POSTSCRIPTUM POLONISTYCZNE, 2024 • 2 (34)
doi: 10.31261/PS_P.2024.34.10
ISSN 2353-9844

Marcos Silber
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9823-5216
The University of Haifa
Haifa, Israel

Transferring Transnationally, Transforming Locally, Imagining Transnationally: The Transference of Interwar Poland's Popular Culture to Israel and Its Rediscovery in the Last Decades

Transferując transnarodowo, przekształcając lokalnie, wyobrażając transnarodowo – transfer międzywojennej polskiej kultury popularnej do Izraela i jej ponowne odkrycie w ostatnich dekadach

Abstract: The article addresses the relationship of Jewish audiences in Mandatory Palestine/Israel to the cultural heritage of the Second Polish Republic, examining the transfer of Polish interwar popular culture to Palestine during the mandate period and to Israel after 1948, as well as the contemporary revival of interest in this cultural phenomenon. The author analyzes various levels and forms of cultural transfer, considering the roles of artistic communities and audiences, individual initiatives and institutional infrastructure, and social and economic factors. The study also comments on the transformations of cultural texts undergoing transfer, which are adapted to meet new audience needs and reshaped by functioning within novel cultural contexts. The theoretical framework is constructed using categories of transfer, transnationality, locality, adaptation, identity, cosmopolitanism, translation, and contact zone. The transfer of Polish popular culture occurs through diverse cultural practices, with translation playing a pivotal role. This transfer takes place in a transgeographic contact zone defined by the relational space between Warsaw and Tel Aviv as centres of modern culture. In contemporary Israel, references to interwar Polish popular culture and its local adaptations serve a subversive and critical function in relation to the state's identity politics.

Keywords: popular culture, Mandatory Palestine, Israel, Tel Aviv, cultural transference, transnationality, locality, contact zone

Abstrakt: Artykuł podejmuje zagadnienie stosunku żydowskiej publiczności w mandatowej Palestynie/Izraelu do dziedzictwa II Rzeczpospolitej na przykładzie transferu polskiej międzywojennej kultury popularnej do Palestyny w epoce mandatowej i Izraela po roku 1948, a także odrodzenia zainteresowania nią współcześnie. Autor analizuje różne poziomy

i formy kulturowego transferu. W analizie uwzględnia rolę środowisk artystycznych i publiczności, indywidualnych przedsięwzięć i infrastruktury instytucjonalnej, czynników społecznych i ekonomicznych. Komentowane są również zmiany, jakim podlegają uczestniczące w transferze teksty kultury, które adaptowane są ze względu na nowe potrzeby odbiorców i przekształcane w związku z funkcjonowaniem w nowym kulturowym kontekście. Teoretyczne ramy analizy tworzą kategorie transferu, transnarodowości, lokalności, adaptacji, tożsamości, kosmopolityzmu, przekładu, *contact zone*. Transfer polskiej kultury popularnej dokonuje się poprzez rozmaitego rodzaju praktyki kulturowe, wśród których kluczowa rola przypada przekładowi. Zachodzi on w przestrzeni stanowiącej transgeograficzną *contact zone*, w obszarze wyznaczonym przez relacje pomiędzy Warszawą i Tel Awiwem jako ośrodkami kultury nowoczesnej. We współczesnym Izraelu odwołania do międzywojennej polskiej kultury popularnej oraz jej lokalnych adaptacji pełnią funkcję subwersywną i krytyczną wobec polityki tożsamościowej państwa.

Słowa klucze: kultura popularna, Brytyjski Mandat Palestyny, Izrael, Tel Awiw, transfer kultury, transnarodowość, lokalność, *contact zone*

> Who is coming to watch this show?! It's old-fashioned! Boring! Diasporic! It is so 1933!… That is me: Diasporic – but in a radical sense! Ashkenazi, but not part of the elite! I'm cosmopolitan! I do not have roots! […] I dream of performing a [Yiddish] drag show! I'm Jargon! I'm a melting pot! I'm a subculture![1]

Ya'ad Biran, playwright and scholar of interwar Yiddish literature, wrote these lines for Esty Nissim, the main actress in Esther's Cabaret, which performed in the style of the interwar tradition of Poland's literary cabarets in Polish and Yiddish, an entertaining performance combining elements of literature, music, dance. Why did a group of Israeli intellectuals and performers in the early twenty-first century want to connect with Polish popular culture from nearly a century earlier? Why does this Polish popular culture resonate with them, and how does it contribute to their senses of both individual and collective belonging? How do the intellectuals, artists, and consumers perceive the relationship between the popular culture coming from Poland, Jewish culture, and Israeli belonging?

