," after which the author describes two such cases: one from Pilzno (Dębica County), and the other from around Mińsk Mazowiecki, in Mazowsze. The ritual was supposedly known "elsewhere," but there is no example of its observance in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County.⁴⁸ The chapter on the blue police ends with a lengthy description of a massacre of Jews that reportedly took place in the settlement of Rechta.⁴⁹ It should not be surprising if I write that the blue police were not involved in that massacre and that Rechta is located in another part of occupied Poland, namely the Lublin region.

⁴⁴ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 116. Pilzno was located in Dębica County. The author of the book under review added in a footnote: "*Ibid.* [National Archives in Cracow, call number:] 1011, IV, k. 102/50" without indicating the document the quotation came from, which goes against the fundamental rules of academic writing. This is not a single instance, but rather a *modus operandi* of sorts that discourages one from verifying information given in the book, sometimes requiring the reviewer to read hundreds or even thousands of pages of files. It remains an open question whether writing footnotes in this manner resulted from disrespect for the rules of academic writing or was intentional. A helpful tip on the matter seems to be a noticeably significant relationship, namely the more difficult it is to verify information given in such cases, the more often the information given in the book based on such quotations has nothing in common with its actual content. The words quoted in *Judenjagd* come from the testimony of Stanisław Podraza of 17 January 1949 (fol. 25v). It follows from the file in question that the policeman who consumed the alcohol was not alone, but in the company of a German gendarme who shot the victims dead (*ibid.*, Judgment of the Court of Appeal in Cracow of 15 December 1949, fols 140–142v).

⁴⁵ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 110.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fn. 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119.

A similar situation is found in another critical chapter, “The Destruction of Dąbrowa Tarnowska.” The most dramatic and symbolic scenes are the following (both from outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska): in the first, during the deportation of the Jews, peasants reportedly chased the fugitives crying, “Catch the Jews!” (this happened in Dulcza Wielka, Mielec County⁵⁰); while in the other, a blue policeman allegedly caught and turned over to the Germans a “Christian convert,” mother of two, by the name of Witkowa (in reality, this happened in Tarnów).⁵¹ The description is followed by the following summary: “And in this way – after the final *Aktion* – four centuries of Jewish history in Dąbrowa Tarnowska came to an end.”⁵²

Serious doubts – equally problematic as the archival reconnaissance and the manner of building a historical narrative – are raised by the way in which sources are used in *Judenjagd*. After checking various quotations set out in the book, one often finds that the sources say something different than what the writer writes, quotations are trimmed so that their tenor is different than in the original testimonies, and the sources in no way provide the information mentioned in the book. Such distortions are downright systemic and also impact many of the testimonies of Holocaust victims. A fragment of the book that deals with the story of the activities of blue policemen from Otwinów in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County reads:

The arrested Jews were in most cases interrogated in a village jail or in the cottage of the farmer who had denounced them. The purpose was to extract, as quickly as possible, information about “Jewish gold,” about which legends circulated in the villages. [...] The interrogation of captured Jewish fugitives sometimes ena-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47. The text “Święto zmarłych w Rechcie,” by Dariusz Libionka and Paweł Reszka, published in *Karta* 46 (2005), pp. 122–135.

⁵¹ The case is complicated and multifaceted. In the criminal case files quoted by the author, the policeman Stefan Suchar is named as defendant; the author did not give his name, perhaps for fear of civil liability. The reason could be the fact that Suchar was ultimately acquitted of the charge of contributing to the death of Witkowa because, as corroborated by witnesses, he reportedly let her go when he learned who she was and pretended to chase after her for the sake of the witnesses observing the scene (ANKr, SA Kr, 1041, IV K, 241/50, Judgment of the Court of Appeal in Cracow, 5 October 1950, fols 133–135v). Without a detailed analysis of the case, it is hard to tell if this is a correct interpretation of the evidence; however, since the case happened in another county, the matter falls outside the scope of this review.

⁵² Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 49.

bled one to find buried valuables, but – much more often – to draw up a list of peasants whom the Jews entrusted with the safekeeping of their duvets, cutlery, clothing, cows and horses.⁵³

The author provided the following source for this information in a footnote: “APKr, SAKr, 1025, IV K 164/50, The testimony of Beniek Grün of 2.01.1950: ‘In July 1942, my cow was taken away from me that was in safekeeping with Stefan Dobrowolski in Radwan, Mędrzechów Municipality,’ Grün said.”⁵⁴

After verifying the quoted testimony, it turned out that its content was as follows:

In July 1942, a cow was taken away from me that was in safekeeping with Stefan Dobrowolski in Radwan, Mędrzechów County. It was taken by Stanisław Młynarczyk and Andrzej Nowicki, blue policemen from the Radgoszcz station, who sold it at an auction. It was bought by the policeman Andrzej Nowicki. Next, in 1943, in winter, my two sisters were hiding at a certain Franciszek Sołtys, [...] where Młynarczyk with another policeman unknown to me conducted a search in order to capture them, but owing to their good hiding place they did not find them, but the said owner, Franciszek Sołtys, was beaten unconscious; despite the beating, he did not reveal the hiding place.⁵⁵

Hence, Grün related an interrogation carried out by policemen of a Polish peasant who knew where the witness was hiding and did not betray him. The quoted testimony does not say anything about policemen interrogating Jews to extract information about their possessions. What the book says about this event, allegedly in reliance on Grün’s testimony, is not true.

A typical example of the direction and manner in which testimonies of Holocaust victims are distorted in *Judenjagd* is the account of Chaja Rosenblatt. The first case worthy of note here is her stay on the farm of a Pole: “Fleeing from another liquidation, in January 1943, she again found herself near Radomyśl, this time at

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ APKr [State Archives in Cracow], SA Kr, 1025, IV K 164/50, Testimony of Beniek Grün, 2 January 1950 (p. 2 of testimony).

