
Local Government
and the Civilizational Space of Cracow
in the 19th Century

Cracow in the 19th century at last overcame the long-term economic crisis and the process of decline and provincialization that had afflicted it for so long. The first signs were already evident in the period 1815–1846, when Cracow briefly enjoyed the status of a small and nominally independent Republic (The Free State of Cracow). The economic prosperity of the 19th century, despite numerous downturns, left its mark on the urban tissue of Cracow. The city's relative prosperity manifested itself in the urban planning concepts of the Free State Senate and the mass construction programme in Stradom and Kazimierz districts¹.

Cracow only became a formal and permanent part of the Habsburg Empire comparatively late, in 1846. This event is even more rarely associated with the disastrous fate that befell the Free State of Cracow, liquidated in the same year. Cracow in 1846 was not only seen as a territorial possession, but also as a dangerous nest of Polishness, liberalism and conspiracy. Cracow's future fate and urban layout, however, were determined by fundamental changes in the situation of Cracow, reincorporated into the Austrian Monarchy, rather than by the political and economic repression that accompanied this event.

Cracow's annexation by Austria radically reoriented its economic system. The liquidation of Cracow's Free State status in 1846 undermined the foundations of Cracow's relative economic prosperity of the 1830s and 1840s. The city, which had up to then enjoyed a free trade system, was incorporated into the Austrian customs area. Trade with the Kingdom of Poland as well as with neighbouring Prussia

¹ M. Borowiejska-Birkenmajerowa, J. Demel, *Działalność urbanistyczna i architektoniczna Senatu Wolnego Miasta Krakowa w latach 1815–1846* [The Town-planning and Architectural Activity of the Senate of the Free State of Cracow 1815–1846], *Studia i Materiały do Teorii i Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki*, Vol. 4, 1963; T. Żychiewicz, *Architektura klasycystyczna Kazimierza i Stradomia w Krakowie* [The Classicist Architecture of Kazimierz and Stradom Districts in Cracow], *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. 1, 1956, no. 4, pp. 297–348.

slumped. For many years after this event Cracow became a small, marginalized local market centre and ceased to serve as a major communication link or even administrative seat. Cracow was the only large city in the Austrian Monarchy that was not even made a provincial capital. These changes triggered a serious economic crisis, and even caused a temporary depopulation of the city. This crisis was systemic in character, all the more so as Cracow became a part of Galicia, the most backward province of Cisleithania. Economically, then, Cracow had no chance of rapidly developing into a major metropolitan centre until the First World War. It was a relatively poor city, without a local industrial base or bourgeoisie².

This was also largely due to the fact that in 1846 Cracow was transformed into a frontier fortress, as it lay at a very strategic point for the Austrians. Lying on the northern border of the Monarchy on the orographically left bank of the Vistula, it formed a natural bridgehead of essential military importance in the event of war against Russia. The decision to turn the newly annexed city into a military camp was no doubt reinforced by events which occurred in 1846 and 1848 in Cracow itself, a city which in Austrian eyes still symbolized the Poles' dreams of independence. Especially in the first years after its annexation, the fortification of the town emphasized the presence of a foreign occupying force, and the military authorities had scant regard for the city's interests. Cracow remained a great fortress and Austrian frontier garrison right up till 1918. Throughout this time Cracow's development was based on a clear discrepancy between the city (a symbol of Poland and Polishness) and the fortress (a symbol of foreign occupation)³. Cracow's status as a fortress town also played an enormous role in its urban development. Cracow served as a frontier fortress town from the mid-19th century till 1918. The rampart, which closely ringed Cracow, meant that by 1909 a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants found itself crammed into an administrative area of less than 6 km².

The development of Cracow at the turn of the century was beset with many contradictions. The systemic weakness of the city's economy was offset by Cracow's enormous symbolic importance for the Poles. The function of the nation's spiritual capital was at variance with its function as a frontier fortress town and provincial garrison of a foreign army. Seen from the perspective of Vienna, which was itself transformed into a large cosmopolitan metropolis at the turn of the century, Cracow was merely a medium sized peripheral city. Seen from the perspective of Polish state policy, Cracow, poverty-stricken as it was, served as the national capital of the non-existent Polish state. These and other contradictions determined the unique situation of Cracow under Austrian rule.

It was not until the end of the 19th century that Cracow experienced a quantum leap forward in its development. It was during this period that the modern

² For a more extensive treatment cf. J. Purchla, *Krakau unter österreichischer Herrschaft 1846-1918. Faktoren seiner Entwicklung*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 1993.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-129.

urban fabric of the city began to take shape. This more favourable turn of events in the second half of the 19th century was largely the consequence of the modern and strong system of municipal government, which was established in Cracow after 1866 as part of the broad programme of autonomy introduced in Galicia⁴. The municipal government also played an exceptionally important role in creating the urban fabric of modern Cracow⁵. Cracow serves as a good example of the extent to which a municipal government could influence, both directly and indirectly, urban planning.

The City Council, formed after the first municipal elections in 1866, began to make up for many years of neglect in the urban economy. Due to the modest financial means at the disposal of the commune, whose 1867 budget was limited to less than 300,000 guildens, the transformation of Cracow into a modern urban organism would have to take many years. However, from the very beginning of the autonomous era, the city had an ambitious programme for its development, drawn up by Cracow's first Mayor, Józef Dietl, and consistently put into practice by his followers. The mayors of autonomous Cracow played a major role in modernizing the city. Elected from Cracow's most progressive minded citizens, almost all of them were great personalities, who had a thorough understanding of the city's needs and aspired to safeguard its interests. Józef Dietl takes the credit for making an insightful analysis of the city's condition and formulating a far-reaching programme for its development.

Mayor Józef Dietl (1866–1874) endeavoured to change the existing situation in two ways: through direct investments made by the Commune itself in various projects and by passing building and tax regulations which would stimulate residential housing construction. On 5 January 1871, at a meeting of the City Council Dietl forwarded a project for "restructuring the city" which included a list of the most urgent investments to be made. These included completing the city's sewage system; cobbling its squares and streets; constructing water mains, abattoirs, schools and a field hospital for the terminally ill; developing the municipal office; and restoring the Cloth Hall. A lottery loan of 1,500,000 guildens approved in December 1872 by the National Department, was granted to make this bold project possible.

It was not until Józef Dietl's successor, Mikołaj Zybkiewicz (1874–1881), that his great predecessor's project was carried out. First the Cloth Hall was restored, which crowned the final stage of the restoration of the Market Square. This building, which represented the heart of the city, was not only to serve as the Palais du Commerce, but also perform the role of a "Temple of Art" housing the collection of the newly established Polish National Museum, the first such institution of its kind. The restoration of the Cloth Hall went hand in hand with a change in its urban situation and a change in the function of the Market Square. The reconstruction of

⁴ Cf. J. Puchla, *Krakau unter österreichischer Herrschaft 1846–1918*, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁵ For an extensive treatment of this subject see: J. Puchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], Kraków 1990, *passim*.

the Cloth Hall in 1874–1879, by Tomasz Pryliński, was symbolic in character. The previously run-down building was transformed into a showcase of newly modernized Cracow. It also symbolized Cracow's status as the nation's spiritual capital, a role promoted and nurtured by Zybkiewicz. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's jubilee, organized in the newly opened Cloth Hall, affords an excellent example of the municipal authorities' efforts to use the restoration of Cracow's buildings as a means of increasing their spiritual importance for all the Polish-speaking lands.

The reconstruction of the Cloth Hall raised the city's construction industry to the rank of architecture. The city government patronized new architecture and introduced ever stricter aesthetic, utilitarian and technical demands in this area. The final cost of all these investments exceeded 550,000 guildens, a sum almost three times higher than was originally planned for this purpose.

Another important step towards creating outstanding works of architecture was the construction of the Municipal Savings Bank at 15 Szpitalna Street (built between 1881 and 1883 by Karol Knaus at the cost of 150,000 guildens), according to a design of the Viennese architect, Karol Borkowski. This was the first example in Cracow of the *altdeutscher* style, which was inspired by the northern Renaissance tradition. The architectural form of the Municipal Savings Bank closely resembled that of the Austrian National Bank, which was extended in 1873–1875 by Friedrich von Schmidt⁶.

