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#### Olgierd Ławrynowicz



https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3663-9183

## Krzysztof Latocha



https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7408-3388

## Aleksandra Krupa-Ławrynowicz



https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3532-9677

#### Artur Ossowski https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4309-6324



Anna Gręzak

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6178-3577

## Julia Sowińska-Heim https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3810-596X



# Interdisciplinary Site Research Dawna siedziba Gestapo i Wojewódzkiego Urzędu

Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego przy al. K. Anstadta w Łodzi

Abstract: The paper discusses the research methods and the most important results of the interdisciplinary project "The Former Gestapo Headquarters and the Provincial Office of Public Security in Anstadt Avenue in Łódź. Interdisciplinary Site Research" conducted in 2019-2021.

Considering the challenges faced by the archaeology of the contemporary past, a subdiscipline of archaeology, an attempt was made to link the results of archaeological research to the relatively well-known historical context of structural and functional transformations of the site explored, mostly the establishment of a Jewish school in Anstadt Avenue at the end of the

1930s, the operation of the Gestapo headquarters during the Second World War and of the communist Provincial Office of Public Security after the war, and the division of the site into police and school sections in 1957, which has been preserved to date. Also ethnographic research was carried out, which identified sources referring to the forms of remembrance and commemoration of places, events, and people. The Authors hope that the archaeological research will be soon resumed on account of the planned investments, allowing to publish a complementary and interdisciplinary monograph of the site explored.

Interdyscyplinarne badania miejsca

Keywords: School of the Association of Jewish Secondary Schools in Łódź, Gestapo in Łódź, Provincial Office of Public Security in Łódź, Anstadt Avenue in Łódź, archaeology of the contemporary past, ethnographic research, history of the place, remembrance and commemoration



In 2019–2021, interdisciplinary research was carried out under the project "The Former Headquarters of the Gestapo and the Communist Provincial Office of Public Security in Anstadt Avenue in Łódź. Interdisciplinary Site Research". Its aim was to explore and describe the past and the present operation of the former local headquarters of the Secrete State Police (Polish: Gestapo, German: *Geheime Staatspolizei*) (1939–1945) and of the Provincial Office of Public Security in Łódź (Polish: *Wojewódzki Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego w Łodzi*) (1939–1956), and to preserve the memory of people, places, and events connected with them.

Under the project, a survey of archival sources was conducted. The activities undertaken combined ethnographic and archaeological perspectives, oriented towards the study of the recent past. Thus, ethnographic methods were used along with the tools of archaeology of the contemporary past, which, apart from sources typical of historical archaeology, also uses spoken records (González-Ruibal 2014; 2016; Zalewska 2016; Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2019a; 2019b; Ławrynowicz 2019a; 2019b). The aim of the archaeological work was to recognise immovable relics of the former Łódź headquarters of the Gestapo and the communist Provincial Office of Public Security (WUBP) in Łódź, and to identify potential places of burial of victims of Nazi and Stalinist crimes at the site. The research involved inventorying the preserved structures, prospecting with geophysical methods, digging test pits, and drilling boreholes. An additional non-invasive surface survey was carried out in neighbouring properties in Anstadt Avenue, which, along with the Gestapo and WUBP headquarters, constituted an organisational complex, mostly on the premises of today's Stanisław Wyspiański Secondary School No. 12 at 7 Anstadt Avenue.

Also in-depth ethnographic interviews were conducted with living witnesses to the events of 1939–1957 and persons whose biographies and experience, including the contemporary one, are connected with the explored site: the former headquarters of the Gestapo and the communist Office of Public Security. The research work was accompanied by educational activities, such as workshops for students of today's school and exhibitions presenting the effects of research activities and popularising knowledge of the German occupation and the Stalinist period in Łódź.

<sup>1</sup> The undertaking was an effect of the agreement signed on October 23, 2018, at the seat of the Lodz Special Economic Zone by President of the Board Marek Michalik and Vice-President of the Board Agnieszka Sygitowicz from ESSE S.A., co-funding the research project in 2019, His Magnificence Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lodz Prof. Dr hab. Antoni Różalski, and President of the Institute of National Remembrance Dr Jarosław Szarek. The event was attended by, among others, Prof. Dr hab. Marian Głosek, Vice-President of the Institute of National Remembrance and Director of the Department of Search and Identification of the Institute of National Remembrance Dr hab. Krzysztof Szwagrzyk, and Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Lodz Prof. Dr hab. Maciej Kokoszko. In 2020–2021, the research was carried out as part of field practice of students of archaeology from the University of Lodz.

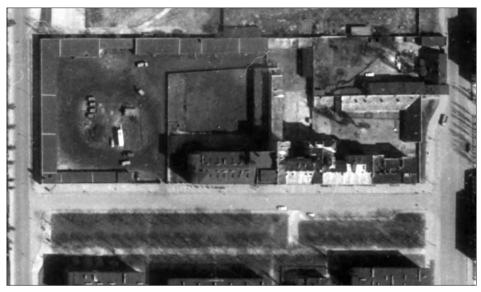


Fig. 1. Anstadt Ave. in 1942, an aerial photograph (source: http://www.wwii-photos-maps.com [20 VII 2022]).



Fig. 2. Anstadt Ave. in 1949, an aerial photograph (source: IPN Archive).

The research work, even though it concerned the whole Karol Anstadt Avenue, focused on the main building of the former Gestapo and WUBP headquarters, which until 1939 belonged to a Jewish school at number 7. Today, most of the property is divided into two addresses: number 7 – Secondary School No. 12, and number 9 – the premises managed by the Provincial Police Headquarters in Łódź.



**Fig. 3.** Anstadt Ave. in 1966, an aerial photograph. Source: PZGIK, ZDJ\_1966\_B/W\_16\_7454\_537369 (license number: DFT.7211.4648.2022\_PL\_CL2).



**Fig. 4**. Anstadt Ave before the excavations in 2019, an aerial photograph (source: CNES, Airbus Maxar Technologies, Google Maps).

Changes in the organisational and construction structure of the plot can be seen in archival and contemporary aerial photographs (Fig. 1–4).

The research activities carried out provided impetus for multifaceted exploration of history, cultural reality, social atmosphere, and local memory connected not only with the history and transformations of Anstadt Avenue, but also with the history and identity of Łódź and its inhabitants.

## The Historical background

The symbol of the crimes and terror of the Second World War is not only the Gestapo, but also the NKVD (Russian: *Народный комиссариат внутренних дел*). Both these organisations murdered millions of people in pursuit of the vision of a totalitarian state.

The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg declared the Gestapo to be a criminal organisation, but no one tried or revealed the acts of genocide committed by the NKVD. The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition allowed Joseph Stalin to enslave Central and East European countries, imposing on them the political, economic, and social system characteristic of the Moscow tyranny. Bolshevik and Soviet crimes were to be forgotten, however, we now learn more and more about the all-powerful Soviet apparatus of terror and its victims (McDonouch 2015: 193–216).

In post-war Poland, the role of such an institution was played by, among others, Ministry of Public Security (Polish: *Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego*) (MBP), established in accordance with Soviet models and operating in an unchanged form until 1954.

Let us take a look at two criminal totalitarianisms – Hitlerism and Stalinism – from the perspective of occupied Poland. The aim of the invaders was total control of the society. They escalated violence and were even ready to exterminate the conquered nation. Public executions, assassinations, torture, blackmail, and denunciation were to overpower enemies of the system and nip any resistance in the bud. Collective responsibility was used, liquidating leaders and murdering whole communities, with victims being chosen based on their race or class.

