
WALICÓW: DNA OF WARSAW - HERITAGE OF EUROPE

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Aerial photo of Warsaw taken in 1935, view on buildings number 10, 12 and 14 at Waliców St. Courtesy of the State Archive in Warsaw.

The concept of Waliców as DNA of Warsaw created by: Guido Morpurgo, 2018

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Edited by Beata Chomętowska and Zuzanna Schnepf-Kończak

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Zygmunt Stępiński

Foreword

There are very few places in Warsaw akin to the complex of tenement houses on Waliców Street. In fact, there is next to none. Some may argue that there are many prewar buildings in the city, all forsaken and dilapidated. If so, what makes the houses on Waliców Street unique? What renders them so moving and unforgettable to tourists from all over the world?

Is it the way the houses look, especially the one at number 14 whose front façade was bombed during the Warsaw Uprising and has never been reconstructed? Is it the proximity of the remaining fragment of the ghetto wall? Or perhaps the history of these houses, testifying to Warsaw's prewar past as a multicultural capital city, to the fate of the ghetto residents and of Warsaw's insurgents, and to the postwar "Wild West"? Is it the people recognized in the field of art and culture—such as Władysław Szlengel and Menachem Kipnis—who resided at 14 Waliców Street prior to the outbreak of World War Two and after the ghetto had been established? Finally, is it because of the fact that these tenement houses are part of Old Warsaw—the city that is no more?

The "Waliców effect" is most likely a combination of all the above. For me personally, as a Varsovian—emotionally attached to the history of my city and professionally involved in architecture and urban planning—Waliców Street is a symbol, a monument to Warsaw's past, to its wartime history and destruction. Here we can literally touch the bricks that bear witness to war atrocities, to see the remnants of the wall torn apart by a bomb, to "breathe in" the spirit of the past.

The history of buildings on Waliców Street should be our pang of conscience. Despite their huge historic value, until recently they have remained forgotten and forsaken. Quite unexpectedly, the rescue came "from the Italian land to Poland," to quote a verse from the Polish national anthem, and specifically from Guido Morpurgo and Annalisa de Curtis, two architects from Milan. Together with their students from the Milan Polytechnic, they developed remarkable conceptual projects that resonated so powerfully with us. These projects prove that places such as Waliców Street should be addressed in a wider context—as a major site on the list of the European and world heritage. We ought to talk about it loudly and clearly while remaining sensitive and understanding of its multi-layered history, of its essence as buildings that are part of Warsaw's urban tissue.

Thanks to the Italian scholars and their students, the future of tenement houses on Waliców Street has become a global issue that entered the world of architecture for good. The project *Waliców, Fortress of Memory* by Sara Pellegrini and Domenico Spagnolo, supervised by Professor Guido Morpurgo and Professor Annalisa de Curtis, was awarded the 2019 Archiprix International prize for the best Masters diploma in architecture, urban planning and landscape architecture in the world.

Waliców Street epitomizes the history of Warsaw and its residents. It stands for the past 100 years in European history—the two world wars, the Iron Curtain, regained independence and 1989 political transformation. While discussing World War Two, we often refer to Polish memory versus Jewish memory; Waliców Street combines the two. It is a shared place, a place where lives of many people and histories of various groups are intertwined. That is how it should be preserved—as a place of meeting and dialogue, a place where we all can spend time together. Bringing the tenement houses on Waliców Street back to life is a true challenge. At the same time, it offers us a chance to create a unique site on the map of Warsaw, a site that brings people together on many levels, a site that encourages reflection and offers new perspectives on the surrounding reality. I do believe that, thanks to the cooperation of different milieus engaged in this issue, Waliców Street can still be saved from ruin and oblivion.

Beata Chomątowska, Zuzanna Schnepf-Kończak

Introduction

There is a place in Warsaw that exerts a huge emotional impact on people coming from all across the world. At the very heart of the Polish capital, in the proximity of the Rondo ONZ underground station, one comes across a surviving relict of the pre-war city—three tenement houses at 10, 12, and 14 Waliców Street. Within their walls, which date back to the early twentieth century, one gains a deep sense of Warsaw's past. The buildings carry, so to speak, a DNA of the city razed to the ground during the Second World War, the city whose foundations we tread upon while walking its streets and pavements today. They are a testament to the pre-war urban tissue—to its appearance, its character, and to the outline of houses that were once brimming with life.

The tenement house at 14 Waliców Street looks as if the German occupation ended yesterday. Its façade, heavily damaged during the Warsaw Uprising, is a testament to the city's dramatic history. It renders the building a rarity on the European scale, comparable to the famed Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin, bombed during a wartime air raid and preserved in the state of ruin, as a warning against armed conflicts. The buildings on Waliców Street tell a tale of one of the most abominable tragedies in European history, namely the Holocaust. All three tenement houses are among the very few surviving buildings that had once stood within the Warsaw ghetto walls, and—along with a fragment of these walls on the other side of the street, they bear witness to the fate of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Warsaw, from all across Poland, and from other states controlled by the Nazis.

The houses on Waliców Street testify to over one hundred years in the history of Warsaw and the history of this part of Europe. They remember the Partitions, the First World War, the rebirth of the Polish state and the multi-ethnic Second Republic. They survived the Second World War, the communist era during which they were part of the ill-famed Warsaw's "Wild West"—the area that resisted the change of the system, full of decrepit tenement houses whose residents, often former or present convicts, in fact ruled in the quarter. The houses also survived a planned demolition required for the implementation of the large-scale *Za Żelazną Bramą* estate project. They witnessed the fall of communism, political transformation which triggered a change of urban landscape in the course of the 1990s, the access to the European Union and, finally, the rise of the Warsaw "City" in the adjacent neighbourhood—a cluster of skyscrapers and tall apartment blocks.

The tenement buildings continue to inspire and move both the residents of Warsaw and the visitors from all across the globe. Each day groups of foreign tourists arrive to see one of the few remnants of the Warsaw ghetto, the surviving fragment of the ghetto wall, the house of Władysław Szlengel, author of popular pre-war songs and the "poet of the ghetto", as well as the testament to the Warsaw Uprising—the bombed façade of the tenement building at 14 Waliców Street. Arriving from the side of Grzybowska Street, visitors are faced with a unique cityscape that reflects the entire century in the history of the city and the history of Europe. On the left, there are apartment blocks of the *Za Żelazną Bramą* estate, one of the chief urban projects of the People's Republic of Poland; on the right—the buildings of the Wola district's "City" soaring up to the sky. In between are the three surviving tenement houses, remembering the very beginnings of this street and all that took place there in the course of the past century.

The existence of these buildings was under threat on numerous occasions. Two years ago, the demolition of the house at 14 Waliców Street seemed imminent. Eventually, the demolition threat was withdrawn last year; thanks to the efforts of the varsavianists, urban activists and various initiatives developed by institutions in Warsaw and abroad, all three tenement houses were listed in the Monument Register by the Conservation Officer for the Mazovian Province. Today, the listed buildings are still standing, lonesome and decrepit, awaiting being brought back to life for the benefit of the city and its residents. The question posed in a graffiti on the wall of the building at 14 Waliców Street remains unanswered: "Tenement and what..." next?

Since the early 1970s, artists, activists and residents have been developing grassroots initiatives to commemorate the history of this particular site. Professors Guido Morpurgo and Annalisa de Curtis, architects from Milan and authors of *Memoriale della Shoah* there, became interested in the buildings. They set up the “Waliców Project” within which—for the past three years now— young architects from the Politecnico di Milano and the Warsaw University of Technology have been developing plans for revitalisation of the tenement houses on Waliców Street and for their future. Professor Morpurgo compares Warsaw to Carthage or Troy, the cities that had been completely razed to the ground. The tenement buildings on Waliców Street are akin to an archaeological find. The Italian architect perceives them as the carriers of Warsaw’s DNA—a fragment of the buried city, the city turned into ruin during the implementation of a plan to annihilate this part of Europe. The history of Waliców Street is not merely an element of Polish identity—it is an element of European identity, too.

For over a year now, the paths of activists, varsavianists, experts including architects from Milan and their students, the Conservation Officer for the Mazovian Province as well as the representatives of the Municipal Council and the Wola District Council have crossed, mainly thanks to the initiative of POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews and other institutions: Shalom Foundation and the Wola Cultural Centre, along with partners. In December 2017, POLIN Museum organized a debate titled *A Second Life of the Tenement* and an exposition of projects by Professor Morpurgo’s students. The outdoor exhibition titled *A Window to Waliców Street*, organized half a year later, was opened during the 2018 *Singer’s Warsaw Jewish Culture Festival*, during an event on Waliców Street dedicated to the very tenement buildings. A concert, a theatre play, an exhibition, an art performance and a guided tour attracted crowds of Warsaw residents and foreign guests. Gathering in the street in front of the buildings and in the adjacent square, these crowds brought Waliców Street back to life, albeit for one day.

Last March, POLIN Museum invited a group of international scholars and experts in different fields to join in a public debate on the future of Waliców Street. Among the participants were urban activists, residents, the Conservation Officer for the Mazovian Province, representatives of the Municipal Council and the Wola District Council. We do believe that a meeting of all milieus engaged in the Waliców issue marks the first step in the process of rescuing the site.

All the participants agreed on the idea of tenement houses on Waliców Street being a site referring to local history and to different memories on this history; a site that is a monument—a protest against war and terror. At the same time, it should become a local site of cultural, artistic and social activity, a place where the residents can work and rest, and the youngest ones can learn and play. The future idea of Waliców Street that transpires from expert studies is a site that unites all groups of local residents—the inhabitants of pre-war tenements, of the *Za Żelazną Bramą* estate, and of the newly built apartment blocks—both young and old generations. Among the proposals for possible functions of the tenement buildings are: a modern cultural centre, a library, a theatre-concert hall, a café, University for the Third Age, offices for the NGOs working for the benefit of the local community, artists’ studios, artisan workshops, and co-working spaces for academics. It would become a unique site of memory, reflection, discussion, cultural and social life. The administration of the City of Warsaw and of the Wola District would gain more space that is in such high demand—a theatre hall and areas for a cultural centre and a library.

We hereby present studies by experts, participants of the debate titled *Waliców: DNA of Warsaw, Heritage of Europe*. We attempt to seek answers to questions such as: what is a prospective role of this site in Warsaw and in Europe? Can Waliców Street regain its pre-war identity? Can we bring back the time when the street, the courtyards and the houses were busy and bustling? Is there a space in the heart of the Warsaw “City” for a memorial, a meeting place and a social life hub? Can we together develop a plan for Waliców Street? How can we reclaim it to the residents of Warsaw, to the citizens of Europe, to the tourists?

Already in the 1950s Antoni Słonimski, a Polish poet of Jewish origin, wrote in his poem *Dziesięciolecie* [A Decade] that we must rescue all the Warsaw ‘relics’ so that “we don’t rear empty-hearted children in our neat houses”—children not knowing the history of their city and the tragic fate of those who had once lived here. Today, in united—albeit going through a crisis—Eu-

rope, the tenement houses on Waliców Street might be of an even more profound significance. The young generations do not remember the War and the Holocaust; they often do not even remember the world divided by the Iron Curtain, the communist era, or even the times when Poland was not a member of the European Union. Here, on Waliców Street, they would be offered a chance to stand face to face with history, to grasp what a war really means, and to understand why European states decided to unite in order to make sure it never happens again.

The tenement house at 14 Waliców Street could house a modern, vibrant memorial site documenting the past century from the perspective of its inhabitants and their neighbours. Individual histories would serve as a pretext to talk about European history from the early twentieth century until today, from the budding nationalisms to unity, and about what Europe stands for today—about its shared values, goals and problems. The houses at 10 and 12 Waliców Street, along with the adjacent square and plot, would serve as a hopeful ending to the story: a fragment of a “happy city,” created jointly by the Municipal Council, residents, urban activists and experts. This bold project has a potential to become a symbol of Warsaw, and a model solution for other similar sites in the capital, in Poland, and in Europe.

Beata Chomałowska

The Second Life of Waliców Street

Last year I went to visit Waliców Street in early spring, after a longer break. Not much has changed, apart from the fact that the last tenants moved out for good, and the *Ślusarnia* bar on the ground floor at 12 Waliców Street shut down. Everything was becoming green, but the tree branches in the courtyards of deserted tenement houses were still black. There was a cold draught from the basements. The red brick walls contrasted with the glass and steel of the neighbouring office buildings, the silence and bricked up windows contrasted with the hustle and bustle of construction site on the other side of the street. As if the war ended just yesterday. Fifteen years ago, when I lived in this area, at 26 Elektoralna Street opposite the church, such views were typical for this part of the city and constituted its character. Not anymore. The reason is obvious - there are fewer and fewer of them.

A few years earlier, I was impressed, just like during my first look at Waliców Street, by a powerful graffiti-covered structure in the centre of Berlin, which looked as if it had just survived a bomb attack. It was called *Kunsthaus Tacheles* and was an informal cultural institution. In the bar on the top floor, a huge, unprotected window offered the panorama of the city centre - *Mitte*. Sitting there with my friends, I had no idea that we were actually looking at a disappearing world. This was the end of the 1990s, when *Mitte*, and especially this area, the former Jewish quarter called *Scheuneviertel*, was becoming a scenery for tourists. *The Tacheles Art House*, the ruins of the former department store and a symbol of the creative energy of the united city, adapted by the artists, which made such an impression on me at the time and where I spent countless evenings, has been empty for several years now, surrounded by a net fence. You may be somewhat surprised - how is that possible? In Berlin? A city, so successful in promoting itself, which is usually presented as a model for Warsaw, has wasted such a potential? "Money makes this world go `round", as Lisa Minelli - Sally sang in Bob Fosse's *Cabaret*. In *Mitte*, which has not witnessed a discussion about artistic revival for a long time, rather a discussion on how to stop the next phases of gentrification, there is no room for such grass-roots, culture-generating initiatives. Despite conservation protection, the building and the land on which it stands, worth millions of euros, has been purchased by a capital group investing in real estate. There are plans to erect new buildings in the neighbourhood and re-adapt the historic part of *Tacheles* for cultural purposes, but for the time being the building is just changing hands. The complex of tenement houses at on Waliców Street, saved thanks to the entry in the register of monuments, after some smart revitalization, referring to the historical contexts of the site and taking into account the needs of the local community, has a chance to avoid a similar fate and play a cultural-creative role for much longer.

Characteristics of the place

"Dangerous, neglected, destroyed, deteriorating", "lack of any architectural concept", "modern, fenced housing estates", "urban chaos", "poor technical condition of monuments", "gentrification", "the homeless, neglected backyards", "hooligans, social dysfunction", "demolitions", "danger", "white-collar workers", but also "rich history", "memory of the place", "traditions of old Warsaw", "strong identity", "character", "potential", "familiarity" - these are the most frequent answers when asked about associations with the area where the tenement houses on Waliców Street are located. The pace of transformation in this area is very fast. Most of the changes have taken place in the last ten years, when old industrial and residential buildings were replaced by office buildings and apartment blocks. As a result, in many places in the vicinity of Waliców Street, mono-structures with strictly defined functions are created, isolated - often in a literal sense - from the rest of the urban fabric.

Although the tenement houses on Waliców Street have been empty for several years, there are many inhabited buildings in their vicinity - other examples of old architecture at Krochmalna, Żelazna, Miedziana, Pańska or Chłodna Streets; multi-family blocks of flats in the *Za Żelazną Bramą* housing estate (ca 25,000 residents, including several thousand in the area of Waliców Street) and other blocks of flats built during the time of the People's Republic of Poland, as well as later residential architecture of the 1990s and modern "apartment buildings", which are still

being built. It is not only an area of architectural contrasts, but also social ones. As a result, the gap between the needs and lifestyles of the inhabitants of the few old tenement houses (mainly social tenants, with a lower material status, usually originating from workers' or craftsmen's families), the inhabitants of "old" blocks of flats built in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, as in the case of the *Za Żelazną Bramą* housing estate (in this case, apart from a large group of seniors, flat owners with a long residence period, there are students and the so-called new residents of Warsaw, who came to the capital to work and rent premises) and new, better situated tenants of recently built apartment buildings, representing the new Polish middle class ("white-collar workers"), is becoming more and more visible. Diversity also has an ethnic dimension: relatively lower rental prices than in the southern part of the city centre combined with a central location, i.e. features that attract students and new Varsovians to the area, make it very popular among tenants from Vietnam, Ukraine or Belarus.

From the interviews I conducted in 2018 with current and former residents, as well as from the statements of the participants of the workshop *Discover the Wild West*, conducted by the *Stacja Muranów* Association of Social and Cultural Initiatives *Stacja Muranów* in cooperation with the Jewish Theatre, the Library at Chłodna and Wola Cultural Centre on 21-22 July 2018, several reference points have emerged, marking the post-war identity of the place. The inhabitants are looking at *the Wild West*, including the Waliców Street area, as neglected, once densely built-up with tenement houses, a ruined area devoid of its own enclave of greenery: pre-war Jewish residents and the "small ghetto", unrestricted street trading (a bazaar on Pańska Street which operated in the Waliców Street area until the mid-1960s), industrial traditions (Norblin, Habermusch brewery) and craftsmanship, the atmosphere of old Warsaw, small business, transport - the proximity of the Main Railway Station, from which one "went on holiday, on summer camps". At the same time, changes taking place in the area, especially those connected with names, cause a problem with self-identification for its inhabitants. Today the area belongs to the Wola district, before the war it was a part of the western section of the city Centre. "These streets were all known to us, Chłodna, Waliców, Krochmalna, Wronia, we had friends here, we went to school together, we didn't distinguish between them, they were all ruined in the same way (...). Everyone spoke about their street, we were local patriots, residents of our street," says Artur Nadolski, a long-time inhabitant of Chłodna Street and the author of memoirs devoted to the street (an interview conducted by the author of this study in August 2018). The name Mirów is also used, popular in the 1950s, to which the oldest tenants do not relate, and the bad opinion of the *Wild West*, a pejorative term used in relation to this area after the war, in order to highlight its difference from the then erected socialist realist buildings of *Mirów* nearby and to consolidate the idea that it is a dangerous, degraded architectural relic of the past, governed by rules not acceptable in the socialist society and therefore sentenced to slow extermination by the planners. However, the area resisted for a very long time. As late as in the 1980s, architects still looked at the "terrible" *Wild West* and complained about "a huge area, with all the necessary networks, located in the very centre of the city, which nobody knows what to do about". "Putting the place back to order was a very slow process, it required demolition, removal of the residents who were still living in the partially ruined houses" - informed the *Stolica* magazine.

Challenges and threats

Social diversity of the area of Waliców Street and the resulting conflicting needs of different groups of residents may pose the greatest challenge in designing the future functions of these buildings and the role they are to play. Usually, the greatest challenge of this type of revitalization project is gentrification, i.e. a complete change in the character of a given place, combined with the forced removal of less well-off residents. In the area of the Waliców tenement houses, this change has to some extent already taken place in the last ten years and it would be difficult to stop it, especially in the context of investments already planned and implemented in the neighbourhood. Gentrification itself is a negative phenomena, but the fact that these changes are far ahead of the ideas for the revitalization of the Waliców complex and that the said tenement houses do not have tenants, paradoxically creates a chance to avoid the dilemmas typical in such a situation - either a new and expensive structure, created on the historical tissue, or crumbling buildings and neglected quarters of the city, where one is afraid to venture. At the same time, however, the lack of such burdens may become a trap for the authors of revitali-

zation concepts, prompting them to treat the buildings as a “blank card”, detached from the surroundings and unburdened with the context of the place. Such a space can be freely modelled architecturally, and any social consultations concerning its future development are unnecessary, as nobody lives in the tenement houses. A burden for all future projects in this area is also the controversy among the Warsaw residents living in the neighbourhood and the activists associated with Mirów aroused by the policy of the developers investing in this area, identified with a lack of respect for the historical fabric of the city and ignoring the needs of the local community. At the same time, a positive atmosphere has already been created around the ruins on Waliców Street, associated with winning the fight to save the tenement house at number 14 and entering the whole complex into the register of monuments. Therefore, against the background of previous development activities, the Waliców project is also an opportunity to show the residents that it is possible to act in a different way, involving them in the co-decision process on the future of the tenement houses. The large cubic capacity of the three houses standing next to each other creates various possibilities of adaptation of their architectural fabric, assuming their various functions, but it must be remembered that it will certainly be an expensive and lengthy process, given their present condition.

Diagnosis

The Waliców project should be treated comprehensively in two ways: as a complex of adjacent tenement houses with documented architectural value, but also as a part of a wider area with which they are connected through history - the former western part of the Centre of Warsaw (later *Mirów* and the *Wild West*). This will allow to avoid the “island” effect, as often happens with revitalization projects, detached from the context of the place. Despite the post-war changes and losses of buildings, Waliców Street was still important for shaping the identity of this region until the 1990s.

While for practical reasons it is worth considering interventions in the architectural tissue - such as a new division of space inside the buildings, it is also important to save the spirit of the place (*genius loci*) - an elusive notion, related to the impression that a given place evokes and its past, which is rooted in history. The complex on Waliców Street, and especially the characteristic silhouette of the tenement house at number 14, with an exposed gable wall, has something magnetic in it; it visually interacts with the recipients contrasting with the atmosphere of the intensively built-up surrounding area. With a few exceptions, this area is losing its unique character, changing into one of the many generic quarters of office and residential buildings, difficult to distinguish from similar projects carried out around the world. It is different when you experience architecture in a sensuous way while wandering around a modern building surrounded with the scent of fresh paint, equipped with all the amenities, and it is different when you look at old walls, hear the creaks of the floor under your feet and walk around apartments in which someone actually lived. After the renovation, tenement houses on the odd side of Próżna Street were deprived of such charm. Provided that its original character, closely related to this part of Warsaw, is preserved, the complex on Waliców Street could be used as a different model of revitalization when compared to Próżna Street, which, together with the renovated Grzybowski Square, has become a place of a primarily commercial character, where the dominant group of users are representatives of the new middle class. Próżna Street is a model example of gentrification - from artistic interventions in space (*Dotleniacz* by Joanna Rajkowska) and grassroots cultural and social activities (Singer’s Festival) to an elegant urban saloon. The emphasis on the bottom-up shaping of the place, its independent character, the role of art, especially avant-garde art, and drawing on the historical context is of great importance.

Krzysztof Nawratek, an urban planner from the Silesian University of Technology in Gliwice, in his book *The City as a political idea* observes: “The actual revitalization of the neighbourhood is primarily intended to improve the living conditions and status of the community living in it”. Gentrification, on the other hand, is the effect of external actions initiated by external forces - officials or investors - and decided upon without the knowledge of residents who only later learn about the already existing plans, or sometimes even those approved for implementation. Gentrification does not repair a city whose essence is diversity, because it destroys it. On the other hand, the idea of gentle urban revitalization is based on an internal perspective. It is not a rigid

scenario, written from start to finish by officials sitting behind their desks on the contrary, it is unpredictable and dynamic. Sometimes it is initiated by the authorities themselves, including local inhabitants, companies and organizations operating in a given area, but usually it is the idea of grassroots groups, which react to the activities of authorities that have not been agreed with them. This procedure serves what the pessimists see as an attempt to reconcile fire and water, i.e. to enable the development of historic quarters of cities while preserving their identity and respecting the local culture. It is worthwhile to refer to Berlin once again, but not to Berlin from the 1990s, but from the 1970s, when the inhabitants of the Kreuzberg district, then in decline and condemned to gradual demolition, formulated the classic twelve commandments of a “gentle urban renewal” (“Behutsame Stadtserneuerung”), worked out during countless meetings and discussions with officials. It was a breakthrough in the approach to revitalization. The first commandment states that it should be implemented from the beginning to the end with the participation of the local community - both residents and entrepreneurs, starting from the planning stage. As long as the local people do not agree on the individual steps of this process, the planners are not allowed to initiate the action. The third point emphasizes that the unique character of the site should be preserved, while at the same time taking care of the current maintenance and repair of tenement houses, which will allow to rebuild the damaged reputation of a degraded district or quarter. Changes in land development leading to the construction of new houses are allowed, provided that they are carried out prudently, with few demolitions, and that the repair of buildings used for public purposes, parks and other common spaces is carried out in parallel to the gradual renovation of tenement houses. Common green spaces used by everyone will be created in place of buildings that cannot be saved. And, what is equally important, in order to achieve all this, it is assumed that new forms of organization, such as cooperatives, associations or collectives, will need to be created. In addition, the principles of critical reconstruction were also defined, which was to refer to the memory of the city. It was assumed that the architecture of newly built houses is to be based on the analysis of the appearance of the buildings preserved in the neighbourhood - not only by referring to their exterior, but also by the appearance of staircases and the layout of apartments.

