PLACE. 3/5 TŁOMACKIE STREET

Agata Madejska ● Ronit Porat ● Anna Orłowska
Place. 3/5 Tłomackie Street

Curators: Anna Duńczyk-Szulc, Jakub Śwircz

The contemporary perception of memory is that of a process whereby reminiscences, affected by emotions and new events, are constantly reworked. Memory — an inner, individual phenomenon — is realized outside, in all kinds of artifacts, including the language used to recount memories. Sometimes we also forget. This is an inherent part of the process. We repress, erase, and reject in order to polish our memories and trim them to our intentions. Moreover, all these external creations can be further processed by the successive generations. We leave them memory that they may leave unread, causing it to slip into oblivion.

At the heart of *A Place. 3/5 Tłomackie Street* is the question of how a building remembers.

The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute building is an example of an artifact that endures. Through its solidity and structure, an effect of the collective effort of many people, it embodies the primary idea of endurance and survival, embedded in the very foundations of architecture. Its immobility means also that it has been an involuntary witness and protagonist of many events. These walls remember a time when Tłomackie Street was a completely different place, marking the unofficial boundary between the Jewish and Christian parts of Warsaw. The building's name and function have changed — it originally housed the Central Jewish Library and the Institute of Jewish Studies. Finally, the surroundings of the Edward Zachariasz Eber-designed building have undergone a drastic change. 3/5 Tłomackie Street was meant as a neighbor of and companion to the Great Synagogue, which from 1878 symbolized the aspirations of a part of the Jewish community. The architect can hardly be suspected to have assumed that the building — which was completed three years before the war — would be forced so literally to confirm its solidity and resist the aggression of the coming time.

War and the destruction it brought resulted in the annihilation of the architectural community between the Tłomackie Street building and the Great Synagogue; Warsaw, as it was rebuilt from ruins, endowed the burnt-out shell with a new function. Whereas in the past its memory was filled with organized collections, research work, and literary discussions, the time of war and the ghetto *programmed* the building to endure and protect the most precious. It was here that the Oneg Shabbat group met clandestinely, it was here that the Jewish Self-Help did its work.

After the war, the surviving building, still bearing traces of the recent fire, became the number one address where all kinds of Jewish mementoes and cultural artifacts were directed, as if its very survival was the best guarantee of their safety. It was here that research into the Ringelblum Archive began following its recovery.

The Jewish Historical Institute, though operating in the same place, has found itself in a completely different space in which its memory is realized — at the borderline of the past and present, in what after Aleida Assman could be called a contact zone. The building's memory consists of fragments, just as the building itself remains but a vestige of a no-longer-existent whole. The war resulted also in the destruction of the surrounding architecture, and Warsaw, rebuilt from scratch, endowed the building, burnt out and left like a stump, with a new function.

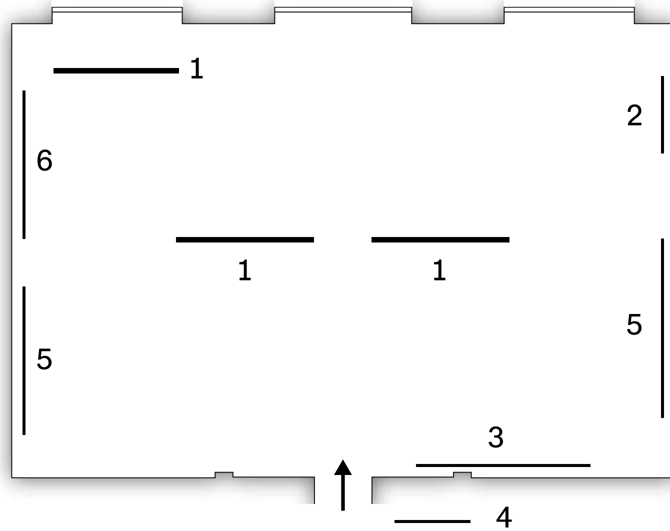
Before that, the building at Tłomackie Street was filled with organized collections, research activities, and literary discussions. The time of war and the ghetto programmed the building, as it were, towards further duration and preservation of the most precious. For this reason, the JHI's operations are determined by an inner effort to curb oblivion. Continuous memory-work is like looking into a mirror over and over again.