This article argues that the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and recreation of interwar Poland's popular culture in Israel reflect the project of Jews negotiating identity – in this case, using an imagined mirror of

[1] See: https://bethshalomaleichem.co.il/esthers-cabaret/ [access: 3.12.2024].

interwar Poland. It examines the transfer of Poland's popular culture to Mandatory Palestine and to the State of Israel, its incorporation as a significant element in local popular culture, and the references to that culture in contemporary Israel.

Transferring Transnationally: Polish Popular Culture in Mandatory Palestine

Popular culture cannot be studied solely on a national or ethnic level or as a geographically or ethnically confined construct – its transnational and local dimensions are equally important. In interwar Poland, it was situated at the intersection of the local and the global, the ethnic and the universal, the national and the cosmopolitan. In Mandatory Palestine, the Jewish settlements were part of the transnational and transethnic interconnection on global and local levels.

The transnational aspects of Polish popular culture had their own unique dimensions. The Polish nation state encouraged the development of an ethnonational Polish culture in which popular culture played an important role. At the same time, Jewish popular mass culture in interwar Poland had reached a zenith of richness, a vital manifestation of a Polish Jewish civilization soon to be annihilated by the Shoah.

During the 1930s, Mandatory Palestine had become one of the markets for consuming popular-culture commodities created in Poland. This is not surprising given that the growing urban centres, like Haifa or Tel Aviv, had absorbed masses of immigrants from Poland. According to estimates of the Polish Consulate in Tel Aviv, in 1936, every second inhabitant of this city of 140,000 people had come from Poland (Szulkin, 1981: 64). Tel Aviv housed restaurants, cafés, shops, tailors, hairdressers, large commercial and industrial enterprises established by Polish immigrants. In addition, the distribution of goods, customer service, and consumption followed practices used in Poland. Fashionable Café Ratzki of the 1930s, frequented by the intellectual elite, was often

compared to those in Warsaw that attracted a similar clientele (Naor, 2006: 76–77).

Despite strong Zionist efforts to promote Hebrew culture, Polish Jewish immigrants continued to consume cultural commodities from their old land. They bought record albums of popular music made in Poland in Polish, Hebrew, and Yiddish. Films made in Poland attracted large audiences in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa and were advertised and reviewed in the daily Hebrew press.

Cultural commodities made in Poland in Polish, Hebrew, and Yiddish, were well received by a wide public in urban Jewish Mandatory Palestine. Thus, Palestine was an integral part of the commercial circuit for Poland's popular culture between the wars. In 1934, Hanka Ordonówna (Marianna Tyszkiewicz) and Eugeniusz Bodo toured here, performing throughout the region (Ordonówna, 1934; Bodo, 1935). These stars' tours of Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, and other Jewish settlements not only represented yet another aspect of the reception of Polish popular culture in Palestine, but also reflected the mutually beneficial cultural and commercial relationships that were created by the said Polish performers.

The audience for these performances consisted mainly of Jewish immigrants from Poland but some non-Polish speakers also attended these shows. This audience's consumption did not always result in unconditional adoption or understanding of nuances. Ideologically committed Hebrew-language print media, like the socialist daily *Davar*, criticized Polish popular culture producers and consumers alike (Helman, 2002).

Acclimating to the Local

The immigrant community from Poland also mediated the transfer of popular cultural practices and assets from Poland to Palestine. This mediation was not simply a matter of "copying and pasting": the performers adapted their performances to suit the old public in the new

land. Bodo sang his well-known "Jewish" *szlagiers* but he also acted in sketches tailored for his Palestine concerts, which poked fun at his being a goy while performing in perfect Hebrew. When touring Palestine, Ordonka (another alias of Tyszkiewicz) interpreted new songs in Hebrew prepared for the occasion and continued performing them in Poland after her return.

Not only did live performances in Mandatory Palestine need to adjust to the local audience, but the transnational consumption of the songs or sketches performed or recorded in Poland acquired new significance in the new land. The popular culture reinforced the listeners' emotional links to their old homeland, as well as emphasized the unbridgeable geographical, emotional, and social distances between the old and the new.