During Zybkiewicz's term of office, the city authorities embarked on a modern municipal school building programme. New schools were built on Wolnica Square (in the Kazimierz district town hall, after it had been renovated), in Bernardyńska Street (1878), on Matejki Square (1878), in Smoleńsk Street (1881) and in Św. Marka Street (the Saint Scholastica School). The designs of these schools were very modern and functional for their time. The construction of the school in Kazimierz district was supervised by Filip Pokutyński. The other buildings were constructed by a team headed by Maciej Moraczewski. He was brought from distant Bydgoszcz by Zybkiewicz, who needed a skilled construction engineer to carry out his ambitious plans. Moraczewski, who served as director of the Department of Municipal Construction for five years (1876–1881), did not let his principal down. His legacy includes many public buildings, which have remained in use up to the present day⁷.

Moraczewski's first project was a new abattoir in Grzegórzki, built in 1877–1878 at the cost of 118,000 guildens. The architect constructed a complex of modern designed buildings of high utilitarian value on a site covering 1.5 hectares in

⁶ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], pp. 24, 67; J. Purchla, *Jan Zawiejski – architekt przełomu XIX i XX wieku* [Jan Zawiejski. Architect from the Turn of the Century], Warszawa 1986, pp. 262–267.

⁷ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], p. 22.

area. This was a distinctive feature of the work of this man, who was a graduate of the Bauakademie in Berlin⁸.

In 1879 Cracow acquired two new public buildings constructed by Moraczewski: the fire station in Kolejowa (now Westerplatte) Street and the neo-Renaissance Academy of Fine Arts on Matejko Square. The latter building brought the designer the greatest acclaim. The decision to build it was made in 1877 by the City Council following a resolution of the Galician Diet from the previous year, which assigned 7,000 guildens a year for 33 years from the national budget “to cover the costs of constructing” the building provided that the total cost came to at least 100,000 guildens⁹. In this way the Commune once more acted as a substitute of the nonexistent Polish State and reinforced Cracow’s role as the Polish Athens and the spiritual capital of the nation.

The City Council was particularly concerned with the development of elementary school education. The construction of such schools was one of the major points of the “urban restructuring” programme. These new schools were not only to help fight illiteracy but also to alleviate the city’s housing shortage (most schools rented premises in residential houses). School investments under Zyblikiewicz cost the city the hefty sum of over 278,000 guildens¹⁰.

After Moraczewski moved to Lvov, new school buildings were designed by Stefan Żoldani from the Building Office. He completed the school on Miodowa Street in 1887, and went on to design the schools on Dietla and Studencka Streets five years later (1892). In the case of the latter two projects the City Council extended a credit of 174,000 guildens. In this way, in the course of only ten to fifteen years, the city acquired several brand-new spacious school buildings. The schools designed by Moraczewski and Żoldani included characteristic façades made from unplastered brick. Just like the fire stations, these designs echoed the then fashionable Burg style¹¹. However, these modern buildings did not completely solve the city’s school shortage. As a consequence barrack schools had to be built as a makeshift solution¹².

The City embarked on its next school building programme after 1900, when several “departmental” schools were built. The building work was supervised by the municipal architect, Jan Zawiejski. In 1901–1902 he built a departmental school on Kleparski Square (at the cost of 150,000 crowns) and in 1903–1904 designed the twin buildings of the departmental schools in Topolowa and Lubomirskiego Streets at a total cost of 327,500 crowns. During the following years

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The first such school was established in 1890 on Miodowa Street, while the next two were built on Biskupi Square and in the English Garden in Lubiez Street a year later. A school of this type was built in Dietla Street in 1899 and in Wygoda Street in 1903. These schools were not expensive to build. They were of a makeshift nature, but all were only liquidated after World War II.

two schools were built in Wąska Street (1905–1906 and 1908–1910), two in Loretańska Street (1905–1907) and one in Szlak Street (1908–1911). Just like Moraczewski and Żoldani, Zawiejski added a certain flourish to his school designs. After 1909 the city began in haste to build schools in the areas incorporated into Cracow. In the years 1911–1915 alone, Zawiejski designed and built 6 new buildings: in Ludwinów, Dębniki, Półwsie Zwierzynieckie, Dąbie, Łobzów and Płaszów. All these buildings are distinctive in their architectural form, for Zawiejski developed his own individual style which combined traces of historicism, including certain national elements, with modernism¹³.

Architects working at the Municipal Construction office played a major role in carrying out urban investments. This was a period when the City Council rarely held competitions for building designs. Therefore, despite a large architectural milieu and stiff competition, the projects were assigned to full-time municipal construction engineers. They produced designs and supervised construction work, which was later performed by private entrepreneurs chosen through public tender. Under Zyblikiewicz's mayorship, Maciej Moraczewski reformed the operations of the Department of Municipal Building and helped transform it into an independent department of the municipality. After Moraczewski left Cracow in 1881, Janusz Niedziałkowski became director of the Municipal Construction Office. In 1885 he reorganized the Office, establishing a "municipal building department" and a "building and fire-prevention inspectorate". The latter approved the plans of all construction work carried out in the city and made sure that they conformed to those plans. The "municipal building" department was concerned with the design and execution of projects undertaken by the City. After Janusz Niedziałkowski retired in 1895, Wincenty Wdowiszewski succeeded him as director of the Municipal Construction Office. After his death in 1906 this post fell vacant for a long time. The office was further reorganized during the development of Greater Cracow. At that time it was divided into department "a" – responsible for the design, construction and inspection of municipal buildings, and department "b" – responsible for roads, cobblestones, municipal sewage and regulation systems, measurements and post-fortress sites¹⁴.

Jan Zawiejski was the most prominent figure among the architects employed by the Municipal Building office. He came from the old Jewish merchant family, the Feintuch's. Their history is one of the earliest examples of a Cracow Jewish family being assimilated and completely Polonized. For patriotic reasons Zawiejski's father adopted a typically Polish surname. Young Zawiejski studied under a number of outstanding Austrian architects, including Ferstel. In 1900 he began working as a municipal architect at the Construction Office. The majority of Zawiejski's designs

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50; J. Purchla, *Jan Zawiejski...*, pp. 138–237, 330–333.

¹⁴ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], pp. 73–74.

from 1900 to 1914 were concerned with municipal buildings. Under the mayorship of Juliusz Leo he expanded the city's stock of school facilities. He also designed the Academy of Commerce in Kapucyńska Street (1904–1906), the Industrial School for Girls in Syrokomli Street (1913–1914) and the hospital for contagious diseases in Prądnicka Street (1913–1915)¹⁵.

Jan Zawiejski was also involved in the most ambitious municipal project in turn-of-the-century Cracow – the new Municipal Theatre¹⁶. The theatre became a symbol of Cracow's new prosperity and of its special role in the national and cultural life of Poles. The idea of building such a theatre was first discussed in the 1870s. For many years the City could not make up its mind whether to build such an expensive edifice. The issue at stake was whether a water mains or a new theatre was more important for Cracow's citizens. Characteristically for Cracow, in 1881 the city authorities resolved to build a theatre. From the very outset the theatre was the subject of fierce and heated debate. The first point at stake was its location. It was difficult to find a sufficiently large square in Cracow at that time. In 1886 the controversial decision was made to erect the theatre on the site of the Monastery of the Spirituals on Szpitalna Street, which had been specially demolished for this purpose. Another debatable issue was the design of the new building. An international competition to design the theatre was announced in 1888. Twenty-one designs were submitted. In addition to leading Cracovian architects, designs were also submitted by foreign architects, such as Emil von Förster, the Ferdinand Fellner and Herman Helmer partnership from Vienna, and Heinrich Seeling from Berlin. A second internal competition was also held and in April 1890, after a stormy session the City Council decided by an overwhelming majority of votes to accept the design of the young Jan Zawiejski. He was also assigned the task of supervising the building's construction¹⁷.

Both competitions, in 1888 and 1889, to design the new Municipal Theatre, played a critically important role in the development of Cracow's architectural *milieu*. They not only represented the watershed of Cracow historicism and eclecticism, but also marked a pivotal stage in the emergence of a strong architectural *milieu* in the city¹⁸.

Construction work began in the spring of 1891, and the building was roofed by the winter. The work was carried out at breakneck speed, while great attention was paid to ensuring the building's high standard. The project attracted

¹⁵ J. Purchla, *Jan Zawiejski...*, *passim*.

¹⁶ For a more extensive treatment, see: J. Purchla, *For the Centenary of the Municipal Theatre in Cracow*, in: *Theatre Architecture of the Late 19th Century in Central Europe*, J. Purchla (ed.), Cracow 1993, pp. 9–22.

¹⁷ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], p. 50.