Proposed functions and the role of the place

Let us try to apply these assumptions, which are regarded as a model example of the approach to revitalization, to the Waliców project. When considering the future functions of the three tenement houses, the needs of different groups of residents living in the neighbourhood should certainly be taken into account. A special group are senior residents living in the area for many years, who according to interviews and discussions during the workshops, know one another or know about one another's existence, maintain contact with one another (men call themselves the “Wild West Boys”), meet regularly, want to maintain the traditions, the memory of the specificity of this part of Warsaw and preserve its original character. It is worth using this knowledge to reconstruct the post-war history of the region, and then present it inside the buildings and in the form of activities accompanying the launch of the Waliców project. The history of the place is extremely colourful, connected with the unique atmosphere of a city reborn after the Second World War and may turn out to be an interesting point of reference for “new Varsovians”, tenants of residential buildings and employees of office buildings in the neighbourhood, looking for their own identity in the capital. Crime stories, stories about “pits”, discovering various treasures, playing among ruins also have a unique value. They act on the imagination, they can be used to create a thematic walking route or an urban game devoted to the criminal *Wild West*. In the revitalized interiors of the Waliców complex - for example in one of the apartments, while preserving its original layout - a mini museum dedicated to Waliców Street and its immediate vicinity could be created. The narrative potential of such an institution is impressive, given the lack of a separate compendium of knowledge about the *Wild West* - a publication, an album, an exhibition or even a place devoted to the history of this part of Warsaw, the last witnesses of which are passing away together with the former image of Waliców, Miedziana or Wronia Streets. It would also be a chance to save and expose the original elements of the building's interior furnishings, which are visible in the conservation documentation. Thanks to this, visitors could experience what the life of the residents of the tenement house from that period actually looked like. The *Mini Museum - Bankowiec*, arranged in a former basement shelter by the residents of Gdynia's largest and most modern apartment building from the interwar period, may

serve as a model. It was a grassroots initiative. The residents of the building not only came up with the idea of its creation, but also furnished it and maintain it themselves. Thanks to their imagination and determination, some of the rooms of the former shelter now look like interiors of a richly equipped pre-war apartment.

In direct reference to the history of the place (museum, artistic activities accompanying the Waliców project), the history of pre-war Jewish inhabitants should be of particular importance, making use of the works of the most famous artists, such as Władysław Szlengel or Menachem Kipnis. It would be worthwhile to reconstruct the list of tenants and expose it during revitalization works, as well as weaving these issues into accompanying measures. Among the users of commercial premises, it is worth remembering about independent, small publishers, who could jointly organize activities related to the work of Szlengel and Kipnis.

When designing the functions of the complex on Waliców Street, it is worth making reference to the craftsmanship and trade traditions, very well established in this area, which long after the war remained an enclave of small entrepreneurship, but also to large industrial plants with great traditions. This could be achieved by creating a separate commercial space inside the buildings or in their courtyards (e.g. for cyclical fairs) and offering craftsmen the rental of commercial premises on the ground floor at preferential rates in order to support and promote the disappearing manufacturing activities.

The Lublin House of Words (Dom Słów), i.e. the buildings of the pre-war Popularna printing house, located in the very centre of Lublin may serve as an inspiring example of adaptation connected with both Jewish and craftsmanship traditions. Thanks to the efforts of the Grodzka Gate - NN Theatre, the plant, which existed in this place since 1932, was transformed into a multi-functional space and today serves as an artistic and educational centre. Meetings with authors, workshops and lectures take place there. At the same time, the place partly serves as a museum, where old printing machines operate and which is gradually enriched with new exhibits. It is home to the Chamber of Printing, which organizes workshops, meetings and events devoted to printing. The House of Words also houses a publishing house, which published books and magazines related to the cultural heritage and history of Lublin, which are an editorial rarity. From the very beginning, the revitalization project assumed that local residents would be involved in the work on the concept of the place, which was not one of the easiest tasks, as the building is located in a degraded area, with social problems characteristic for this type of place. From the start, the courtyard played an important role in establishing relations with neighbours. The employees of the Centre decided to dedicate their ideas to them, trying to reach out to children, youth and adults. Literature turned out to be the ideal link: every year a different literary character is invited to the courtyard, who also becomes a guide. Within a few years, the new hosts of the printing house, together with the residents, managed to tame the space, and later inscribe in it symbolic literary actions which were to reach generations, talk about values, memories, and the future. The courtyard became recognizable in the city, and people stopped being afraid to enter it. The same solution can be applied to the Waliców complex, organizing various activities and preparing a positive ground for future revitalization. The green square adjacent to the tenement house number 14 is particularly suitable for this purpose, especially as the accounts of the participants of last year's workshops show that one of the most important shortcomings pointed out by the inhabitants of this area is the lack of greenery. In order to come into contact with nature, they have to walk for a dozen or so minutes - the closest park is the Saski Garden. One of the solutions responding to these needs, and at the same time helping to integrate and involve residents in the Waliców revitalization project, may be a community garden. Such activities have been successfully carried out in many locations. The project "Saladfeld so gross wie ein Hochhaus" ("A Field of lettuce as big as a skyscraper"), produced by artist Helmut Dick in Berlin's Gropiusstadt housing estate, seems to be a very interesting example of cooperation. It was addressed to tenants of a typical block of flats - a high-rise - and consisted in planting lettuce in the space in front of the block, corresponding in size to the height of the building. The project turned out to be a great success. Not only in the literal sense - the lettuce was planted and harvested, but above all because the artist managed to overcome the indifference of the inhabitants, who were reluctant to cooperate with the artists. The residents of Gropiusstadt were distrustful of the activities of the artists working on various projects within the framework of the

PilotProject Gropiusstadt scholarship programme, as few of them made an effort to reach an understanding and encourage interaction with them. The tenants did not know what the young artists were talking about, they did not understand contemporary art, they felt like residents of a nature reserve visited by artists who came to observe them (i.e. to “look for inspiration”). This is a frequent problem related to revitalization activities based on artistic projects they are too short and are not preceded by public consultations. It happens that they result in important works of art, but they gain few recipients among the inhabitants and have little impact on solving their real problems. It is worth remembering that in the immediate vicinity of the Waliców tenement houses there is a large block of flats, part of the *Za Żelazną Bramą* housing estate - Helmut Dick's project would be suitable for Warsaw.

The Waliców complex - due to its size - can perform many functions at the same time, which will be integrated with each other. It is perfect for studios or studios rented on a temporary or permanent basis to artists - graphic artists, painters, musicians, and it is also possible to organize space inside for exhibitions, concerts, performances. The example of the *Lublin House of Words*, but also the *Tacheles Art House* or *Kulturbrauerei* (Cultural Brewery) mentioned at the beginning - both examples from Berlin, show how to organize such a project. The former remains an unrivalled model when it comes to the adaptation of buildings with similar cubic capacity, location (the very centre of the city) and links with the area. In the former department store, arranged as a result of grassroots, spontaneous activities, exhibition rooms, studios, contemporary art galleries were created. In the period of its splendour, nearly one hundred artists from thirty countries gathered under one roof. Concerts and readings were held in the *Blue Saloon*, a 400 square metre room. In the “golden room” on the first floor there were off-stage theatres. On the ground floor there was a bar and a café. As befits an avant-garde space, as the atmosphere referred to the radical art of Berlin's 1930s, like *Cabaret Voltaire*, *Tacheles* was open to visitors 24 hours a day. A similar kind of multifunctionality characterizes *Kulturbrauerei* - a complex with an area of 25 thousand square metres, occupying the former brewery in the Prenzlauer Berg district. It functions as a huge cultural centre, where not only concerts, theatre performances and festivals are held regularly, but there is also a cinema, two avant-garde theatres, a literary centre, several clubs, an art school, a museum of everyday life in the GDR, organized under the auspices of one of the foundations, two publishing houses, the seat of a company organising bicycle tours around the city and a local tourist information centre.

Remembering that all three tenement houses on Waliców Street have so far played a residential role, it is also worth trying to reconstruct it, at least in a part of one of the buildings. Considering the variety of functions of the complex, such a solution would fit in with the idea of multi-generational tenement houses (the first tenement house of this type was opened in 2018 in Łódź, another one is being built in Warsaw on Stalowa Street). Similar projects are becoming more and more popular in various countries around the world. They are conducive to the creation of a strong community, a bit like a multi-generational family. In accordance with the assumptions of living together, i.e. “cohousing”, the building is to be a good space for life. Flats and common rooms are designed to make it easier for representatives of all generations: seniors - people who are still independent, young people - looking for a place to start an independent life, middle-aged people and families with children and teenagers. This diversity is conducive to stability in life in contrast to places inhabited by people of similar age and status. For example: the lower floors are intended for seniors, while the upper floors are intended for people from the younger generation. Flexibility is the most important criterion when designing apartments - designers make sure that they can be easily adapted to the different needs of tenants, changing with age, degree of fitness, growing family. Thanks to this, flats can be rotational in nature - the same flats can be allocated to different people in turns. In the residential part there could be a private space (flats) and a shared space: a laundry, a doctor's office, a café club, which would be used not only by the tenants, but also other users, there could also be a garden in the courtyard of the tenement house. It is also worth thinking about adapting part of the premises in another part of the complex for accommodation for visitors, so that the needs of tourists do not interfere with the needs of permanent residents. In addition to the residential and commercial and service functions, this would be a way to ensure the income necessary for the day-to-day maintenance of the Waliców complex after revitalization. Inside, in addition to premises intended for individual NGOs and functioning on a similar basis as art studios, a co-working space could also be created, leased

to activists and creators - this would allow to gather different creative individuals under one roof and involve them in the creation of the space development programme on an ongoing basis.

If the technical conditions of the buildings allow it, in the first phase, even before the adaptation in line with the project, it would be worth considering making commercial premises on the ground floor available to non-governmental organizations and young artists for a symbolic fee, on a similar basis as in the *Premises for Culture* programme (in this case, however, the fees should be lower). This programme, launched by the Śródmieście District in Muranów in 2010, consisted in providing foundations and associations with commercial and service premises on the ground floors of buildings that had not been able to find tenants on a commercial basis for a long time. The allocation of premises took place in the form of a competition. Interested organizations had to submit a plan for the operation and financing of the premises. Particular emphasis was put on the links with the site where the future activity was to take place. The benefits of the programme, which has continued to this day, have been mutual and multifaceted: the neighbourhood has gradually recovered in cultural terms, the local authority has benefited financially from renting premises, and thanks to lower rents organizations have had the opportunity to spread their wings, while aiming to promote the place. The Stacja Muranów Association of Socio-Cultural Initiatives, which I represent, is one of the beneficiaries of this programme.

Locating artists and activists in the available spaces on the ground floor of the tenement houses, before the general renovation of the whole complex begins, and involving them in joint activities such as creating a social garden, is also an opportunity to familiarize the local residents with the new function of the Waliców complex, which at the same time would appear on the map of the city as an alternative cultural centre. The actions carried out at that time would have a chance to serve as a starting point for a more extensive programme in the future.

Jacek Leociak

Waliców Street - the Years of Nazi Occupation

Walking today in the area of the former Warsaw ghetto and trying to reconstruct the memory of this place, we are doomed to traces, tracks, fractions and fragments found in the testimonies of the victims and in the photographs, maps, plans and the surviving remains of urban space: scraps of cobblestones or residues of townhouses - relics.

That's why I won't compile a thorough study of the history of Waliców Street from its beginnings to the present day, using all the available archival sources, extensive literature on Warsaw, architectural and urban documentation as well as certificates, records and memories. Instead, the aim of this report is to outline the history of the street during the times of Nazi occupation, focusing in particular on the period when it was located within the Warsaw ghetto.

In this report, I want to briefly describe the place and people connected with this place there and then, I want to bring out material traces and the voices of those who lived and died at the time on Waliców Street. I would like to recreate the atmosphere of that place and time, the mood of dread and terror, also to indicate social institutions and offices operating there, and - perhaps above all - I want to uncover the stories of individual persons inhabiting Waliców Street at that time, or those in one way or another related to them.

In the case of Waliców Street, we have a particular situation - there we have three townhouses preserved to a to various extents (numbers 10, 12 and 14) and, in front of them a fragment of the wall of the former Jung's brewery, which became the border of the ghetto. One more townhouse survived on this street, at number 17 - the facade has been impressively renovated. There are luxurious apartments for rent: *St. Barbara Apartments* of the Warsaw Attics development company.

Just a few elementary historical facts as an introduction. Waliców Street leading from Ceglana to Chłodna Streets, was marked out in 1767. It was an industrial area; there were many breweries as well as the brickworks operating at that time. In 1770, it was officially named (from the surname of the governor of Rawa, Bazyli Walicki), and in 1784 the plots assigned earlier were given police numbering. From 1805, the southern part of the street reached the extensive area of Ulrychów Gardening Enterprise near Ceglana Street, where vegetables, fruits and flowers were grown. From 1876 Ulrychow Gardens were gradually moved outside of Warsaw. A spacious *Tancred* (dancehall) opened in 1822 to become an entertainment attraction. It was called the Wrocław Hall and later the Silver Hall, located at the corner of Waliców and Krochmalna Streets. In 1854, the Jung's brewery was opened within the square delineated by Waliców, Grzybowska, Żelazna and Ceglana Streets. In 1919, the brewery became part of the Haberbusch and Schiele United Warsaw Breweries Joint Stock Company. From 1897, in some of the buildings of this area was the lemonade and soda plant owned by A. Domański. In 1905 Waliców Street was extended to Prosta Street, and in 1906 next to the intersection of these streets a magnificent edifice of the School of Commerce of the Warsaw Merchants' Society was erected. Before the outbreak of World War II, tenement houses on Waliców Street were inhabited by Poles and Jews, roughly fifty-fifty. In 1918, in the 8th section of the Grzybów district, the percentage of Jewish population amounted to 63% and dropped to 53% in 1938. **1**

1 Gabriela Zalewska, *Ludność żydowska w Warszawie w okresie międzywojennym*, Warsaw 1996, pp. 344-345.

Placement of Waliców Street in the Ghetto Area and a Short Historical Outline

Almost the whole Waliców Street found itself within the borders of the ghetto, from the time it was enclosed on November 16, 1940. It was included in the so-called small ghetto - an area extending south of Chłodna Street. Already at the very beginning, during the formation of the final boundaries of the ghetto, there was a dispute over the course of the border line at the corner of Waliców and Ceglana Streets. The buildings of the former Jung's brewery at 11 Waliców Street housed the aforementioned Domański's company which operated until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising. Initially the whole Waliców Street, that is from Prosta to Chłodna Streets, was to be within the ghetto. However, this would prevent the functioning of Domański's company, cutting off the entrance to its area from the side of Waliców Street. After stormy negotiations, part of the street, from Ceglana to the entrance gate to the estate at 11 Waliców Street, was kind of cut out from the ghetto. A wooden fence was erected along Ceglana Street, which at the intersection with Waliców Street was connected with the wall separating the pavement in front of the townhouse at 10 Waliców Street within the ghetto, from the "Aryan" roadway. The direction of the wall was shifted to the left and it crossed the Waliców Street, thus separating the "Aryan" section of the roadway from the ghetto on the other side, extending northwards. Thus, through the "Aryan" corridor created in this way, the Domański's company could be reached.

A set of documents entitled *Obman des Judentars Warschau* is kept in the State Archive in Warsaw (APW). It contains a census of the Jewish Population Register dated January 1, 1941. Thanks to it, we can determine the number of inhabitants of Waliców Street. For the moment, I do not address the issue of the census method and its unreliability (the basic source was the data on the number of ration cards issued by the *Jewish Council Supply Department*, and this data is imprecise, because some residents could not afford to buy cards, some had not yet settled residence registration formalities - in other words, these figures are rather underestimated). The section of Waliców Street from Prosta to Ceglana Streets (numbers 1 to 9 and 2 to 8), was inhabited by 2,032 people in total, including 2,007 of Jewish faith, 22 Roman Catholics, 2 Evangelical Christians and one non-denominational. The section from Ceglana to Chłodna Streets (numbers 10 - 32 and 13 - 15) was inhabited by a total of 2,105 people, including those of Jewish faith - 2,082, and Roman Catholics - 23. Thus, according to official data, at the beginning of 1941, there were at least 4,137 people, and most probably more, living on Waliców Street. The congestion, as in the entire ghetto, was enormous. Each flat was shared by several families.

At the turn of June and July 1941, horse-drawn omnibuses appeared on the streets of the ghetto (they were not horse-drawn trams because they did not move on rails). The fare was higher than on an electric tram and amounted to 60 gr. Emanuel Ringelblum stated that the omnibuses were always overcrowded ²; Władysław Szpilman, on the other hand, was of the opinion that "due to a quite high fare, they were filled only by affluent people who drove into the depths of the ghetto only for business, to a store or to an office" ³. These vehicles belonged to the "Omnibus Transport Society" owned by Kohn and Heller and licensed by the Germans. They were commonly called *kohnhelerka*, and also *Uncle Kohn's Cabin* or *Chata za wszą* (*A hut behind the village*). This is how Mary Berg describes them in her diary: "These are wooden carriages with windows, (...) the upper part is painted yellow, the lower is blue, and in the middle there is a white star of David with the inscription *TKO* (*Towarzystwo Konnych Omnibusów - Horse-drawn Omnibus Society*). The vehicle moves on high wheels and gives the impression of a gigantic yellow-blue armband. (...) The coachman often stops the omnibus in the middle of the route to "refuel", that is to water two emaciated and exhausted poor jades that are barely capable of pulling a crowded cart" ⁴.

The first omnibus line served initially only the southern part of the ghetto, from the Śliska-Wielka Street intersection to the Ogrodowa-Żelazna Streets intersection. According to *Gazeta Żydowska* (*Jewish Newspaper*) from June 30, 1941, the route ran along the following streets: Śliska, Komitetowa, Pańska, Mariańska, Twarda, Ciepła, Grzybowska, Waliców, Krochmalna, Żelazna to Ogrodowa,

² Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego wrzesień 1939 - styczeń 1943*, Warsaw 1983, p. 315.

³ Władysław Szpilman, *Śmierć miasta*, Warsaw 1946, p. 61.

⁴ Mary Berg, *Dziennik z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 1983, p. 67.

there and back. The *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* (*The New Warsaw Courier*) from August 11, 1941, describes the *kohnhelerka* route in a different way: Wielka, Sienna, Sosnowa, Śliska, Komitetowa, Pańska, Twarda, Ciepła, Grzybowska, Waliców, Krochmalna and Żelazna Streets to the corner of Ogrodowa Street. One way or another it is certain that omnibuses were passing along part of Waliców Street, between Grzybowska and Krochmalna Streets.

In October 1941, there were major changes to the borders of the ghetto, and, among others, the west side of Żelazna Street found itself outside the ghetto. The borders also changed in the vicinity of Waliców Street: Jews had to leave the houses on the even numbered side of Krochmalna Street between Waliców and Ciepła Streets. The houses at the northern end of Waliców Street at the junction with Chłodna Street were also separated from the ghetto. These were the properties located at 30 and 32 Waliców Street, as it was reported by *Gazeta Żydowska* on October 24, 1941.

In December 1941, 6 omnibuses using 24 horses were running in the ghetto. The "A" route passed along Waliców Street. It went from the corner of Pańska and Komitetowa Streets through Marińska, Twarda, Ciepła, Grzybowska, Waliców, Żelazna, and Leszno Street to the intersection with Solna Street. There were plans to open two new omnibus lines, but this did not happen.

The Great Liquidation Action, i.e. deportation of around 300,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to the extermination camp in Treblinka began on July 22, 1942. In mid-August, the small ghetto was liquidated. By order of the German authorities, the Judenrat published four announcements on changing borders. The first one appeared on August 9 and informed that the inhabitants of the small ghetto must move to the northern side of Leszno Street, to the so-called big ghetto. The tragedy of the last moments of the southern part of the closed district is reflected, among others, in the diary of Abraham Lewin: "It's getting ever more crowded. Awfully, horribly. Shockingly monstrous displacement from the small ghetto. They drove people out of many houses, all their belongings left behind. The Christian hooligans have begun plundering" (entry from August 11, 1942). ⁵ The second announcement appeared on August 13 and concerned the exclusion from the ghetto of the area between Chłodna and Leszno Streets. The third announcement, from August 15, heralded evictions from many ghetto houses that were to become blocks of flats for those employed in the workshops, so called sheds. The fourth announcement was posted on the walls of the ghetto on August 16. It legalized the existence of the ghetto enclave, the Többens' shed (the so-called *Big Többens*), whose area stretched between Ceglana, Żelazna and Pańska Streets. Part of Waliców Street between Ceglana and Prosta turned to be within the boundaries of the *Big Többens*. These were the houses numbered 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 19. The fenced area of this factory became a ghetto island, located in the areas included in the "Aryan" side of Warsaw.

The fights and destruction during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising bypassed Waliców Street. In the first days of the Warsaw Uprising, units of Gustaw Bilewicz "Sosna" fought in this area. On Thursday, August 3, soldiers of Sosna's unit captured the German military police station, the so-called Nordwache, located in the townhouse at 25 Chłodna Street, next to the corner as 75a Żelazna Street. But the next day, on Friday, August 4, a German grouping under the command of the SS gruppensführer Reeffisher, which included Dirlwanger's units, began preparations for a massive attack on the Wolska-Chłodna-Saxon Garden- Brühl Pałac line. On Saturday, August 5, the slaughter on the streets of Wola began. On Sunday morning, August 6, Germans started a frontal assault and were breaking through, along Chłodna Street, to the east. In the huge school building at 11/13 Chłodna Street, at the corner of 34 Waliców Street, probably designed by Corazzi, Germans placed an ammunition dump. They blew it up before the August 5. The building burned down, the ruins - solid walls - remained. This ruin appears on several photos from the times of the uprising. Sosna's units retreated to the Old Town, while the Chrobry II Group stayed active in the area. Southern part of Waliców Street in the vicinity of Ceglana Street remained in the hands of the insurgents until surrender on October 3, 1944.

⁵ Ringelblum Archive (ARG), vol. 23, *Dzienniki z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2015, p. 117.

Waliców Street in the Ghetto - Institutions and Offices

The most important institutions and offices on Waliców Street were located in two buildings: in the townhouse number 10 and in the building of the Trade School of the Waliców Merchants Society at 2/4 Waliców Street, corner of 14 Prosta Street.

In the townhouse at 10 Waliców Street, which still exists and is probably the best preserved building of those times, there was one of the six district offices for the distribution of ration cards (*OBRAKA - Okręgowe Biuro Rozdziału Kart Aprowizacyjnych*), whose sections coincided with the police division of the ghetto into sections. *OBRAKA* for the section no. 1 was actually located at 10 Waliców Street. This was a very important address in the ghetto. Groceries for distribution on ration cards in the ghetto were purchased and delivered from the "Aryan" side by the Supply Department of the Jewish Council. The procedure for buying card quotas was as follows: The registers keeper, so-called the registers ruler was compiling a list of tenants of the given house (or a few houses) that were subject to him. Only registered residents of the ghetto were entitled to card allocations. In the appropriate *District Office for the Distribution of Food Cards*, the registers keeper, on the basis of the lodged list of tenants, submitted a request for the number of cards in the following month. *OBRAKA* at 10 Waliców Street appears in many preserved documents.

There were eight Polish police stations in the ghetto. However, not all of them were open. According to Getter **6**, the district command of the "blue" police was located at 56 Krochmalna Street, wherefrom it was moved to the building at the corner of Chłodna and Żelazna streets - 25 Chłodna - 75a Żelazna Streets, which also housed the *Abschnittswachen* of the German Schutzpolizei (the so-called *Nordwache*). The police station no. 4 was located at 10 Waliców Street, but it is difficult to determine how long it operated. Briefings for the district officers and commanders of the platoons of the Jewish Police Service were held in the police stations, the district officers of both formations made a joint inspection of the district, carried out OPL controls. At the corner of 10 Waliców and Ceglana Streets, there was a station of the Jewish Police Service. In the daily reports of the Jewish police station, there are many identical annotations: "defects in walls, fences and rail barriers were found". **7** A large number of them refer to the townhouse at 10 Waliców Street. This is most probably about finding traces of holes in the wall knocked out by smudged. No wonder - the house at number 10 was right next to the border wall and was therefore an ideal place for smugglers.