However, there were significant differences in the functioning of both these occupation systems, and even the German administration and legislation were not uniform. This mostly concerned the territories incorporated into the Third Reich, such as the Wartheland (German: *Reichsgau Wartheland*), which operated differently than the General Government (German: *Generalgouvernement*) (Hempel 1987; 1990). In the Wartheland, which also included Łódź, the police forces were only based on Germans and *Volksdeutsche*, with unarmed Jewish police only allowed to operate in isolated ghettos (Cygański 1965: 101–166).

The coercive apparatus in the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic was also organised differently. Starting in 1941, Nazis created there, among others, the Reich Commissariat Eastland (German: Reichskommissariat Ostland), General District White Ruthenia (German: Generalbezirk Weißruthenien), and the Reich Commissariat for the Ukraine (German: Reichskommissariat Ukraine). In these areas, however, the Wehrmacht played a greater role than the German police forces. The Gestapo was unable to perform the military tasks as it included lightly armoured forces of limited mobility, while the number of its officers never exceeded 40,000 in the whole occupied Europe and prewar Germany within its boundaries up to 1937. Naturally, these were not the only police forces in the Third Reich as terror was also spread by Sipo – Sicherheitspolizei (English: Security Police), which – apart from the Gestapo – included *Kripo – Kriminalpolizei* (English: Criminal Police) and SD - Sicherheitsdienst (English: Security Service). In the autumn of 1939, the above forces were combined to form the RSHA – Reichssicherheitshauptamt (English: Reich Security Main Office), which was one of the most important offices of the ss (German: Schutzstaffel) and a department of the Third Reich's Interior Ministry (Bratko 1990: 33–55; Witkowski 2005: 13–46, 72–116; Butler 2006: 99–133).

The outbreak of the world conflict unified the activities of the RSHA and allowed to send *Einsatzgruppen* to the territory of attacked Poland. Initially, executions were carried out along the front, but when the hostilities ceased, Polish leaders, members of parliament, senators, officials, Silesian and Greater Poland insurgents, former plebiscite activists, journalists, teachers, industrialists, and priests were mostly murdered in forests. The executions continued until mid-1940, with Nazi police units being supported by local Germans organised into a paramilitary group called *Selbstschutz* (English: Self-Protection). To many Gestapo officers, it was an important experience as they learnt how to organise mass arrests and execute a few dozen people at once (Wróbel 2021: 205–217).

In Łódź (renamed Litzmannstadt in 1940), many Poles and Jews were arrested before the Independence Day in 1939. More than a thousand people were apprehended by German occupiers at the time, and only a half of them survived. A few hundred prisoners were sent to the prison in Rawicz, from which they were transported to concentration camps (Ossowski 2011).

There were never many Gestapo officers. Comparing their number with the data on employed security agents, we can assess the efficiency of the Nazi machinery of terror. Until 1953, the public security apparatus in Poland employed approximately 30,000 people and boasted more than 80,000 agents. However, it controlled an area much smaller than the Gestapo, which was the post-war territory of Poland. The activity of MBP was also supported by tens of thousands of officers from other services, with the most important ones being the Citizens' Militia (MO) and the Internal Security Corps (KBW). Until the spring of 1947, also three collective NKVD

divisions took part in operations in the territory of Poland. Their main opponent was the anti-communist independence underground movement. This resistance movement was weaker than the armed structures of the Polish Underground State, however, it was very diverse. Most units were partisan affiliated units, but unaffiliated groups were not rare. In the 1950s, they dominated in the so-called second underground movement, even though many of the partisans belonged to such groups as the Resistance Movement Without War and Diversion Freedom and Independence Association (WiN), Home Army Resistance Movement (ROAK), and the Underground Polish Army (KWP). This fragmentation of the underground movement allowed communists to gradually liquidate the armed, intelligence, and supply structures of individual pro-independence organisations, infiltrating them or even creating fake units (Szwagrzyk 2009: 205–208).

Other factors disorganising the post-war resistance in the territory of Poland, apart from the activity of different Soviet intelligence and military services, were the three amnesties announced and implemented by the Communist authorities in 1945, 1947, and 1952. They effectively "drew the partisans out of the forests", beguiling them with the possibility of returning to their families, schools, and work. After a few years, out of approx. 20,000 armed underground activists of the anti-communist resistance movement, only about 200 people remained within the armed structures. They were persistently tracked down and killed in combat or assassinated. A few were brought before District Military Tribunals (WSR) and put on propaganda trials, exposing their "criminal past" or accusing them of "collaboration with German occupiers" (Oddziały... 2020).

This is why when describing a place such as the building at 7 Anstadt Avenue, we try to understand the functioning of both totalitarian systems that did not refrain from any misdeed or provocation in their fight against the Polish resistance movement. Their victims are still waiting to be found and properly buried. Therefore this paper gives voice to witnesses to the crimes and quotes accounts and testimonies collected by the Łódź Division of the Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland and Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation of the Institute of National Remembrance in Łódź.

In Łódź, the disproportion between the services described was even greater. From 1940, the Gestapo employed approximately 150 officers. In 1942, their number increased to approximately 200, while two years later there were approximately 270 of them. In field outposts of the Łódź District, there were a hundred more employees as the Łódź Gestapo was in charge of branch offices in Kalisz, Łęczyca, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Sieradz, Inowrocław (from 1943), and Wieluń (a border post) (Bojanowski 1992: 101–103).

Łódź had the least developed structures formed by the communist regime. Apart from the headquarters, meaning the Provincial Office of Public Security

(WUBP) in Anstadt Avenue, the city had the District Office of Public Security (PUBP), and the Municipal Office of Public Security (MUBP). In 1952, these three institutions had approximately 700 employees. Another 500 functionaries worked in such towns as Sieradz, Piotrków Trybunalski, Kutno, Brzeziny, and Tomaszów Mazowiecki (Żelazko 2007: 19–39).

Most of the functionaries mentioned (of both German and Polish regime) worked in the building at 7 Anstadt Avenue. Their social and family life was also connected with this building or its immediate vicinity as it was an isolated security zone. From Północna Street, there were also garages and storehouses used in an unchanged form not only by the communist services but also the Office of State Protection (UOP).

## The Architecture of the Jewish School building

The building at 7 Anstadt Avenue in Łódź was built in the second half of the 1930s on the initiative of the Association of Jewish Secondary Schools that had operated in the city since 1912. The original design provided for the construction of a stately school complex including a few, most probably five-storey, buildings and low link buildings (*Gmachy szkolne...* 1938) (Fig. 5). The complex was designed as a seat for two gymnasiums for boys and a gymnasium for girls. According to plans, approximately a thousand students were to learn there. The modern and stately architectural complex, apart from classrooms, included laboratories, specialist workshops, lecture theatres, and a theatre hall (*Poświęcenie kamienia wegielnego...* 1935: 8).

The foundation stone was ceremoniously blessed on December 15, 1935. The importance of this event, and so the importance of the construction project, was proved by the fact that it was attended not only by the city authorities, parents, and students, but also representatives of state authorities. Significantly, the design of the edifice was also presented in a series illustrating the most important designs of Jewish buildings in Poland during the interwar period published by the Jewish Religious Community in Warsaw (*Gmachy szkolne...* 1938).

The blessing of the foundation stone was accompanied by a press conference organised by the Association of Jewish Schools, during which the plan for the construction of the school complex, created by engineer Jerzy Minc and Stanisław Łęczycki, was presented and discussed in a wider context of needs and challenges faced by modern education. Zygmunt Ellenberg, who was very active in the Jewish educational circles and, from 1934, was headmaster of the Gymnasium for Boys No. 2 of the Association of Jewish Secondary Schools and author of publications concerning the beginnings of general Jewish education in Łódź (Ellenberg 1930), drew attention to the fact that, for health-related reasons, the location of the



**Fig. 5.** A construction plan of school buildings of the Association of Jewish Schools in Łódź in Anstadt Ave. (source: *Gmachy szkolne...* 1938).

complex next to the Helenów Park was very good (*Poświęcenie kamienia węgielnego...* 1935: 8). Modernist architectural solutions were deemed proper for a modern educational institution. An important aspect was a belief in the link between innovative formal and structural solutions and much wider problems mostly concerning social and economic issues. Thus, these were not just formal experiments, but activities arising from the conviction about the effect of architecture on the shaping of societies and the necessity to build a new better world.

