POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK ODDZIAŁ W LUBLINIE
POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES BRANCH IN LUBLIN

TEKA

KOMISJI
ARCHITEKTURY,
URBANISTYKI
I STUDIÓW
KRAJOBRAZOWYCH

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Funkcjonowanie obiektów w trwałej ruinie na przykładzie zamku w Janowcu

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Streszczenie: Ruiny zamkowe są stale obecne w krajobrazie Polski. Wzrost zainteresowania tego typu obiektami powoduje, że są one przystosowywane do funkcji współczesnych w celu zapewnienia im dalszego funkcjonowania. Zamek w Janowcu, na którym skupia się niniejszy artykuł, w czasach swojej świetności był rezydencją znamienitych rodów magnackich. Zamek ten jest niezwykle ciekawym przykładem zamków średniowiecznych funkcjonujących w formie trwałej ruiny, dlatego też na jego przykładzie zostanie omówione obecne działanie tego typu obiektów.

Słowa kluczowe: zamek, ruina, trwała ruina, Janowiec, muzeum

Wstęp

Zamki w ruinie na stałe wpisały się w krajobraz Polski. Odnotowywany jest ciągły wzrost zainteresowania obiektami tego typu. Średniowieczne zamki, niezależnie od pełnionej aktualnie funkcji są wyjątkową atrakcją turystyczną. Dodatkowo ich malownicze położenie przyciąga wielu turystów. W obecnych czasach wiele obiektów zabytkowych ulega przekształceniom, w celu dostosowania ich do współczesnych standardów. Prowadzi to do utraty ich autentyzmu oraz wartości zabytkowych. Działania te nie omijają również zamków w ruinie. W przypadku obiektów zachowanych w formie trwałej ruiny podejmowane są próby odtwarzania kubatur zamkowych bądź też wprowadzania nowych uzupełnień w tkankę zabytkową. Powodem tego jest zaspokajanie potrzeb użytkowych dla współczesnych funkcji, które potrzebują przestrzeni spełniającej obecne standardy.[1]

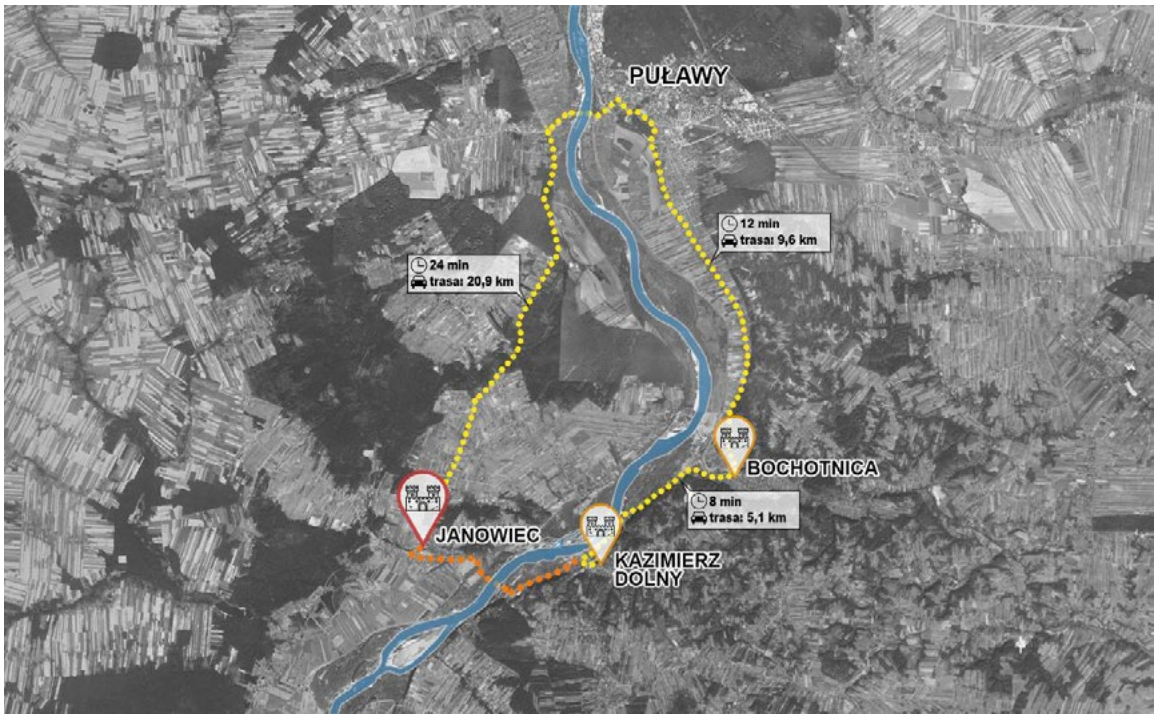
Najczęściej ruiny zamkowe przekształcane są na ogólnodostępne funkcje społeczno-kulturalne. Adaptowane są zwykle na cele muzealne bądź też wystawiennicze, stając się przy tym ważnym dla lokalnej społeczności i odwiedzających turystów publicznym otwartym obiektem. Budynki zabytkowe są także często przystosowywane do takich funkcji, ponieważ stanowią naturalne tło dla wystawianych dzieł, które bardzo często pochodzą z tego samego okresu co obiekt. Dodatkowo funkcja muzealna jest stosunkowo mało uciążliwa i przede wszystkim nie powoduje niszczenia cennej substancji historycznej, a to daje możliwość utrzymania zagrożonego obiektu architektonicznego.

Podobnie wygląda sytuacja na zamku w Janowcu. W czasach swojej świetności był rezydencją znamienitych rodów magnackich: Firlejów, Trałów i Lubomirskich. Obecnie obiekt utrzymywany jest w formie trwałej ruiny oraz przystosowany jest w części do pełnienia funkcji turystycznych. Jego budowa rozpoczęła się w 1496 roku. Firlejowie stawiali obiekt, który przystosowany był już do aktywnej obrony artyleryjskiej. Tym samym rozpoczął on bastejowy system obronny na terenach Lubelszczyźnie. Niestety, przez zmienne losy mające miejsce na przestrzeni wieków powoli zaczął popadać w ruinie. Obecnie zamek w Janowcu jest jednym z oddziałów Muzeum Nadwiślańskiego w Kazimierzu Dolnym.

1 Molski P., Czynniki kulturowe i czynniki pozakonserwatorskie a postępowanie z zamkami w ruinie. Wnioski, [w:] Ochrona i konserwacja ruin zamkowych – wybrane problemy i przykłady, Warszawa – Lublin, 2013, s. 41–47,

Ruiny zamku w Janowcu

Zamek w Janowcu jest obecnie jednym z sześciu oddziałów Muzeum Nadwiślańskiego w Kazimierzu Dolnym. Położony jest w Gminie Janowiec, na terenie Małopolskiego Przełomu Wisły, w zachodniej części trójkąta turystycznego Puławy-Kazimierz Dolny-Nałęczów. Dzięki takiemu usytuowaniu, ruiny zamku są niezwykle często odwiedzanym obiektem.



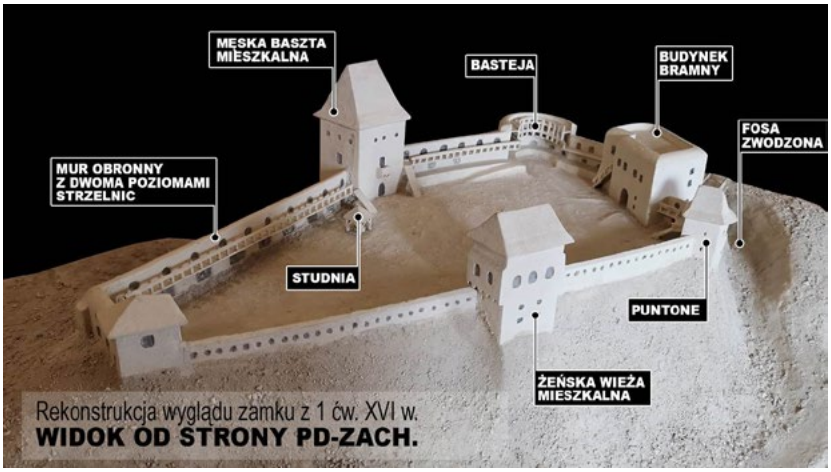
Ryc. 1. Lokalizacja Janowca względem najbliższych ośrodków, Źródło: opracowanie własne na podkładzie https://www.google.pl/maps

Ryc. 2. Widok na budynek bramny zamku w Janowcu. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

Ruiny renesansowego zamku usytuowane na lewym brzegu Wisły w największym przewężeniu jej przełomu, na skraju wyżynnego cypla oddzielonego od rozległego płaskowyżu naturalnym wąwozem. Od strony wschodniej znajduje się równina, od której wydzielono go fosą. Dzięki temu uzyskano idealne, obronne położenie zamku, które odcięte jest od trzech stron stromymi stokami, natomiast czwarta strona była doskonałym miejscem na lokalizację przedzamcza, zaplecza gospodarczego i ogrodu.

Warownia wchodzi w skład zespołu krajobrazowo-architektonicznego Janowca, który obejmuje zespół zamkowy wraz z parkiem i zespołem dworskim, zespół kościelny oraz historyczny układ urbanistyczny rynku i ulic. Zespół zamkowy wpisany jest do rejestru zabytków pod nr dec. A/500.

Budowa janowieckiego zamku przypada na przełom XV i XVI w. Jego inicjatorem i fundatorem był Mikołaj I Firlej. Obiekt ten w pełni przystosowany był do ukształtowania terenu. Miał kształt nieregularnego, wydłużonego wieloboku o wymiarach 125×65 m. Charakterystycznymi elementami dla pierwszej fazy budowy bastejowego zamku w Janowcu była baszta wschodnia, zwana również puntone oraz basteja przybramna znajdująca się w narożu północno-wschodnim.[2] Dodatkowo w tym okresie powstała basteja wielka, dwie wieże mieszkalno-obronne i prawdopodobnie wieża w narożu południowo-zachodnim. Wszystkie elementy warowni połączone były ze sobą murami kurtynowymi z dwoma poziomami strzelnic, które otaczały ogromny dziedziniec. Układ zamku pochodzący z tego czasu obrazuje ryc. 3.



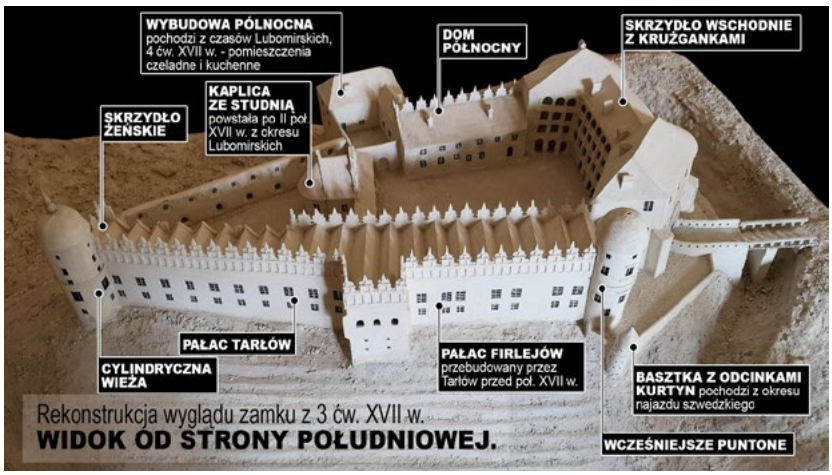
Ryc. 3. Rekonstrukcja wyglądu zamku z 1 ćw. XVI w. Źródło: opracowanie własne z użyciem fotografii makiety znajdującej się w Muzeum na Zamku w Janowcu.

Ryc. 4. Rekonstrukcja wyglądu zamku z końca lat 70. XVI w. Źródło: opracowanie własne z użyciem fotografii makiety znajdującej się w Muzeum na Zamku w Janowcu.

2 Zamki Lubelszczyzny w źródłach archeologicznych, pod red. E. Banasiewicz-Szykuły, Lublin, 2015, s.15

Druga połowa XVI w. przyniosła przebudowę zamku. Zamek w Janowcu traci swoją dominującą funkcję obronną. W latach 1565–1579 Santi Gucci Fiorentino na prośbę Andrzeja Firleja dokonał rozbudowy warowni janowieckiej na rezydencję mieszkalną (Ryc. 3). Południowo-wschodnia część zamku zmieniła się w renesansowy pałac. Pojawiły się charakterystyczne elementy, takie jak attyka, krużganki oraz reprezentacyjne schody. Wielka przestrzeń dziedzińca, została podzielona ścianą z krużgankami kolumnowymi.

Ród Tarłów, będący kolejnym właścicielem zamku, w dalszym ciągu kontynuował rozbudowę warowni na rezydencję mieszkalną. Przebudowano pałac Andrzeja Firleja, natomiast amfilada południowa w swej zachodniej części powiększona została o pałac. Pojawiły się również dwie cylindryczne wieże, z czego jedna zajęła miejsce dawnego puntone. Do północnej części murów obronnych dobudowany został dom północny oraz skrzydło z czterema kondygnacjami krużganków.