Ever since the lone JHI building was overshadowed in 1991 by the Blue Tower, this mirror appears physically. The tower acts like a prism, reflecting both the façade of Eber's building and the changed scenery of the former Tłomackie Street. This image — revealed in the exhibition by removing the window view-obstructing walls — is mobile like memory itself. It contains a visual plexus, a confirmation of the contact zone — of past, present, and future — that the building's solidity guarantees.

Three artists — Agata Madejska, Ronit Porat, and Anna Orłowska — relate in their respective projects to selected fragments of that which comprises the building's memory.

Madejska in her installation focuses on the very relationship with the blue tower and its dynamics of memory. Porat juxtaposes selected works from the Institute's collection with the art of, among others, the Themersons, seeking new interpretations for the meanings they carry. Orłowska, in turn, pursues a more organic reading of the building, filling it with sound.

Text: Jakub Śwircz



Agata Madejska

1 *Near Here, Not Here, Come Here, Over Here, Right Here, Here We Are*, 2017
Photosensitive fabric, grey cotton and polyester fabric, steel rods, dimensions variable

2 *Every City Has Its Echo*, 2017
Giclée print on Hahnemühle Fine Art Baryta Satin, aluminium, 100×130 cm

3 *18 Minutes*, 2017
Aluminium, 200×125 cm

4 *Ideogram 007*, 2008
Lightjet C-type print on aluminium, 60×47×4 cm

Ronit Porat

5 *Blue whales cannot see blue*, 2017
Installation of 17 photographs, pigment prints on archival paper, various dimensions, mirror + *Female Head* sculpture by Magdalena Gross

Anna Orłowska

6 *Opanował nas dziki upał*, 2017
(*Gripped by a Terrible Heat Wave*)
Pigment print on archival paper, board, silicone, 130×170 cm

Clatter, 2017
Sound installation
with Mateusz Śmigasiewicz and Ola Bilińska

With its faux curtains, **Agata Madejska**'s installation, *Near Here, Not Here, Come Here, Over Here, Right Here, Here We Are* emphasizes the particular view from the Jewish Historical Institute's windows — the Blue Tower. The centrally positioned two main sheets virtually leave the viewer no choice but to confront that which is outside the window.

Reflected in the mirror façade of the Blue Tower is not only the building at 3/5 Tłomackie Street but also the surrounding area, once a micro-world of the Jewish community. There are moments when the blue sheet of glass becomes almost invisible, and one gets the impression that it is possible to look beyond, that perhaps the building is not screened from view at all. Symmetrically dividing the space, Madejska's textiles are catchers of reflexes, of glimpses, accumulating the daily images in the form of shapeless magma. That is also how the building's memory can work — in itself, the building is immobile, after all, passively awaiting the successive events. In order to emphasize this process of the quasi-accumulation of memory, the artist has covered one of the curtains with a light-sensitive substance. Gradually exposed, it produces a special photographic image. This enduring image will be identical with the way architecture itself participates in the course of the events. In its form and total exposition to light, it also alludes to the charred floor in the main lobby.

Agata Madejska tackles themes spanning architecture, memory, and the image. The first medium used is photography, which penetrates deeply into the structures of the photographed objects and their duration in time. In *Every City Has Its Echo*, a photograph abstracts the rectangular motif of the Blue Tower's façade, echoing a shape reminiscent of the details of the Great Synagogue building. Madejska's composition contains a visual memento.

Another significant object here, *18 Minutes*, is a sheet of *repoussé* aluminum, a reference to the copper reflectors used in synagogues to illuminate the interior. Here the metal reflects glimpses of the city, mirrored in the walls of the Blue Tower. The title itself is an allusion to the ritual lighting of the Sabbath candles.