Józef Szozik's place, an amply-paid farmer. After two weeks of threats and thefts, and being threatened with murder, Chaja Rosenblatt and her husband had to flee for their lives to the woods.”⁵⁶

The account unequivocally suggests the farmer's reprehensible behaviour, since who else – the account mentions only Szozik and Rosenblatt with her family – could have robbed the protagonist or wanted to murder her. But Rosenblatt's testimony says something else:

Before dawn we knocked on a villager's door and he opened it. After he was handed a large sum of money, he let us in. From the conversation it transpired that he was sheltering other Jews, whom he presented to us right away. When I saw them I got scared because these were men from a very low class, dangerous informers, like Zelman Storch, a cabdriver and others of this sort (they were shot later on). When we saw them, our hearts started beating at an abnormal pace, but we had to compose ourselves. Bad luck, this time we fell into a hornets' nest. We lived together, under one roof, for two long weeks. They worked together with the villager in robbing us of the rest of our clothes. They only left us what we had on [...] We made up our minds to leave the place especially as this gang soon realized that we kept our money on us, sewn into the clothes we wore all the time. They were thus ready to kill us and appropriate our clothes. It turned out that the villager was also a bandit. One afternoon, upon coming back from the town of Radomyśl, where he had spent some time in a dive in the company of a policeman, who worked for the Germans, he called us out from the hiding place. The villager told us that he had learned in the town that the police knew he was sheltering Jews and that we had to leave his house (this happened at Józef Szozik's place).⁵⁷

In *Judenjagd*, the story has been cleansed of the information that the chief robbers, and later the people who threatened the life of the family of fugitives, were Jewish informers and criminals. They were removed from the book version of the story, and the only threat to the Jews that was left was a Polish peasant, Józef Szozik.

⁵⁶ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 137.

⁵⁷ Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie [Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, hereinafter AŻIH], 302/218, Testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, typescript, pp. 45–46.

A different manner was adopted in the case of the events at the Szczurek family. Here, the narrative – sprinkled with quotations from the source – runs as follows:

Chaja Rosenblatt was one of those “people who had certain possessions and money,” and hid with her family at Tomasz Szczurek’s, a farmer from Dulcza Wielka whom she knew. Already earlier the Garns and Rosenblatts had entrusted most of their possessions to Szczurek: “textiles from our shop that we had managed to hide, all our furniture, linen and all our clothes.” In addition, they gave him a considerable sum of money. Despite all these preparations, the Szczureks kicked the Jews out of their house only after one day. As the farmer’s wife explained upon returning from a church service (the liquidation of the Jewish part of Radomyśl took place on Sunday), the priest had warned the faithful of impending house searches “for Jews.” “We tried to explain to our protectors, ‘dear friends,’ that we could not leave their house in broad daylight for fear of being noticed. It is out of the question to let you stay a while longer at our place, they replied. I started pleading to stir their emotions [...] finally I dared to say that their God, Jesus Christ, would never forgive them their cruelty.” Despite the pleading and crying of Chaja Rosenblatt’s old parents, the hosts refused to budge and the “paid help” was over already before dusk⁵⁸

A longer passage from this account presents the story in a different light:

The farmer’s wife hosted us well, took care of us the best she could, while her husband watched the house so that, heaven forbid, nobody would notice our presence. Unfortunately, their kindness lasted for a day only – Saturday, a day before the deportation [of Jews from Radomyśl Wielki]. The next day, on Sunday,⁵⁹ we sent her [the farmer’s wife] to Radomyśl to get some information about the situation. So she went before dawn and came back in the afternoon. We were on pins and needles, waiting for her to return. We could hardly bear it since the sound of gunfire was reaching us all the time. [We waited?] be-

⁵⁸ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 137.

⁵⁹ These events took place on 19 July 1942.

ing unable to find any explanation for this. Upon the farmer's wife return, we learned about the sad fate of our people. One could easily imagine what we felt. Suddenly, the village woman started explaining to us in a trembling voice that she was scared to shelter us any longer at her house because in the church during the sermon the priest warned them of an imminent search of all the houses in the villages. At this point, she told us that the deportation was general, that no Jew had the right to stay in Radomyśl [...] We must immediately leave her home. We tried to explain to our protectors, 'dear friends' that we could not leave their home in broad daylight for fear of being noticed. It is out of the question to let you stay a while longer at our place, they replied. I started pleading to stir their emotions [...] finally I dared to tell her that **the same fate that befell the Jews on that day may fall on them during that occupation. I told her, too, that their God, Jesus Christ, would never forgive them their cruelty. Suddenly they wised up, pretending that they did not at all intend that we were to leave during the day. I gracefully apologised for misunderstanding them. So they let us stay at their home until the evening.**⁶⁰

The original testimony was cleansed of any information about the direct connection between the conversation at the Szczureks' home and the tragedy of the local Jews witnessed by Szczurek's wife, who was sent to Radomyśl that Sunday morning. She saw an apocalypse there: "The Germans have no mercy for anybody, they drive people away in huge numbers while fugitives are hunted down." The scale of the brutality must have been enormous since the Jews hiding in her house heard gunfire for a long time. After leaving this information out, Grabowski presented the priest's warning from the pulpit as the only reason for the Szczureks' refusal to continue extending help to the Jews. The book's version of this story is bereft of any emotions on the part of the hosts, above all, the dramatic turn in the Szczureks' attitude – brought about by the tragic events in Radomyśl on 19 July 1942 – from one of kindness, care and willingness to help to one of overwhelming fear for their own lives. In *Judenjagd*, the Szczureks are portrayed as emotionless and inexorable. What they did is described as "kicking the Jews out the door" in

⁶⁰ AŻIH, 302/318, Testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, manuscript, pp. 33–35.

broad daylight, although the account shows this not to be true: they were allowed to stay at home until the evening.

Instead of a commentary, suffice it to say that, as is often the case, *Judenjagd* lacks a footnote with the page number where the quotation in question can be found. This makes it harder to locate the distorted fragment of the account. The manuscript consists of eighty-two pages, while the typescript has seventy pages. Bibliographic details are missing in many other instances not mentioned in this review. The question keeps arising: is it neglect of the rules of academic writing or a systematic effort to make it harder to verify the information?