Ryc. 5. Rekonstrukcja wyglądu zamku z 3 ćw. XVII w. Źródło: opracowanie własne z użyciem fotografii makiety znajdującej się w Muzeum na Zamku w Janowcu.

Zamek w Janowcu uzyskał swój ostateczny kształt w II połowie XVII w. przez Lubomirskich. W miejscu wieży północnej powstała wybudowa czeladna. Nad studnią znajdującą się na Małym Dziedzińcu powstała Kaplica. Nieco rozbudowany został pałac Tarłów. Zmienione zostały również okna całej amfilady południowej i ozdobiono je obramieniami rokokowymi.[3]

Zamek zaczął popadać w ruinę, w 1931 r. właścicielem został Leon Kozłowski i był nim aż do 1975 r., kiedy to został wykupiony przez Muzeum Nadwiślańskie w Kazimierzu Dolnym. W imieniu Państwa kupiło ono z rąk prywatnych zamek wraz z otaczającym go terenem.[4] W momencie przejęcia go, najbardziej zniszczoną jego częścią była amfilada południowa. Z pierwotnej formy zachowała się ściana południowa z dużymi ubytkami, ceglany ryzalit, a przy Dziedzińcu Małym także ściana północna i wewnętrzne ściany działowe, na których przetrwały relikty sztukaterii. Pod zagruzowaną częścią parteru wschodniego odcinka amfilady, znajdowały się relikty murów pałacu Andrzeja Firleja. Po krużgankach w Dziedzińcu Wielkim i ganku w Dziedzińcu Małym pozostały tylko fundamenty pod filary i schody.

3 Gruszecki A., Zamek w Janowcu w świetle badań, [w:] Ruiny żywe: adaptacja zabytków architektury do celów muzealnych: nowe inspiracje i funkcje dla Zamku w Janowcu: materiały z sympozjum naukowego z okazji 30-lecia Muzeum Zamek w Janowcu, Kazimierz Dolny – Janowiec, 2007 s. 14–16,

4 Żurawski J., Okoliczności i cel nabycia zamku w Janowcu nad Wisłą. Przebieg jego konserwacji, restauracji i zagospodarowania, [w:] Ruiny żywe: adaptacja zabytków architektury do celów muzealnych: nowe inspiracje i funkcje dla Zamku w Janowcu: materiały z sympozjum naukowego z okazji 30-lecia Muzeum Zamek w Janowcu, Kazimierz Dolny – Janowiec, 2007 s. 17,

Ryc. 6. Zamek Janowiec – amfilada południowa oraz część budynku bramnego, b.a., 1952 r. Źródło: Fotografia ze zbiorów MNKD

Ryc. 7. Widok na amfiladę południową oraz budynek bramny i skrzydło wschodnie. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

W tym czasie MNKD zleciło kompleksowe prace, w których skład wchodziła inwentaryzacja zamku, badania archeologiczne, historyczne, architektoniczno-historyczne, polichromii oraz projekt i realizację konserwacji ruin wraz z częściową odbudową zamku. Przeprowadzono również prace mające na celu uporządkowanie zieleni, a także utworzenie skansenu w sąsiedztwie ruin zamkowych oraz wykonanie ekspozycji muzealnych.

Ryc. 8. Widok z lotu ptaka na zamek i wzgórze zamkowe, 2018 rok Autor: Karol Krupa

Obecne funkcjonowanie

Ruiny zamku w Janowcu, jak już wcześniej wspominano, funkcjonują obecnie jako jeden z oddziałów Muzeum Nadwiślańskiego w Kazimierzu Dolnym. Wraz z zespołem dworskim oraz parkiem zamkowym wchodzą w skład zespołu zamkowego. Zamek w większej części utrzymany w charakterze trwałej ruiny, częściowo udostępniony jest do ruchu turystycznego.

Ryc. 9. Zagospodarowanie terenu należącego do Muzeum Nadwiślańskiego w Kazimierzu Dolnym oddział Zamek w Janowcu. Źródło: opracowanie własne na podkładzie https://www.google.pl/maps

Obiekt znajduje się na terenie parku o powierzchni 16,72 ha. Rycina nr 9 przedstawia obecne zagospodarowanie wzgórza zamkowego oraz parku przy zamku. Od strony południowej znajduje się brama wjazdowa na teren. Tuż przy niej ulokowany jest niewielki parking dla turystów oraz stróżówka. W zachodniej części parku usytuowane są ruiny janowieckiego zamku, do których prowadzi stary tymczasowy most techniczny. Natomiast w północno-wschodniej części terenu znajduje się zespół dworski, w skład którego wchodzi dwór z Moniak, spichlerz z Podolowa, spichlerz z Kurowa oraz stodoła z Wylągów. Obiekty te zostały przeniesione do Janowca z pobliskich terenów Lubelszczyzny w latach 1978–1985. Obecnie organizowane są w nich wystawy czasowe, koncerty, spektakle teatralne, dodatkowo we dworze znajdują się pokoje gościnne.

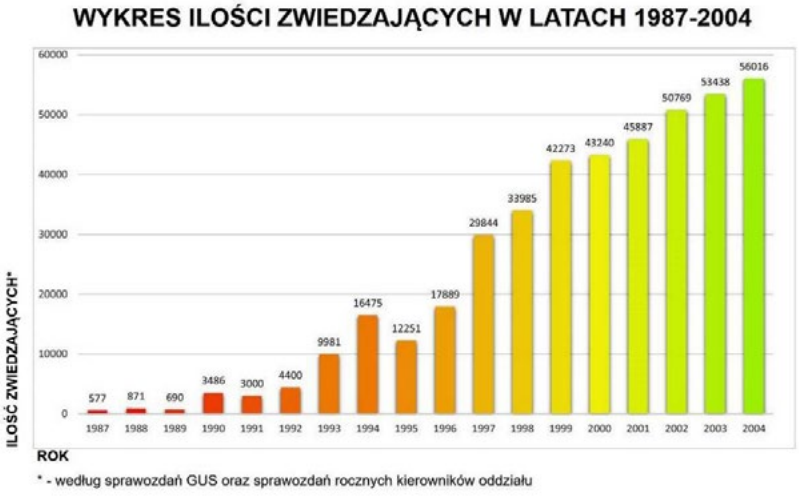
Ryc. 10. Dwór z Moniak. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

Ryc. 11. Spichlerz z Podolowa i spichlerz z Kurowa. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

Ryc. 12. Widok z lotu ptaka na zamek i wzgórze zamkowe, 2018 rok. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

W 1993 roku dla Zamku w Janowcu został wykonany Plan Realizacyjny Zagospodarowania Adaptacja Zamku dla potrzeb muzealno-turystycznych. Architekci Tomasz Augustynek oraz Bogdan Kulawczuk jako główne elementy funkcjonalne założyli powstanie ekspozycji historii zamku oraz ekspozycji sztuki obronnej, obsługę ruchu turystycznego, zespół imprezowy, imprezy plenerowe na dziedzińcu, zespół usług towarzyszących, pokoje gościnne, kawiarnia-bistro, bar kawowy-klub, szalet ogólnodostępny i zespół administracyjno-gospodarczo-techniczny. Plan ten przewidywał, że docelowo, po zakończeniu całego zadania na zamek w Janowcu będzie przybywać ok. 20 000 turystów rocznie.

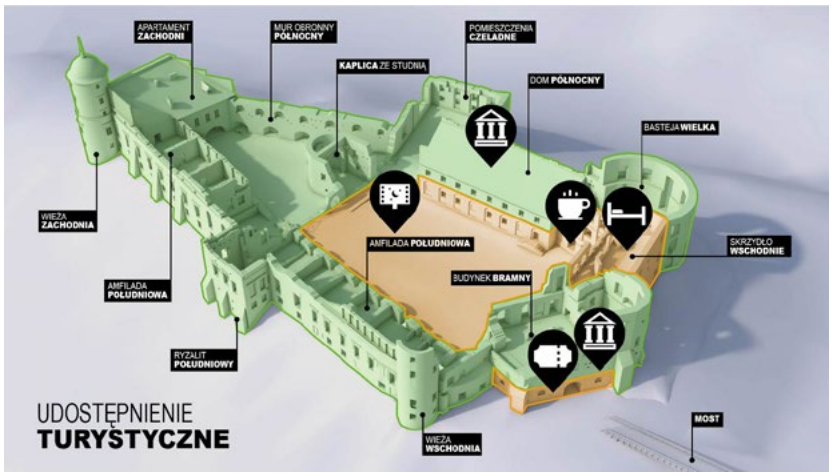
W ramach Planu Realizacyjnego wykonano głównie zabezpieczenia konstrukcyjne fundamentów i murów zamku, konserwację i restaurację detali architektonicznych połączonych z częściową rekonstrukcją budowli, m.in. krużganki w skrzydle wschodnim, Dom Północny oraz Apartament Zachodni. Na zamek wprowadzono funkcje muzealne oraz hotelowe, które obecne są do dnia dzisiejszego. Dom Północny stał się miejscem ekspozycji, natomiast w jego kondygnacji podziemnej zlokalizowano zaplecze sanitarne zamku. W skrzydle wschodnim zlokalizowano cztery pokoje hotelowe. W kazamacie Bastei Wielkiej przez pewnie czas sezonowo funkcjonowała mała kawiarnia. Część budynku bramnego przeznaczono na kasy biletowe i sklep z pamiątkami oraz wystawy czasowe. Dziedziniec zamkowy stał się miejscem licznych imprez plenerowych.



Ryc. 13. Wykres ilości zwiedzających w latach 1987–2004. Źródło: opracowanie własne na podstawie danych MNKD

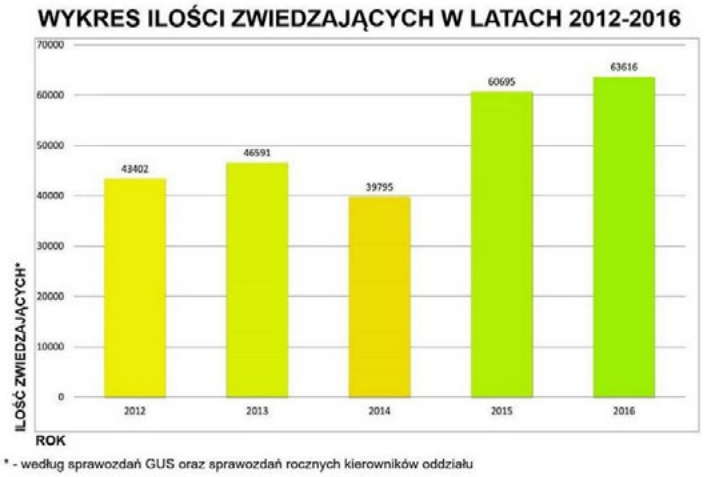
Pomimo iż plan nie został w pełni zrealizowany, bardzo szybko osiągnięto przewidywaną liczbę odwiedzających. W 1996 roku uruchomiona została przeprawa wodna przez Wisłę, prowadząca z Kazimierza do Janowca. Przyniosło to gwałtowny wzrost liczby turystów, znacznie ponad docelowe 20 000[5] (ryc. 13). W kolejnych latach odnotowano stały wzrost odwiedzających, który w 2004 roku wyniósł znacznie powyżej 50 000. W 2015 roku pojawił się przewodnik po zamku.

Obecnie zamek jest większej części niewykorzystany ze względu na jego zły stan techniczny. Wiele elementów warowni jest niedostępnych dla zwiedzających, ponieważ Amfilada południowa, wybudowa czeladna oraz Dziedziniec Mały mogą być oglądana jedynie zza barierki, Sala Rycerska znajdująca się nad przejazdem w Budynku Bramnym została wyłączona z ruchu turystycznego. Apartament Zachodni pozostawiono w stanie surowym.



Ryc. 14. Udostępnienie turystyczne zamku w Janowcu. Źródło: opracowanie własne

Na rycinie nr 14 przedstawiony został stopień udostępnienia turystycznego zamku. Mimo tak niewielkiej części dostępnej dla zwiedzających oraz ciągłego wyłączania kolejnych części obiektu ze zwiedzania, ruiny cieszą się ogromnym zainteresowaniem. Obecna średnia frekwencja w oddziale wynosi około 70 000 osób rocznie. (ryc. 15) W latach 2012–2014 odnotowano spadek zainteresowania obiektem w porównaniu do informacji z lat 1987–2004. Frekwencja wynosiła około 40 000 odwiedzających, w 2015 wzrosła do 60 000.



Ryc. 15. Wykres ilości zwiedzających w latach 2012–2016. Źródło: opracowanie własne na podstawie danych MNKD

Jak już wspomniano wcześniej, na terenie zamku organizowane są różnego rodzaju imprezy plenerowe. W ostatnich latach nastąpił ich wzrost ilościowy a same wydarzenia stały się bardziej różnorodne. Wiele imprez odbywa

5 Informacje dotyczące frekwencji turystów przekazane przez MNKD

się tu cyklicznie. Najbardziej rozpoznawalnym oraz cieszącym się niesłabnącym zainteresowaniem jest Festiwal Filmu i Sztuki Dwa Brzegi, który od 2007 roku swoimi wydarzeniami łączy Kazimierz Dolny z Janowcem nad Wisłą.[6] Dawniej odbywał się jako Festiwal Filmu tylko i wyłącznie w Kazimierzu. Od 10 lat na zamku w Janowcu organizowane jest również Święto Wina. W jego trakcie promowane są lokalni producenci win, którzy działają w Stowarzyszeniu Małopolskiego Przełomu Wisły. Frekwencja wynosi około 2–3 tysięcy odwiedzających.