The School of Commerce of the Warsaw Merchants' Society was founded on the initiative of Stanisław Rotwand, in 1900. "The curriculum included, among other subjects, Latin (which was an exception in commercial schools), psychology, logic, music and manual work. The school used modern educational and didactic methods, including the so-called teaching under the guidance; it took care of physical education and sports fitness of students." **8** Initially it was located at 51 Złota Street. In the years 1905-1906, at the intersection of Prosta and Waliców streets, a new school building designed by Edward Goldberg was erected. The building housed trade schools both at the elementary, middle and high school level. In 1913, the east wing was added and another wing was added on Waliców Street. In 1927, a general high school was established next to it. At the beginning of the 20th century, an eminent essayist and writer Jerzy Stempowski attended the School of Merchants' Society. Years later he reminisced: "At the School of the Merchants' Society, Jews constituted exactly half of my colleagues. (...) To my fellow Jews from the introductory and the first grade I owe my knowledge of matters which lack of understanding affected later the whole generation of young people." **9** Władysław Szlengel also graduated from that school. The building was damaged during the September siege.

6 Marek Getter, *Policja granatowa w Warszawie w latach 1939 - 1944*, [in:] *Warszawa lat wojny i okupacji 1939-1945*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1972, p. 214.

7 IPN (Institute of National Remembrance) archive, ref. no. 165/367.

8 Lech Królikowski, *Szkolnictwo dawnej Warszawy. Od połowy XVII wieku do wybuchu drugiej wojny światowej*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 436-437.

9 Jerzy Stempowski, *Dzieci Warszawy w początkach XX stulecia*, in his: *Eseje*, Kraków, 1984, p. 50.

In the Ringelblum Archive there is a document about the need to renovate and adapt the building for further use. ¹⁰ One of the five baths operating in the ghetto was located there. In one of the wings of the building, the first tailoring “sheds” were set up - the beginning of the *Többens workshops*. ¹¹ At the turn of 1940 and 1941, medical examinations of Jews directed to labour camps were held there. Henryk Makower took part in them. He recalls that from the morning “a long queue of people stood in front of the gate, the other part of it was inside the building”. ¹² These scenes have been immortalized in photos. One of many refugee centres was also located in that building. It was liquidated in July 1941. ¹³

It is worth mentioning that in the tenement house at the corner of 17 Ceglana Street and Waliców Street 8, the pre-war Warsaw Jewish Society for Assistance to the Mothers of Limited Means continued to operate after the establishment of the ghetto. ¹⁴ In the same house, from October 1941 to May 1942, Dr Bolesław Muszkatblat conducted cosmetic and therapeutic massage courses, announcing in *Gazeta Żydowska* that the diploma of the courses entitles to an autonomous professional practice. The course of study included anatomy with physiology, dermatology, cosmetic chemistry, physics and lifesaving. The practical part consisted of exercises in the field of toilet, hygiene and beauty cosmetics. The massage class included exercises in the field of therapeutic and degreasing massage, under the guidance of excellent physicians. The whole announcement in the context of the ghetto’s monstrosity sounds surreal. In the same building, Dr Bolesłwa Muszkatblat also ran X-ray courses. All the advertised courses were approved by German authorities.

At the beginning of August 1944, during the Warsaw Uprising, Germans blew up the edifice of the School of the Merchants’ Society. ¹⁵ After the defeat of the uprising, the so called “gruzowcy” (“rubblers”), also called “Warsaw Robinsons” were hiding in its ruins. We know two accounts from this area. Alina Winawerowa was hiding from October 7, 1944 to January 18, 1945, and kept an on-going bunker diary. ¹⁶ Szymon Rogoziński was hiding there with her, and he described his experiences after the war. ¹⁷

Waliców Street in the Ghetto - Horror and Dread on the Streets

The ghetto left its mark on the appearance of Waliców Street, just like on sixty-six other streets within the walls. The most characteristic feature was the crowdedness, and over time the growing terror and the omnipresent death

A common experience of the ghetto’s everyday life were overcrowding and noise in the streets, preventing normal movement. The issue of overcrowding appears in many testimonies from that time. Jews were forced to live, suffer and die in an overcrowded and cramped space. In the overcrowded apartments, they were deprived of the luxury of privacy, in congested courtyards and streets they moved in a throng of passers-by, traders, begging paupers, in tumult and squalor, among the corpses. Walking in the streets was risky, pedestrians often became the subject of harassment and abuse. Rabbi Huberband describes the frequent procedure of cutting off or setting fire to beards of religious Jews. This was also taking place on Waliców Street: “It happened many times that they set fire to beards of the caught Jews. In this way Rabbi Josef Szternfeld from Aleksandrów was seriously wounded. He was stopped by a German on Waliców

¹⁰ ARG, vol. 33, *Getto warszawskie cz. I*, Warsaw 2017, p. 187.

¹¹ ARG vol. 34, *Getto warszawskie cz. II*, Warsaw 2017, p. 192; Henryk Makower, *Pamiętnik z getta warszawskiego: październik 1940-styczeń 1943*, Wrocław 1987, p. 52.

¹² Makower, *ibidem*.

¹³ Ringelblum Archive, Jewish Historical Institute, sygn. 321. Ring. I/231.

¹⁴ Ringelblum Archive, Jewish Historical Institute, sygn. 172. Ring. II/94.

¹⁵ According to the testimony of Janina Lasocka — at night from the 2nd to 3th of August (*Ludność cywilna w powstaniu warszawskim*, vol. 1: *Pamiętniki. Relacje. Zeznania*. Part one, Warsaw 1974, p. 417), according to W. Stępień’s account — on the 4th of August (*ibidem*, p. 280).

¹⁶ Alina Winawerowa, *Kronika 103 dni*, [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze*, annual VII, 1975, no. 1.

¹⁷ Szymon Rogoziński, *Moje szczęśliwe życie*, Łódź 1994.

Street. German took him to the garage on the same street and there set fire to his beard. The rabbi miraculously survived.” **18**

In an account contained in the Ringenblum Archive, Henryka Łazowert describes a different type of harassment. In February 1941, as she passed Waliców Street she saw a lot of people gathered at the gate of the house no. 12. Civilians speaking in German and Polish “searched the Jews gathered in the gateway and took away the contents of their wallets and purses or other valuables.” **19** One of the robbers began to beat the janitor who was closing the gate too slowly. Łazowert reported: “Since in the last [period] I have already heard about several cases of robbery, I suspected that here also robbery took place and I rushed screaming along the street in order to call the German police. However, I did not manage to run far, when a fatso chased after me, he hit me in the back and in the face. I fell to the ground and did not want to get up, resisting him until he ruthlessly picked me up and forcefully led me back to the gate at 12 Waliców Street (...) They led me out with the f[atso], and they explained to the guards why they were doing it, and I did not know where they were taking me. On the way, the fatso took revenge on me for having spoiled their fun and earnings.” **20** Łazowert was taken to the Gestapo at Aleja Szucha, and then she spent nine months in Pawiak.

Death was a daily occurrence for the inhabitants of the closed district. Epidemics, hunger and terror were the causes for it breaking into everyday life. Death was always present in a crowded flat and on a thronged street. It could fall on a passer-by suddenly, for no reason. In May 1941, the chronicler of the ghetto, Emanuel Ringelblum, records such an event on Waliców Street: “A tragic accident happened last week (beginning of May): on Waliców Street, where there is terrible congestion, a military car had to stop because of a rickshaw. A military man jumped out of the car and shot dead a man, and wounded a few.” **21** On May 2, 1941, a similar event was described by Mordechaj Szwarcbard: “A car with two Gestapo men appeared in Grzybowo. At the corner of Żelazna Street, they attacked a Jewish policeman and beat him badly. They went towards Waliców Street. On the way, at Krochmalna Street they toppled over all the stalls. At the corner of Żelazna and Krochmalna Streets, they attacked a 60-year-old Jew, knocked him over and beat him terribly. I have not yet seen this kind of beating. A shot Jew was lying on the corner of Grzybowska and Waliców Streets. They say that three people were shot in this event.” **22** A car from which Germans suddenly jump out to batter or shoot passers-by was not a rare sight on the streets of the ghetto, also on Waliców Street. Dawid Fliegelman wrote on June 11, 1942: “Yesterday, towards the evening, a car appeared at the corner of Krochmalna and Waliców, from which, with machine guns, an execution of Jews began. A dozen or so fell dead or injured.” **23** About shooting people walking along Waliców Street we can also read in the Abraham Lewin’s diary. In the evening of May 18, 1942, “seven Jews were shot at the corner of Waliców and Chłodna Streets. Among those shot there are supposedly two Jewish policemen.” **24** On June 10, the diarist notes that “five Jews were supposedly killed on Waliców.” **25** On June 12, 1942, six weeks before the start of the Great Liquidation Action, Lewin wrote: “Blood, blood, blood. (...) Yesterday, after 9 p.m., on the corner of Ceglana and Waliców, two Jews were shot in the same way; seven Jews were killed the previous week. Smugglers turn into heroes, who will be eulogised by the people in heroic epics.” **26**

When the mass deportation of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to Treblinka began, Waliców Street was again drenched in blood. In the first days of the Action, the blockades of houses were carried out, for example, on July 28, 1942, the inhabitants of the townhouse at 6 Waliców Street were driven to the Umschlagplatz. The blockades on Waliców Street were repeated, another

18 ARG, vol. 32, *Pisma Rabina Szymona Huberbanda*, Warsaw 2017, p. 91.

19 ARG vol. 5, *Getto warszawskie*, Warsaw 2011, p. 477.

20 ibidem.

21 ARG vol. 29, *Pisma z getta Emanuela Ringelbluma*, Warsaw 2018, p. 251.

22 ARG vol. 23, *Dzienniki z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2015, p. 230.

23 ARG vol. 5, *Getto warszawskie*, Warsaw 2011, p. 80.

24 ARG vol. 23, *Dzienniki z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2015, p. 32.

25 ARG vol. 23, *Dzienniki z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2015, p. 71.

26 ARG vol. 23, *Dzienniki z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2015, p. 73.

one took place on July 30. The next day, Lewin wrote in his diary: "They took around 3,000 people from Waliców and Grzybowska. They paid no attention to the documents. "Farewell, farewell" a young Jew called from the wagon." **27**

Who Lived on Waliców Street?

The most famous resident of Waliców Street is Władysław Szlengel. Before the war, he wrote poems and songs, and in the ghetto he was a well-known writer for cabaret (*Żywy Dziennik* [Vivid Diary]) - in the Sztuka (Art) cafe at 2 Leszno Street), but above all - a poetic chronicler of the Warsaw Ghetto. His poems, collected under the title *What I have read to the dead*, given by the poet himself, gained enormous popularity among the inhabitants of the closed district. He lived in the townhouse at 14 Waliców Street. One flat housed many tenants. In the Ringelblum Archive there is a piece of paper that used to hang on the door. The names of the tenants were on it, and next to each name a number of rings. If someone came to a particular person, he had to call in the right way. "Call/Lurie 1 ring/Rotsztajn 2/Rogozinińscy 4/Koplewicz 5/[Władysław] Szlengel 3/[Michał]Brandsteter 3/ Lunia 2 short/ Wanda 2 long/ Order service and Werkszuc 6 times pressing with the head". The card preserved in the Ringelblum Archives should be read together with the Szlengel's poem *Bells*: "On the door there was a card/readable only up close -/The bell is working - please call /and three names:/To Ms L. once,/to Mr K. twice,/and to the doctor three times." **28**

Szlengel perished during the ghetto uprising, most probably on May 8, 1943. It is known that he was in the bunker of Szymon Kac at 36 Świętojerska Street. Leon Najberg, who was also there, described the detection of a hideout as follows: "today [May 8, 1943 - J.L.] the shelter was 'uncovered' and 'finished'. (...) Yesterday evening, the poet Władysław Szlengel still wrote his poems in which he praised the heroism of Jewish fighters and wept over the fate of Jews (...) Yesterday Szlengel did not know that he was describing the history of the heroic shomers for the last time. Maybe no one will even see the manuscript." **29** Najberg managed to escape the ambush. The others were killed. It can be assumed that the author of the diary, always very accurate and truthful, was right. Władysław Szlengel was seen for the last time on May 8, 1943, when "at 5 pm the procession of martyrs went on its last journey." **30**

We can name more well-known inhabitants of Waliców Street during ghetto time. Morris Landau was an American journalist. The war caught him in Warsaw. He lived in the ghetto at 22 Waliców Street. He died of hunger in the first half of 1942. His letters with requests for help addressed to Icchak Giterman, the director of the Joint in Poland, have been preserved in the Ringelblum Archive. From July 1940 to mid-August 1942, Stanisław Szereszewski together with his wife Helena lived in the townhouse at 6 Waliców Street, on the fifth floor at number 12. He was an engineer, former director of the "Henryków" yeast and distillery factory, chairman of the Jewish Municipal Welfare Committee in a closed district. He perished during the ghetto uprising. After the January 1943 action, his wife went to the "Aryan" side. She survived and wrote her memoirs titled *Krzyż i mezuzah* (*Cross and Mezuzah*) (Warsaw 1993). She died in Israel in 1978. Menachem Kipnis, a popular Jewish writer, columnist, journalist of *Haynt*, author of satirical texts and songs, lived at 14 Waliców Street. In the ghetto he financially supported other writers. He kept a diary that went missing. He died on May 15, 1942. From pre-war times until the liquidation of the small ghetto, Irena Śmigielńska with her family lived in the same tenement house. She is the author of memories *Skradzone lata* (*Stolen Years*) (Warsaw 2001). During the creation of the ghetto, the family of David Zylbert moved into the house at 14 Waliców Street. **31** David, at the age of 12, fled to the Aryan side where he was selling newspapers and cigarettes at Trzech Krzyży (*Three Crosses*) Square, he was the only one of his whole family who survived the war.

27 ARG vol. 23, *Dzienniki z getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 2015, p. 111.

28 Ringelblum Archive, Jewish Historical Institute, sygn. Ring. II/492.

29 Leon Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta*, ŻIH, Warszawa 1993, pp. 73-75.

30 *ibidem*, p. 75.

31 Ewa Małkowska-Bieniek: *Śladami warszawskich Żydów*, Warsaw, 2008.

We know from the already quoted documents of the Population Register Office of Warsaw Judenrat, that in January 1941, Waliców Street was inhabited by over 4,137 people. Their names got lost, and they themselves were turned into ashes. Today, we can only name the few, in one form or another recorded in the survived documents and autobiographical records. Thanks to Helena Szereszewska's memoirs, we know that 6 Waliców Street was inhabited by: Abram Sobelman, Eng. Widerszal, Leon Wyszewiański on the 5th floor, the Jonas family also on the 5th floor, Ferhendler on 5th floor, Almond on the 4th floor, Mrs Baumanowa in the outbuilding. Thanks to Irena Śmigielska's memoirs, we know about the large orthodox Borowski family, nesting in one room, and the assimilated Feigenbaum family, refugees from Łódź - living in the tenement house at 14 Waliców Street.

There is one more unusual source from which we can extract the names of the ghetto inhabitants with their exact addresses. This is a list of those who were in arrears on their gas bills by May 16, 1941. ³² There are the names of people living on Waliców Street: Wolf Kurland (3 Waliców, f. 3); Chaim Gradus (3 Waliców 3, f. 6); Chaim Feldhender (6 Waliców, f. 15); Moszek Rubin (7 Waliców, f. 13); Jankiel Przytyk (7 Waliców, f. 38); Izaak Rachman (8a Waliców, f. 26); Tauba Herszkot (12 Waliców, f. 14); Hersz Lederman (13 Waliców, f. 5); Hersz Szafman (Waliców, there is no number); Tola Krongoldówna (14 Waliców, f. 14); Moszek Turczyk (15 Waliców, f. 22); Szajdla Nusbaum (17 Waliców, f. 40); Abraham Goldsztejn (22 Waliców, f. 24); Fiszel Gelbel (23 Waliców, f. 23); Fajga Mokotów (23 Waliców, f. 27).

Epilogue

The three buildings at 10, 12 and 14 Waliców Street survived the September siege of Warsaw, the ghetto, the Warsaw Uprising and they are still standing next to each other, wall to wall, closely interlinked - one would say - shoulder to shoulder, supporting each other. They managed to hold out till our time; although in a deplorable condition, they are and stand before us. The townhouses on Waliców Street are not only a priceless relic of the past, a witness to the war and the ghetto. Paradoxically, they seem to open a window towards the future. It is about the future of this part of the city and about the narrative of our shared past that we ought to pass on to future generations. For the future is rooted in the past; without it, it is like a leaf floating in the wind.

For me personally, the fact that these building still exist is a special privilege of sorts, a gift. The Waliców project gives me hope that we will accept this gift; I do believe that it shall not be wasted. In my view the project on Waliców is an urban and memorial challenge, a difficult and certainly costly investment task and a moral obligation for all of us to build the future of Warsaw based on the dramatic heritage of the past.

What should become of this place? What form the commemoration should take?

I believe that education is the most important thing. The lack of it, especially concerning the history of the extermination of Jews and Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War, is appalling, and it continues to bring about increasingly dramatic effects. That is why I think that the Waliców project should focus on education. The buildings on Waliców Street are ideal for this purpose: a combination of material remnants of what was with what will be, what can be, what we can build together. An educational centre in which young people and adults would learn not only history, but also, and perhaps above all, fundamental principles of democracy, tolerance, openness.

³² Set no. 483/II in: Der Obman Des Judenrates Warschau, State Archive in Warsaw (APW).

Guido Morpurgo

Preliminary Architectural Guidelines for the Preservation and Regeneration of the Memorialistic Site of Waliców Street

*I cannot remember everything.
I must have been unconscious most of the time.*

Arnold Schönberg, Ein Überlebender aus Warschau, 1947

Introduction

This work aims to outline the Preliminary Architectural Guidelines for the preservation and regeneration of the memorialistic site of Waliców street, part of the former “Little Ghetto” in the District of Warszawa-Mirów. The present report have in particular the aim of directing the site conservation and reuse works according to the idea of promoting an intervention methodology applied to a real case-study, for the most part still intact, despite the critical conservation conditions in which it currently is. The small size of the sites’s “archaeological” elements make the recovery operation realistically practicable at the public level, even in subsequent phases.

The Preliminary Architectural Guidelines have in particular been conceived to promote the creation of a new place for the city, a “living” center of cultural, art and research activities. This is a way of regenerating the specific category of Heritage represented by the last fragments of the Warsaw Ghetto, without museifying and depriving them of an actual use, but encompassing them within the idea of *extended museum* promoted by ICOM: an integrated system of urban places of historical value, regenerated for collective uses.

At the same time, the Guidelines have the task of representing a sort of demonstrative prototype of an intervention methodology, whose prerogatives are applicable to other cases with similar characteristics: for example, fragments of the pre-war Warsaw that still survive in the complex structure of the contemporary city, although it is now projected towards a further and rapid transformation of its urban structure and scale, or of its identity as a capital city.

The aim of the Preliminary Architectural Guidelines is therefore not to prescribe unequivocal and binding indications, but, on the basis of the recently assigned *Protection by Law* to the three historical buildings of the Mazovian Province Monument’s Restorer, to establish a methodological schedule, a work direction to be developed through a subsequent specific architectural project of public initiative.

Waliców DNA of Warsaw

The unique value in Europe of the Waliców case lies in two components that declare its belonging to the city and to the history of its total destruction. It is above all one of the last fragments of the former Ghetto and a place of resistance of the Home Army. But it is also one of the base cells of the capital city that is no more. It represents a physical section, still visible, of the pre-war Warsaw: the “living” demonstration of the replication combinatorial system of the base unit, which the contemporary city has grafted with onto its previous territorial palimpsest. This occurred by transforming the subdivision of the unbuilt lots with an aggregation mechanism and a complex combination of substantially modular housing structures. This system of “cell replication” was based on a repeatable typological synthesis, based on the maximum exploitation of the buildable surface and declinable according to the specific conditions, therefore to the relationship between pre-existing and new urban blocks with the urban network. The Waliców site is therefore the depositary of the identity characters of the deep structure of the modern city: it represents the DNA of the vanished Warsaw.

The core of the three tenements that survived the destruction of the German occupation is in particular composed of buildings that, although different in size and specific design solutions,

present a series of “genetic” invariants: morphological, typological-spatial, materic and linguistic constants. All together they declare the belonging of these buildings to a common settlement principle, of which they represent some of the possible declinations, *microstories* condensed in the architectural form and in the traces of the uses to which the buildings have been devoted over time, including the signs of destruction and fighting. Paradoxically suspended, the time within the Waliców site is consequently reusable both as a narrative material and a new possibility of contemporary living in relation to the city’s history. The very fact that buildings have generally lost the decorative finish of the facades makes them perceptible in their structural essence of solid brick buildings, as if they were the stratigraphic representation of themselves and of their construction principle. The *słowiańskie wiązanie cegieł* (“slavic brickwork”) **1** itself represents the ‘molecular’ principle of construction of the load-bearing walls that - together with the reinforced concrete staircases - form the structure of the Waliców Street buildings.

The identity of the Waliców Street isolate is then inscribed in these features to form a sort of “general DNA”: an identity “genome” that, despite the almost total destruction suffered between 1943 and 1944, Warsaw has preserved in some fragments still rooted in its deep weave, in the “chromosomal” system of its residential fabric. The matrix is based on the recurrence of a basic type, condensed in sequences of buildings with a rectangular plan - about 24x33mt with heights of 4-5 floors, between 22 and 26mt - provided with courtyards with niched corners, single or multiple. The basic type was repeatable, combinable and adaptable to the different conformations of the city blocks built between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Intact examples of similar cases can still be found in the southern district, as in 41 Mokotowska St., 10 Bagatela St. and 13 Lwowska St., where there are, among others, coeval buildings (although more refined in their finishes and decorations) designed by Wacław Heppen, the same architect who designed the building of 14 Waliców St.

Archaeology of the Present

This “genetic” feature of the Waliców St. block is particularly evident for the intensity of the specific expressive-symbolic character of the three buildings that compose it. They must be read in their being a single organic element and not just the simple sum of autonomous buildings. Each of them shares the load-bearing structure with the neighboring one to form a whole nucleus that is considered inseparable. This identity value has been recently confirmed by the assignment of the *Protection by Law* of the Mazovian Province Monument’s Restorer. The building at n. 14, whose facade on the street was partially destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising (September 26 1944), then definitively demolished after 1945, is the element of most significant expressive impact. It appears “eviscerated”, exposed in a sort of “urban anatomy” that unveils its interior: it is a “living” section of the post-apocalyptic city, a warning, but also a particularly powerful image operator, a material to be reused. The building at no. 12, which shares a part of the vanished façade - the north-west corner - destroyed during the bombings of 1939 is substantially intact, as the building at no. 10.

The evocative power of these fragments has to be respected by valuing the site as a place not only of memory, but also of the present. The surviving buildings and the ruins that supposedly are still kept in the ground of the two free areas are an example of the Ghetto and Warsaw Uprising’s memorialistic value, therefore a shared memory that can be used as a warning and testimony, not only for the events of the past but also for the present’s ones.

The aim of the Guidelines is therefore to summarize the possible ways to re-use the free areas and the buildings-finds for memorialistic uses, for citizen associations and public services, as well as to reorganize the residential part with studios and atelier for researchers and artists. It is also hypothesized to make possible the construction of a new volume on the traces of the fourth building demolished in the early 90s, to be used as a theater and multifunctional space. This view aims to make the archaeological site not a museum of itself but a vital place, a new venue of collective activities for the protection of memory and for the production of culture and information, both locally and internationally.

1 J.S. Zubrzycki, *Murarz Polski*, Lwow 1916, p.2.

Thematic Articulation of the Preliminary Architectural Guidelines

1. Total Area: Public Space and Regulatory Alignments

The special memorial and archaeological interest for the site is intensified by the presence of a fragment of the Ghetto wall on the west side of Waliców Street – also Protected by Law - and two free areas, located north and southeast of the built-up area. The first, north of the three buildings, only partially publicly owned (cadastral map, lot n. 25), derives from the demolition of the remains of the craft workshops present on the area before the construction of the rental houses, so of nineteenth century origin. From a survey carried out on February 24th, 1945 **2**, it appears that the ruins of these buildings were still present at the end of the conflict, situation confirmed by the photographic recognition taken on December in the same year. Subsequently the ruins were removed together with the rubble on the site, but probably the foundations and the basements of the buildings, where originally present, were not cleared away. The habit of not removing the fragments below the city plan was a common practice during the reconstruction of Warsaw, as evidenced by numerous sources, studies and by the Bohdan Lachert's planning principles for the rebuilding of the Northern district **3**).