The consumption of Polish popular culture in Palestine changed the meaning of cultural assets. The popular Polish songs were translated into Hebrew, recorded in Poland and sold in Poland and in Palestine. These songs had "international" rhythms suggesting a cosmopolitan or metropolitan style, but through translation they acquired new meanings. The Hebrew version of one of the great Polish *szlagiers*, the tango "Ostatnia niedziela" (The Last Sunday) – composed by Jerzy Petersburski, with lyrics by Zenon Friedwald (1935) – was Judaized, becoming "Ha-Shabat ha-Achronah" (The Last Saturday) (Assaf, 2019). Adam Aston performed the song in Polish, and, using the name Ben Levi, he performed the Hebrew version as well.

Another example of a song that acquired new local meanings through transnational transference is Mieczysław Miksne's "Madagaskar," a satirical response to Polish colonial and antisemitic fantasies about conquering Madagascar and resettling Polish Jews there. The Yiddish version retained the ironic tone of the absurd colonial dream and a carnivalesque inversion of dominant values. In Hebrew, in Palestine, its political critique was aimed at the restrictions imposed by the British Mandate.[2] This kind of misreading shows how adaptation to a new context

[2] See: https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=4275&phrase=%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%92%D7%A1%D7%A7%D7%A8 [access: 3.12.2024].

shifted forms of popular culture in the process of transferring Poland's popular culture to local realities.

These elements of popular culture flowing from Poland to Palestine had the flavour of vernacular cosmopolitanism. In contrast, those popular culture assets transferred from Palestine to Poland exuded "authentic" localism. The impresario Moshe Valin nurtured and positioned Bracha Zefira, a Jerusalem-born Hebrew singer of Yemenite origins, as a Yemenite/Oriental singer (Shefi, 1941: 30–32, 36–38; Valin, 1998: 40–45).

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Oriental rhythms and songs permeated the Polish popular musical soundscape, especially in songs with a foxtrot rhythm. Around the same time, folk music and folkloric dances, like the hora, became integral elements of Polish Jewish culture, particularly for Jewish youth engaged in Zionism. The direction that cultural forms travelled between the two lands reflected not only the local consumers, but also those assets considered suitable for exchange.

Thus, in terms of popular culture, interwar Poland and Palestine formed what anthropologist Marie Louise Pratt has termed a "contact zone," a concept applied by Eugenia Prokop-Janiec, in the context of Polish and Jewish transculturation (Prokop-Janiec, 2013: 37–40). In the case studied here, the contact zone was partly based on the business cultures and structures that facilitated the transfer of films, performances, and music. Especially in the 1930s, it also promoted an aspirational metropolitan-style culture. Considering Warsaw and Tel Aviv as sites of cultural exchange is important, not only because it positions two heretofore neglected locations in the transnational network of popular culture, but also because doing so contributes to our understanding of how this popular culture operated in relation to the modern world.

Transferring Transnationally

The transferring process entailed far more than mere mechanical adaptations. In Mandatory Palestine it was also propelled by the agency of

artists, cultural entrepreneurs, and consumers. Many of the consumers had succeeded in attaining middle-class status and could afford to consume cultural commodities from their old land. This migrant community established a "bond" with their compatriots overseas and had the capacity to serve as a "bridge" to other groups in their new land, such as other European bourgeoisie immigrants or younger pioneers who identified with a socialist ethos.

This transnational bonding intensified with the immigration of Polish artists and creators. Many artists found new homes in the secular, urban areas of Tel Aviv or Haifa, performing or recreating familiar elements of popular culture from the old country for the local bourgeoisie in the growing cities. As Beth Holmgren notes, Tel Aviv, more than any other non-Polish city, was the most suitable second home for a "Polish-style" literary cabaret (Holmgren, 2014).

The immigrants who had settled in Palestine earlier created communities that were shaped by norms that were also based on values and practices from the old country. These norms, when combined with the immigrants' social capital in their new homeland, facilitated the absorption of the newcomers into the migrant communities. In their new cities, immigrant artists found an economic niche in the leisure culture performed in cafés, theatres, and dance halls in the spirit of prewar Poland's literary cabaret.