Dodatkowo co roku na zamku organizowana jest tematyczna majówka na zamku. Odbywają się tutaj także wydarzenia związane z obchodami Dni Janowca, Dnia Dziecka oraz Nocy Muzeów.

Wiodące problemy

W wyniku wojen oraz wieloletnich zaniedbań poprzednich właścicieli, zamek w Janowcu już od początku XIX w. powoli zamieniał się w ruinę. Od 1975 roku, kiedy to Muzeum Nadwiślańskie wykupiło obiekt, trwają prace badawcze, konserwatorskie i remontowe. Od tego czasu wykonano zabezpieczenia konstrukcyjne i wiele prac o charakterze remontowym i adaptacyjnym. Dzięki tym robotom zamek w większości został podźwignięty z gruzów. Niestety jednak nie wykonano wszystkich zaplanowanych wcześniej działań oraz część z nich okazała się być nieskuteczna.

W obecnym czasie zamek w Janowcu jest w złym stanie technicznym. Szereg obiektów uległo częściowej destrukcji, pojawiły się spękania, odspojenia materiału murowego oraz jego ubytki. Zauważalne jest również spore zawilgocenie muru. Na zamku występuje duża ilość wolno stojących ścian pozostawionych jest w formie trwałej ruiny, dlatego też są narażone na bezpośrednie, niszczące działanie czynników atmosferycznych. Do tego w miejscach zadaszonych kubatur pojawiają się nieszczelności pokrycia dachowego oraz obróbek blacharskich, nieprawidłowe spadki, źle wykonane izolacje przeciwwilgociowe powodują ogromne problemy. Dodatkowym problemem technicznym jest zieleń porastająca niektóre części koron murów.

W najgorszym stanie technicznym znajduje się mur północny oraz mur amfilady południowej. Mur północny to jedyny historycznie niezabudowany odcinek obwodu obronnego zamku z 1 ćw. XVI w. Pomimo zniszczenia korony w wyniku działania czynników atmosferycznych oraz rozebrania strzelnic działowych na materiał budowlany, konstrukcja muru była w dobrym stanie. W 1996 roku przeprowadzono jego konserwację, przemurowano fragmenty z opoki wapnistej pozostawiając ceglane opłaszczowanie. Obecnie, jak widać na ryc. 16, mur ten ulega stopniowej destrukcji i stanowi ogromne niebezpieczeństwo. [7]

Ryc. 16. Zniszczenia muru północnego. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

Ryc. 17. Mury dawnego pałacu przy amfiladzie południowej. Autor: Katarzyna Drobek

6 http://www.dwabrzegi.pl/ [dostęp 10.09.2019]

7 Klimek B., Zamek w Janowcu nad Wisłą – fazy budowy, przeprowadzone prace i ocena stanu technicznego poszczególnych części zamku, [w:] Ochrona i konserwacja ruin zamkowych – wybrane problemy i przykłady, Warszawa – Lublin, 2013, s. 89–101,

W przypadku ścian dawnego pałacu wadliwie wykonane obróbki blacharskie gzymsów powodują zalewnie lica muru oraz wnikanie w niego wody. Skutkiem tego jest odpadanie z elewacji tynków wraz z wystrojem malarskim i zabytkową sztukaterią. W 2000 roku wymurowano ścianę północną oraz ściany wewnętrzne pałacu, w których po jednej zimie zaczęła złuszczać się warstwa zaprawy. Obecnie murki te są w bardzo złym stanie technicznym.

Wymienione powyżej problemy techniczne nie są wszystkimi problemami jakie występują na zamku w Janowcu. W niniejszym artykule przytoczono jedynie te najczęściej występujące. Jednakże na podstawie tych informacji jasno wynika z jakimi trudnościami spotykają się zarządcy obiektu i jakie są powody tak wielu wyłączonych części z ruchu turystycznego.

Wnioski

Malowniczo położony Zamek w Janowcu przyciąga do siebie wielu turystów. Pomimo sezonowości funkcji oraz niezbyt bogatego zagospodarowania turystycznego stanowi on ogromną atrakcję dla odwiedzających. Obecna roczna frekwencja wynosząca około 70 000 turystów jest imponująca, biorąc pod uwagę tak niewielki w skali całego obiektu stopień udostępnienia oraz wielu braków funkcjonalnych obiektu.

Ruiny zamku w Janowcu posiadają ogromny potencjał na rozwój, jednakże podobnie jak w przypadku innych obiektów tego typu podstawową przeszkodą są finanse. Brak środków na podstawowe prace zabezpieczające blokuje możliwości powiększenia oferty turystycznej. Najbardziej oczekiwane zmiany w funkcjonowaniu takich obiektów jak zamek w Janowcu, powinny dotyczyć przede wszystkim do dążenia w celu zwiększenia ich dostępności i poprawy jakości ekspozycji muzealnej, ulepszenia promocji informacji i reklamy, poprawy zagospodarowania turystycznego, wzrost standardu świadczonych usług, poprawy infrastruktury (w tym parkingi) oraz większej liczby imprez i atrakcji.

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Insulation historical buildings from the inside

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Abstract: This article focuses on the problem of thermal insulation of historical buildings. This issue is very important, especially for historical buildings and those not covered by any form of preservation maintenance. In the case of thermal insulation of this type of buildings, we often have to deal with irretrievable loss of architectural values and even with stripping the buildings from their history and identity and often turning them into architectural monstrosity. The article refers to both aesthetic, legal and technical issues, which should be kept in mind before planning thermal modernisation. It indicates the most common technical and system errors and points to certain changes that can minimise the problem of uncontrolled styrofoam covering of historical buildings.

Keywords: historical buildings, insulation historical buildings from the inside

Introduction

With the growing problem of global warming, ever-increasing amounts of carbon dioxide and smog and their detrimental effects, one of the ways to reduce the environmental impact is to perform thermal modernisation of buildings. The comprehensive thermal modernisation process not only contributes to the reduction of carbon dioxide or harmful substances emission to the atmosphere and the amount of fuel used, but also improves thermal comfort and conditions of use as well as reduces maintenance costs of buildings. In the case of new buildings, the insulation layer is already included in the project and in the case of existing buildings, as particular as old or historical buildings, the process is complicated, expensive, but possible to implement. One of the key factors (which is often forgotten by investors) is respect of the history of the building and its appearance. Often after insulation, the aesthetics of the building leaves much to be desired and its appearance makes it eligible for the "Makabryła" prize (awarded to the worst Poland's new buildings according to internauts), and the process of thermal modernisation can be described as a "thermal rape" on the history of the building.

The current technical possibilities and housing standards are the reason why the financial benefits of insulating buildings tend to overshadow the values of retaining their original architectural features or character. If historical buildings are not subject to preservation maintenance, then the decision on their look is only the responsibility of their owner, who chooses the most advantageous option, i.e. minimum costs, without taking into account the appearance of the building or the history it entails[1].

This issue has been raised for years and yet, it has not been properly addressed by the legislator. The photographs below show the method of insulation of only a few buildings in the area of one street, one city, made in the last few years. Of course, they are not as "colourful" as many other examples, but they do represent an important aspect.

1 The problem in the case of objects entered in the Register of Historical Monuments is marginal, in the case of other forms of preservation maintenance it becomes alarmingly high.

Fig. 1. An attempt to insulate the building from the outside, photo. K. Janus

Fig. 2. Tenement house 1, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 3. Tenement house 1, current state, photo K. Janus

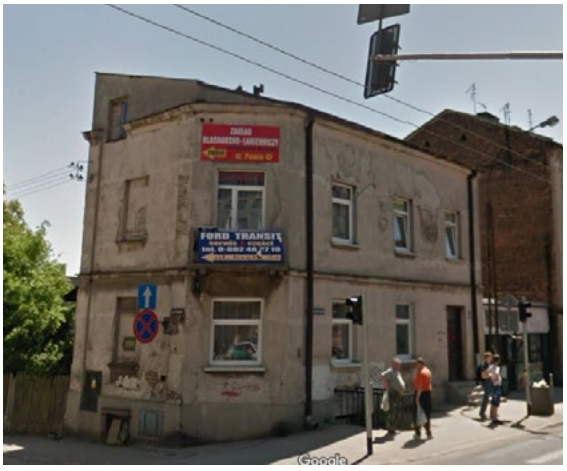

Fig. 4. Tenement house 2, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 5. Tenement house 2 with upward extension, current state, photo K. Janus

Fig. 6. Tenement house 3, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 7. Tenement house 3 with upward extension, current state, photo K. Janus

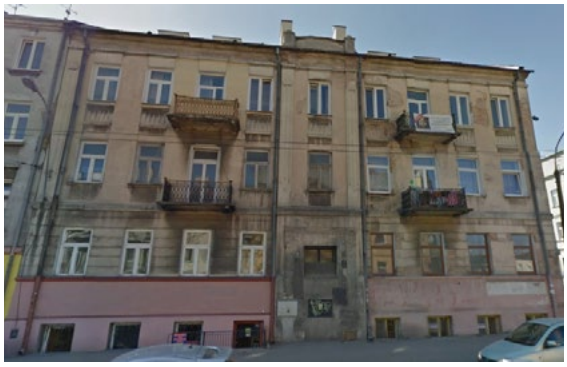

Fig. 8. Tenement house 2, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 9. Tenement house 2 with upward extension, current state, photo K. Janus

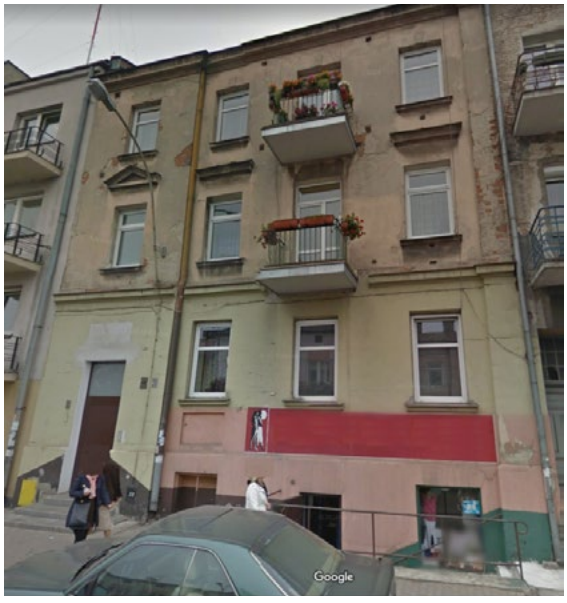

Fig. 10. Tenement house 4, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 11. Tenement house 4 with upward extension, current state, photo K. Janus

Applicable law

Construction law

It is a basic reference document for both a designer and a contractor. On the basis of the regulations one can distinguish three categories of buildings provided by the legislator in terms of providing thermal insulation[2]:

- buildings up to 12 m do not require a building permit or a notification,
- buildings of 12–25 m require a notification,
- buildings of more than 25 m require a building permit.

If the structures are covered by any form of preservation maintenance, then a conservation permit[3], is required and the issuance of such automatically requires a building permit.

Property rights

This applies mainly to densely built-up areas (which is very common in the case of historical buildings). Adding an insulation layer may cause the takeover of a part of the adjacent plot, for which it is necessary to obtain the owner's permission, make changes in the land and mortgage registers, etc.[4]

Copyrights

The issue of copyrights in the construction industry is a complicated subject already in the case of new buildings, when a designer of a building and an owner of copyrights are known. In the case of historical buildings, which often exceed several dozen years of age, if their designer can be identified, the matter becomes even more complicated.

The copyright laws are quite clear. However, their interpretation and application in the administrative process for issuing permits is ambiguous. The decision to take this right into account depends on the administration or the individual opinion of the official and is applied only occasionally. This happens in the case of changes at the design or construction stage (prior to the acceptance of the building). After the completion of the construction process and the acceptance of the building, the application of this law does not actually occur in the administrative process. In some administrative bodies, however, it happens that the author or his heirs have to obtain permission to change the size of a window opening or to transform a blank into a window in buildings erected a few or several decades ago. It is not clear what are the reasons and criteria on the basis of which this law is applied or not.