Curiously enough, the above comments apply to distortions in the Polish edition of *Judenjagd* of 2011. It at least has information about the warnings of the threat of German searches for Jews delivered by the priest during mass. Authentic documents⁶¹ and oral testimonies have survived, bearing out the fact that in many localities, such announcements informing of the prohibition against providing any help to Jews on pain of death were made in churches by priests on the orders of the German authorities. In particular, they forbade the sheltering of Jews and warned that villages would be searched. They were not, thus, an expression of the clergyman's attitude or the position of the Catholic Church. The Germans used announcements such as these to ensure that the information would reach as many residents as possible. In various Jewish accounts, based usually on second- or further-hand information, these announcements are variously interpreted and described, which is conducive to their further manipulation. Rosenblatt gives one such description: "in the church during the sermon the priest warned them of an imminent search of all the houses in the villages."⁶² The 2013 English-language edition of *Judenjagd* states that the local priest told his congregation from the pulpit

⁶¹ A typical example comes from the Lublin region: "Pursuant to the order of the German authorities on the state of emergency, please read what comes below before every church service: [...] According to the order of Kreishauptmann of 23 October 1942, no. [...] all those and their neighbours will be punished by death who keep jews [sic], provide them with food or help them escape, in particular any person who leaves a wagon at the disposal of Jews" (Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [State Archives in Lublin], 561, Records of the Municipality of Zakrzówek, Letter of the mayor of Zakrzówek to parish priests in Zakrzówek and Boża Wola, 4 December 1942, fol. 341). The matter does not require further documentation as it is known from various other territories of occupied Poland and mentioned in many Jewish testimonies.

⁶² AŻIH, 302/318, Testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, manuscript, pp. 33–34. Presumably, the warning was probably given before mass or after it (together with other parish announcements and not during the sermon).

not to keep Jews. That information can be found neither in the source used nor in the Polish-language edition of the book.⁶³ This is one of many examples of “progressive interpretation” employed by that school of research. It appears to not so much interpret history as systematically tarnish the image of the Catholic Church and peasants. Not only has it been distorted from the start, but it also fits in with the stereotypical prejudices that are quite frequent in the English-speaking world.

In the last interesting case of the use of Resenblatt’s testimony, the reason why dogs did not bark seems important. *Judenjagd* contains a description of an alleged Polish-German hunt for Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, making use of information from Szczebrzeszyn in the Lublin region.⁶⁴ The description is followed by Rosenblatt’s testimony, which, after all, concerns the events in Radomyśl Wielki (Mielec County), and the assertion:

Jewish descriptions of this initial phase of the search for fugitives testify to incredible, outright bestial brutality, which evolved into an orgy of murder. For the local population, it was, so to speak, a lesson in obedience: the Germans were the masters of life and death, while Jewish life had lost any value altogether. **Continuing for days and weeks on, hunts for Jews had become so ordinary an occurrence that in areas neighbouring on Jewish communities being liquidated “even dogs have grown accustomed to gunshots and stopped barking”** – a young Jewish woman from Radomyśl Wielki wrote.⁶⁵

The above text leaves no doubt: hunts for Jews lasting for “weeks”, carried out by Germans and Poles immediately after the deportations (see the highlighted text), made even animals grow indifferent to what Poles and Germans together were doing to the Jews and so they stopped barking. However, the content of the testimony referred to is different. It is worth quoting, therefore, a longer passage from the testimony and learn in this way what the failure of dogs to bark was about.

⁶³ “Where she heard the local priest warning his flock of impending house searches and telling the faithful not to keep Jews” (Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*).

⁶⁴ The case shall be discussed soon.

⁶⁵ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 59 – the fragment crucial for further discussion is highlighted.

The cruel Sunday

The cruel Sunday has come, but unfortunately not as we had expected.⁶⁶ At dawn, a large band of SS and Gestapo men arrived. There were about 500 of them. The town was completely sealed off. Streets and alleys were watched as well as surrounding fields. Hence, there was no way to escape from the town ... [...] Following orders, the elderly and small children gathered in the market. The sick awaited their fate on their beds. The Judenrat was also invited to assist. Suddenly, an order was given for the elderly, men, women and the sick to form separate groups. Whole families were thus separated. [...] The elderly and the sick were put like cattle on wagons drawn by horses; the wagons had been prepared in advance for this purpose. They were taken straight to the Jewish cemetery where SS-men had already been waiting to shoot them and throw their bodies into recently-dug trenches. The doomed were ordered to strip naked and stand in rows in front of the trenches. In front of every person, there was an SS-man who at a command shot every individual person straight in the face. Everything was perfectly organised and worked smoothly. As soon as a shot was fired and a person fell into a trench, he or she was buried under earth. Nobody cared if the person was actually killed. Do not imagine that cries, moans or crying could be heard, only gunshots could be heard. The people doomed to die were fear-stricken and silent. In the entire area, fear was so oppressive that even dogs had grown accustomed to gunshots and stopped barking.⁶⁷

This account describes the dramatic events in Radomyśl Wielki of 19 July 1942, when the deportation of the local Jews culminated. It does not, however, refer to later “hunts” that allegedly continued there afterwards. The reaction of the dogs did not result from their having grown accustomed to the killing of Jews that supposedly continued “for weeks,” but rather from the horror caused by the circumstances of the murders and deportations.

While on the subject of Poles growing accustomed and callous to the murder of Jews (apart from, naturally, their complicity), Grabowski attempts to prove in

⁶⁶ The events took place on 19 July 1942.

⁶⁷ AŻIH, 302/218, Testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, typescript, pp. 21–22.

a long argument in *Judenjagd* that Jews lost their human characteristics in the eyes of Poles. As proof, he points to the widespread use of the expression “shoot-ing Jews” instead of the word “murdering,” supposedly reserved for Poles. Using graphic examples, Bogdan Musiał, one of the critics of the book under review, called this argument a fabrication.⁶⁸

Summing up, in the first case of the use of Rosenblatt’s account, the alterations in *Judenjagd* were aimed at cleansing the story of a group of Jewish criminals who robbed and were prepared to kill the author of the account and her family. The Jewish account was “trimmed” and presented in such a way so that it would ap-pear that Poles were the only threat. In another passage, the Szczurek family, who wanted to help the Jews but got frightened by the German atrocities and possible consequences for themselves, was falsely turned into emotionless participants in the tragedy of the Jews who appropriated their property and kicked them out of the house in broad daylight, leaving them at the mercy of the Germans. In the third instance, the description of the widespread horror that engulfed Jews and Poles (and even local dogs) faced with the scale and brutality of German atrocities was used to depict another part of this tragedy (later hunts for Jews, although, in reality, the account describes the deportation itself) and another aspect of it: Rosenblatt speaks to the reaction of Jews to the brutality of the German deportation, whereas Grabowski turned it into the indifference of Poles to the hunt for Jews (presented, in the book, as a German-Polish hunt).

