

**Envisaging Nowy Targ Square:
rehabilitation challenges of
postwar housing in historic contexts**



Anna Wojtun
Supervisor: prof. Miles Glendinning
MSc Architectural Conservation
2013

ENVISAGING NOWY TARG SQUARE: REHABILITATION CHALLENGES OF POSTWAR
HOUSING WITHIN HISTORIC CONTEXTS

A Dissertation submitted for

MSc in Architectural Conservation,
University of Edinburgh

by A. Wojtun – student no. s1262587

First Reader: prof. Miles Glendinning

SCOTTISH CENTRE FOR CONSERVATION STUDIES
EDINBURGH SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
EDINBURGH COLLEGE OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
2012-13

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 Overview - the square on the fringe	8
1.2 Methods of study	11
1.3 Limitations of study	12
1.4 Literature review	13
2. HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT	15
2.1 The first ‘square’: 12th century onwards	16
2.2 Der Neumarkt in Breslau	
<i>13thC - 1918</i> Pre-war development	17
<i>1919 - 1939</i> Between the wars	20
<i>1939 - 1945</i> World War II	22
2.3 Nowy Targ in Wrocław	24
2.3.1 The reconstruction endeavour. Nowy Targ Square and the early post-war city	
The national reconstruction programme	24
<i>1945 - 1953</i> Heritage with no passport. The local interpretation of reconstruction	27
2.3.2 Further recovery: Nowy Targ in the context of comprehensive redevelopment plans	
<i>1952 - 1960</i> Wrocław’s planning and housing strategy	32
<i>1956 - 1960</i> Housing-led development of Nowy Targ Square	35
<i>1960s</i> A study of form	44
3. CONSERVATION-LED REGENERATION OF NOWY TARG SQUARE	46
3.1 Nowy Targ today	
3.1.1 Current Condition	47
3.1.2 The Rehabilitation of Nowy Targ’s Common Spaces	52
3.1.3 Existing conservation guidelines for the area	54
3.2 Towards a new philosophy of heritage. Post-war Modernism and international preservation	
3.2.1 Theoretical context	56
3.2.2 Contemporary conservation practice: Prager St. (Dresden)	58
4. CONCLUSION	62
4.1 Nowy Targ - outline of an alternative approach	63
4.2 Conclusion	65
4. BIBLIOGRAPHY	75
6. APPENDIX 1	81
7. APPENDIX 2	85

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Cover: Drawing by Wrocław Design Office: Studio no. 3 (source: Wrocław Building Archives)
- Fig. 1 Breslau in Germany, map of 1922
- Fig. 2 Wrocław in Poland, 1945 onwards
- Fig. 3 Situation Plan, the settlement in 1241 (source: wikipedia)
- Fig. 4 *Neumarkt Platz* according to the 1562 Plan by B. Weiner (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 5 South-west corner of Neumarkt, 1892 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 6 Oberprasidium building, southern side of the square, 1918-1919 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 7 Max Berg and Ludwig Moshhammer's sketches of skyscrapes in the Main Market Square, 1920 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 8 Western side of Nowy Targ with a house no. 33 1945-46 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 9 Black market of Nowy Targ, 1945-52 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 10 East side of Nowy Targ (juxtaposed by the author): TOP: 1939 architectural drawing
CENTRE: 1950-53 E. Kaliski's reconstruction plan
BOTTOM: 2005 M. Siechankiewicz's reconstruction plan
- Fig. 11 Main Market Square *Haus zur Goldenen Krone*, 1926 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 12 Main Market Square, *Haus zur Goldenen Krone* after the reconstruction, modern picture (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 13 Wrocław's built environment in 1970, Black areas mark buildings erected after the war, Hashed areas mark partially reconstructed urban areas (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 14 Nowy Targ during its development, 1960s (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 15 Flexible housing system, Various alternatives of space division (courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)
- Fig. 16 Flexible housing system, Model 1:20 (courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)
- Fig. 17 One of the survey sketches -a view towards St. Jadwiga Church and a corner house no. 33 (courtesy of Włodzimierz Bronic-Czerechowski)
- Fig. 18 Nowy Targ cleared from rubble, about 1956 (courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)
- Fig. 19 Nowy Targ, one of the first development plans (eastern side blocks still punctuated) (courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)
- Fig. 20 Model of Nowy Targ development after corrections (courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)
- Fig. 21 Nowy Targ, 1960s - 1970s (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 22 Provisionally secured balconies on eastern side of the square (author's own)

- Fig. 23 Panorama of Nowy Targ, June 2013 (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 24 Northern side of the square (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 25 Western side of the square (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 26 Northern side of the square (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 27 Eastern side of the square (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 28 Southern side of the square (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 29 *Oberprasidium* building before the restoration (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 30 *Oberprasidium* building after the restoration (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 31 Office block in south-east corner (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 32 Large format advertisements displayed on the office block (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 33 Wide Piaskowa St./St. Catherine St. divides the square into two parts (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 34 Neglected landscaping of the northern backyard (courtesy of Filip Basara)
- Fig. 35 Map with places of interest: 1. Cathedral Island, 2. National Ossoliński Institute, 3. Partially preserved city walls and their tower, 4. Xawery Dunikowski Boulevard, 5. Wrocław's National Museum, 6. Raławice Panorama, 7. Museum of Architecture, 8. Main Market Square, 9. Salt Square
- Fig. 36 Streets adjacent to Nowy Targ
- Fig. 37 Functions of Nowy Targ and its immediate neighbourhood
- Fig. 38 Historic squares within the Old Town
- Fig. 39 Nowy Targ after its refurbishment (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 40 Nowy Targ after its refurbishment (source: Wrocław [Wroclove] official webpage)
- Fig. 41 Local development plan for the Nowy Targ area (source: geoportal.wroclaw.pl)
- Fig. 42 Prager Strasse, Dresden (source: goethe.de)
- Fig. 43 Prager Strasse, Dresden (source: skyscraper.com)
- Fig. 44 Grüner Markt, Bamberg July 2013 (author's own)
- Fig. 45 Mazplatz, Bamberg July 2013 (author's own)
- Fig. 46 Nowy Targ 1968 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Fig. 47 Nowy Targ 2013 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)
- Appendix 1 Fig. 1. Nowy Targ, preliminary scheme, 1960 (source: Wrocław Building Archives)
- Appendix 1 Fig. 2. Nowy Targ, northern side elevation, drawing by Anna Tarnawska (source: Wrocław Building Archives)
- Appendix 1 Fig. 3. Nowy Targ, preliminary scheme, 1956 (source: Wrocław Building Archives)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview - the square on the fringe

Poland in the 1950s witnessed drastic societal and political shifts. Post-war disfigurement of the country's social, cultural and physical environments was confronted head-on within an adverse communist regime, through the strict enforcement of laws and governmental control at an unprecedented level. The modernist architectural revolution, which took hold quickly in the inter-war era, continued after World War II under very different and more radicalised circumstances. This was particularly apparent in land whose national affiliations changed as a result of the conflict, as was the case for the city of Wrocław, today located in the south-west Lower Silesian area of Poland. The post-war rehabilitation of Wrocław's urban environment, both as a form of reconstruction and new architectural production constituted a distinct urban circumstance. Moreover, interrelated factors such as post-war destruction, monopoly and the tools of state control encouraged agenda-driven projects, non-commercial in nature, within historically sensitive locations.

Issues surrounding the development and re-urbanisation of cities newly incorporated into Polish borders after World War II bring to the forefront universal concerns surrounding post-war architectural practices. Wrocław's Nowy Targ Square, due in part to its own relatively peripheral setting to the city's centre, represents a unique example of this conflicted post-war dynamic. Thum suggests Wrocław was, "precisely because of its marginal position, [...] a declassified city"¹ where "perhaps, more than in any other, it is possible to witness the drama of twentieth-century Europe in full".² Nowy Targ then, with its precarious relationship to the historical city centre provides an exemplary test case for the architectural multifariousness of the post-war era in its own peripheral city and beyond. As the city's youngest market and a relatively remote quarter of Wrocław's historic Old Town, Nowy Targ's functional viability throughout the centuries was, more so than elsewhere, conditional on the course of trade routes through the city, as well as its changing economic and political circumstances. As such, it also was affected by a range of issues emblematic to any provincial or borderland city, whether to the east of Germany or west of Poland, the most acute of which was cultural ambiguity and the proportional under-allocation of national resources.

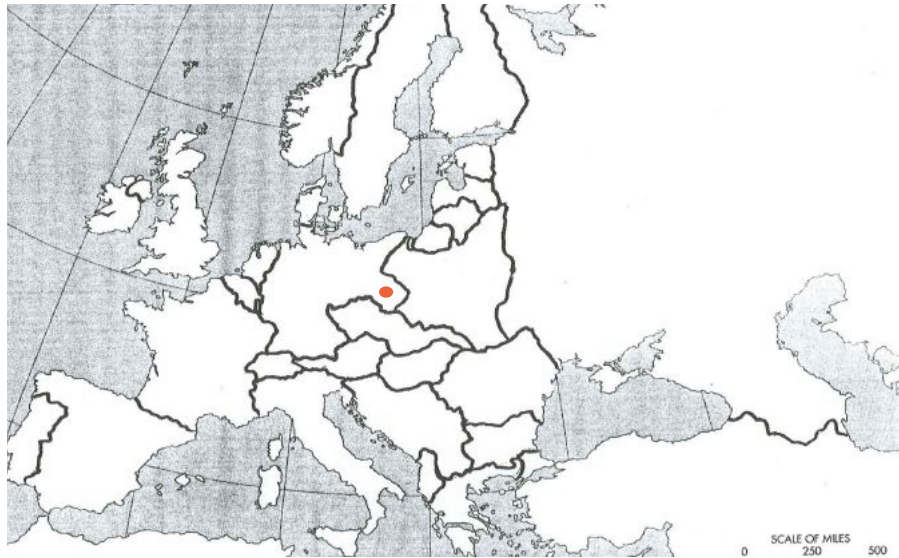


Fig. 1
Breslau in Germany,
map of 1922



Fig. 2
Wrocław in Poland,
1945 onwards

According to Lynch, the common, identifying character of a quarter is described by both physical and functional dimensions.³ In the face of post-war destruction, the fluid *status quo* of Nowy Targ made it possible to fulfil the vision of new urban living as manifested in the Athens Charter and adopted in Poland and elsewhere in Europe. By a re-appropriation of the square's former *gestalt*, in 1959 a housing estate was introduced within its historically outlined boundaries. Yet, such a project could never have been considered realistic for the more significant central areas of the nearby Main Market Square [*Großer Ring*] and its neighbouring 'Salt Square' [*Salzring, Salzplatz*], redeveloped after the war in their historic forms. Nowadays, the functional and physical ambiguity of this project is the most significant problem in its own rehabilitation, as it seems to represent not only universal concerns about the quality of the late modern architecture, but also an unwanted political era embodied within its walls.

The conflict between historic reconstruction and new architecture proponents, started in the decade following the end of the war, continued to evolve without reaching a common ground. The dispute did not only divide different professions such as urban planners and art historians, but, most importantly, also divided the field of architectural conservation, setting those who shared concerns about architectural authenticity against those who dismissed the Western approach as not viable as a response to the scale of postwar damages. Wrocław's reconstruction often revealed a lack of historic 'rectitude'.⁴ Reaching towards greater authenticity in architecture, in the 1960s non-historical forms were introduced, within the historic built environment. After the 1989-breakthrough, there began a period of close and fruitful co-operation between Wrocław and Germany, driven by a shared desire to compensate for the mistakes of the communist era.⁵ Yet, there is a certain radicalism in this phenomenon, which manifests itself today in the set of conservation guidelines for the Nowy Targ Square advocating the demolition of the housing estate and the reinstatement of its historic, pre-war character. Recently the City Council initiated the square's regeneration programme. The scheme however focuses only on the public space element, leaving the housing estate untouched.

1.2 Methods of study

My research seeks to answer a question: what kind of challenges can be associated with preservation of postwar, welfare state architecture within historically sensitive locations and what are the subsequent possible solutions in its rehabilitation?

My thesis posits that the complexity of modernist architecture, particularly in a historic context, reaches far beyond its own physical fabric. In order to trace the inter-related historical and political factors in attempt to draw an image of these dependencies and better understand their implications I will examine the history of my case study: the postwar housing-led development of Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław. The contextual study will make possible the assessment of the intangible value, as well as development of an urban layout, functions and likely constraints of current conservation-led rehabilitation, as rooted in the city planning and reconstruction policy of that time. Consequentially, the housing estate will be evaluated against postwar Modernist search of form and function, as outlined within Polish and wider European contexts. This will be achieved through archival research, interpretative analysis of relevant literature as well as interviews with authors of the Nowy Targ development, Jerzy Tarnawski and, conducted during several sessions, recorded in writing and as audio files, with Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski. The interviews will help to augment the data found in literature.

Subsequently, Nowy Targ's current situation will be discussed. By outlining the square's urban and functional condition, areas of particular need for rehabilitation will be determined. Furthermore, a revitalization proposal for open spaces of Nowy Targ (currently under implementation) will be followed by a review of conservation guidelines for the area. This section will be guided by qualitative research, a study of illustrative materials, such as historical maps and a photographic survey, as well as an interview with an author of the current regeneration proposal, Roman Rutkowski.

An investigation into possible regeneration approaches will be carried on. This will begin with an overview of most recent documents discussing the philosophy of preservation of the twentieth century architecture. The purpose of this overview will be to introduce an international

theoretical perspective to serve as a foreword to further recommendations. In order to assist in the study, a brief cross-reference to the Dresden's *Prager Strasse* [Prague Street] regeneration scheme will be presented. Following this, an outline of alternative recommendations will be discussed. In conclusion, consideration will be given to the issues that surround preservation of postwar Modernism within historic locations and which came to light throughout the study.

1.3 Limitations of study

This paper deals with general questions concerning the challenges of preservation of 20th century architecture within historically sensitive locations, taking as its basis of investigation a specific case study in Wrocław. This choice of case-study may narrow a wider array of issues potentially encountered within different locales; this does not aim to be an exhaustive report. Neither does this paper try to examine the general modern architectural and urban history of Wrocław or its reconstruction practices. Referral to the wider context is determined by the character of problems representative to Nowy Targ, with an emphasis on those immediately preceding the postwar housing-led development. The dissertation forms an outline of both problems and possible rehabilitation strategies so as to provide an alternative perspective to current conservation recommendations for the area.

1.4 Literature review

A critical interpretation of qualitative data will constitute the framework and key supportive argument of this research. The topic of postwar built environment of the Nowy Targ Square was introduced as early as 1974 with a doctoral thesis entitled: *Adaptation of the historic Nowy Targ Square into a contemporary housing estate*, written by Ryszard Natusiewicz, an architect and co-author of the development in question.⁶ Information in this thesis provided Monika Rutkowska in 2004 with a primary source for her bachelor dissertation entitled *Wrocław's Nowy Targ. Postwar Reconstruction and Local Development Plans until 2004*,⁷ where the evolution of the square's architecture, both completed and planned, was presented. Although the aim of Rutkowska's paper was mainly to pin-point the position of Nowy Targ within the history of Wrocław development strategies, it concluded with a critical statement advocating preservation of the housing estate. A year later, in 2005, a set of conservation guidelines for the area was written on behalf of the Wrocław City Council by the authors of the Conservation Appraisal, an art historian and a specialist of a medieval city, prof. Rafał Eysymontt and dr Łukasz Krzywka. Their recommendations were discussed in the articles *Wrocław Nowy Targ, Its History and Revaluation*⁸ and *Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław - Reactivation?*⁹ by the same authors. Those, together with the article *Post-war modernism. Built environment of Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław*,¹⁰ published in 2011 by Monika Rutkowska, form a core body of currently available research.

The progress of Old Town reconstruction and planning policy was discussed in various articles written by professionals active in the fields after the war. Those were published in professional journals, such as "Architektura" [*Architecture*], *Ochrona Zabytków* [*Protection of Monuments*], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* [*Bulletin of Art History*], *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* [*Architecture and Planning Quarterly*] and others. Some of the most active commentators included one of the first city restorers, Marcin Bukowski, the first city head architect Leszek Dąbrowski and city planners responsible for the major comprehensive development plans together with Voivodship Conservation Officers. A more critical and analytical approach distinguishes various articles written by a meritorious conservation officer, Mirosław Przyłęcki,

and works by a Warsaw architect and urban planner, Adam Kotarbiński. Most recently, the history of post-war Wrocław has been examined by a German historian, Gregor Thum, where the city's urban development form an element of his broad investigation into the transformation of German Breslau into Polish Wrocław.¹¹ Additionally, a comprehensively researched publication, "Ideology and conservation", by Piotr Majewski, is an invaluable resource in understanding a wider Polish conservation discourse.¹²

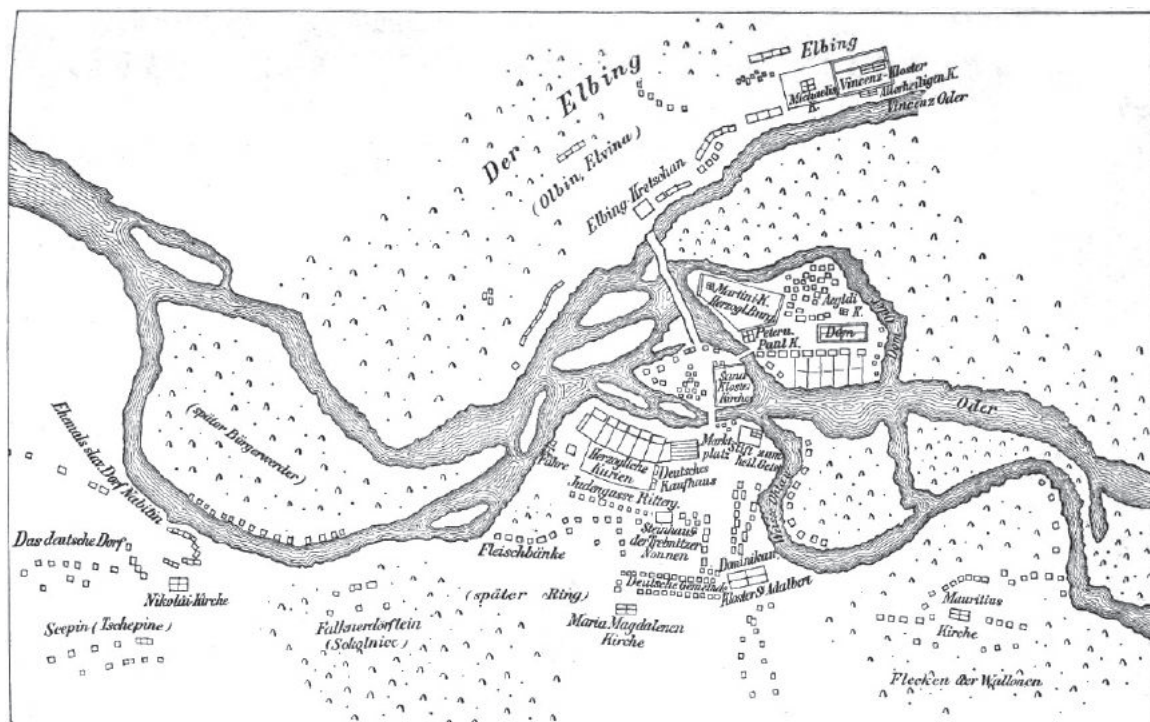
To date, the specific issue of conservation-led regeneration of postwar reconstruction in new architectural forms in Poland, such as here at Nowy Targ, has not received any academic attention. However, the emerging international debate on postwar heritage preservation provides a valuable background to protection and conservation principles. It consists of international charters, such as the Madrid Document,¹³ conference proceedings and other relevant articles.

2. HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

2.1 The first ‘square’: 12th century onwards

The square area became first populated in the 12th century, according to the most recent archeological research.¹⁴ The oldest layer consists of two yards and fences extending diagonally (in relation to the modern layout of the square). The beginnings of the market are linked to the third “city location” in 1261, when the quarter was incorporated into the neighbouring town under the Magdeburg rights. It is thought that the coalescence could have been consequential to the formation of an emerging New Town. It is likely that the establishment of the *New Market* as part of the Old Town, located proximally to the city walls, was a key factor in maintaining its commercial advantage over the New Town. In the first few decades of the 13th century a regular pattern began to emerge. At this time some of the former houses were dismantled and a vast square area was created. The regular character of the plots originates in that time and the square’s main outline and size has remained the same ever since.¹⁵

Fig. 3
Situation Plan, the settlement in 1241
(source: wikipedia)



Situationsplan von Breslau vor dem Mongoleneinfall von 1241.

2.2 Der Neumarkt in Breslau

13thC - 1918 Pre-war development

By 14th century the east side of Nowy Targ coincided with the Amber Route - one of the most important trails connecting the Mediterranean and Baltic Sea. When, several decades later, the route's path shifted further east, Nowy Targ's importance was diminished to that of a subsidiary market. From the Middle Ages onwards there were nine adjoining streets: *Kupferschmiedestrasse* [Kotlarska St.], *Langeholzgasse* [Krowia St.], *Katharinenstrasse* [St. Catherine St], *Breitestrasse* [J.E.Purkyniego St.], *Sandstrasse* [Sand St.], *Tannengasse* [Jodłowa St.], *Messergasse* [Knifers' St.], *Ziegen Gasse* [St. Veit St.] and *Einhornngasse* [Wooden St.]. The sides of the square derived their names from the goods on sale within, such as "Sea Side" (*Pomerysche zyte*) for the fishmongers or "Painters Side" (*Malerseite*). In 1732 the city commissioned a fountain to replace an old well, with representation of a Neptune. The fountain was colloquially called *Gabeljurge* - "a lad with a pitchfork".¹⁶

The 1562 plan presents regularly laid out structures which adhere to the burgage plots, only occasionally in parallel to the square. In 1628 a fire severely damaged some of the late-medieval houses providing subsequent opportunity for the emergence of new buildings. As the gables and portals of the remaining houses were also subjected to renaissance and baroque makeovers, the original medieval features, such as the plain and crow-stepped gables, were already rare. Throughout the centuries, the architectural integrity of the square was upheld by means of a building code [*Die Bauordnungen der Stadt Breslau*]. The 19th century, however, saw significant changes. About 80 percent of the plots were subject to interventions such as increasing the usable space area by building additional storeys and covering them with vast, two and three-storeys high pitched roofs with dormer windows facing the square.¹⁷

Fig. 5
South-west corner of Neumarkt
1892
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



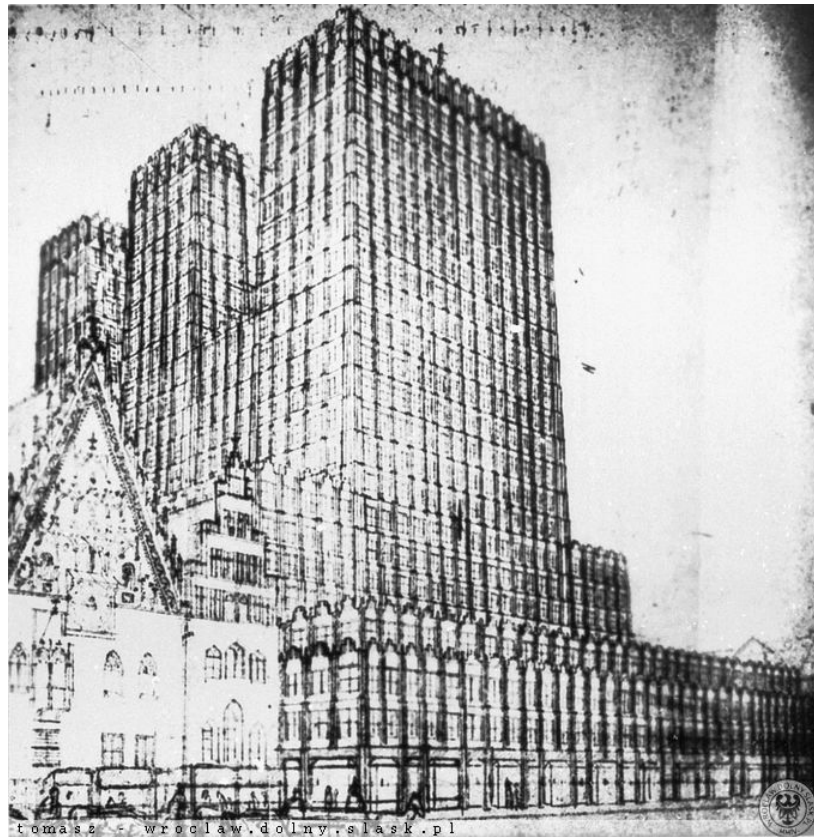
Fig. 6
Oberpräsidium building
southern side of the square
1918-1919
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)

1919-1939 Between the wars

On the 1st of April 1909 Breslau's Municipal Building Officer post was taken up by Max Berg. Breslau at that time was the densest amongst the biggest German cities, such as Berlin, Frankfurt am Main or Essen, and was considered to offer the country's lowest standard of living.¹⁹ This determined a decision to expand the city borders and sparked development of the first comprehensive city plan aimed at improving housing conditions and city's spatial qualities. Berg's ideas of city planning evolved from English-rooted concept of Howard's garden city and was inspired by a recent competition for the renovation of Berlin. Its main features were a decentralisation of the city and its radially planned expansion as to enable 'green wedges' to be introduced within the built-up areas.²⁰ Berg proposed to divide Breslau into three zones: Wohnstadt (the residential city), Arbeitstadt (the working city) and the Monumentalstadt (the city of culture and representative public administration).²¹ The issue of vehicular traffic was to be resolved through a by-pass encircling the Old Town following the footprint of the inner moat. Berg's vision, published in 1921, advocated the need to rebuild and re-edify downtown areas allowing for the re-settlement of authorities' offices and release of the dwelling spaces.²² Vast skyscrapers were to be built among the existing historic buildings of the Main Market Square, as well as other historic quarters, including Neumarkt [Nowy Targ]. A heated debate surrounded Berg's proposal for a skyscraper located in an immediate neighbourhood of the gothic Town Hall. Such an outwardly controversial idea originated from Berg's view that "historic form - regardless of whether roman, gothic, baroque or contemporary - should not determine the harmony of artworks of various periods of history and styles. It is important to understand the form. Well understood architecture links to each other, regardless of its conception date."²³

In 1921 the city, represented by an architect and urban planner, Fritz Behrendt, announced an open competition for the urban spatial design proposal.²⁴ The results were published in 1924, and included a mixture of the winning entrants' and Max Berg's concepts. It was planned to retain and expand the city's green areas, create new housing estates on the outskirts and delineate a wide motorway, as proposed by Berg. In 1935- 1936 Stadtbauamt Breslau [City Building

Fig. 7
Max Berg and
Ludwig Moshhammer's sketches
of skyscrapes in the Main Market
Square,
1920
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



Office] prepared a multithreaded “sanitation project for the medieval city centre” [*Entwurf für die Gesundung des mittelalterlichen Stadtkerns*], proposing mainly straightening and widening selected streets in order to incorporate them within a planned motorway network.²⁵ Additionally it was suggested to dismantle dilapidated houses and their extensions, as well as to demolish many of the historic buildings whose technical condition was considered good. In the area surrounding Neumarkt scheduled for demolition was the Trade Hall [*Markethalle*], whilst the lands between neighbouring Nankiera Square [*Ritter Platz*], Olawska Street [*Ohlauerstrasse*] and Szewska Street [*Schuhbrücke*] were to be re-developed in new architectural forms. In the 1937 Breslau was announced as one of the most strategic German city [the so-called *Führerstadt* - “Führer City”] and scheduled for further expansion towards a more monolithic, historicist appearance supportive to the Nazi political agenda.²⁶ The quarter of Nowy Targ was assumed to accommodate an underground air raid shelter and representative edifices adhering to the existing burgage plots. The only building in the plan which was to retain its original character was the Oberprasidium der Provinz Schlesien²⁷ The implementation of the plans was, however, interrupted by World War II and as a result only the air raid shelters were erected.

1939-1945 World War II

For Wrocław the war arrived late, hence, Nowy Targ Square survived almost intact until 1945. In August 1944 Adolf Hitler designated Breslau as a fortress (*Festung Breslau*) ordering the city to be defended at all cost or otherwise burned to the ground (under the rule of *Verbrannte Erde*).²⁸ Nothing was precious enough to be protected. On 14 March 1945 a local pastor Paul Peikert annotated: “Neumarkt (...) is particularly severely destroyed. There is no trace left after the great department stores. High roofs, especially those of the square, are all badly damaged”.²⁹ The greatest destruction of Nowy Targ happened on easter Monday, 1st of April 1945, as the bombing of the city centre began. The air raid shelters located under the square, utilised as the headquarters of command and defence, were targeted in the attacks. The built fabric of Nowy Targ was reduced to pieces by a phosphorus bomb, leaving only two houses standing in full: the Oberprasidium itself and a corner house no. 33.³⁰ Most of the quarter’s other structures were irreversibly damaged and many razed to the ground with only basements and footprints remaining.

Breslau surrendered after Hitler’s suicide and Berlin’s collapse, on the 6th of May 1945,³¹ leaving the city bereft of approximately 70 percent of its pre-war fabric.³² The greatest damage was suffered by the Old Town and areas to the south and the west of Odra river. 21 600 out of 30 000 buildings registered in the pre-war period were damaged in one way or another. From about 700 buildings listed before the war (excluding at the time the unrecognised 19th and 20th century heritage), the post-war inventory mentions 500 buildings which survived either almost intact or were completely destroyed, where only trace amounts of fabric remained.³³

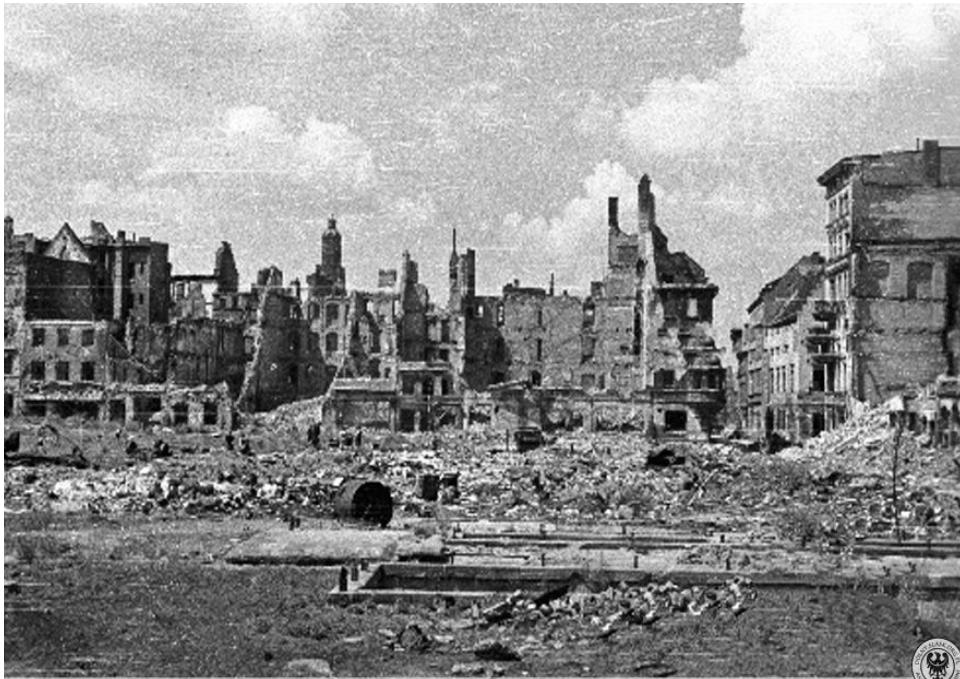


Fig. 8
Western side of Nowy Targ
with a house no. 33
1945-46
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)

2.3 Nowy Targ in Wrocław

2.3.1 The reconstruction endeavour. Nowy Targ Square and the early post-war city

The national reconstruction programme

The reconstruction of Wrocław was administered by the Reconstruction Ministry in Warsaw and depended on its directives subsequent to the establishment of the Polish communist government.³⁴ The Ministry itself had several executive departments: Warsaw's Capital Reconstruction Office (*BOS - Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy*) divided into smaller departments of architecture, urbanism and historic architecture (the latter led by Jan Zachwatowicz until 1947, succeeded by Piotr Biegański).^{35 36} Since the beginning of the reconstruction process in Wrocław its important part was delivered by the conservation office, initially represented by Jan Ciałowicz. His unofficially appointed successor, Władysław Porejko, took over the new (proclaimed in December 1945) Department of Protection of Historic Monuments (*Oddział Ochrony Zabytków Historycznych*).³⁷ From November 1946 the position was officially offered to Jerzy Guttler from Lviv and the department renamed the Voivodship Conservation Office.³⁸ The unit was under the supervision of the General Conservation Officer [*Generalny Konserwator Zabytków*], the role which between 1945-57 was held by Jan Zachwatowicz. The Voivodship Conservation Office, incorporated within the structures of the Ministry of Art and Culture, was given sole responsibility for supervision of the assigned areas and considerable independence in decision making.³⁹ In 1955 a City Conservation Office was created, initially overseen by the county officer and since 1964 by the National Council Presidium [*Państwowa Rada Narodowa*] until its termination in 1974 (nowadays re-functioning).

The idea of reconstruction, widely adopted by postwar Poland, derives from the practices of Viollet-le-Duc,⁴⁰ whose famous statement seems to anticipated what became the end product of the Warsaw Old Town reconstruction: “to restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or rebuild it; it is to re-instate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any

given time”.⁴¹ However, Polish pre-war conservationists had laid-out rather different theoretical foundations of conservation, engaging in lively discussion of Alois Riegl’s and Max Dvorak’s concepts, as well as those of the Prussian restorer, Georg Dehio, who advocated “conservation, not restoration” [*konservieren nicht restaurieren*].⁴² In 1901, in Krakow, an art historian Ludwik Puget (Ludwik Puszet) stated: “restoration should only be conservation, no style should ever be introduced, and what is added new should be truly modern” [translation-A.W.].⁴³ In 1904 Leon Piniński from Lviv reiterated that one should restrain oneself from ‘refreshing’ and ‘refurbishing’ the historic monuments. During a congress of the Society for the Protection of Monuments [*Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami*] in 1909 in Warsaw a resolution in favour of conservation allowing for minor and only scientifically justified restoration was proclaimed. In 1911 in Krakow, Georg Dehio’s principles became an official preservation agenda.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, in the face of the postwar destruction the pro-reconstruction philosophy proved remarkably resilient. Already in 1916, voices advocating reconstruction were raised by prominent art historians, such as Józef Piotrowski and Tadeusz Szydlowski. Although in the inter-war period Polish conservationists did not dissociate themselves from the Riegl’s postulates, there were already erasing traces of non-national activities that had arisen in partitioned Poland. In 1931 Polish representatives, such as Alfred Lauterbach who became widely-known for his concept of the necessity of restoration, signed the international Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments. During the congress Lauterbach repeatedly said: “restoration, more or less far-reaching, will always be absolutely essential, even if a certain hypocrisy gives it a name of conservation” [translation-A.W.].⁴⁵ Both, Alfred Lauterbach and Jan Zachwatowicz were also proponents of the ‘area conservation as a monument’ concepts and emphasised the role of historic plans as lasting elements of urban continuity. Throughout the period of WWII extensive studies by the Government Delegation for Poland, as well as architectural environments in Warsaw, were often focused on so-called ‘future-oriented work’, where plans for restoration of lost urban heritage were discussed and often prepared.

After the proclamation of Warsaw’s Capital Reconstruction Office on the 23rd of January 1945, a lively debate on the legitimacy and extent of reconstruction continued. Various possibilities,

such as leaving Warsaw in ruination, rebuilding only key monuments or erecting a completely new urban organism, were discussed. Most of those often appealed to the emotional prerequisites of any potential action. Kazimierz Brandys advocated: “We, who loved that city, wanted then to love its scattered bricks”⁴⁶; Ksawery Piwocki added: “(...) I doubt however that all the monuments, especially those emotionally little compelling, should be reconstructed”⁴⁷; whilst Roman Piotrowski urged: “It’s time - based not only on emotional, but also rational assumption - to specify which of the monuments are to be reconstructed” [translation-A.W.].⁴⁸ Later Bohdan Rymaszewski summarised: “The act of reconstruction creates something which resembles a permanent echo and is a repetition of a sign associated with, alongside the aesthetics, a value of symbol - an emotional one” [translation-A.W.].⁴⁹ Such opinions contributed to the emergence of the official reconstruction programme.

Its patron Jan Zachwatowicz sought to create a consistent urban concept, which, by incorporation of the reconstructed areas, would form a functional city. He emphasised that historic assembles were subjected to wider artistic concepts in order to extract their content, often “more adequate than their former being”.⁵⁰ He promoted adaptation and frequently stressed that the non-intervention approach, matured in the pre-war era, failed to provide a viable solution for the postwar demands.⁵¹ In his view, the role of heritage was, above all, social. Its mission was that of shaping an urban environment able to educate future generations. Zachwatowicz’s broadly outlined vision gained the support of Polish art historians and conservationists driven by a desire to create united, often idealised, images of cities, formerly lost and scarred by war, creating a fertile ground for government propaganda.⁵² With time Zachwatowicz’s views on conservation became less cohesive, a symbolic turning point being his role in signing the Venice Charter in 1964. A bitter summary of his work, written by himself in 1981, invokes the reconstruction period as a “tragic necessity”.⁵³ This increasingly ambiguous position was a source of widespread confusion, and later wilfulness, in conservation practice, allowing differing approaches to conservation to be experimented with across Poland.