Technical issues and design

Historical buildings, depending on the time of construction, were made of different materials, and with different technologies available at that time, but which were significantly different from those currently in use. The biggest difference in almost every case is the lack of waterproofing of foundations, thermal insulation or ventilation. The buildings were most often made of stone or limestone bricks. Both of these materials are very absorbent and easily absorb moisture (whether as a result of capillary rise of water, precipitation or dew point). This effect is more or less noticeable depending on many factors. It manifests itself in the form of moisture,

2 Journal of Laws 1994 No. 89 item 414, Art. 29. 1, Art. 30. 1.

3 Journal of Laws 1994 No. 89 item 414, Art. 29. 1.4

4 There are many historical buildings of this kind and the formalisation of this type of activity is very rare. Occasionally, thermal insulation is also performed at the cost of reducing the width of footpaths adjacent to the buildings.

mould and fungi, scaling and damage to plaster and masonry elements. They have a negative impact on the human body and can contribute to the development and formation of many ailments and even serious and chronic diseases. The degree of inconvenience or harmfulness to human health depends on many factors, starting from the location of the building, the type of land in which it was built, the type of ventilation, the method of heating, or the way of use[5]. In order to minimise or completely remove these effects, it is necessary to take a multidimensional approach, including both design activities and the use of appropriate materials. The biggest problem is the proper selection of currently available technology fora building that was created several dozen or several hundred years ago.

The process of thermal modernisation of the historical buildings is a complex process and must involve a number of different activities. Very often it happens that in case of buildings up to 12 m high[6], the only person deciding on the method of thermal modernisation of a building is its owner after consulting a contractor, who does not even try to predict the consequences that it may have. Proper operation should be preceded by a thorough recognition of the technical condition of the building by a designer and the selection of the appropriate system, operation and material solutions, taking into account the requirements that the building should meet, both in terms of use and the applicable regulations. This process should be considered on many levels and take into account every aspect related not only to thermal modernisation but also to the areas it may affect.

Foundations

In case of lack of waterproofing, it is necessary to introduce an effective cut-off from moisture access.[7] The most effective way is to dig out the foundations and insulate them, which is a relatively complex and expensive process[8]. Other methods are also available, without the need to expose the foundations, such as injections.

Ventilation, woodwork, heating

Historical buildings most often did not have a ventilation system in its current form (supply and exhaust ventilation ducts). Air exchange took place through leaks in carpentry, ventilation ducts were sporadic, and the only available ones were smoke chimneys. In such a case, a new ventilation system should be introduced (particularly efficient in ground and basement rooms), depending on the needs and capabilities of the user, based on effective gravitational or mechanical ventilation or recuperation.

In most cases, the woodwork of historical objects was made of wood in a system adequate to the period of its construction. Glazing on fillers and twisting of wood was the cause of large heat losses but on the other hand, it allowed for ventilation. Nowadays, when replacing the window carpentry, one should remember to reproduce its layout and material[9]. The use of woodwork currently available on the market (wooden or plastic)[10] results in the sealing of rooms, which without the introduction of additional ventilation, can lead to condensation of water vapour and consequently development of biological corrosion[11]. The minimum requirement is to introduce vent pipes on the windows.

After insulation, the heat demand is automatically reduced. Therefore, it should be taken into account that the heating system will require less heat energy. An absolute minimum is the modernization of thermostatic

5 Sometimes it happened that the soil in the foundation trench was exchanged for clay, which significantly reduced the perceptible moisture in the building. Other case was that foundation walls were made in a layered form – a void inside, which allowed to reduce the perceptible moisture or improve thermal conditions, but these were single applications in the case of very wet soils.

6 And these are the most common.

7 It is important to bear in mind that the execution of waterproofing in itself leads to the drying of walls, without the use of other methods such as microwave drying; after the complete elimination of capillary rise, the walls, depending on the thickness, level of moisture, etc. may dry for up to 10 years.

8 For this type of work, however, it is possible to insulate the foundation walls.

9 This is something that investors often do not remember when installing new windows without divisions.

10 Even in the case of woodwork, the wooden elements are soaked or impregnated to such an extent that they are almost as tight as plastic.

11 This is most often the case with window glyphs.

valves in the radiators so that the excess heat is not extracted by the residents through an open window but with a valve.

Thermal isolation

There are hardly any thermal insulations in historical sites in modern understanding of the term. The wooden buildings used to have "zagaty" or "ogaty". It was an additional layer of insulation adjoining the façade, for which organic materials (moss, moss, wood, etc.) were used. With a thickness of up to one metre, this layer could significantly improve the insulation properties of a buildings. The thatched roof also performed very well in this respect. These solutions worked well for small wooden buildings. In the case of brick buildings, no external insulation was used, and large and high rooms were hard to heat, so they remained cold. The only solution to this problem was warmer clothing, beds equipped with a canopy that allowed them to "capture " a certain amount of heat to "survive" the night. The form of internal insulation was also provided by paintings and tapestries on the walls, which improved thermal comfort in a minimal but noticeable way. Buildings constructed several dozen or hundreds of years ago were not supposed to meet today's norms and standards, nor were supposed to use less energy in the future. Therefore, their thermal modernisation presents a great problem with the proper selection of technology adequate to the building, which will improve the thermal comfort of the users, meet current regulations and do not result in the degradation of the building.

The least problematic way of insulating external walls is to make an insulation layer from the outside. It is the most common method, relatively simple in execution and the cheapest. However, in the case of monument buildings it is used only occasionally. In the case of historical buildings, which are not under the preservation maintenance and their architectural values are sufficiently evident that it is impossible to provide insulation from the outside, the insulation is performed from the inside. Until recently, the only material that could be used for this purpose unobstructed was mineral wool. This material, although partially "breathing", is still not as perfect as it should be. Although it contributed to the formation of biological corrosion much slower than e.g. styrofoam, it still made it happen. For several years there have been products available on the market which are intended for insulating historical buildings, new products and complete solutions which enable such actions.

In terms of thermal insulation possibilities, the historical buildings can be divided into three categories:

- can be insulated from the outside (there are no architectural elements on the façade),
- can be insulated only from the inside (rich façade design),
- cannot be insulated from inside and outside.

In the case of buildings that can be insulated from the outside, it is important to choose the right technology for the technical condition of the building (take into account the damp walls), predict what consequences will arise from adding a layer of insulation, or how the insulating material will "age"[12].

An interesting combination of the technology of insulating from the outside is the following example of a tenement house, where the insulation technology was applied on the outside of the building with a façade decor (modest but visible). The work included filling the space between the cornices with a layer of insulation, which partially covered the cornices, but did not significantly change the appearance and perception of the building. On the surface, windowsills were made as new elements. The façade finally obtained the "woodworm" texture, which could have been avoided, and the final finishing layer should have been the paint on the adhesive layer. In this case it was not possible to prevent thermal bridges, which (surprisingly!) are not very visible in the thermal vision or felt by the inhabitants.

12 Properly profile the roof and eaves slopes so that they do not cause leaks and algae growth, properly perform anchoring so that after several years of use they do not stand out on the surface of the plaster.

Fig. 12. Tenement house 6, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 13. Tenement house 6 with upward extension, current state, photo K. Janus

Fig. 14. Tenement house 4, www.google.com/maps/ street View, state of 2011, access: 15.08.2019

Fig. 15. Photo 8. Tenement house 6 with upward extension, current state, photo K. Janus

For the second group of buildings, i.e. those that can be insulated from the inside, the problem of the dew point and water condensation in the wall in unfavourable temperature conditions has not been solved (this is the biggest disadvantage of this method, which still takes place in the current state of building). It is also problematic to insulate key places such as the connection of internal partition walls or ceilings with external walls. It is possible of course to add an additional insulation layer reaching deep into the room (visible in the form of a bump on the wall or ceiling), which in part would solve the problem, but in terms of aesthetics and conservation, e.g. in palace interiors, is simply unacceptable. It is also possible to consider insulation of all walls and ceilings from the inside, which would reduce the usable area and increase costs. Window glyphs, which due to the size of the window can be insulated with a thin layer of insulation (thinner than in the case of external walls), are a crucial point. Available technologies for internal insulation enable moisture flow from the walls to the interior and its removal through the ventilation system to the exterior, and properly selected pH of materials significantly reduces the risk of development of biological corrosion at the contact of the wall with the insulation layer. The biggest problem is the place where external walls are connected with the ceiling and internal division walls, where thermal bridges occur. This problem remains unresolved and its elimination may consist in limiting the effects, i.e. introducing efficient ventilation and the use of suitable materials that will reduce the risk of biological corrosion.

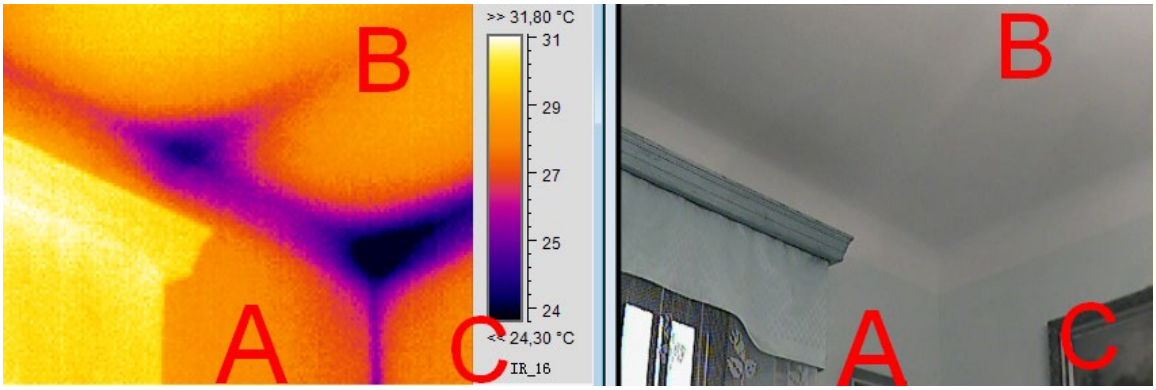

Fig. 16. Place of joint wall with insulation from inside with ceiling and internal division (A – wall insulated from inside, B – ceiling without insulation , C – internal wall without insulation), K. Janus

After the completion of the insulation works, the facility should be monitored, which is something that investors or designers tend to forget. Small errors at the execution stage may be repaired or eliminated during exploitation of the facility, but without supervision it is impossible.

Already during the design process, it should be remembered that the walls insulated from the inside are "difficult to use". There is no problem with hanging a picture on a nail[13], but the installation of larger elements (even a small cabinet) requires complicated actions and the use of special handles (the use of a standard dowel does not solve the problem, and in addition, a thermal bridge is created this way). A similar situation occurs in the case of electrical points (special boxes are available). It is necessary to be immediately prepared for the fact of limiting both electrical points and hanging elements on insulated walls.

If the foundation walls are insulated, they should be insulated from the outside with available materials,[14] otherwise they should be insulated from the inside or completely abandoned, depending on the technical condition of the basement, the dampness level, etc.

13 Much easier to penetrate than in a traditional wall.

14 It is recommended to either dry the walls with microwaves or to prepare the owner for a gradual but long-term process of moisture release through the walls, whether through the application of renovation plasters or any other form of room drying, condensation, etc.

Available materials

For some years now, there have been products available that enable insulation from inside of buildings that significantly reduce the effect of condensation, mould formation, etc. The basic assumption is that it is necessary that this type of insulation "breathes", which allows moisture to pass through the building. As it turns out, these materials do better in this respect than wool, which most often laid from the inside, after a few years, moulds in the place of connection with the wall or floor. Each of these systems differs slightly from the others in terms of purpose, properties and application possibilities. It is not possible to unequivocally determine which of the presented solutions is better and which is worse. The optimal choice should be made on the basis of the technical condition of the building, the dampness of the walls, the way of use, location, floor, etc. Although the selection of systems for insulation even on specific floors is quite complicated, it is possible to insulate the building without changing the arrangement of the external façade, as well as to significantly reduce corrosion or mould.

In terms of technology, materials for interior insulation can be divided into two main categories:

Breathable materials (which should be used in most areas of the building, especially in areas where excessive moisture may occur).

Non-breathable materials (to be used only where this moisture is not present and, if present, must be able to evaporate freely).

Appropriate systems should be carefully selected, taking into account many factors, from the use of the rooms to their location, ventilation and exposure to sunlight.

All systems (except from the last one in Table 1) are based on sticking the insulation block to the wall with the use of an insulation adhesive. For this product, the insulation material is attached to the wall on a wooden grid. Its advantage is a low λ coefficient, which allows the thickness of the insulation layer to be reduced to 8 cm, but the material is sealed.

Summary

The far-reaching thermal modernisation of historical buildings under current trends is transforming into an uncontrollable process of progressive destruction of an important historical substance, most often dating back to the period before the First World War. Without further action, this process will continue and unfortunately the heritage of residential architecture (not spectacular enough to be entered into the register of monuments) will be destroyed or completely lose its character. It is not possible to convince the majority of users and owners that it is worth preserving even a simple façade decoration, keeping the building in its original colours, and that maintaining the arrangement of windows with their original divisions is important. The most relevant issue is cost reduction, which does not necessarily go along with respect for history. The latter occurs in few cases.

Thermal insulation of historical buildings from the inside using currently available technologies, allows to improve the energy efficiency of the building while maintaining the aesthetic values of the façade and the history of the building. These systems allow the walls to "breathe" and significantly reduce biological corrosion. The method, although it has many disadvantages (dew point, price, reduced surface area or limited actions on the insulated wall), makes it possible to perform insulation. This contributes to the reduction of nuisance to the environment, reduction of operating costs, and most importantly, it allows to preserve the historical appearance of the building.

