

Use of statistics in official visual documents commissioned by the Judenrat of the Łódź Ghetto

On July 6, 1941, an academy was held in the Łódź Ghetto to celebrate the first anniversary of the Statistical Department, a unit that administered the Ghetto's population policy. Organizing such events by and for bureaucratic apparatus was a common practice in the Łódź ghetto. The ghetto elite gathered in a "grand hall at 4 Miodowa Street, greened with flowers and decorated with ornaments."¹ During this ceremony, an album containing an illustrated statistical yearbook showing the functioning of every aspect covered by Jewish administration. Production facilities and the ghetto's health, welfare, and education systems were meticulously described. It was produced by Jewish artists employed by the Graphics Office, part of the Statistical Department. A long series of photographs captured both the proceedings of the ceremony and the interior decoration, which, in addition to plants and paper decorations, included statistical posters also prepared by employees of the Graphics Office. Photos also show the collective viewing of the yearbook, which, as the Ghetto Chronicle noted, "reproduces the gigantic momentum of the work of the entire apparatus of the Chairman of the Jewish Council of Elders."² In addition to the heads of the department, Henryk Neftalin and Samuel Erlich, the speech was also delivered by Chairman Chaim Mordechai Rumkowski, who commented on the creation of the albums: "The persistent work of the entire team has yielded the creation of a monumental document of our achievements, a document based on the strict meaning of numbers, and therefore on the most fundamental and certain basis."³ Those „achievements” were implementation of adopted survival strategy through work. Right from the closure in April 1940, the Ghetto was organized according to Rumkowski's motto: *Unser einziger Weg ist Arbeit*. Efficient production was meant to ensure the survival of the community that had been crowded into a small area in the northern, most underdeveloped districts of Łódź. The Chairman saw his previous merits and wanted to

¹ Julian Baranowski, et al. eds., *Kronika getta Łódzkiego / Litzmannstadt getto, 1941 - 1944*, vol. 1, 5 vols (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2009), 229.

² Baranowski, et al. eds., *Kronika getta Łódzkiego* 229.

³ Baranowski, et al. eds., *Kronika getta Łódzkiego* 229.

document them for the future. However, the purpose of creating visual documents in the Graphics Office was not only commemorative or historical, although this concern played a major role in the decision to commission such materials. In the eyes of the Chairman, the only way for the ghetto's population to survive the war was to organize efficient industrial plants within the closed district to occupy an important place in the Reich's economy. So, it was crucial to convince visiting German delegations that the Łódź closed district was a suitable manufacturing place to constantly solicit production orders. The albums and posters were treated as persuasive tools. They were Ghetto advertisements or product catalogs, made consequently as a kind of Ghetto branding showing a desired image of the „city of labor,” as Rumkowski called the Ghetto.⁴ This vital policy evidenced the validity of the strategy adopted by the Judenrat. In doing so, they appealed to many threads vital for modern discourses with placed centrally modernization and rational production, both in the content and by using modern stylistics, media, and iconography. They also created counter-images to create in Nazi propaganda image of Ostjuden. Rumkowski believed in the language of statistics, which he considered an objective method of describing reality, as evidenced by quoted above passage from his speech. Visualized data enhanced with propaganda slogans, texts, and images in materials produced in the Graphics Office hence were supposed to be handy tools to persuade the positive image of the entity he led and contribute to its survival.

The important role of those albums and posters in Ghetto politics was indicated by the number of forces and resources involved in their creation despite an economy of constant shortages. The Graphics Office was established specifically for producing those running numerous pages and large-scale artifacts, and it continued their creation almost until the liquidation of the Ghetto in 1944. The versatility of the medium resulted in the albums having different functions and addresses, which changed over the course of the Ghetto's operation. The documents were gifts to the German delegations visiting the Ghetto or showed during factories visitations. Albums were also given to Rumkowski and Jewish high-ranking officials as gifts from subordinates to provide an alibi after the war in favor of so called „protection” – additional food coupons or other privileges.