The removal from the story of a group of Jewish criminals who threaten Rosenblatt is by no means the only instance in the book of a practice of this kind. The author systematically omitted or removed any information that could have been considered unfavourable to Jews. In this context, it is worth reviewing how the activities of the Jewish Police Service (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst, JOD) in Dąbrowa Tarnowska are portrayed in *Judenjagd*. First, the author says that it allegedly fol-lows from one Jewish testimony, given by Berta Milet, that a Jewish bunker was exposed by a Pole, Józef Kucharski.⁶⁹ It is not known where Berta Milet (who was absent from the scene) got this information from and if it was true. Kucharski is

⁶⁸ See Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 59; Musiał, “Umiejętne działanie,” pp. 164–165.

⁶⁹ Bundesarchiv-Außenstelle Ludwigsburg, B162/2169, Testimony of Berta Milet, 31 October 1946.

mentioned in passing, while the entire testimony is about the head of the local Arbeitsamt, Eilmes, and the persecution of Jews for which he was responsible (including participation in the deportation). It was he who was supposed to have organised the dragging out of Jews from the bunker, which is the matter under discussion. However, Eilmes was left out of the story and it only features Józef Kucharski. This trick enabled the author to draw the following conclusion: “In Dąbrowa, the local inhabitants were actively involved in pulling out Jews from the bunkers in the ghetto.”⁷⁰ Even if Józef Kucharski did indeed give away the Jewish hiding place mentioned in the testimony, this is not enough to write that “local inhabitants were actively involved in pulling out Jews from the bunkers,” because there are no testimonies bearing out such a collective phenomenon. Yet, the author of *Judenjagd* wrote extensively about how the dragging of Jews out of bunkers by Poles in Dąbrowa Tarnowska supposedly looked: “Although no other descriptions of dragging Jews out of bunkers [in Dąbrowa Tarnowska] have survived, this could not have differed in any significant way from what Zygmunt Klukowski, a doctor from Szczepieszyn near Zamość, wrote in his diary.”⁷¹

Grabowski did actually say that there were no other sources concerning the dragging out of Jews from bunkers and hideouts in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, and used a description of events from Biłgoraj County 200 km away. He also included a long quotation from the source mentioned earlier, but did so selectively, thus considerably distorting Klukowski’s account of the events in Szczepieszyn. The crucial portions that were removed are restored and highlighted below.

All day, until dusk, incredible things were going on. Armed gendarmes, SS-men and blue policemen scurried around the town, tracking down and searching for Jews. [...] [**They were rounded up in the market square and assembled in front of the town hall**], they were dragged out of all kinds of hiding places, gates and doors were battered down, shutters were knocked down, and hand grenades were thrown into cellars and flats [...] [**Handguns and rifles were fired as well as machine guns placed in various places. People were beaten**

⁷⁰ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 58.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

and kicked and generally maltreated with utmost cruelty. At 3 p.m., about nine hundred Jews – men, women and children – were escorted out of town. They were prodded with batons, rifle butts and continuous shooting. Only Judenrat and Jewish police members rode on wagons. After they were taken away, the *Aktion* did not stop. Those who stayed in hiding continued to be captured. It was announced throughout the town that sheltering Jews or keeping their possessions carried the death penalty; for exposing Jewish hiding places special awards were promised. Captured Jews were shot on the spot now without any mercy. Polish residents were forced to bury the dead. How many are there of them, it is hard to tell] [...] I cannot describe what was going on [a special literary talent is necessary to give a true and proper picture of German barbarity] [...] Tracking down Jews is going on. The strangers – gendarmes and SS-men – left yesterday. Today, “our” [i.e. local] gendarmes and blue policemen are active; they were told to kill on the spot every apprehended Jew. They carry out this order very eagerly [...]. Throughout the day, Jews were tracked down in all kinds of hiding places. They were either shot on the spot or taken to the cemetery and killed there. [...] In the town jail, thirty something Jews were gathered. I saw them being escorted from the jail and driven down Zamojska Street, across the market square to the cemetery. They were driven by two gendarmes, Pryczing and Siring, and a blue policeman. Those who had been led out of town yesterday were kept outdoors all night next to the “Alwa” factory. About 9 a.m., Jews from Zwierzyniec were brought. Only today at noon were they loaded onto railway cars. [...] Jewish flats are sealed in part but robbery is rampant anyway. Generally, Polish residents did not behave properly. Some took part in tracking down and searching for Jews. They indicated where Jews were hiding, boys even chased small Jewish children whom [Polish]⁷² policemen killed in front of everybody.⁷³

The picture drawn by Klukowski is dramatic and brings discredit to some Poles. However, the cut-out version of his diary quoted in *Judenjagd* differs drastically

⁷² An insertion by Jan Grabowski.

⁷³ A comparison was made of Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, pp. 58–59; Z. Klukowski, *Zamojszczyzna*, vol. 1: 1918–1943 (Warsaw, 2007), pp. 302–304.

from the original, which describes the deportation of Jews from Szczepieszyn and Zwierzyniec carried out by large German forces in so barbaric a manner that Klukowski was at a loss for words to render what was going on adequately. The *Judenjagd* version of his diary removed critical information that described the German deportation, left out the names of specific German criminals in charge of the deportation, as well as the sentence that Poles risked death for any help given to Jews and that Polish residents were forced to bury the dead. What also disappeared from the original diary – although it was rather unimportant for the course of the German operation – was the privileged position of the Judenrat and Jewish police. The German operation of the deportation and extermination of Jews depicted in Klukowski's diary was turned into a joint "Polish-German" operation of hunting down Jews and dragging them out of their hiding places by Poles already after the deportation – 200 km away from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, at that.