The existing regulations allow for any action in historical buildings up to a height of 12 m, which in practice means that three-storey buildings, which are the most common are the most threatened. While the technology of interior thermal insulation is easily accessible, the existing law and regulations do not prevent the ramping process of thermal insulation, which often turns into a form of "thermal rape".

If the regulation, allowing for insulation of buildings up to 12 m without the need to obtain a permit or notification, was extended by a time frame[15] and a prohibition to change the look of the façade[16],this process

15 e.g. provided that the building was erected after 1945

16 e.g. insulation will not change the arrangement of facades, vertical and horizontal divisions, detail or texture of the finishing layer

would be significantly reduced and many buildings could be "saved". However, the above would require statutory changes and such a regulation would transfer the entire responsibility for the insulation to the designer[17], which would significantly reduce the "styrofoam cladding" of buildings and irreversible "stripping them of their historical identity"[18].

17 In this case, the Office checks the project from a formal perspective, does not assess its aesthetics which is probably justified (in one of the Lublin departments responsible for issuing permits there is not a single one engineer available for the 18 employees).

18 In the case of thermal modernisation of a school at Kunickiego Street in Lublin, for failure to respect the historical layout, the LOIA Disciplinary Court suspended the designer's activity for a year and imposed a fine on him.

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Spatial transformations of Wrocław in the first half of the 19th century resulting from the dismantling of municipal fortifications

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Abstract: The article focuses on the spatial development of Wrocław at the beginning of the 19th century. The paper discusses the causes and subsequent stages of the demolition of city fortifications and the effects of this project on the spatial development of Wrocław. The article describes the state of fortifications around Wrocław and the city plan after the demolition of city walls. The article discusses the importance of these activities for the development of Wrocław and for the increase in the standard of living of its residents.

Keywords: Wrocław, fortifications, spatial development

Introduction

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Wrocław was, for the Prussian state, both a strategically important fortress and a city of craftsmen and merchants. This situation led to the fundamental contradiction between territorial development and constraints resulting from the ring of fortifications surrounding the city. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Prussian authorities continued to allocate significant financial resources to systematically develop the city fortifications. The capture of Wroclaw by the Napoleonic army in January 1807[1], marked the beginning of a very important stage of the city's spatial development [1, p. 1107] [2, p.184]. At the behest of Emperor Napoleon I, this Frederician fortress was to become an "open city" once the vast ring of fortifications around it had been demolished.
The aim of this study was to determine, based on the analysis of the literature of the subject and iconographic documents, the influence of military operations in the early nineteenth century on the spatial development of Wrocław.

Dismantling of city fortifications

Napoleon made the decision to dismantle the fortification system even before the French troops captured Wroclaw. During the occupation of the city, the magistrate commissioned Fryderyk Bogumił Endler, a Silesian engraver, to create a plan of Wrocław and its fortifications. At the end of 1807 the plan was ready [3, p. 184].

1 On January 7, 1807, the Napoleonic army captured Wroclaw and stayed there until November 1808.

It showed the fortification system as it had existed before being dismantled (Fig. 1.). The process of demolishing the fortress initiated by the French was continued intermittently for the years that followed and the destruction of other works of military architecture lasted until 1838 [4, p. 32]. The detonations to bring down city walls began already on January 9, 1807 [1, p. 1108]. The Bastion of St. Job was destroyed along with nearby city walls (currently the area of ul. Slowackiego). Additionally, the embankments located at the Oławska Gate (currently the area at the intersection of ul. Podwale and ul. Oławska) were levelled. The earth excavated in the land leveling process was used to fill sections of the city moat (to change its course). Thus, the „inner city" [2]was connected with north-eastern and eastern suburbs around it. At the same time, the fortifications located near the Mikołajska Gate (the area of today's pl. Jana Pawła) and at Kępa Mieszczańska were being demolished. The wooden palisades surrounding the city were also systematically dismantled. Further demolitions included walls near the Sakwowy Bastion (now Wzgórze Partyzantów) and fortifications of the so-called Miedzymurze (bailey) located near the Świdnicka Gate [5, p. 120]. The earth from the dismantled fortifications was used to change the course of the moat, which in this section resembled its current shape. Thus the „inner city" was opened to the areas in the south.

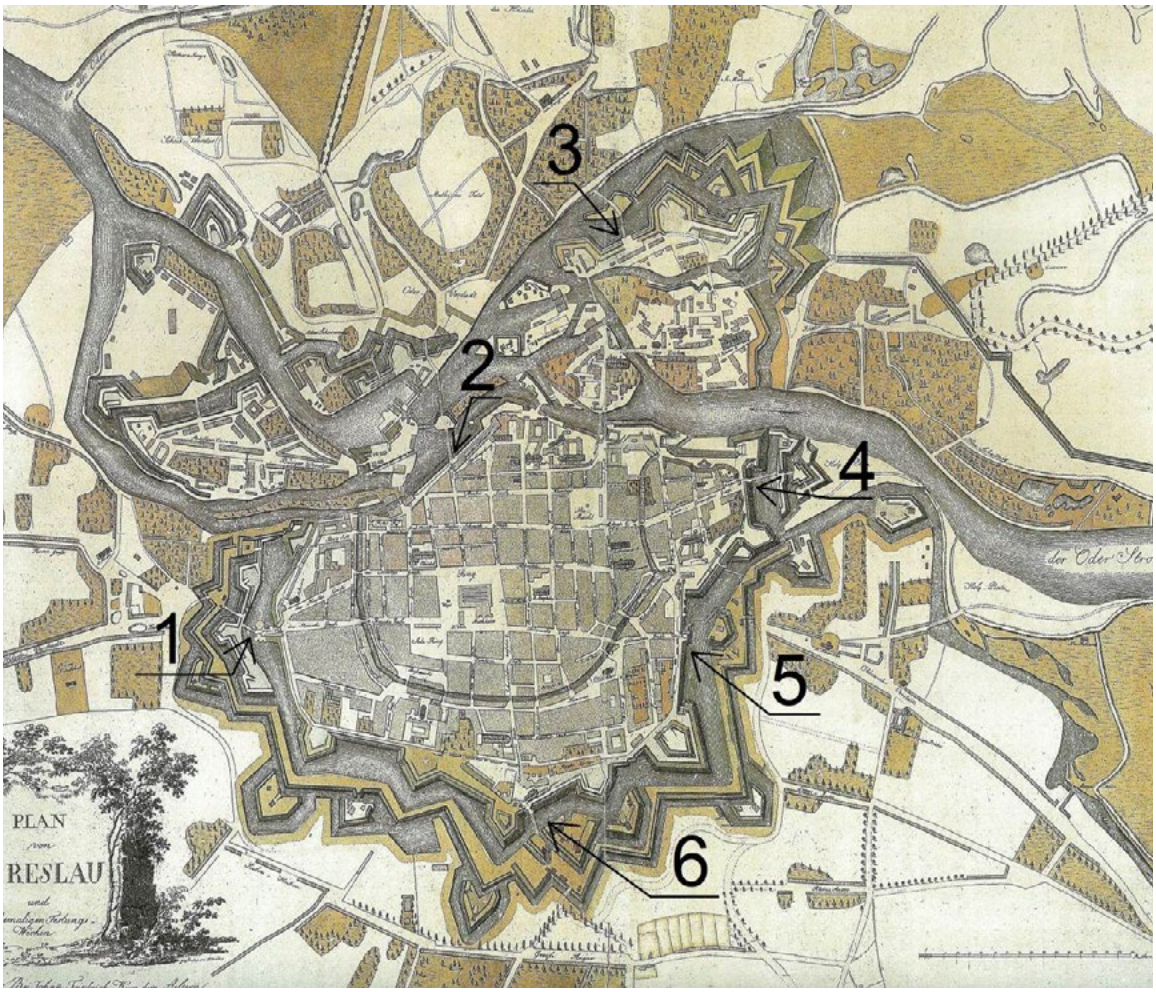

Fig. 1. Plan of the city of Wroclaw and its fortifications. Engraving by F. B. Endler from 1807. (source: From the collection of A. Chądzyński) Il 1. Brama Mikołajska, 2. Brama Odrzańska, 3. Brama Fryderyka, 4. Brama Ceglana, 5. Brama Oławska, 6. Brama Świdnicka.

2 The term "inner city" refers to the part of the city that is surrounded by city walls.

In March 1807, demolition works were carried out and included the demolition of walls near Świdnicka Gate and the ravelin located in front of it. The works gained pace due to the maneuvers of Bavarian regiments planned by Prince Jérôme Bonaparte to be carried out on Wygon Świdnicki. The military parade that followed the military exercise was to take place on a specially prepared square. A decision was reached to locate it in front of the Świdnicka Gate. Due to the above, J. Blein, a colonel of French military engineers marked a square-shaped plaza with a length of 140 meters in the northern part of Świdnicki Wygon [1, p. 1108] (currently pl. T. Kościuszki). There were two intersecting traffic routes across the square, running from east to west and from north to south. The adopted spatial solution was a clear reference to Place Royale located in Paris. In the middle of May 1807, the Psi Bastion and the crownwork of Brama Mikołajska were finally dismantled. The last demolition made by the French in 1807 was the destruction of the crownwork and casemates located near the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross [5, p. 122] (today's area between ul. Sienkiewicza and Na Szańcach). The demolition work had clearly slowed down by the end of the occupation of Wrocław by the Napoleonic army [6, p. 320]. Systematic demolition of the remaining fortifications did not take place until 1813. It is estimated that these works were completed around 1838 [4, p. 32].

The destruction of the fortifications was depicted in the drawings by Fryderyk Bogumił Endler which he made in the first decade of the 19th century, while they were being demolished. They constitute important iconographic material and even the author thought of them as photographs and called them "Aufnahmen"[3] [2, p. 191].

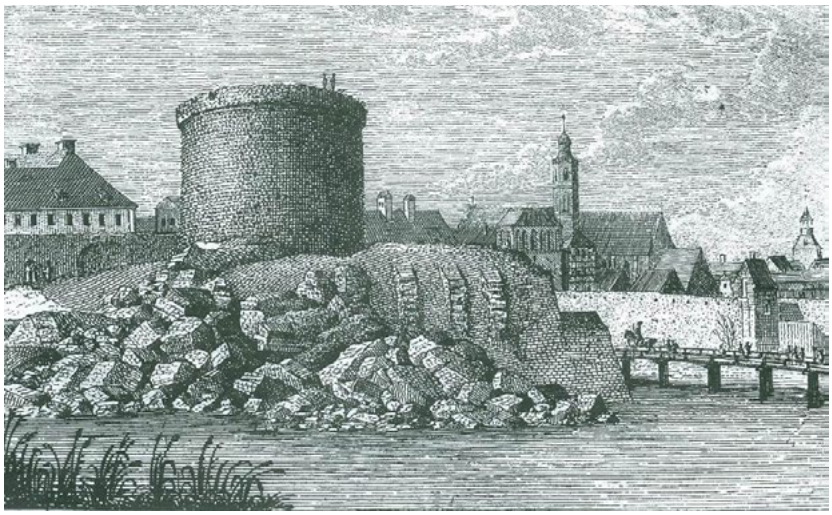

Fig. 2. Ruins of the Oławska Gate. Engraving by F. B. Endler (source: https://fotopolska.eu/642901,foto.html, access: 09.2018)

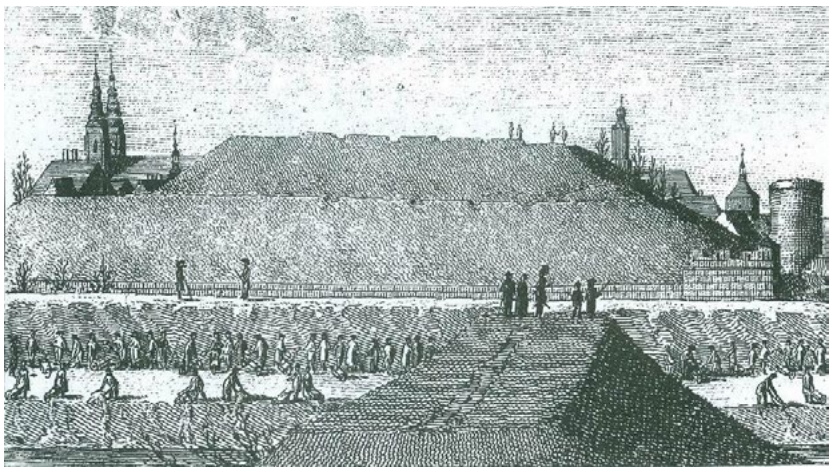

Fig. 3. Demolition of the Sakwowy Bastion. Engraving by F. B. Endler (source: https://fotopolska.eu/642894,foto.html, access: 09.2018)

3 Endler's engravings were made on the basis of drawings made from observation.

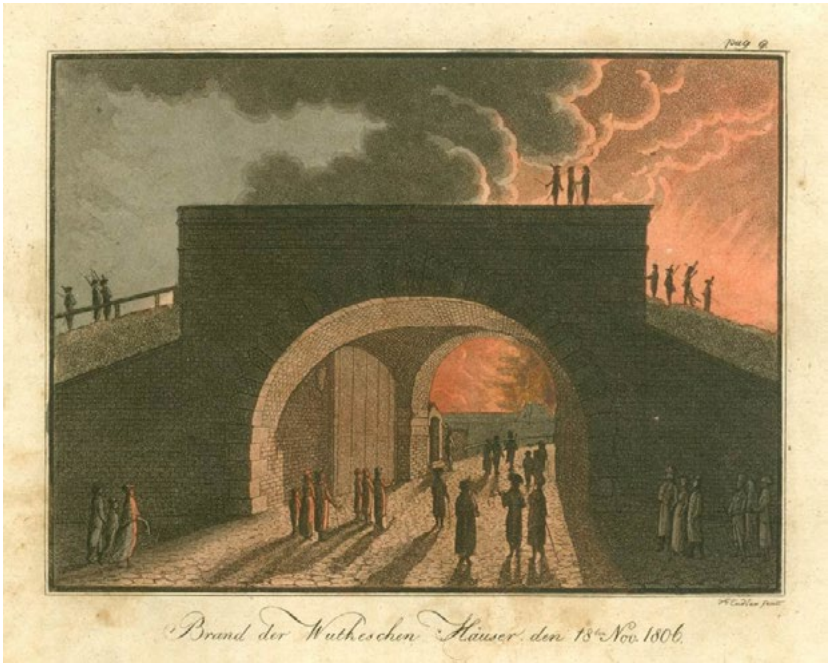

Fig. 4. View of the Odrzańska Gate from the city and the fire of Przedmieście Odrzańskie. Engraving by F. B. Endler (source: From the collection of A. Chądzyński)

Spatial development of the city

Many inhabitants of Wrocław in that era thought that Napoleon's decision to demolish the city fortifications was right and beneficial for the city[4].