1945 - 1953 Heritage with no passport. The local interpretation of reconstruction

The reconstruction of Wrocław was based on the Warsaw model and its conservation doctrine, however, the locale of Wrocław's conditions differed greatly from those in Warsaw, resulting in various shifts and compromises made as the reconstruction process progressed. This adversely affected the development of Nowy Targ Square, as one of those of uncertain *status quo*, more vulnerable to the changing dependences of the external factors. In 1944, along with the civilians the city's German conservation officers, including former Province Conservation Officer, Gunther Grundmann, left, taking with them the architectural archives and documentation.⁵⁴ Between 1945-1948 Polish Wrocław was a subject to a complete population exchange. As described by Gregor Thum: "Breslau was not merely to become a city in Poland, it was to be a city inhabited exclusively by Poles".⁵⁵ Thus people arrived in Wrocław from the Eastern Borderlands, devastated territories of central Poland, prisoners from German and Soviet working camps, former Polish migrants from France, Belgium, Germany and Greece, as well as soldiers from the Polish armed forces in Western Europe and others.⁵⁶

As result, the challenging task of the city reconstruction was left solely to newcomers uncertain of their long-term future, with no knowledge of local culture and no emotional attachment, and with very little available documentation to guide them. Co-operation with the Soviets proved extremely difficult as the September 1939 invasion and years of oppression during the partition of Poland were still freshly remembered. Moreover, the communist government agenda was to impede, if not prevent, a safeguarding of monuments which testified to the non-Polish tradition of Silesia, i.e. since the 13th century. Many Polish art and architecture historians, such as prof. Marian Morelowski, who arrived in Wrocław from Vilnius, attempted to bolster this propaganda within professional circles by hunting for the evidence of Polish endeavour in Silesian architecture. Within the professional environments, the relationship between newly arrived Polish conservators and former German ones was ambiguous. A number of art historians in West Germany popularised the so-called 'lists of loss of German culture under the temporary management of Poland'.⁵⁷ The list often indicated monuments destroyed by Germans during the

war, or even still existing ones. A mutual process of misinformation prevailed. Similarly, the general atmosphere towards Germans was not helpful, as they were branded occupiers, following the end of the war.⁵⁸ Yet the first Polish conservation officer in Wrocław, Jan Ciałowicz, was offered help by two German advisors: dr Kurt Bimler and dr H. Hoffman who assisted in initial damage estimation. Their involvement was however short-lived as Jan Ciałowicz soon left the office escaping from the Security Service [*SB-Służby Bezpieczeństwa*].⁵⁹

The primary stage of city reconstruction started immediately after the capitulation act was signed. The city had to be provisionally cleared from rubble to unblock the roads, administrations units needed to be re-housed, water, electricity and food provided to new-coming dwellers and ruinous buildings temporarily secured. The direction of the settlement was determined by the buildings' condition and the location of industries, meaning that the first to be populated were less damaged districts to the north and east of the Oder River.⁶⁰ At that time protection of historic monuments was secondary and had almost no social support.⁶¹ Only after this year of spontaneous clearing was a three year plan introduced.

Under the unstable and politically ambiguous circumstances architects, urbanists and historians had to teach themselves about this new city. It was a time of identification, when it took effort to localise archives or even tourist guides, and the communist agenda took advantage of the wide-spread confusion by popularising a new history of Polish Wrocław as a 'reclaimed land'. In March 1946 the Wrocław Planning Office [*Biuro Planu Wrocławia*] under the directorship of Tadeusz Ptaszycki was set up. Its role was to draw up a comprehensive city redevelopment plan as well as to prepare a preliminary architectural survey. The office worked closely with the Wrocław Reconstruction Directorate [*WDO - Wrocławska Dyrekcja Odbudowy*], also brought to life in 1946.⁶² The work continued until 1949 when both of the offices were officially resolved.⁶³ A period of initial stage of improvements was enclosed by the propaganda-driven "Exhibition of Reclaimed Lands" in 1948 situated in the famous Centennial Hall. During that time the remaining ruins of Nowy Targ were subsequently dismantled and the square was slowly cleared of rubble. This resulted in the square's historic layout becoming illegible and

disorientating to new settlers, who mistakenly called it Nankiera Square as it visually merged with the neighbouring urban quarter. The ruins of Nowy Targ served the new population as the city's second biggest black-market, where the plundered goods from abandoned houses and institutions, such as industrial machinery, furniture and even architectural pieces, were sold and lost forever.⁶⁴

Fig. 9
Black market of Nowy Targ
1945-52
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



In 1962 Jan Zachwatowicz repeatedly declared (in defence of a very costly renovation of the German-origin Malbork Castle): *heritage has no passports*.⁶⁵ One may see the statement as indicative to reconstruction practices in newly incorporated lands. Yet, if heritage has no passport, what is its identity? In Wroclaw, Zachwatowicz's guidance was intertwined with official propaganda: the government favoured renovations of gothic architecture as a testimony to the city's Polish origins, whilst neglecting destroyed palaces, residences and merchants' houses seen as relics of capitalism and German nationalism. Such practices received the acquiescence of the resettled Poles, who had no emotional attachment to the city's past, as had been the case in Warsaw. The government often forced removals of any traces relating to German history and only the cunning of local restorers saved many monuments from total devastation by demonstrating, only occasionally truly actual, links to Polish history. Similarly colour schemes were often subject to manipulation as the archival documentation was either missing or its location not yet identified. The situation was even more difficult considering

the fact that historic cities of Lower Silesia had lacked thorough surveys even in the pre-war period.⁶⁶ In 1960 an architect, Andrzej Frydecki, admired the new relation between the Town Hall and surrounding burghers houses which had emerged after the ‘restoration’.⁶⁷

Wroclaw was also troubled at an organisational level. As the nation’s priorities were above all given to Warsaw’s Old Town, the city struggled with people, instability, migrations and finances. The specialist advisors sent by Warsaw to support the Lower Silesia reconstruction efforts were often criticised for not giving the city due attention.⁶⁸ “Numerous and glaring errors in reconstruction of destroyed cities [of Lower Silesia - translator’s note] resulted mainly from maximum savings (...) deciding subsequently about accumulation of devastation indirectly arising from war” [translation - A.W].⁶⁹ The indigence of society often resulted in the re-usage of the building fabric as a heating material.⁷⁰ Between 1946-1949 great amounts of disassembled bricks were also transported as a building material to Warsaw.⁷¹ Furthermore, there was no comprehensive reconstruction plan established at the beginning and there was little continuity between recalled and appointed offices whilst their remits often overlapped. There was little cooperation between Wrocław Reconstruction Directorate and Wrocław Planning Office.⁷² Following their termination, the reconstruction plans for Wrocław Old Town became the only focus of the City Urban Planning Office [*Miejski Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego*] operating between 1950-1953, under the directorship of Emil Kaliski.⁷³

For the Nowy Targ Square Kaliski’s office developed a proposal for facade reconstruction in the style of 1800.⁷⁴ The main historic source of reconstruction was the survey, *Barockburgerhauser in Breslau*, [*Baroque Nobility Houses in Breslau*] prepared by the pre-war city conservation office led by Rudolf Stein, together with a scarce amount of existing early 20th century photographs.⁷⁵ Yet, the approach to reconstruction was very selective and resembled a “cherry picking” from the jackpot of historic periods. “Enforced was at that time a style specific for e.g. eclectic transformation of historic forms and façadism”.⁷⁶ Although it is yet to be researched to what extent the reconstruction plans did justice to the square’s prewar condition, it is evident that in Nowy Targ the 19th and 20th century architectural forms were not accommodated. Rutkowska recognised that the reconstruction plans for the houses nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 23/24, 25,

26, 28, 31, 33, 38 differed from the 1939 architectural survey.⁷⁷ For ideological reasons, it was also planned to demolish the *Oberprasidium* building, erecting in its place new houses in earlier historical forms.⁷⁸ In case of missing iconography, inspirations for architectural detailing were sourced from other areas of the city.⁷⁹

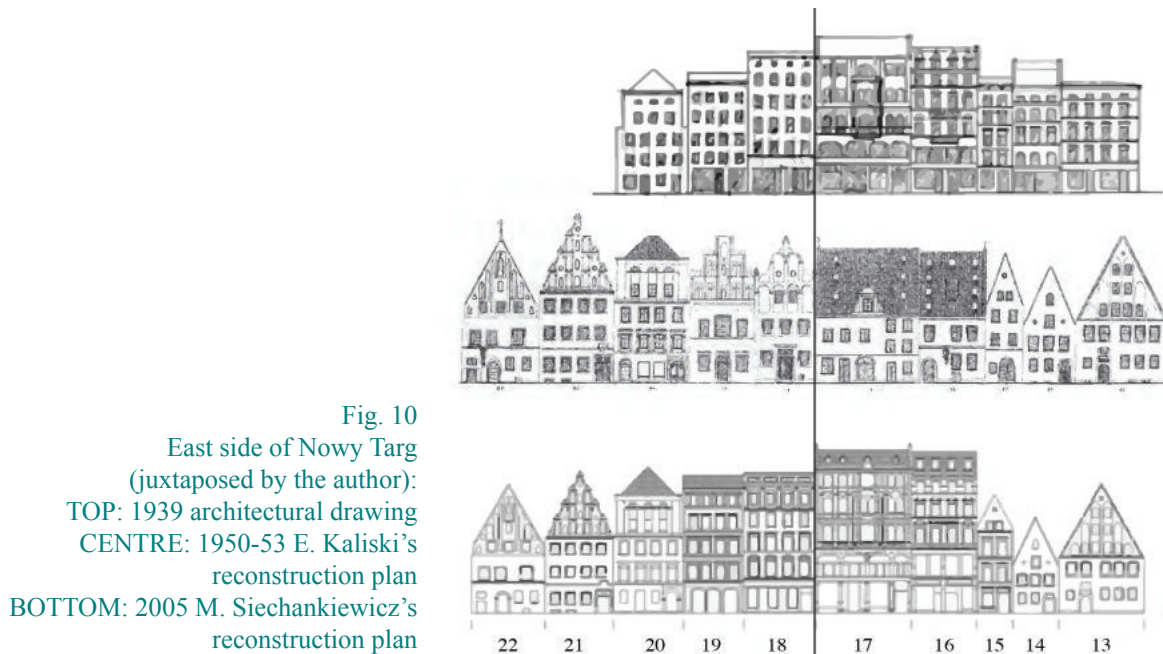


Fig. 10
 East side of Nowy Targ
 (juxtaposed by the author):
 TOP: 1939 architectural drawing
 CENTRE: 1950-53 E. Kaliski's
 reconstruction plan
 BOTTOM: 2005 M. Siechankiewicz's
 reconstruction plan



Fig. 11
 Main Market Square
Haus zur Goldenen Krone
 1926
 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



Fig. 12
 Main Market Square
Haus zur Goldenen Krone
 after the reconstruction
 modern picture
 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)

2.3.2 Further recovery: comprehensive redevelopment plans and ‘new architecture’

1952 - 1960 Wrocław’s planning and housing strategy

Under the conditions of the Treaty of Potsdam as well as other international agreements, including the Polish-Soviet agreement of 16 August 1946, formerly German lands, free from encumbrances, became the property of the Polish State Treasury.⁸⁰ Taking advantage of these new conditions planners drew bold visions of the future by re-introducing well documented ideas, as presented in 1920s Breslau.⁸¹ After a very dramatic period during the first few years of the repopulation of Wrocław, the number of new inhabitants began to stabilise⁸² ending the first phase of ‘emergency’ reconstruction and planning. During that time the first city plan was becoming outdated. In 1952 the development of the second comprehensive city plan was resumed by the Wrocław Design Office [*Miastoprojekt Wrocław*], with external support of members recruited from such cities as Szczecin (Piotr Zaremba) and Gdańsk (Leszek Dąbrowski).⁸³ Their plan served as a basis for a general spatial development plan of Wrocław for the years 1953-55. In July 1955 the so-called City Urban Studio [*Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna*] was set up to continue the work within the structures of the National Council Presidium and the especially-appointed Department of Architecture and Building Control [*Wydział Architektury i Nadzoru Budowlanego*], with Leszek Dąbrowski as General Architect.⁸⁴ Five teams were delegated to work on particular district plans whilst the studio itself focused on a general development plan. Their study was based on the first comprehensive plan (as approved in July 1949) and was aimed at a greater cohesiveness of the city, increased role of downtown areas, greater focus on technical and economic aspects and planning in stages.⁸⁵ Its core aims were specified in accordance with the government’s ‘6-year plan’ within the area of industry, housing, transportation and services.⁸⁶

Progressively, as the reconstructed Old Town areas slowly outnumbered the damaged areas, planners started looking more confidently into adapting the city to the growing needs of its new inhabitants. In 1956 planner Anna Ptaszycka wrote: “With respect to historic form of [Wrocław’s]

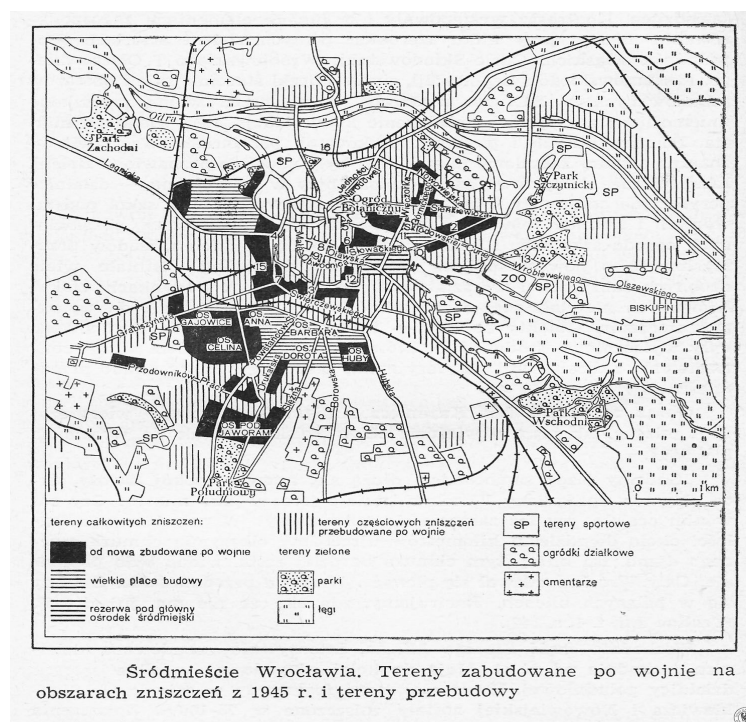
urban plan and existing historic buildings, it is necessary to draw a correction of too dense housing quarters and introduce there green areas. This is the direction of our current projects. (...) Despite the great war damage, which could outwardly suggest a possibility of radical changes in the urban composition of the city (...), and after thorough analysis, this appears impossible due to the disposition of damage (destroyed city centre and relatively well preserved outskirts) and available utilities in those destroyed areas".⁸⁷ The ultimate goal was to increase density within the city borders, therefore particularly precious were the plots which were cleared from the rubble and fully serviced by utilities. As the city of Wrocław was considered fragmented, the planners' scope contained within it the creation of a legible and functional structure by forming zones most suitable for each individual district. The central character of the Old Town was to be emphasised. The traditional historic centre was the key to trade, culture and science and housed the headquarter of the City Council and offices of local authorities. Due to both ideological and cultural reasons, this representative function was to be maintained and therefore it was of particular importance to sustain the strong connection between 'old' and 'new' without distortion to its integrity. Simultaneously features symptomatic of 'capitalistic' cities, identified by the detachment of the deprived poor areas and privileged wealthy ones, were to be eliminated.

Through a thorough analysis of public spaces, developed/undeveloped areas, green spaces, percentage of damage and the density of habitants per house, the historic city centre was recognised as lacking in necessary green spots and had an overabundance of 'dark, unhygienic' flats. Its housing conditions were specified as follows:⁸⁸

- on average 4-storey high, with each of the apartment 3.10 m high
- laid out on a longitudinal plan
- ground floor areas used for trade and storage
- average plot size: 10 m wide front, depth of tract: 22m, depth of the plot: 30 m
- dark common spaces such as corridors and entrances, narrow yards (commonly known as "wells")
- no utilities and basic sanitation
- construction: masonry walls, wooden beams, roofs gabled and tiled

Furthermore it was stated that the “harmonious architectural fabric, linked to landmarks such as Town Hall and churches, [was] distorted by later developments; the secession had introduced into the city centre buildings higher and more substantial in volume” [translation - A.W.].⁸⁹ Following the survey’s outcomes, it was decided to improve living conditions through housing reform, which consisted of removing extensions, workshops and other additional buildings’ structures and replacing them with green areas. Addressing the 1953 decision to accelerate building works within the city centre, it was also planned to incorporate new developments into the historic areas alongside the historic reconstruction. The housing target was 2500-3000 apartments a year.⁹⁰ Following this line of reasoning visions to re-develop severely damaged lands adjacent to the east of the Market Square into a ‘new centre’ began to emerge.⁹¹ Another far-reaching scope was to introduce a bypass in order to divert traffic around the Old Town. The ring-road was to be routed along the tract of the former city walls and accompanied by a green belt. The City Urban Studio’s development plan was the first within the new organisational structure, and the second in the history of Polish Wrocław. This plan was signed into law on the 21st of August, 1956, forming the founding principles and direction of the city’s development for the next 25 years.⁹²

Fig. 13
Wrocław’s built environment in 1970
 Black areas mark buildings erected after the war
 Hashed areas mark partially reconstructed urban areas
 (source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



1956 - 1960 Housing-led development of Nowy Targ Square

Following the death of Stalin, the period from 1956 onwards in Poland is known as the “Thaw”.⁹³ In short, it was characterised by political liberation and changes at the governmental level, which, amongst others, had led to the release and internment of political prisoners and clergy. A decision was announced that the jamming of Western radio broadcasts would be discontinued, whilst in arts and literature the formal *socialist realism* style was abandoned. At that time in conservation the pressure for historic reconstruction has also lessened. In 1955 architect Romuald Gutt said: “Reconstruction in precise historic forms is wrong. Better are creators than conservators” [translation - A.W.].⁹⁴ This was followed by an intensifying critique: in 1959, a respected architect and urban planner, Jerzy Hryniewiecki, stated “I understand that the reconstruction of certain amount of heritage may satisfy individual or collective longing, but I see no reason to ram a new social and political life into a pseudo-historical framework, which used to serve a completely different living conditions” [translation - A.W.].⁹⁵ The writer and translator, Władysław Kopaliński, added “I hope we will not go on forever building an artificial, false ‘old town’ in Gdańsk (...)”⁹⁶; historian, Kazimierz Koźniewski, argued that “we have long time ago repaid, with interest, our debt due to history”⁹⁷ and script writer Kazimierz Brandys: “We get around within falsified tradition and suspended imagination”⁹⁸ [translation - A.W.]. Similarly, Zachwatowicz’s position was becoming progressively softer, and the alternative concepts of Alois Riegl and Max Dvorak once again entered the wider discussion⁹⁹ contributing towards a decrease of social and professional demand for historic reconstruction, and subsequently shifting the focus within governmental planning. The “2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments”, which took place in 1964 in Venice, became a symbolic date for official repudiation of the reconstruction doctrine by Polish professionals, as represented there by Zachwatowicz.¹⁰⁰