Such "cuts" and methods of using sources do not come as a surprise: Jan Grabowski and other authors from his circle have been employing them in their publications on a large scale.⁷⁴ However, this is not the point here. Far more important is the fact that *Judenjagd* left out the description of tracking down and dragging out Jews from their hiding places by the Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst (JOD). Such a description can be found in the sources and refers to Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Instead, events from Szczepieszyn, 200 kilometres away, taken from Zygmunt Klukowski's diary, were added. What is more, only certain portions were selected so that readers would not realise that it depicted a German deportation. Instead, they might get the impression that these were chiefly the activities of Poles already after the deportation. Instead of engaging in such manipulations, which have nothing in common with a scholarly reconstruction, better use could be made of, for instance, the testimony of Avigdor Weit, which was described and quoted in *Judenjagd* as follows:

One of the survivors remembered this period in the following words: "the worst *Aktions* started in the spring of 1942, shortly after Pesach; rich people were taken according to a list, the family of Dr. Schindler was shot then. He

⁷⁴ This matter shall be discussed further below.

himself survived because he jumped from a balcony and survived.⁷⁵ Around 35 people were then shot on the spot. The Germans also led the secretary of the Judenrat, Bereł Zys, into a field and shot him together with his fiancée. On Shavuot 1942, an *Aktion* on even a greater scale took place, about 1,000 people were rounded up at that time and loaded onto railway cars and taken, I believe, to Belżec.”⁷⁶

Weit said more than this, and his testimony runs as follows – the restored words are highlighted:

The JOD commander was Kalman Fenicher; he grew rich by collecting contributions, robbed the rich, but the poor he left alone. Admittedly, through his fault many Jews fell into the hands of Germans, he would discover hiding places and drag people out of them. The worst *Aktions* started in the spring of 1942, shortly after Pesach, rich people were taken according to a list, the family of Dr. Schindler was shot then. He himself survived because he jumped from a balcony and survived. Around 35 people were then shot on the spot. Germans also led the secretary of the Judenrat, Bereł Zys, into a field and shot him together with his fiancée. On Shavuot 1942, an *Aktion* on even a greater scale took place, about 1,000 people were rounded up at that time and loaded onto railway cars and taken, I believe, to Belżec [...] **The liquidation of Jews in Dąbrowa [Tarnowska] took place between Rosh-Hashanah and Yom Kippur; those who remained were taken to Tarnów by horse-drawn wagons. Only Jewish policemen were left to help the Germans clear houses. They were promised that afterwards they would be taken to the Tarnów Ghetto and that Kalman would remain their commander there in the place of Binstock, who had held this post until then. The Jewish policemen believed these promises and eagerly dragged people out of bunkers to save their families, but afterwards the**

⁷⁵ Those shot were Aszer (a merchant) and Rozalia Schindler and Dr. Jehuda Schindler’s younger brother (Yad Vashem Archive [hereinafter AYW], O.3/2363).

⁷⁶ AYW, O.3/2020, Testimony of Avigdor Weit, typescript, p. 5. According to incorrect information in the footnotes of *Judenjagd*, the author quotes the “Account of Abram and Avigdor Weit,” call number O.3/2020. Actually, these are two separate testimonies given by two different persons.

Germans surrounded that house where they all lived too, led out separately every family, had them strip naked, shot and buried them.⁷⁷

The description of JOD operations can be supplemented and corrected thanks to the account of Liba Ehrenberg quoted by the local historian Krzysztof Struziak in his critical review of *Judenjagd*:

The fact that I am alive today and walk the earth I owe solely to Poles who did not refuse me help wherever I was during the occupation. The worst dogs were the Jewish policemen who discovered my husband and daughter in a hiding place. They handed them over to the Germans who shot them. The greatest scoundrel of them all was their commander, Hersz Majer, for his eagerness towards the Germans, Jews called him Majer the executioner.⁷⁸

In *Judenjagd* we will not find anything meaningful about the activities of the JOD; JOD members are portrayed solely as victims:

Thus, the Dąbrowa Ghetto ceased to exist – the only ones left in it, Jewish policemen, were concentrated in one house together with their families, in total about 30 people. They were the last ones to be shot by the German gendarmerie under the command of Landgraf in the Jewish cemetery on 20 December 1942. Among the OD-men (*Ordnungsdienstmänner*) who were killed was also Kalman Fenichel, the ghetto police chief, who, until the very end, had been promised his life and a transfer to Tarnów.

Jan Grabowski added in a footnote: “Besides Fenichel, the Wolf brothers, Leib Gruszow, Hersz Majer Pflaum and Uszer Ofen perished at that time.”⁷⁹ He did not give the source of this information, but the last three names come no doubt from Alter Milet’s testimony which is found in the annex to the book. It

⁷⁷ AYW, O.3/2020, Testimony of Avigdor Weit, typescript, pp. 5–6.

⁷⁸ Struziak, “Judenjagd.” Almost all Jewish witnesses claim, however, that the chief of the JOD, who was in charge of many criminal actions of the local unit, was Kalman Ponicher, mentioned earlier.

⁷⁹ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 43.

is from that account that the information about the last three policemen was taken and their names transposed to the book without even a comma: “Hersz Majer Pflaum and Uszer Ofen.”⁸⁰ The name of Kalman Fenichel also appears in other accounts.

The book version of the account and the quoted source differ by one crucial word, the omission of which resembles the omissions from source materials described earlier. Actually, Milet was not so much listing the names of the policemen who were shot as describing what he thought of the JOD men: “They were all stripped naked and shot one at a time together with their children in the cemetery. Only about 30 souls were left. OD-men with their wives and children. They, too, were finished off on 20 December 1942. The **most wicked of them** were Kalman Fenichel, Hersz Majer Flaum, Uscher Ofen.”⁸¹

The above testimonies of JOD activities in Dąbrowa Tarnowska can be supplemented by the account of Molly Applebaum (although this account could not have been included in *Judenjagd* as it was published only in 2017):

The Jewish police were under orders from the Germans to make sure that no Jewish family remained living in the forbidden part of town. When they did find someone and delivered them to the SS, they received an award of extra rations for their own families. Occasionally, we heard that they turned in members of their own families. ... I still have a picture in my mind's eye of a couple of those Jewish policemen. People were envious of their position, believing that they had a better chance of staying alive. They strutted around in their special uniforms, armed with rubber batons that they were urged to use, whether necessary or not. They were ordinary men from our midst, but the situation lifted them up and I recall people saying that any of them could be bribed with valuables so as not to reveal if they found someone in the wrong part of town. One of the grownups said, “Even at this horrible time, a diamond still has some value even if nothing else does.”⁸²

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² M. Applebaum, *Buried Words: The Diary of Molly Applebaum* (Toronto, 2017), p. 62.