The outbreak of the Second World War made it impossible to complete the project and erect an extensive school complex, however, the building created remains a significant example of Łódź modernism of the interwar period. The architecture of Łódź, even though it is mostly associated with nineteenth-century villas, palaces, tenement houses, and characteristic factories of red brick, also offers many interesting buildings from the 1920s and the 1930s (Olenderek 2011; 2013; Stefański, Ciarkowski 2018). At that time, many public utility buildings were erected, including offices, banks, hospitals, and cultural facilities. After Poland had regained independence in 1918, despite the difficult economic situation, Łódź undertook activities with the aim to overcome the acute shortage of school buildings, the construction of which had been largely neglected by the occupation Russian authorities before 1914 (Kędzia 2010).

The Łódź architecture of the interwar period includes references to both historical motifs and modern, clear and simple, forms of modernism. The school at 7 Anstadt Avenue is an excellent example of innovative, avant-garde architectural

solutions. One can clearly see the attempt at simplicity and a complete departure from historical architectural elements and ornamentation. The plain façade has no decorative dressings around windows, columns, attached piers, or ornamental festoons etc. The use of simplified geometricised forms was a result of, among others, the willingness to emphasise the functional value of the architectural object.

Some variety was added to the simple shape of the school in Anstadt Avenue by the asymmetrical entrance hall (pseudo-projecting bay) in the northern section of the building. It is distinguished not only by its height but also a different layout of simple tall windows. The main entrance to the building is emphasised by a recessed porch. Importantly, there is no classical colonnade, which was substituted with simplified and fully modern forms.

The remaining part of the façade is seven-axis, and its composition is based on a regular arrangement of horizontal and vertical elements. Horizontal stripes are strongly emphasised by large oblong windows with simple sill courses and window headers. The geometrical division of the glass panel turns into a fully modern decorative element. The repetitive rhythm of windows makes the composition of the façade consistent and clear. High quality of the building and the attention to detail are proved by, among others, the ceramic wall cladding on the western and northern elevations. The plinth is covered with brick tiles, which were originally brown.



Fig. 6. Stanisław Wyspiański Secondary School No. 12 in Łódź; as seen from the south-west; the autumn of 2018 (photograph by O. Ławrynowicz).

During the war and the post-war period, the modern school building, intended as a place of education and development of young people, witnessed many dramatic events and personal tragedies. Only in 1957, it once again became a school and was made available to the youth. In 1957–1979, the building housed Primary School No. 98 in Łódź, and since 1979 it has been the seat of Secondary School No. 12. While the functional changes of the building, including mostly the activity of the organisations using them, left a painful mark on the history of the Łódź community, they involved no radical architectural interference in the existing structure of the building.

The alteration and upgrade did not blur the architectural and aesthetic qualities of the building of the school at 7 Anstadt Avenue, which still remains an important element of the interwar architectural landscape of Łódź and an excellent example of modernist architecture based on simplified, carefully thought-out forms (Fig. 6).

## The Gestapo headquarters

On September 10, 1939, the school was taken by members of the second unit of the Special Task Force 111 of the Security Police (German: *Einsatzgruppe 111 Sicherheitspolizei*) headed by Fritz Liphardt (Pietrzykowski 1971: 15–16, 60–61; Rossino 2003: 242–243). The unit's task was to find, arrest, and liquidate the Polish intelligentsia. On November 7, its responsibilities were taken over by the Gestapo. The protection of the building was reinforced and a closed zone was established, separating – probably in 1941 – the entryway from two sides. The headquarters was located in the main building at number  $7^2$ . Apart from offices, the basement housed a remand prison, although during the first months of operation, the arrested were brought down to a boiler room full of coal.

At the time, prisoners were rarely put in the nearby prison at 16 Sterling Street. Starting in December 1939, the prison mentioned was the main place of detention for men arrested by the Gestapo. Arrested women were sent to the prison at 13 Gdańska Street, where they were also interrogated (Straszawska 1973: 212, 475; Polubiec 1976: 345; Bojanowski 1992: 143–148).

The successes of the Gestapo in Łódź can be attributed not only to the organisational advantage, but mostly the activity of the local spy network. Its size required constant reorganisation, so in the summer of 1944 the so-called "N" Division (German: *Nachrichtendienst* / English: Intelligence Service) (AIPN Ld,

<sup>2</sup> In 1940, Anstadta Street was renamed Gardestrasse. When the German occupation ended, its original name was restored, but then in 1948, it was renamed 19 Stycznia Street to commemorate the day of the so-called liberation of the city by the Red Army. In 1994, the communist name of the street was substituted with the prewar name, commemorating one of the Łódź industrialists.

1/8433: 1–29) was created. Agents even had a separate entrance to the building in Anstadt Avenue at number 3. It was used by many people as Łódź had approximately 700 informers registered by the local Gestapo. Most of them were Łódź *Volksdeutsche*, Germans displaced from the territory of the Soviet Union, and even Poles or Ukrainians and Belarusians (AIPN Ld, Pf 9/5: 1–24).

The first head of the Łódź Gestapo was Gerhard Flesch, followed by Robert Schefe and Otto Bradfisch, who was also the *Oberbürgermeister* of the city (Cygański 1974: 13–14; Abramowicz 1984: 3–7; Ossowski, Spodenkiewicz 2012: 123; Trębacz 2018: 64–65). It can be assumed that the organised extermination activity started in the autumn of 1939, when the *Intelligenzaktion* operation was launched. The arrested were brought before a summary police court consisting of Gestapo officers. Those sentenced to death were taken straight from the remand prison in Anstadt Avenue to forests near Łódź and shot (Cygański 1974: 21; AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, Ds. 55/67, vol. x: 692; *Nekropolia...* 2010; Nowakowski 2015; Ławrynowicz 2015; 2018; Ławrynowicz et al. 2017; Duda et al. 2016; 2017).

Józef Magrowicz, apprehended on the night of November 9, 1939, in Pabianice, remembered the moment he was arrested and the course of the trial. He recalled that he had been led from the basement to the first floor, to a room in which a few uniformed Gestapo officers were sitting behind a table covered with green cloth. The defendants were forced to kneel, they were beaten and pushed, and all accusations and the sentence were delivered in German (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S. 37.2019 Zn, vol. XV: 2869–2877; Ławrynowicz 2015: 68).

There is no confirmed data that would prove the executions were carried out in the building or in the courtyard in Anstadt Avenue. A few of the prisoners died, beaten and tortured during investigations or shot. Investigations were carried out in rooms on the first floor. Stanisław Smolarek, arrested in March 1940, mentioned that while being in the prison in Sterlinga Street, he was taken a few times to the nearby Gestapo headquarters, where he was beaten until he lost consciousness. According to his account, in May 1940, Antoni Hinczewski was battered and brought to the prison cell on a blanket. He was so cruelly beaten that he was unable to move and died after about two hours. The beaten man was taken care of by another prisoner – Aleksander Falzmann, a pastor from Zgierz (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZDNP IPN in Łódź, S. 18/75, vol. I: 81–82).

In his testimony, Zbigniew Tymowski, arrested in November 1940, mentioned a Gestapo officer Hans von Almach, who used a rubber cable coiled around a metal rod. The witness had matches pushed under his fingernails, which were then lit. He was kicked and hit with the butt of a gun on the head and face. He was chained to a chair and beaten on his bare back, particularly on the kidneys. Whenever the victim fainted, the beating stopped and he was poured with water (AIPN £d, Files of OKŚZDNP IPN in Łódź, S. 18/75, vol. IV: 710–703). The torturers would sometimes

order prisoners to choose a whip from a cabinet, or used a coil of wire, boxing gloves, or a thong. A frequent introduction to sophisticated torture was beating on the heels, which was mentioned by Józef Markowski, tortured in August 1943 (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S. 18/75, vol. X: 1868–1872).