In 1951¹⁰¹ the management of Nowy Targ Square was transferred to the newly established Workers’ Housing Estates’ Construction Directory [*Dyrekcja Budowy Osiedli Robotniczych*].¹⁰² Continuing the city’s development strategy as outlined by the Wrocław Design Office between

1952-1955, this investment unit commissioned the Wrocław Design Office Studio no. 3 to prepare a housing quarter for the Nowy Targ Square, which subsequently became the local development plan for the area.¹⁰³ The engineering design was commissioned separately by a Standardised Projects Office [*Biuro Projektów Typowych*] in Warsaw.¹⁰⁴ The proposal was conceived by a team of architects comprised of studio manager Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, head architect Jerzy Tarnawski and architects Anna Tarnawska and Ryszard Natusiewicz.¹⁰⁵ The first draft of the proposal was developed between 1956-1957. Having undergone a number of changes, as enforced by the investor as well as made in attempt to accommodate the suggestions of an advisory board of architects, construction commenced in 1960.¹⁰⁶

Fig. 14
Nowy Targ during its development, 1960s
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



Project drafting was preceded by a historic appraisal, subcontracted to a separate conservation unit.¹⁰⁷ At the request made by Włodzimierz Bronic-Czerechowski to the current president of Wrocław - Eugemiusz Król¹⁰⁸ the proposal was also forerun by the development of a so-called ‘experimental block’, located in nearby Szewska Street [former *Schuhbrücke*]. The experiment was thought-out as a social participation project, in which workers, intellectuals and its creators would play an equal role, as the apartments were to be ultimately allocated also to their architects. With a future user in mind, various flat models in the scale of 1:20 were prepared and discussed.¹⁰⁹ As a result flexible and adaptable spaces were created, which was made possible due to an innovative transversal load-bearing frame.¹¹⁰ An unconventional heating system, based on the “radial air flow”, was then developed by one of the collaborating engineers.¹¹¹

The final building design incorporated a range of different apartment types: maisonettes, open space, single and double bedrooms, arranged to fill a linear block shell. The furniture, such as wall units, was made to measure, and allowed for additional space modification according to users individual preferences. Upon its completion in 1959, further public consultation was organised on two separate occasions to inform architectural decisions regarding subsequent developments. ¹¹²

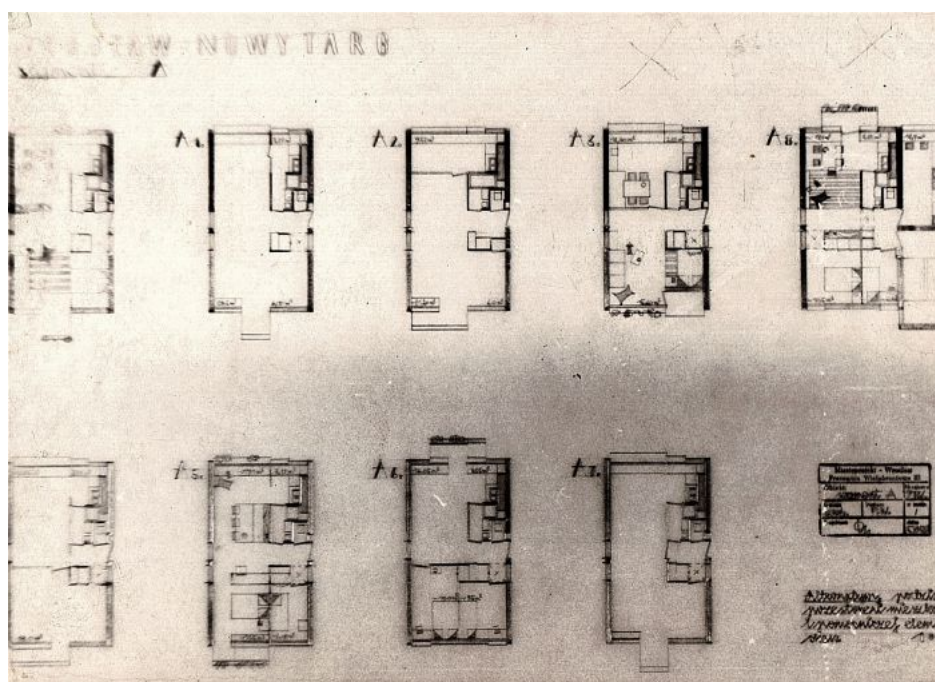


Fig. 15
Flexible housing system
Various alternatives of
space division
(courtesy of Jerzy
Tarnawski)

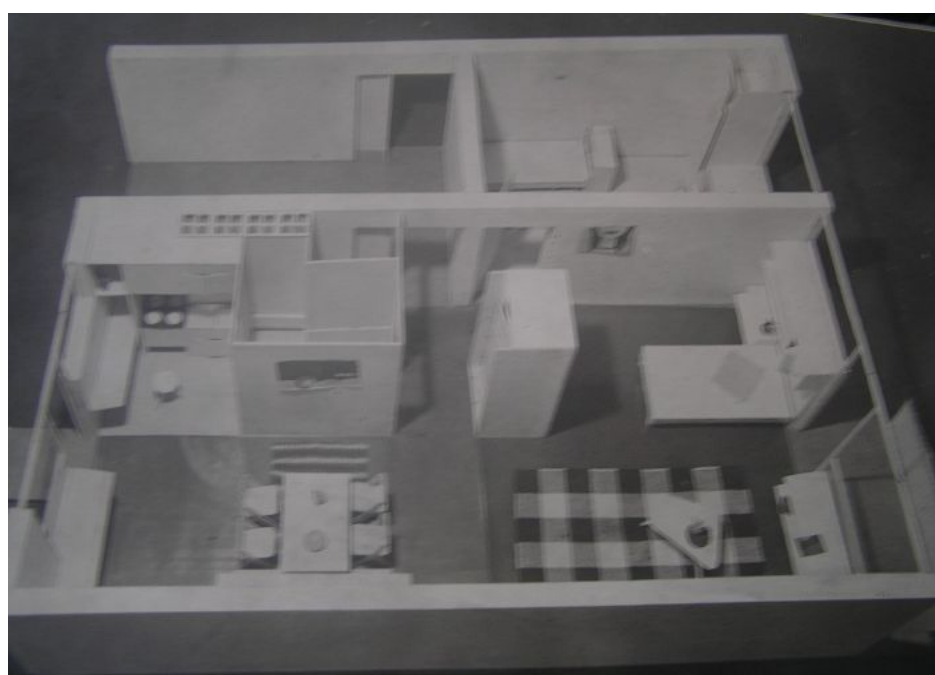


Fig. 16
Flexible housing system
Model 1:20
(courtesy of Jerzy
Tarnawski)

The apartment block on Szewska Street served as a testing ground for the housing-led development of Nowy Targ, estimated to accommodate approximately 4000 inhabitants. For the first time in its history, Nowy Targ was planned comprehensively and approached holistically. Hence, it was based on the planning strategy for the city, whilst addressing findings and recommendations implied in the historic appraisal. In order to meet the requirements of local development plans, as well as to reach a greater understanding of the place, a part of the proposal included an urban survey for the selected areas within Old Town.¹¹³ As the studio's predominant method of work was drawing, the neighbouring monuments were thoroughly catalogued through sketches and incorporated within the design proposals of housing blocks. There was an arbitrarily specified requirement to maintain the historic (commonly referred to as 'medieval') street layout, hence the blocks had to be constructed from industrially produced elements featured to fit within narrow plots. This was achieved through three core standardised units (A,B,C), each of which comprised different arrangements of flats and/or corridors of particular dimensional characteristics. The architects also addressed the still conspicuous problem of outstanding rubble by proposing an innovative solution based on recycling aggregate into building material directly at the construction site.¹¹⁴

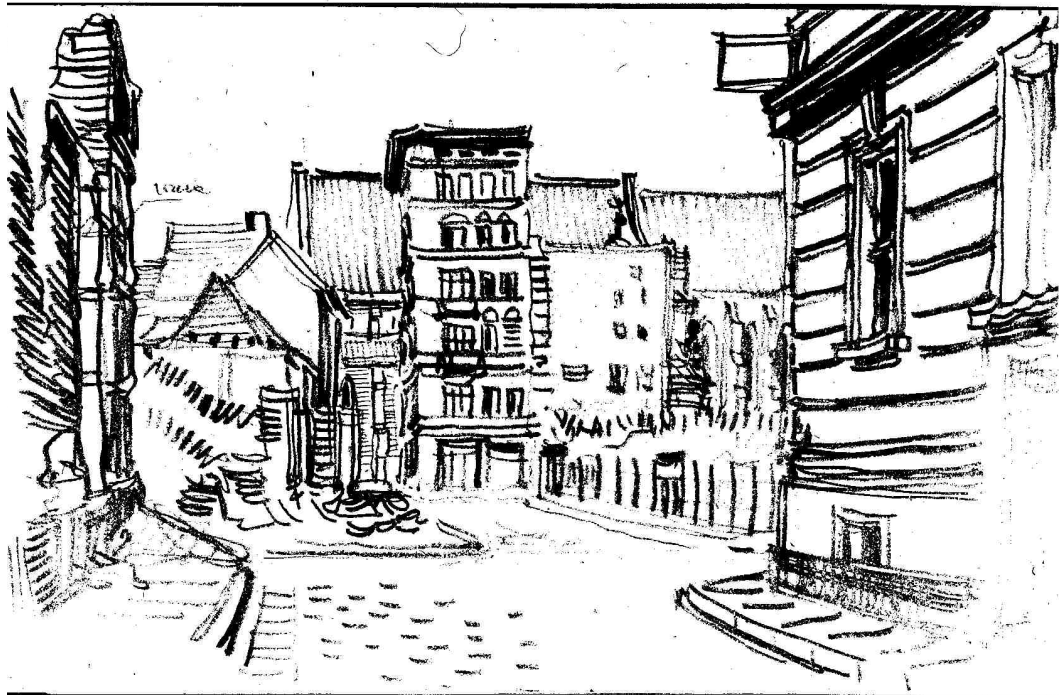


Fig. 17
One of the survey sketches -a view towards St. Jadwiga Church and a corner house no. 33
(courtesy of Włodzimierz Bronic-Czerechowski)

Two major stages can be distinguished in the design process, characterising two differing versions of the development.¹¹⁵ The conceptual phase proposed separate pedestrianised routes within the volume of the square whilst vehicle transport was to be incorporated within the Old Town bypass delineated proximally to Nowy Targ. As a counter-balance to the monolithic volume of the *Oberprasidium* building architects proposed a 32-meter high apartment tower to its east. It was to serve as the square's new landmark: a functional hotel, cinema and a cafe. Enclosing the eastern side were three separately arranged blocks with spaces in-between aimed at emphasising a visual connection with the nearby ruins of the former city walls.¹¹⁶ The northern side of the square was to consist of a row of 5-storey houses with alternating gables to highlight the character of the historic burgage plots and meet the height of the only surviving 19th century house to its west. At that time it was hoped to recover all the historic streets and thus the northern block was made slightly recessed in relation to the existing corner house, taking into account the needs of residents living on the elevated ground level.¹¹⁷ The only street which was not to be clearly outlined was the former Wooden Street [*Einhorgasse*], now depicted only by the location of a path cutting through the northern housing block. The houses on the west side of the square were given a continuous, pitched roof. Additionally single-storey pavilions were foreseen to visually close up the area to the east. It was also proposed to reinstate the historic fountain at the heart of the square. Temporary kiosks and stalls were planned for, as a reference to the long-standing tradition of the square.

By the time of its construction, the initial proposal had been adjusted in order to meet economic and regulatory demands. Subsequently, the plans to delineate a lane alongside the northern elevation were dropped. The east side was redeveloped as to imitate the western block, forming continuous rows of alternating, 5- and 6-storeys modules.¹¹⁸ Such a solution allowed the number of residential units to increase, but greatly compromised the initial proposal. Both blocks were covered with a single pitched roof and mirrored each other, both externally and internally, in the arrangement of flats. The windows were aligned horizontally giving an impression of unity and repetition, diversified by concrete, asymmetrically suspended balconies and vast, glazed service areas localised at ground level. The plans for gabled roofs of the northern block were withdrawn, hence the existing historic corner house was lowered to follow the reshaped roofscape.



Fig. 18
Nowy Targ cleared from rubble, about 1956
(courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)

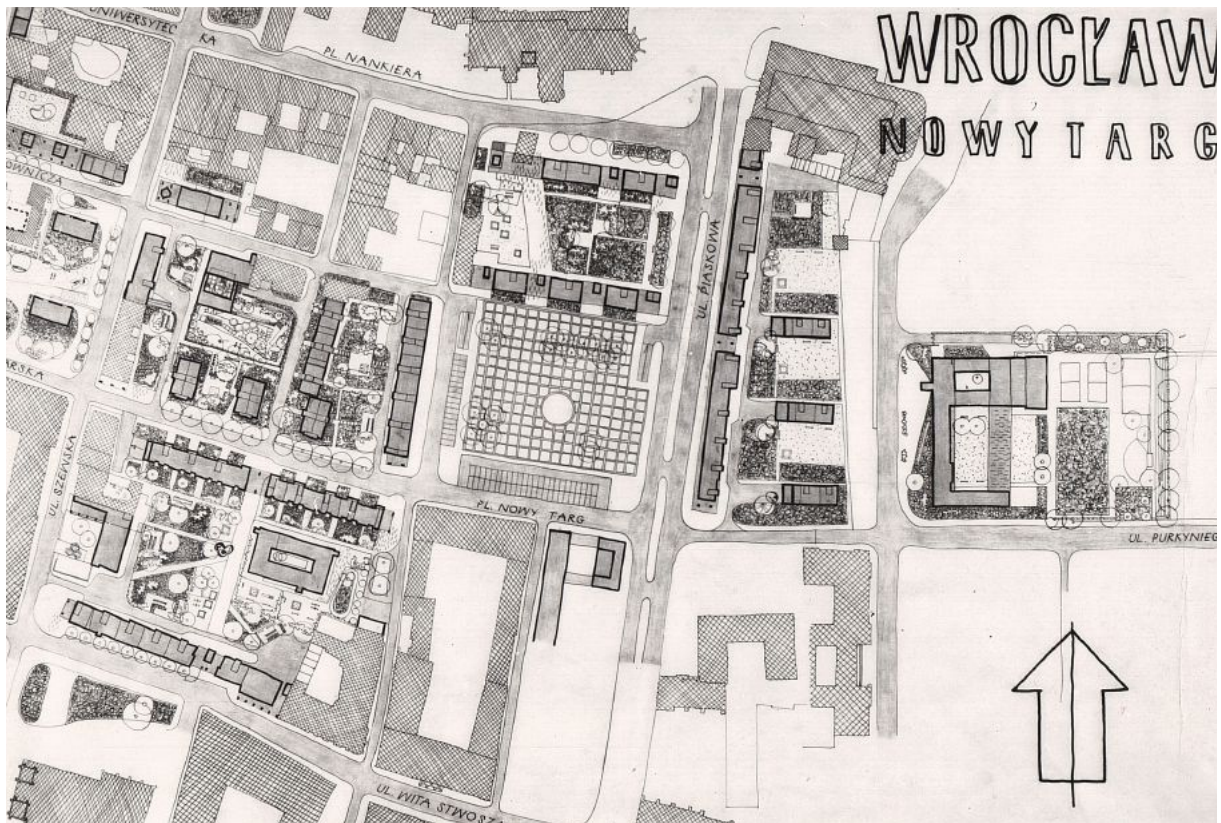


Fig. 19
Nowy Targ, one of the first development plans (eastern side blocks still punctuated)
(courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)

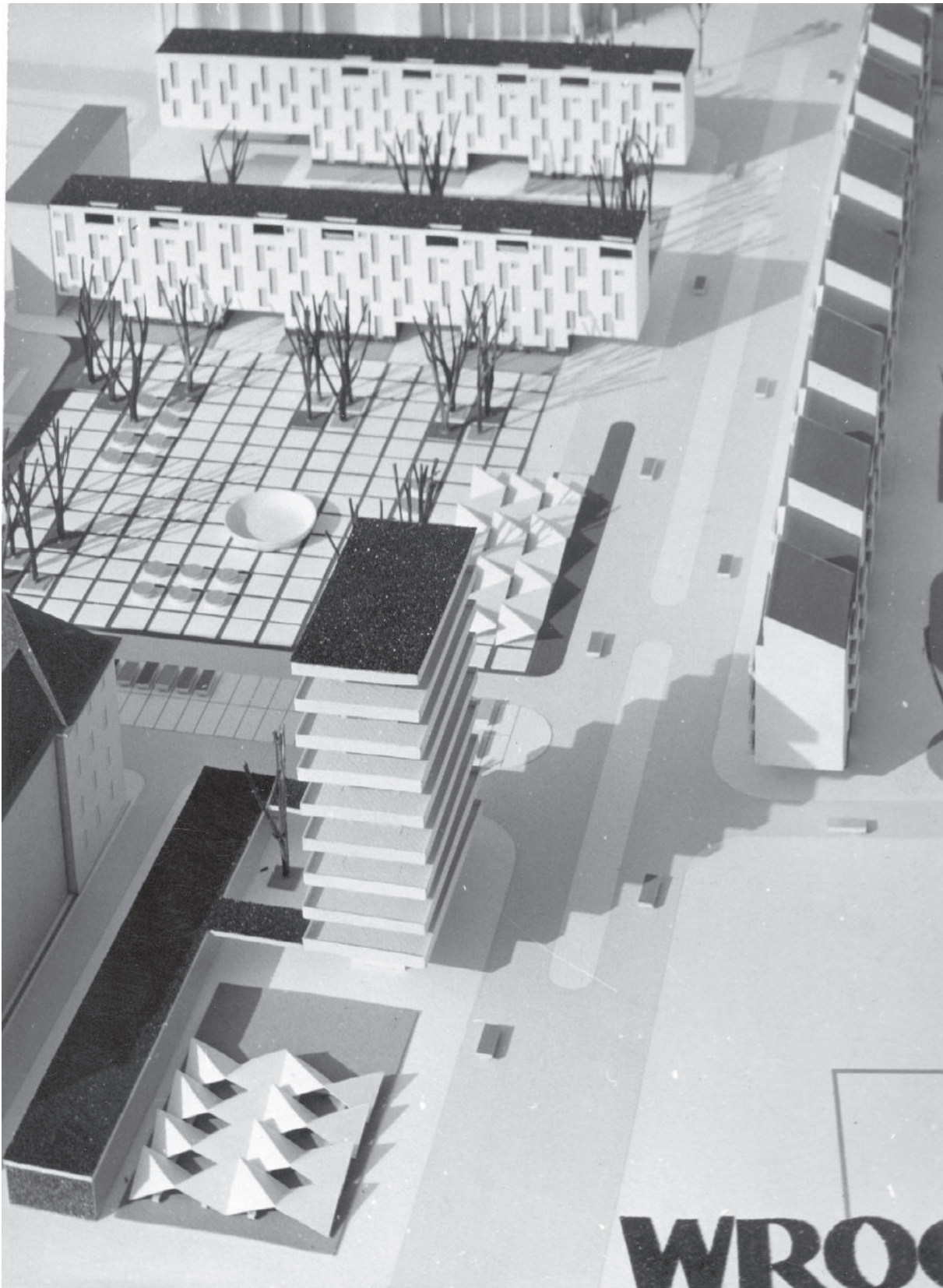


Fig. 20
Model of Nowy Targ development after corrections
(courtesy of Jerzy Tarnawski)

Despite those restrictions, the architects succeeded in creating an individual appearance of the elevations by playful arrangement of window types, composition of black glazed tiles and depth variations between constituent architectural components. The facades' geometrical divisions, as emphasised by the arrangements of windows and alternating sequences of units, are a subtle referral to the past plot layout. Towards the end of the 1960s corrections occurred in local development planning guidelines resulting in a change of purpose of the south-east corner plot. As a consequence, the multi-purpose tower was never erected, having been replaced with a generic office block designed by an external architectural firm.