¹⁸ L. Lameński, *Dzieje dwóch konkursów na projekt nowego teatru w Krakowie* [A History of the Two Competitions to Design a New Theatre in Cracow], *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. 24, 1979, pp. 267–297.

huge public interest. The City Council spontaneously assigned extra funds to complete the project. The investment programme was expanded to include additional elements. It was decided to furnish the theatre with electric lighting. Therefore Zawiejcki also built a small building at the back of the theatre, because at that time the city had no power plant of its own. It contained a steam turbine and was designed in the form of a villa. The official opening of the new theatre on 21 October 1893 was a great occasion for the whole of Cracow. The total cost of building and furnishing the theatre was huge: 767,000 gulden.

The Municipal Theatre, built in 1890–1893, marks the culminating point in the bombastic phase of historicism in Cracow. It is also an eclectic work inspired by different sources. Comprehended in this way, the Cracow theatre synthesizes the achievements of late-19th-century Viennese, Parisian and German architecture, and at the same time reflects the talents and high level of aesthetic consciousness of local artists¹⁹.

That historicism lasted so long and assumed such a special character in Cracow was due to a combination of national and symbolic themes in the period prior to World War I. The lack of political independence encouraged the worship of past glories and increased the desire for a national style in art and architecture, thus strengthening and prolonging the duration of historicism, which dominated Cracow architecture until the outbreak of World War I²⁰. At the same time attempts were being made as early as the 1890s to abandon the historical costume in architecture and experiment with Art Nouveau and modernism.

After the building of the new Municipal Theatre, its predecessor on Szczepeński Square was left empty. After a debate lasting several years, it was decided to use the building to house a concert hall, a ballroom and a music academy. Conversion work was assigned to Tadeusz Stryjeński and Franciszek Mączyński. In 1903–1906 they completely rebuilt this much dilapidated building, changing not only its functional layout but also its form. In its new attire the building became one of the best examples of Art Nouveau architecture in the Polish-speaking lands. This was not only due to the changes made to the building's architectural form, but also to its interior and exterior decoration, which was the work of artists from the "Polish Applied Art" society. The ground floor of the reconstructed building contained a restaurant and a number of elegant shops. The whole work cost about 485,000 crowns²¹.

The myth of Cracow as the capital of Polish Art Nouveau may appear rather suspect in view of the small number of clear examples of this new style. For

¹⁹ J. Purchla, *Jan Zawiejcki – architekt przełomu XIX i XX wieku* [Jan Zawiejcki. Architect from the Turn of the Century], Warszawa 1986; *idem*, *Theater und sein Architekt*, Kraków 1993.

²⁰ Cf. for example the work of leading Cracow architects: Ekielski, Zawiejcki and Hoffmann.

²¹ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], p. 51.

many Cracovian architects – especially the generation moulded by the historicist tradition – Art Nouveau was just another period costume, and often a pretext for extending their eclectic palette of decorative motifs. Hence architecture in Cracow after 1900 usually took the form of an eclectic combination of historical forms mixed with Art Nouveau decorative elements and folk motifs. It also exhibited a distinct tendency toward modernity.

Such an attitude is exemplified by the Academy of Commerce in Cracow, which Zawiejski designed and built in 1904–1906. This architectural work was categorized as “Romantic/Art Nouveau”. To make it appear Art Nouveau in style, Zawiejski used the classical repertoire of late-historicist structural elements, which gives the building a flickering and dynamic appearance. This apparent turning to a new form, while at the same time maintaining the historical forms and canons of architecture, is perfectly visible when we compare the elevation of the Academy of Commerce with that of the adjacent House of the Technical Society designed by Sławomir Odrzywolski²².

The construction of the Municipal Museum of Technology and Industry at no. 9 Smoleńsk Street by Tadeusz Stryjeński in 1908–1914 was the crowning achievement of Polish modernism, especially its elevation (built in 1908). According to Adam Miłobędzki, “The structural fabric of this elevation, which corresponded to the bays of a ferroconcrete skeleton, was the work of Tadeusz Stryjeński. It was supplemented with folk and even historical elements, which were exposed to a puristic, sharp-edged stylization, whose expression was almost constructivist. This ‘anti-decoration’, which was present here on such a monumental scale, was the work not of an architect but of two painters: Józef Czajkowski and Wojciech Jastrzębowski. Both were among the most active promoters of ‘applied art’ and the related modernist current of Cracow architecture”²³.

After 1900 the City Council began in earnest to tackle the problem of finding a new headquarters. The temporary accommodation problems of the Municipality were eased by the purchase of nearby buildings, but the new headquarters proved too restricting and lacked prestige. The City Council chose a location which necessitated demolishing a number of medieval buildings of historical interest. The new town hall was to be built in św. Ducha Square between Szpitalna and św. Krzyża Streets, opposite the new theatre. Both buildings were to mark the new town centre – near the railway station. A competition to design the new headquarters of the Municipality was held in 1903. This was to be a building of colossal proportions, with a high tower as its main feature, while the cost of constructing it was not supposed to exceed a million crowns. As many as 23 designs were submitted. However, this competition was the last time the idea of constructing

²² J. Puchla, *Jan Zawiejski...*, p. 294.

²³ A. Miłobędzki, *Zarys dziejów architektury w Polsce* [A Brief History of Polish Architecture], Warszawa 1978, p. 304.

a new town hall for Cracow was seriously considered. The Municipality's accommodation problems were solved by adding a new wing to the Municipality's building on the side located on Poselska Street. The city builder Jan Rzymkowski was entrusted with this task²⁴.

In the early 20th century Jan Rzymkowski designed a number of interesting public utility buildings, including the urban water mains in the Półwsie Zwierzynieckie district, a gas works and power plant in Dajwór, and most importantly of all, a theatre decoration storehouse located at no. 3 Radziwiłłowska Street (1903) and a highly original power plant substation located at no. 9 Łobzowska Street (1908–1913)²⁵.

Aside from public utility buildings, such as tram depots, the construction of the city's toll-gates administered by the municipal excise office represents a separate chapter in Cracow's urban development. More than ten toll-gates were built on the outskirts of Cracow originating from different periods because the customs border line was changed after each new act of incorporation.

Restoration work was also an important field of City Council activity. Additional money for this purpose was donated by the church authorities, various institutions and people from all three partitions, but the City Council was the principal agent behind these large-scale projects. Work on the largest and most valuable buildings was given most attention. Restoration of the Cathedral began in 1891, but major renovation work was only carried out in 1895–1910 under the supervision of Sławomir Odrzywolski and Zygmunt Hendel. Odrzywolski assigned 500,000 guldens from the municipal budget for this purpose. Another major restoration project involved St. Mary's Church. The project was carried out in two stages. In 1887 and 1889–1891 Tadeusz Stryjeński partly restored the Gothic character of the church's interior and exterior. In 1899–1914 Zygmunt Hendel and Jan Sas-Zubrzycki restored the chapels and external elevations. Both these undertakings were financed by Cracow's Municipal Savings Bank.

Restoration of the Dominican and Franciscan Monasteries went hand in hand with efforts to rectify the damage caused by the city fire of 1850 and thus was not completed until well after 1900. Restoration work was carried out by Karol Kremer, Karol Knaus, Władysław Ekielski and Zygmunt Hendel. The restoration of two churches in Kazimierz district – St. Catherine and Corpus Christi – also took many years to finish. Other major conservation projects included the restoration of the Skalka Church (Knaus, beginning in 1888), the Church of the Holy Cross (Stryjeński and Hendel, 1896), SS. Peter and Paul's (Hendel, beginning in 1899) and other religious buildings, including the Old Synagogue (Hendel, 1904–1913). In addition, thanks to generous subsidies from the Municipal Savings Bank, many

²⁴ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], p. 56.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

prestigious buildings, such as the town hall tower and the medieval city walls, were also restored. The importance of restoration work on such a large scale not only concerns its tangible economic effects. Much more importantly the renovation work carried out at that time made the appearance of these buildings permanent, so that today we are both unable and unwilling to make any changes to them. Nothing remains for us but to preserve the creative form which was bestowed upon them at the turn of the century²⁶.

The city government also adopted and pursued a conservation policy in relation to private property, including buildings of historical interest. Among the many attempts to standardize conservation work mention should be made of the City Council resolution of 4 November 1907 which established the Arts Council as an advisory body of the Municipality. A law passed by the Vienna Parliament at the request of Cracow authorities on 27 June 1906 also played an important role. It exempted the owners of new houses (included in a separate register) from house tax, rent tax, and national and municipal taxes for 18 years, provided that they were built on the sites of demolished buildings. This was a necessity considering the limited territory of the city, and was also an attempt to overcome the building crisis. In the case of Cracow, however, it threatened many buildings of historical interest with destruction. In this situation the appointment of the conservator Stanisław Tomkowicz to the commission, which drew up the list of houses which were to be subject to this law, was an event of key importance²⁷.