In *Blue Whales See No Blue*, a series of black-and-white photographic montages, **Ronit Porat** reflects on the life of photographs themselves, including those found in the JHI archive, and on memory as a composite of different fragments. For this purpose, she refers to the adaptable exhibition cabinet concept developed in the 1920s in Germany by El Lissitzky. The choice of this form is a deliberate one. Lissitzky, a Russian Jew and constructivist artist, transformed and rearranged existing art works, such as those from the collection of the Hannover Landesmuseum, e.g., by Piet Mondrian or Mies van der Rohe, in order to establish new relationships between the works. Lissitzky's idea was to create a new kind of

space and to stress the semantic openness of the works themselves. If only for this reason, his concept inevitably enraged the Third Reich. In 1936, the *Cabinet of Abstractions* (1927) was destroyed.

Using this conceptual framework, Porat tells a story of repetitions, quotations, and similarities, which usually come in handy when the story being unveiled is hard to bear and full of ambiguities. The whole montage is subordinated to duality and looping. Hence also the appearance of the positive and negative, equally sharing the large-format photographs. The inspiration here is the Themersons' film *The Adventure of a Good Citizen*, the leitmotif of which is a walk through the city with a mirror. In this filmic miniature, what is reflected in a sheet of glass are not so much the surroundings as their caricatural version, often highlighting random details.

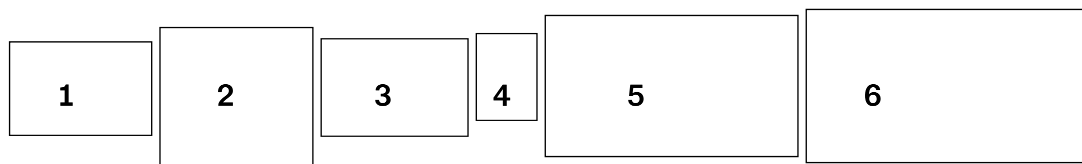
A mirror also features in Porat's montage, and twice. Once as an impossible figure incorporating an image of a horse's body, and again as the basis of the sculpture *Female Head* by Magdalena Gross.

Porat filteres archival photographic material through the figures and images of women, connecting distant fragments, allowing her to nuance the stereotypical relationship between photography and memory. Besides Gross's sculpture, one finds here a series of photographs of female torsos, anonymous and captured in a similar pose. They are a distant reminiscence of one of the important roles that the Institute of Jewish Studies played in pre-WWII Warsaw. Many women studied here to eventually become excellent teachers.

Anna Orłowska focuses in the featured works on a theme that is a result of 3/5 Tłomackie Street's history and remains part of the building's daily functioning. As a war survivor and a repository of documents, it is an important place for those travelling into the past. Visited by historians, family history researchers, and history-themed tours, Eber's building becomes a pilgrimage destination. This is not an ordinary trip, the visitors frequently deciding to perform special gestures, such as praying in the space of the reconstructed synagogue interior (consisting of elements brought from different places). Many write letters, submit documents and testimonies, which fill the building with their meaning.

Orłowska, who usually makes photography her first instrument of reflection on knowledge, fragmented and often lost across the span of time, here expands her formal repertoire. This is most evident in the sound installation *Clatter*, a joint project with Ola Bilińska and Mateusz Śmigasiewicz, which is the first performance of the *Special Prayer for the Present Times* drawn up by the rabbis in the Warsaw ghetto. Rendered in Yiddish by a female voice, it serves as a kind of bridge, a transgression similar to that effected by those visiting the building. At the same time, its linguistic inaccessibility is a marker of the distinct character of this part of Warsaw, its cultural echo. The melody itself is contrasted with a rhythmic noise, the clatter of the artist's footsteps as she climbs the steps to the top of the blue tower.

The sound of the installation engulfs the whole exhibition as well as penetrating the walls, one of which is occupied by Orłowska's second work, *Gripped by a Terrible Heat Wave*. A large-format photograph of the charred floor in the Institute's main lobby shows through a white, virtually organic coverlet. Its title borrowed from Monika Sznajderman's book *Fałszerze pieprzu. Historia rodzinna* [*Pepper forgers. A family history*], the work has a noticeable, rough texture, an effect of removing the mask from this architectural scar. As a photographic object, it evokes healing compresses and the sight of museum storerooms, but also the very sensuality of architecture, manifesting itself when one studies its history, its relationships with people, all that accrues with their arrivals.