A good example is the Hebrew-language literary cabarets in Mandatory Palestine, created in the image of those in Poland, whose artists performed in Polish and Yiddish. The transnational network of artists enabled Itshak Nożyk, an artist active in Vilnus and Warsaw, and the musician Stanisław Ferszko to begin working for the Hebrew literary cabaret Ha-Matate [Hebrew for the broom]. Ha-Matate theatre opened in 1928, but its ensemble and artistic style consolidated only after Nożyk joined the troupe in 1933 (Zer-Zion, 2018: 87–89).

The works performed by Ha-Matate, particularly the emphasis on political critique and the songs, reflect a clear cultural transference from Poland to Tel Aviv. The Polish literary cabarets dramatized the upheavals of modern life in interwar Poland and the absurdities of the bourgeois

life. The Yiddish literary cabaret in Poland focused on the upheavals of Jewish life and the absurdities of Jewish politics. Similarly, Ha-Matate became a stage for political satire, critically examining the commotions and disorders of life in Mandatory Palestine and the absurdities of local Zionist institutions. It addressed political events, questions of immigration, and what many of the Polish immigrants in Palestine considered the absurdities of "Hebrew work" and the "Hebrew language."

The above mentioned literary cabarets used way of speaking, accent, or ethnolect differently but with the same intent: to sharpen sociopolitical critique. In Poland, the *szmontses* genre (performing comic sketches or songs with a "Yiddish" accent and a "Yiddish" way of speaking Polish) was a way to deal with the commotions of modern life, the clumsy efforts to insert into the Polish bourgeoisie, adopting superficially ambitious cultural practices. The Yiddish interwar literary cabaret portrayed the archetype of the Polonized Jew who used Polish words while talking Yiddish to mock the vain efforts to integrate into society and attain upward mobility. And in the Hebrew cabarets, artists criticized the absurdities of local institutions by using the German immigrants' "Yekkes" accent and their way of speaking Hebrew (Levy, 2016).

The network of artists transplanted also the Argentinian tango, mediated through the Polish tango. This circuitous route may explain the idiosyncrasies of the Israeli tango. The Polish and Hebrew tangos were more delicate and much slower than the Argentinian prototype; their melodies were generally imbued with lamentation and nostalgia, with the orchestration essentially remaining in the background. Using the tango rhythms, the creators transferred a popular international rhythm to Palestine and expressed a local interpretation of cosmopolitanism.

Transforming Locally

World War II did not interrupt and, in fact, even increased the influence of Polish popular culture in Palestine. From 1940 onwards,

many Polish war refugees began to arrive there. Many of the artists who found shelter in Tel Aviv or Haifa performed in the spirit of prewar Poland's literary cabarets in revues or musical cafés for a local audience. The relatively healthy economy in Tel Aviv gave the Polish community there the means to consume the popular culture productions that the Warsaw celebrities brought to Palestine then. The encounter between those who had already established themselves in the city and the newly arrived artist-refugees drove the financial success of the cabaret genre *à la polonaise* in Palestine.

These "artists on the move" strategically used the interconnected Palestine – Poland's popular culture market to maximize their economic options outside Poland. The literary cabaret Li-La-Lo [For Me, for Her, for Him] opened in November 1944 in Tel Aviv. Its name not only suggested the universal character of the repertoire but also recalled the prewar iconic Warsaw literary cabaret, Qui Pro Quo. About forty authors, musicians, composers, singers, directors, and masters of ceremony from Poland performed at Li-La-Lo (Gross, 2000). The cabaret's first shows relied heavily on the Polish literary cabaret tradition and some Polish actors brought their own repertoire (Valin, 1998: 131).

For example, Fryderyk Járosy directed and performed in revues at Li-La-Lo. He designed an "uncompromising programme, calculated to educate the audience" (Mieszkowska, 2016: 211), using both Hebrew and Polish on stage. Use of the Polish language and of cultural codes and symbols both increased the support that artists in Palestine received from their compatriots and helped create a new culture in a new language in the new land. It was a process of transferring transnationally, transforming locally. Not everyone was pleased by the visibility and prominence of Polish content in the cabaret's offerings. Insufficient transformation in the process of transferring made the original too visible and inappropriate in the eyes of some people in the audience.

Immigration from Poland on the job opportunities in the field of popular culture affected the condition of veterans and newcomers alike. A new labour market was soon created in the field of popular culture that provided the Polish community with the entertainment they had

enjoyed in their country of birth. The relative prosperity of the old immigrants from Poland enabled them to consume the old-new popular culture. The Polish "artists on the move" influenced the local communities. In Palestine, their networking activities connected the small local artistic community to cultural capitals around the world, while the combination of social and cultural capital these artists brought from Poland generated economic capital in Palestine in the form of a nascent entertainment scene.