In addition to the land shortage and high property prices in Cracow, the temporary tax exemption system mentioned above was a second crucial factor determining the city's spatial development. Another useful instrument in the efforts of the local government to create urban space at the turn of the century was building legislation. Cracow's building law evolved closely in tandem with the radical socio-economic changes of the 19th century, not least the rapid development of the building industry. The city's building regulations, established in the second half of the 19th century, were far from uniform. There was also much leeway with regard to building regulations in Austria. Building legislation was the domain of the monarchy's individual national parliaments, therefore different parts of the Habsburg Empire had different regulations. Each of the 17 crown lands had one to several laws governing the construction of new buildings and facilities²⁸. In addition, building regulations were also contained in other legal acts, for example in laws on sewage systems, building costs, land parcelling costs, commission costs, traffic police, water mains, fire prevention, and in regulations on fortress areas, powder magazines and building sites near railways²⁹.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–46.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

²⁸ K. W. Kumaniecki, *Zarys austriackiego prawa budowlanego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem galicyjskiego ustawodawstwa* [An Outline of Austrian Building Law with Special Emphasis on Galician Legislation], Kraków 1914, pp. 2, 6–10.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–5.

Depending on the type of town involved, there were five building laws in force in Galicia. Lvov and Cracow had their own, separate building laws, which were passed in the 1880s and 1890s and later amended³⁰. In addition to these laws, the building industry was subject to the various legal restrictions contained in other laws, including the fortress area regulations in force in Cracow³¹.

In the second half of the 19th century Cracow's building regulations only took shape gradually. Immediately after the fire of 1850, a new building instruction was published, which laid much stress on fire prevention regulations. The instruction was incorporated into the Cracow Fire Law, which was passed five years later³². The next step on the way to standardizing building regulations was the Building Law of 18 July 1883³³. This law was the first modern and comprehensive law that standardized all matters related to the Cracow construction industry. The law of 1883 had an important impact on town planning and the architectural shape of the city. In many respects this document was already out of date before it even came into force. In addition, it contained numerous legal loopholes that permitted construction projects which were detrimental to the interests of the city³⁴.

Technically speaking, the main fault of the law lay in its adoption of outdated standards relating to the strength of walls. This unnecessarily raised the costs of housing construction. For example, according to the Cracow law the thickness of the outside walls of a two-storey house had to be 75 cm on the ground floor, while in Germany 51 cm was acceptable. The law of 1883 came under heavy criticism from Cracow architects³⁵. In 1894 the Cracow Technological Society set up a special commission to draw up a new building law. Two years later a draft of the new legal regulation was ready³⁶. Despite the persistent efforts of the Society, for many years the City Council repeatedly rejected the commission's draft proposals. The law of 1883 was only amended in 1905 and 1910³⁷.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7; C. Krawczak, *Prawo budowlane na ziemiach polskich od połowy XVIII wieku do roku 1939* [Building Law in the Polish Lands from the mid-18th century to 1939], Poznań 1975, p. 92.

³¹ K. W. Kumaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-5.

³² C. Krawczak, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³³ *Ustawy i rozporządzenia stol. król. m. Krakowa oraz przepisy dla wewnętrznego urzędowania Magistratu* [The Laws and Decrees of the Royal and Capital City of Cracow and Internal Municipality Regulations], part 1, vol. 2, ed. J. Leo. Kraków 1917, pp. 5-68.

³⁴ J. Pakies, *Projekt ustawy budowlanej dla stol. król. miasta Krakowa* [A Draft Building Law for the Royal and Capital City of Cracow], Kraków 1896, pp. 5-6; W. Ekielski, *Zadania i stanowisko urzędu budownictwa miejskiego w Krakowie* [The Tasks and Post of the Urban Building Office in Cracow], Kraków 1895, pp. 11.

³⁵ J. Pakies, *Wpływ gminy na sprawę mieszkań* [The Influence of the Commune on the Question of Residential Houses], Kraków 1905, pp. 85-86.

³⁶ *Idem: Projekt ustawy budowlanej...* [A Draft Building Law...], *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁷ K. W. Kumaniecki, *Zarys austriackiego prawa...* [An Outline of Austrian Building Law...], *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Another shortcoming of this law was that it made no mention, even in the most general terms, of the need to prepare an urban regulation plan. This fault was not rectified even in the amendments of 1905 and 1910. Together with the shortage of construction sites in the city, this had an unfavourable impact on the street network built at that time and on urban building trends. As a consequence, buildings in some areas were arranged chaotically³⁸. The weakness of Cracow building laws was even more obvious when we consider that the Galician laws passed for 29 major cities in 28 April 1882, and for 131 important towns in 4 April 1889, provided for such plans³⁹.

One of the most important regulations that affected the architectural shape of the city was the general limit placed on the height of houses at that time. The Cracow law made the height of buildings conditional on the width of the street. Single-storeyed houses could be built anywhere, but two-storeyed and multi-storeyed buildings could only be constructed “where their height did not exceed the width of the street. However, houses 15 metres high can be built in streets less than 12 metres wide, and a new building of the same height as the previously existing one can be built in the same place”⁴⁰. This regulation had a decisive impact on the look of today’s Old City centre. The basic urban fabric (excluding the historical centre), formed at the beginning of the century, consisted mainly of low, two- or at most three-storeyed buildings. Newly laid out streets in Cracow were as a rule only 12 metres wide. Therefore the narrowness of the streets, which was a consequence of various factors, limited the height of the city’s buildings. While at the end of the 19th century this regulation did not cause any trouble for investors and builders, in the early 20th century – when the city’s population increased considerably and all free building sites were allotted – the limited height of buildings became increasingly burdensome. When the first application was filed in 1908 for permission to build a four-storeyed house, protests were voiced in the press. Defenders of old Cracow who wanted to preserve the historical silhouette of the city were among the most opposed to the construction of tall buildings⁴¹. Under pressure from both sides, the Economic Department of the Cracow City Council issued, at a meeting of 28 May 1910, an interpretation of article 18 of the Law of 1883 on the height of buildings. Under point 3 it was decided that “as regards corner houses, their maximum height should be based on the wider of the two streets on which they stand”. However,

³⁸ The demand for a regulation plan for Cracow was already being voiced by many local architects, cf. for example W. Ekielski, *Zadania i stanowisko urzędu budownictwa miejskiego w Krakowie* [The Tasks and Post of the Urban Building Office in Cracow], Kraków 1895, pp. 4–5.

³⁹ C. Krawczak, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁴⁰ *Ustawy i rozporządzenia...* [The Laws and Decrees...], *op. cit.*, pp. 33–36.

⁴¹ K. Bąkowski, *Domy wielopiętrowe* [Multi-storeyed Houses]. *Nowa Reforma*, 1908, no. 90. The first such four-storeyed house was built in 1908 by architect Henryk Lamensdorf for the Fränkl family at no. 6 Dunajewskiego Street. *Nowa Reforma* 1908 of 5 August.

point 5 stipulated that “The Municipality may decline permission to build a house taller than 3 storeys, even if the width of the street is greater than the building’s height”⁴². Despite this latter restriction, four-storeyed buildings came to be built in Cracow. The general narrowness of Cracow’s streets meant that it was only possible to build these “tall” building on a few sites, primarily in the ring that surrounded the Planty Gardens and along the city’s only wide boulevard, the Dietl Planty. On 4 March 1914 the National Parliament passed an amendment to article 18. In practice, this amendment again made it possible to build four-storeyed houses in Cracow. It limited the height of buildings, regardless of a street’s width, to 16 metres in district I and to 17 metres in the other seven central districts. In this way it became possible to construct three-storeyed houses in Cracow while strict limits were placed on the construction of taller buildings, although officially the maximum height for a building was set at 22 metres⁴³. In addition to the height of buildings, the law standardized “the technical details and basic dimensions of construction”: the number and size of flats, vaulting and joisting methods, the layout of stairs, vestibules, driveways, the construction of roofs, the arrangement of kitchens, stoves, chimneys, etc. All these regulations and limitations determined the shape of building designs⁴⁴.

The absence of town-planning considerations was for a long time a distinctive feature of the building activity of the city authorities. This did not mean, however, that the architects of the time did not take town-planning considerations into account when designing their buildings. The pragmatism of their designs narrowed the town-planning horizon to individual buildings. This state of affairs was also caused by the fortress character of the city.