The square area was laid out in a geometrical pattern, it was also planned to reinstate the Neptune fountain. Rows of trees were planted on the northern side of the square and at the back of the housing blocks creating spacious, green backyards. Historically streets adjacent to Nowy Targ allowed for vehicle traffic (first horse-drawn and subsequently mechanical), yet the tightly enclosed square area did not separate human movement. The post-war proposal designated areas for the vehicle traffic (cars) within the square and surrounding streets, but fully



Fig. 21
Nowy Targ, 1960s - 1970s
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)

pedestrianised its northern side. Subsequently, the northern block was shortened in relation to its pre-war condition, as to allow for uninterrupted human traffic, opening new perspective towards the oldest part of the city: the Cathedral and the Sand Island. Piaskowa Street was then slightly widened to accommodate new traffic demands. When the city withdrew from plans to reconstruct buildings along St Catherine Street (a prolongation of Piaskowa Street) and from erecting the two low-rise pavilions situated alongside its route, in 1974 the decision was made to further widen the lanes in order to allow for tram traffic.¹¹⁹ This ultimately disintegrated the square into two parts - the eastern side of housing blocks and a semi-enclosed square area to the west. The 1970s plans to develop, in parallel to the Old Town, a 'new city centre'¹²⁰ situated Nowy Targ at the border of those two, inherently different, areas.

Mirosław Przyłęcki referred to the Nowy Targ housing quarter as a 'conditional reconstruction' - a reconstruction of historic assembles in neutral forms, harmonised with a historic character by emphasising the land divisions, yet without imitating or mimicking the previous buildings' forms.¹²¹ He also introduced the term 'neo-version' to describe reconstruction in modern architectural forms. According to his report the latter was often considered faulty, yet an inability to indicate an alternative method was equally predominant. Additionally, the need to differentiate between authentic historic fabric and new architectural production was frequently emphasised by many art historians and theoreticians. Therefore, historic districts partly rebuilt in new architectural forms can be widely observed in cities and towns across Poland, being particularly noticeable throughout the 'reclaimed lands'. There, shortage of resources and the fact that the undamaged, liveable buildings were positioned in more distant locations resulted in historic reconstruction being applied strictly in the most representative areas of the Old Towns.¹²² Subsequently, many city centres of the 'western zone', such as those of Szczecin, Starogard, Słupsk and Malbork were redeveloped later in modern forms, addressing the needs of growing societies and maximising the opportunities provided by new building technologies.

1960s A study of form

Architecture of the 1960s in Europe was derived from the pre-war Modernist search for form and function, as an expression of the era's *Zeitgeist*. The new epoch of post-war Modernism evolved however through a critique of pre-war architectural beliefs, embodied by *architectural determinism and a logic of need and fit*¹²³, as well as the abandonment of the search for universally perfect form. Instead, in the theory of urban planning and design, there emerged a need to create structures flexible and operational, following the desire to allow both individual users and groups to actively shape their living environment. This challenged the traditional architectural approach to the creative process by introducing new methods such as 'participatory design'.

In Europe the first recognised architect to promote the idea of flexible dwelling types was N. John Habraken, who in 1961 published *De Dragere en de Mensen: het einde van de massawoningbouw*¹²⁴ [translated in 1972 as "Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing"].¹²⁵ To him architecture was much more than just a style. His exploration was aimed at embracing people in all their individuality in an attempt to reinstate, as deemed to be lost, a natural, dynamic equilibrium of relationships between humans and the built environment.¹²⁶ At the heart of the movement was the Stichting Architecten Research (SAR), found in 1965 in Eindhoven. Since the 1960's, projects embarking upon the idea of Open Building started to emerge in Germany, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland. The first Dutch project in a similar vein was a housing complex at Hoorn by architects Van Wijk and Gelderblom (1969).¹²⁷ In parallel to this, the individual members of Team 10, in particular Yona Friedman, put adaptable infrastructures at the core of their architectural investigations.¹²⁸

In Poland, these concerns led to the formulation of an Open Form theory,¹²⁹ by an architect of Finnish birth, Oskar Hansen. It was first introduced in 1959 during the CIAM Congress in Otterlo, and is considered to have been a turning-point in architectural approaches to participation and sustainability.¹³⁰ Using methods of prefabrication commonplace at that time, his user-centered schemes allowed for maximum flexibility thanks to individually designed elements and a non-standardised structural framework. This was an unusual approach in the era of the so-called 'typical' developments, which addressed mainly economic, political and functional demands,

resulting in recurrent designs as a means to efficient fulfillment of the state's housing target. The most representative to Hansen's work is a large scale housing complex in Lublin, built between 1963-66. Similarly to John Habraken's concepts, his ideas gained recognition beyond the author's native country, including Norway (Bergen Arkitekt Skole) and China.

Within a European and Polish context, the housing complex of Nowy Targ presents itself as innovative, yet undervalued. The conception date of the experimental housing block on Szewska Street, 1956, preceded similar participatory projects by Habraken from 1959/1961. Although the scheme was not embedded in any broad theoretical production, it attests to a great architectural understanding of both the possibilities and limitations of a physical and social fabric. The attempt to accommodate the historic urban layout and societal factors resulted in cautious design of individually designed units (segments) and the use of a transversal load-bearing frame.¹³¹ Additionally, the innovative method of salvaging the building material from aggregated rubble raises the important questions on authenticity from the perspective of architectural preservation. The housing quarter of Nowy Targ marked the opening of the second phase of Polish post-war Modernism in Wrocław (after the *social realism*) and displays a layer of intangible value on both a local and an international level.

3. CONSERVATION-LED REGENERATION OF NOWY TARG SQUARE

3.1 Nowy Targ today

3.1.1 Current condition

Lack of care of the housing estate since the day of its production has led to a maintenance backlog and to its progressive decay. Nowadays, besides aesthetic considerations, the condition of the estate has become hazardous to pedestrians as incidents of loosening elements and balconies' slabs have been noted and in many cases provisionally secured by the tenants themselves. The *Oberprasidium* building, situated in the southern side of the Square, has been recently renovated, emphasising the leap between the 'postwar' and 'historic' within the quarter's built environment. The integrity of the square is further distorted by an office-block in its south-east corner, erected in the late 1960s, following the plot's change of use in local development plans. The block is often used for large format advertisements.



Fig. 22
Provisionally secured balconies on eastern side of the square
(author's own)



Fig. 23 (above)
Panorama of Nowy Targ, June 2013
(courtesy of Filip Basara)

Fig. 24
Northern side of the square
(courtesy of Filip Basara)



Fig. 25 (top left)
Western side of the square
(courtesy of Filip Basara)

Fig. 26 (top right)
Northern side of the square
(courtesy of Filip Basara)

Fig. 27 (bottom left)
Eastern side of the square
(courtesy of Filip Basara)

Fig. 28 (bottom right)
Southern side of the square
(courtesy of Filip Basara)

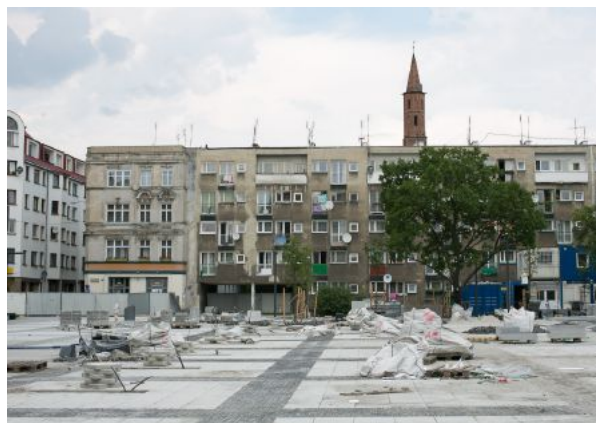




Fig. 29
Oberprasidium building
before the restoration
(source: dolny-slask.org)



Fig. 30
Oberprasidium building
after the restoration
(source: dolny-slask.org)



Fig. 31
Office block in south-east
corner
(courtesy of Filip Basara)



Fig. 32
Large format advertisements
displayed on the office
block
(source: dolny-slask.org)

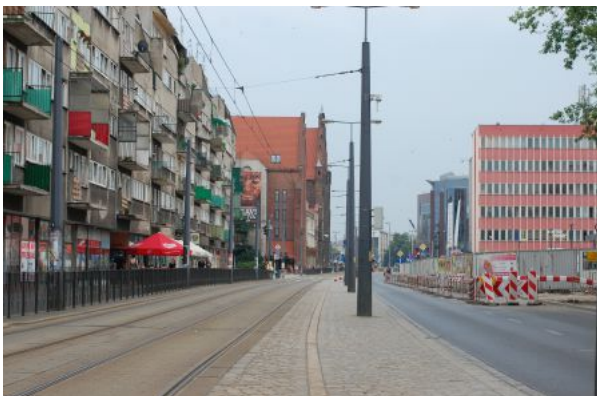


Fig. 33
Wide Piaskowa St./St. Catherine
St. divides the square into two parts
(courtesy of Filip Basara)



Fig. 34
Neglected landscaping of
the northern backyard
(courtesy of Filip Basara)

Since 1908 the market proper has been transferred into the nearby Market Hall. In 2001 a vast shopping mall was built on the southern end of St Catherine St., compounding the lack of demand for trade in Nowy Targ. The vast area of Nowy Targ, designed as a recreational counterbalance to those with more commercial interests, such as Main Market Square and the Salt Square, until recently served as a parking lot for patrons of the City Council housed within the *Oberprasidium*. Consequentially, the vast area of Nowy Targ has been under-utilised, despite being situated within the Old Town. Located proximally to Nowy Targ are various places of interest, such as known as the oldest settlement Cathedral Island, as well as Raclawice Panorama, the National Museum, the Museum of Architecture and others. The square itself suffered from a lack of resting areas and poor distribution of function within the commercial, ground level units of housing blocks. Focused solely on retail, the shops attracted mainly local residents and students looking to avoid higher costs of shopping in the Main Market Square. Urged to utilise this centrally located area, most recently the city council announced an open call to regenerate the public spaces of the square.

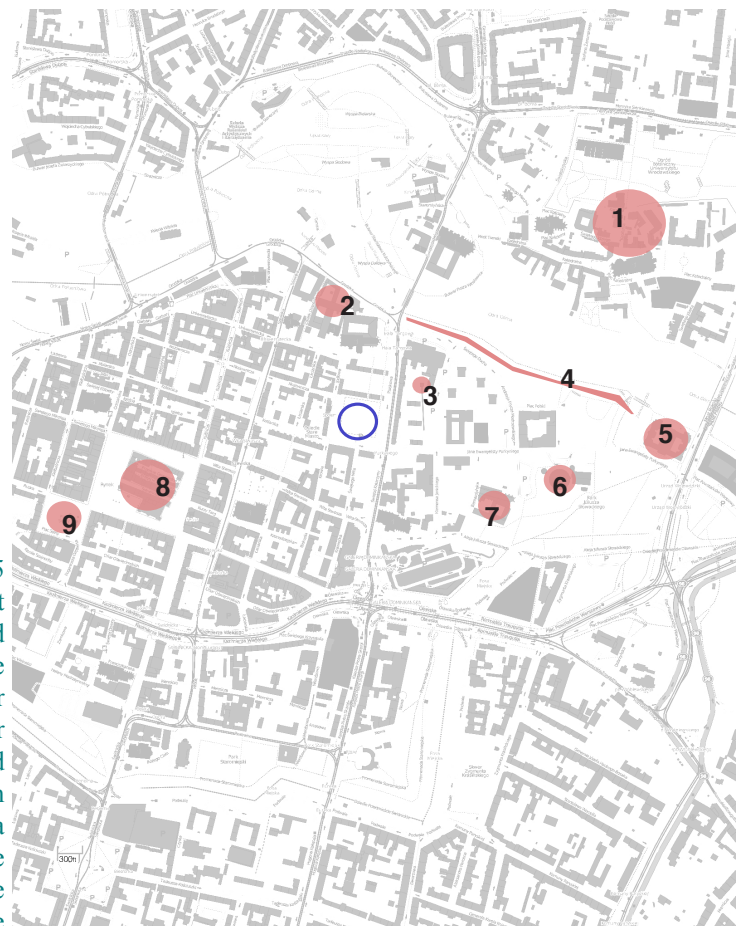


Fig. 35
Map with places of interest
1. Cathedral Island
2. National Ossoliński Institute
3. Partially preserved city walls and their tower
4. Xawery Dunikowski Boulevard
5. Wrocław's National Museum
6. Raclawice Panorama
7. Museum of Architecture
8. Main Market Square
9. Salt Square



Fig. 36
Streets adjacent to
Nowy Targ



Fig. 37
Functions of Nowy Targ
and its immediate
neighbourhood

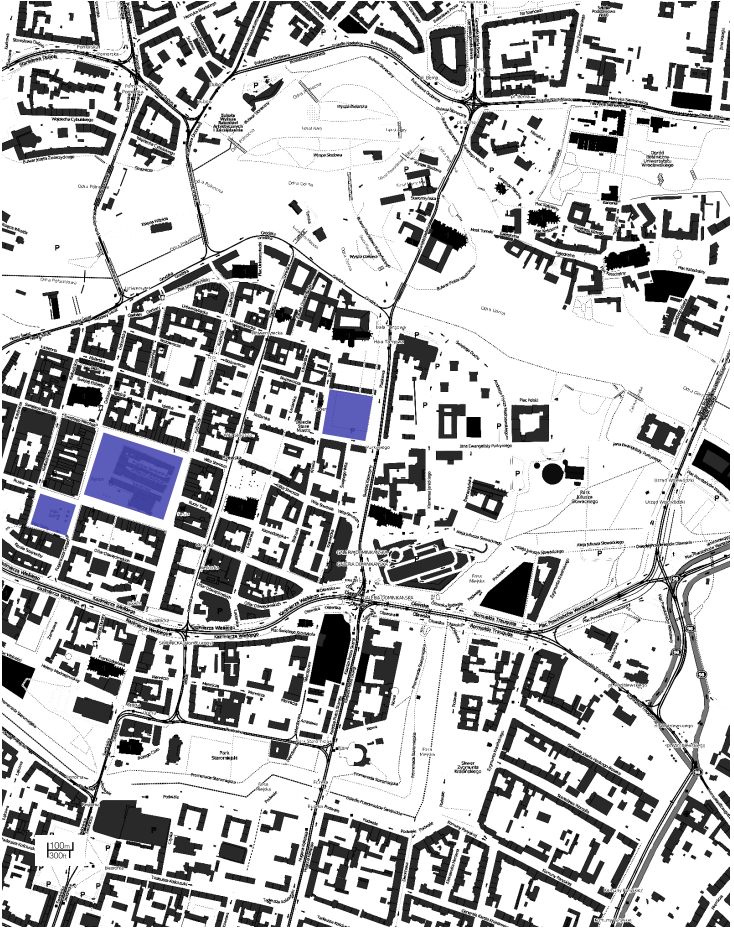


Fig. 38
Historic squares within
the Old Town

3.1.2 The Rehabilitation of Nowy Targ's Common Spaces

A competition for the urban redesign of Nowy Targ was announced in March 2010.¹³² The city council sought design proposals transforming the square area through architectural details such as street furniture, building structures, landscaping and lighting. Additionally, it was anticipated to develop an architectural proposal for the so-called City Pavilion. The competition was preceded by an open tender for the underground parking,¹³³ won by the Portuguese company Mota-Engil.¹³⁴ The regeneration scheme of Nowy Targ is widely considered to be exemplary for public-private co-operation, as it relies on a long-term (40 years) licensing of the square common area by the Municipality of Wrocław to Mota-Engil. The costs of the implementation of the scheme were covered solely by the private investor, who in return can generate profit from both paid parking and commercial use of the square.

The urban design concept has been developed by Roman Rutkowski Architects¹³⁵, whose proposal has just been completed. The approach of Rutkowski and his office was inspired by the postwar development in both architectural forms and detailing, which draws from the distinctly clean lines of the housing blocks. The furniture includes: solid iron deckers, lighting posts and two pavilions providing an entrance to the parking area through a system of transparent elevators. All the design elements are finished in black matt. The design is subordinate to the aesthetic qualities, symmetry and right angles, dictated by the dimensions of the single square element of the pavement, re-laid as to replicate the original layout from the 1960s. Scarce green areas are tightly grouped on the northern side of the quarter, however potted trees are to be introduced within the square area shortly. The original proposal included also a centrally located fountain and a commercial pavilion to the north, but the city withdrew from those plans due to limited budget. A new fountain will be erected in 2015. According to the proposal, foldable stalls are to be introduced as to complement the recreational components of the scheme.¹³⁶

The regeneration scheme for Nowy Targ, by targeting only the open spaces, left the physical fabric of the housing estate untouched. As such, it also did not offer any functional solutions with regard to the ground level service areas. Apart from solving the pressing problem of parking, it is more of a visual refurbishment strictly dictated by the aesthetic, rather than functional

demands. The black, solid deckers are spread out at regular distant intervals, limiting social interactions and space adaptability. An almost complete lack of greenery may also discourage pauses for rest. Włodzimierz Bronic-Czerechowski emphasized that the original architectural intention for the landscaping of the square was to soften the sharp lines of the housing blocks by diversifying forms of pavilions, flower kiosks and trees.¹³⁷ Rutkowski's scheme, although well thought-out in terms of its own aesthetic coherence, does not comply with this initial concept and fails to recognise the *social* public realm of the square.