These materials present a positive image of the Ghettos, a kind of propaganda of success. Today, both the narrative and the very form they use are incompatible with the

⁴ Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski, 'Referat Sprawozdawczy Przewodniczącego Rady Żydowskiej Getta w Łodzi Chaima Rumkowskiego z 15.05.1941 r. wygłoszony Przed Przedstawicielami Ziomkostwa Łódzkiego w Warszawie.', in *Archiwum Ringelbluma. T. 10: Losy Żydów łódzkich (1939 - 1942) / oprac. Monika Polit*, ed. Monika Polit, Wyd. 1 (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2013), 263.

decorum of the Holocaust. Their perceptive reading, however, despite the dissonance they provoke, turns out to be a valuable source for studying the history of Łódź's gated community. In this article, through an analysis of official visual materials created in the Ghetto, I would like to show how and why the successive stages of the implementation of the survival strategy adopted by Rumkowski were presented with references to the cultural-political program of Modernity and by extensive use of statistics.

Ghetto

The creation of *Judenräte*, Jewish councils with broad responsibilities within Ghettos, was a deliberate act by the Nazis. By introducing a buffer element between themselves and the Jewish population, they gained a greater ability to control the situation in the ghettos. The autonomy granted to the *Judenräte* made it possible to undertake organizational activities, which in Łódź, under Rumkowski, took on an exceptional character. The closed district of Litzmannstadt, as the Nazis renamed Łódź, was established on February 8, and was completely isolated from the rest of the city on April 30, 1940. Although it was planned as a temporary solution, it turned out to be the second longest-lasting ghetto during World War II. The creation of the Łódź ghetto was also "the first major ghetto-forming operation, which was the prototype of all subsequent operations."⁵ During its more than four-year period of operation, about two hundred thousand people were imprisoned in it. The organization of life in the Litzmannstadt Ghetto was handled by a corps of more than twelve thousand clerks.⁶ The developed bureaucratic system, created to efficiently manage the ghetto, emulated the way the modern state was organized.⁷ Cooperation with this well-organized „micro-state”, and economic rationale were supposed to appeal to German officials and ensure the survival of the Jews gathered there.

Łódź was a thriving center of the textile industry in the Second Polish Republic, and its second-largest city, with a significant Jewish population. The factories remaining in the enclosed Ghetto territory meant that after its closure it still had great economic potential. Factories and workshops organized on Rumkowski's initiative were able to produce

⁵ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2003), 222.

⁶ Andrea Löw, *Juden Im Getto Litzmannstadt: Lebensbedingungen, Selbstwahrnehmung, Verhalten* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 84.

⁷ See. Adam Sitarek, 'Wire Bound State': Structure and Functions of the Jewish Administration of the Łódź Ghetto (Łódź; Warszawa: Institute of National Remembrance, 2017).

efficiently, despite the dire living conditions of the labors who worked there. The population was resettled in the poorest districts of Łódź - Bałuty, Marysin, and the Old Town - which had mostly low wooden buildings, often without sanitary facilities. Widespread cramped conditions, lack of sanitation, lack of medicine, and crowding of up to one hundred and sixty thousand people in a small area at one time facilitated the spread of disease. Driven by racist policies and hygienic-epidemiological issues, the Nazis required the Judenrat to collect statistical data, primarily on disease and mortality among the residents. These issues were of greatest interest to the authorities also because initially, as I mentioned, the ghetto was assumed to be temporary. The president of the Kalisz regency, Friedrich Uebelhoer, who was responsible for organizing this gated neighborhood, wrote in an order issued:

The creation of the ghetto is, of course, only a transition measure. I shall determine at what time and with what means the ghetto—and thereby also the city of Łódź — will be cleansed of Jews. In the end, at any rate, we must burn out this bubonic plague.⁸

It is worth noting the language used by Nazi functionaries to describe Jews - they were depicted as carriers of disease or directly identified with illness. The progressive dehumanization and reification were accompanied by the medicalization of otherness. We can encounter a similar phenomenon in German documents, created before the establishment of ghettos in the General Government, in which "hygienic arguments" played an important role. German physicians advocating ghettoization held the firm belief that "the Jewish population is a carrier of typhus."⁹ The portrayal of the Jewish community as a sanitary threat was constructed for propaganda purposes, but the conditions created by the Nazis in the ghettos quickly led to the fiction becoming reality, and subsequently became a major argument for the need to abolish them. Insufficient food of poor quality rationed by the Germans meant that Łódź ghetto residents were constantly starving. Disastrous nutritional, housing and sanitary conditions contributed to a very high mortality rate, which the ghetto authorities were required to document in the form of visualized. However, the ghetto's Graphics Office produced more than just documents for the Germans. In addition to the mortality or morbidity collected at the beginning of operation of Statistical Department, more detailed information

⁸ Hilberg, *The Destruction*, 224.