After omitting or rejecting Polish publications and Jewish testimonies known to its author, one can find in *Judenjagd* a denial of the fact that JOD men hunted for their compatriots after the final deportation in September 1942: “This statement [that Jewish policemen tracked down their fellow Jews] is untrue inasmuch as Dąbrowa Jewish policemen did not leave the ghetto and were murdered in the local Jewish cemetery already in December 1942, while the real hunt for fugitives was only beginning then.”⁸³ The Germans, however, were hunting down Jews in the ghetto, using JOD men for that purpose, also after the final deportation in September 1942 until they themselves were shot in December 1942, which was clearly described by Avigdor Weit, for one. Replacing relevant sources with a (suitably doctored) fragment of Zygmunt Klukowski’s diary (relating other events from another locality) does not sound convincing.

The methodology employed by the author of *Judenjagd*, however, is well suited to the overall tenor of the book. Information gathered from across occupied Poland, an area hundreds of times larger than the size of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, is used to construct what purports to be a monograph of that county. Furthermore, the book features chapters on “Polish accomplices” (as for example, about the *Baudienst*) without any document or fact showing that that formation took part in direct operations against Jews in that area. This factual void and utter research absurdity could have been replaced with a sound chapter on the activities of the JOD.⁸⁴

Incidentally, the practice of removing from the true picture of the history of the JOD and attributing its “achievements” to Poles is a typical manipulation found in the publications of the author of *Judenjagd* and others he has edited. The least subtle example of such a distortion is the case of the Bochnia Ghetto, where local JOD men dragged several hundred compatriots (two renowned rabbis among them) out of bunkers, robbed them and handed them over to the Germans. In the book, *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski* [Night without End: The Fate of Jews in Selected Counties of Occupied Poland], edited by Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, the author of the article on Bochnia,

⁸³ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 55.

⁸⁴ In *Judenjagd*, the Tarnów JOD was treated in a similar way. That matter will be described in this author’s forthcoming publication.

Dagmara Swałek-Niewińska, attributed those JOD crimes to “German” and (Polish) blue policemen, contrary to unambiguous source material.⁸⁵

Crucially, even after the publication of the relevant and unequivocal information and document scans, the author, Swałek-Niewińska, and editor Jan Grabowski, publicly upheld what was written in *Dalej jest noc*.⁸⁶ Jan Grabowski did the same thing regarding Cracow in another book, in which he replaced JOD men who searched for Jewish bunkers and hiding places and turned over to the Germans the Jews taking cover in them with “Polish and German policemen.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ D. Swałek-Niewińska, “Powiat bocheński,” in *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski*, ed. by B. Engelking and J. Grabowski, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2018), pp. 563–564.

⁸⁶ Attention was first drawn to this matter by Tomasz Domański in a critical review of the book in question, *Korekta obrazu? Refleksje źródłoznawcze wokół książki ‘Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski’* (Warsaw, 2019), p. 59 (https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/43750_Korekta-obrazu-Refleksje-zrodloznawcze-wokol-ksiazki-Dalej-jest-noc-Losy-Zydow-w.html). In a rebuttal, the author upheld her false claims (http://www.holocaustresearch.pl/nowy/photo/Dagmara_Swałek-Niewińska_odpowiedz_KOREKTA_OBRAZU.pdf, p. 6). After this bizarre rebuttal, I publicised the matter in the media by publishing documents (P. Gontarczyk, “Naukowa mistyfikacja,” *Sieci* 10 [2019], pp. 22–26; *idem*, “Niezależni od prawdy,” *Sieci* 11 [2019], pp. 39–42). When the matter of substituting “Polish and German police” for “Jewish police” was raised by Prof. Daniel Blatman in the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* (D. Blatman, “The Holocaust’s Evasive History in Both Poland and Israel,” 3 May 2019, <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/the-holocaust-s-evasive-history-in-both-poland-and-israel-1.7196251>), the author of *Judenjagd* wrote: “The person who accused one of our authors of substituting ‘Polish police’ for ‘Jewish police’ is Dr. Piotr Gontarczyk, an employee of the IPN, who has no credentials as a historian of the Holocaust. In fact, Gontarczyk, who remains deservedly unknown abroad, is well-known in Poland as a champion of hard right-wing causes. In this case, Gontarczyk’s allegations have been exposed piece by piece for what they are: lies, misquotes and a display of outrageous ignorance. The rebuttal, written by Dagmara Swałek-Niewińska, was published on our website as well as in the main opposition daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*. For Blatman to lend currency to Gontarczyk’s lies is beyond shameful.” (J. Grabowski, “Poland’s Militant Nationalists Are Targeting Holocaust Scholars, With Help From an Israeli Historian” (<https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/premium-the-israeli-historian-helping-poland-s-nationalists-target-scholars-of-the-holocaust-1.72557980>). This reaction proves that any polemic is pointless in this case. The present author is working now on a larger publication that will also have an extensive treatment of the events in Bochnia.

⁸⁷ “[...] hundreds of Jews were still hiding in the Cracow Ghetto after the final deportation. Day after day, shelters and bunkers fell into the hands of German and Polish policemen who searched the former Jewish quarter” (J. Grabowski, *Na posterunku: Udział polskiej policji granatowej i kryminalnej w zagładzie Żydów* [Wołowiec, 2020], p. 144). The author was aware how the situation really looked. Earlier, the flagship publication of this circle *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 2 (2006) – Grabowski was on its editorial board at the time – ran an article by a Yad Vashem employee, Witold Mędykowski, titled “Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy” (Against their own: Patterns of Jewish Collaboration in Cracow and Its Environs), which described this phenomenon and quoted one of the most important sources on the history of the Cracow Ghetto: “The Germans, notified by their informers or by chance, tracked down hideouts in the ghetto. Then, entire expeditions set out composed of Germans and JOD men under the command of [Cracow JOD chief, Symcha] Spira, assisted by workmen armed with axes, pickaxes and crowbars. Elaborately-made hiding places in attics, cellars and large