Halina Szwarc née Kłąb, an outstanding intelligence agent, was also tortured. She was apprehended on May 26, 1944, and beaten with a plank at the headquarters of the Łódź Gestapo. When her arms and legs were chained, she had a stick placed under her knees to kick and beat her with a tether, mostly aiming at her heels. The arrested woman survived a few days of torture without revealing any names (Szwarc 2008: 115).

The living conditions in Gestapo cells at 7 Anstadt Avenue were described by Adam Cechnowski, who drew attention to their small size and overcrowding. According to him, as many as forty men were kept in one room. They were never given any clean clothes. The meals were tasteless and of small calorific value, but fresh. Prisoners were not allowed to see the doctor, even though fractures and dislocations required immediate setting (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S. 37.2019 Zn, vol. VI: 1251).

On June 13, 1944, another Home Army soldier was killed during an investigation – Jan Lipsz vel Jan Libsch, alias Anatol, who took part in Operation N. The arrested men was taken for questioning, and when he tried to attack one of the informers, he was shot in the interrogation room (Ossowski 2004).

## The Headquarters of the Communist Office of Public Security

A day after Łódź was seized by the Red Army, i.e. on January 20, 1945, Colonel Mieczysław Moczar arrived in the city along with ninety-four functionaries of the Office of Public Security (Rabiega 2019: 18–19). The Gestapo building was taken over by the WUBP functionaries. In the basement, just like under the German occupation, there was a remand prison, where opponents of the communist regime were tortured, and perhaps even murdered. Flats in buildings adjacent to the WUBP headquarters were occupied by the functionaries of the security apparatus. The street had barriers with sentry boxes on both ends. At the back, there were a petrol station, garages, and storage sheds. Upon entering the building at 7 Anstadt Avenue, one handed over documents through a small window in the wall and, after they had been verified, the person could go through the guardroom. From this level, a separate entrance led to the cells in the basement. Visitors only had access to the ground floor as the first floor was closed with a barrier and another post. The rooms on higher floors could only be accessed by functionaries of the Office of Public Security. Opposite the edifice, there was a kitchen garden where prisoner functionaries would sometimes work (Rabiega 2019: 15–19).

Interrogations of the Office of Public Security were as brutal and ruthless as the Gestapo ones. Many prisoners recalled Józef Nocuła and Czesław Antczak as two of the cruellest torturers. The types of torture they inflicted were listed by Mieczysław Trzcinka in his testimony. He was arrested in 1948 for his activity in the National Party. According to the witness, the standard investigation practice included blinding the interrogated with a lamp, beating him on the head with fists until he fell down the chair, and beating with shelves taken out of an office cabinet. Nocuła used a nutcracker to crush interrogated Trzcinka's fingernails and toenails to force him to admit to anti-communist activity. Nocuła and Antczak would sometimes cover the arrested with tarpaulin and take turns kicking him, demanding him to say which of them had given him a kick. Another form of Nocuła's torture was tying a prisoner to a bench and hitting him with an extinguisher flat bar until he lost consciousness. Battered Trzcinka regained consciousness in his cell, when his fellow inmates put damp cloths on the cracked skin on his buttocks (AIPN Łd 421/157, vol. II: 97–100).

There are many more examples of the bestiality of the above-mentioned functionaries, with some victims hurt with tools similar to Gestapo truncheons and whips. According to an account provided by Zbigniew Witecki, a soldier of National Armed Forces (NSZ) arrested in July 1947, the interrogators beat him on the heels, hit his head on the wall, and kicked him all over the body, including his abdomen and head. They also burnt his skin with cigarettes and faked preparations for an execution. The investigators convinced him that his parents had been arrested and that his father was to be tried and executed for his activity in the structures of the Government Delegation for Poland (AIPN £d 421/157, vol. II: 145–147).

The testimonies of witnesses also include information about closing them or other prisoners in a wet seclusion cell, which was a square concrete room, one metre wide, with up to thirty centimetres of water full of faeces. Without windows, the prisoner had to squat in the dark with his back against a cold rough wall for a day or even several days.

The cells were damp, and during the winter their walls frosted up. There were more than ten cells in the building, they had different dimensions, and they were always overcrowded. They were located on the ground floor and whenever a prisoner was interrogated, he was led to the first floor. We know that one of the cells was given number 13 and had seven square metres. More than ten men were imprisoned there, including Alfred Zięba, a soldier of the Underground Polish Army, apprehended in 1946 in Częstochowa. According to the account he provided, the crush was so great that some of the prisoners had to stand so that those most beaten could lie on the concrete floor. Wounds were dressed with rags soaked in urine to bring down the fever. The only window under the ceiling was tightly boarded up, and there was a constantly lit bulb in the cell. It was difficult to fall asleep in its strong

light, among the moaning of the wounded. There were eight to ten prisoners in the cell, who had to quench their thirst with one mess tin of water they received a day. Prisoners were also given a slice of black bread, a cup of black coffee, and a plate of soup (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S. 105/09/Zk, vol. I: 22–24). The neighbouring cell had number 12 and this was where Stanisław Przybylski was imprisoned in 1948. It was larger than the previous one by two square metres, but it had to accommodate four more prisoners. Its window had metal bars covered with metal sheet on the outside, however, there was a slit through which one could see a fragment of the sky. There were six wooden bunk beds standing at two walls and a toilet (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S.57/02/Zk, vol. I: 3–6). Ewa Wolszakiewicz, apprehended in February 1952, was put in a single cell measuring four square metres. It had no bunk bed but an iron bed brought every night along with a straw mattress and a blanket. The room was poorly lit, cold, and damp, but it was sewered (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S. 14/02/Zk, vol. I: 33–36).

From 1948 onwards, some of the arrested were kept in the newly-built annex from Pomorska Street (running at right angles to Anstadt Avenue and closing it from the south). It was a single-storey building with baths and five or six cells. In the prison jargon, they were called "managerial" as they had wooden floors and each of the prisoners would receive a straw mattress (AIPN Łd 421/157, vol. II: 97–100).

The only known case of an execution carried out at the WUBP headquarters at 7 Anstadt Avenue was the shooting of Czesław Stachura. The murdered WUBP functionary worked with the Freedom and Independence Association (WiN). From May to November 1946, he provided this organisation with lists of the arrested, files of investigations carried out against the apprehended members of the independence underground movement, secret instructions, operational information, file data, and lists of approximately 300 secret collaborators along with opinions about them. The punishment for betraying the communist authorities had to be severe. On December 16, 1946, by order of Colonel Moczar (the first head/manager of WUBP in Łódź)<sup>3</sup>, a summary trial was held. It was a show trial attended by functionaries from all District Offices of Public Security in the Łódź Province. The defendant was sentenced to death and on January 14, 1947, at 6:20 a.m., he was killed in the basement of the WUBP building in Łódź. Jan Łopianiak, who stayed with him in the death cell, remembered the moment he was led away (Lenczewski 1992: 99–10; Żelazko 2021: 63–68; AIPN Łd, 200/57: 120–121; AIPN Łd, 200/57: 127; AIPN Łd, 200/57: 154).

<sup>3</sup> Moczar's successor was Zdzisław Mróz (1948–1950), and then this function was held by: Teodor Duda (1950–1951), Czesław Borecki (1951–1954), Stanisław Żydzik (1954), and Teodor Mikuś (1954–1957).