⁹ Hilberg, *The Destruction*, 225.

on many aspects of the Ghetto began to be collected and visualized for the Judenrat needs as well.¹⁰

Statistics

The collection of statistical data is a key element in the administration of a modern state. Since the mid-1800s, there has been a gradual increase in interest in data as state administrations took steps to enable them to administer efficiently. In addition to the codification of language or the expansion of the road network within nation-states, steps were taken to facilitate the gathering of data and the administration of state resources - units of measurement were unified, and cadastral maps were created, necessary for the establishment of a more extensive and organized tax system. Standardization made the managed society more "legible" to the authorities and thus susceptible to change. Gradually, the subject of the state began to be not only resources but also its inhabitants and their bodies. As Michel Foucault noted, since the 17th century, a change in the forms of power can be observed: the sovereign power over death was replaced by the management of securing and developing life, i.e. biopower.¹¹ A decisive factor in this change was the growth of industrial and agricultural production in the 18th century, as well as the accumulating of medical and scientific knowledge about the human body.

Foucault convincingly shows that biopower plays out on two levels. Beginning in the 18th century, the body of the individual commenced to be increasingly disciplined to increase its power, which can be exploited economically and at the same time politically subjugated. The new technology of power, whose development began in the mid-18th century, is the "biopolitics,"¹² directed at the social body, understood not so much as groups of specific individuals, but as an independent entity - the population. The technology deals with phenomena arising from the common life of humans as a biological entity and aims to prevent the associated risks. It is overseen by central state institutions, and one of its tools is the collection of statistical demographic data on issues such as mortality, fertility, and morbidity. The data collected is also used to set behavioral norms, which are then internalized by

¹⁰ Fajtlowicz (Gliksmann), Sara. 1971. "Testimony of Sara (Gliksmann) Fajtlowicz, Born in Łódź, Poland, 1915, Regarding Her Experiences as a Painter in the Statistics Department of the Łódź Ghetto." ID: 3557434. Yad Vashem Archives, 4.

¹¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 140. ¹² Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76* (London: Penguin, 2008), 243.

individuals. Thus, the tools of statistics provided not only a sense of control, which grew as science and technology developed, providing the ability to collect, store, and analyze more and more detailed data. Through control and surveillance, but also by setting norms, they enabled the design of a vision of an ideal world of progress for the future.

The recourse to "rational" statistics stemmed from modernity's characteristic belief in the measurability of the world and progress. These ideals, dating back to the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, were reinforced over time in the period distinguished by James C. Scott's period of high modernism, the beginning of which the American anthropologist sees in the German economic mobilization during World War I. High modernism was based on an ideology that could be called modernism on steroids. It was characterized by a belief in linear progress and the ability to administratively shape all aspects of social life and nature, and an increasing level of control over them.¹³ It is also characteristic of its uncritical assessment of the possibilities of science and technology as tools on the basis of which society and nature are shaped. The American scholar also links attempts to embody the assumptions of high modernism with authoritarian governments and a weak civil society that is unable to resist the use of the tools of the state apparatus to bring about momentous changes in the ways of living and working and in the worldview of the people who are governed from above.¹⁴ Significantly in the context of the Graphics Office material analyzed, Scott points to the characteristic view of rationality in aesthetic terms among enthusiasts of high modernism: " For them, an efficient, rationally organized city, village, or a farm was a city that looked regimented and orderly in a geometrical sense."¹⁵ Scott also notes that " A key characteristics of discourses of high modernism and of the public pronouncements of those states that have embraced it is a heavy reliance on visual images of heroic progress toward a totally transformed future."¹⁶ The impact of showing this type of future-oriented transformation with graphically designed statistics can be seen in the posters and albums illustrating the functioning of the Łódź ghetto created at the Graphics Office.

Visualizing statistics

¹³ James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2008), 90.

¹⁴ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 5.

¹⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 4.

¹⁶ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 95.