Despite these limitations, the local authorities undertook a number of large town-planning projects before 1900. The first of these projects involved restructuring the Market Square, the Planty Gardens and the surrounding, prestigious ring road. The Planty Gardens were adorned with numerous monuments in line with the national and patriotic programme initiated under the mayorship of Dietl and Zyblikiewicz. The most important town-planning undertaking at the end of the 19th century was the filling in of the bed of the Old Vistula in 1878–1880, a project designed and executed by Maciej Moraczewski. This not only improved sanitary conditions in the city but also opened up new horizons of building expansion. Work on re-ordering the Dietl Planty began in 1887. This is the only example in Cracow of a bold, wide boulevard lined on each side by residential architecture. Its bold, large-city character resembles similar layouts in Berlin and Paris⁴⁵.

⁴² K. W. Kumaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128; *Ustawy i rozporządzenia...* [The Laws and Decrees...], *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36.

⁴⁴ K. W. Kumaniecki, *Zarys austriackiego prawa...* [An Outline of Austrian Building Law...], *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁴⁵ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], pp. 23, 24.

Basztowa Street also assumed a large-city layout at the turn of the century. This not only improved the rapid development of Cracow, but was also an attempt to shift the city centre from the Market Square to the railway station. These town-planning changes were symbolized by the location of the new Municipal Theatre on św. Ducha Square. Built in 1891–1893 by Jan Zawiejski, the monumental building of the Theatre, together with a new Town Hall, which was planned to be built but never executed, was to mark the new centre of the city. In the surrounding neighbourhood, including Basztowa Street, elegant residential buildings and major administrative and financial institutions were located. These included the Governor's Office (now the Provincial Office), and, most importantly of all, the modernist headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1904–1906), an outstanding project designed by Tadeusz Stryjeński and Franciszek Mączyński⁴⁶.

Early 20th-century Cracow was undergoing a process of fundamental transformation. The nationalism and strong sense of tradition that had hitherto dominated Cracow were now confronted by the new forces of liberalism, universalism and cosmopolitanism prevailing at that time in the multinational Habsburg state. The provincialization, stagnation and regressive social relations of old Cracow were challenged by the openness and dynamism of great capitalist urbanization. The pervasive historicist attitude of the population now faced the rising tide of European modernism.

The ultimate symbol of this change was the Greater Cracow planning competition, announced by the Cracow authorities in 1909. This was the first modern master plan in the history of Polish town-planning, preceding the plans for Greater Lvov and Greater Warsaw by several years. Demands to create a plan for Greater Cracow had already been voiced in Cracow in 1893, yet it was only after the city's boundaries were considerably extended that such a competition could be staged. This mainly focused on the theme of regulating the newly incorporated areas. The competition proved to be an unexpected surprise and produced many interesting ideas, which not only reflected current views on town planning in Europe, but also the innovative thinking of Cracow's architectural *milieu*⁴⁷.

In 1890 Cracow had a population of just 70,000 inhabitants (not including the army garrison) squeezed into an area of only 5.77 km² ⁴⁸. However, beginning in the 1880s, despite the restrictions imposed by the army authorities, the 16 boroughs surrounding Cracow, of which only industrialized Podgórze enjoyed municipal rights, began to develop rapidly. These areas could be considered largely urbanized by that time, partly because of their spatial layout, but mainly perhaps because of the

⁴⁶ Z. Beiersdorf, J. Purchla, *The Globe House – the Former Headquarters of the Cracow Chamber of Commerce and Industry*. Kraków 1997, p. 93.

⁴⁷ J. Purchla, *Cracow 1910. Greater Cracow Competition*, in: *Mastering the City II. North-European City Planning 1900–2000*. K. Boosma, H. Hellinga (ed.). The Hague 1997, pp. 168–175.

⁴⁸ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], p. 122.

functions they performed and the professional activity of their inhabitants. By 1900 the population of these 15 boroughs (excluding Podgórze) amounted to 1/3 of Cracow's inhabitants and was growing dynamically. These areas developed chaotically and out of keeping with the development of Cracow itself, and, most importantly, at the expense of Cracow's development⁴⁹.

The rapid urban development of the city after 1900 coincided with a distinct crystallization of capitalist relations in Galicia. The plan to create a Greater Cracow undertaken by Juliusz Leo, entailed not only interconnecting a dozen or so external boroughs and considerably widening the city's administrative area (from 5.77 km² to 46.90 km²), but above all pushing Cracow along the path of genuine capitalist development by increasing industry, trade, transportation, and financial capital⁵⁰. The implementation of these projects in 1909–1915 meant that the concept of Cracow as a non-industrial city was finally abandoned. Opening up Cracow to the dynamism and modernity of the 20th century also necessitated rapid changes in social consciousness. It provided an opportunity to start work on the first plan for a Greater Cracow and was an attempt to re-arrange the spatial layout of the town.

In this situation, complex and full of discrepancies, Cracow also became the most important centre of Polish architectural thinking in 1890–1914, despite the fact that Warsaw, Łódź, Lvov and Poznań were better off economically and centres of more rapid urban development and intensive building activity. That Cracow was able to assume such a leading position and become a powerful centre of architecture had more to do with the efflorescence of intellectual and artistic life on Wawel Hill rather than on any construction boom⁵¹. For the architects active in Cracow at that time, this former capital of Poland was still a laboratory for carrying out artistic experiments rather than a rapidly growing metropolis. Therefore, as a rule, any major construction project was selected through competition, thereby provoking creative discussions that went beyond purely local horizons. After a period of consolidation and construction influenced by various foreign architectural schools (Munich, Berlin, Vienna, Paris), Cracow's architectural circles began – still in the 19th century – to enter a more creative stage, forming their own specific aesthetics of forms. This was a result of both importing universal trends from abroad and of creatively using local tradition. These aesthetics distinguished Cracow favourably from other Polish cities and endowed it with a uniquely individual character⁵².

⁴⁹ J. Purchla: *W sprawie granic aglomeracji miejskich* [On the Question of the Boundaries of Town Agglomerations], *Rocznik Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, vol. 41: 1980, pp. 284–286.

⁵⁰ Cf. C. Bąk-Koczarska: *Juliusz Leo – twórca Wielkiego Krakowa* [Juliusz Leo – the Creator of Greater Cracow], Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1986.

⁵¹ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], *passim*.

⁵² J. Purchla, *Formowanie się środowiska architektów krakowskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku* [The Formation of the Cracow Architectural Milieu in the Second Half of the 19th Century], *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. 54: 1988, pp. 117–136. (Cf. also: J. Purchla,

The achievements of the Cracow school and its experiments with the national style and modernism culminated in the Cracow Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in a Garden Setting, organized in 1912 by the Polish Applied Arts society. At the same time, it was an attempt to transplant the idea of the English garden-city into a Polish context. In July 1912 Ebenezer Howard was invited to the Cracow Exhibition, and after seeing the sights of the city and its environs he declared that Cracow was to be “a naturally developed garden-city”. All leading Cracovian architects took part in the exhibition. The exhibition was a success not only because it summarized the achievements of the Cracow school and confirmed its primacy in Polish architecture, but, perhaps above all, because it finally set the fashion for the Polish country estate as a constructive compromise between modernism and nativeness. The idea of the Polish country estate not only satisfied the Romantic need for national architecture and the aesthetic demands of modernism, but was also an attempt to tackle basic social needs. It became a universal proposal for solving the housing problem, while at the same time reconciling new forms with the national tradition⁵³.

The exhibition of 1912 also reflected the growing interest in town-planning issues among Cracow circles. This interest sprang, among other things, from the gradual development of Cracow as a large city. It was also related to the evacuation of the Austrian garrison from Wawel Hill in 1905 and to the liquidation of the internal fortification line of the Cracow fortress on the western side. This opened the way for new construction projects.

In 1904 Stanislaw Wyspiański, with the help of architect Władysław Ekielski, started work on an exceptionally bold project which they called “Acropolis”. Their aim was to transform Wawel Hill into the hub of Polish political and cultural life. This was an altogether visionary idea. It set the precedent for undertaking urban development on a large scale and was foreshadowed by a competition announced in 1908 to design a small colony of houses in Salwator. This was the first competition of its kind in Poland. It provoked a stormy debate among architects, and resulted in a model design which recalled the English garden-city concept.