There is no doubt that more people died at the WUBP headquarters, tortured to death during investigations by agents of the Office of Public Security. For example, circumstances of the death of Mieczysław Gaspenas still remain unknown. On September 24, 1945, after two days of investigation, he committed suicide, jumping out of a window on the fourth floor with functionaries present. As a "blue policeman", he was to collaborate with German occupiers in Radomsko. However, while there are accounts confirming his cooperation with the Polish independence underground movement, there are no investigation materials or an interrogation report (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZDNP IPN in Łódź, S.66/07/Zk: 23–26).

Torture and beating were the most probable causes of death of Feliks Andrzejewski, alias Księżak, on March 31, 1946. During the war, he was a member of the Home Army and head of a Kedyw group in Łowicz. Then, he took part in the formation of win structures. Arrested in January 1946, he died before the trial. Upon the court's request, his wife Kazimiera was allowed to collect his body. According to the medical report, he died of left lung cancer, however, there were cuts and effusions on his body, which were not livid blotches. His fellow inmate Kazimierz Szymański testified that Andrzejewski had been beaten and poured over with cold water. He was so weak due to the disease that he did not leave the bunk, and one day he was just carried out (AIPN Łd, Files of OKŚZPNP IPN in Łódź, S.62/07/Zk, vol. II: 293–299).

On June 27, 1946, Captain Stanisław Sojczyński, alias Warszyc, was imprisoned in the building at 7 Anstadt Avenue and then brutally tortured. The organiser and commander of KWP was arrested in Częstochowa. The typescript created based on information taken out from WUBP by Czesław Stachura reads as follows: Warszyc is unable to put on his shoes as his legs are so swollen due to beating with clubs and kidney damage, which causes the swelling of the lower part of his body. His legs are wrapped in rags soaked in blood and pus from the wounds (AIPN Łd, pf 12/2271: 103). On February 19, 1947, he and his subordinates were taken away to be executed, most probably at the military training ground in Brus in Łódź.

## Ethnographic research

The undertaken ethnographic research made use of memory and recollections. We conducted in-depth ethnographic interviews with living witnesses to the events of 1939–1957 and persons whose biographies and experience, including the contemporary one, are connected with the explored site: the former headquarters of the Gestapo and the communist Office of Public Security. The collected accounts concerned what was recorded in the individual experience and in the family memory; they allowed to reconstruct the history of the place in aspects that are sometimes lost in historical studies, in biographical, personal, and emotional contexts.

The research used in-depth (intensive) ethnographic interviews with open questions requiring answers in the form of detailed and exhaustive descriptions, particularly stories. The interview guidelines were structured by respondent categories, so they concerned their direct experience and memory connected with the operation of the Gestapo and the Provincial Office of Public Security, or post-memory and borrowed memory (memory and knowledge not based on one's own personal experience but handed down by previous generations or shared with one's own generation) (Hirsch 1997).

During the research, we were thus interested in communicative memory, meaning the one owned by witnesses to the age, who experienced the events of the Second World War and post-war years, and cultural memory belonging to those who do not have any direct biographical experience. This is how Jan Assmann sees the difference between communicative and cultural memory:

Communicative memory covers recollections concerning the most recent past. People share it with their contemporaries. Its typical variant is generational memory. A social group gains it in a historical process; this memory is created over time and passes with it, or more precisely – with members of the group, who are memory carriers. When those who embody it die, it is replaced with new memory [...] What is still living memory today, tomorrow will only be a media record [...]. Unlike communicative memory, cultural memory is based on an institutionalised mnemonic device (Assmann 2008: 66–67).

Communicative memory is biographical, it grows (and disappears) in a natural way, it is not something that gets "created", it is the actual, subjective history, but with a quality allowing it to function as a socially significant way of remembering. On the other hand, cultural memory is oriented toward fixed points in the past, and even though, similarly to communicative memory, it cannot store the past as such, it frequently transforms it into symbolic figures worth remembering (Burszta 2016: 16).

The conducted ethnographic research assumed that such a strategy is a way of reaching not only individual knowledge and memory, but also supra-individual, community resources constituting the history of a place. We attempted to reconstruct the history of the place studied considering its different aspects and emphasising its multi-dimensionality, turning points, transitional points (the Second World War and post-war years), and periods of seemingly uninteresting everyday life (the time of the operation of the school). In material terms and in terms of attributed meanings, it is a palimpsest-place, defined multiple times, reinterpreted due to new functions and new users, multi-layered, and consisting of numerous overlapping and merging cultural layers. In the palimpsest-place, the past shows

through, it is partially concealed, blurred, fragmentarily visible, and sometimes evoked (Bagłajewski 1999; Karpińska 2004).

The respondents were selected based on the following categories: remembering, post-remembering, neighbours, students, and citizens of Łódź. The ethnographic interviews were conducted in the spring and summer of 2019 in the former headguarters of the Gestapo and the WUBP in Łódź (today's Secondary School No. 12), in the respondents' flats, and in the public space of Anstadt Avenue. The search for the respondents used two criteria: availability and attributed or assumed (for example, thanks to recommendations) knowledge, memory, capability, and willingness to talk about issues connected with the subject of the project. Such a selection does not ensure statistical representativeness. The age of the respondents was not decisive. Both young and old people were interviewed. Twenty-two ethnographic interviews were conducted. Many of them were accompanied by so-called site visits (ethnographic interviews were held in places mentioned in questions and answers). The researchers were interested in stories that were heard, borrowed, drawn from the family, local, or collective memory, and respondents' own stories taken from their lives. Whenever possible, research meetings involved objects (photographs, documents etc.) connected with the described places, people, and events. Conversations also focused on and concerned them (Fig. 7)4.

All transcripts of the interviews were coded and catalogued by subject. For this purpose, a set of codes – phrases used to attribute features to data – was created<sup>5</sup>. The list included categories referring to the history of the place and its surroundings; biographical (communicative) and cultural memory concerning the place studied; the topography of individual objects and rooms; spatial, functional, and semantic changes to architectural objects; traces of the past visible in the material fabric of the place; people and events connected with the time of the operation of the Gestapo and the Office of Public Security; and forms of remembering and commemorating.

Important analytical tracks suggested by the ethnographic material gathered are forms of commemoration of people and events connected with the operation of the Gestapo and the Provincial Office of Public Security in Anstadt Avenue.

<sup>4</sup> All interviews were recorded and then transcribed. Items were copied or borrowed for scanning and accepted only with the owner's consent. Materials including the interviewee's consent to their use, reproduction of physical likeness, and personal data processing can be found in the Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska Ethnographic Archive in the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Lodz.

<sup>5</sup> The description and analysis of the ethnographic material collected, with extensive quotations from the ethnographic interviews (prompted sources), will be presented in a separate paper.



Fig. 7. An ethnographic interview with Henryk Obiedziński, imprisoned in the WUBP headquarters in Łódź in the 1950s, conducted in one of the classrooms of Secondary School No. 12 in Łódź by Dr Aleksandra Krupa-Ławrynowicz and Mgr Paulina Cichoń; the summer of 2019 (photograph by S. Latocha).

"Commemoration", in its basic meaning based on the definition, is a "cultural form of representing past events or people so that they are honoured by a specific social group for which it is a way of confirming its identity" (Napiórkowski 2014: 509).

As Assmann wrote, identity of the recollecting group gets established through references to the past. By recollecting their history and evoking figures of memory, social groups get reassured about their identity. It is not common. There is something festive and extraordinary about collective identities. They are created "for growth" and go beyond the horizon of an ordinary day, being a subject of ceremonial and extraordinary communication (Assmann 2008: 68).

Commemorations have either a material form, effects of which are commemorative plaques, monuments, lists of the names of the fallen etc., or are cyclical, so to speak, rhetorical gestures and ceremonials in the form of anniversary celebrations, speeches, the reading of memorials, and organisation of public meetings (most frequently connected with "places of remembrance" or material signs of "the traces of memory").