The Mazovian Province Monument's Restorer, Prof. Jakub Lewicki, in the record card dedicated to building 14 (Decision 480/2018, Register Entry No. A-1419) states that "The tenement house has a full-scale basement and has presumably kept the underground storey under the non-existent front part which is currently buried".

This clarification reinforces the hypothesis that the substratum of the area hides some construction presences of archaeological importance. It is therefore considered that the same hypothesis is also applicable to the second free area of public property, located south-east adjacent to the three surviving buildings.

The focus in particular is on the empty space originated from the demolition of the fourth building of the core of tenements of ul. Waliców, also built in the years 1910-11. The latter – which in a photograph before 1939 **4** appears to have one more floor with a height of about 28 meters to the extrados of the central cusp of the façade crowning - was heavily damaged in 1944, during the Warsaw Uprising and finally demolished at the beginning of the 1990s. Also in this case, the basement plan, at least in part, has supposedly survived.

We then proceeded with reconstructing the imprints and the distributions of the vanished buildings' basements. For the northern area, we have based ourselves on the redraw of what appears in the reliefs and in the photos. For the south-east area, namely for the façade portion of the Waliców 14 (W14) building, we proceeded with an analog reconstruction. In particular, in the case of the cellars of the same W14 and the disappeared tenement, called "Kamienica Banku Handlowego" (10 Ceglana St.), we worked by deduction from the typological characteristics of neighboring buildings (10,12,14 Waliców St.).

Once the alignments and the layouts have been set, based on the size of the three protected by law buildings, Guidelines have been drawn up for the archaeological recovery by excavation of the two areas. The excavations must be protected by structures with a height equal to that of the former Ghetto wall's fragment (about 6.60 mt). As an indication, the Guidelines form a sort of frame that rereads the imprints of the ruins, creating an overall shape that can be partly closed to create protected and covered spaces for visiting the remains through walkways and for temporary collective activities (outdoor theater, exhibitions, concerts, among others). The extension of public use to the entire area also has a methodological value, as it is currently only partially public. Consequently, hopefully the remaining part (cadastral map, lots n. 26 and 27) may be subjected to monumental constraints, depending on the ruins that are supposed to exist in the subsoil, and acquired by the Municipality of Warsaw.

2 State Archive in Warsaw - Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie (APW), signature S / VII pl.15.

3 B. Lachert *Muranów - dzielnica mieszkaniowa* [Muranów - a housing quarter], [in:] *Architektura*, 5, 1949, pp.129-137.

4 J. Kasprzycki, *Korzenie miasta*, volume II, Warsaw 2004.

In the south-east area it is possible to create a new volume to be used as a theater, on the imprint of the missing building. This volume must respect the ruins of the basement of the demolished building, if present. Obviously it is considered that these specific Guidelines must be verified beforehand by *ad hoc* geophysical surveys and sample excavations on all the three areas indicated.

2. Guidelines for Buildings Protected by Law

The general intervention criteria on the urban material of the post-apocalyptic city express the project idea on which the overall preliminary Guidelines are based: it is the place itself to be an archaeological find, therefore the buildings and the other fragments of the pre-war Warsaw - the wall's section and the ruins that are supposedly still present in the subsoil of the free areas - formerly included in the Ghetto, must be kept as unaltered as possible and predisposing them for a new use.

This collection of archaeological finds will be "brought back to light" by removing, in a sort of stratigraphic excavation, the fake additions and alterations that have been produced over time. The same method - a nodal point of the Guidelines - will be applied to the buildings as well. This is not limited to the technical solutions to be adopted, but is mainly linked to the message conveyed by the "degraded" appearance of the Ghetto's archaeological material. In fact, we believe that this aspect of contamination between matter, time and memory of the place must be an essential element of any project to recover the site and that somehow it constitutes the principle of legitimation of all works - especially for the new constructions, but also for the demolitions - which will have to be carried out as part of the intervention.

As a mere example, the concrete brick closures of the openings on the raised ground floor of the W14 and the PVC or non-original window frames must be removed. Rather than reconstructing the doors and windows of the period, the interventions on them can essentially be of two types:

- façades on the street: the openings free from false elements can be equipped with steel frames to be positioned inside so that the profiles are not visible from the outside. All the fake elements, as non-original partitions, layers of painting and plastering, false ceilings, floors that have changed the structure of buildings over time have to be removed.

The brick structures, the steel consolidations and the reinforced concrete works (staircases), thus "liberated", must therefore preserve their current "naked" appearance, without any recourse to reconstructions, or other attempts to "embellish them", but without even getting to "dramatize them", deepening their aspect of ruins.

Particular attention must be paid to the maintenance of the external façades in exposed bricks, therefore without reconstructing plasterwork, but rather removing the layers added after 1945. The blind wall of the W14 to the north should also be brought back to brick. Particular attention will be paid as well to the residues of the decorative apparatus that are still locally present. The engraved plaster surfaces still present on the southern façade of the W10 (facing Pereca Street) have to be preserved as well.

At the same time the total re-usability of the buildings and their annexes will have to be guaranteed, making the surfaces as solid, healthy and protected as possible, without distorting their nature of "civil" housing, enhancing their "archaeological" and "speaking" nature of structural cells of the pre-war city's urban fabric.

Restoration operations, intended as a "critical" conservative - and not philological-reconstructive - practice, can therefore be divided into different categories of intervention: removal of stratifications or elements incompatible with the intervention's final use (added structures that do not have a load bearing role), a general cleaning that can be obtained with more aggressive works (aeroabrasivation / hydro-sandblasting) for the vertical surfaces or lighter in the case of the residual tiled floors (for examples in the atriums and stair landings).

For each type of intervention, a test sample must be made at the preliminary stage, the outcome of which will be verified with the Mazovian Province Monument's Restorer. Together with the sampling, the technical sheets of the used materials must be presented.

Design Work of the Preliminary Architectural Guidelines Open Space to the North (Waliców St. / Grzybowska St.)

This space is one of the last unbuilt lots of the portion of the Mirów District to which the site belongs. For its continuity with the open areas along Waliców Street (north of Grzybowska St.), it should remain a public space. If the buildings' remains in the underground - visible in the aerial photo of 1945 - should be confirmed, their presence needs to be preserved by excavations to bring them to light and to protect them with a light structure, respectful of the existing trees on the site. The guideline suggests to create the structure as a frame on the imprints of the old buildings. This way, a public space can be formed, covered, protected and provided with inner spaces to enhance the public use of this particular archeological site. A system of walkways could form a pedestrian network through the site, running above the ruins and making the area usable as a sort of archaeological garden with seats and small service units for the public. This guideline is valid both in case the available area remains the only one currently publicly owned (cadastral map, lot n. 25), and in the -auspicabile- case that the Municipality of Warsaw takes charge of acquiring also the private part of the area (cadastral map, lots n. 26 and 27).

Historical Buildings W14-W12-W10 - General Guidelines for the Reuse Intervention in External and Internal Spaces

The main principle of the guidelines is that the three surviving buildings must be considered as belonging to a single historical architecture. However, the different morphology and the articulation of the new uses offered by the guidelines for each of them, makes it necessary to provide specific criteria of intervention for each building. In particular, some basic criteria are considered to be common to the three, precisely in order to strengthen the unitary value of this early 20th century Warsaw's block fragment.

In addition to the already mentioned conservation issues, a special role is played by structural consolidation, to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. From this point of view, it is considered that the interventions already carried out by the Municipality of Warsaw, even if realized according to a simplified execution, are carriers of a quality design, both for the way they are inserted in the context and for the morphology that characterize them, in particular the bracing structure of the Waliców 12 (W12) courtyard façades and of the remain of the W14's northern wall. A better execution for these kind of interventions and for the others that will be necessary to strengthen the bricks walls and the reinforced concrete structures (stairs) will enhance the site's quality, stimulating the necessary dialogue between the original building and the new consolidation steel works.

For the re-use of the external and internal spaces of the three buildings, the following common intervention criteria are proposed:

- ◆ the repaving of the courtyards and the formation of light structures in order to access to the raised ground floor, that is new ramps (necessary for the disabled to access to the W14), or the restoration of already existing stairs in the W12 and in the W10;
- ◆ where the needs implied by reuse require different internal spaces from the existing ones, it will be possible to proceed with the demolition of partitions, limiting the interventions on the load-bearing walls. The latter will however be evaluated with a preliminary overall static verification, both for each single building and also in relation to neighboring ones. The interiors' reorganization implies a different distribution of the serving and served spaces, as schematically highlighted in the dedicated boards;
- ◆ if necessary for a specific use – for example studios for artists or collective services – it will be possible to demolish the upper floor to form a double storey high open space on top - after a preliminary structural verification;

- ◆ all the three historic buildings will be equipped with an elevator to allow access for the elderly and the disabled. The guidelines identify the lifts' positions in a completely preliminary manner, according to the principle that they must be positioned internally, preferably close to the existing staircases, thus without affecting the unitary image of the courtyards;
- ◆ a special issue is the lighting system, a very delicate and complex theme, regarding both the public/external spaces and the interiors.

Because the study of lighting is not been hypothesized in the preliminary guidelines, we indicate the need of a specific lighting project, based on the principle of discreetly distribute the equipment in the different spaces, using small-sized fixtures with a minimal design and indirect and hot light (2800 ° K)

- ◆ mechanical, electrical and fire prevention systems are a theme whose complexity does not allow us to outline verified solutions in the context of preliminary guidelines. However, attributing new uses and functions to the spaces available in the three buildings, it was assumed to locate technical rooms both at the level of the basement for the thermal power stations (one for each building) and possible geothermal plants, and at the attics for the air extraction and treatment plants, as well as heat recovery systems. The insertion of elevators inside the historic buildings is considered a way to host the uprights within inspectable shafts.

In order not to affect the image of buildings, photovoltaic plates should not be used.

Historical Building W14

The guidelines for the building-symbol of the block of ulica Waliców suggest that it has to be preserved as a place of sacredness because of its specific historical identity, including its having been the house to prominent personalities of Polish-Jewish culture. It is therefore proposed that the building is devoted for the "Little Ghetto" Memorial.

In particular it is expected that the interior spaces will be made crossable and usable as visiting spaces open to the public.

In particular, the following new uses have been hypothesized:

- ◆ in the first courtyard, the raised ground floor towards the street will be dedicated to entry and reception areas accessible to the disabled; in the second court could be located an information center and a permanent exhibition space about the site's origin and history, the personalities that have inhabited it and the events of the Ghetto and the Warsaw Uprising that occurred on site;
- ◆ the upper floors are kept with their original distribution - except for structural adaptations determined by safety requirements. In this way, the original spaces will be made visible to witness their own story, without need to be adapted. Therefore we will proceed only to conservation and restoration works.

Historical Building W12

It is proposed to locate in the building the following new uses:

- ◆ on the ground and raised floors, we suggest to organize spaces for public activities to be assigned to citizens' associations, non-profit organizations, bookstores, exhibition spaces for architecture, art and photography, also by demolishing partitions where necessary and by providing the spaces with services appropriated to the planned activities;
- ◆ on the upper floors there are accommodations for scholars and researchers. The units have been schematically identified according to two basic principles: using as much as possible the original distribution of the interiors; forming different types of units for different categories of users (one bedroom and studios);
- ◆ the uppermost floor will be cleared to create open spaces for a large reading room and other shared services of different sizes and with separate entrances.

Historical Building W10

The building on the corner with ulica Pereca has a different configuration from the other two in terms of development and dimensions, being the only one that presents two façades toward the streets.

These characteristics make it particularly suitable for distributing spaces for the following categories of use:

- on the ground floor there are spaces for citizen associations and public services in continuity with the W12 building, taking advantage of large surfaces thanks to the double overlooking the public space;
- accommodation for artists on the upper floors. In particular: studios, one-bedroom and two bedroom units;
- on the top floor are located shared open spaces for painting, sculpture, music and dance, positioned in the different wings of the building so that the carried out activities do not interfere with each other. To enlarge these internal rooms, it is possible to demolish the attic floor to form a double storey high spaces.

New Simultaneous Theater on the Grounds of the Fourth Building (Former 10 Ceglana St., Demolished)

The guidelines for the completion of the block through the reconstruction on its imprint the fourth building (former ulica Ceglana 10), to be used as a theater (about 700 places), have been traced on the basis of the grid resulting from the module regulating the three historical buildings: 1.30 mt.

The succession of single and double building blocks and of the internal courtyards of the buildings W14, W12, W10 has been taken into consideration.

The main guidelines are specifically:

- ◆ the preservation of the archaeological substratum of the demolished building - that are the ruins of the basement level, if still existing - by lifting the new construction in correspondence with the first floor of the existing ones on the sides;
- ◆ the construction of a structural framework based on the 1.30mt module, completely independent from the load-bearing walls of the three conterminous buildings;
- ◆ the availability of the internal cavea without columns so that space can be freely organized. The possibility of creating a theater of about 700 seats (500 in the cavea) was pre-verified;
- ◆ the possibility of 'reconstructing' the shapes of the two courts of the lost building through glass roofs of the same size, one for the flytower and one for the stalls.

Alternative solutions for the theatre:

Solution A

The theatre space is designed to create a sort of large covered square that could be equipped with side balconies with the seats.

Solution B

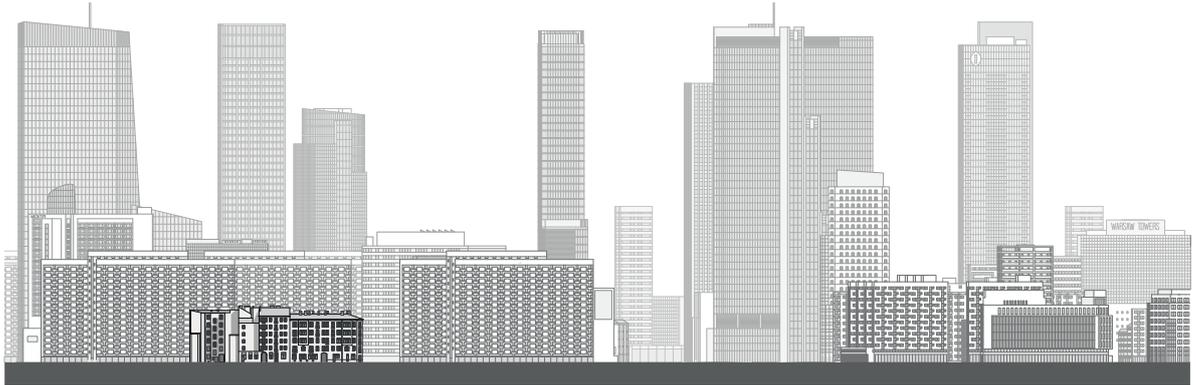
This second – favorite - solution involves directly the buildings W14, 12 and 10 within the theatrical space, as if the historical buildings were a 'natural' component of the new theatre.

In this case, the guidelines consider to use of the east wings of the W10 and W12 and the south wing of the W14 as distribution galleries and spaces from which looking towards the theater and also to access the balconies surrounding the cavea.

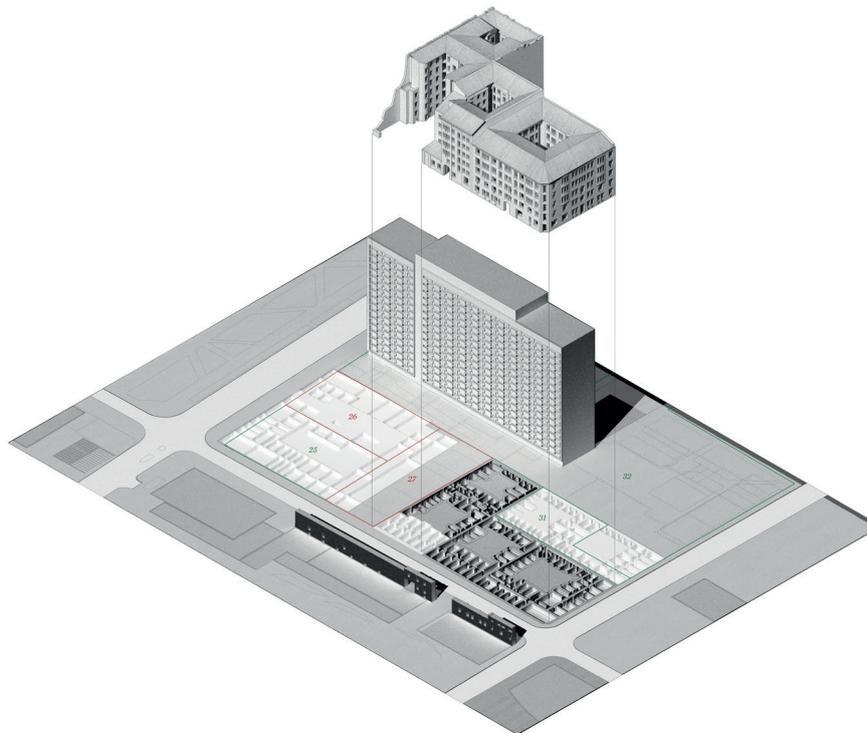
On one hand this solution implies the reduction in the number of lodgings for researchers and artists, it allows to create spaces for collective use with a double view, towards the great cavea of the new theater, and towards the historical courtyards. This way, the latter also become an organic part of the theater, enhancing the importance as a place for culture and for the defense of the European civilization identity, the main characteristic of the memorial site of ulica Waliców.

In this perspective, the courtyards could be used on summer for outdoor performances or for performances developing both inside and outside, thus involving the three buildings in the theater and making them a part of it. This solution doesn't interfere with the other new uses foreseen in the three historical buildings.

It should be noted that the surfaces of the blind walls on the back of the three buildings, restored to the brick, would be integrated into the performative space as an original scenario that would bring great emphasis to the theatre and enhancement of the buildings' less noble part, which today is a mere rear façade, 'mute' and lacking in specific quality.



Elevation of the Waliców street historical Buildings in the nowadays Mirów District cityscape, where 3 different cities are overlapped: the surviving fragments of the XX Century City, the Warsaw of the reconstruction with the residential slabs system of Żelazna Brama complex, and the out of scale new Warsaw, drawing by Cristiano Gerardi



Axonometric view of the Waliców buildings 10,12 and 14 in relationship to their underground footprints: the surviving 'DNA' of the XX Century Stolica, drawing by Sara Pellegrini, Domenico Spagnolo

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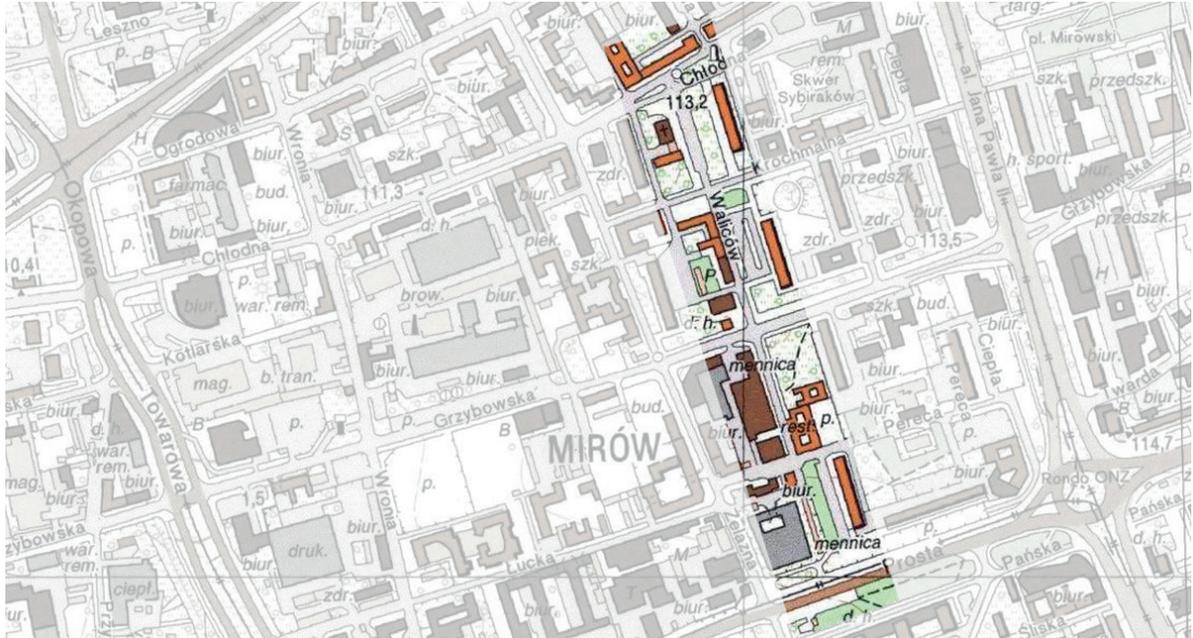
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Kamil Miklaszewski
Consultation: Krzysztof Pasternak

Urban Planning Opinion on the Development of a Fragment of Warsaw: Waliców – Grzybowska – Pereca Streets

Historical Background



Localization of the study area against the background of the Wola district, source: "Warszawa dzisiaj" / "Warsaw Today" map on the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl> portal

The area of Waliców Street, located on the border of the city centre and the Wola district in Warsaw, is historically called Waliców. The history of this part of the city is connected with the person of Bazyli Walicki, the Castellan of Rawa, who in 1763 leased the land stretching between today's Chłodna and Prosta Streets. Today's Waliców, Krochmalna, Grzybowska and Pereca (formerly Ceglana) Streets were marked out in 1767. Even before the end of the 18th century, Waliców was incorporated into the area of Warsaw. At that time, the area became an industrial and agricultural area: numerous breweries and a brickyard operated there. Starting from 1805, the Ulrych family established a horticulture farm and plant nursery at Ceglana Street, which was moved at the end of the 19th century to the village of Górcze near Warsaw. In 1854, at the junction of Waliców and Ceglana Streets, Jung's brewery was established, which after the founder's death and the merger with Haberbush's and Schiele's brewery was moved to Grzybowska Street. Post-brewery buildings used by other companies remained. The inhabitants of Waliców were mainly owners and employees of industrial plants operating in the area and small craftsmen, dominated by people of German origin.

Since the turn of 20th century, the area of Waliców was built up with tenement houses, shaping the character of this part of the city for the next half-century. At that time there was also a change in the social structure: Waliców was more and more inhabited by wealthy patricians of Jewish origin.

At the beginning of the 20th century the buildings of the eastern frontage of the street were formed, including the buildings marked with numbers 10, 12, 14. In 1905-1906 the most important public building in the area was erected - the monumental building of the School of Commerce of the Merchants' Congregation.

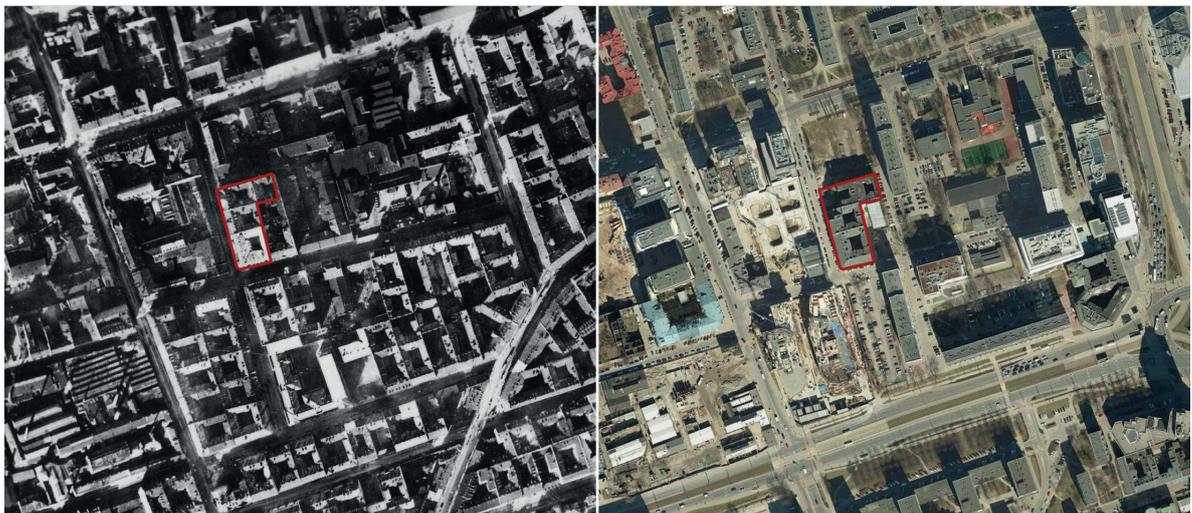
During the German occupation, after November 1940, Waliców was incorporated into the Warsaw ghetto. A 100 m fragment of the street on the side of Chłodna Street and a short fragment of the street north of Ceglana (today's Pereca) Street, providing access to the former Jung's brewery, remained outside the area of the Jewish district. After the liquidation of the so-called "small ghetto" (the area of the Jewish district located south of Chłodna Street), the area of Waliców Street found itself on the

Aryan side of the city. The only exception was *Többen's shop* located between Prosta and Ceglana Streets.