Coming back, however, to the question of the research methodology of *Judenjagd*, it has to be said that the book not only relates sources carelessly, but is even guilty of changing the content of quotations. This is equally true of the accounts of Holocaust victims and other documents such as, for instance, reports from underground newspapers. This practice was utilized, for instance, in a Jewish account published in the appendix of the book under review, specifically the testimony of Michał Pinkas from the village of Dąbrówka, near Radomyśl Wielki (Mielec County). Quoted in the appendix, the document ends thus: "In the evening, I went to Dąbrowa, I walked the whole night, I had nothing to eat."⁸⁸

As the source of Pinkas' account, the book gives the AŻIH (Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute). Its call number is cited without informing whether it refers to a manuscript or a typescript. This is important because manuscripts, which were often difficult to read, were then typed in the AŻIH, so each version of the document has a different call number. When the document in *Judenjagd* and the original AŻIH file are compared, one can see right away that something is not in order. The book version ends in 1942, whereas the respective AŻIH microfilm contains the sentence: "when the war was over, the boy was taken care of by his aunt."⁸⁹ Since this piece of information is missing from the book, the matter needed to be clarified. It turned out that the microfilmed file was in disorder and the manuscript was incomplete: the last page was missing, while the last-but-one ended as it does in *Judenjagd*. The typescript has one more page and ends with the author's signature and date ("Pinkas Michał 7 IX 1945"). The final sentence of the account reads: "I have an aunt who was baptised already 17 years [ago], she lived in Wola Wadowska, when she learned where I was, she took me from there [from the peasant's farm – P.G.]."⁹⁰ The following passage was left out of the book:

bakeries were exposed where people, who had enough food and water, could have survived for months had it not been for bad luck or betrayal. The Jews who were found were taken to the JOD jail, whence they walked to Płaszów, usually to meet their deaths" (W. Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 2 [2006], p. 214). The quotation in Mędykowski's text comes from the memoir of Tadeusz Pankiewicz, *Apteka w getcie krakowskim* (Cracow, 2003), which is well-known to Grabowski.

⁸⁸ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 194.

⁸⁹ AŻIH, 301/767, Testimony of Michał Pinkas, microfilm description of 26 September 1996.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, typescript, p. 3.

In the morning I reached Radogoszcz. There, I passed myself off as a lost person [Pole – P.G.], I said I did not know where I came from, I got lost when the war broke out and I did not have anyone. A woman took me in as a servant. I stayed with her three days. Later, a farmer from Gruszów Wielki took me, he was looking for a cowherd and learned that there was a certain lost boy. I spent two years with him. I was doing very well there. Usually, I minded two cows and two horses. I could eat as much as I wanted and well. He liked me very much, I would not leave the place, I did not know if I had anybody. The farmer bought me lemonade and ice cream, I went to town every day. When the front was approaching, people from my village came and my farmer learned that I was a Jew. But he told me to stay on, “Since you have been here all this time, stay on.” He only asked if I had anybody [alive from my family]. I have an aunt who was baptised already 17 years, she lived in Wola Wadowska, and when she learned where I was, she took me from there.⁹¹

Judenjagd included that part of Pinkas’ account which described the death of his family, to which the blue police contributed, and illustrated the risks posed by peasants and policemen from whom he fled for his life. However, the book left out the final part of his account, where he writes about his two years’ sojourn in Gruszów Wielki (Dąbrowa Tarnowska County), sheltered by a Polish peasant. The farmer did not throw him out (if only out of fear) upon learning that he was a Jew. A human error, one might think; perhaps it happened that, unfortunately, the author of *Judenjagd* did not notice that one page of the manuscript was missing and simply published what he had found. Can one argue, though, that this explanation is correct?

This question is answered by analyzing the differences between the manuscript and typescript of the account and the version published in the book. The manuscript starts thus: “Pinkas Michał. 1931. Dąbrówka (Mielec County⁹²). **I lived with my family in Dąbrówka.** There were [my] parents, 2 brothers and 2 sisters.”⁹³

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² The word “Mielec” is struck out, “Nisko” is superscribed and “Rzeszów Voivodeship” is added underneath.

⁹³ AŻIH, 301/767, Testimony of Michał Pinkas, manuscript, p. 1.

Whereas, in the typescript, the account begins thus: “Pinkas Michał, born in 1931. Dąbrówka, Mielec County. **I lived in Dąbrówka with my family.** There were [my] parents, **two** brothers and **two** sisters.”⁹⁴ The *Judenjagd* version of the beginning of the account is as follows: “Michał Pinkas (born in 1931). **I lived in Dąbrówka with my family.** There were [my] parents, **two** brothers, and **two** sisters [all emphasis is mine – P.G.].”⁹⁵

Admittedly, in the book, perhaps due to an error, the name and surname of the author of the account were transposed, and information on the county where Michał Pinkas’s birthplace was located was left out without noting this. However, the word order of the first sentence and the writing out of numerals unequivocally indicate that the typescript of the account was used.⁹⁶ The crucial question that arises for the purpose of this discussion is: if the author of *Judenjagd* used the (complete) typewritten version of Pinkas’s account, why did the version published in the book break off where the manuscript on microfilm ends? It seems that there could be only one answer: part of Pinkas’s account was deliberately omitted in the book because it contained information about the help extended to its author by a Pole. If someone were to notice the manipulation, Jan Grabowski could always explain that he used the original version, i.e., the manuscript, which breaks off earlier. But this would ignore the differences between the two versions that show, rather, that he used the typescript. Any comments on such “scholarly methods” of doctoring published sources therefore appear moot.

Another example of such practices in *Judenjagd* – besides the ones mentioned earlier – is the way Jan Grabowski uses a quotation taken from an underground bulletin published in 1942, in which it was supposedly argued that saving Jews being murdered by the Germans was an anti-national act. The author of *Judenjagd* writes and quotes:

In certain circles, helping Jews was even considered an activity hostile to the vital interests of the Polish nation. This view was expressed in an underground

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 193.