On the building of today's secondary school there are two commemorative plaques. The first one has an inscription that reads: *During the Second World War*,

this building housed the Gestapo headquarters, a place of martyrdom and torture of Poles. Underneath, there is another plaque reading: From 1945 to 1956, the building housed the Provincial Office of Public Security – a place of martyrdom and death of many Polish patriots. Lest we forget. Association of Political Prisoners of the Stalinist Period in Łódź.

On July 12, 2007, the City Council of Łódź passed a resolution on the erection of a monument to the Victims of Communism to commemorate countrymen who fell victim to the totalitarian communist system in 1919–1989. The monument by Wojciech Gryniewicz was unveiled on December 12, 2009, opposite the building of the former headquarters of the Provincial Office of Public Security in Łódź, as the first Polish monument devoted to victims of communist repression. Celebrations and manifestations commemorating these victims are organised in front of it on, for example, anniversaries of the Soviet invasion on Poland, the National Cursed Soldiers Remembrance Day, and anniversaries of imposing the Martial Law in Poland.

Students of Secondary School No. 12 take part in these celebrations. On November 11, they organise Patriotic Vigils at the monument. On March 1, the Cursed Soldiers Day, they put on text and music performances to which they invite veterans, representatives of the city authorities, and researchers from the Institute of National Remembrances. In the school memorial room, there is a plaque commemorating soldiers of the second underground movement, who fought against the Soviet occupiers and the authorities of communist Poland.

## Archaeological research

The aim of the archaeological research conducted was to recognise immovable relics of the former Łódź headquarters of the Gestapo and the Provincial Office of Public Security, and to identify potential objects and artefacts (movable artefacts) connected with the operation of both institutions at the site<sup>6</sup>.

The probing research area was divided into three zones (Fig. 8):

- Lawns, not requiring the removal of the hard surface, located in the south-western and central parts of the car park at 9 Anstadt Avenue, explored manually in

<sup>6</sup> Probing archaeological research was carried out on the premises managed by Secondary School No. 12 in Łódź (7 Anstadt Avenue, plot no. S2-14/1) and the Provincial Police Headquarters in Łódź (today's 9 Anstadt Avenue, plots no. S2-13/3 and S2-13/5) under the supervision of Dr Olgierd Ławrynowicz, with the participation of Professor James Symonds (Amsterdam Centre for Ancient Studies and Archaeology, University of Amsterdam), Mgr Wiktor Duda (Łódź), Mgr Krzysztof Wiliński (Museum of the City of Zgierz), and with substantive support of Dr Tomasz Borkowski (the Department of Search and Identification of the Institute of National Remembrance) on June 24 – July 25, 2019, October 5–16, 2020, and June 14–28, 2021.

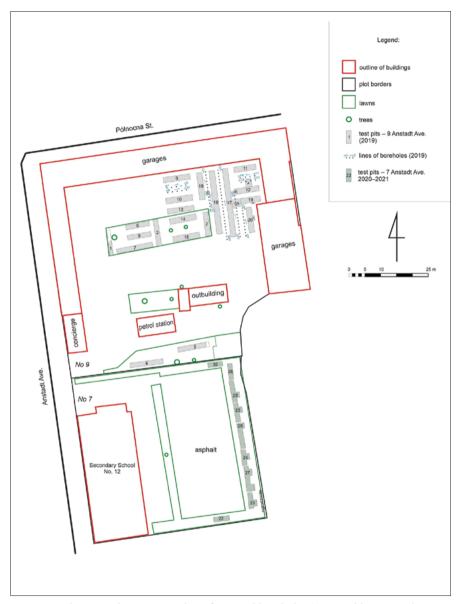


Fig. 8. 7 and 9 Anstadt Av. A site plan of pits and boreholes (prepared by W. Duda, J. Błaszczyk).

2019 through test pits measuring  $I-I.8 \text{ m} \times 7.5-II \text{ m}$  to identify the character and the stratigraphy of the site (pits no. I-7) and to supplement data concerning the already uncovered objects (pits no. I4-I5);

- The area identified based on georadar surveys<sup>7</sup>, covered with concrete slabs, concrete screed, and asphalt, located in the north-eastern corner of the car park at 9 Anstadt Avenue, explored using an excavator and manually in 2019 through test pits measuring 1–1.8 m x 1–21.6 m (pits no. 8–13, 16–21 with annexes). The spaces between the test pits were explored using a stirrup drill bit (78 boreholes);
- Lawns, not requiring the removal of the hard surface, located on the eastern edge of the school yard at 7 Anstadt Avenue, explored manually in 2020–2021 through test pits measuring 1.5 m x 3–5 m (pits no. 22–30).

As a result of the excavations conducted, thirty-two utility objects were discovered along with 3,171 artefacts and 1,087 fragments of animal bones.

In the probing pits on the lawns at 9 Anstadt Avenue, an even layer of black slag was also discovered. Below it, a heterogeneous layer of brick rubble was uncovered (Fig. 9–10). On the area covered with concrete and asphalt, no such layers were found in any of the probing pits (pits 9–21). Therefore it can be assumed that they were levelled during the pavement renewal in the 1970s–1980s. On the whole explored area of the plot at 9 Anstadt Avenue, except for the lawn in the southern part of the car park, elements of a hydraulic system were discovered: filter drains filled with slag as well as large and small stones. In the probing pits located on the eastern edge of the area explored (pits 11–12, 19–20), remains of cuts were found, on the bottom of which there were evenly arranged bricks that reinforced the waterlogged clay base. Perhaps these were the remains of the base of fence columns, similar to the one discovered on school premises (see below).

In the western section of pit 8, a cut with a large number of artefacts was uncovered, the chronology of which can be narrowed down to the first half of the twentieth century. They included many fragments of leather, ceramic, glass, and metal, and animal bones. Pit 12 contained a cut with metal locks and wooden binder covers as well as printed fragments of paper in German, Polish, and Yiddish, which should definitely be linked to the brief period of the operation of the prewar Jewish school (Majorek et al. 2022). In pits 17 and 19, a sifter was discovered – a square wooden frame with metal mesh used to grind down lime when preparing bricklaying mortar.

In the area of today's schoolyard, meaning the former yard east of the building of the Gestapo and WUBP headquarters, eleven utility objects were uncovered: six cuts containing fragments of bricks in their bottom parts (Fig. 11), perhaps being the remains of a fence not identified on maps or aerial photographs to day, one garbage cut, two foundation cuts, a drain with slag, and one cable trench. It is worth noting

<sup>7</sup> The georadar surveys were performed by Mgr Piotr Wroniecki (Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw) on June 17, 2019.



**Fig. 9.** 9 Anstadt Ave. Pit 5, the eastern wall with a visible layer of slag and rubble (photograph by W. Duda).



**Fig. 10.** 9 Anstadt Ave. Pit II at a depth of IIO cm with a visible drain filled with slag (photograph by K. Wiliński).



**Fig. 11.** 7 Anstadt Ave. Pit 25 at a depth of 120 cm with a visible brick base of a no longer existing structure (photograph by P. Wilińska).



**Fig. 12.** 7–9 Anstadt Ave. Artefacts: a-e plastic buttons (pits 1, 4, 12A, 12B); f – textile button (pit 1); g – fragment of a clay pipe with a fingerprint (pit 5); h – coin (two kopecks, date illegible; pit 14) (prepared by A. Ciszek, D. Kacprowicz).

the backfill layer left by the demolished outbuilding in pit 22. Its remains (rubble and fragmentarily preserved foundations) were mixed with numerous ceramic, metal, and glass items. There are no hydraulic elements that prevailed in the area of police car parks. The only exception is the already mentioned drain discovered in pit 23, which was additionally connected to a cable trench.