To introduce revolutionary concepts of the organization of societies, it was necessary to make use of such indispensable tools as statistical data, which, collected in increasing numbers, provided a means of both legitimizing the actions taken by the authorities and checking their effectiveness. Describing society as a whole, rather than as a collection of individuals, required the use of homogenization procedures. The legibility of the social structure was ensured for the authorities not only by the collection of data itself but also by the process of visualizing it. With the development of faith in the capabilities of science and its practical use, there was a gradual increase in the importance of statistics from the late 18th century onwards. It served both as a primary source of data for state administration and as a tool for communicating knowledge, persuading the introduction of science-based solutions, shaping opinions, and changing public attitudes. In public discourse, however, the rise of statistics was associated with the introduction of graphical forms of data presentation that made it easier to read. A breakthrough in this respect in the West came in the late 18th century when a horizontal timeline read from left to right began to be used to visualize data. In 1786, the Scottish engineer and economist William Playfair produced the *The Commercial and Political Atlas*, where he for the first time used line, area and bar charts, showing changes in values over specific time intervals. Significantly in the context of the subject matter analyzed in the text, some of the most important examples of the development of data visualization in the 19th century include graphs relating to hygiene and public health, such as John Snow's diagram showing the distribution of deaths during the cholera epidemic in London's Soho, or the graph developed by Florence Nightingale, which clearly showed how sanitary conditions in hospitals during the Crimean War affected patient mortality.

An important development in the way data is visualized occurred in the 1920s. The Austrian sociologist Otto Neurath, with a team of colleagues, created in 1925 the ISOTYPE (International System of Typographic Picture Education). It was intended to realize a kind of communicative utopia. Isotype was intended to enable the dissemination of knowledge beyond the limitations of language and culture and make basic knowledge accessible to all, regardless of background, education, or age. The presentation of data was by means of pictograms, which the leftist artist Gerd Arntz designed in a simplified, constructivist style. They were intended to be as legible as possible and the text on the graphs was kept to a minimum. ISOTYPE was also characterized by an easily assimilated and reproducible visual

grammar, based on multiplication of pictograms.¹⁷ This was intended to enable the viewer to compare the data placed on the graphs quickly and easier to imagine. Although the system in its full form has not become a widely used language, its impact on the graphic design of information has been significant. Easier-to-read data, developed graphically using pictograms, gained a place not only in specialized publications but was also used in more popular publications - brochures, magazines, daily newspapers, and advertisements. Information dressed in an attractive and easy-to-understand form became an element of a persuasive communication strategy, an argument to influence the recipient's decision. Similar principles of data visualization were referred to in documents produced on behalf of the Judenrat, which were intended to convince Nazi audiences of the sense of the continued existence of the ghetto.

Graphics Office

The establishment of the Graphics Office, a unit set up specifically for the visualization of data, testifies to the importance that the Judenrat of the Łódź Ghetto attributed to those materials and its visual politics. The documents created in the Office were designed to ensure their legibility through the widespread use of graphs in various forms - bar, line, and pie charts; pictograms were also used to show data. At the same time, the message contained in the pages of albums and posters was reinforced by using certain medias and style drawing from the achievements of Constructivist avant-garde. Artist employed by the Judenrat used sets of primary colors, geometric planes arranged on a composition grid, and the medium of photomontage together with charts, or by inscribing photomontages into the charts themselves. The photomontage, by juxtaposing several photographs in a single composition, was intended, according to avant-garde theorists, to influence the legibility and made assimilation of the message easier. Similarly to data visualized in diagrams, it could show the sequence of time and therefore change. The persuasive materials from the Ghetto, was always showing a positive change, a sign of progress and modernization. The form of these documents is also reminiscent of industrial advertisements or propaganda materials from the interwar period, which also used iconographic motifs referring to such modern values as rationalization and industrialization.

¹⁷ Maja Starakiewicz and Jakub Woynarowski, *Model i Metafora: Komunikacja Wizualna w Humanistyce* (Kraków: Korporacja 'Ha!art', 2019), 107.