⁹⁶ There are many more differences between the versions of Michał Pinkas’s account (manuscript and typescript) and all of them unambiguously prove that the author of *Judenjagd* used the typescript.

newspaper published by the National Armed Forces (*Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*; NSZ): “We have to condemn those who want to hide Jews among themselves and proclaim them traitors to the Polish cause. Because every true Pole knows that in a reborn Poland, there is no room either for a German or for a Jew.”⁹⁷

The source of these radical contentions supposedly was – as the author informs in a footnote – *Propaganda Centralna* (no. 14 [27] of 15 July 1942), published by the National Armed Forces.⁹⁸ Upon verification, the text in this bulletin was found not to refer to the question of whether Jews should be given aid or not. Moreover, the words used in *Propaganda Centralna* were not written by its editors, but were an account from another publication – allegedly an open letter of a private person published in *Miecz i Plug*, the official bulletin of an organisation bearing the same name. In spite of its many genuine achievements and credits, that organisation was infiltrated in 1942, and perhaps already taken over by agents of the German security forces (after its real leaders had been arrested).⁹⁹ Hence, the opinions expressed in the letter can hardly be considered representative of the Polish underground. The National Armed Forces did not have anything to do with the bulletin because they were formed after the letter quoted in *Judenjagd* was published. This fact can be verified even in *Encyklopedia powszechna PWN*.¹⁰⁰ What appears crucial, however, is the fact that the quotation in the book from *Propaganda Centralna* is incomplete and the omissions were not marked. The restored portions are highlighted below:

In the latest issue of *M[iecz] and P[ług]*, in the article “Monopoly on Patriotism,” the author, among other things, claims with certainty that one of the respected military organizations has Jews among its leaders or members. As a member of one of the military organisations, in my own name and that of hundreds of other comrades in arms, I demand that the author of the article clearly specify and name those organisations and name those Jews for the good of many organised

⁹⁷ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, p. 64.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ The matter is well-known and discussed in the relevant literature, see <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Miecz-i-Plug;3940621.html> (accessed 1 September 2019).

¹⁰⁰ <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Narodowe-Sily-Zbrojne;3945849.html> (accessed 1 September 2019).

soldiers of the underground army. If the claim is true, **those who want to hide Jews among themselves ought to be denounced and proclaimed traitors to the Polish cause.** Members of such an organisation will decline any further collaboration with Jews **because every true Pole knows that in a reborn Poland there is no room either for a German or for a Jew.**¹⁰¹

The original text refers to a private letter published in a marginal bulletin of ill repute. It raises the question of whether Jews should be accepted or not into the Polish underground struggle for independence. After doctoring the original source text in the manner described above, a quotation from it was placed in *Judenjagd* that was supposed to show the attitude of an important (nationalist) Polish underground organisation, the National Armed Forces, toward the Jewish community and the Holocaust. Such practices of “correcting” sources, or rather of finding meaning in them that is not there, are ones the author has been employing for years.¹⁰²

In 1995, Ośrodek KARTA published the diary of Calek Perechodnik. This testimony of a former Jewish policeman is not only known chiefly for its tragic content and poignancy but also because the first edition that came out in Poland contained a censored and cut version of the diary.¹⁰³ The matter ended in a scandal because this “correcting of a source” was exposed and described by David Engel, who compared such practices to the infamous efforts of Thomas Bowdler.¹⁰⁴ Only

¹⁰¹ *Propaganda Centralna* 14, 15 July 1942.

¹⁰² P. Gontarczyk, “Naukowe fałszerstwo pod szyldem ‘Polin,’” *Sieci*, 25 November 2019. This was not the first article in which I charged the author with source falsification. Earlier, I published various scholarly texts and feature articles on this subject. In one of them (also in *Sieci*), next to a fragment of an article by Grabowski from *Night Without End* with a quotation from the testimony of a witness who supposedly testified that Polish firemen “set fire to” the ghetto in Węgrów, I placed the original testimony in which the witness says that firemen “put out a fire” in the ghetto (P. Gontarczyk, “Na niemieckim posterunku: Uwagi na marginesie nowej książki Jana Grabowskiego,” *Sieci*, 1 June 2020). There is a difference, isn’t there? No reply from the author was forthcoming. He even “corrects” maps by transposing the Treblinka extermination camp from one county to another in one of his texts, about which I wrote as well (P. Gontarczyk, “Gdzie leży obóz zagłady w Treblince?,” *Sieci*, 2 November 2020).

¹⁰³ C. Perechodnik, *Czy ja jestem mordercą?*, ed. by P. Szapiro (Warsaw, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ D. Engel, “On the Bowdlerization of a Holocaust Testimony: The Wartime Journal of Calek Perechodnik,” *Polin* 12 (1999), pp. 316–329. Thomas Bowdler (1754–1825) – a physician and editor of the works of William Shakespeare. He published these works after replacing certain words, phrases and expressions with others and removing specific themes (for example about a prostitute). Similar methods were used by Bowdler to correct the historical work of Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall*

later was a complete edition of the testimony published without intervention by a censor trying to “correct” history.¹⁰⁵ As far as Polish history is concerned, the academic world is well aware that such practices of doctoring historical sources, as are found in many publications by Jan Grabowski, were, until recently, mainly the domain of the notorious Department of Party History at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party in Stalinist times. In this context, how should one treat the methodology of distorting sources (including changing their content when quoting and editing them) carried out in *Judenjagd* in a manner that is incomparably more diverse and widespread?

To sum up, it must be stated that the book under review is, above all, not an account of the fate of Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County. It is mostly a collage of drastic examples of the behaviour by Poles “crammed” from literally the entire country into this alleged monograph. There are even chapters in *Judenjagd* without a single fact or document pertaining to the area being discussed. Moreover, the wartime fate of the Jews is clearly given a subsidiary treatment. The key goal appears to be finding in sources – because, in this case, one cannot speak of a genuine scholarly archival search – and quoting primarily examples of despicable and shameful behaviour of Poles, which become the most important “discovered” aspect of the Holocaust, even at the cost of pushing German criminals into the background. In the process, the facts presented in *Judenjagd* were systematically “purged” of information regarding the improper behaviour of some Jews, Jewish criminals, and the important problem of sometimes even criminal activities of the Jewish police. Using this approach, the responsibility for these deeds is shifted onto the Germans and, even more eagerly, onto the Poles. It is important to underscore that the treatment of all fundamental aspects of a scholarly publication such as archival research, the selection and analysis of sources, and especially the widespread use of completely unacceptable methods of constructing a narrative and treating historical sources, excludes *Judenjagd* from any serious form of scholarly discourse.

of the Roman Empire, because of some critical remarks it contained on the role Christianity supposedly played in the process.

¹⁰⁵ C. Perechodnik, *Spowiedź – dzieje rodziny żydowskiej podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce* (Warsaw, 2004).