The stratigraphy of layers within the contemporary properties at 7 Anstadt Avenue is distinctly different from the explored area at 9 Anstadt Avenue. Most of all, the area at today's school is located much higher than the area owned by the police, which is a result of both the original slope towards the Łódka River located to the north and the soil brought to level the base for the asphalt schoolyard. No characteristic even layer of black slag was identified, which was found under the lawns at 9 Anstadt Avenue. The stratigraphy of layers at 7 Anstadt Avenue resembled more the one from pits 4 and 5 located on the lawn at the wall dividing the police area from the school.

In the middle of the 1970s, after further division of police garages east of the schoolyard, a running truck was created in the area explored (pits 23-25, 27-29) between the school and the newly constructed block estate. It is 100 cm wide, made of fine black gravel, with a base of light yellow fine sand, and separated from the lawn with curbs. The new arrangement of the schoolyard also involved two basketball masts, the bases of which can be still seen in the eastern and western ends of the asphalt field.

The cultural stratification in the area explored, not damaged by any interference from before the 1930s–1940s, was only discovered in the schoolyard and on the directly adjacent lawn in the police grounds. It was only a few dozen centimetres deep. It contained no artefacts that could be dated as older than the middle of the nineteenth century, meaning a period during which the area in question was used as part of the north-eastern section of a district of Łódź called Nowe Miasto. Only towards the end of that century, the area explored was incorporated into the urban layout of the city, with the marking out of Anstadt Avenue, which was the main accessway to the private entertainment park Helenów established on the Łódka River by Karol Anstadt, an owner of the nearby brewery (*Plan Miasta Łodzi* ~1895, cf. Stefański 2016: 221; Salm, Dankowska 2019).

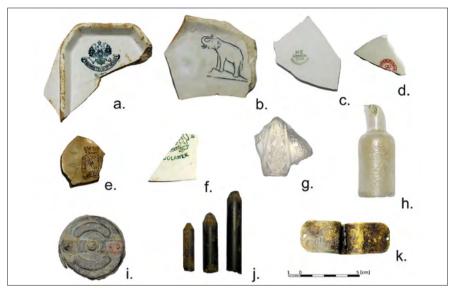
From the whole area explored in 2019–2021, 6,119 discovered artefacts were inventoried, including 2,459 fragments of ceramic dishes, 152 fragments of stove tiles, 1,501 glass fragments, 59 fragments of textiles and leather, 737 metal objects, 68 pieces of wood, and 130 items of other materials. In many cases, due to a large number of discovered artefacts with a chronology dating a few decades back, a decision was made to only inventory representative artefacts. This mostly concerned metal and ceramic construction fragments. Out of the artefacts inventoried, 240 items were selected, which stood out thanks to their form or could be used as timestamps for stratigraphic units (Wilińska 2022).

Nearly all movable artefacts were discovered in backfills of utility objects connected with the construction of the Jewish school in the 1930s and later transformations of the area, including open-area works levelling the original slope in the southern part of the Łódka valley. The greatest interference involved levelling and paving with gravel and gravel mixed with clay the area at 9 Anstadt Avenue, which has been used as a car park, also for lorries, since September 1939. It can be inferred that the layer of brick rubble under the gravel came from the buildings demolished in 1940 by Germans in the block between the Old Market Square and Północna Street (today's Staromiejski Park), so between the Jewish ghetto and the so-called Aryan part of Łódź. Thus, the few items discovered in this layer could have been brought from the outside. Lower layers with thickness up to 50 cm constituted the bottom of the original, most probably prewar, utility layer containing small fragments of bricks and charcoal.

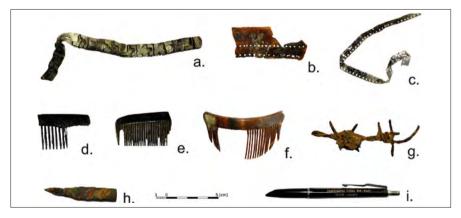
Some of the artefacts discovered can be linked to different stages of the operation of the property in Anstadt Avenue. The oldest artefacts include a Russian coin with a nominal value of two kopecks (date illegible; pit 14; Fig. 12h), a brass of telephone handset nut of the LM Ericsson & Co in St Petersburg (pit 15; Fig. 13i) and fragments of ceramic dishes, e.g. from the factory of the Partnership M.C. Kuznetsov in Moscow (e.g. pits 11, 13; Fig. 13a–b). Apart from a deposit of documents (Majorek et al. 2022), other items that can be linked to the prewar Jewish school most probably include wax crayons (pits 3, 5, 8; Fig. 13j), tiles with the Star of David (pit 24; Fig. 15b), and a rubber tape for printing text of newspapers or leaflets in Yiddish "PROPAGANDE – NUMER, 10 gr. [polish pennies]" (pit 11; Fig. 14a)8.

A younger chronology, most probably connected with the war and early postwar years, concerns seven plastic buttons (pits 1, 4, 12A, 12B, 14; Fig. 12a-e) and one textile button (pit 1; Fig. 14f), fragments of footwear (pits 2, 8, 13, 20, 26, 29; Fig. 15d-e), a fragment of a walking stick (pt 3; Fig. 15c), combs and their fragments (pits 3, 7, 8, 26; Fig. 14d-f), a fragment of a clay pipe with a fingerprint (pit 5; Fig. 12g), fragments of photographic and movie film (pits 6, 12; Fig. 14b-c), an unfired Mauser round (pit 7; illegible mark; Fig. 14h), fragments of barbed wire (pits 15, 19A; Fig. 14g), a rating plate of scales with an inscription "M.d. Pol.Wag. 207" (pit 19A; Fig. 13k), a fragment of an iron sickle (pit 3; Fig. 15f), a porcelain figurine of a woman (pit 11; Fig. 15a), and a fragment of a crystal dish (pit 8; Fig. 13g). What draws attention are fragments of ceramic dishes marked "MZ Altrohlau Czechoslovakia" from 1920–1938 discovered in the layer of gravel (pit 2; Fig. 13d; see also Fig. 13e), "Kolo Freudenreich" from the factory of porcelain, semi-porcelain,

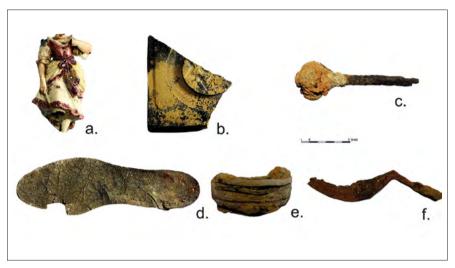
<sup>8</sup> Translation by Dr Irmina Gadowska (Institute of History of Art, University of Lodz) and Dr Anna Szyba (Berlin).



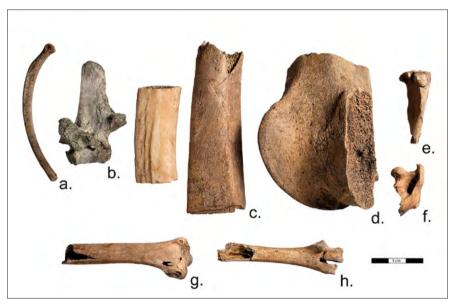
**Fig. 13.** 7–9 Anstadt Ave. Artefacts: a-b – fragments of ceramic dishes (e.g. from the factory of the Partnership M.C. Kuznetsov in Moscow) (pits II, I3); c-d – fragments of ceramic dishes made in Czechoslovakia (pit 2), e-f – fragments of ceramic dishes from the factory of porcelain, semi-porcelain, and faïence of the Freudenreich family in Koło, and "Włocławek" (pit 3); g – fragment of a crystal dish (pit 8); h – medicine bottle with an inscription "LAMPRECHT'S N° 36587" (pit 2); i – brass of telephone handset nut of the LM Ericsson & Co in St Petersburg (pit 15); j – wax crayons (pits 3, 5, 8); k – rating plate of scales with an inscription "M.d. Pol.Wag. 207" (pit 19A) (prepared by A. Ciszek, D. Kacprowicz).