The Graphics Office employed many talented Jewish artists, both Polish and deported from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, including Sara Fajtlowicz, Mojżesz Gurewicz, Szymon Szerman, and Pinchas Szwarc, an artist who in the pre-war period had been a pupil of Władysław Strzemiński, one of the most important figures of the Polish avant-garde. For both modern Soviet artists and the Western Constructivists, with whom Strzemiński's circle maintained constant contacts, formal issues were closely linked to ideas of the rationalization of artistic production, as well as to “joining the current civilizational progress, in accordance 'with the spirit of the times', with the direction set by the development of technology, modern economics and the scientific organization of work.”¹⁸ In theoretical declarations, such buzzwords as the efficiency of action, functionality, precision, discipline, mechanization and standardization, and industrialization were pronounced in all cases. In artistic practice, these concepts corresponded to a simplified form, reduced to elementary geometric figures, and maintained in pure, basic colors. Attention was focused on applied creativity, architecture, industrial design, advertising, and illustration. Modern design entailed a specific set of values, linked to the idea of progress and the modernization of society. Those values also underlie the ideological premises of the survival strategy chosen by Rumkowski, and hence geometrical style, modern media, and iconography as well as persuasive narration were natural choices for documents created in the Graphics Office.

Official visual documents

The albums created in the Graphics Office starting with the first one, given to Rumkowski during the anniversary of the Statistical Department described at the beginning of the text, had a similar narrative structure. Since the main theme of the albums was the functioning of the factories and departments of the Judenrat, they reflect the hierarchy of officials and employees. Almost every album opened with a picture of the chairman Rumkowski (the exception was an album intended for the head of the German ghetto administration, Hans Biebow), often bearing a dedication to him, followed by pages with pictures of department heads, senior officials, as well as ordinary officials and workers. Albums of individual units contained its brief history, followed by a visual representation the activities it carried out, such as a detailed description of the production process or medical

¹⁸ Stanisław Czekalski, *Awangarda i mit racjonalizacji: fotomontaż polski okresu dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki, t. 30 (Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2000), 53.

procedures. Albums could also contain a catalogue of goods produced in the described facility. Data visualizations were also part of the description of most phenomena, which enhanced the message. Each of these documents was created in a very similar style (minor differences depended on the style and preferred techniques of the artists making each documents) and using the same media, drawing on the avant-garde. However, these emulations were “softened,” what was common in the industrial-commercial design of the 1930s.¹⁹ Arrangements of simple geometric figures, planes, and lines in primary colors framed the photo-collage compositions. This made the materials very visually appealing and the message more direct, clear, and easier to absorb immediately. This style also evoked modernity, thanks to their morphological correspondence with the geometric shapes of the machine parts, but above all, the visualization of data in the linear or circular forms of graphs or simple pictograms.

Statistical data were also widely displayed on posters, which acted as propaganda decorations in the ghetto. The charts displayed in the departments and factories of the ghetto were materials addressed to the Jews or to visiting German delegations. They were intended to give the impression of documenting the good organization and control of the authorities over the district. During the celebration of the first anniversary of the Statistical Department in 1941, which I briefly described in the introduction, i.a. posters describing the education system in the Ghetto were displayed. Education was a field of activity of the administration to which Chairman Rumkowski, a declared Zionist who was involved in the care of orphans before the war, attached particular importance. The posters show detailed data on pupils, teachers, and the sanitary, hygienic and feeding actions carried out in the schools. To create posters artists used bar charts and pictograms. The level of detail in the data presented in the charts is striking. It not only testified to the degree of bureaucratization of the ghetto's administrative apparatus but was also to convince of the efficiency of the officials' activities. Showing the phenomena described on the posters and album pages with precise data was a sign of the control exercised by the ghetto administration over every aspect of the functioning of the closed Litzmannstadt district.

All the documents present a propagandistic picture far removed from how conditions in the ghetto were described by survivors. Statistics reporting progressive improvement were, as the creators indicated, exaggerated.²⁰ The goal was to convince ordering traders to place

¹⁹ Piotr Rypson, *Against All Odds: Polish Graphic Design, 1919-1949* (Kraków: Karakter, 2011), 46.