Fig. 39
Nowy Targ after
its refurbishment
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



Fig. 40
Nowy Targ after
its refurbishment
(source: Wrocław [Wrocław]
official webpage)



3.1.3 Existing conservation guidelines for the area

In 2008 the housing estate of Nowy Targ was inscribed on the so-called “List of Contemporary Cultural Goods”. This national document was initiated in response to the increasing demolition of buildings erected between 1945-1980. The list does not form part of the monuments registry, as understood by the 23rd of July 2003 Law on Protection and Care of Monuments. Instead, it was authorised by the Law on Spatial and Urban Planning from the 27th of March 2003, which defines contemporary cultural goods as: “non-historic goods, such as monuments, places of commemoration, buildings, their interiors and details, ensembles, urban and landscape areas, which are a recognised achievement of contemporary living generations, if they are characterised by high artistic or historic value”.¹³⁸ This has implications for the level of protection, provided here not by tools available to conservation authorities, but within local development plans. The macro scale of such plans, as opposed to detailed listing description, does not allow for itemised specification, and, even though it protects against demolition, it does not safeguard buildings’ appearance or condition in any way.¹³⁹ Paradoxically the housing estate of Nowy Targ is on one hand inscribed into the “List of Contemporary Cultural Goods”, while on the other, the 2005 conservation guidelines in support of local development plans for the area, advise the recovery of the historical (pre-modern) pattern of the square as the only means for its successful rehabilitation. At their core, these guidelines state as follows¹⁴⁰:

- The existing architectural fabric of the quarter was shaped in a manner appropriate for peripheral residential areas. It incorporates green spaces [as for the condition in 2005] and a row of chestnut trees to the north, whilst, according to the authors, historically such arrangement was seen only in the tenements’ backyards and later, in gaps filling in the post-war damages. Therefore the green areas should be removed.
- It is necessary to reinstate the historic street layout, particularly Wooden Street, and reconstruct historic bends and irregularities; narrowing the tracts of the streets adjacent to the square which were widened in the post-war period was suggested (Kotlarska St / J.E.Purkyniego St)
- An emphasis on the historic plot division in the architectural facades was recommended;

the northern block ought to adhere to the historic building height; architecturally diversified buildings should be encouraged. The optimal solution is to individually plan buildings according to the historic land divisions, their basis should provide drawings for reconstruction in historic forms (as attached by the authors), however “newly designed buildings not necessarily have to be the exact copies of the old ones”.¹⁴¹ Different materials and technologies should be employed, such as brick, sandstone and stucco. It is recommended to incorporate within the new buildings the original details, if they survived.

“The full implementation of the above demands, however, will be possible only after removal of the existing, now severely depreciated, buildings.”¹⁴²

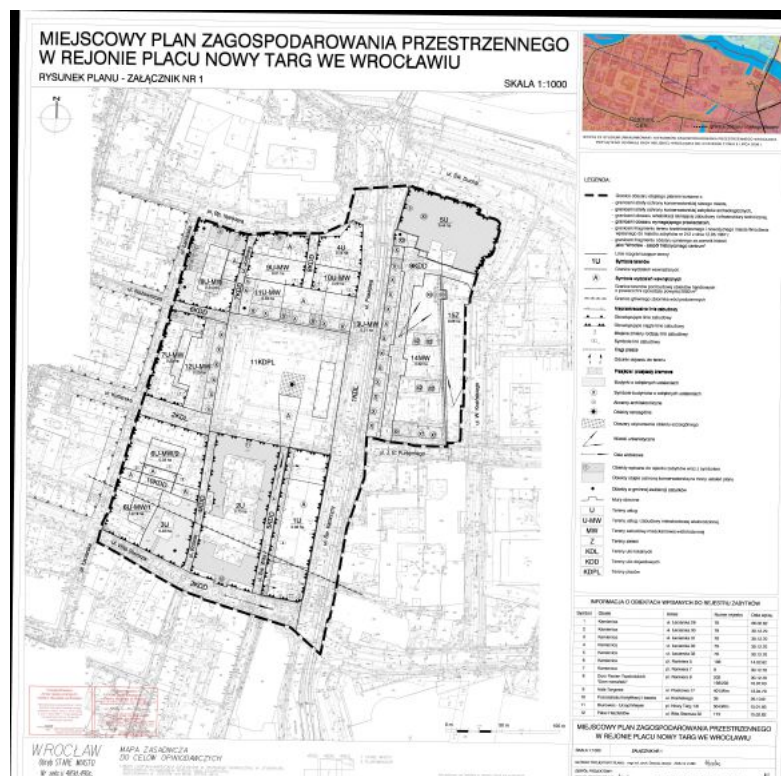


Fig. 41
Local development plan for the
Nowy Targ area
(source: geoportal.wroclaw.pl)

3.2 Towards a new philosophy of heritage. Post-war Modernism and international preservation

3.2.1 Theoretical context

The preservation and rehabilitation of the 20th century heritage has recently entered a wider international debate, as seen by the work of Docomomo and ICOMOS section on the 20th century heritage. In 2013 a conference entitled *Our modern: re-appropriating vulnerable XX century heritage*¹⁴³ was held by Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik. Its organisers wrote: “Modernism has recently started to be perceived as a historical style, even if in its roots it was a deliberate departure from tradition (...) Its negation of continuity in architecture, as well as its structures intended to be short-lived, need specific principles in evaluation of its historic significance (...) Since the architecture of the 20th century constitutes by far the largest part of the existing built heritage, its treatment is a key issue not only for the conservation profession, but also for the future of our urbanised world”.¹⁴⁴ Aiden While noticed that postwar heritage may however represent a threat to urban progress, as its inherited landscapes are often seen as dysfunctional, dated and unfashionable.¹⁴⁵ The “Madrid Document”,¹⁴⁶ a recently developed regulatory charter, in acknowledgment of those unusual factors, validates justified interventions and accounts for necessary change, yet emphasises that an input of the original architect should always be sought. Its formulation shows that “the role of historic preservation law in urban development is not itself fixed, but has range to grow toward new maturity”.¹⁴⁷ In Dubrovnik it was further specified that perhaps the 20th century heritage preservation practices should value the original concept above the ‘perpetuation’ of the original structure.¹⁴⁸ By recognising that the significance of the 20th century heritage often lies beyond its physical fabric, it becomes clear that the value judgement has to be made, more than elsewhere, on an individually assessed basis, taking into account local architectural and cultural dependencies. An array of possible solutions to the issues embodied by postwar heritage endorses a need for ‘creative preservation’.

The issue of change management, intrinsic to the preservation of 20th century architecture, proves equally significant in urban conservation. In fast-pace changing cities, protection of Modern architecture, only recently seen as a ‘new intervention’ itself, poses a particular

challenge. Peter Larkham highlighted, that “there is also, in aesthetic terms, an essential tension between the old and new, the familiar and the unfamiliar”.¹⁴⁹ In urban morphology it has been recognised that areas once dense, compact and continuous in Modernity “have become diffuse, loose and discontinuous”.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, While observed that “as part of the logic of the production of urban space under capitalism, much of what was once valorised as ‘modern’ comes to be devalued as changing waves of capital accumulation create demand for new urban forms and images (...). Perceived as a barrier to progress, the buildings of the immediate past must therefore earn their keep in the face of changing user demands, changing fashions and pressures for creative destruction and redevelopment”.¹⁵¹ He further emphasised that the postwar legacy is being influenced by commercial and political factors.¹⁵² With such powerful driving forces it is extremely difficult to retain the key distinctive elements of Modernism, and therefore appropriately drawn statements of significance and local development plans, accounting for change where appropriate, are vital for successful management of this legacy. A recently published guide by Unesco entitled “New life in historic cities” reaches towards interaction between economic, social and environmental factors.¹⁵³ In opposition with traditional approaches, where these concerns were often seen as conflicting, it is argued that a long-term success can be achieved through synergism.¹⁵⁴ Even though Unesco does not refer specifically to the post-war period, this guide attests to an important shift in international discourse, under which an emphasis on image (and its enhancement) has been replaced by the desire to increase the liveability of places. Similarly, according to the authors of “Revitalising historic urban quarters”, regeneration proves successful, when three elements are incorporated into the process: physical, social and economic realm.¹⁵⁵

3.2.2 Contemporary conservation practice: Prager St. (Dresden)

In Poland, one of the inheritances of the rise and collapse of post-war historic reconstruction, was a lack of coherent conservation doctrine and a resulting bewilderment in current professional practice. This is particularly noticeable in a historic context, where re-urbanisation happened in two concurrent directions and ‘historic’ often competed against new architectural production. In western areas, such as in Wrocław, following 1989, due to efforts to re-establish local identity and compensate for communism-era faults, preservation has been often performed following a German approach. In this regard Germany is seen as having a more mature expertise, yet one that has faced similar challenges.¹⁵⁶

However, Germany itself provides a mixture of methods and attitudes towards both historic reconstruction and post-war Modernism. As argued by Florian Urban “there has been similar controversy over the Braunschweig Palace shopping mall, the “new old” Frauenkirche in Dresden and the development of the Römerberg, the Old Town Square in Frankfurt. But what is often forgotten in all the hubbub is that reconstructions of many damaged and destroyed architectural monuments in Germany have triggered very little public debate – and within a few years of completion are hardly regarded as reconstructions any more”.¹⁵⁷

Dresden, particularly well-known for its practices of historic reconstruction,¹⁵⁸ had historically maintained a close relationship with Wrocław, as the two capital cities of bordering lands. Since 1959 the two have formed a twin city partnership,¹⁵⁹ Dresden’s second oldest after the partnership with Coventry, also in 1959. There, similarly to Warsaw, the modern re-establishment of the Old Town was largely framed by Bernardo Bellotto’s paintings, evoking a need to resurrect an image of the pre-war city. Much could be said about Dresden’s take on historic architectural representation, which lies outside the scope of this thesis. However, the recent (2008) listing of its Kulturpalast (Culture Palace) with its monumental mural “The path of the red flag” together with a large-scale renovation project of the 1960s housing blocks of Prager Strasse may be evidence of the bi-polarisation of the formal conservation doctrine in Dresden, forced mainly by a younger-generation of professionals and DDR architecture enthusiasts.

The 1965-67 Prager Strasse housing block by VEB Dresdenprojekt (head architect Manfred Arlt), on a boulevard linking the main train station with the Old Town, was recently rescued from demolition. This 240-meter long, 11-storey high block underwent a visual and structural makeover and was adjusted to meet current building regulations. The winning refurbishment proposal by Thomas Knerer and Eva Maria Lang accommodated fire regulatory demands, forcing decisions to alter the original structure of the building. The initially open, internal corridors, were divided by a succession of fire-proof doors¹⁶⁰ and two-storey external loggias were introduced as a means to discharge smoke.¹⁶¹ The brittle structure of the building, having bent 24cm from the plumb line,¹⁶² required new materials, such as supportive steel elements; however the longitudinal character of the facade, as originally referring to Le Corbusier's idea of 'machine for living', was re-emphasised. The Prager Strasse flats' internal layout remained largely unchanged, apart from the four penthouse-type apartments, converted from the original roof pavilions.¹⁶³ The block was subdivided into three functional parts to be offered to three different types of tenants: 'lower standard' for students and original residents, 'supported accommodation' for the elderly and 'higher standard' apartments with a concierge service for professionals. Thus, the original community was not resettled, which helped preserving its social integrity and possibly reduce the negative effects of gentrification.



Fig. 42
Prager Strasse, Dresden
(source: goethe.de)

Since the 1990s the surroundings of the housing block had been frequently modified until there was a disarray of forms and functions.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the originally empty ground floor space between the pilotis, was built-up to accommodate service units, which tidied up the area, but also diverged structurally from the initial architectural concept.¹⁶⁵ The public space of the boulevard, originally very successful, was re-arranged with trees, lawns, a fountain and sitting furniture, providing a mixture of uses beneficial for tenants, local residents and tourists. The German magazine *Metamorphose* summarised the transformation as follows: “In the shining whiteness, the refurbished Prager Zeile owns up today to be a heroic legacy of Modernism”.¹⁶⁶



Fig. 43
Prager Strasse, Dresden
(source. skyscraper.com)

Interestingly, in the World Heritage Bavarian town of Bamberg, the regeneration of its second oldest market Grüner Markt, as initiated in the 1970s, was partly achieved through the introduction of greenery into the area.¹⁶⁷ It is now the most lively place within the protected Old Town, yet architecturally it largely comprises of post-war reconstruction in simplified historic forms. Located proximally is a Maxplatz, which although surrounded by cautiously renovated historic houses, is underused. The dissimilarity between those two quarters can be found in their disposition of urban furniture and functions. Whilst Grüner Markt embraced the idea of social interaction by providing extensive sitting areas arranged beside the historic fountain of the so-called *Gabelman*, market stalls (visually not unified), vast trees and mixed functions of retail and gastronomy within the ground floor level units, Maxplatz is an empty square, located on the side of the main boulevard. Here, the functional attachment to the city had been crucial in revitalising the *status quo* of Grüner Markt.

Fig. 44 (right)
Grüner Markt, Bamberg
July 2013
(author's own)



Fig. 45 (bottom)
Mazplatz, Bamberg
July 2013
(author's own)



4. CONCLUSION

4.1 Nowy Targ - outline of an alternative approach

The existing conservation guidelines approved for the area draw the significance of Nowy Targ from its medieval and pre-modern development. Such an approach forces unjustified selectiveness towards historical events, particular, it undervalues the city's shift in national affiliation from 'German' to 'Polish' - a factor absolutely crucial for the history of Wrocław. The current guidelines do not specify which individual period of history determines the significance of the square, only vaguely referring to its 'historic' forms. This lack of historic precision fosters simplifications and manipulation. It is clear that authenticity of the square does not lie in its scarce 'historic' fabric, nor does this contribute to the architectural integrity. Such 'historic' forms are also alien to the collective memory of Wrocław citizens.

The original medieval outline of the square, as well as the street layout are still legible within the post-war layer. The modern housing development bears witness to Wrocław's history and urban planning in the first decades after the war and in itself is an outstanding example of early participatory architecture in Poland and beyond. Furthermore, it marks the opening of the second phase of post-war Modernism in Wrocław, showcasing the range of architectural and planning concepts of that period through a cautious and sensitive design, respectful to the surviving historical surrounding and urban layout of that place. Therefore, the protection and rehabilitation of the housing quarter, on the basis of its original concept, is highly desirable.

The level of protection of the physical fabric should be the subject of further research in terms of engineering, technologies and health and safety. It is important, however, to sustain the structure of the transversal frame of the building, allowing for flexible interiors, as well as to consider the re-utilisation of the slabs, as was done originally through recycling of the wartime rubble. Czerechowski repeatedly emphasised the importance of technology in his former and current architectural practice, thus refurbishment supportive to innovative techniques would prolong the original architectural intentions.¹⁶⁸ The rehabilitated flats could be offered to mixed communities, such as students, original residents, owner occupiers and professionals, as the central location carries a potential to generate considerable demand. The colour scheme should be consulted with the original architects, as none of the original concepts have survived.

Czerechowski added however that the idea was to create a layer abstracted from the buildings' structure.

Additionally, the square should be re-connected into the functional realm of the Old Town and surrounding areas. This could be achieved through re-distribution of the functions within the ground level units (with mixed use of cafes, gastronomy and retail) in order to attract wider and more diverse groups of people, as well as through an emphasis of the original concept, a combination of recreation, such as green areas, and trade. In contrast to the arguments of the 2005 conservation guidelines, planted areas had formed an important aspect of urban planning since the 19th century onwards, when trees were introduced even within the most representative ring of the Main Market Square.¹⁶⁹ Incorporating Nowy Targ Square, too, within the system of public information road signage would help in re-establishing its presence within the Old Town.

4.2 Conclusion

This dissertation has set out to identify challenges in listing and regenerating post-war heritage in the context of historic Old Towns. We have seen that these challenges lie not only within the material, architectural layer of postwar buildings, but, more importantly, at the level of intangible, overarching historic and ideological meanings and connotations, often pre-dating the development itself. This poses particular difficulties in post-communist countries, such as Poland, where, as Michał Murawski observes, “architecture continues to fulfil a role in the everyday production of social forms and moral values in the paradoxical setting of post-1989 (...) where ideological ‘intentions’ are generated in part by consciously defining themselves against ‘ideology’ (...).”

A further challenge is the wide gulf that exists between ‘official’ and ‘popular’ conceptions of heritage value. On the one hand, professional listing criteria, envisaging historic monuments as a manmade properties or movables, their parts or assemblies related to human activities and bearing witness to a bygone era or events, do not set a minimum age for an object in question applicable across worldwide conservation. Instead, they demand that objects to be inscribed or preserved should satisfy either historic, artistic or scientific value. On the other hand, among the wider public, these dry official criteria do not seem to suffice. Instead of these non-age-specific criteria, the ‘age value’ of Alois Riegl seems to hold sway. He himself spotlighted its unique popular accessibility: “age-value (...) claims to address one and all and to possess universal validity. (...) And in fact, the criteria by which we recognise age-value are as a rule so simple that (...) the most simple-minded farmhand is able to distinguish an old belfry from a new one”.¹⁷⁰ Extrapolated into the political area of heritage, the result of this dominance of popular heritage perceptions by the ‘age-value’ perception is an underrepresentation of twentieth century heritage in the national registry.

The challenges of protection of post-war Modernism arise, then, from the movement itself being non-historical in nature, and indeed from the fact that it was, as Andrew Herscher puts it, even a kind of ‘counter-heritage’.¹⁷¹ He observed that heritage is popularly seen as being both intrinsically opposed to Modernity, and also contradictory to an unvalued and despised

history. “The unmarked conceptual status of counter-heritage corresponds with, and testifies to, its demeaned social status. Counter-heritage is as conceptually invisible as it is physically eradicated”.¹⁷²

In Poland, this heritage stigmatisation of post-war Modernism is further compounded by the broader political stigmatisation of the socialist era. It embodies the discarded period of history and as such is a double victim, through a contemporary exercise of ‘*damnatio memoriae*’. As a result, in Wrocław, the politically and publicly supported drive to restore its medieval, or, at the latest, pre-war, features contribute to the shaping of an ever more falsified and unauthentic contemporary image. The city’s postwar ensembles face, in effect, a vicious circle of politico-cultural misunderstanding and stigmatisation, in which further decay and disintegration seems the only outcome. This then, in economic terms, comes to be seen as an obstacle to urban progress.