The area covered by this analysis was seriously damaged during the Warsaw Uprising, when most of the pre-war buildings were destroyed or seriously damaged.

Due to the industrial character of Warsaw's Wola district, the areas between Grzybowska and Prosta Streets were not cleaned up in the first period of post-war reconstruction of Warsaw. Until the 1960s, the remains of pre-war buildings were still found in this area, provisionally secured and used as private craft workshops. It was an enclave of private entrepreneurship, banned in communist Poland. The prevailing relations and the informal "underground" character of individual economic activity was illustrated by the popular name of the area: the *Wild West*. In the 1950s, due to the expansion of the State Mint, a fragment of Waliców Street between Ceglana (Pereca) and Prosta was removed.

This changed in 1961: the area of former Waliców was included in the Association of Polish Architects (SARP) competition. The winning work by Jerzy Czyż, Jan Fuhrman and Andrzej Skopiński assumed a complete detachment from the historical urban fabric of the area and the development of 19 linear residential buildings 15 storeys high. This concept created a new spatial value in complete detachment from the history and heritage of the place. The construction of the buildings took place in 1965-1972 and was associated with the liquidation of most of the remains of pre-war buildings. Only a few preserved buildings remained - buildings whose demolition was postponed due to their technical condition, the city's housing problems and other problems.



Change of the urban structure of the study area as a result of WWII damage, source: aerial photo of Warsaw in 1935, Courtesy of the State Archive in Warsaw; "Warszawa dzisiaj" / "Warsaw Today" map on the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl> portal

The change in the political situation in Poland after 1990 opened another chapter in the history of Waliców. Due to its proximity to the city centre, the area has become more attractive for investors. The area of the *Za Żelazną Bramą* housing estate was built up in a chaotic manner. At the same time, residential and commercial buildings (offices) began to supplant the industry present in the area until the end of the 20th century. The plants which had been operating for decades were successively liquidated: the Norblin Plant (Warsaw Rolling Mill), the Brewery at Grzybowska St. and the Mint. Investment pressure was additionally intensified by the construction of the second underground line and the nearby location of the Rondo ONZ station, as well as the extension of Prosta Street in the second decade of the 21st century.

Overview of the Projects Prepared During the Waliców Project Student Workshops Carried out by Professors and Students of the School of Architecture Urban Design Construction Engineering of the Politecnico di Milano in Collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology in 2016-2017

The programme assumptions adopted by the participants of the project for the development of Waliców coincide with the conclusions adopted by us concerning the area in question. The authors propose to transform the remaining tenement houses at 10, 12 and 14 Waliców St. and give them a public function: a museum, a centre for documentation and artistic activities, guest rooms for researchers and artists cooperating with the institution administering the complex. Each project provides for the extension of the existing buildings in order to obtain additional space for exhibition and office activities. The scale and form of expansion varies, however, it does not exceed a quarter limited to the east by the adjacent housing development, to the west by Waliców Street, to the south by Pereca Street, to the north by Grzybowska Street.

The review of projects, offering a similar functional programme, contains a number of interesting spatial proposals. All of them refer, to varying degrees, to the concept of a lost city buried under the ruins. They tell a story about a labyrinth of space hidden under the surface of the present city, which is a story about the world of the past, a brutally interrupted reality.

Among the presented proposals of modernization and extension of the Waliców tenement houses complex, the proposal to complement the space of the former building at 10 Ceglana (today's Pereca) Street with a supplementary building and to leave the space between the preserved buildings and Grzybowska Street free from development seems to be most justified.

The projects developed by the students propose the location of a facility with theatre function in the supplementary building. The detailed functional programme for this space should certainly remain the subject of a broader discussion, however it should be stressed that the shaping of the cubature as a supplement to Waliców 10, 12 and 14 buildings is a good solution on an urban scale. In addition, the newly designed object will allow to shape the usable space in accordance with the guidelines of the future user - without restrictions related to the conservation of historical buildings under the care of the monuments protection officer.

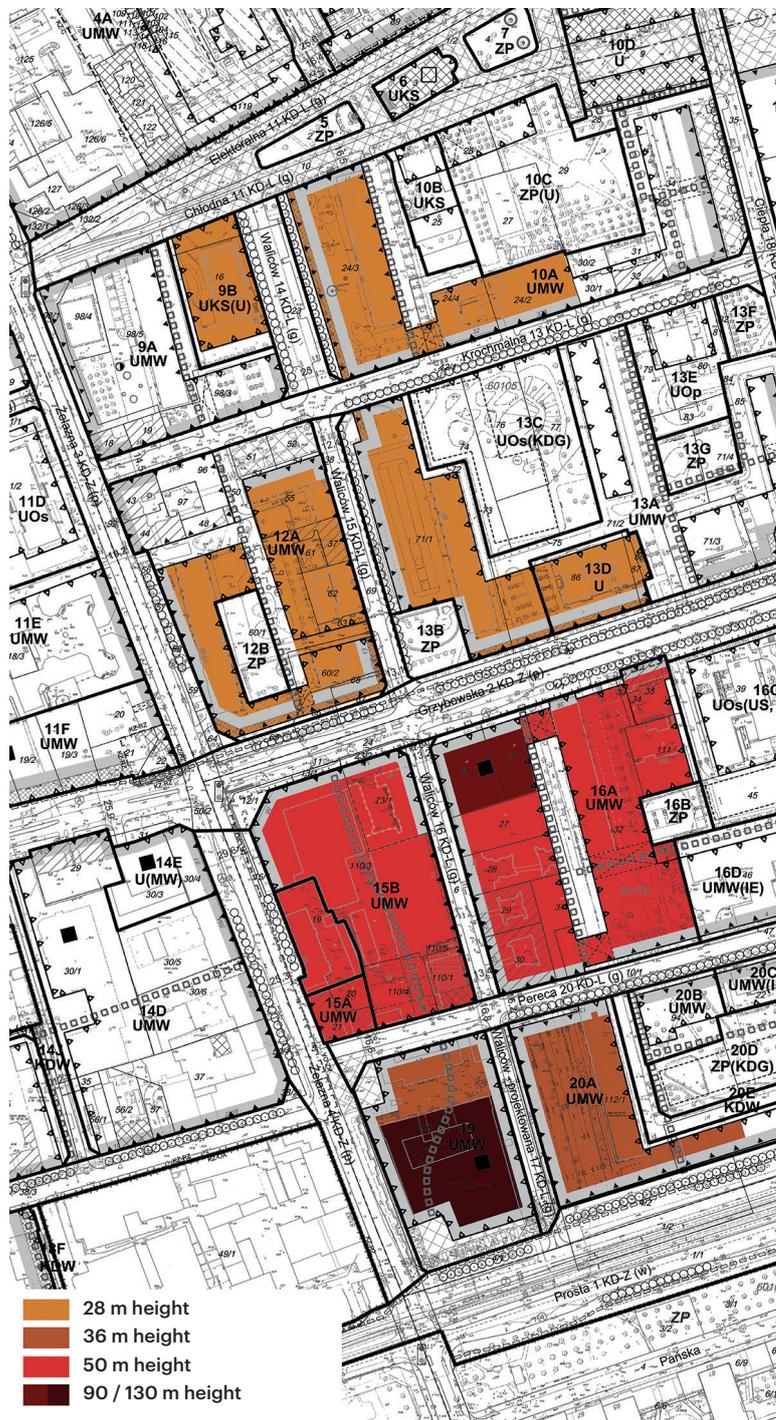
The torn blind wall of the building at 14 Waliców Street, visible from the north (Grzybowska Street), has a great spatial and symbolic value for the Waliców complex. This wall has grown into the city landscape and for decades it has been an important spatial symbol of Grzybowska Street. That is why it is so important to preserve and emphasize the existing exposition of this wall. It can be added that in the interwar period, due to significant contrasts in the development of Warsaw, similar brick, black soot, blind walls were a common element in the city landscape. All of the presented works by students of the School of Architecture Urban Design Construction Engineering of the Politecnico di Milano assume the use of the space between the existing tenement houses and Grzybowska Street for the needs of reflection and contemplation. For both symbolic and spatial reasons, the designed buildings are shaped under the surface of the ground. This allows for the preservation of the "blind wall" exposition and highlights its importance for the new development.

At the same time, the location of the designed function underground allows to develop the foreground of the buildings on the side of Grzybowska Street as a public space with elements of greenery, which is an important aspect for the residents of the surrounding houses and invites them to be co-users of the created space. The preserved tenement houses themselves would serve as museums and apartments for guests of the host institution and the artists and creators cooperating with it.

An interesting proposal to partially exclude road traffic from Waliców Street and show a trace of the course of the ghetto wall on the ground in accordance with the existing information system. The lack of solution concerning the necessary parking spaces does not disqualify the proposals due to the fact that the Waliców Street is easily accessible with the public transport.

Legal and Spatial Environment for Further Action

Provisions of the Local Spatial Development Plan



50 m and 90 m (16 and 28 storeys), the eastern side of the street in the direction of Chłodna Street is also planned for investments. The permissible height of the buildings is 28 m (8 storeys). At the points of contact with the existing housing development of the *Za Żelazną Bramą* housing estate, the provisions of the plan indicate impassable lines excluded from built-up allowing for the creation of technical service corridors for the existing buildings.

The only place in the analysed area where the location of public greenery is planned is a small square at the junction of Grzybowska and Waliców Streets (north-eastern corner of the intersection). Within the plots intended for development, the required rate of biologically active area preservation is 0.25.

General Provisions

All investments undertaken in the area of the preserved tenement houses must meet the requirements of the applicable technical and construction regulations. With regard to the shaping of complementary buildings, and the potential expansion of the Waliców 10-12-14 complex should be considered as such, the most important issue shaping the future development and determining the investment possibilities is the analysis concerning the maintenance of insolation required by regulations and the lack of obscuring the apartments in the neighbouring development. The basis for such an analysis is an approved functional layout of residential units in the neighbouring buildings, which allows an unambiguous assessment of whether the required parameters in terms of shading and sunlight are maintained.

Ownership and Control of the Area

According to the available data concerning the area in the immediate vicinity of the Waliców 10, 12, 14 tenement houses, most of the plots are municipal property and are covered by the right of perpetual usufruct. Plots no. 27 and 26, i.e. directly adjacent to the Waliców 14 building, located between the existing historical buildings and Grzybowska Street are not municipal property. The possibility of developing these plots is decisive for the possibility of extending the planned investment beyond the area strictly corresponding to historical buildings. At the same time, it is worth remembering about ongoing or planned activities related to ownership transformations in the analysed area: plots of land put up for sale by the city authorities or plots subject to transformation of the perpetual usufruct right into ownership on the basis of national regulations.

Transport service

The analysed area is located in the functional centre of Warsaw and is fully accessible by public transport. At a distance of 350 m from the area there are exits from the underground station Rondo ONZ, and at a distance of 260 m a complex of public transport stops (bus + tram) at the intersection of Prosta and Żelazna streets.

Determination of programme values for the proposed facilities on the basis of the binding legal documents, i.e. the local spatial development plan, the regulation on technical conditions for buildings and the guidelines of the monuments protection officer

General urban and spatial planning postulates adopted during the creation of the functional-architectural concept:

- ◆ maintenance of the scale of the buildings determined by the preserved tenement houses;
- ◆ shaping the public space as a “meeting place” for the institution located in the planned development and the local community, the present residents of Waliców;
- ◆ functional and spatial integration of the preserved tenement houses in order to create a single facility fulfilling the above mentioned functions.



Schematic drawing of the possibilities of expanding the Waliców 10-12-14 complex, source: <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl> portal, author's graphic

Variant A

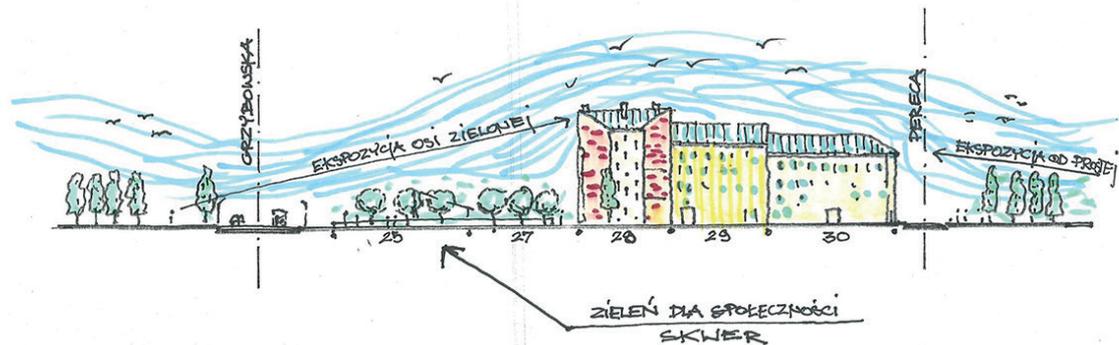
This option assumes the limitation of investment activities aimed at creating the discussed facility only to the area of the three preserved tenement houses: Waliców 10, 12, 14, extended by the area of the former building at 10 Ceglana (Pereca) Street. We should assume that this is a minimum programme. Due to the current ownership and geodesic conditions, the area of the development of the complex will be smaller than the outline of the tenement house at 10 Ceglana Street and will be limited to the area of the plot with the registration number 31.

Such a solution will allow to obtain space in the newly designed building - a space devoid of limitations related to the reconstruction of existing residential buildings. The tenement houses at 10, 12 and 14 Waliców St. are residential buildings under conservation protection. One of the values of Waliców is the preserved historical structure of these buildings. In such a situation, it is necessary to rule out any profound transformations of the existing buildings that would allow them to be adapted to the functions of a meeting and conference space. Plot of land No. 31 has an area of approx. 850 m², and assuming 4 usable levels it allows to obtain approx. 3,000 m² of usable area.

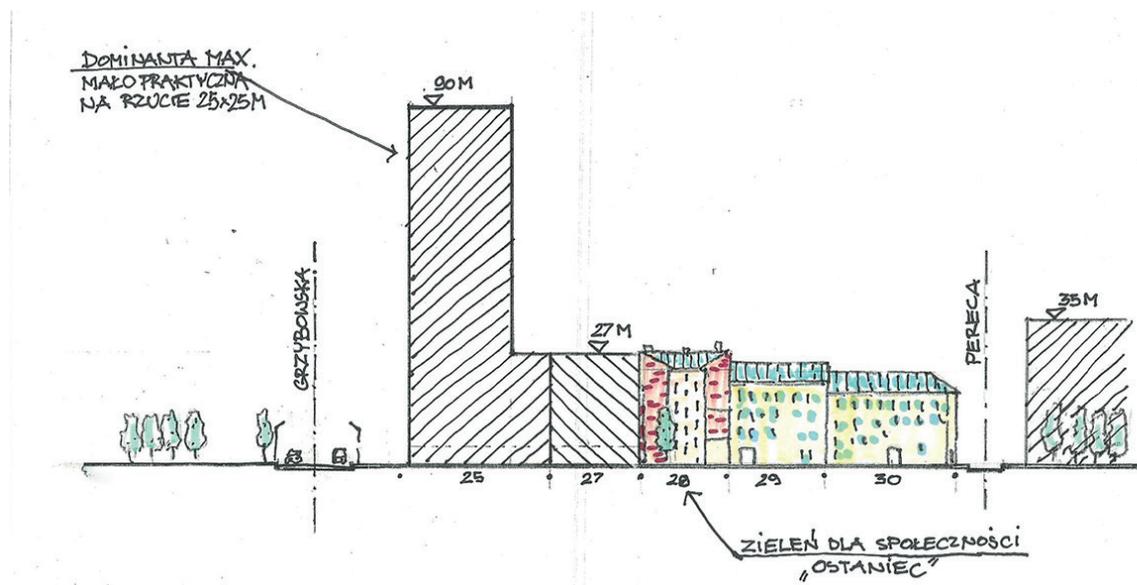
This option assumes the commercialization, in accordance with the current decisions of the city authorities, of the plots located north of the preserved buildings - in the direction of Grzybowska Street. The main exposition of the facility in question would take place from the south, along the section of Waliców Street between Prosta and Pereca, which is to be reconstructed. Such assumptions are consistent with the assumptions of transport service - the inflow of users of the facility will take place mainly from the underground stations and transport stops located along Prosta Street.

Variant B

It assumes the extension of the investment area - transformations in the northern direction to Grzybowska Street. It requires the exclusion from commercialisation activities and inclusion in the area of investment of plots no. 25, 26 and 27. Variant B makes it possible to shape the foreground of the preserved buildings on the side of Grzybowska Street in a proper urban way and to preserve the exposition of the "torn" gable wall of the building at 14 Waliców Street. The area between the preserved buildings and Grzybowska Street can be used (which is visible in the student works discussed above) both as a place of additional cubature investment (underground exhibition halls) and outdoor activities. This will make it possible to create a space inviting the local residents to the institution operating in Waliców and at the same time it will contribute to the preservation and modernization of public green areas disappearing in the discussed area of the city.



Waliców Street longitudinal view showing green foreground and exposition from Grzybowska Street; Graphic: arch. Krzysztof Pasternak



Waliców Street longitudinal view showing possible new construction as per local development plan; Graphic: arch. Krzysztof Pasternak

Variant C - Urban Scale

This strategy provides for the creation of a linear park along Waliców Street - on its eastern side and to weave the discussed tenement houses into a wider network of spatial, cultural and social connections of the city. The park space in the form of a green axis will connect the square in front of the church of St. Karol Boromeusz on Chłodna Street with Prosta Street, and the considered preserved buildings, together with the institution operating in them, will become one of the elements of a wider urban plan. The remains of the buildings in the Ghetto area and pre-war Warsaw are scattered all around the city like crumbs on a table. From the urban planner's point of view, it is advisable and appropriate to create a network of connections linking these crumbs in a way that shows the whole - like an ancient amphora reconstructed from the preserved fragments.

The creation of the discussed park axis will allow to connect the complex of tenement houses in Waliców with the most characteristic element of the Ghetto landscape - the pedestrian bridge over Chłodna Street. At the same time, the quality of public space in Waliców Street will be improved and the only undeveloped area of greenery between the buildings of the Za Żelazną Bramą housing estate will be preserved, which will additionally strengthen the factor described in option B of increasing the identification of residents with the activities carried out in the area of the preserved buildings.



Urban concept of creating linear park along the Waliców street; author's graphic

Suggestions for Further Action

- ◆ Selection of the investment variant and execution of the master plan aimed at promoting the prepared land development idea.
- ◆ Undertaking cooperation with the Capital City of Warsaw on the development of the “green axis” area and the necessary movements resulting in changes in the status of plots necessary for the implementation of this idea (plots no. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31).
- ◆ Commencement of the procedure to amend the Local Spatial Development Plan for Waliców based on the existing Study and submitting an application to the official procedure to amend the Study (the current provisions of the Plan have an obvious drawback because they don't take into account the entry in the register of monuments of the building at 14 Waliców Street; besides they allow only for the housing and service function, whereas the cultural services function should also be introduced).
- ◆ Preparation of the conditions and a competition for the design of the facility.

Conclusion

The Waliców area in question, together with the remains of pre-war tenement houses, has a huge cultural and identity significance for the city. Due to its location, it also has a large spatial and social potential.

At the same time, the current planning provisions for this area of the city and the land ownership policy pursued until recently have completely ignored the values presented above. Now is probably the last moment to start, together with the city authorities, activities aimed at preserving the memorial of the former heritage of Waliców Street and putting a stop - at least partially - to the aggressive commercial development in this area.

Christopher Whitehead, Tom Schofield

Community Stories and Potentials of Digital Memory

Overview

Waliców has the potential to be a highly important site of memory and public reflection on the relationships between past, present and future. The buildings should be preserved, conserved and interpreted for public benefit. Beyond this, it is crucial to valorise their intangible significance as historic lifespaces, as record of conflict, as a prism of European memory and site of reflection. In this report we propose a series of actions that link the different histories of the buildings with community memory and people's reflections on their meanings, making use of non-invasive, non-physical participatory and digital methods that can be part of a multi-threaded approach to the future management of the site. This is a special site. In its immediacy and emotional impact it has potentials that museums and memorials do not. It has special significance and potential as a memoryspace that could be of profound significance for residents of Warsaw and visitors to the city, helping us to engage with and reflect upon the intersecting histories and values that the buildings embody.

Introduction: Ghosts, Memories, Lives

In a rationalist view, phantasms, spectres and ghosts are creatures of our own making, conjured from imagination to embody anxiety and fear. Pierre Nora talked of the hallucinatory nature of the curated past – a desire to feel the past as if again: “Never have we longed in a more physical manner to evoke the weight of the land at our feet, the hand of the devil in the year 1000, or the stench of eighteenth-century cities; (...) to feel the hand of devil on one's shoulder”. But this is closed off by a temporal and psychic border that has risen up because our subjectivities have been severed from memory by the conditions of modernity: “only in a regime of discontinuity are such hallucinations of the past conceivable”:

Our relation to the past is now formed in a subtle play between its intractability and its disappearance, a question of a representation – in the original sense of the word – radically different from the old ideal of resurrecting the past. As comprehensive as it may have wished to be, in practice such a resurrection implied a hierarchy of memory, ordering the perspective of the past beneath the gaze of a static present by the skilful manipulation of light and shadow. ¹

If this offers a way of thinking about immersive museums, heritage and the anxieties about authenticity, loss, and holding onto a waking dream about what the past should have been, it can also help us think about the auratic presences of imaginative reconstruction. In some cases, these are large-scale exercises in reanimation, as with the reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw. The buildings and Stare Miasto are reproductions of their originals, dating from the middle ages and later, that were razed during the Second World War. They have been rebuilt in the same place, rather than reassembled elsewhere. It is possible that some tourists do not at first realise that these are new buildings (or new-old buildings), but this can be corrected by a visit to the Warsaw Rising Museum, where we may watch 3D footage of a ruined Warsaw from above, before we step into reconstructed ruins themselves in dioramas. Likewise, in the Palace (in 2018), a hi-tech immersive exhibition puts the visitor in the midst of the bombardment, by way of panoramic audio-visual projections, theatre lighting and unsteady sprung flooring (underneath which glowing embers of the city are replicated) to upset visitors' balance just a little. Once we have seen the (reconstructed) ruins, they are ever there in the mind's eye as we walk the town, as a ghostly (and ghastly) 'absent presence' reminding us simultaneously of destructive and reconstructive urges and of loss and recovery. The reconstruction of the cityscape is presented an act of restoration, a crucial victory over oppression necessary for psychic recovery. Indeed, the second part of the Palace exhibition explores how the palace was rebuilt by the

¹ P. Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, [in:] *Representations*, 26, 1989, p. 17.

people, with their money and labour. In the UNESCO listing of the Old Town the core of its Outstanding Universal Value is not the architectural ensemble per se, but its very reconstruction – the ‘result of the determination of the inhabitants and the support of the whole nation’ and a ‘symbol of elective authority and tolerance,’ for it is here that ‘the first democratic European constitution, the Constitution of 3 May 1791, was adopted.’² The city, the nation and (at least one) Europe itself are made again through the reconstruction, setting a global precedent:

“The foundation of the material reconstruction was the inner strength and determination of the nation, which brought about the reconstruction of the heritage on a unique scale in the history of the world.”

In this context it is, in some ways, unsurprising that the traces of wartime damage and horror are subject to a number of strategies of emotional management and valorisation. They are: 1) transformed into pristine new(-old) buildings through reconstruction; 2) remediated through immersive museum environments; or 3) remembered through physical memorials.

Here, the survival of the tenements on Waliców seems like something of an accident, and the raw and largely unmediated presence of the past is shocking. It evades the physical and mediatising strategies of memory described above and looks weirdly out of place against the capital development nearby.