A year later a Greater Cracow regulation plan competition was announced. Its outcome in 1910 may be considered the beginning of modern town planning in Poland. Many important principles were established during the competition itself, including the urban zoning principle. The competition itself was the stage for a very creative comparison of different European urban planning schools on Polish soil. As many as nine works were submitted. The standard was considered high by the jury. According to Krzysztof K. Pawłowski, the designs entered in the competition included

Cracow's Architectural Circle at the End of the 19th Century, in: I Biennale Architektury, Kraków 1985, Kraków [1989], pp. 11–18.).

⁵³A. K. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej* [New Form in Polish Architecture], pp. 68–70.

“elements of German school functionalism and motifs of geometric French plans, [...] echoes of Sitte’s doctrine and attempts to implement Howard’s idea of garden-cities”. But the desire to preserve the city’s unique character predominated, as was seen in the design of the winning team: Józef Czajkowski, Władysław Ekielski, Tadeusz Stryjeński, Ludwik Wojtyczko and Kazimierz Wyczyński⁵⁴.

The project was universally acknowledged to be the best and its organic union with the existing core of the city was stressed⁵⁵. Its authors designed a wide circular boulevard – the second ring – within the line of liquidated internal fortifications. Outside it, consistently in keeping with the zoning principle, they placed new housing districts, thoughtfully and skilfully arranged in the city’s green areas and with good transport links with the city centre. The impetus and consistency with which they shaped the extensive areas being incorporated at that time within the city boundaries made the winning plan little short of perfect but economically impossible to execute⁵⁶.

Among the other projects, Jan Rakowicz’s plan, awarded second prize, deserves special attention. It faithfully transported the principles of the German Stübben school to the Cracow environment. At the time the design of Rakowicz, who was educated and had worked in Germany, was criticized for its slavish adherence to the principles contained in *Der Städtebau*. This allegedly burdened his design with a “tedious monotony” and the lack of an overall concept⁵⁷. Nevertheless Rakowicz’s project was the most viable financially, and he was assigned the task of regulating the newly adjoined areas.

The project of Franciszek Mączyński and Tadeusz Niedzielski, who were jointly awarded third prize, was clearly inspired by the ideas of “picturesqueness” they had borrowed from Sitte (distant plans closing street views; the creation of rows of small squares), but also reveals the clear influence of Henrici, visible in the social stratification of housing districts proposed by the designers (the clear division

⁵⁴ K. K. Pawłowski, *Początki polskiej nowoczesnej myśli urbanistycznej* [Beginnings of Modern Polish Town-planning Thought], in: *Sztuka około 1900* [Art Around 1900], Warszawa 1969, pp. 67–81. Cf. also A. Czyżewski, *Town and Regional Planning*, Rassegna, Y. 18, no. 65 - 1996/1 (*Architecture and Avant-Garde in Poland 1918-1939*), p. 39. Therein the following assessment of the competition: “Some of the projects submitted for this competition featured an organic softness in the regulative lines applied, geometric and concentric, gently curving street arrangements, similar to the ones implemented in Eliel Saarinen’s well-known, somewhat later plan for Canberra. There were other projects with rigorously laid out star-shaped geometric arrangements inspired by Hausmann’s redevelopment plan for Paris, one of them pushing Howard’s concept of the ‘social city’ to the extreme of a satellite structure for the entire region. Finally there were projects in which a painstakingly devised composition favoured the predominance of neither geometric nor organic solutions, and it was one of these schemes that was awarded the highest rating in the competition”.

⁵⁵ J. Peroś: *Wielki Kraków w planach konkursowych* [Greater Cracow in Town-planning Competitions], Kraków 1910, pp. 7–13.

⁵⁶ Objaśnienie projektu pod godłem “5” [An Explanation of the Project under Sign “5”]. *Architekt*, Y. 1910, pp. 91–93.

⁵⁷ J. Peroś, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

of the city into working-class quarters adjoining factory sites on the one hand and separate villa and tenement zones on the other). The search for a suitable concept for Cracow's development continued with a competition to regulate the opening of Wolska (now Piłsudskiego) Street and the green areas west of the city centre. This competition was held in April 1914.

The competition to design a plan for Greater Cracow confirmed the supremacy of Cracow's modern urban planning ideas and Polish architectural thought. It also confirmed its unique role as a laboratory, in which the principles of modern Polish architecture were formed against the backdrop of foreign ideas and influences. The "Cracow school", formed just before World War I, continued its work in the first years of independence, achieving its greatest successes outside Cracow⁵⁸.

In Cracow many tried to apply the competition ideas in practice during the city's planned development carried out over the entire interwar period. They are doubtless echoed in the monumental execution of the Trzech Wieszców Avenue – a representative boulevard (the second ring) in the western part of the city. Although a sufficiently wide strip could not be marked out for economic reasons, the stipulations of the competition were implemented at least in part by placing green areas and a district of villas in the neighbourhood (Grottgera Street). The Trzech Wieszców Avenue itself became the site of a multi-storey housing and monumental public buildings (including the Jagiellonian Library, the National Museum, and the Academy of Mining). Such a solution was a late imitation of the Viennese Ringstraße rather than the execution of the 1910 plans inspired by the doctrine of Camillo Sitte, a harsh critic of the Ring⁵⁹.

Although, contrary to the majority of similar cities, including Warsaw, Poznań and Lvov, Cracow failed to create a new town centre at the turn of the century, a broad investment programme was carried out at that time. Not only the existing infrastructure was modernized, but the de facto foundations for the functioning of the 20th-century city organism were laid. The numerous public buildings and residential complexes built at this time represent relatively high aesthetic, utilitarian and technical standards. The 19th century also shaped the face of today's medieval city. Most of the buildings of historical interest underwent comprehensive changes in the spirit of the 19th-century restoration of historical buildings.

⁵⁸ The most important achievements of the Cracow school in the inter-war period included the imposing church of St. Roch in Białystok designed by Oskar Sosnowski and the pavilion of the Glass Works Union at the General Polish Exhibition in Poznań. The development of geometric ornamentation, characteristic of the Cracow school, culminated in the Polish exhibit at the World Expo in Paris in 1925. The success of the Polish pavilion, designed by Józef Czajkowski and groups originating from the Cracow circle of architects, resulted in the "Cracow school" being acknowledged as the obligatory national style.

⁵⁹ J. Puchla, *Urbanistyka, architektura i budownictwo* [Town Planning, Architecture and the Construction Business], in: *Dzieje Krakowa* [A History of Cracow], ed. J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Malecki, Kraków 1997, pp. 149–189.

As a consequence, Cracow on the eve of World War I was a newly shaped urban organism dominated by a 19th-century fabric. While in 1867 the administrative area of Cracow (the areas contained within the second by-pass road on the left bank of the Vistula River) contained 1,370 houses, in 1910 this number had grown to 2,384, the majority of them having been constructed during the period 1860–1910⁶⁰. In 1900, of the city's total number of 1654 “family and tenement” buildings, only 627 (37.9%) had been built before the year 1860⁶¹. Moreover, the vast majority of them underwent extensive reconstruction at the turn of the century. Their reconstruction was a result both of the city's particular concern for historical monuments and, above all, of the very high concentration of buildings confined within the old fortress walls. This fact was adversely reflected in the excessive number of projects carried out in the medieval city area lying within the Planty ring.

The shape of present-day Cracow's town centre and its monumental historic complexes was created in the 19th century as a result of the municipal government's dedication to urban design and monument conservation. The efforts to conserve the city's 19th-century heritage thus entailed conserving the historic value of Cracow as a whole. This characteristic “merge” took place not only on the aesthetic, ideological and material level, but also on the functional plane as well.

The decisive role in this process was played by the modern system of municipal government, established in Cracow in 1866. The independent municipal government at that time served the functions of investor, conservator and defender of historical buildings, town-planner and creator of the legal and economic instruments shaping urban space.

⁶⁰ J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* [How Modern Cracow Came into Being], p. 123, Table XI.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Table I. Population of Cracow 1869–1910

District	Civilians					In per cent			
						The year 1869 = 100%			
	1896	1880	1890	1900	1910	1880	1890	1900	1910
I	16862	18221	17794	16749	166351	108.1	105.5	99.3	9606
II	88	146	174	78	185	165.9	197.7	88.6	210.2
III	1932	2326	3331	5210	6396	120.2	172.4	207.0	331.1
IV	3890	5011	6016	10079	16546	128.8	154.7	268.8	425.4
V	4845	6528	7871	9991	11426	134.7	162.5	206.2	235.8
VI	2084	5285	8654	14447	16233	253.6	415.3	693.2	778.9
VII	2161	3386	4276	4410	7081	156.7	197.9	204.0	327.7
VIII	17973	18930	21014	24310	28874	105.3	116.9	135.3	160.7
Total civilians	49835	59830	69130	85174	103092	120.1	138.7	171.1	206.9
The military		6267	5471	6049					
Total		66097	74601	91323					

Sources: R. Sikorski, *Kraków w roku 1900...*, “*Kalendarz krakowski Józefa Czecha*” na rok 1904 (data for 1869–1900). *Statystyka m. Krakowa*, no. XII, Kraków 1912.