²⁰ Fajtlowicz, *Testimony*, 4.

orders, Nazi state functionaries to keep the ghetto functioning for as long as possible, and future ghetto historians to make positive assessments undertaken by ghetto officials headed by Rumkowski. The materials can also be seen as an attempt to change the Western European stereotype of Jews, which was consistently created by Third Reich propaganda to alienate them from society. Zygmunt Bauman has viewed the overlapping process of dehumanization and essentialization of Jewish society as an expression primarily of bureaucratic action.²¹ This process also occurred through propaganda. This can be clearly seen in the Nazi press, posters, and films. In materials created in the Graphics Office, the ghetto and the people imprisoned there were portrayed in a completely different way, closer to how the Aryan worker was shown in Nazi propaganda. In constructing the propaganda image of the Jews, the Germans combined contradictory constructs into a single narrative - the image of the capitalist making a fortune on the labor of the Aryan laborer, the Bolshevik, and the Ostjude – the poor resident of the shtetl, the bearer of infectious diseases, juxtaposed directly with the lice carrying typhus. Within this incoherent logic, Jews were portrayed as the society responsible for all the failures and changes brought about by the progress of modernity. The Jewish authorities' undertaking of an effort, typical of a modern state, to collect extensive data can, in my opinion, be interpreted as a counter-propaganda response to the anti-Semitic propaganda conducted by the Nazis. Using statistical data in the clear form of diagrams and charts, depicting growing employment, improving hygienic conditions, and the increase in the weight of children during semi-colonies organized in the ghetto, the closed district of Łódź was presented as a modern city. An organism that, thanks to excellent planning and the efficient work of its inhabitants, transformed from the oppressed unemployed (who fit the stereotypical image of Eastern European Jews) into productive workers, can ensure their survival by zealously producing goods that also contribute to the economy of the Third Reich. We can therefore view the albums and posters as an attempt to implement the project of reintroducing the Jewish community into the "structure" of the Nazi state.

The creation of such a vision can also be interpreted as a reference to and continuation of a certain tradition. References to the idea of progress were commonly used by the propaganda of the time, especially in countries that were established after 1918 and were just building their organizational structures and infrastructure. In the context of the meanings conveyed by the choice of a particular style, the graphic layer of albums and posters created in the Graphics Office of the Łódź Ghetto and extensive use of statistics can be treated not so

²¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 102, 188.

much as an accident, but as a conscious decision that was intended to strengthen the consistently built image of the ghetto as a modern, well-organized “microstate”²² undergoing modernization. This was served by increasing indicators, according to the forward-facing arrow of the graph's timeline.

Conclusion

The image of the Ghetto contained in the materials created in the Graphics Office differed significantly from the clandestine photos and testimonies left by survivors (even though sometimes they mask it poorly). Because of their functions, they had to convey a positive image of the Ghetto. They are uncommon Holocaust testimonies – Ghetto visual policy, or branding, and a vital element of the adopted survival strategy. As such they testify not to „true” Holocaust realities, but to the political agenda and ideologies of the Ghetto's Jewish headship. The photomontage compositions and statistics in those albums and posters "point to something that may never have been but could have happened. They are traces of real fiction."²³ "The "true fiction" of these documents and the "negativity of the testimony"²⁴ do not fit established narratives, hence they can be surprising and awkward for the contemporary viewer.²⁵ Because of that, they can be named both *varia*, which do not fit the Holocaust archive – as they evade taxonomies, are peripheral, unclassifiable, and until recently (almost) invisible – or/and *curiosa* – that challenge narratives, violate shared standards, desacralize, and unsettle disciplinary categories.²⁶

Yet we can also see in them the vision that was desperately pursued and evidence of the agency in the implementation of the adopted survival strategy. The faith in statistics as a science, which offered the possibility of showing an objective, measurable, and convincing

²² Szmul Rozensztajn, *Notatnik*, Biblioteka Świadczeń Zagłady (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2008), 48.

²³ Horst Bredekamp, “Bildakte Als Zeugnis Und Urteil,” in *Mythen Der Nationen: 1945, Arena Der Erinnerungen: Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Historischen Museums*, ed. Monika Flacke (Berlin: DHM, 2004), 47.

²⁴ Dorota Głowacka, ‘Współ-Pamięć, Pamięć „negatywna” i Dylematy Przekładu w „wycinkach” z Shoah Claude’a Lanzmanna’, *Teksty Drugie*, no. 6 (2016), 301.

²⁵ Erica Lehrer and Roma Sendyka applied the category of awkwardness to characterize Polish folk art about the Holocaust. I find this category useful for describing materials from the Graphics Office because they also can "provoke anxiety" as materials that "violates so many expectations," especially those of the Holocaust representation. See Erica Lehrer and Roma Sendyka, “Arts of Witness or Awkward Objects? Vernacular Art as a Source Base for ‘Bystander’ Holocaust Memory in Poland,” *Holocaust Studies* 25, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 321, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2019.1567667>.