1 The Great Synagogue at Tłomackie Street, photo: K. Woźniak, 1899 r., JHI archive

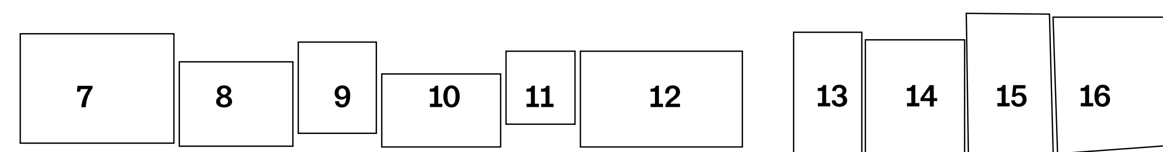
2 The Great Synagogue, 7 Tłomackie Street, 1890, JHI archive

3 The Great Synagogue at Tłomackie Street, 1936–1939, JHI archive

4 The Great Synagogue at 7 Tłomackie Street as a warehouse for furniture being shipped out of the ghetto, 1942–1943, JHI archive

5 Ruins of the Great Synagogue at Tłomackie Street, after May 16, 1943, Warsaw Uprising Museum archive

6 Ruins of the Synagogue at Tłomackie Street, 1943, Ghetto Fighters' House Archive



7 Ruins of the Synagogue at Tłomackie Street, 1943, Ghetto Fighters' House Archive

8 The burnt-out shell of the Institute of Jewish Studies building, with the ruins of the Great Synagogue on the right, after 1945, JHI archive

9 The Jewish Historical Institute building, photo: T. Hermańczyk, 1950s, JHI archive

10 Community service works at Felix Dzerzhinski Square in Warsaw. On the right, the JHI building, photo: Z. Siemaszko, 1963, NAC archive

11 View of the JHI building from the site of the former Great Synagogue, photo: Marian Gadzalski, 1964, JHI archive

12 The JHI building and the site of the former Great Synagogue before the construction of the Blue Tower, 1960–1965, JHI archive

13 The statue of Felix Dzerzhinski at Felix Dzerzhinski Square, 1952, *Piękno Polski Ludowej*, published by Wydawnictwa Komunikacyjne

14 The JHI building and the Blue Tower under construction, photo: W. H. Radwański, 1977, photographer's archive

15 Felix Dzerzhinski Square, the statue of the square's patron, and the Blue Tower under construction, photo: J. Tarań, 1977, KARTA archive

16 The statue of Felix Dzerzhinski, with the Blue Tower in the background, photo: G. Rutowska, 1979–1980, NAC archive

Paweł Fijałkowski

Tłomackie Street Before 1914

In the 17th and 18th centuries, numerous private jurisdictions (*jurydyki*), i.e., boroughs subject exclusively to their owners' legal authority, were established around Warsaw. They were inhabited by Christians and Jews alike. Since Warsaw itself enjoyed the *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege, Jews were banned from settling, trading, or working in the city. One of the larger jurydykas was Leszno, founded in 1648 by Bogusław Leszczyński, and later owned by the Potocki family. In 1749, Eustachy Potocki, the starost of Tłumacz county, created a new jurisdiction out of a part of Leszno called Tłomackie (Tłumackie), which attracted many Jewish settlers. In 1765, 60 Jewish families resided in Tłomackie; by 1778, their number had risen to over 90 (200 hundred people, including domestics). Development was chaotic and consisted mainly of wooden buildings. From 1779, Tłomackie was gradually acquired by banker Karol Szulc (Schultz), who decided to give the borough a more organized layout and look. In the 1780s, Szulc commissioned Szymon Bogumił Zug to rebuild the jurisdiction. A central square was laid out, with a well commonly known as the Gruba Kaśka (Fat Kate), which has been preserved to this day.