Table II. Public buildings in Cracow according to the form of ownership (1910)

	District	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Public property	State	18	–	2	8	6	32	2	6	74
	Railway	–	5*	–	–	1	1	–	–	7
	Municipal	25	1	9	15	4	10	4	25	93
	Total	43	6	11	23	11	43	6	31	174
	Grand total	122 (492)**	8 (9)	15 (164)	59 (485)	26 (284)	57 (319)	25 (145)	75 (486)	377 (2384)

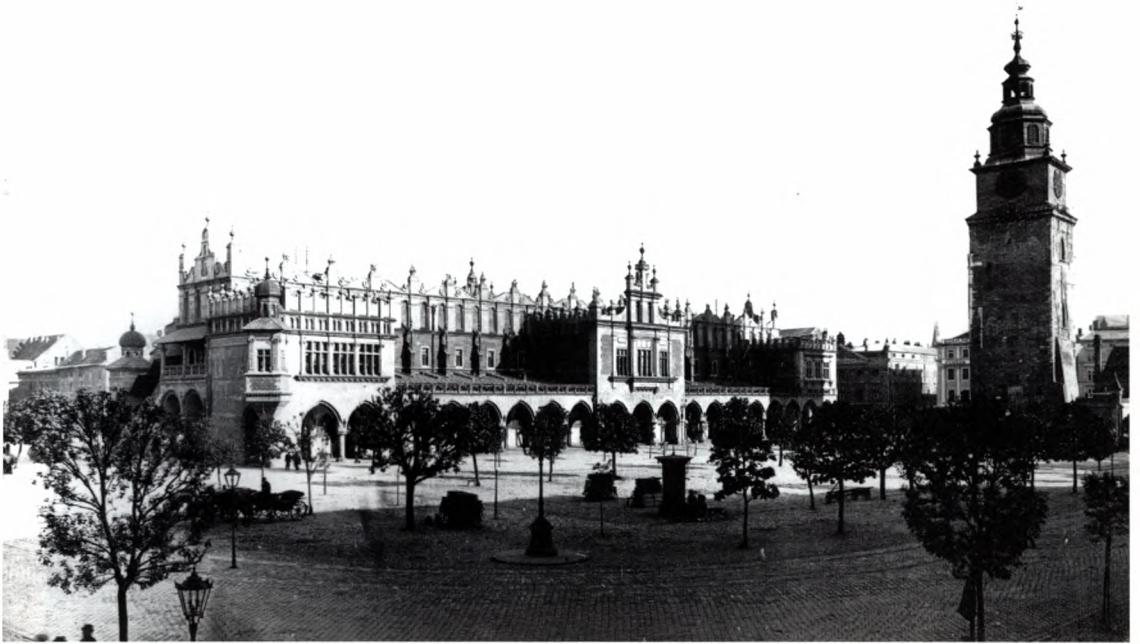
* not counting towers

** total number of houses

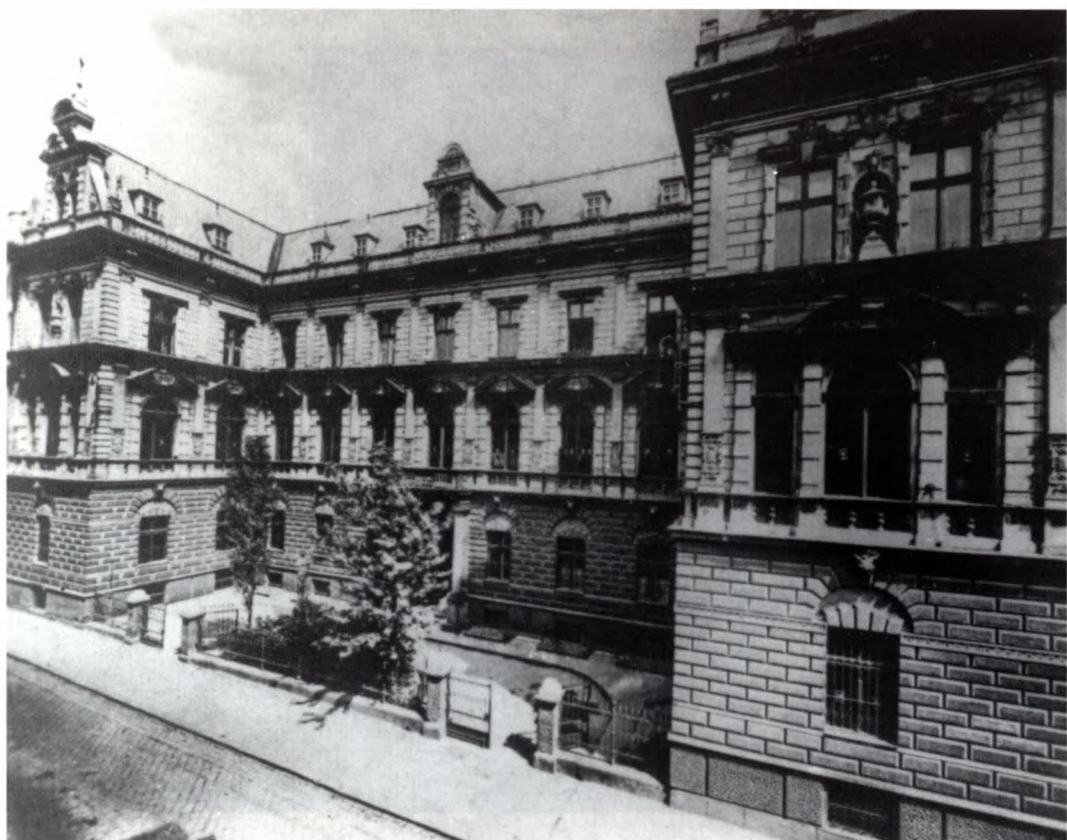
Source: *Statystyka m. Krakowa*, no. XII, Kraków 1912, p. 9.



169. Professor Józef Dietl, the first mayor of Cracow in 1866–1874



170. The Cloth Hall after reconstruction by Tomasz Pryliński (1875–1879)



171. The Municipal Savings Bank at 15 Szpitalna Street, by Karol Borkowski (1881–1883)



172. Municipal school on 11 Matejki Square, by Maciej Moraczewski (1877–1878)

173. Municipal school at 36 Miodowa Street, by Stefan Żoldani (1886–1887)





174. Municipal schools at 70 Dietla Street, by Stefan Žoldani (1886–1882)

175. Municipal school at 13 Studencka Street, by Stefan Žoldani (1891–1892)





176–177. Municipal abattoir at 28 Rzeźnicza Street, by Maciej Moraczewski (1877–1878)





178–179. Fire brigade barracks at 19 Westerplatte Street, by Maciej Moraczewski (1877–1879)