²⁶ Erica Lehrer, *Awkward Objects in the Archive* roundtable (conference presentation at Awkward Objects, Curiosa and Varia: Exploring the Boundaries of the Holocaust Archive, 19 September 2022).

picture of reality, also shows how deeply rooted in the thinking of the ghetto's authorities were the modern ideas to which Rumkowski referred even under such dramatic conditions, adopting them as the basis for the line of actions, which in his eyes was the only possible strategy for the survival of the ghetto's Jewish community. The use of carefully collected records and statistics, which helped Nazis carried out the genocide, in the Łódź Ghetto was considered a tool to survive it. So, the careful analysis of this astounding narration created in the Graphics Office, their ideological premises, and the way they represent the Holocaust, can give us an alternative and more nuanced look at the history of the closed district of Łódź, and also at how we remember the Holocaust and how it functions in contemporary culture. A more rigorous process of reading these materials has the potential to confront and dismantle our entrenched perceptions and memories of the Holocaust and open us to new truths.

Bibliography:

Baranowski, Julian, Paweł Samuś, and Feliks Tych, eds. *Kronika getta Łódzkiego / Litzmannstadt getto, 1941 - 1944*. Wydanie 1. Vol. 1. 5 vols. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2009.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.

Bredenkamp, Horst. 'Bildakte Als Zeugnis Und Urteil'. In *Mythen Der Nationen: 1945, Arena Der Erinnerungen: Eine Ausstellung Des Deutschen Historischen Museums*, edited by Monika Flacke, 29–66. Berlin: DHM, 2004.

Czekalski, Stanisław. *Awangarda i mit racjonalizacji: fotomontaż polski okresu dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*. Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki, t. 30. Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2000.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. 1st American ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Foucault, Michel, François Ewald, and Michel Foucault. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*. Nachdr. Lectures at the Collège de France. London: Penguin, 2008.

(Gliksmann) Fajtlowicz, Sara. 'Testimony of Sara (Gliksmann) Fajtlowicz, Born in Lodz, Poland, 1915, Regarding Her Experiences as a Painter in the Statistics Department of the Lodz Ghetto', 1971. ID: 3557434. Yad Vashem Archives.

- Głowacka, Dorota. 'Współ-Pamięć, Pamięć „negatywna” i Dylematy Przekładu w „wycinkach” z Shoah Claude’a Lanzmanna’. *Teksty Drugie*, no. 6 (2016): 297–311.
- Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. 3rd ed. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Lehrer, Erica, and Roma Sendyka. 'Arts of Witness or Awkward Objects? Vernacular Art as a Source Base for “Bystander” Holocaust Memory in Poland’. *Holocaust Studies* 25, no. 3 (3 July 2019): 300–328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2019.1567667>.
- Löw, Andrea. *Juden Im Getto Litzmannstadt: Lebensbedingungen, Selbstwahrnehmung, Verhalten*. Schriftenreihe Zur Łództer Getto-Chronik. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006.
- Rozensztajn, Szmul. *Notatnik*. Biblioteka Świadectw Zagłady. Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2008.
- Rumkowski, Chaim Mordechaj. 'Referat Sprawozdawczy Przewodniczącego Rady Żydowskiej Getta w Łodzi Chaima Rumkowskiego z 15.05.1941 r. wygłoszony Przed Przedstawicielami Ziomkostwa Łodzkiego w Warszawie.' In *Archiwum Ringelbluma. T. 10: Losy Żydów łódzkich (1939 - 1942) / oprac. Monika Polit*, edited by Monika Polit, Wyd. 1., 262–63. Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2013.
- Rypson, Piotr. *Against All Odds: Polish Graphic Design, 1919-1949*. Kraków: Karakter, 2011.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Nachdr. Yale Agrarian Studies. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2008.
- Sitarek, Adam. *'Wire Bound State': Structure and Functions of the Jewish Administration of the Łódź Ghetto*. Łódź ; Warszawa: Institute of National Remembrance, 2017.
- Starakiewicz, Maja, and Jakub Woynarowski. *Model i Metafora: Komunikacja Wizualna w Humanistyce*. Wyd. 1. Kraków: Korporacja 'Ha!art', 2019.