Pursuant to a new Law on Cities, in early 1792 Tłomackie, along with all the other private jurisdictions, was incorporated into Warsaw, with an eponymous street remaining as a trace of its existence. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the presence of Jews was accepted by the authorities, although in the following decades they were banned from living and setting up stores and workshops on the main streets in the city center. As a result, Tłomackie and the neighboring streets attracted more and more Jews. The Jewish community grew rapidly from over 15,000 people in 1816 (19 percent of the population of Warsaw) to more than 40,000 in 1856 (over 25 percent of the population). In addition to orthodox Jews and a growing number of Hasidim, there was also a growing number of Reformed Jews, a group dominated by assimilated members of the Jewish intelligentsia, bankers, and businesspeople.

In 1859, the committee of the progressive (reformed) synagogue on Daniłowiczowska Street resolved to build a new, larger, and more stately house of worship. Following a long search, in 1872–1873 the Synagogue Construction Committee acquired land on Tłomackie Street. A competition was announced for a design that was to be both monumental and modern, with central heating and gas lighting. Because none of the entries submitted in the first and later a second competition met these expectations, a design was commissioned from Leandro Marconi. Construction began in the summer of 1875 and the cornerstone laying ceremony was held on May 26, 1876. Because of financial difficulties, the project saw some delays, and the synagogue was opened on September 26, 1878. The official opening was attended by the governor general of Warsaw, Paweł Kotzebue, who was greeted in Polish by the preacher Izaak Cylkow, who would later preach sermons in this language in the new synagogue.

The Great Synagogue on Tłomackie Street was a stately neo-Classical building with a Moorish Revival dome and an Italian Renaissance-inspired interior capable of accommodating nearly 2500 congregants. The men's prayer hall was surrounded by galleries for women. The ornate aron hakodesh (receptacle in which Torah scrolls are kept) was placed in the apse, behind the bima (a raised platform with a pulpit from the Torah is read from a scroll). The synagogue had a choir and its cantors were outstanding singers. Its highly musical services, inspired by Protestant observance, were sternly criticized by traditionalists.

Like other reformed houses of worship, the Great Synagogue was meant not only to serve as y templs, but also as n center of learning where the history of Judaism and of the Jews were studied. Ite preachers had both a religious and a secular education, they were active as translators of religious literatur, and conducted historical and Oriental studies research. Shortly after theSsynagogus openeg, a Jewish library wasdset up, located in one of the rooms in the synagogue as of 1881. In 1910, a committee was set up for the purposes of building a separate library, for which a lot was purchased ot Tłomackie Street in 1910, (to which part of the synagogus parcel was added in 1914). However, due to Funding shortages and the outbreak of World War I, the construction of the Main Judaic Library did not begin until the late 1920s.

Agnieszka Żółkiewska, PhD

Tłomackie Street During the Interwar Period

During the interwar period, Tłomackie Street was part of the Nalewki district. In the late 1920s, Warsaw mayor Zygmunt Słomiński resolved to revitalize and modernize that part of the city. Tłomackie street received a new, truly European look; the square in front of the Great Synagogue was paved and greenery neatly arranged.

In 1928, the construction of the Central Jewish Library began at 5 Tłomackie Street, next door from the Great Synagogue. Meant to house the Synagogue Library, the building was designed by the renowned Warsaw architect, Edward Zachariasz Eber. The neo-classical façade, with references to antiquity, reflected the modern and European attitude of Polish Jews.

The Central Jewish Library opening ceremony was held on April 22, 1936. In his inauguration address, Prof. Mojżesz Schorr called it a

> treasury of national spirit and a Temple of Knowledge" that would "serve as a center of Judaic studies . . . for the sake of present and future generations, to the glory of Jewry and the embellishment of the capital.