The Polish immigrants were able to absorb Hebrew artistic styles and cultural capital through encounters and collaborations with local artists and local institutions. They had also a significant impact on popular culture in Palestine, increasing its innovation, entrepreneurship, and financial success. This network-based popular culture industry in Mandatory Palestine, which had its origins in the prewar Warsaw–Tel Aviv transnational network of popular culture, produced an idiosyncratic interpretation of a cosmopolitan-style culture as an alternative to a dominant, hyper-serious Zionist discourse.

Transferring and Transforming as Resistance: Dzigan and Shumacher

After the establishment of the State of Israel, new artists from Poland joined the wave of immigrants that settled in the new homeland. On March 1950 Shimen Dzigan and Yisroel Shumacher arrived in Israel from Poland: they were the most famous Yiddish comedy duo in prewar Poland, where they performed in Yiddish literary cabarets. In Israel they began performing Yiddish in their own theatre and attracted a large audience, despite obstacles the new state placed in the way of Yiddish culture.

Their show was adapted to Israeli society in several ways. Dzigan exchanged his Hasidic clothing for the kibbutznik's shorts, replaced his small yarmulka for a round brimless hat, and substituted Israeli

political references for those dealing with Polish generals and ministers. As Diego Rotman wrote, "Their Israeli identity did not manifest in an acquisition of the Hebrew language but rather in their talent for addressing the local, current experience, exposing the nation's weak spots" (Rotman, 2021: 174).

But their inclusion into the Israeli scene was not easy. In response to the Hebraist Israeli policy, they included some songs in Hebrew. The general public's denigration of Yiddish and the pressure to perform in Hebrew transformed Dzigan and Shumacher's transgressive performance in Yiddish into an act of linguistic opposition. "This particular act was part of the battle to preserve in the State of Israel the multilingualism and multiculturalism that had characterized Jewish culture in the diaspora […]," claims Rotman (Rotman, 2021: 180). Performing in an anti-establishment language in a "diasporic" tradition, they complicated the Israeli dichotomy between a hegemonic, elitist Ashkenazi culture and a subjugated Mizrahi culture. Cultural repression of Yiddish culture would be a crucial element in reinventing the interwar popular culture of Poland in Israel in the first two decades of the twenty-first century.

Reimagining Interwar Popular Culture

During the last third of the twentieth century, Polish influences on Hebrew popular culture were nearly entirely obscured. The song "The Last Saturday" was a hit in the 1970s sung by the popular Israeli singer Yardena Arazi but a notable website characterized its lyrics and music as "anonymous popular folklore."[3] At around the same time, Polish Yiddish interwar songs themselves enjoyed a renaissance. Chava Alberstein began recording and performing songs from the secular Yiddish repertoire,

[3] See: https://shironet.mako.co.il/artist?type=lyrics&lang=1&prfid=552&wrkid=16453 [access: 1.12.2024].

providing a cultural alternative to folk Hebrew songs in a hyper-Zionist political atmosphere.

In the twenty-first century, we observe a rediscovery of interwar Polish popular culture in new media and the academy, in music, and fringe theatre, with each interacting and enriching the other. *Oneg Shabbat*, a very popular Israeli blog, has been published since 2007 by David Assaf, a professor of Jewish history at Tel Aviv University. He devoted several posts to how interwar songs transferred from Poland to Palestine and Israel, going from Polish and Yiddish to Hebrew. Assaf has also written a book that illustrates intercultural connections through songs (Assaf, 2019). Some historians of Israeli theatre, such as Dorit Yerushalmi, Shelly Zer-Zion, and Diego Rotman, have explored the Yiddish and Polish roots of Hebrew theatre. This academic research has nurtured a third route of transmission: the rediscovery through mainstream and fringe theatre of interwar Poland's popular culture in its Yiddish variant.