What, though, if the vicious circle could be turned into a virtuous circle? If it was possible for heritage efforts to break free of this discourse, Nowy Targ might instead become an exemplary candidate or a test-case for a successful rehabilitation, to be potentially achieved through an emerging method of interaction between architectural, economic and social factors, as recently argued for by UNESCO. Such a functional approach would remain thoroughly ‘authentic’, through being in close accord with the original architectural goals. Ranking the intangible factors above the physical ones would consequentially allow a certain degree of flexibility, which could become a powerful tool in re-appropriation of the Modernist legacy, enabling it to be turned into a catalyst of further improvements. After all, we still ought to remember that “repeating the destruction that created the present city by a further act of destruction is not an intervention (...) Hence the force of the question: how not to continue?”.¹⁷³



Fig. 46
Nowy Targ
1968
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)



Fig. 47
Nowy Targ
2013
(source: dolny-slask.org.pl)

(Endnotes)

1. Gregor Thum, *Uprooted: How Breslau Became Wrocław During the Century of Expulsions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), xvi.
2. Ibid., xv.
3. David Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960), 47.
4. Mirosław Przyłęcki, Zniszczenia wojenne i odbudowa historycznych miast Dolnego Śląska,” [War damage and reconstruction of historic cities of Lower Silesia] in *Architektura Współczesna w Miście Zabytkowym* [Contemporary architecture in a historic city] (Wrocław: Muzeum Architektury, 2000), 113-114.
5. Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe Dziedzictwo Kulturowe Na Dolnym Śląsku i Jego Ochrona Po 1945 R.* [Multinational cultural heritage in Lower Silesia and its protection after 1945] (Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy, 2002), 92-94.
6. Ryszard Natusiewicz, “Adaptacja Staromiejskiego Placu Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu Na Współczesny Zespół Mieszkaniowy [adaptation of Historic Square of Nowy Targ in Wrocław Into a Contemporary Housing Complex]” (diss., Wrocław Polytechnic, 1974).
7. Monika Rutkowska “Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa Ze Zniszczen i Plan Zagospodarowania Do Roku 2004” [Wrocław Nowy Targ. Postwar Reconstruction and Local Development Plans until 2004.]
8. Rafał Eysymont, “Wrocławski Nowy Targ, Jego Dzieje i Rewaloryzacja” [Wrocław Nowy Targ, Its History and Revaluation], *Quart* 1, no. 1 (2006): 55-73.
9. Rafał Eysymont and Łukasz Krzywka, “Plac Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu - Reaktywacja?” [Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław - Reactivation?] *Ochrona Zabytków* no. 2 (2006): 41-56.
10. Monika Rutkowska “Powojeenny Modernizm - Zabudowa Nowego Targu We Wrocławiu,” *Rocznik Wrocławski* 11 (2009): 95-110.
11. Gregor Thum, *Uprooted:...*”.
12. Piotr Majewski, *Ideologia i Konserwacja. Architektura Zabytkowa w Polsce w Czasach Socrealizmu* [Ideology and Conservation. Historic Architecture in Poland During Socialist Realism] (Warsaw: Trio, 2009).
13. ICOMOS, *Madrid Document: Approaches for the Conservation of Twentieth Century Architectural Heritage* (Madrid: ICOMOS International, 2011).
14. The historic data is quoted and comprehensively discussed in articles by prof. Rafał Eysymont and dr Łukasz Krzywka: Rafał Eysymont, “Wrocławski Nowy Targ...”; Rafał Eysymont, Łukasz Krzywka. “Plac Nowy Targ we Wrocławiu...”
15. Monika Rutkowska “Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu...”, 4.
16. Rafał Eysymont, “Wrocławski Nowy Targ...”, 65.
17. Monika Rutkowska “Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa...”, 6.
18. Ibid.
19. Janusz Dobesz, *Wrocławska Architektura Spod Znak Swastyki Na Tle Budownictwa III Rzeszy* [Wrocław swastika architecture against a background of a III Reich built environment] (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1999), 11.
20. Wanda Kononowicz, “Pierwszy plan generalny Wrocławia i początki kompleksowego projektowania urbanistycznego” [First general plan of Wrocław and the beginnings of comprehensive urban planning], in *Architektura Wrocławia. Urbanistyka Do 1945 Roku.* [Architecture of Wrocław. Urban planning until 1945], ed. Jerzy Rozpędowski (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1995-98), 305.
21. Jerzy Ilkosz, “Wieżowiec w strukturze miasta na przykładzie Wrocławia w latach 1919-1928. Koncepcja urbanistyczna Maxa Berga” [Skyscraper in the city structure based on example of Wrocław between 1919-1928], in *Wieżowce Wrocławia 1919 - 1932* [Skyscrapers of Wrocław 1919 - 1932], Jerzy Ilkosz and Beate Stortkuhl, eds. (Wrocław: Archiwum Budowlane Miasta Wrocławia, 1997), 41.

22. Wanda Kononowicz, "Pierwszy plan...", 308.
23. Beate Stortkuhl, "Wieżowce we Wrocławiu a "gorączka wysokościowców" w Niemczech lat dwudziestych" [Skyscrapers in Wrocław and the "heat" of towerblocks in Germany of the twenties] in *Wieżowce Wrocławia...*, 20.
24. Wanda Kononowicz, "Pierwszy plan...", 313.
25. Janusz Dobesz, *Wrocławska Architektura Spod Znak Swastyki...*, 11.
26. *Ibid.*, 17.
27. Monika Rutkowska "Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa...", 9.
28. Mirosław Przyłęcki, "Zniszczenia wojenne...", 109.
29. Monika Rutkowska "Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa...", 11 quoting Paul Peikert, *Kronika Dni Oblężenia: Wrocław 22 I-6 v 1945* [Chronicle of the days of the siege: Wrocław 22 I-6 May 1945] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972).
30. Rafał Eysymont, "'Wrocławski Nowy Targ,..."", 72.
31. Gregor Thum, *Uprooted...*, 24.
32. Mirosław Przyłęcki, "Zniszczenia wojenne...", 110.
33. Edmund Malachowicz, *Stare Miasto We Wrocławiu: Zniszczenie, Odbudowa, Program* [Wrocław Old Town: Destruction, Reconstruction, Programme] (Wrocław: PWN, 1976), 99.
34. *Ibid.*, 14.
35. Piotr Majewski, *Ideologia i Konserwacja...*, 34-50.
36. Adam Kotarbinski, *Rozwoj Architektury i Urbanistyki Polskiej w Latach 1944-64. Proba Charakterystyki Krytycznej* [Development of Polish architecture and urbanism between 1944-64. An attempt of critical study] (Warszawa: PWN, 1967), 26-31.
37. Mirosław Przyłęcki, "Organizacja i uwarunkowania działalności wojewódzkiego konserwatora zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945-75 [Organisation and activity of County Conservation Officer in Lower Silesia between 1945-1975]," in *Ochrona i Konserwacja Dóbr Kultury w Polsce 1944-89: Safeguarding and Conservation of Heritage in Poland between 1944 to 1989*, ed. Andrzej Tomaszewski (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Konserwatorów Zabytków, 1996), 91.
38. The respective successors were: Henryk Ciesła (1951-52), Aleksander Krzywobłocki (1952-58), Mirosław Przyłęcki (1958-73), Jerzy Chelmiński (1973), Aleksander Kuczynski (1974-76), Józef Cempa (1976 - 85): Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe Dziedzictwo Kulturowe Na Dolnym Śląsku i Jego Ochrona Po 1945 r.* [Multinational cultural heritage in Lower Silesia and its protection after 1945] (Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy, 2002), 79.
39. Mirosław Przyłęcki, "Organizacja...", 91.
40. Michał Murawski, "(A)political Buildings: Ideology, Memory and Warsaw's 'old' Town," (Docmomo e-proceedings 2, Edinburgh, December 2009), http://www.fredmussat.fr/e-proceedings2_dec09/mirror_of_modernity_murawski.htm (accessed April 11, 2013).
41. Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement Antiquity to Modernity: A History of Architectural Preservation* (London: Routledge, 2013), 68.
42. Andrzej Tomaszewski, "Towards a Pluralistic Philosophy of Conservation," *13th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium* (2002): page nr., <https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http%3A%2F%2Fopn.archive.icomos.org%2F578%2F1%2F212.pdf> (accessed March 23, 2013), 212.
43. Piotr Majewski, *Ideologia i Konserwacja...*, 13.
44. *Ibid.* 13
45. Bohdan Rymaszewski, *Polska Ochrona Zabytków* [Polish monuments protection] (Warsaw: Scholar, 2005), 28-29.
46. Piotr Majewski, *Ideologia i Konserwacja...*, 51.

47. Ibid., 53.
48. Ibid., 58.
49. Bohdan Rymaszewski, *Klucze Ochrony Zabytków w Polsce* [Key to monuments protection in Poland] (Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji Zabytków, 1992), 57.
50. Jan Zachwatowicz “Program i Zasady Konserwacji Zabytków” [Program and rules of historic conservation], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* no. 1 (1946): 50.
51. Ibid., 51.
52. Teresa Jakimowicz, “‘Polska Szkoła konserwatorska’ - mit i rzeczywistość: ‘Polish conservation school’ - myth and reality,” *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 38, no. 3 (1984): 421-27.
53. Ibid.
54. Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe...*, 79.
55. Gregor Thum, *Uprooted...*, 34
56. Mirosław Przyłęcki, “Powojenne społeczeństwo dolnośląskie a regionalne dziedzictwo kulturowe [Postwar society of Lower Silesia and the regional cultural heritage],” in *Międzybórz i Syców - Przeszość i Dziedzictwo* [Międzybórz i Syców - past and heritage], ed. Krzysztof Mazurski (Wrocław: Sudety, 2000), 45.
57. Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe...*, 82.
58. Gregor Thum, *Uprooted...*, 29.
59. Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe...*, 79.
60. *Wrocław, Rozwój Urbanistyczny* [Wrocław, the urban development], ed. Anna Ptaszycka, Karol Maleczyński, and Marian Morelowski (Warsaw: Budownictwo i Architektura, 1956), 201.
61. Mirosław Przyłęcki, “Powojenne...”, 57.
62. Gregor Thum, *Uprooted...*, 151.
63. Leszek Dąbrowski “Na Przykład Urbanistyka...”, 278.
64. Monika Rutkowska “Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu...”, 17.
65. Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe...*, 84.
66. Mirosław Przyłęcki, “Zniszczenia wojenne...”, 112.
67. Andrzej Frydecki “Wrocław Po Wiosennej Akcji Porządkowania” [Wrocław after the spring cleaning], *Architektura* no. 9 (1960): 350.
68. Marcin Bukowski, *Wrocław z lat...*, 60-63.
69. Mirosław Przyłęcki, “Zniszczenia wojenne...”, 112.
70. Mirosław Przyłęcki, “Powojenne...”, 56
71. Mirosław Przyłęcki, “Zniszczenia wojenne...”, 112.
72. Marcin Bukowski, *Wrocław z lat...*, 69.
73. Leszek Dąbrowski “Na Przykład Urbanistyka...”, 279.
74. Rafał Eysymont, Łukasz Krzywka. “Plac Nowy Targ we Wrocławiu...”, 50.
75. Monika Rutkowska “Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa...”, 18.
76. Edmund Małachowicz, *Stare Miasto We Wrocławiu...*, 115.
77. Monika Rutkowska “Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa...”, 19.
78. Ibid.
79. Rafał Eysymont, Łukasz Krzywka. “Plac Nowy Targ we Wrocławiu...”, 49 - 51.
80. Bartosz Sierakowski, “Umowa Poczdamska Jako Umowa Cesyjna” [Potsdam Agreement as the Act of Cession], *Ruch prawniczy, ekonomiczny i socjologiczny* 71, no. 4 (2009): 78-80.
81. Daniela Przyłęcka, “O planowaniu przestrzennym Wrocławia w okresie 1945-1995,” in *Architekci Wrocławia 1945-1995* [Wrocław Architects 1945-1995], ed. Jacek Zasada and Andrzej Zwierzchowski (Wrocław: Typoscript, 1996), 8.
82. Between 1945 and 1950 the number of incoming inhabitants grew of 304 000, corresponding with the most intense population growth in the pre-war Breslau from 1850-1900 of 308 000 *Wrocław, Rozwój*

- Urbanistyczny* [Wrocław, the urban development], edited by Anna Ptaszycka, Karol Maleczyński, and Marian Morelowski, 235-74. Warsaw: Budownictwo i Architektura, 1956, 196.
83. Leszek Dąbrowski “Na Przykład Urbanistyka...”, 279.
 84. Daniela Przyłęcka, “O planowaniu...”, 10.
 85. Anna Ptaszycka, “Zagospodarowanie miasta w latach 1945-49” [Planning between 1945-49] in *Wrocław, Rozwój Urbanistyczny...*, 234.
 86. Adam Kotarbinski, *Rozwój Architektury...*, 29.
 87. Anna Ptaszycka, “Zagospodarowanie miasta...”, 238.
 88. *Ibid.*, 262.
 89. *Ibid.*
 90. *Minutes of the Advisory Board Meeting On the Initial Project of Housing in Nowy Targ Area.* (Wrocław: TS, 10.01.1958).
 91. Anna Ptaszycka, “Zagospodarowanie miasta...”, 236.
 92. Daniela Przyłęcka, “O planowaniu...”, 10.
 93. Also referred to as the “Polish September”, “September 1956”, “September Thaw”
 94. Piotr Majewski, *Ideologia i Konserwacja...*, 238.
 95. *Ibid.*, 250-25.
 96. *Ibid.*, 251.
 97. *Ibid.*
 98. *Ibid.*
 99. Compare: Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999), 213-19.
 100. Rafał Eysymont, Łukasz Krzywka. “Plac Nowy Targ we Wrocławiu...”, 43.
 101. Monika Rutkowska mentions the date 1952, but does not quote the source. DBOR was established in 1951, taking over the management of all the urban areas, as explained by Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, in email to Anna Wojtun, July 10, 2013 (copy available upon request)
 102. Workers Housing Estates Construction Directory replaced the Workers Housing Estates Company and was established on 26.04.48 in Warsaw, followed by satellite offices located in bigger cities of Poland: Piotr Majewski, *Ideologia i Konserwacja...*, 44.; Edmund Malachowicz, *Stare Miasto We Wrocławiu...*, 119.
 103. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, phone conversation with Anna Wojtun, July 9-10, 2013 (copy available upon request)
 104. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, written statement emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 10, 2013. (see appendix)
 105. Monika Rutkowska “Powojeny Modernizm...”, 95, however Rutkowska mistakenly nominates arch. Zygmunt Stępiński as a project consultant: Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 8, 2013 (copy available upon request)
 106. Monika Rutkowska “Powojeny Modernizm...”, 99.
 107. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 8, 2013 (copy available upon request)
 108. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, written statement emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 8, 2013, p. 1. (see appendix)
 109. *Ibid.*
 110. *Ibid.*
 111. *Ibid.*
 112. *Ibid.*
 113. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, phone conversation with Anna Wojtun, July 9-10, 2013 (copy available upon request)

114. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, phone conversation with Anna Wojtun, July 9-10, 2013 (copy available upon request)
115. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, written statement emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 8, 2013. (see appendix)
116. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 8, 2013 (copy available upon request)
117. Ibid.
118. Monika Rutkowska "Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa...", 35-36.
119. Ibid.
120. Anna Ptaszycka, "Zagospodarowanie miasta...", 236.
121. Mirosław Przyłęcki, "Zniszczenia wojenne...", 116-117.
122. Bohdan Rymaszewski, *O Przetrwanie Dawnych Miast* [For the survival of past cities] (Warsaw: Arkady, 1984), 140-43.
123. Miles Glendinning and Stefan Muthesius, *Tower Block* (New Haven - London: Yale University Press, 1994), 11, <http://www.towerblock.org/> (accessed April 24, 2013), 309.
124. Stephen Kendall and Jonathan Teicher, *Residential Open Building* (London-New York: E & FN Spon, 2002), 9.
125. Nicholas John Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*, trans. B. Valkenburg (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).
126. Stephen Kendall and Jonathan Teicher, *Residential...*, 9-10.
127. Ibid., 12.
128. Sabine Lebesque, *Yona Friedman: Structures Serving the Unpredictable* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1999)
129. Oskar Hansen, *Towards Open Form = Ku Formie Otwartej* (Warsaw: Fundacja Galerii Foksal, 2005).
130. "Oskar Hansen," Team 10 online, <http://www.team10online.org/> (accessed August 8, 2013).
131. One of the first transversal load bearing frames in Poland, later such developments included a well-known W-70 system (1973)
132. "A Competition for Urban Design of Nowy Targ," Association of Polish Architects, <http://sarp.jgora.org.pl/?p=209> (accessed August 8, 2013).
133. June, 2009
134. "Underground Car Park Located under the Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław, Along with the Necessary Infrastructure and Square's Pavement and Development," Mota-Engil Central Europe, <http://mota-engil-ce.eu/pl/projects-list/project/underground-car-park-located-under-the-nowy-targ-square-in-wroclaw-along-with-the-necessary-infrastructure-and-square-s-pavement-and-development-167> (accessed August 8, 2013).
135. "Roman Rutkowski Architects," <http://www.rr-a.pl/> (accessed August 8, 2013).
136. Roman Rutkowski, interviewed by Anna Wojtun, Wrocław, United Kingdom, June 18, 2013 (copy of audio file available upon request).
137. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, emailed to Anna Wojtun, July 8, 2013 (copy available upon request); Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, phone conversation with Anna Wojtun, July 9-10, 2013 (copy available upon request)
138. *Ustawa o planowaniu i zagospodarowaniu przestrzennym*, 27.03.2003, Article 2, § 10 (2003).
139. Andrzej Siwek, "Między Zabytkiem a Dobrem Kultury Współczesnej" [Between a historic monument and a contemporary cultural good], *Kurier Konserwatorski* no. 10 (2011): 9.
140. Rafał Eysymont and Łukasz Krzywka, "Plac Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu...", 51-54.
141. Ibid., 54.
142. Ibid.
143. *Our modern: re-appropriating vulnerable XX century heritage*, 21-23 May 2013, Inter-University

Centre Dubrovnik.