180. The School of Fine Arts on 13 Matejki Square, by Maciej Moraczewski (1877–1879)



181. A toll-gate on Zwierzyniecka Street, ca. 1885 (not extant)

182. The National Defence barracks at 24 Siemiradzkiego Street, by Janusz Niedziałkowski
(1892–1893)



183. Construction of the new Municipal Theatre on Św. Ducha Square, by Jan Zawiejski (1891–1906)



184. The Academy of Commerce at 2/4 Kapucyńska Street, by Jan Zawiejcki (1904–1906)



185. The Museum of Technology and Industry at 9 Smoleńsk Street, by Tadeusz Stryjeński and Józef Czajkowski (1908–1914)





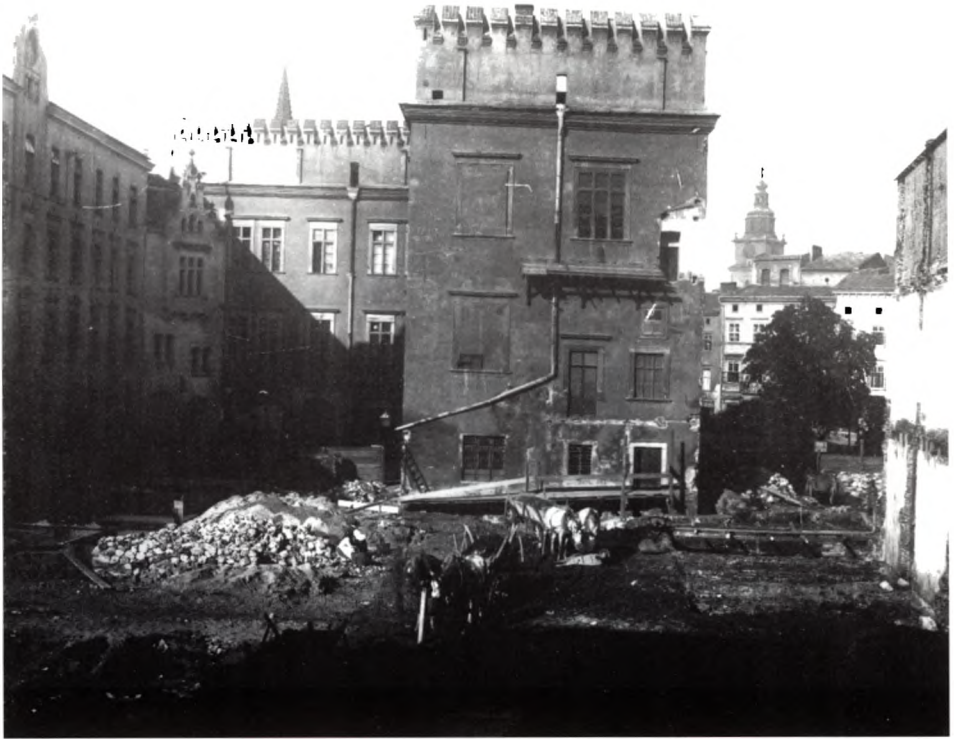
186. Municipal school on 18 Kleparski Square, by Jan Zawiejcki (1901–1902)

187. Municipal schools at 3/5/7 Wąska Street, by Jan Zawiejcki (1911–1912)



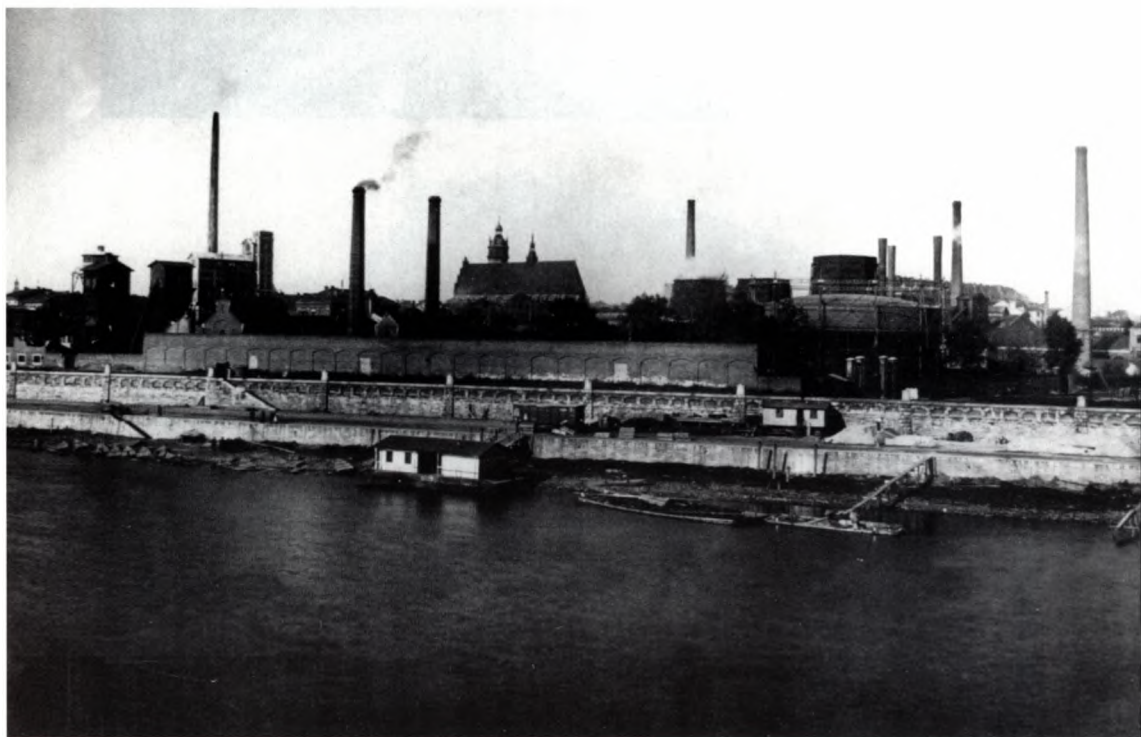
188. Departmental school in Dębny, by Jan Zawiejski (1911–1912)





189. Development of the Municipal Office on 3/4 Wszystkich Świętych Square, by Jan Rzymkowski (1906–1913)

190. The gas works and power plant complex in Kazimierz





191. Restoration of the bugle-call tower at St. Mary's Church, by Jan Sas-Zubrzycki (1912–1914)



192. A map of Cracow from 1866



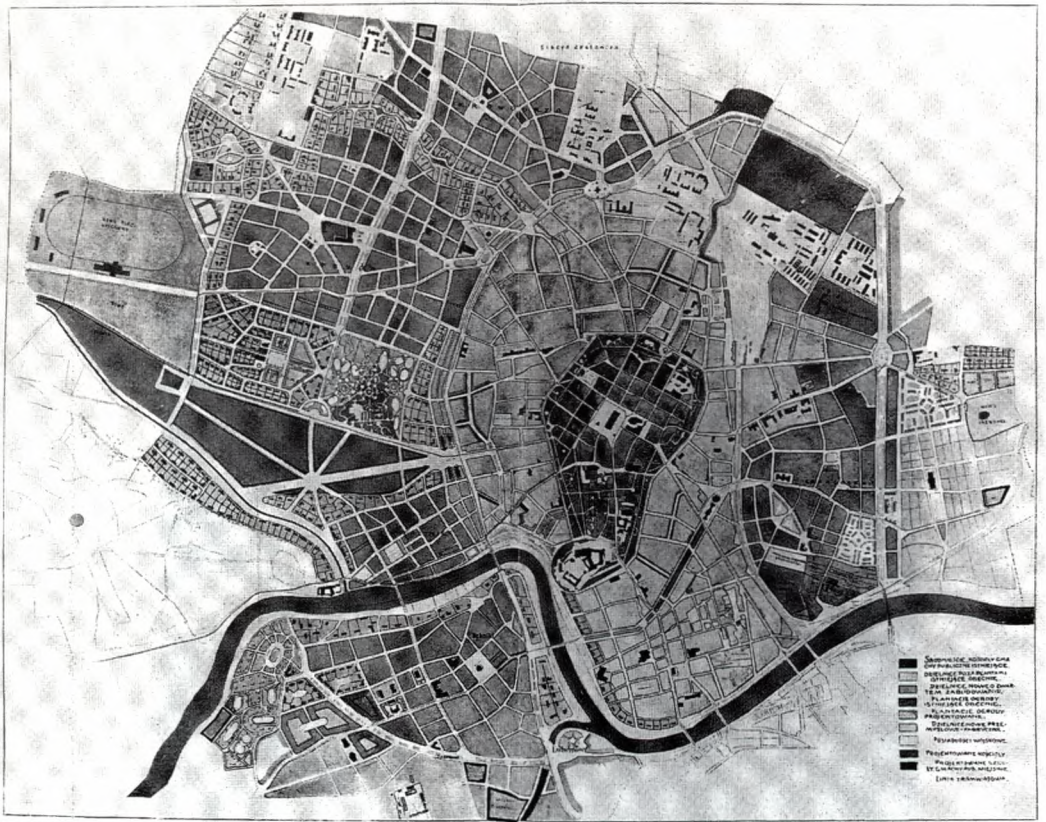
194. The Planty Gardens and the residential building line on Basztowa Street from the 1880s



195. The Dietl Planty – a monumental residential layout from the 1880s

196. Ohrenstein's House at 42 Dietlowska Street, by Jan Zawiejski (1911–1913). One of the first high-rise buildings in Cracow





198. A Greater Cracow regulation plan by Józef Czajkowski, Władysław Ekielski, Tadeusz Stryjeński, Ludwik Wojtyczko and Kazimierz Wyczyński (1910)