The broken buildings are a literal index or imprint of hostile action and conflict, formed by gunfire that can be tracked back in time and place in causal and geographical threads that make a wider tapestry of the historical contest for Europe. Every void, pockmark and gouged surface is an artefact and a record that can take us inexorably to the complexities of the past and to the physics of making and destroying worlds. But the buildings have impact because of their marginal and neglected state. This is no 3D film. The power of place is far more affecting than that. We know how important it is for publics to be able to position themselves in the sites of history in order to reflect on the past and on our obligations and identities in the present: the CoHERE project visitor studies tell us so³. Johan Huizinga told us so in his talk of the immediacy of the “call of the past” when we feel as though we have a sudden and direct encounter with history.⁴ Waliców has this special grip over us.

I first found myself in Waliców in June 2014. It was a chance encounter, for no-one had told me about the buildings or advised me to visit. I was curious about the ruined building in the middle of all of the glass and steel offices springing up in the neighbourhood. The very shape of the buildings and their ruination looked momentous – not a matter of crumbling over time. It said to me that something tremendous happened there. There are stories in the stones. Only then, if you have any inkling of the city’s wartime past, you put two and two together and it dawns upon you that you are standing in front of a little theatre of war. (CW)

So, one possibility is to transform the building into a monument; to halt its deterioration without effecting its transformation. This would add to the range of memory strategies in the city, comparably to Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche), or the ruins of Coventry Cathedral. But an act of physical memorialization of this kind runs the risk of reifying the stories of people and encapsulating it into a building. The past is more than this. What strategies can we find, beyond physical memorialization, to represent *life*?

In what follows, we propose a series of solutions based primarily on digital and creative interventions that have the capacity to construct new dimensions of heritage value by exploring people’s responses, life stories and understandings of Waliców in place and time. Although this can produce exhibitable materials, its primary value is to enrich and complement physical

² UNESCO - <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30/>

³ <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/about/>. For example, in our visitor studies at the Berlin Wall Memorial, numerous visitors discussed the importance for them of “being there” where momentous historic events took place, and being able to experience the materiality of the past in the form of the wall.

⁴ F.R. Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience*, Stanford 2005, p. 125.

memorialisation, exhibition and adaptive re-use strategies while better representing the human and personal experiences and understandings of the past in the present.

Mirrors: Approaches from Critical Heritage Design Practice

Across the following pages we present a number of principally digital forms of intervention which offer, potentially, not only alternative forms of interpretation but the opportunity to develop new relationships with communities and new spatial, sensory or embodied experiences of the site and its history and new sites of engagement on- and off-line. We put forward our proposals mindful of the continuing relevance of the site in the cultural identity of the city and those who live there, a community to which we do not belong. They draw on our experiences leading and collaborating on a number of research projects conducted throughout Europe and beyond, and are reflective of contemporary heritage and design scholarship applied in practice. These projects were funded by the UK Research Councils and the European Commission and included:

- ◆ Plural Heritages of Istanbul: the case of the Land Walls **5**, a large interdisciplinary project led by Newcastle University which sought to identify and valorise pluralistic perspectives on the heritage value of the Theodosian ‘land’ walls of Constantinople
- ◆ CoHERE **6** which sought to identify, understand and valorise European heritages, engaging with their socio-political and cultural significance and their potential for developing communitarian identities
- ◆ Children’s Magical Realism for New Spatial Interactions: AR and Archives **7** which explored the potential for new Augmented Reality technology in presenting archival materials in digital public space.

The proposals below have a number of strands of commonality between them which make them appropriate for deployment as part of a multi-threaded strategy for engaging communities in the co-creation of new and pluralistic forms of heritage value. These can be summarised as follows:

1. The approaches are **epistemologically diverse** recognising the significance of multivalent knowledges including, but not limited to, forms of sensory, embodied and speculative knowledge;
2. They share an approach to working with people which avoids a *priori* framings of concepts including ‘heritage’, ‘history’ etc., preferring instead to capture emergent formulations of **phenomena as spoken** by participants;
3. They are concerned with the **production and experience of space** recognising that the places of the past are not a background to the experience of human actors but rather part of a larger ecosystem of interacting agents;
4. They recognise the existing roles and **creative potential of contemporary technologies** in shaping the everyday experience of people.

In each of the sections below, we introduce a method or technique drawn from our own research. We extend this with a brief discussion of the work of others before offering some introductory considerations specific to Waliców.

Ethnographic Design Methods

There is a considerable and growing quantity of design work conducted in heritage contexts which explores the capacity of bespoke artefacts to encourage new forms of reflective talk. Many approaches have been trialled varying from developing specific technological interven-

5 <http://pluralheritages.ncl.ac.uk>.

6 <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/about/>.

7 <http://digitalcultures.ncl.ac.uk/site/index.html#/grid/369>.

tions, for instance in encouraging new experiences of gallery space **8**, or co-designing interactive exhibitions as an exploration of museum volunteers' perspectives on a site. **9** In our own work in Istanbul, we have explored the capacity of 'cultural probes' **10** to support the sharing of diverse knowledge perspectives on the past. In our case, the aim was to use the findings to broaden the design space as we created a mobile app. Cultural probes are sets of creative tasks shared with participants in the form of a set of artefacts. Prior to our project they had been successfully used in circumstances which demand a focus on social, embodied or phenomenological conceptualisations of spaces. Personal map making, creative photographic tasks and place-centred writing activities (such as sending postcards) have all been employed in developing a more fragmentary, personal and affective response to the environments concerned. In our work we developed a set of probe artefacts including:

- ◆ *Letter-writing materials* with which we asked participants to address a question to a specific area of the Land Walls as if the Walls were a person;
- ◆ A *diary* to be used with an audio recorder cataloguing sounds of interest;
- ◆ A *map* on which to describe the route of a tour aimed at someone who had died before the participant was born.



One of our Plural Heritages of Istanbul participants discusses the tour he envisaged in the imagined presence of a historic person.

Our findings from this process are detailed in existing and forthcoming academic publications **11** but broadly we found value in the process in eliciting rich personal accounts of experience from participants to inform our research. In particular we noted the success of the probes in encouraging forms of **sensory reflection**, in forming **connections between the past and the present** and in **encouraging kinds of situated speculation into historical events**. In these ways cultural probes, alongside other ethnographically-oriented techniques from design research, are at the very least a useful supplement to more conventional forms of public consultation. Our suggestion is that the technique may prove useful in at least the following areas:

1. Early-stage vision-shaping for the site. The advantage of cultural probes is that they offer the opportunity to develop lateral lines of enquiry around a given topic. Reflection on particular topics can be encouraged through the design of the tasks but the open-endedness of the activity allows space for new directions. Given the broad opportunity and relatively early stage of the development proposals for Waliców cultural probes may form a useful and provocative tool for extending the possible ideas-space.
2. Imagining new forms of exhibitionary display. In the following sections we discuss briefly

8 L. Ciolfi, *Articulating Co-Design in Museums: Reflections on Two Participatory Processes*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 19th ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing – CSCW '16*, New York 2016, p. 13-25, <https://doi.org/10.1145/2818048.2819967>.

9 C. Claisse, L. Ciolfi, D. Petrelli, *Containers of Stories: using co-design and digital augmentation to empower the museum community and create novel experiences of heritage at a house museum*, [in:] *The Design Journal*, 20, 2017, p. 2906-2918, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14606925.2017.1352801>.

10 W. Gaver, T. Dunne, E. Pacenti, *Design: Cultural Probes*, [in:] *Interactions*, 1999, 6 (1), p. 21-29, <https://doi.org/10.1145/291224.291235>.

11 T. Schofield, D. Foster-Smith, G. Bozoglu, C. Whitehead, *Co-Producing Collections: Re-imagining a Polyvocal Past with Cultural Probes*, [in:] *Open Library of Humanities*, 2018, 4 (1), <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.296>; the same authors, *Design and Plural Heritages: Composing Critical Futures*, [in:] A. Day, Z. Shen-zong (Eds.), *CHI '19: Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, Glasgow 2019, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1145/3290605.3300236>.

how the affordances peculiar to the architecture of Waliców might support innovative forms of public display. Cultural probes are not designed to generate specific design recommendations ¹² but developing probe tasks to identify some of the features of the space that people value is both achievable and likely to be productive.

3. Conceiving a cultural programme. In the next section we discuss the integration of the heritage site 'proper' and spaces of engagement in terms of a mutually constituted identity for Waliców. Given the capacity of cultural probes work to support the sharing of both speculative and personal perspectives, there is potential to employ them as a shared resource in early-stage planning for the spaces and the programmes they support.

Community Co-Production

At the heart of community co-production work is a desire to engender forms of participation which challenge the authority of the museum to speak of the past. Co-production work recognises that the power to develop and present narratives over shared heritage is by its very nature exclusionary. Through co-production, we seek to give agency to people whose voices may not otherwise be heard but who nonetheless are implicated in the past, present and future of heritage concerns. As well as representing a challenge to institutional power, co-production work also offers the opportunity to develop new knowledge about the lived experience of heritage, suggesting new, pluralistic kinds of value and new meanings for the past.

Co-production initiatives form both a means for collecting stories, memories, images and layering interpretation. This can be the '**rescue archaeology**' of memory, which is critically important because of intergenerational cultural changes and rapid urban, rural and climate change. Spending time with people, walking, talking, tracing their place-based memories and knowledges, enabling their creative agency through structured frameworks – all of this can all shift the emphasis of the very concept of heritage as constituted by things, sites and practices, towards an idea of heritage as something that is also *peopled*. People – not just places – are mobile heritage sites, accruing and making their historicity through the markings of time and place, through experience, and through identity and memory practices. If people are mobile heritage sites, it follows that they are not only the bearers but also the keepers of that heritage. We must work together to articulate these heritages that have been hidden in plain sight, that may overlay, interconnect with, or bypass and contradict, official heritage. ¹³



Filming a project participant delivering his "letter to the walls" during Plural Heritages of Istanbul

¹² For more see K. Boehner et al, *How HCI interprets the probes*, [in:] *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems – CHI '07*, New York 2007, p. 1077, <https://doi.org/10.1145/1240624.1240789>.

¹³ C. Whitehead, *Museums without borders? Engaging communities and archaeologies of inequality*, [in:] *Museos sin Fronteras en el Area Circumpacífica (Museums without Borders in the circum-Pacific Region)*, Mexico City 2019 (forthcoming).

Co-production can take many forms, including displays, films, photo-essays or sound recording. It can be documentary or even creative in character. We provide an in-depth guide to conducting co-production in a toolkit produced during our Plural Heritages of Istanbul project ¹⁴ and encourage the site developers to consult this. In Istanbul we worked with a wide variety of communities including local Greek, Armenian, Roma, Assyrian and Istanbuli groups spanning multiple demographics. Following the results of an earlier ‘cultural probes’ activity (described above) we engaged a number of local filmmakers including directors, camera operators and sound engineers and they, together with the participants, produced a series of 33 short films ranging from a couple of minutes to almost half an hour in length. ¹⁵ The films constitute a remarkable corpus not least in the diverse picture of different values that the residents placed on the monument as, for instance, a reminder of historical and contemporary injustice, a place to play as children and even as a site of encounters with the supernatural. They respond to the principle of the 2005 Faro convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, which is that *“objects and places are not, in themselves, what is important about cultural heritage. They are important because of the meanings and uses that people attach to them and the values they represent”*. ¹⁶

Co-production on Waliców Street

The proposals developed so far for Waliców are explicit in their commitment to open the buildings to various potential publics, and to position them within the logics and economics of a modern city centre. We note the aspiration to create artist residencies, temporary exhibition spaces and workshop areas with acknowledgement to the history of the building as part of a broader artisanal culture in Warsaw. We condone these initiatives ¹⁷ but encourage their developers to take seriously the ideological challenge for museums and heritage presented by co-production rather than conceiving of engagement as a programme apart. Below, we present a series of initial considerations in doing so:

1. Consider the integration of “heritage” and “community”. There is a danger that the vibrant cultural centre envisaged by the proposers exists in a space reserved (conceptually and perhaps physically) for “engagement”. The value of co-production is in reconceptualising what heritage means in the present and for the future. That means that there should be a reciprocal relationship between the site and community activities which is as integrated as possible. The community should shape the meaning of the site just as the site should influence the nature of the activities.
2. Build sustainability for co-production initiatives by integrating them into ongoing development processes for the site. Co-production has the potential to richly inform the development of the site. The centrality of the community in the proposal suggests that there is a genuine opportunity for driving the identity of Waliców from this agenda.
3. Capitalise on the spatial and architectural affordances of the site. Waliców is strongly characterised by its striking architectural and physical form. This provides opportunities for innovative forms of display both interior and exterior to the structure and these may provide a platform for co-production work. Additionally, the redeveloped interior will represent a unique resource which may form the basis of co-produced responses in the form of, for instance, situated forms of reminiscence or as the basis of creative dramatic or visual work.

¹⁴ <https://pluralheritages.ncl.ac.uk/assets/images/toolkits/english/Toolkit4.pdf>.

¹⁵ <http://vimeo.com/album/5262750> .

¹⁶ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention>.

¹⁷ Plans to return the buildings to residential use should a) safeguard their character as a site of memory, congregation and public reflection and b) avoid gentrification effects caused by promoting exclusivity and unaffordable housing (relative to median household income) in the neighbourhood.

Memory Mapping

Memory maps are representations of places which in some way manifest the memories of communities or individuals. Memories can be documented in a wide variety of ways, including photography, textual accounts, sound and film recording or even in new, born-digital, formats such as 3D modelling or forms of creative digital practice.

It is tempting to consider memory maps as a kind of documentary practice whose purpose is to “capture” the past through “sources” and preserve it for future generations. Each element of the process, however, is laden with meanings, from: the choice of which community to represent; the adoption of particular technologies of capture; and finally to the visual language of production. Memory maps are, in common with any form of interpretation, a form of knowledge production and must be viewed through a critical lens. An extended discussion of the issues and practicalities of memory mapping is available in our published toolkit. ¹⁸

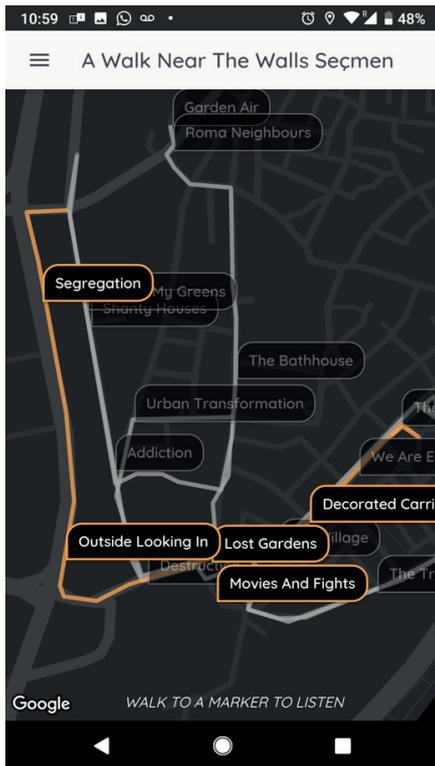
Many memory maps exist in the form of a conventional interactive web-based map with clickable elements. *Cities and Memory* ¹⁹ is typical in this regard based as it is on a google map with a satellite layer and embedding audio recordings and images, accessed through a click. *History Pin* ²⁰, perhaps the best-known example, takes a similar approach with over 365,951 stories in the form of photographs and textual narratives now embedded by users. Our own work as part of *Plural Heritages of Istanbul* explored the potential of memory mapping by embedding the films co-produced with local participants described in the previous section in a series of map representations as part of a mobile app. Where we depart from these previous examples is in our acknowledgement of the cultural form of the map as being implicated in the knowledge produced through the interface. In our app we used the map interface to tell stories through a number of specific devices which in different ways approach kinds of spatiality:

1. Thematic labelling. We derived themes inductively from participants’ accounts and applied these as map labels. In doing so we created a kind of spatial story across the surface of the map. We hoped to make the labels ambiguous enough to allow different readings but concrete enough to spark associations in people’s memories.
2. Encouraging relationships between walking routes. One part of our app presented walking tours narrated by participants. We made a feature of the possibility of transitioning from one tour to another, to encourage the experience of multiple explorations of connected spaces. We conceived of this feature as less a series of individual tours than as a meshwork of interconnected lives.
3. Avoiding the function of the maps as a navigational aide. The final feature of our app explored the possibility of virtual “listening points”. In a set of early design activities, we had elicited from project participants accounts of sounds which interested them about the city. Many focused on “lost” sounds such as the chirping of cicadas, no longer heard in the polluted air of Istanbul’s hot summers, or the cries of seagulls who no longer come inland because of extensive artificial land extensions. Our interface ignored usual ways of navigating the city and reimagined it as a series of vantage points from which one could

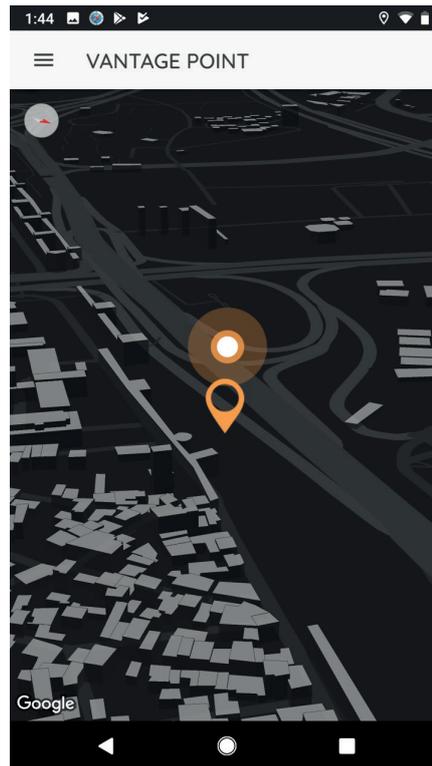
¹⁸ <https://pluralheritages.ncl.ac.uk/assets/images/toolkits/english/Toolkit3.pdf>.

¹⁹ <https://citiesandmemory.com/sound-map/>.

²⁰ <https://www.historypin.org/en/>.



Screen grab from the Plural Heritages app showing thematic labelling



Screen grab from the Plural Heritages app showing vantage points

Memory Mapping in Waliców

Because Waliców is constrained to a single site it might seem unintuitive to imagine its exploration through memory mapping. A different perspective, however, might project the building and surroundings as the central *node in a radiating series of connections throughout the Ghetto, the city and potentially beyond*. Some initial considerations are as follows:

1. *Waliców as vantage point*. The building, despite its height, is now overlooked by higher constructions on several sides. This environmental change necessarily has a dramatic impact on the embodied experience of exploring the building and its environs. Existing mobile interventions (notably *Street Museum* ²¹) have placed overlays of historical photographs across features of current landscapes, seen through mobile phones. We do not suggest that the site replicates this functionality but rather begins with the metaphor of Waliców as occupying particular perspectives, be they visual, auditory, political or otherwise and asking what could or should be seen, heard or otherwise experienced from here.
2. *Waliców as a feature of a previous landscape*. Part of the power of the site derives from its isolation against the construction developments the significant changes to the surrounding area may form a provocative contrast to be explored through mapping.
3. *Waliców as mappable*. Waliców as a series of individual apartments whose residents collectively contributed to the identity of the ghetto represents a rich and potentially mappable ecosystem. Many technologies can now be deployed, non-invasively, in interior spaces, particularly iBeacons. These small signal emitters can be recognised by mobile phones by their unique identifying codes and thus layers of digital interpretation added for instance to spaces where physical signage is inappropriate. So far approaches to iBeacons have

²¹ <https://petapixel.com/2010/05/24/museum-of-london-releases-augmented-reality-app-for-historical-photos/>.

effectively replicated tropes of conventional museum interpretation by providing official narratives to heritage objects and sites. There is a strong potential though to use these physical “hooks” to support the embedding of diverse memory media in physical spaces.

4. *Waliców in European memoryspace*, exploring the connections that can be traced from it across time and place in the broader geohistory of Europe, whether to the origins of the Polish Jewry, to the Shoah, to post-war and Cold War events, to the Eastern Expansion of the EU, and so on. This mapping exercise could be undertaken through interviewing a range of people – including community members and professional historians – about the historical connections that they make. As an extension, an interface could be designed to allow many other users to map Waliców in space and time, resulting in a rich map of people’s perceptions of historical meaning.

Extending Memory Mapping with New Spatial Technologies

In our most recent work we have explored new forms of spatial interaction through mobile phone based augmented reality. *Children’s Magical Realism for New Spatial Interactions* took the archival papers of a popular UK children’s author, David Almond, and developed them into interactive digital objects, found in public space and experiences through AR. We used a co-design process involving children and literary experts to draw influences from magical realist literature into AR and by doing so to develop new experiences of place. Our work, unlike more straightforward AR overlays such as in the *Street Museum* app, attempted to preserve some of the atmosphere of magical realism, blurring the lines between the seen and unseen and to enter a dialogue with local features of space and place. This small vignette is intended to provoke a wider consideration of new technologies that produce experiences of place and their possible relationship with the development of the sites. These might include:

- ◆ Other forms of immersive technology including binaural (spatialised sound).
- ◆ New forms of interactivity driven by AI. New work in museums is developing visitors’ experience of place by putting them directly in dialogue with exhibits ²². The *Forever Project* in the UK’s National Holocaust Museum uses 3D projection and AI driven speech recognition to preserve the voices of survivors.
- ◆ Holograms. New forms of holographic projection allow audiences to encounter life like renderings of scenes, objects and characters from the past ²³.
- ◆ 3D tracking. Contemporary computer vision as well as various forms of WiFi signal triangulation are making the physical tracking of visitors through spaces increasingly a realistic prospect. Future spaces may be developed which respond dynamically to the flow or presence of audiences.

Conclusions

This report has proposed that the physical memorialisation of Waliców and its transformation into a creative and memory space should be accompanied and enriched through the making of a further dimension to represent the life stories, memories and meanings that can be constellated around the buildings. This is a way of avoiding the reification of the past and its containment within a particular building complex and site, better representing the complexity and mobility of human experience without diminishing the emotional effect of the materiality of the site. When we manage the past, we deal in the imaginative work of reconstruction, whether this is in material-architectural form, psychic understandings of auratic traces and ghostly presences, restoring the historic character of a site (as with Waliców’s artisanal past). All of these are possible and can be seen in previous approaches in Warsaw and elsewhere in Europe. We propose a further intervention here – the creation of a lively and iterative map of meanings in which Walicow is a key node for understanding and connecting past, present and future at different scales, from the personal to the civic, from European to global.

²² <https://www.holocaust.org.uk/foreverproject1>.

²³ <https://www.heritagetimecapsules.com/blogs/news/holograms-used-as-time-capsules>.

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Paweł Nowakowski

Project of Revitalization of Tenement Houses at Waliców Street nos. 10, 12, and 14 in Warsaw - Feasibility Study

The subject of the study is a real estate complex located at Waliców St., including, in particular, lots with registration nos. 28, 29, and 30 built over with pre-war tenement houses constituting the surviving buildings of the Warsaw Ghetto. Within the study, neighbouring undeveloped lots reg. nos. 25, 26, 27, and 31 were also analysed. All lots are located within cadastral district 6-01-06 of Warsaw's Wola district.

The scope of the study includes a feasibility study of the project consisting in the revitalization of the subject of the study, estimation of approximate investment costs and determination of the possible sources and forms of financing the undertaking.

1. State and Status of the Analysis Area

1.1. Description of the Real Estate

The analyzed area consists of 7 registered lots with numbers 25,26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31 located in the same cadastral district n. 6-01-06. The total area of the land covered by the analysis is almost 8,000 m².