The day when the demolition of the wide ring of fortifications around Wrocław started is considered a breakthrough in the history of the city's spatial development. City fortifications were a barrier to its development. Without military structures the urban tissue could spread freely. The new stage of Wrocław's development was also boosted by the decisions of the Prussian King Frederick William III to donate the areas of the former fortress to the city in September 1808 [6, p. 321]. The formerly fortified area of the so-called "Jumping Star" located on the right-hand-side bank of the Odra River, also known as the "Polish" side, was donated to the city by the emperor under the condition that it must be transformed into a botanical garden.

For five subsequent years, the military authorities made it difficult to acquire the areas of the former fortress. However, the unresolved issues regarding the ownership of this area did not hinder important territorial decisions. Under the municipal ordinance of 19 November 1808, five suburban areas were formally added to the city: Świdnickie, Mikołajskie, Odrzańskie, Oławskie and Piaskowe [5, p. 126][6, p. 321]. A new form of production organization was another factor that contributed to their rapid development. Initially it consisted of craft production and later included factories.

The destruction caused by war and the resulting devastation of suburbs, as well as the difficult economic and military situation did not prevent the city from adding these areas. The municipal ordinance and the destruction of fortifications contributed to the expansion of the "inner city" area to include five suburbs. Thus the urban agglomeration of Wrocław was created and its area increased from 133 ha to 2064 ha [5, p. 126]. The suburbs were deprived of their separate legal capacity of only in 1816. The dismantled city gates made it possible to widen the traffic routes between the "inner city" and the added areas. Oławska Gate was dismantled in February 1814, Odrzańska Gate in October 1814, Świdnicka Gate in September 1815 and Piaskowa Gate ceased to exist in 1816. The Mikołajska Gate was probably dismantled at the beginning of 1822 [5, p. 127].

The areas of the former fortress located within the "inner city" were organized and then transformed into boulevards, parks and green areas. In 1812 the construction of the city promenade began in these areas. The

4 Such opinion can be found, among others, in the periodical Der Breslauisch Erzahl from September 3, 1808.

zoning plan was prepared by Jan Fryderyk Knor, municipal building counselor and Maurycy Eichborn [4, p. 33]. The partially dismantled Sakwowy Bastion and the Ceglany Bastion were transformed into viewpoints.

The inhabitants of Wrocław were proud of the new promenade.

It was adjoined by private residences and gardens, located on the outer side of the moat. They included a wide strip of the Oławskie, Świdnickie and Mikołajskie suburbs and a slightly narrower strip of the Odrzańskie and Piaskowe suburbs. Such developed areas are depicted on the plan from 1853. (Fig. 5)

This compact area of greenery, which the city had lacked before, has become the favorite place for Wrocław residents to rest and go for walks.

Fig. 5. Plan of the city of Wroclaw by Carl Studt from 1853. (source: From the collection of A. Chądzyński)

Summary

The dismantling of city fortifications was a pivotal moment in the history of Wrocław's spatial development. Until this period, the city was enclosed in a small area by a ring of fortifications and thus could not expand territorially, whereas the suburbs outside the city walls developed in a chaotic manner and without a clear plan. The siege of the city during the war at the beginning of the 19th century was a difficult stage in the history of Wrocław. The decision to dismantle the fortifications made at the behest of Napoleon I was welcomed by many residents. Not only did the city gain the much needed green recreational areas, which were established on the areas of former fortifications, but it also made city ventilation more efficient and spatial development possible. The added suburbs gradually became an integral part of the rapidly growing urban agglomeration.

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The Tatary district as the first modern multidwelling residential estate in Lublin. Urban development concepts and architectural solutions

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Abstract: The Tatary district is located in the central-east part of Lublin. It includes the first Lublin's multi-dwelling residential estate neighbouring buzzing streets and large industrial facilities, built according to modern architectural and urban concepts. The residential estate, erected starting in the 1950', served as a model for subsequent large residential estates of Lublin. The technical solutions introduced in the Tatary buildings translated into a new standard of living and functional solutions that were unique within the traditional city tissue, shaping it permanently. After almost 60 years, the estate is facing a number of problems due to political, planning and architectural decisions. This article aims at describing and evaluating these past solutions.

Keywords: housing estate, urban planning, multi-dwelling, workers' housing estate, residential building, Polish People's Republic.

Introduction

Years: 1960–1990 constitute the period of Lublin's most intense development, both demographically and surface-wise. The number of inhabitants almost doubled (from circa 180,000 to 345,000)[1] during that period. Many inhabitants of the neighbouring rural areas moved to the city in hope of being hired in the, numerous at that time, industrial facilities. The city was being re-built also due to the 30% of Lublin's buildings having been demolished during the war[2]. By the same token, new residential buildings had to be constructed. The Lublin's so-called *City Development Plan* [*Program Planu Zagospodarowania Miasta*[3] in Polish] of 1948 was in force until 1954. That notwithstanding, the plan was tentative and works on a new General Plan [*Plan Ogólny* in Polish], compliant with the six-year plan [*plan sześcioletni 1950–1955*] for the period of 1950 to 1955[4], begun. The region was being intensely industrialised, therefore the plan included e.g. a new city centre within the developing industrial districts (Tatary, Bronowice, later: Kalinowszczyzna). By the same token, fewer residential estates were erected in other districts. In 1954, the plan was presented to the Presidium of the Government for

1 After: *Demographic data* [*Dane demograficzne*], Lublin City Office Public Information Bulletin [BIP Urząd Miasta Lublin]. Date of access: 01.04.2019

2 Przesmycka E., Sosnowska M., *The condition of public zones in residential estates of 1950' based on Lublin* [*Stan zachowania przestrzeni publicznych osiedli mieszkaniowych z lat 50. XX w. na przykładzie Lublina*], [in:] *Teka Komisji Architektury Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych, OLPAN, 2010.*

3 After: Lublin Urban Planning Office of 1955–2005 [*Lubelska Pracownia Urbanistyczna 1955–2005*], Lublin City Office [Urząd Miasta Lublina], Department of Strategic Planning and Development [Wydział Strategii i Rozwoju], Lublin 2005.

4 Polish Sejm Act of 21 July 1950 (Journal of Laws from 1950, No. 37, item 344)

amendments. In December 1955, arch. Romuald Dylewski became the president of the Lublin's Urban Planning Office. It was decided that the office would prepare a new, coherent, 5-year plan of the city development based on the Presidium's guidelines.

In 1959, 3 years after the planned works started, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers' Presidium accepted the General Plan of Lublin's development proposed by the Urban Planning Office of the Municipal National Council led by arch. Romuald Dylewski. The plan's main concept boiled down to the decentralisation of Lublin and to the creation of large residential districts with their own shops and administration. This was done to put some demands of the rapidly developing city away from the old town which was deemed unable to meet them[5], according to the analyses. As it was proposed in the *General Plan of Lublin's Development* [*Ogólny Plan Zagospodarowania Miasta Lublina*][6], prepared in 1959 by the Urban Planning Office of the Municipal National Council led by arch. Romuald Dylewski, the city was to develop according to the western urban planning best practices, throughout the construction of independent residential and commercial districts with their own commercial and administrative centres. Consequently, districts such as: Tatary, Kalinowszczyzna, Rury (Lublin Housing Cooperative, LSM in Polish), Czechów, Czuby Północne and Wrotków have been erected.

The Tatary district was built first. As early as in the 1950' and 1960', the facilities designed by the Syrkuses were erected. They were constructed by the Workers' Housing Estates Institution (Zakład Osiedli Robotniczych, ZOR in Polish)[7], just like in other Polish cities at that time. They were to serve as residential centres for workers of the rapidly developing industrial facilities.[8] When cooperatives started to build instead of ZOR and the *General Plan of Lublin's Development* went into force, the rules for the estates' planning changed as well: They changed from clear patterns of perpendicular and parallel buildings forming rectangular, pre-war-like urban interiors, into more natural structures recommended in the Athens Charter, during post-war CIAM[9] conferences and according to the western trends.

Urban solutions

The Polish economy during the times of the Polish People's Party ruling, until 1970', was based on the 5-year plans. The plans mainly included increasing the number of constructions and industrializing the country similarly to what was done in the Soviet Union. According to rule 2 and 3 of the 5-year plan[10], the economy was to develop based on heavy industry and for this reason the Lublin Truck Factory (Lubelska Fabryka Samochodów Ciężarowych in Polish) and ZOR Tatary were built.

In contrast to the city's natural and spontaneous tendencies to grow west, the urban planners focused on the east-side areas surrounding the old city centre. Yet, the lands were not properly prepared for the construction and this constituted an obstacle in building. Namely, the road infrastructure was largely destroyed by war actions, or it underwent natural degradation, while the municipal area network did not exist at that time. In addition, there were new industrial, truck production facilities emerging along the Mełgiewska street (FSC)[11] which also justified the construction of the Tatary estate. A number of specialists and workers came to Lublin together with the construction and development of the factory, thus being in need for accommodation. Tatary, constructed during the years: 1951–1970 were planned precisely as an industrial district with residential facilities, and subsequently built where the Tatary village once existed. The Tatary estate was Lublin's first modern district after the city regaining independence in 1944. It was to provide accommodation for 11,000 inhabitants. The estate's location being close to the industrial facilities proved to generate a number of functional problems in the subsequent years. The location was not particularly attractive due to the neighbouring large production facilities,

5 Leon Krier, a renowned architect and urban planner, also wrote extensively about similar solutions (e.g. in *Architecture of the Community*).

6 After: Gawarecki H., Gawdzik C., *Lublin. Landscape and Architecture* [*Lublin. Krajobraz i Architektura*], Arkady, Warsaw 1964.

7 Launched in 1948.

8 In the case of the Lublin Truck Factory [Fabryka Samochodów Ciężarowych w Lublinie].

9 *Mumford E., The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2000*

10 Jezierski A. A., *Polish economic history: 1815–1980* [*Historia gospodarcza Polski 1815–1980*], Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 1987

11 After: Kierk A., ed., *The history of Lubelszczyzna* [*Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*], *Vol. II*, Warsaw 1979.

a busy railway track with a North station and several wide, multi-lane roads surrounding the estate (i.e. the Tysiąclecia/Witosa Av. and Mełgiewska Street). As prof. Elżbieta Przesmycka writes: *The estate's location was initially not intended for residential housing in the original city plans, due to the close proximity of industrial facilities and long distance towards the city centre and commercial areas.*[12] There was no good housing estate-city centre communication; in addition, the city green and recreational zones were separated from the estate as well.[13] The estate was surrounded by busy roads, while it also constituted a closed cluster functionally dependent on the neighbouring factory. As early as in 1976, Henryk Gawrecki and Czesław Gawdzik pointed out to the aforementioned problem[14], at the same time concluding that the location is justifiable due to the lack of similar areas in the city.

The residential district includes three zones: A, B and C, corresponding to three stages of the estate's construction and its development close to the FSC and towards South. The oldest part was designed by prominent architects: Helena and Szymon Syrkus, according to the idea of a *social estate*[15]. The subsequent parts were designed by Jerzy Androsiuk, Stanisław Fijałkowski, Jerzy Makowiecki and Rita Nowakowska.