The performances of the fringe theatre *Esther's Cabaret* are similarly shaped by the academy. Ya'ad Biran works closely with this theatre group. Its productions recreate the atmosphere of interwar literary cabarets in Poland and draw on various Yiddish performance traditions, particularly those rooted in the United States. Esther's Cabaret marks interwar Yiddish culture as both "diaspora and jargon," transforming the derogatory meaning of these terms in the mainstream Israeli popular culture into a positive vernacular cosmopolitanism, liberalism, inclusivist terms. Some productions also align themselves with the marginalized Mizrahi culture, paying tribute to diasporic traditions as transnational and cosmopolitan in contrast to a dominant chauvinist, hyper-Zionist discourse.

It is worth noting that while *Ester's Cabaret* reinvents Poland's interwar popular culture, it primarily focuses on its Yiddish variant. It placed it in contemporary Israel, adds a Yiddish twist to an imagined German-American tradition but overlooks the Polish ingredients of the theatrical tradition. Transforming and reimagining the Yiddish *kleynkunst* theatre provides a way to resist contemporary tendencies in Israeli politics and culture. It opposes ultra-nationalist policies, challenges the

long-standing hegemony of the Hebrew language, critiques rampant messianism, and can question homophobic discourse. Ultimately, it helps renegotiate a sense of belonging within an increasingly fragmented Israeli society while realigning the creators, performers, and audience with other subordinated Israeli cultures and discourses.

Conclusions

Elements of popular culture from interwar Poland gradually permeated popular culture in Mandatory Palestine and later the State of Israel, eventually becoming an integral part of cultural life in the country. In the transfer of cultural practices through theatre, music, and songs their original meanings underwent change. The new translated forms transformed them, imparting new meanings and challenging older patterns. Transferring is transforming. Within this transcultural process, distinctions between foreign and familiar and between cosmopolitan and parochial were reshaped. On the one hand, differences blurred, but on the other hand, this process also reinforced groupings and identities. Over time, the overseas origins of these cultural transfer were internalized very deeply. However, in recent decades, scholars, intellectuals, artists, and consumers have rediscovered them.

What prompted this rediscovery? There are several possible explanations. I argue that those involved in rediscovering and recreating interwar popular culture made in Poland have been reacting to three elements of the nationalist discourse of Netanyahu's administration. The first is its ethnocentrism, equating Jewish ethnonationalism with radical nationalism. The second element portrays East-Central European Jewish culture as diasporic. The third is the populist anti-Ashkenazi rhetoric that labels East-Central European Jews as an "old" elite and their culture as elitist, oppressive, and seeking to marginalize Mizrahi Jewish culture.

This process of rediscovery, reinterpretation, and recreation of Polish interwar culture reflects the ongoing project of Jewish identity negotiation. Artists, scholars, and performers who feel oppressed by what they consider Netanyahu's nationalist and authoritarian regime, find in Poland's interwar popular culture sociocultural and sociopolitical alternatives that, although unrealized, possess a metropolitan and cosmopolitan flavour in a somewhat counterfactual manner.

These delegitimized elites mourn what they perceive as a persecution of humanist values and seek a cosmopolitan vision that reinterprets the meaning of Israeli culture. The recreation of prewar Polish songs, literary cabarets, and Yiddish theatres reflects a yearning for a culture that can laugh at its own limitations. It offers a consciously contradictory parochial-cosmopolitan alternative that challenges both the prestigious intellectual cultures of the academy and many aspects of postmodern life.

This rediscovery is often de-historized. Its significance lies in its differentiation from mainstream Israeli-Hebrew popular culture, its Mizrahi variant, and the ubiquitous Americanized Hebrew pop culture. It reinvents an alternative mass culture, which again invigorates audiences with the experience of living in a contemporaneous imagined national cosmopolitan alternative.

Bibliography

Assaf D., 2019, *Shir hu Lo Rak Milim: Pirkey masa' ba-Zemer ha-'Ivri*, Am Oved, Tel Aviv.

Bodo E., 1935, *Jestem w Palestynie*, „5-ta Rano," 19 January, p. 8.

Gross N., 2000, *W drodze i po drodze – polskie korzenie hebrajskiego kabaretu*, „Archiwum Emigracji", vol. 3, pp. 103–111.

Helman A., 2002, *"Even the Dogs in the Street Bark in Hebrew": National Ideology and Everyday Culture in Tel-Aviv*. "Jewish Quarterly Review," vol. 92 (3/4), pp. 359–382.