Lot number	Address	Land area (m ²)	Gross covered area (m ²)	Usable floor space (m ²)	Number of stories
25	-	1,413	-	-	-
26	-	1,183	-	-	-
27	-	1,330	-	-	-
28	Waliców 14	1,277	714	2,550	6
29	Waliców 12	797	579	2,071	5/6
30	Waliców 10	1,104	916	2,700**	5
31	-	862*	-	-	-
Total:		7,966	2,209	7,321	-

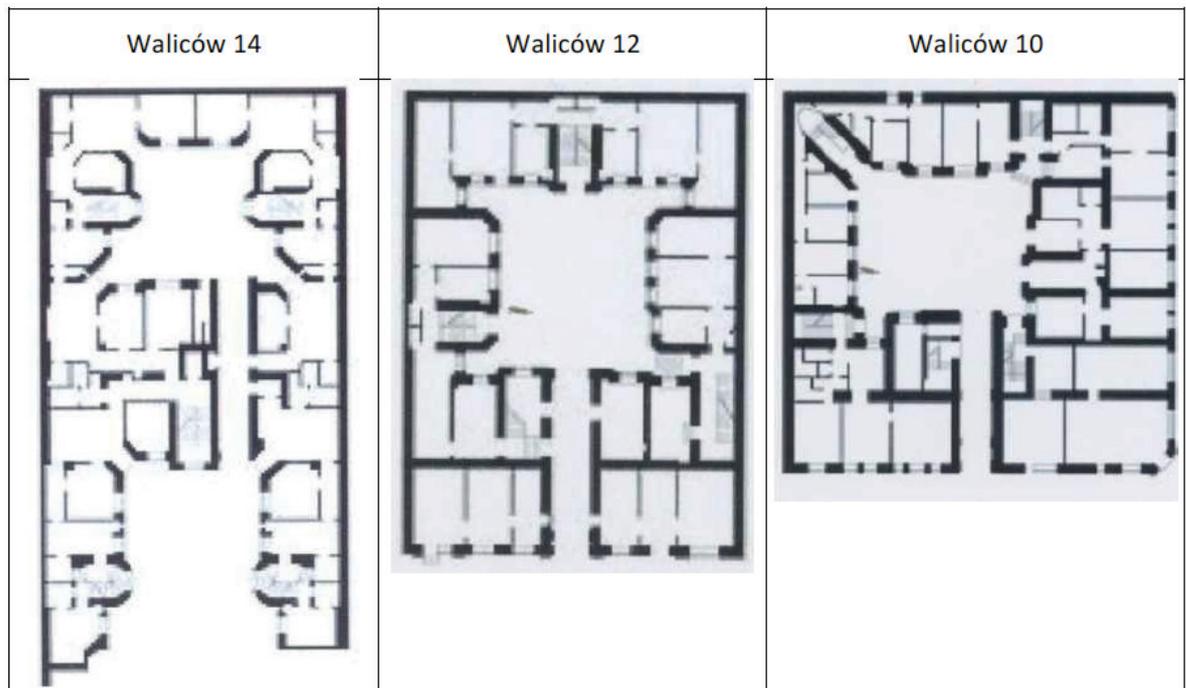
Source: Materials provided by the Principal – including extracts from the Land Registry, Monument Registration Cards, geoportal.gov.pl, * own estimates, ** – own estimates – in the Monument Registration Card, for the building at 10 Waliców St., a usable floor area of approximately 2,100 m², has been entered, this value seems to be undervalued considering the tenement house area at number 10 in relation to the tenement house area at number 12.

On lots nos. 28, 29, 30 there are three pre-war tenement houses entered into the Provincial Register of Monuments and protected by law. The buildings are in very poor technical condition, only one apartment is occupied in the building at 10 Waliców Street. Currently, securing works are underway in the building under number 14, consisting, among others, in the implementation of temporary roofing. Despite the fact that the building at address 14 Waliców St. is in the worst technical condition, all buildings require complete renovation including replacement of all facilities.

Lots nos. 25, 26, 27, and 31 remain undeveloped.



Source: "Warszawa dzisiaj" / "Warsaw Today" map on the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl/> portal



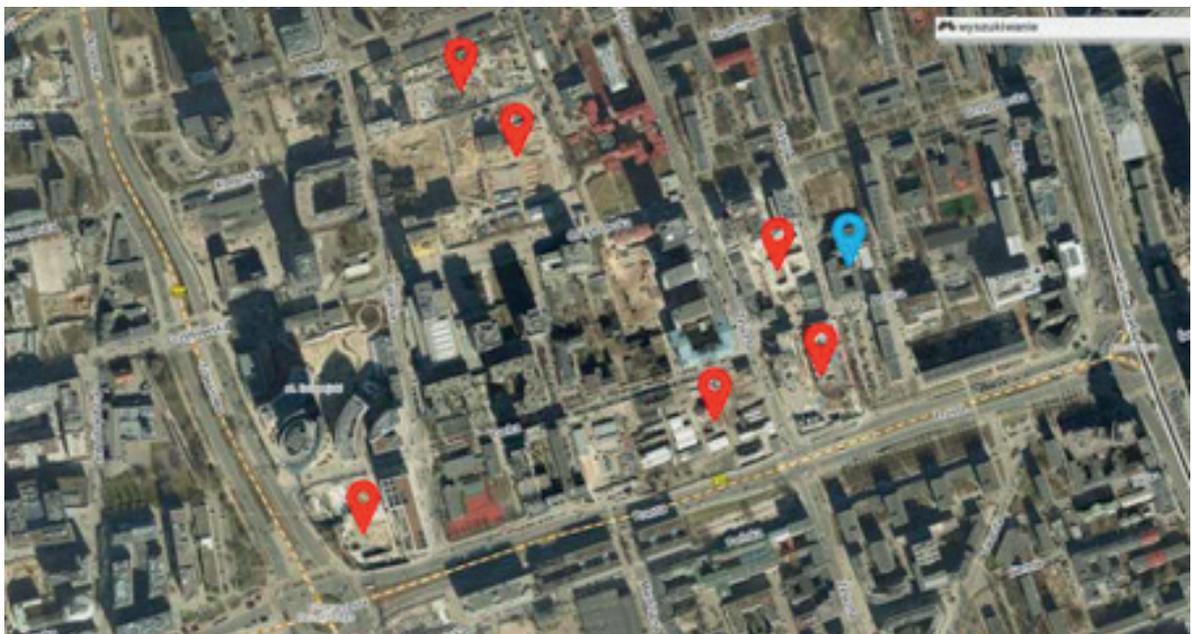
Building plans; source: Filing Cards of the Monuments of Architecture and Urban Planning – Centre of Monument Documentation in Warsaw (overview drawings, no scale preserved).

The floor plans of the buildings are the result of their originally residential function. Depending on the attitude of the conservation officer, the layout of the rooms can be reconstructed or modified. Regardless of the conservation opinions and guidelines, the arrangement of rooms and load-bearing walls is a hindrance to the free shaping of functions. Most of the rooms is small in size, the location of load-bearing walls limits the possibility of connecting rooms. Particularly the size of the outhouses - their small "depth" are both a challenge in adapting to the needs of modern building functions.

1.2. Location

The buildings at Waliców Street are located within the Wola district and within the Mirów estate, however, they are located in the area counted into the actual Warsaw's downtown. The vicinity of Rondo ONZ and Rondo Daszyńskiego roundabouts are currently one of the most popular locations for establishing offices in Warsaw. Along with other office buildings, there are also numerous services intended to a large extent for the employees of these offices appear in their vicinity.

Area limited by streets: al. Jana Pawła II, Towarowa St., al. Solidarności, and Al. Jerozolimskie, in the boundaries of which there are WWII surviving buildings at Waliców 10,12, and 14 is now an area of concentration of new development investments in Warsaw. In the vicinity of Rondo Daszyńskiego roundabout, and among others along Grzybowska St., numerous new office buildings, hotels, and multi-family buildings are being built. Many plots previously undeveloped or developed with functionally used up facilities are also being prepared for further investments. In the urban tissue, however, the residential part of the housing estate will remain, in the form of several-story apartment buildings created mainly in the 1950s. Looking at the map of the Mirów housing estate, it can be said that the buildings at Waliców Street nos. 10, 12, and 14 are located on the border between the part of the housing estate to the west which is intensively being transformed and the residential part of Mirów to the east.



Source: "Warszawa dzisiaj" / "Warsaw Today" map on the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl/> portal

-  Main investments during the implementation phase
-  Buildings at Waliców Street nos. 10, 12, 14

This is confirmed by the closest neighbourhood of the area which is being analyzed. To the east there is one of the large apartment buildings in Mirów, and to the west, new buildings are currently being built: an A-class office building – The Mennica Tower, which will offer over 60,000 m² of rentable office space. In the neighbourhood, the Mennica Residence housing investment is also being built.

The buildings at Waliców Street are characterized by excellent accessibility by means of transportation. They are located about 300 m from the Rondo ONZ roundabout with access to bus, tram, and the 2nd subway line.

1.3. Property Ownership Structure

According to the data provided by the Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw, within the analysed area, registration lots nos. 25, 28, 29, 30, and 31 are owned by the Capital City of Warsaw, while lots nos. 26 and 27 are marked as “other” - therefore they are private property of natural persons or associations/organizations.

According to the information available in the Real Estate Price and Value Register, lots nos. 26 and 27 were subject of a transaction in October 2016. The acquiring company was a special purpose vehicle as part of the project - investment in a hotel building within the Puro Hotels chain. According to the data provided by the Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw in case of lots nos. 26 and 27 a building permit has not been issued as of today's date.



Weryfikacja / w trakcie zmian	Verification / undergoing changes
Inne Publiczne	Other public
Miasto st. Warszawa	Capital City of Warsaw
Mieszana	Mixed
Pozostałe	Other
Skarb Państwa	The Treasury of State
Użytkowanie wieczyste	Perpetual usufruct

Legal status of the real estates; source: Ownership map within the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl/> portal

The legal structure of real estate and the division of property between two entities is not conducive to the implementation of the investment on the whole area. In particular, coherent use of the lot no. 25 is difficult.

However, it should be noted that registered lot number 25 is similar in size to lot number 27. At the same time, the shape the real property, i.e. reg. lots 26 and 27, is not very advantageous from the point of view of investment implementation. Taking the above into account and striving for a coherent development of this area, consideration should be given to the possibility of

exchange with mutual settlement of accounts between a private investor and the Capital City of Warsaw to lots with reg. nos. 25 and 27.

Replacement and acquisition into the assets of the Capital City of Warsaw, and then inclusion of the reg. lot no. 27 in the investment area would make it possible to create a coherent area ownership wise. It can be assumed that such a solution would also be beneficial to a private partner, which may encourage them to take such actions. The Possible replacement would also allow the lot to be protected from building over of lot no. 27 and thus preserve the *Kamień i coko* mural characteristic of the buildings at Waliców Street.

An alternative solution, significantly raising the costs of a possible investment is the acquisition by the Capital City of Warsaw of registration lots nos. 26 and 27. Potentially, this is enabled by the ULICP (Determination of the Location of a Public Purpose Investment - Ustalenia lokalizacji inwestycji celu publicznego) decision but in such case it will be necessary to bear additional costs for indemnity for real estate occupied for the purpose of implementing a public purpose investment. Taking into account the fact that in 2016 this real estate was the subject of a transaction at a price close to PLN 11,000/m², it should be expected that the possible acquisition of land will involve an additional expenditure of approx. PLN 13-15 million.

1.4. Planning Situation

The analyzed area is covered by the local spatial development plan for the area of “Żelazna Street - Northern Part A”.



Source: “Development plans” map within the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl/> portal

As part of the current spatial development plan, the entire analyzed area is located within the area marked with the 16A UMW symbol - intended for services and multi-family housing development.

The services listed in the local spatial development plan are broadly understood as: activities not connected with the production of material goods by industrial methods carried out in detached buildings or business premises embedded in other facilities, including in particular education services, health services, trade and catering services, excluding trade in facilities with a sales area exceeding 2,000 m², cultural services, managing offices, hotels and boarding houses, excluding workers' hostels.

Such a broad description of the purpose in the local spatial development plan allows for the free shaping of virtually all metropolitan functions - including commercial functions as well as municipal and socially useful functions.

The localization of greenery on the plots, postulated in the original development concept, is currently also possible, however, it would require the City to take over ownership of registered lots nos. 26 and 27. Any possible change of the purpose for the registration lots nos. 25, 26, and 27 for green areas will involve the payment of compensation to the real estate's current owner. This operation is also very time-consuming.

The local spatial development plan provides for the following conditions for development and land development as well as the principles of spatial order protection and shaping:

- 1) minimum indicator of biologically active area – 25%;
- 2) the maximum developed area indicator – 0.5;
- 3) maximum indicator of development intensity – 4.0;
- 4) maximum building height:
 - ◆ for the highest building – 90 m;
 - ◆ for other buildings – 50 m.

In addition, registered lots nos. 25 and 26 provide for the possibility of reducing the requirements for shaping:

- ◆ reduction of the minimum biologically active area indicator to 15%;
- ◆ increase of the maximum developed area indicator to 0.8;
- ◆ increase of the maximum development intensity indicator to 14.0,

and for reg. lot no. 27:

- ◆ reduction of the minimum biologically active area indicator to 15%;
- ◆ increase of the maximum developed area indicator to 0.7;
- ◆ increase of the maximum development intensity indicator to 7.0.

However, the special rules for development shaping do not apply to reg. lot no. 31.

Summing up the planning situation, one should indicate favourable provisions of the local spatial development plan in terms of the location of diversified functions within the analyzed area. The provisions regarding the undeveloped plots are also advantageous from the point of view of investment profitability. They allow for intensive development of the area, especially in the area of lots 25 and 26, where the location of the highest building is possible - up to 90 m.

2. Analysis of the Investment Area Potential

In this part of the study, based on the previously determined situation of the analyzed area, a simplified analysis of the potential for implementation of the planned investments was prepared. In order for the analysis to have a certain framework, with such a limited amount of information regarding the development concept of the Waliców Street area, it was assumed that it is possible to exchange with a private investor the reg. lot no. 25 for reg. lot no. 27.



Source: "Warszawa dzisiaj" / "Warsaw Today" map on the <http://mapa.um.warszawa.pl/> portal

2.1. Analysis of Land Carrying Capacity

For the purpose of further analysis, a simplified analysis of land carrying capacity was prepared and is presented below, prepared on the basis of the provisions of the local spatial development plan in force for this area. It is stipulated that it does not take into account the requirements of new buildings due to technical conditions that should be met by buildings and their location, which due to the unusual shape of e.g. reg. lot no. 31 can significantly reduce the real size of possible development.

The land carrying capacity analysis is designed to answer the question of whether and how much space can be implemented additionally on the analyzed area. In the analysis only approximate data and estimates were used, considering the small amount of information available about the buildings at Waliców St. nos. 10, 12, and 14 required for precise calculations.

Current situation:

Reg. no.	Usable floor (m ²)	Gross covered area (current) (m ²)	Usable floor space (current) (m ²)	Number of stories	Development intensity (current)
27	1,330	-	-	-	-
28	1,277	714	2,550	6	4,284
29	797	579	2,071	5/6	3,184.5
30	1,104	916	2,700	5	4,580
31	862	-	-	-	-
Total:	5,370	2,209	7,321		12,049

Potential land carrying capacity:

Reg. no.	Area (m ²)	Developed area indicator	Maximum developed area indicator	Development intensity indicator	Maximum total area	Usable floor space indicator	Max. usable floor space	Biol. active area indicator	Min. biol. active area
27	1,330	0.7	931	7	9,310	0.75	6,983	15%	200
28	1,277	0.5	638.5	4	5,108	0.75	3,831	25%	319
29	797	0.5	398.5	4	3,188	0.75	2,391	25%	199
30	1,104	0.5	552	4	4,416	0.75	3,312	25%	276
31	862	0.5	431	4	3,448	0.75	2,586	25%	216
Total:	5,370		2,951		25,470		19,103		1,210

According to the land carrying capacity analysis, assuming investments on lots numbered from 27 to 31 with a total area of 5,370 m², it is possible to implement investments with a total developed area of approximately 2,950 m². Taking into account the current building area of existing buildings at the level of 2,209 m², the analyzed area is able to be built over by an additional 740 m² of land area. This is the size of buildings potentially possible to be implemented on reg. lot no. 31.

Other limitations - such as the required minimum biologically active area, and in particular the development intensity, leave much greater freedom of action.

Assuming the implementation of a facility with such a developed area, fitting with the surroundings i.e. historic buildings, it was assumed that it cannot be higher than the surroundings. Due to this, the maximum height was assumed at 5 floors. In this case it will be possible to implement a facility with an estimated usable floor space of 2,750 m². Calculation below:

Max. additional development area (m ²)	742
Number of stories	5
Total floor space (TFS) (m ²)	3,710
UFS/TA indicator	0.75
Story usable floor space (m ²)	557
Additional total usable floor space (m ²)	2,783

2.2. Potential Scope of Investment

Taking into account the above assumptions and calculations, it can be assumed that for the analyzed area, the assumed investment consisting in the renovation and adaptation of existing facilities and the construction of a new facility on reg. lot no. 31 will have the parameters shown in the table below:

Target investment size	Developed area	number of stories	Total area	Usable floor space
Waliców 14	714	6	4,284	2,550
Waliców 12	579	5/6	3,185	2,071
Waliców 10	916	5	4,580	2,700
Additional building	742	5	3,710	2,750
Total:	2,951	-	15,759	10,071

2.3. Potential Summary of Functions

According to the concept for the analyzed location presented in the description of the project named "Waliców: Warsaw's DNA - Europe's Heritage", the aim is to create a multifunctional vital and "full of life" place of activity intended for the Warsaw's citizens.

According to the assumptions made, the facility is to house:

- ◆ a documentation centre of this place and its inhabitants' local history;
- ◆ a permanent exhibition;
- ◆ spaces for temporary exhibitions and art installations;
- ◆ a lecture hall with a backstage, enabling concerts, guest performances of theatres (impresario theatre showing the most interesting performances from all over Poland with an English translation for Warsaw's foreign visitors), movie shows, and debates.

In addition, as a starting point, the conclusions jointly developed by the participants to the Discover Warsaw's Wild West (Odkryj warszawski Dzikie Zachód) workshops, were adopted:

- ◆ the building at Waliców 14 should preserve its external appearance;
- ◆ creating an exhibition inside the tenement about the history of this place and its inhabitants;
- ◆ the courtyards and premises should be vibrant with life and serve the residents;
- ◆ places for culture - preferential rents for non-governmental organizations - in return for organization of cultural events, workshops, University of the Third Age;
- ◆ premises for craftsmen;
- ◆ premises with projects for the residents, actions such as coffee for 1 zloty for senior citizens;
- ◆ premises for artists' studios, in return for exhibitions and workshops for the citizens;
- ◆ commercial renting of the premises to reduce costs;
- ◆ on the free plot of land behind the tenement houses under nos. 10 and 12 creating a modern urban centre with: a children's room, a library, a press reading room, a movie cinema, a theatre and concert hall, and a lecture hall;
- ◆ facilities for non-governmental organizations.

Taking into consideration the characteristics of the buildings at Waliców Street nos. 10, 12, and 14, all the proposed functions, except for the lecture hall, may be located within the existing buildings after their complete renovation.

It should also be noted that the original development concept assumes the location on registration lot no. 31 of the lecture hall and a city centre. Considering the small area of the plot (around 860 m²) and its irregular shape, it may be difficult or impossible the investment in this form - due to the limited floor space of a single floor. The analysis of the studies prepared as part of the Waliców Project by students from Politecnico di Milano suggests that for this purpose, not only reg. lot no. 31, but also part of reg. lot no. 32 - owned by a housing cooperative, have been envisaged for this purpose. It would significantly improve the land development conditions of reg. lot no. 31, however, it will involve additional costs and will involve another entity in an already complex project.

The functions presented above are primarily of a socially useful nature, however, they have a small potential to generate not only funds that may represent a potential “return on investment” (even in the form of funds for depreciation of the facilities), but also funds for the ongoing maintenance of the renovated buildings.

Due to the above, in order to increase the possibility of implementing the investment, it seems justified to designate a part of the area for commercial purposes, which may generate revenues to cover the costs of use and depreciation of the buildings. The analysis of potential commercial functions in this location is presented below.

2.4. The Location’s Potential for Commercial Functions

Considering the above-mentioned conditions of the real estate itself as well as its surroundings, and the will to locate within it also commercial functions, offering services to users of the buildings at Waliców St. as well as the general-urban functions as complementary commercial functions, the following are proposed:

Office space, including serviced offices:

Despite the seemingly big competition in the area, facilities such as buildings at Waliców Street nos. 10, 12, and 14 can perfectly fit into the local office space market with its offer of small office space addressed to small size companies. The factors that prevent rental of space in large office buildings to smaller entities, in addition to high rental costs, are above all the requirements regarding minimum rental space, security of the rental agreement, and the minimum term of the rental contract.

Recently, a dynamically growing branch of the office space market is the so-called serviced offices, being a development of the co-working space offer. They offer rental of individual desks, but also several rooms equipped with furniture, access to conference rooms, a common reception with access to printers and a social area. In this case, it is not the owner but a third party that manages the rental of office space and sub-rents it at the same time providing accompanying services and equipping the space.

Regardless of the form of making office space available, based on the analysis of rental rates in the neighbourhood, it can be assumed that the rental of office space can generate about PLN 55-65/m² net. The decisive factors may be, for example, equipping the building with an elevator or not having one. The availability of premises, contractual conditions, etc. It should be underlined that in this case, the tenants also cover costs related to the maintenance of the space, usually except for ongoing repairs and real property tax. For the purposes of the estimates, the rent for office space was assumed at PLN 60/m² net.

Catering premises on the ground floors of the tenement houses:

In the vicinity of the buildings at Waliców Street, a lot of office investments are being carried out, as well as residential and hotel investments. Mennica Tower, which is located the closest, will offer a total of approximately 64,000 m² of usable floor space. Assuming that currently there is approximately 10 m² of office space per one employee, there will be at least 6,000 people working in the nearby buildings – potential clients.

Locating catering premises on the first floor will also allow the use of internal courtyards in the summer as a place for arranging the tables.

With regard to the premises on the first floors, the rentable rental rate is dependent not only on the general location in the city, but also on micro-locations within the block of streets and the building. This means that the front premises are perceived as the most attractive, while those located in the outbuildings will be valued much less. A possible solution to improve the perception of the premises in the outbuildings is to place a shared area for food consumption in the tenement houses’ courtyards.

For the purposes of the analysis, it was assumed that the frontal premises are possible to be rented for a rate of approximately PLN 100/m² and the premises deep inside the buildings for approximately PLN 60/m².

Student dorm/Retirement home:

In contrast to typical commercial functions, adaptation of the space for the needs of a student dorm or an retirement home would contribute to maintaining activity within the facility 24 hours a day. The market of this type of space in Poland is only developing. Unlike office or retail and service space, the demand for student dorms is relatively stable and is not subject to the typical cyclicity of other types of space.

The rental rates for private student dormitories are similar to the rates for rental of residential premises, however, in the case of a student dorm, larger common areas are required, which reduces revenues per 1 m² of usable floor space. In modern student dorms, the cost of renting a single residential unit with a surface of approximately 20-25 m² is about PLN 1,300–1,500 monthly, which gives a rate of around PLN 60–70 per 1 m².

In Warsaw, there is no market for surface rental for the functions of daily old people care, due to the lack of comparative materials, these values are omitted in the estimates.

Apartments for rent:

An alternative to a student dorm or retirement home is to allocate part of the space for commercial rental of apartments. The introduction of a residential function to the buildings or a selected building will result in the buildings “living” not only during business hours but 24/7.

In the case of planning apartments, however, their location should be considered in combination with other functions, so that other ones, in particular catering, would not constitute an inconvenience to the residential function.

2.5. Optimal Set of Functions

At the present stage it is certainly too early to recommend a specific set of functions for the analyzed area and their scale. Conclusions in this respect should be the result of conducted market research and preferences of the potential investor.

The findings of such a balance should take into account most of the factors analyzed in this study, i.e.:

- ◆ legal status of the real estate as well as the willingness and possibilities of its modification;
- ◆ shape and layout of the undeveloped plots;
- ◆ architectural characteristics of the buildings and possible layout of the premises;
- ◆ restrictions imposed by the conservation officer and the resulting investment costs, but also operating costs and difficulties in adjusting the space to the current standards required for a specific function;
- ◆ possibilities and constraints resulting from the provisions of the local spatial development plan;
- ◆ location’s potential in the context of the entire city, as well as the potential benefits of a neighbourhood attractive business wise

and factors such as available funds, their possible sources and requirements related to spending as well as the time necessary and available for the implementation of the undertaking.

For the purpose of the analysis, only the relation of the area designated as part of the complex for commercial purposes to the total usable floor space was assumed. This relation was set at a level allowing for covering the current operating costs of the entire facility and guaranteeing funds for the coverage of the real estates’ depreciation.

3. Investment Cost

3.1. The Estimated Cost of the Investment's Implementation

Estimation of the cost of the planned investment is difficult at the current stage due to the very high dependence of implementation costs on such variables as:

- ◆ final statement of the function of the space within the investment;
- ◆ the requirements of the conservator of the monuments for restoration of specific elements;
- ◆ the possibility of interfering in the arrangement of the premises within the buildings;
- ◆ currently unknown technical condition of the ceilings, foundations, and other structural elements;
- ◆ costs of adapting the facilities in terms of fire protection requirements;
- ◆ standard of surface finish.