The interiors were lavishly decorated. Jewish art works adorned the walls. Plaques bearing sponsors' names were displayed in the marble-lined lobby. A well-lit reading room occupied the first floor. The six floors of the right wing housed storerooms equipped with state-of-the-art mobile metal racks, able to hold up to 100,000 volumes. The most valuable manuscripts and incunabula were kept in the vault on the fifth floor, behind a heavy reinforced-concrete door.

The Central Jewish Library collection consisted of some 100 manuscripts and 40,000 volumes. The oldest printed book was a Bible commentary published in Mantua in the 15th century. The Library held also an impressive collection of 500 editions of the Bible in various languages, the highlight of which was a huge octalingual Bible printed in London in 1657.

Housed in the left wing of the Central Jewish Library was the Institute of Jewish Studies, occupying two lecture halls and a seminar/library room as well as an administration office, the rector's chancellery, and the lecturers' room. Moreover, its premises included a leisure room, a cloakroom, and a duty room.

The Institute of Jewish Studies was Poland's only Jewish institution of higher learning. It was founded on February 19, 1928 on the initiative of a group of Jewish scholars and politicians, continuing the idea of the Judaic Courses started in 1917 under the leadership of Samuel Poznański, PhD, a renowned scholar and the Great Synagogue chief rabbi and preacher.

The Institute of Jewish Studies trained teachers of Judaism and Jewish subjects as well as rabbis and public servants. Some 300 students were enrolled during the ten years of its existence, a majority of them being women. The Institute grew in significance in the second half of the 1930s when Jewish quotas were introduced in higher education, reflecting mounting anti-Semitic sentiment. The Institute combined didactical work with research activities.

The Institute's successive rectors included Prof. Mojżesz Schorr, Prof. Majer Bałaban, Abraham Weiss, PhD, and Edmund Stein, PhD. Israel Ostersetzer, PhD, served as a long-time secretary. The faculty included numerous eminent scholars, including one woman, Domicela Lipiec-Szwarcowa, PhD.

In just three years from its inception, the building at 5 Tłomackie Street had gained recognition as a major intellectual and cultural hub of Jewish Warsaw. The program included lectures, readings, seminars, and artistic events. In January 1939, Antoni Cwojdziński's comedy, *Freud's Dream Theory* [Yiddish*: Frojd's Teorie Funchalojmes*], staged by Jonas Turkow, premiered in the main hall. The piece was presented again on the same stage three years later, when the Central Jewish Library had found itself within the bounds of the ghetto.

Housed at 13 Tłomackie Street was another well-known institution, the Jewish Writers and Journalists Union, known colloquially as "the Shack." Officially tasked with the mission of protecting the interests of professional writers, it also served as a social club. Over the twenty years of its existence, it staged panel discussions, lectures, and dance parties that often continued well into the night. Here met the local bohemians: actors, writers, musicians, singers, and painters. Despite their divergent political views, the atmosphere was virtually familial. A couple of years before the war the Jewish Writers and Journalists Union moved to more modest premises at 11 Graniczna Street. Its former address at 13 Tłomackie Street became a legend that lived on in the memory of the diaspora.

Maria Ferenc-Piotrowska, Marta Janczewska, Justyna Majewska

Tłomackie Street During the War

During the war, the Central Jewish Library's invaluable holdings were plundered and sent to Germany. The building at 5 Tłomackie Street, "before the war a treasury of books for Jewish scholars," was now turned into a place "where one listened to the painful cry of a thousand starving Jewish masses . . . of hundreds of thousands of our materially ruined and spiritually depressed fellow brothers," as social activist Menachem Mendel Kohn wrote.

In late spring 1940, even before the closure of the ghetto, Jewish relief organizations, precursors of the Jewish Social Self-Help, moved their offices to the building at 5 Tłomackie Street. Dozens of activists made their best to help ghetto inhabitants suffering from hunger, destitution, and diseases. Kohn wrote:

> At 5 Tłomackie Street there was a tribune from which we made speeches, appealing to the consciousness of the tens of thousands for help for the displaced, hunger-swollen fellow brother of ours . . . the crimes that had been perpetrated against the wretched Jewish masses in Warsaw were emphatically pointed out there.