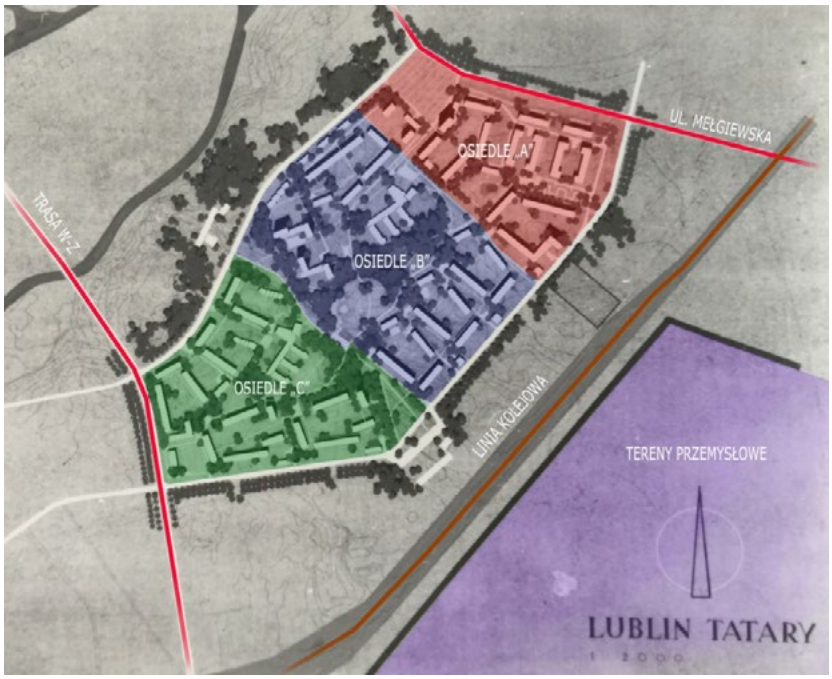

Fig. 1. The three stages (zones) of the Tatary district construction, based on the drawing by: J. Androsiuk, St. Fijałkowski, J. Makowiecki and R. Nowakowska. Source: Courtesy of Rita Nowakowska.

The first two buildings were erected in 1955, and two other ones:in 1960. 4 buildings were subsequently built in 1961 (already in a different style). The authors followed the rules of pre-war modernism: They designed a distinct facade of three buildings located on a hill from the Mełgiewska Street side. Subsequent buildings were situated perpendicularly and parallelly to one another. By the same token, a clear architectural structure with high greenery-filled architectural interiors situated in-between the blocks of flats, was designed. Yet, the urban plan initiated by the Surkuses was discontinued by the subsequent designers. The team composed of Jerzy Androsiuk, Stanisław Fijałkowski, Jerzy Makowiecki and Rita Nowakowska[16] followed different guidelines for housing estate's design, taken from western Europe. The designers' main ideas were deemed quite accurate,

12 Przesmycka E., Sosnowska M., *The condition of public zones in residential estates of 1950' based on Lublin* [*Stan zachowania przestrzeni publicznych osiedli mieszkaniowych z lat 50. XX w. na przykładzie Lublina*], [in:] *Teka Komisji Architektury Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych, OLPAN, 2010.*

13 At two-lane, east-west motorway separates the northern and central parts of the estate from green areas by the Bystrzyca river.

14 Gawrecki H., Gawdzik C., *Along the streets of Lublin* [*Ulicami Lublina*], Wydawnictwo lubelskie, Lublin 1976.

15 More about the *social housing estate* based on the WSM estate at Koło: Syrkus H., *Towards the idea of a social housing estate* [*Ku idei osiedla społecznego*]: *1925–1975*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1976.

16 The mentioned designers were in fact students and assistants of Helena and Szymon Syrkus.

mainly due to the preceding, meticulous analyses. The team took general and public transport development into account, and made the distance to be covered by foot optimum[17]. The matrix of local roads and parking spots was also designed innovatively, taking the development of car transportation into account (see Fig. 2). Driveways leading to small parking lots were designed along particular buildings, thus both ensuring access to the buildings and directing traffic towards the collective roads surrounding the estate, i.e. preserving the estate's recreational and leisure character. Interestingly enough, a given builidng was never placed in-between two driveways, therefore one elevation always faced greenery and ensured peace ane quest to the inhabitants. Large garage complexes located outside and east of the estate were also planned, though never actually constructed. The housing estate's interior was of particular importance to the designers, as they were aware of the estate's challenging location, close to busy roads and heavy industry facilities, away from the city's green areas. The plan's main rule was the one of *even value distribution*.[18] In other words, the idea was to ensure equal access to services, education and cultural facilities (cinemas, theatres, community centres). To make up for the lack of natural greenery and the difficult access from Tatary to the city centre, there was a relatively large green zone with a centrally placed amphitheatre designed inside the housing estate. In addition, a number of cultural, day care and educational facilities was provided. The infrastructure included, for instance, a cinema, cafe, open-access pool, numerous shops, two schools, five kindergartens and one nursery. In subsequent years, the inhabitants of Tatary built an open pool themselves. The commercial facilities were located in the southern (and some also in the eastern) part of the estate, where a long string of shops was placed. Such a solution was dictated by the directionality of pedestrian mobility, from east-located-factories and south-located-parking-lots or the bus stop at the Hutnicza Street (similarly to the currently non-existent main bus station) towards their homes. Put succinctly, shops were planned along the work-home axis.

Fig. 2. Tatary road scheme. Source: Based on the material obtained from Rita Nowakowska.

The estate's design illustrates changing urban planning trends, starting with traditional, through social modernism, to post-war and western-Europe ones. A number of Lublin's estates built during the ruling of the Polish People's Party was designed based on the urban planning solutions applied in the case of Tatary.

17 Vide: *Neighbouring unit* by Clarence and Arthur Perry.

18 After: Gawarecki H., Gawdzik C., *Lublin. Landscape and Architecture* [*Lublin. Krajobraz i Architektura*], Arkady, Warsaw 1964, p. 80.

Architecture

The buildings designed by the Syrkuses and located in part "A" of the estate differ in their style from subsequent constructions. The facilities erected from 1955 to 1960 are made of traditional solid bricks and include spacious apartments. They are also richer in details and of better quality than the subsequent facilities. The initial buildings have 4 levels and habitable attics covered with hip roofs with numerous dormers. Doors and windows form symmetric elevation patterns, with the lateral "wings" of the buildings slightly protruding beyond the elevation line. The Tatary architectural character changed together with the introduction of the *standards for residential buildings*[19], i.e. standards requiring such functional and technical solutions that would bring savings in construction material, frequently at the cost of functional quality. According to the 1959 standard, as little as 11 m^2 per inhabitant was sufficient (see Table 1). The required surface area per inhabitant was the lowest possible, in contrast to other European standards.

Table 1. Apartment size according to 1959 standard for residential buildings Source: W. Korzeniewski, Urban and residential standard [Normatyw urbanistyczny i mieszkaniowy] – 1974, Warsaw 1980

Apartment type	1959 apartment surface (m^2)	Permitted upgrade due to technical constraints (m^2)	Maximum Surface area (m^2)	Number of inhabitants
M-1	17–20	-	28	1
M-2	24–30	1	36	2
M-3	33–38	4	52	3
M-4	42–48	2	63	4
M-5	51–57	3	73	5
M-6	59–65	—	85	6 or 7

As the designer, Rita Nowakowska[20], states, the only freedom at that time, was the one in urban planning. The architectural design of residential buildings was utterly subject to strict standards. To save more and accelerate the construction process, large-scale pre-fabricated slabs were introduced into construction, which was initiated in the course of Tatary building. While planning the buildings, the architect was forced to find compromise between the standard-limited room size and technical possibilities stemming from the slab's parameters. The addition of a single slab module frequently resulted in exceeding the permitted surface area. Consequently, the area was reduced below standards, with the use of fewer modules. As a result, the quality of residential buildings dropped. Apartments gained poorly lit or not lit at all kitchens, and interconnecting rooms.

The buildings' appearance was also closely dependent on the standards and the technical properties of the modules. The Tatary housing estate is thus rich in simple, ornament- and detail- free buildings (see Fig. 3). 11-storey buildings dominate the analysed region, together with low-rise, oblong (even 175 metres long) 5-storey blocks of flats. Windows were moved laterally to break the regular, rhythmic, even monotonous elevation pattern in high-rise buildings (see Fig. 3). Shops were introduced into the ground levels of buildings, while southern high-rise buildings were connected to commercial facilities, which constituted a solution innovative at that time and used until this day. The architectural design of residential and public buildings is typical of the Polish People's Party period and was frequently repeated in other Lublin's estates.

19 *Polish Council of Ministers Resolution No. 364 of 20 August 1959 accepting the standard for residential building* [*Uchwała nr 364 Rady Ministrów z 20 sierpnia 1959 r. w sprawie zatwierdzenia normatywów projektowania dla budownictwa mieszkaniowego*], "Monitor Polski" 1959, no. 81, item 422. After: W. Korzeniewski, *Urban and residential standard* [*Normatyw urbanistyczny i mieszkaniowy*] *– 1974*, Warsaw 1980.

20 During an interview with the author of this paper, on 06.09.2016.

Fig. 3. Stanisław Fijałkowski's sketches of Tatary, and post-construction photos. Source: E. Przesmycka[21], J. Androsiuk[22], M. Dmitruk

Tatary now – conclusions

The Tatary housing estate is currently dysfunctional, mainly due to the political decisions taken in the 1950' and 1960', translating into the estate's design. First and foremost, the estate was planned in the close proximity of the industrial facilities. By the same token, the residential area was deprived of natural recreational zones, surrounded by busy roads and lacking the possibility of comfortably commuting to the city centre. It was solely dependent on the good functioning of neighbouring industrial facilities. When FSC, Daewoo, the iron foundry and other facilities went bankrupt, many inhabitants became unemployed, and rail transport to Tatary was discontinued being unprofitable. The cargo and bus stations were also closed, aggravating the isolation of Tatary inhabitants and making it problematic for them to find jobs in other parts of the city. The common unemployment triggered alcohol-, vandalism and crime-induced problems. Consequently, the younger generations fled in the 1990', leaving the Tatary aging society behind.

Another problem lied in the lack of revival and re-investing processes being undertaken, while the estate's management board was possibly unable to deal with the changing, post-1989-political-transformation economic situation. The last non-maintenance building investments within the estate were made in the 1990'. In turn, numerous elements of street furniture, and public facilities such as the pool and amphitheatre, degraded when not maintained properly, and are currently out of use. The local community's helplessness and growing alcohol addiction became serious problems whose size is illustrated by the inhabitants having protested (during last public consultations on district revival) against installing benches between the blocks of flats in order not to trigger alcohol abuse in the area.

As Stanisław Michałowski writes, the Tatary *rehabilitation* is currently *an emergency*[23].

21 Przesmycka E., Sosnowska M., *The condition of public zones in residential estates of 1950' based on Lublin* [*Stan zachowania przestrzeni publicznych osiedli mieszkaniowych z lat 50. XX w. na przykładzie Lublina*], [in:] *Teka Komisji Architektury Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych, OLPAN, 2010.*

22 Androsiuk J., 1965. *Tatary and Kalinowszczyzna housing estates in Lublin* [*Osiedla Tatary i Kalinowszczyzna Lublinie*], Architektura 10/215.

23 Michałowski S., *Tatary: The state of emergency* [*Tatary - Stan najwyższej konieczności*], http://idiks.org/tatary-stan-wyzszej-koniecznosci/. Date of access: 06.04.2019

In turn, the driveways and parking lots once constituted an innovative and appropriate solution, while they are currently problematic. The designers did not account for such a dynamic development of car transportation and the need for so many spots. By the same token, parking lots were designed in a rather irregular and frequently random way, leaving the selection of a parking way up to the car owners. Importantly, there were no standards referring to parking lots at the time of Tatary construction. As a result, cars are parked in a chaotic way, while greenery is devastated, and pedestrian routes – blocked.[24]

The low quality of apartments is also challenging. The small rooms cannot be arranged in an ergonomic way. Kitchens are dark or poorly lit. These factors disencourage potential young buyers despite the Tatary prices being the lowest in Lublin. Interconnecting rooms make it difficult to rent a flat to students valuing independent spaces. Finally, the lack of maintenance works being conducted also kes potential clients resign from buying.

It seems unfair to blame the designers of Tatary for their current bad condition. The urban concepts they put into life translated into good quality of living and would most frequently meet the needs of today's inhabitants, in fact often exceeding their expectations. The buildings are currently non-functional due to the new, strict standards having been introduced together with the building technique of low flexibility, regarding both the internal layout and external appearance.

Erroneous political decisions, too much faith put into the resilience of socialist economy, as well as the inability to adapt to new economic reality contributed to the gradual degradation of the Tatary residential estate. Interestingly enough, Tatary are not the sole case of actions needed in the face of changes. Nowa Huta in Cracow or Praga in Warsaw faced similar problems, however well-coordinated and complex maintenance and revival facilitated the restoration of the districts' former condition and increasing the inhabitants' quality of life. Tatary has enormous potential, rooted in the district's rich greenery, a distinct district centre with open public space, good urban layout, architecture that can be aesthetically upgraded, as well as the management board and the inhabitants clearly willing to improve the quality of their living space.