144. “9.1 / Our Modern: Re-Appropriating Vulnerable Xx Century Heritage,” <http://www.iuc.hr/conference-details.php?id=212>(accessed August 8, 2013).
145. Aidan While, “Modernism vs Urban Renaissance: Negotiating Post-war Heritage in English City Centres,” *Urban Studies* 43, no. 13 (2006): 2400.
146. ICOMOS, *Madrid Document: Approaches for the Conservation of Twentieth Century Architectural Heritage* (Madrid: ICOMOS International, 2011).
147. J. Peter Byrne, “Historic Preservation And Its Cultured Despisers: Reflections On The Contemporary Role Of Preservation Law In Urban Development,” *George Mason Law Review* 19, no. 3 (2012): 688, <http://heinonline.org> (accessed August 8, 2013).
148. “9.1 / Our Modern: Re-Appropriating...”
149. Peter Larkham, *Conservation and the City* (London: Routledge, 1996), 3.
150. Albert Levy, “Urban Morphology and the Problem of the Modern Urban Fabric: Some Questions for Research,” *Urban Morphology* 3, no. 2 (1999): 81.
151. Aidan While, “Modernism vs Urban Renaissance...”, 2401.
152. Ibid., 2407.
153. UNESCO, *New Life for Historic Cities: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Explained* (UNESCO, July 2, 2013), <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-727-1.pdf> (accessed August 8, 2013), 5.
154. Ibid., 9.
155. Steven Tiesdell, Taner Oc, and Tim Heath, *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters* (Oxford, Boston: Architectural Press, 1996), 18-19.
156. Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Wielonarodowe...*, 92-93.
157. Florian Urban, “The New Old Buildings: Remarks On the Reconstruction Debate,” <http://www.goethe.de/kue/arc/aug/en4201988.htm>(accessed August 8, 2013).
158. Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement Antiquity to Modernity: A History of Architectural Preservation* (London: Routledge, 2013), 121, 429-433.
159. “City, Administration and Council,” http://www.dresden.de/en/02/11/02/c_02.php (accessed August 8, 2013).
160. Roland Züger, “Sanierung Prager Zeile in Dresden: 240 Meter Einfachsanierung, Wohnscheibe Prager Zeile in Dresden” [Renovation of Prager Section in Dresden: 240 Meters of Straightforward Renovation, Residential District of Prager Section in Dresden], *Bauwelt* no. 99 (2008): 24.
161. Wolfgang Kil and Thomas Höck, “Leuchtturm der Moderne: Sanierung und Umbau der ‘Prager Zeile’ in Dresden” [Lighthouse of Modernity: Renovation and reconstruction of “Prager Section” in Dresden], *Metamorphose* no. 3 (2008): 45.
162. Ibid., 43.
163. Ibid.
164. Ibid., 41.
165. Ibid., 43.
166. Ibid., 40.
167. Breuer Tilmann and Gutbier Reinhard, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberfranken. Stadt Bamberg Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern/ Regierungsbezirk Oberfranken. 7: Stadt Bamberg Halbbd. 2, Innere Inselstadt / von Tilmann Breuer Und Reinhard Gutbier.; 5, Innere Inselstadt* [Monuments of Art of Upper Franconia. The monuments of Art of Bamberg, Bavaria / government district of Upper Franconia. 7: Bamberg, 2. Inner City Island] (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990).
168. Włodzimierz Bronic - Czerechowski, phone conversation with Anna Wojtun, July 9-10, 2013 (copy available upon request)

169. Iwona Bińkowska, "Nature and the city: public green areas in Wrocław from 16th to the beginnings of the 20th century.," in *Natura i Miasto: Publiczna Zieleń Miejska We Wrocławiu Od Schyłku Xviii Do Początku Xx Wieku* (Wrocław: Muzeum Architektury, 2006), *passim*.
170. Alois Riegl, "The modern cult of monuments: its character and its origin", *Oppositions*, 25 (1982): 21-25 cited in: Stephen Bann, *The Inventions of History: Essays On the Representation of the Past* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 125.
171. Andrew Herscher, "Counter-Heritage and Violence," *Future Anterior* 3, no. 2 (2006): 25.
172. Ibid.
173. Andrew Benjamin, *Architectural Philosophy* (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), 96, 197.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS, BOOK CHAPTERS:

Bann, Stephen. *The Inventions of History: Essays On the Representation of the Past*. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990.

Benjamin, Andrew *Architectural Philosophy*. London: The Athlone Press, 2000.

Bińkowska, Iwona, *Natura i Miasto: Publiczna Zieleń Miejska We Wrocławiu Od Schyłku XVIII Do Początku XX Wieku* [Nature and the city: public green areas in Wrocław from the 18th to the beginnings of the 20th century], Wrocław: Muzeum Architektury, 2006.

Bukowski, Marcin *Wrocław z Lat 1945-1952: Zniszczenia i Dzieło Odbudowy* [Wrocław between 1945-1952: war damage and the work of reconstruction]. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk, 1985.

Dobesz, Janusz. *Wrocławska Architektura Spod Znak Swastyki Na Tle Budownictwa III Rzeszy* [Wrocław swastikan architecture against a background of a III Reich built environment]. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1999.

Glendinning, Miles. *The Conservation Movement Antiquity to Modernity: A History of Architectural Preservation*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Graham, Brian, Greg Ashworth, and John Tunbridge. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*. London - New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Habraken, Nicholas John. *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*. Translated by B. Valkenburg. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.

Hansen, Oskar. *Towards Open Form = Ku Formie Otwartej*. Warsaw: Fundacja Galerii Foksal, 2005.

Ilkosz, Jerzy, and Beate Stortkuhl, eds. *Wieżowce Wrocławia 1919 - 1932* [Skyscrapers of Wrocław 1919 - 1932]. Wrocław: Archiwum Budowlane Miasta Wrocławia, 1997.

Jokilehto, Jukka *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999.

Kearns, Gerard, and Chris Philo. *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. Oxford-New York: Pergamon Press, 1993.

Kendall, Stephen, and Jonathan Teicher. *Residential Open Building*. London-New York: E & FN Spon, 2002.

Kotarbiński, Adam. *O Ideowości i Ideologii w Architekturze i Urbanistyce* [About idealism and ideology in architecture and urbanism]. Warsaw: Arkady, 1985.

_____. *Rozwój Architektury i Urbanistyki Polskiej w Latach 1944-64. Próba Charakterystyki Krytycznej* [Development of Polish architecture and urbanism between 1944-64. An attempt of critical study]. Warszawa: PWN, 1967.

Larkham, Peter. *Conservation and the City*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Lynch, David. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960.

Macdonald, Susan, ed. *Preserving Post-War Heritage: The Care and Conservation of Mid-twentieth-century Architecture*. Shaftesbury: Donhead, 2001.

Majewski, Piotr. *Ideologia i Konserwacja. Architektura Zabytkowa w Polsce w Czasach Socrealizmu* [Ideology and Conservation. Historic Architecture in Poland During Socialist Realism]. Warsaw: Trio, 2009.

Malachowicz, Edmund. *Stare Miasto We Wrocławiu: Zniszczenie, Odbudowa, Program* [Wrocław's Old Town: Destruction, Reconstruction, Programme]. Wrocław: PWN, 1976.

Małachowicz, Edmund. *Konserwacja i Rewaloryzacja Architektury w Środowisku Kulturowym* [Conservation and rehabilitation of architecture in cultural environment]. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1994.

Ostrowski, Waclaw. *Zespoły Zabytkowe a Urbanistyka* [Historic assembles and urbanism]. Warsaw: Arkady, 1980.

Peikert, Paul. *Kronika Dni Oblężenia: Wrocław 22 I-6 v 1945* [Chronicle of the days of the siege: Wrocław 22 I-6 May 1945]. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972.

Przyłęcka, Daniela. "O planowaniu przestrzennym Wrocławia w okresie 1945-1995." [About Wrocław's spatial planning between 1945-1995] In *Architekci Wrocławia 1945-1995* [Wrocław Architects 1945-1995], edited by Jacek Zasada and Andrzej Zwierzchowski, 7-25. Wrocław: Typoscript, 1996.

Przyłęcki, Mirosław. "Powojenne społeczeństwo dolnośląskie a regionalne dziedzictwo kulturowe [Postwar society of Lower Silesia and regional cultural heritage]." In *Międzybórz i Syców - Przeszłość i Dziedzictwo* [Międzybórz i Syców - past and heritage], edited by Krzysztof Mazurski, 43-73. Wrocław: Sudety, 2000

_____. *Wielonarodowe Dziedzictwo Kulturowe Na Dolnym Śląsku i Jego Ochrona Po 1945 R.* [Multinational cultural heritage in Lower Silesia and its protection after 1945]. Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy, 2002.

_____. "Zniszczenia wojenne i odbudowa historycznych miast Dolnego Śląska." In *Architektura Współczesna w Mieście Zabytkowym* [Contemporary architecture in a historic city], 109. Wrocław: Muzeum Architektury, 2000.

_____. "Organizacja i uwarunkowania działalności wojewódzkiego konserwatora zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945-75 [Organisation and determinant factors of County Conservation Officer activity in Lower Silesia between 1945-1975]." In *Ochrona i Konserwacja Dóbr Kultury w Polsce 1944-890* [Safeguarding and Conservation of Heritage in Poland between 1944 to 1989], edited by Andrzej Tomaszewski, 89-109. Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Konserwatorów Zabytkow, 1996.

Ptaszycka, Anna. "U progu planu pięcioletniego." [On the cusp of a five-year development plan] In *Wrocław, Rozwój Urbanistyczny* [Wrocław, the urban development], edited by Anna Ptaszycka, Karol Maleczyński, and Marian Morelowski, 235-74. Warsaw: Budownictwo i Architektura, 1956.

_____. "Zagospodarowanie miasta w latach 1945-1955." In *Wrocław, Rozwój Urbanistyczny* [Wrocław, the urban development], edited by Karol Maleczyński, Marian Morelowski, and Anna Ptaszycka, 205-34. Warsaw: Budownictwo i Architektura, 1956.

Rymaszewski, Bohdan. *Klucze Ochrony Zabytków w Polsce* [Key to monuments protection in Poland]. Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji Zabytków, 1992.

_____. *O Przetrwanie Dawnych Miast* [For the survival of past cities]. Warsaw: Arkady, 1984.

_____. *Polska Ochrona Zabytkow* [Polish protection of monuments]. Warsaw: Scholar, 2005.

Smolak, Marzena, Jacek Słupski, and Stanisław Klimek. *Wrocław 1945: Destruction of a City*. Wrocław: Via Nova, 2002.

Stratton, Michael, ed. *Structure and Style. Conserving 20th Century Buildings*. London: E & FN Spon, 1997.

Thum, Gregor. *Uprooted: How Breslau Became Wrocław During the Century of Expulsions*. Princetown: Princetown University Press, 2011.

Tiesdell, Steven, Taner Oc, and Tim Heath. *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*. Oxford, Boston: Architectural Press, 1996.

Tilmann, Breuer, and Gutbier Reinhard. *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberfranken. Stadt Bamberg Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern/ Regierungsbezirk Oberfranken. 7: Stadt Bamberg Halbbd. 2, Innere Inselstadt / von Tilmann Breuer Und Reinhard Gutbier.; 5, Innere Inselstadt* [Monuments of Art of Upper Franconia. The monuments of Art of Bamberg, Bavaria / government district of Upper Franconia. 7: Bamberg, 2. Inner City Island]. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990.

Zawada, Andrzej. "Mity założycielskie powojennego Wrocławia" [The founding myths of postwar Wrocław]. In *Przestrzenie Komunikowania* [Spaces of communication], edited by Igor Borkowski and Karina Stasiuk-Krajewska, 45-55. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2010.

JOURNAL ARTICLES:

Ascione, Paola. "Cognitive Study and Upgrading of the 20th Century Architectonic Heritage: Experiences and Methodologies." *Journal of Technology for Architecture and Environment* no. 3 (2012): 250-61. <http://www.fupress.net/index.php/techne/article/view/10849> (accessed April 24, 2013).

Bogusz, Jerzy. "Niektóre Problemy Treści i Formy w Architekturze" [Certain Problems of Content and Form In Architecture] *Architektura* 81, no. 7 (1954): 198-202.

Bukowski, Marcin "O początkach." [About the beginnings] In *Architekci Wrocławia 1945-1995* [Wrocław Architects 1945-1995], edited by Jacek Zasada and Andrzej Zwierzchowski, 121. Wrocław: Typoscript, 1996.

Byrne, J. Peter. "Historic Preservation And Its Cultured Despisers: Reflections On The Contemporary Role Of Preservation Law In Urban Development." *George Mason Law Review* 19, no. 3 (2012): 665-88. <http://heinonline.org> (accessed August 8, 2013).

Campbell, K. J. "Ku Nowej Architekturze [Towards New Architecture]." *Architektura* no. 7 (1954): 82-84.

Ciborowski, Adolf. "Co to Jest Projekt Typowy" [What Is a Typical Project]. *Architektura* 64, no. 2 (1953): 53-55.

Dąbrowski, Leszek. "Na Przykład Urbanistyka Wrocławia [For Instance Urban Planning of Wrocław]. *Architektura* no. 7 (1964): 277-83.

Eysymontt, Rafal. "Wartosciownaie i Ochrona Miasta Sredniowiecznego." ICOMOS Poland (2012): 35-44. http://www.bc.pollub.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=1218&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=5&QI=C53ACA5495C0D40E1303406EC6484C11-2 (accessed March 10, 2013).

_____. "Wrocławski Nowy Targ, Jego Dzieje i Rewaloryzacja" [Wrocław Nowy Targ, Its History and Revaluation]. *Quart* 1, no. 1 (2006): 72.

Eysymontt, Rafal, and Łukasz Krzywka. "Plac Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu - Reaktywacja?" [Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław - Reactivation?] *Ochrona Zabytków* no. 2 (2006): 41-56.

Frydecki, Andrzej. "Wrocław Po Wiosennej Akcji Porządkowania" [Wrocław after the spring cleaning]. *Architektura* no. 9 (1960): 350.

Geppert, Wojciech. "Nowe Realizacje w Śródmiejskiej Zabudowie Mieszkaniowej" [New Projects in Downtown Housing Quarters]. *Architektura* no. 11 (1961): 449-55.

Herscher, Andrew. "Counter-Heritage and Violence." *Future Anterior* 3, no. 2 (2006): 24-33.

Jakimowicz, Teresa. Polska Szkoła Konserwatorska - mit i rzeczywistość [Polish conservation school - myth and reality]. *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 38, no. 3 (1984): 421-27.

Kil, Wolfgang, and Thomas Höck. "Leuchtturm der Moderne: Sanierung und Umbau der 'Prager Zeile' in Dresden" [Lighthouse of Modernity: Renovation and reconstruction of "Prager Section" in Dresden]. *Metamorphose* no. 3 (2008): 40-47.

Kleyff, Zygmunt. "Nowa Metoda Typizacji w Budownictwie Mieszkaniowym [New Methods of Standardization in Housing Design]. *Architektura* (1956): 147-50.

Kononowicz, Wanda. "Pierwszy plan generalny Wrocławia i początki kompleksowego projektowania urbanistyki [First general plan of Wrocław and the beginnings of comprehensive urban planning]." In *Architektura Wrocławia. Urbanistyka Do 1945 Roku*. [Architecture of Wrocław. Urban planning until 1945], edited by Jerzy Rozpędowski, 301-38. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1998.

Kotarbiński, Adam. "Główne Problemy Etapowania Rozwoju Miast w Ogólnych Planach Zagospodarowania Przestrzennego [Main Problems of Staging in General City Development Plans]." *Biuletyn Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury* 29, no. 4 (July - August 1954): 1-4.

Levy, Albert. "Urban Morphology and the Problem of the Modern Urban Fabric: Some Questions for Research." *Urban Morphology* 3, no. 2 (1999): 79-85.

Meyhöfer, Dirk. "Sanierung Wohnzeile Prager Strasse: Knerer Und Lang" [Renovation of Residential Section of Prager Strasse: Knerer and Lang]. *Deutsches Architektur-Jahrbuch* no. 9 (2008): 84-89.

_____. "Powojenny Modernizm - Zabudowa Nowego Targu We Wrocławiu" [Post-war Modernism - Nowy Targ in Wrocław]. *Rocznik Wrocławski* 11 (2009): 95-110.

Sierakowski, Bartosz. "Umowa Poczdamska Jako Umowa Cesyjna" [Potsdam Agreement as the Act of Cession]. *Ruch prawniczy, ekonomiczny i socjologiczny* 71, no. 4 (2009): 78-80.

Siwek, Andrzej. "Między Zabytkiem a Dobrem Kultury Współczesnej" [Between a historic monument and a contemporary cultural good]. *Kurier Konserwatorski* no. 10 (2011): 5-11.

While, Aidan. "Modernism vs Urban Renaissance: Negotiating Post-war Heritage in English City Centres." *Urban Studies* 43, no. 13 (2006): 2339-19.

Züger, Roland. "Sanierung Prager Zeile in Dresden: 240 Meter Einfachsanieung, Wohnscheibe Prager Zeile in Dresden" [Renovation of Prager Section in Dresden: 240 Meters of Straightforward Renovation, Residential District of Prager Section in Dresden]. *Bauwelt* no. 9 9 (2008): 24-27.

Zachwatowicz, Jan. "Program i Zasady Konserwacji Zabytków" [Programme and the principles of historic conservation]. *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* no. 1 (1946): 48-52.

ONLINE SOURCES:

"9.1 / Our Modern: Re-Appropriating Vulnerable XX Century Heritage." <http://www.iuc.hr/conference-details.php?id=212> (accessed August 8, 2013).

"City, Administration and Council." http://www.dresden.de/en/02/11/02/c_02.php (accessed August 8, 2013).

"A Competition for Urban Design of Nowy Targ." Association of Polish Architects. <http://sarp.jgora.org.pl/?p=209> (accessed August 8, 2013).

"Roman Rutkowski Architects.." <http://www.rr-a.pl/> (accessed August 8, 2013).

"Underground Car Park Located under the Nowy Targ Square in Wrocław, Along with the Necessary Infrastructure and Square's Pavement and Development." Mota-Engil Central Europe. <http://mota-engil-ce.eu/pl/projects-list/project/underground-car-park-located-under-the-nowy-targ-square-in-wroclaw-along-with-the-necessary-infrastructure-and-square-s-pavement-and-development-167> (accessed August 8, 2013).

Urban, Florian. "The New Old Buildings: Remarks On the Reconstruction Debate." <http://www.goethe.de/kue/arc/aug/en4201988.htm> (accessed August 8, 2013).

DISSERTATIONS:

Rutkowska, Monika. "Nowy Targ We Wrocławiu. Odbudowa Ze Zniszczeń i Plan Zagospodarowania Do Roku 2004." [Wrocław Nowy Targ. Postwar Reconstruction and Local Development Plans until 2004.] Bachelor's thesis, University of Wrocław, 2004.

OTHER:

Glendinning, Miles ed., “Mirror of Modernity: The Post-War Revolution in Urban Conservation.” Docmomo E-proceedings 2, Edinburgh, December 2009. <https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http://sites.ace.ed.ac.uk/docmomoiscul/files/2011/02/Docmomo-E-proceedings2.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2013).

ICOMOS. Madrid Document: Approaches for the Conservation of Twentieth Century Architectural Heritage. Madrid: ICOMOS International, 2011.

Murawski, Michal “(A)political Buildings: Ideology, Memory and Warsaw’s ‘old’ Town” http://www.fredmussat.fr/e-proceedings2_dec09/mirror_of_modernity_murawski.htm (accessed April 11, 2013).

Tomaszewski, Andrzej. “Towards a Pluralistic Philosophy of Conservation.” 13th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium (2002): page nr. <https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http%3A%2F%2Fopenarchive.icomos.org%2F578%2F1%2F212.pdf> (accessed March 23, 2013).

UNESCO. *New Life for Historic Cities: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Explained*. UNESCO, July 2, 2013. <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-727-1.pdf> (accessed August 8, 2013).

“Zabytki drugiej połowy XX wieku: waloryzacja, ochrona, konserwacja.” [Heritage of the second half of the century: evaluation, protection, conservation]. ICOMOS Poland. <http://bc.pollub.pl/Content/634/zabytki.pdf> (accessed August 8, 2013).