The building housed the office of Emanuel Ringelblum, head of the Social Work Section and founder of Oneg Shabbat, a secret group started to create a ghetto archive. Ringelblum may have also used his workplace for clandestine purposes, for it is possible that the documents collected by Oneg Shabbat were kept in folders in between the official documentation.

Tłomackie Street was also a hub of cultural life in the ghetto. Invitations preserved in the Ringelblum Archive suggest that among the events held here were, for example, relief worker meetings, an inauguration of the "Winter Help" campaign, or solemn occasions devoted to meritorious activists or great writers such as Mendełe Mojcher Sforim or Icchak Lejbusz Perec.

From autumn 1941, the ghetto commissioner, Heinz Auerswald, requested that Tłomackie Street be excluded from the ghetto. This actually happened in March 1942 when the ghetto was again downsized. Chaim Kapłan, a Hebrew teacher and ghetto chronicler, wrote with pain:

> The exquisite building of the Jewish Library, which housed the Jewish Social Self-Help and served as a hub of all kinds of relief work, is now in the hands of the Nazis.

The offices of Jewish relief organizations were dispersed throughout the ghetto.

In April 1942, the Jewish Library's rooms were hastily converted into dwelling spaces to house some of the four thousand Jews deported from Frankfurt and Berlin. The expellees weren't allowed to leave the building on their own and were escorted to work in the ghetto. They lived here until the great liquidation action in July 1942 when they shared the tragic fate of other inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto. The Germans sent the German Jews to the Treblinka death camp at the beginning of the nearly three-month-long ghetto liquidation operation.

Even during the liquidation action, the Jewish Library and Great Synagogue buildings were turned into storage spaces for the Werterfassung, an SS enterprise devoted to reclaiming movable Jewish property. Some four thousand Jews collected and segregated the personal belongings of those murdered in Treblinka. Samuel Puterman, a Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst functionary in the ghetto and after the great liquidation action a guard at the Werterfassung warehouses, wrote in his diary,

> The Werterfassung work was diverse. Some moved property from homes to wagons, others worked at large sorting plants, or at washing and sewing workshops . . . There were separate groups for collecting glass and china, chandeliers, or clothes and personal underwear.

The property was stored in fifteen warehouses arranged in all larger buildings in the ghetto. Testifying after the war, Untersturmführer SS Franz Konrad, the head of Werterfassung, explained that not only furnishings, books, fur coats, clothes, silverware or china were collected, but also things like toys, buttons, paper, office paraphernalia, pillows, or cosmetics, e.g., toothpaste. Some of those things were shipped to the Reich, others were resold to Poles. Puterman wrote:

> Things were sold apiece and in sets, and even a whole crowded building could be sold, roughly approximating the number of furniture pieces it contained. The Synagogue and the Jewish Library were officially designed as Camp No. 11.

Employment at Werterfassung was deemed by Jews as safest and protecting from death. This was true until the uprising broke out in April 1943.

On May 16, 1943, at 8 p.m., Jürgen Stroop, the officer in charge of suppressing the uprising, detonated explosives that destroyed the Great Synagogue. The explosion caused the Library to catch fire, but its reinforced-concrete structure survived. The original flooring in the lobby still shows traces of the flames that consumed the interiors and the roof. The concrete floors and ceilings were spared, though, as were the stairs leading to the upper stories, where the exhibition and official rooms are located today.

Agata Madejska (b. 1979 in Warsaw) is a Polish artist based in London. Her work combines photography, sculpture, and installation art, focusing on the subversive potential of architecture and its elements in urban space.

Ronit Porat (b. 1975 in Kibbutz Kfar Giladi) is an Israeli artist based in Amsterdam and Tel Aviv-Yafo. In her works, Porat combines archival materials and biographical texts with photography. The focus of her practice is on female identity and liquid memory.

Anna Orłowska (b. 1986 in Opole) works with photography to reflect on hidden knowledge, exploring cultural topoi that are often left unsaid.

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Curators: Anna Duńczyk-Szulc, Jakub Śwircz
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JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

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