Holmgren B., 2014, *A Warsaw Star in Tel Aviv: Fryderyk Járosy at Li-La-Lo, 1947–1948*. "Cosmopolitan Review. A Transatlantic Review of Things Polish in English," vol. 6 (2), available online at: http://cosmopolitanreview.com/fryderyk-jarosy/#:~:text=2%20%E2%80%94%20Summer%20%2F%20Features-,A%20Warsaw%20Star%20in%20Tel%20Aviv%3A%20Fryderyk%20J%C3%A1rosy%20at%20%E2%80%9CLi,%2DLo%2C%E2%80%9D%201947%2D1948&text=On%20November%2025%2C%201947%2C%20the,Tel%20Aviv's%20Jascha%20Heifetz%20Hall.

Levy T., 2016, *Ha-yekim ve-ha-te'atron ha-ivri: be-ma'avak ben mizrakh le-ma'arav erope*, Resling, Tel Aviv.

Mieszkowska A., 2008, *Jestem Jarosy! Zawsze ten sam*, Muza, Warszawa.

Mieszkowska A., 2016, *Mistrzowie kabaretu: Marian Hemar i Fryderyk Járosy – Od Qui Pro Quo do Londynu*, Wydawnictwo Zwierciadło, Warszawa.

Naor M., ed., 2006, *Beit café makom Katan ko! Beit Café makom adir! Café Ratzki: Café safruti be Tel-Aviv 1932–1935*, Modan, Tel Aviv.

Ordonówna H., 1934, *A geshprekh mit Hanka Ordonuvna ofn veg kan Erets Isroel*, "Hayntige Nayes," 9 March, p. 2.

Prokop-Janiec E., 2013, *Pogranicze polsko-żydowskie. Topografie i teksty*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków.

Rotman D., 2021, *The Yiddish Stage as a Temporary Home: Dzigan and Shumacher's Satirical Theater 1927–1980*, De Gruyter.

Shefi Y. A., 1941, *Meyomano shel haempresario Moshe Valin*, Bamat haomanim, Tel Aviv.

Szulkin M., 1981, *Żydzi palestyńscy w świetle raportów polskiej służby dyplomatycznej, II (1936–1939)*, „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego," vol. 117 (1), pp. 63–82.

Valin M., 1998, *Yamim shel khol vekokhavim: Impresario ivri beartzeinu haktantonet*, Yaron Golan.

Zer-Zion S., 2018, *Hard to Be a Jew in Mandatory Tel Aviv: Relocating the Eastern European Jewish Experience*, "Jewish Social Studies," vol. 24 (1), pp. 75–99.

Online sources

https://bethshalomaleichem.co.il/esthers-cabaret/

http://cosmopolitanreview.com/fryderyk-jarosy/

https://onegshabbat.blogspot.com/2015/03/blog-post_27.html
https://shironet.mako.co.il/artist?type=lyrics&lang=1&prfid=552&wrkid=16453
https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=4275&phrase=%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%92%D7%A1%D7%A7%D7%A8

MARCOS SILBER – Associate Professor at the Department of Jewish History and a co-founder of Haifa Interdisciplinary Unit for Polish Studies (HIUPS). His main area of research interests are relationships between ethnicity and civil rights. He is the author of books on Jewish diasporic nationalism in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia, Jewish and Polish popular culture during the interwar period, Polish-Israeli relations and migrations, most prominently: Najważniejsze publikacje: *Different Nationality and Equal Citizenship! The Efforts to Achieve Autonomy for Polish Jewry during the First World War* (2014), *Polish-Israeli Diplomatic Relations. A selection of documents (1945–1967)* (with S. Rudnickim, 2009).

MARCOS SILBER – Profesor w Department of Jewish History, współzałożyciel Interdyscyplinarnego Ośrodka Studiów Polskich na Uniwersytecie w Hajfie (HIUPS). Główne pole jego zainteresowań badawczych stanowią związki pomiędzy etnicznością i prawami obywatelskimi. Autor prac poświęconych żydowskiemu nacjonalizmowi diasporowemu na ziemiach polskich, na Litwie i w Rosji, żydowskiej i polskiej kulturze popularnej w okresie międzywojennym, relacjom polsko-izraelskim i migracjom. Najważniejsze publikacje: *Different Nationality and Equal Citizenship! The Efforts to Achieve Autonomy for Polish Jewry during the First World War* (2014), *Polish-Israeli Diplomatic Relations. A selection of documents (1945–1967)* (z S. Rudnickim, 2009).

E-mail: msilber@univ.haifa.ac.il