**Fig. 14.** 7–9 Anstadt Ave. Artefacts: a – rubber tape for printing text in Yiddish "propagande – numer, 10 gr. [Polish pennies]" (pit 11); b-c – fragments of photographic and movie film (pits 6); d-f – combs and their fragments (pits 3, 7, 8); g – fragments of barbed wire (pit 15); h – unfired Mauser round (pit 7; illegible mark); i – black Zenit ballpoint pen (pit 8) (prepared by A. Ciszek, D. Kacprowicz).



**Fig. 15.** 7–9 Artefacts: a – porcelain figurine of a woman (pit II); b – tile (bottom side) with the Star of David (pit 24); c – fragment of a walking stick (pit 3); d-e – fragments of footwear (pits 5, 20); f – fragment of an iron sickle (pit 3) (prepared by A. Ciszek, D. Kacprowicz).



**Fig. 16.** 7–9 Anstadt Ave. Animal bone remains: a – pig rib (pit. 15); b – pig lumbar vertebra (pit. 23); c – cattle ribs (pit 15); d – cattle femur (pit 15); e – rabbit tibia (pit. 30); f – rabbit femur (pit. 30); g – goose humerus (pit. 29); h – goose tarsometatarsal bone (pit 29) (prepared by M. Bogacki).

and faïence of the Freudenreich family in Koło, and "Włocławek" (pit 3; Fig. 13e-f), a fragment of a crystal dish (pit 8; Fig. 13g), and medicine bottles, e.g. one with an inscription "LAMPRECHT'S N° 36587" (pit 2; Fig. 13h). The nearly contemporary items include a black Zenit ballpoint pen with an inscription "Spółdzielnia Usług Rol-Tum 99-100 Łęczyca", manufactured from 1971 onwards (pit 8) (Fig. 14i).

The archaeological sources found in the cultural stratification and backfills of objects also included 1,087 animal remains. Initial analysis of a considerable part of the collection obtained indicates these are mostly post-comsumtion remains. This is proved by the species of animals whose bones and teeth were found and the visible marks of butcher's and kitchen processing on carcasses. The majority of the remains came from garbage pits and the levelling layers created during the pavement renewal in the 1970s-1980s, during which the original arrangement of the deposits was damaged. Thus, it is difficult to say which period of use of the area the studied post-consumption waste should be associated with, and consequently, who the consumers of the obtained animal products were. It is known that nearly all bone remains studied to date came from popular farm animals: cattle, pigs, sheep (perhaps also goats), rabbits, hens, and geese (Fig. 16a-h). The remains of the first two species listed were the most numerous, which suggests that beef and pork were the two most popular types of meat eaten. Kashrut forbids eating pork and rabbits, so it can be assumed that at least some of the remains came from meals prepared during the operation of the Gestapo headquarters and/or the communist Office of Public Security. It is worth drawing attention to the anatomical composition of cattle and pig bone remains. Skeleton elements from all parts of the carcass were found, including both those considered more valuable in consumption terms, and those of lower culinary value. This may indicate that the carcass was used to the maximum extent possible, and if we assume that these remains come from the same time, this may prove a different status of persons eating dishes made of specific parts. Undoubtedly, the diet of the representatives of the Secret State Police of the Third Reich or members of the Office of Public Security was much better than that of prisoners. The already mentioned soups served to prisoners did not even have to include meat stock; they could well include only beef suet or vegetable fat, or they could have neither of these ingredients. What draws attention in the group of the processed remains is the presence of rabbit bones. Rabbit breeding became popular under the occupation. Rabbit meat is healthy and contains much protein and vitamins. What is more, rabbits are easy to take care of and they grow quickly, which made them a perfect breeding object even in cities and a perfect diet supplement (Zaprutko-Janicka 2015: 125–129).

Analysis of the chronology of the artefacts obtained in the context of the stratigraphy of the area explored and the preserved documentation, including aerial photographs from 1942, 1949, and 1965, suggests that the identified gravel



**Fig. 17.** 7 Anstadt Avenue, terracotta at the back of the school kitchen, the summer of 2019 (photograph by A. Majewska).

hydrological structure and the gravel layer above it were created in the 1940s, so when the area was used by the Gestapo and the Provincial Office of Public Security. No similar hydraulic structures have been found in Łódź, so the drains and the pavement might be linked to the improvements introduced by German engineers after the area had been taken over by the Gestapo in 1939.

The excavations were accompanied by the archaeological and architectural inventorying of the preserved construction structures on the premises at 7 and 9 Anstadt Avenue. The studies covered the area of courtyards, walls, garages, a petrol

station, basements, classrooms, the attic, structural details etc. (Fig. 17). Also general documentation of objects located along the whole Anstadt Avenue was prepared. We hope that further data will be obtained thanks to another archaeological research which will be carried out during the planned extension of the school in the area of the asphalt schoolyard and the exchange of the car park pavement in the area owned by the police. The effects of future archaeological research along with the results of in-depth analyses of the already gathered data will allow to create an interdisciplinary monograph of the place, which is extremely important to both Łódź and Poland.

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#### Streszczenie

W artykule omówione zostały metody badań oraz najważniejsze wyniki interdyscyplinarnego projektu "Dawna siedziba Gestapo i Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego przy al. Anstadta w Łodzi. Interdyscyplinarne badania miejsca" realizowanego w latach 2019–2022. Zgodnie z wyzwaniami stawianymi subdyscyplinie archeologii – archeologii współczesności, dokonano próby powiązania wyników badań archeologicznych ze stosunkowo dobrze już rozpoznanym kontekstem historycznych przemian strukturalnych i funkcjonalnych badanego miejsca: przede wszystkim

powstania szkoły żydowskiej w al. K. Anstadta pod koniec lat 30. XX w., funkcjonowania tu siedzib Gestapo w czasie II wojny światowej oraz komunistycznego Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego w latach powojennych, podziału terenu na część policyjną i szkolną w 1957 r., trwającego do dzisiaj. Podjęto także badania etnograficzne, które wywoływały źródła odnoszące się do form pamięci i upamiętniania miejsca, wydarzeń, ludzi. Autorzy mają nadzieję, że przy okazji planowanych inwestycji, w niedługim czasie prace archeologiczne zostaną wznowione, co pozwoli na publikację komplementarnej, interdyscyplinarnej monografii badanego miejsca.

Słowa kluczowe: Szkoła Towarzystwa Żydowskich Szkół Średnich w Łodzi, Gestapo w Łodzi, Wojewódzki Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego w Łodzi, aleja Anstadta w Łodzi, archeologia współczesności, badania etnograficzne, historia miejsca, pamięć i upamiętnianie

#### Olgierd Ławrynowicz

University of Lodz Faculty of Philosophy and History Institute of Archaeology e-mail: olgierd.lawrynowicz@uni.lodz.pl

#### Aleksandra Krupa-Ławrynowicz

University of Lodz Faculty of Philosophy and History Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology e-mail: aleksandra.lawrynowicz@uni.lodz.pl

#### Julia Sowińska-Heim

University of Lodz Faculty of Philosophy and History Institute of History of Art e-mail: julia.sowinska@uni.lodz.pl

#### Krzysztof Latocha

Institute of National Remembrance Branch Lodz e-mail: krzysztof.latocha@ipn.gov.pl

#### Artur Ossowski

Institute of National Remembrance Branch Lodz e-mail: artur.ossowski@ipn.gov.pl

#### Anna Gręzak

University of Warsaw Faculty of Archaeology Department of Bioarchaeology e-mail: abgrezak@uw.edu.pl