In order to capture the scale of the undertaking, comparative data and an estimated simulation were prepared - with the proviso that it was made on the basis of very few input data.

The estimated costs of renovation of the existing buildings are particularly difficult to estimate. The description of their technical condition as well as the on-site visit show that they require a renovation including reinforcing the foundations, partial repair of the ceilings, removal of existing and new plaster, making new installations/systems, replacing all window frames and door joinery, replacement of the roof structure and roofing, and much more. In the case of the facilities entered in the National Register of Historic Monuments, additional conservation requirements also cause an increase of costs that is difficult to estimate. The collected information shows that the costs of this type of investment can more than double the costs of constructing typical housing or office projects.

For comparison, the table below presents the costs of major renovations of tenement houses in Lodz as part of the city's revitalization program. For buildings covered by contracts based on publicly available data, the total area was estimated and on this basis investment implementation costs per 1 m² of the total area were calculated. However, there is no precise information on the scope of renovations - in particular regarding the standard of finishing the living space.

City	Address	Contract-based renovation cost (PLN)	Date of signing the contract	Total floor space (estimated) (m ²)	Renovation cost in PLN/m ² of total floor space.
Łódź	Włókiennicza 12, 14, 16	23,700,000	2018	5,470	PLN 4,333
Łódź	Włókiennicza 3, 5, 7	24,600,000	2018	3,191	PLN 7,709
Łódź	Wschodnia 20, 23	17,300,000	2018	4,156	PLN 4,163

Source: own market research

Despite the lack of detailed information, the costs resulting from the signed contracts are significantly higher than the construction costs of a typical residential or office building. In the case of apartments, the construction costs per 1 m² of the total floor space are typically in the range from PLN 2,500 to 3,000.

In the analyzed case, unlike typical residential and office buildings, it should be assumed that the space made available will be mostly finished. Apart from the costs of specialist equipment needed in the case of the lecture hall, the costs of surface finishing at the level of approximately PLN 1,500–2,000/m² of usable floor space in the new building can be assumed. In the case of renovated buildings, considering the used comparative materials, it is assumed that the costs take include surface finish, but do not include the furnishings.

Estimated investment cost	Total floor space -(TFS) (m ²)	Usable floor space - UFS (m ²)	Construction cost converted to TFS (PLN/m ²)	Cost of construction/renovation converted to UFS (PLN/m ²)	Investment value (PLN)
Waliców 14	4,284	2,550	5,500	9,240	23,562,000
Waliców 12	3,185	2,071	5,500	8,457	17,514,750
Waliców 10	4,580	2,700	5,500	9,330	25,190,000
Additional building	3,710	2,750	4,077	5,500	15,125,000
Total:	15,759	10,071			81,391,750

Source: own market research

3.2. Simulation of Ongoing Operation of the Real Estate

For the purpose of the study, an approximate simulation of the costs of ongoing operation of the real estate after its revitalization was prepared as well as the possibility of reducing or abolishing the related costs through revenues generated from the use of commercial space.

For this purpose, it was assumed that the current costs of maintaining the real estate property mainly include the following:

- ◆ real property tax;
- ◆ keeping clean and clearing snow;
- ◆ real estate management;
- ◆ waste disposal;
- ◆ security;
- ◆ reviews ongoing repairs;
- ◆ illumination of common parts;
- ◆ heating;
- ◆ utilities' consumption related to non-commercial surfaces.

Based on own estimates, it was assumed that costs will amount to about PLN 20/m² – for non-commercial areas. In the case of commercial space, it was assumed that the costs not covered by the tenants constitute about PLN 5/m² – this applies mostly to real estate tax and minor maintenance work.

Based on such a level of costs and assumptions regarding potential revenues from rental of space for commercial purposes, the minimum share of commercial space in the whole building area was estimated, which will allow to cover the total costs of maintaining the facilities.

Type of commercial space	Estimated market-based rental rate (PLN/m ²)
Office space	55-65
Commercial and service space	60-100
Residential premises	50-65
Student dorm	50-70

Based on the findings regarding market rental rates, the net rent for commercial space for the entire investment was assumed (irrespective of its function) at the level of PLN 60/m².

Assuming the above, the allocation of approximately 45% of the area of the analyzed facilities for commercial purposes will allow for covering the total costs of the building's functioning and depreciation costs at the level of approx. PLN 2 million per year. It was assumed that at this time there are no revenues from the use of non-commercial surfaces.

With the use of approx. 30% of space for commercial purposes, only the current costs of maintaining the real estate are covered, there will be no funds for renovations or major repairs in the long run.

The calculations are presented in the table below:

Target investment value	Commercial space share in usable floor space	Net rent (PLN/m ²)	Annual revenue	Costs of maintaining the commercial part	Costs of maintaining the remaining space per month	Costs of maintaining per annum (PLN)	Real estate revenue (PLN)
Waliców 14	27%	PLN 60.00	PLN 495,720	PLN 5	PLN 20.00	488,070	7,650
Waliców 12	27%	PLN 60.00	PLN 402,602	PLN 5	PLN 20.00	396,389	6,213
Waliców 10	27%	PLN 60.00	PLN 524,880	PLN 5	PLN 20.00	516,780	8,100
Additional building	27%	PLN 60.00	PLN 534,600	PLN 5	PLN 20.00	526,350	8,250
Total:			PLN 1,957,802			PLN 1,927,589	PLN 30,213

4. Potentail Sources of Financing and Characteristics of Their Use

4.1. Construction from the Funds of the Capital City Warsaw

It is the simplest solution in terms of organization, for which the biggest challenge will certainly be finding the right amount of funds in the city's budget. The challenge will also be to organize the implementation process, especially in the case of willingness to develop part of the space for commercial purposes. Representatives and employees of the municipal office, despite their extensive experience in the implementation of investments, are not professional entities providing such services as construction and commercialization of service space.

4.2. The Use of Commercial Financing by a Bank

In order to implement the investment with the use of commercial financing by a bank in the structures of the Capital City of Warsaw will require establishing a special purpose vehicle to conduct this type of investment.

A special purpose vehicle as an independent entity, but supported by the Capital City of Warsaw Warsaw will be the beneficiary of bank financing. In the case of commercial financing by a bank, it is necessary to have a minimum of 35% of own contribution. Assuming an approximate investment dimension, this would amount to approximately PLN 28.5 million. A part of the owner's contribution is in this situation the land, while the remaining part of the funds should be transferred in the form of a cash contribution. The use of bank financing is associated with the need to secure a mortgage collateral on the real estate, and therefore, all real properties under the project should be concentrated in one special purpose vehicle.

In addition to mortgage collateral, banks also require an appropriate minimum level of commercialization as well as an appropriate nature of the concluded contracts – a long term and security by means of bank guarantees. The tenants' brand and the reputation are also significant. Often, the condition for financing is also an appropriate level of renting the space prior to launching construction.

However, this solution also has potential benefits. Throughout the entire investment period, the owner of the real estate is the Capital City of Warsaw. Third parties are not engaged in the decision-making process.

However, taking into account the nature of the analyzed project, the implementation of the project in this formula seems unlikely. However, bank financing can be used, for example, in the project implementation formula in cooperation with a commercial entity.

4.3. Implementation of Investments in the Joint-Venture Formula with the Use of Project-Finance Financing Type

Operation in a joint venture with a private entity carries an additional risk, but it also offers significant benefits compared with the typical implementation of the undertaking as part of the activities of local government units.

This formula assumes the following steps:

1. Preparation of the investment concept and, based on it, the selection of a partner entity – a representative of the private sector, a company professionally operating in the area of real estate investments.
2. Creation of a common entity - a special purpose vehicle.
3. Contributing the real estate to the special purpose vehicle by a public entity (Capital City of Warsaw) and additional capital by a private entity.
4. Use in the process of implementation of bank financing the beneficiary of which would be the special purpose vehicle established by the partners, the real estate and the amount of the required own contribution as security.
5. Investment implementation - both its commercial part and the non-commercial part under the supervision of a professional company from the industry and at the same time in cooperation with representatives of the public party responsible for mitigating the risks associated with administrative proceedings.
6. Division of the real estate into commercial and non-commercial property part.
7. Disposal of the commercial part - exit of the private entity from the investment.

Projects of a similar nature have already been implemented by public entities and in relation to public real estates. The Polish State Railways (PKP S.A.) seems to have the most experience in this area. In this formula, the company implemented railway station investments in Poznań, Katowice, and at the Warszawa Zachodnia railway station. While it is possible to discuss the extent to which the completed facilities are a beneficial solution from the point of view of users/travellers, the process of project implementation alone, scrutinized by the Supreme Audit Office (NIK), can be considered as an interesting alternative.

The challenge in the case of the organization of the analyzed project in a similar formula is the need to provide the private entity with the exit procedure. In the case of PKP railway station investments, the exit mechanism was the sale of commercial facilities that built in the vicinity of the stations – shopping gallery malls or office buildings. In the analyzed case, such an approach would require the sale of at least one of the buildings.

The advantage in implementing the undertaking in such a formula is the possibility of risk sharing between the public entity (city) and private entity (investor) in the process of preparation and implementation of the investment.

The profitability of such an investment from the point of view of a private investor must always be calculated individually based on individual preferences and the investor's requirements.

4.4. The Use of European Union Funds

One of the potential sources of investment financing, regardless of the form of its implementation, is the use of EU funds available under the Jessica II program.

It is a program supervised in Poland by Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (BGK) offering financial support in the form of a preferential loan for the implementation of revitalization projects. The program operates only in several provinces, including Mazovia.

The program may only finance projects that result directly from the Revitalization program for the area in which the project is being implemented.

In the case of Warsaw, the Integrated Revitalization Program covers only the areas of Praga and Targówek. Due to this fact, the use of funds from this source is impossible in the current legal situation.

4.5. Implementation of Investments in the PPP (Public-Private Partnership) Formula

Unlike the implementation of investments in the Joint-Venture formula with the use of project-finance type of funding, the PPP formula assumes cooperation with a private partner under the contract. Its type depends on the mechanism of remuneration for the private partner:

1. in accordance with article 3 section 2 of the Act of 21 October 2016 on the concession contract for construction works or services (Journal of Laws 2016, item. 1920 as amended), if the private partner's remuneration for:
 - a. execution of construction works constitutes solely the right to use the construction object being the subject of the contract or such right together with payment - the undertaking is carried out on the basis of a concession contract for construction works;
 - b. provision of services and management of these services constitutes solely the right to provide services that are the subject of the contract or such right together with the payment - the undertaking is carried out on the basis of a concession contract for services;
2. in other cases, in accordance with article 4 section 2 of the Act of 19 December 2008 on public-private partnership (Journal of Laws of 2017, item 1834, as amended) - the undertaking is implemented on the basis of a public-private partnership contract with a partner selected on the basis of regulations of Act of 29 January 2004 - Public Procurement Law (Journal of Laws of 2018, items 1986, 2215; of 2019, item 53);
3. in the case of a private partner's own contribution in the form of a real estate (which is the case in the analysed situation), the Act of 21 August 1997 on real estate management (Journal of Laws of 2018, items 2204, 2348; of 2019, item 270) also applies.

In the case under analysis, with the assumptions presented in part 3.2. (simulation of the current functioning of the property) the revenue obtained from the property is too low for the private partner's remuneration to come exclusively from the right to gain profits from the property. Therefore, the need to introduce additional remuneration should be assumed in advance, with the amount of this remuneration being is the resultant of:

1. division of tasks and risks related to the implementation of investments, between a public entity and a private partner;
2. assumed time-limits and amounts of expected payments within these time-limits should be the basic criterion for the evaluation of offers.

The Act on Public-Private Partnership in Article 6 item 3, allows for a wide range of other offer evaluation criteria:

1. distribution of revenue from the project between a public entity and a private partner;
2. ratio of the own contribution of the public entity to the contribution of the private partner;
3. effectiveness of the project implementation, including the effectiveness of use of property components;

4. criteria referring directly to the subject of the project, in particular quality, functionality, technical parameters, the level of technology offered, maintenance cost, service.

In view of the assumptions made in part 3.2. (simulation of the current functioning of real estate), distribution of revenue from the project between a public entity and a private partner is not recommended as a criterion, due to too small revenue in relation to the cost of maintaining the property. An important criterion for the selection of the offer should be the ratio of the public entity's own contribution to the contribution of the private partner. In particular, based on the estimates in part 4.2, the maximum level of the public entity's own contribution should be assumed at the level of 35% of the investment costs, i.e. approximately PLN 28.5 million. It would be also worthwhile to increase the effectiveness of the project implementation by increasing the efficiency of use of property components, in particular by extending investments to the lots under registration numbers 26 and 27. Therefore, the offer evaluation criterion related to the effectiveness of using the property component could also be applied.

Due to the specific expectations of the public entity concerning the scope of non-commercial activities and services offered in the property, the criterion referring to quality, functionality, technical parameters, level of offered technologies, costs of maintenance or service, it is not recommended as an offer assessment criterion. It should be assumed that the aforementioned parameters will be presented in a detailed manner in the description of proceedings for the conclusion of a public-private partnership contract and the selection of a private partner, in the parts "describing the undertaking" and the part "describing the needs and requirements of the contracting party", at the stage of evaluation dialogue preceding the invitation to tender. These parameters will be defined in sufficient detail so that the scope of responsibility of the private partner for the standard of accessibility of the object and the consequences of non-observance will be legible.

Summing up, based on the presented scope of investments, the preferred model of its implementation in the form of a public-private partnership agreement includes:

1. preparation of a design of the project on the basis of detailed guidelines of the public entity regarding the desired non-commercial functions in real estate;
2. obtaining funds and financing not less than 35% of investment costs;
3. construction;
4. maintenance and management of the facility.

In this model the private partner will bear most of the risk related to construction and the entire risk related to availability, while the risk related to demand only in relation to the commercial part. In any case the division of tasks and risks should be negotiated in an evaluation dialogue and the final scope of acceptable solutions should be formulated in the invitation to tender.

5. Summary and Principal Assumptions of the Concept

- ◆ Exchange with a private owner to neighbouring land – transfer of plot reg. no. 25 in exchange for plot reg. no. 27 – will allow for creating a cohesive area of land for possible future investments and protecting the Kamień i co mural from being built over. Such a solution also brings with it the possibility of obtaining additional funds for the city budget – for example for the purpose of investment implementation.
- ◆ Leaving a plot of land no. 27, not built over and designating its area to a green area - in accordance with intention of the initial development concept.
- ◆ Adaptation of buildings at Waliców Street nos. 10, 12, and 14 to new functions.
- ◆ Building over plot reg. no. 31 - allowing for the creation of additional space for functions with requirements that do not fit into the characteristics of the space in the historical buildings.

- ◆ Need to verify the possibility of locating on the plot reg. no. 31 of a lecture hall, due to the small size of the plot.
- ◆ Location of commercial functions within the facilities - to be considered: gastronomy, trade on the ground floor, office space, residential premises for rent, student dorm/retirement home.
- ◆ Renovation costs higher than standard ones due to conservation protection.
- ◆ The investment should be carried out in its entirety, this will reduce the risk related to damage to neighbouring buildings during works at subsequent facilities. However, this approach is connected with the need to obtain more funds.
- ◆ An investment for smooth implementation requires the involvement of a private entity, which can also significantly facilitate managing the investment process and increase its cost effectiveness.
- ◆ Participation of a private investor requires preparation of an investment exit concept for the investor as part of the offer, i.e. resale or repurchase of a part of the shares.

The conducted analysis shows that in order to carry out the investment as smoothly as possible, it is reasonable to engage a private entity in it. This would allow to address the risk typical for the process of investment implementation to an entity conducting professional activity on this market. The use of cooperation with a private entity also allows for using bank financing and the reduction of the commitment of resources and forces on the part of the Capital City of Warsaw.

Biographies

Beata Chomańska is a writer, journalist, activist and co-founder of the “Stacja Muranów” Association for Socio-Cultural Initiatives. She published a number of books on architecture and the city, most recently *Betonia. Dom dla każdego* about the rise of prefabricated concrete slab housing in Poland and elsewhere. Since 2013, she has been working as a guide to international groups on tours of Warsaw’s contemporary architecture. In 2018 she led a workshop for the local community in the Waliców Street area, working with them to recognise the problems, needs and ideas for the future.

Jacek Leociak, Professor, Head of the Faculty of Studies on the Holocaust Literature at the Institute of Literary Research, the Polish Academy of Sciences; member of the Polish Centre for Holocaust Research at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, the Polish Academy of Sciences; member of the editorial board of the yearbook *The Holocaust: Studies and Materials*. Together with Barbara Engelking, he is the author of the concept for the Holocaust Gallery at the POLIN Museum core exhibition. He is the author of: *Tekst wobec Zagłady: o relacjach z getta warszawskiego* (1997, II ed. 2016; *Text in the Face of Destruction: Accounts from the Warsaw Ghetto Reconsidered*, 2004); (with Barbara Engelking) *Getto warszawskie. Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście* (2001, II ed. 2013; *Warsaw Ghetto. The Guide through the Perished City*, Yale University Press 2009); *Doświadczenia graniczne. Studia o dwudziestowiecznych formach reprezentacji*, [*Extreme Experiences. Studies on Twentieth Century Form of Representations*], (2009); *Ratowanie. Opowieści Polaków i Żydów*, [*Rescue. Tales of Poles and Jews*], (2010); *Spojrzenia na warszawskie getto*, [*Looking at the Warsaw Ghetto*], (2011); *Biografie ulic. O żydowskich ulicach Warszawy* [*Biographies of Streets. About the Jewish streets in Warsaw*] (2017); *Młyny boże. Zapiski o Kościele i Zagładzie* [*The Mills of God. Notes on the Church and the Holocaust*] (2018).

Kamil Miklaszewski, architect, graduate of the Faculty of Architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology (2004). Together with Karol Szparkowski he has been running the Warsaw based *+48 Architecture* architectural office since 2008. He mainly focuses on residential architecture, as well as creating and revitalizing public spaces. Miklaszewski is a winner or finalist of a number of architectural competitions, among others for an elementary school in Jacmel in Haiti (2010), a passenger terminal at the Szczytno-Szymany airport (2013), the area of Kazimierza Wielkiego and Świdnicka Streets intersection in Wrocław (2012) and others. Aside his professional work, he is also involved in educational activities as a tutor at architectural workshops: both Polish (*OSSA, Architektura*) and international (*SoEasy*). As part of the *SoEasy* workshops organized jointly with the Development Policy Foundation from Warsaw, he participated in revitalization projects in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and Tunisia. Since 2015, he has been a member of the Chamber of Architects of the Republic of Poland and the Association of Polish Architects (SARP).

Guido Morpurgo, PhD, architect, active in his profession since 1991, laureate of a number of national awards in the field of architecture. In the years 2000-2008 he was a partner at the Gregotti Associati International (Milan-Shanghai). In 2006 he launched the Morpurgo de Curtis Architetti Associati, whose projects have been recognized internationally. His most distinguished project— *Memoriale della Shoah*, awarded the Gold Medal of Italian Architecture—was entered in the monument protection program of the Italian Ministry of Culture. Dr Morpurgo is Associate Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, lecturer at the Politecnico di Milano where he runs the *Waliców Project* concerning preservation of a fragment of the former Warsaw Ghetto. He is also author and editor of monographs and essays on architecture.

Paweł Nowakowski, graduate of the Warsaw School of Economics. Certified movable property and real estate appraiser, expert in real estate investment as well as in the investment process development. He has worked for companies such as Ernst & Young, Cushman & Wakefield, Polish State Railways [PKP] as well as smaller entities providing services on the commercial real estate market. He also cooperates with the National Institute for Spatial Policy and Housing on consulting projects related to urban revitalization. His main area of interest are investments on the commercial real estate market in the retail and services segment as well as town-development investments.

Krzysztof Pasternak, architect, member of the Association of Polish Architects (SARP), graduate of the Faculty of Architecture, Warsaw University of Technology (1971). He has held a designer license since 1981 and architect license issued by the Ministry of Culture and Art since 1984. He is the author of 16 projects including: the project of the center of the Praga district in Warsaw (1971); project of tourist land development of the surroundings of the Nyskie Lake (1972); revitalization of the Łódź city centre (1977); the centre of the Mokotów district in Warsaw (1987). The most significant projects include: revitalization of Chłodna Street in Warsaw (2009–2011); a complex of single-family housing GTC “Konstancja” in Konstancin (2002–2011); Centre for Jewish Culture in Warsaw (2003); converting a historical building into the seat of the Powszechny Bank Gospodarczy in Kalisz (1992–1994); restoration of a historical mansion and courtyard in Gołuchów into the House of Creative Work OKL (1989–1993); Centre of Culture and Art in Kalisz that is a restored, historical seat of Cadet Corps from the early 19th century (1983–1990); restoration of the Old Town Square and Śródmiejska Street in Kalisz (1980).

Zuzanna Schnepf-Kołaczk, graduate of the Department of Journalism and Political Science of Warsaw University, doctoral student at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science, fellowships at the Bologna Alma Mater Studiorum University and in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; coordinator of the Holocaust Gallery at the Museum of the History of the of Polish Jews, Vice-consul of Poland in Milan (Italy), presently working in the Research Department of POLIN Museum, author of several articles about the history of Polish Jews during the Holocaust, co-author of historical exhibitions: *Solidarność nei documenti della Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrielli* (Milan, 2014); *From Poland with Love* (Warsaw, 2017); *Window to Waliców Street* (Warsaw, 2018).

Tom Schofield, PhD, artist, designer and researcher with research interests in emerging and open source technology, participation and cultural data in public space. He is currently a Senior Lecturer in Digital Cultures in Culture Lab, Newcastle University where he convenes the Digital Cultures Research Group with cross-faculty colleagues. Schofield is the Principal Investigator of the AHRC/EPSRC funded *Children’s Magical Realism for New Spatial Interactions* project investigating the application of ideas from magical realist literature to new AR smartphone technology. In his work as Co-I of *Plural Heritages of Istanbul: the Case of the Land Walls* project (AHRC/Newton) he is developing speculative design methods to support the embedding of community-held knowledges in digital public space.

Zygmunt Stępiński, historian, journalist, publisher, entrepreneur, currently Acting Director of POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews. At the Museum since 2012, Mr Stępiński is responsible for its educational program, communications, PR, marketing and sales. In the years 2016–2018 he supervised the development and implementation of the March ’68 program dedicated to the anti-Semitic purge in Poland which resulted in over 13,000 Jews leaving the country. In the 1990s he cooperated with the US Aid, the National Home Builders Association and the Home Builders Institute in Washington. Mr Stępiński was awarded the Knight’s Cross of Polonia Restituta by President Lech Kaczyński for his engagement in fighting Communism.

Christopher Whitehead is Professor of Museology at the Universities of Newcastle (UK) and Oslo (Norway). His current research activities today circulate around cultural politics of memory, display, knowledge construction and interpretation. He is currently working on political uses of the past, time and place, and contested histories and heritages, especially where these relate to contemporary social tensions, division and conflict. He has conducted extensive EU-funded research into museums and migration and European heritage and identity, and is coordinator of the Horizon 2020 project *CoHERE: Critical Heritages of Europe*. He also leads the AHRC/TUBITAK Newton Fund project *Plural Heritages of Istanbul*, which explores community engagement with heritage, walking ethnography, world heritage politics and co-production. He is an active participant in debates and initiatives connected to European Heritage Policy, the International Council of Museums, and UNESCO.

Walicow: DNA of Warsaw - Heritage of Europe, discussion in POLIN Museum, March 4 2019



Guido Morpurgo's presentation.



From the left: Jacek Leociak, Paweł Nowakowski, Christopher Whitehead, Tom Schofield, Beata Chomąłowska, Jakub Lewicki, Guido Morpurgo, Kamil Miklaszewski.



From the left: Christopher Whitehead, Tom Schofield, Beata Chomąłowska.



Paweł Nowakowski's presentation.



From the left: Kamil Miklaszewski, Guido Morpurgo, Jakub Lewicki.



From the left: Artur Celiński, chair of the discussion and Jacek Leociak.



Kamil Miklaszewski's presentation.



Zygmunt Stepiński, Acting Director of POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews.



Jakub Lewicki, the Mazovian Province Monument's Restorer and Zuzanna Schnepf-Kolacz.

Photos by Magdalena Starowieyska, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews