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Multimedia John Paul II park – conceptual project of an educational path in the district of Czuby in Lublin

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The Sacred Art Workshop St. Bernardine and Bl. Nicholas at the Passion-Mary Sanctuary in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska

Abstract: Urban green areas are an important element of urban public spaces. They enable users to be in touch with nature, relax and provide a space for active recreation. Dry valleys and ravines are the place where the best design solution – in order to preserve the natural character of vegetation and terrain, and meet the recreational and leisure needs of residents – is to create a park or to introduce individual walking paths. The paper presents a conceptual design for the development of the St. John Paul II Park together with the program of educational path concerning the figure of the Polish Pope.

Keywords: ravine, educational path, St. John Paul II Park, Lublin, district of Czuby

Introduction

Lublin stands out from other Polish cities with its unique relief due to the occurrence of numerous ravines and dry valleys. These places are very often visited by city residents and tourists, serving recreational and leisure purposes. In recent years, transformation of dry valleys and ravines of Lublin is visible. Many of them are degraded by improper development and changes in the shape of the surface. Combining the green areas through ecological corridors and tracts of natural forms is a coherent structure in the urban tissue. Such systems integrate the space and positively affect the environment (Boguszewska K. and Boguszewska M. 2014).

The aim of the study is to present a new vision of development of the ravine located in the Czuby district in Lublin. The main program idea is to preserve the natural values and recreational functions of the place, as well as to introduce a new educational function, through educational path project, which aims to broaden the knowledge about the life of Saint John Paul II. This area is part of the Ecological System of Protected Areas, and is also subject to the 2002 City Council resolution concerning the local development plan for the city of Lublin, in which protection zones for areas with exceptional cultural values have been established.

Material and methods

This work is of a review and design nature. It used both chamber studies, consisting of analyzing the content from scientific references and maps, as well as field studies. The local vision made it possible to carry out functional-spatial, compositional-observational and communication analyses. Field studies also included a general dendrological inventory and photographic documentation. Determination of tree and shrub species were made in accordance with Seneta and Dolatowski (2012).

Educational paths – definition

The first forest educational paths appeared in the 1950s in the United States. In Poland, the first such places were created in the 1970s in national parks, among others, cognitive-natural path in the Kampinoski National Park (1974). In order to develop the concept of an educational path, it is first of all necessary to set the target group of the addressees (Antczak 2007). Degree of difficulty and size of educational path depends on the natural and cultural values, but also on the location and character, and whether it is a single element in the landscape or is part of a larger educational program (Janeczko 2010). In the English-language literature, there are counterparts of the educational path, including: nature trials, education courses or trails of discovery, i.e. an exploratory path, a route connecting places related to historical, cultural and archaeological aspects of the development of society (Baud-Bovy and Lawson 2000). In Poland, educational paths are usually combined with natural environment, and less frequently – the cultural one (Bijak 2015).

Ravines and dry valleys of Lublin

There are 84 ravines and dry valleys in Lublin. Due to them, the city has a unique and priceless character. They not only contribute to the variety of landscape, but also create good conditions in terms of nature. They are a mainstay for many species of plants and animals, affect the circulation of water in the environment, cause the air movement and regulate the temperature. They play the role of the "ventilation ducts" of the city. As a result of air movements due to temperature differences, built-up urban areas are ventilated. During a day, the southern slopes heat up and the warm air rises to the top. Cool air flows down in the direction of the slope, towards the bottom of the valley. Moreover, almost all green areas have been shaped by man in cities (green squares), therefore natural places, i.e. ravines and dry valleys are particularly valuable.

Since the Middle Ages, in Lublin and the surrounding area, permanent deforestation followed, most of which was designated for agriculture. The consequence of this form of land use are erosion processes. As a result of surface erosion, the slopes were smoothed and the bottoms of dry valleys raised. However, the effect of linear erosion was the cutting up of soils. Slopes of dry valleys, due to farming and anti-erosion measures, have been slightly transformed. These areas have been preserved as green areas. Commonly, the name "ravines" is used to determine the dry valleys of Lublin. However, these are not typical ravines with steep and cliff slopes (Rodzik 2014).

In Lublin, in the 1980s, the Ecological System of Protected Areas (ESOCh) was established, the purpose of which is to connect green areas of the city of Lublin into one network. This protection covers bottoms of river valleys, dry valleys as well as green areas showing the spatial continuity (Chmielewski et al. 2013, Hryciuk et al. 2014).

Teaching of Saint John Paul II in the light of nature

In his teaching, John Paul II devoted much attention to nature. He called for actions to stop the devastation of natural environment. He argued that nature and tourism shape the spirit, perfect the personality, restore physical strength. Landscapes and other elements of the natural environment make it easier for people to concentrate, inspire and are a source of emotional experiences. He claimed that communing with nature and

silence are conducive to contemplating God. He used every opportunity to be close to the nature; he visited beautiful corners, practiced sports, walked and swam. In the program of apostolic pilgrimage, the Pope's habitual residence in places of exceptional natural values was customarily taken into account, which also promoted them, and John Paul II gained undisputed authority in the field of respect for nature and harmonious use of its versatile values. According to the teaching of John Paul II, a modern man locked in an artificial environment full of new techniques and civilizations can experience physical, mental and spiritual fatigue. The need to be in a natural environment is almost necessary. Thanks to this, it becomes possible to experience harmony, inner peace and serenity of the spirit, due to which a man can return to everyday life and more fully develop relations with other people in a fuller way. (Pociask-Karteczka 2007).

The Holy Father appealed to stop the despotic way of nature management not only in the direct human environment, but also in the scale of the whole globe and overcome the disorderly desire to consume. Verification of the robbery and anti-ecological lifestyle was to rely on a respect for moral rights and solidary implementation of well-thought-out projects of environmental protection and peaceful coexistence with nature at the local and global level (Babiński 2012). Teaching of John Paul II is a rich source of philosophical, anthropological, moral and theological considerations on nature (Brusiło 2007). Probably for many years, papal documents with their impressive ecological message, will be a source of analysis and research (Pociask-Karteczka 2007).

During the Polish People's Republic (PRL), one of the most important moments of religious life for the inhabitants of Lublin was the visit of John Paul II during the third pilgrimage to the Homeland. On June 9, 1987, a solemn Holy Mass was celebrated in Czuby with about a million people attending. Crowds of worshipers participating in the mass also occupied the area of the ravine, where crop fields were located then (Śladkowski and Figiel 2017). The metal papal cross, which has been preserved in the place of the liturgical celebration, resembles those events. However, in the common perception of Lublin inhabitants, the entire area of the unique congregation was marked by a special emotional and sacred value, which should be protected and properly used (Pajurek 2017).

Area of study

The area under study covers about 20 ha. It is located in the district of Czuby, in the eastern part of the city. The discussed area is surrounded by the following streets: John Paul II, Roztocze and Władysław Orkan. It consists of John Paul II Park and undeveloped area of the further part of the ravine.

The developed part is a pedestrian and bicycle path, which is separates by the green belt. There are many facilities for recreation and relaxation, among others, places with benches, gazebo and amphitheater surrounded by flowerbeds and tree planting. Differently – the second part of the ravine remains undeveloped and is covered with dense vegetation. A natural terrain relief has been preserved here, which has a positive effect on the aesthetics of the place. Footpaths are designated only by well-trodden paths, which, however, makes this area difficult to access.

General site inventory

In terms of organizing the vegetation, the area can be divided into two parts. The first of them is the greenery of the John Paul II Park developed and tidy. The other is undeveloped part of the ravine with numerous self-seedlings, wild growing species and areas of high grass (Fig. 1, 2). The tree stand of the ravine consists primarily of deciduous species with predominance of *Quercus robur*, *Betula pendula*, *Populus tremula*, *Corylus avellana*, *Prunus cerasifera*, *Robinia pseudoacacia*. The shrubs are predominantly: *Prunus spinosa*, *Crataegus laevigata*, *Berberis thunbergii*, and *Cotoneaster horizontalis*. The analyzed area has a dense network of walking alleys, footsteps and bicycle routes. The most characteristic for the area of the communication node is that located in the middle of the intersection of the bicycle and walking path. This place creates a peculiar center of the present John Paul II Park.

Fig. 1. Views of the undeveloped part of the ravine (photo by M. Kowalczyk)

Fig. 2. Views of the undeveloped part of the ravine (photo by M. Kowalczyk)

Program assumptions

An important goal of the project is to preserve the natural green areas of the dry valley as much as possible and to minimize the interference in shaping the relief. The project aims to introduce harmony between elements of modern architecture, multimedia and sounds, and natural character of the designed place. Another goal of the project task is to create places available for people using wheelchairs. It is also important to enable the use of educational path to visually impaired people due to design of places where it is possible to listen to the statements of Saint John Paul II and comments about the nature of memories and philosophical-theological reflections connected with the message of the Polish Pope to the inhabitants of Lublin region.

The educational path is 1.4 km long. There are elements that testify about the character of a given place, as well as about the life of Saint John Paul II and about the idea of nature protection. The educational path offer is primarily aimed at two basic user groups. The first of them are children from primary schools, aged 9–13, who, together with the teacher, can go through this designated, marked road as part of a fieldwork by completing the work cards and completing subsequent tasks. The second group consists of young people aged 14–16. Regardless of the solutions for younger generations that are particularly preferred in the project, representatives of all age groups will be able to find something interesting on the path. The information boards will be helpful.

The project provides for numerous ways of acquiring knowledge about the Polish Pope, from reading terminals/information desks, typhlographics, performing the tasks through educational games and urban games. In addition to gaining knowledge about Saint Pope John Paul II, it was offered to place his main ideas and quotes in various parts of the proposed area. All around, the arrangement of capital letters composing the inscription: JAN PAWEŁ II, after the entire route that would be visible from the upper parts of the area.

The path was divided into chronological stages of the Pope's life (childhood, priesthood, pontificate, pilgrimages, illness, passing away). We tried to diversify and reflect the mood of each of the highlighted periods through color changes in the surface of the routes and the proposed vegetation.

The educational path can be traveled in two ways. The first one is a walk along the designated route, during which a visitor can read and listen to the contents of multimedia desktops, as well as perform tasks that aim, for example, to complete the statement about the facts from the life of Saint John Paul II.

As part of the second educational proposal, so-called urban game, in which several groups can compete and win points, is planned. The prepared game consists in performing tasks located throughout the Park and counting the points and time, in which the group performed all the tasks. In order to protect the instruction cards of individual tasks from destruction or loss, boxes with appropriate markings were designed for them. When passing through the Park area, the user will notice single wooden letters, arranged in the inscription "John Paul II". In each of letters, the task box was also designed. In addition, identical tasks will be found in a mobile application specially created for this purpose, and the entire field game together with the task execution points will be connected to the GPS system.

In the designed elements of small architecture, the decorative motif will be the logo of the project (Fig. 3). It will be made from a combination of symbols associated with Saint John Paul II, among others, cross, rosary, zucchettos. The Cross is a well-known symbol of the faith of the Catholic Church. Semi-circles – symbolizing the zucchettos (headwear worn by the Pope). Circles – resembling a halo (symbol of saints), aim to draw attention to the holiness of John Paul II. Unclosed circles – symbol of the openness of Saint John Paul II to the world of nature and another man (always devoted to God and people, he was meeting others). Small circles – a symbol of the rosary beads, to practicing of which he encouraged (St. John Paul II prayed constantly to Mary himself). Number 4 – symbol of four sides of the world, recalled, because for the Polish Pope, every country in the world, as well as every human being, was extremely important as a destination and an object of concern. Described Park logo will appear on benches, educational desks and "greets" at the entrances (Fig. 4, 5).

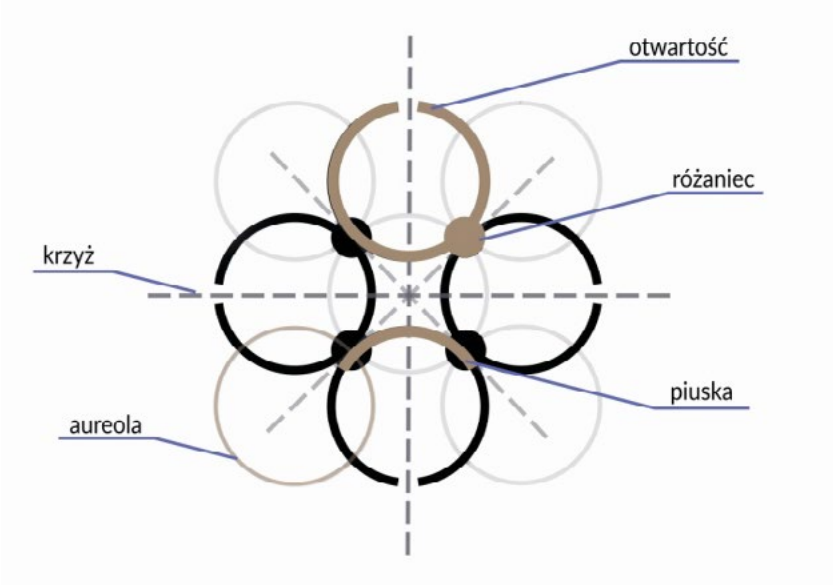

Fig. 3. Symbolism of the project logo (by M. Kowalczyk)

Fig. 4. Original design of the bench (by M. Kowalczyk)

Fig. 5. Original design of the A-shaped bench (by M. Kowalczyk)

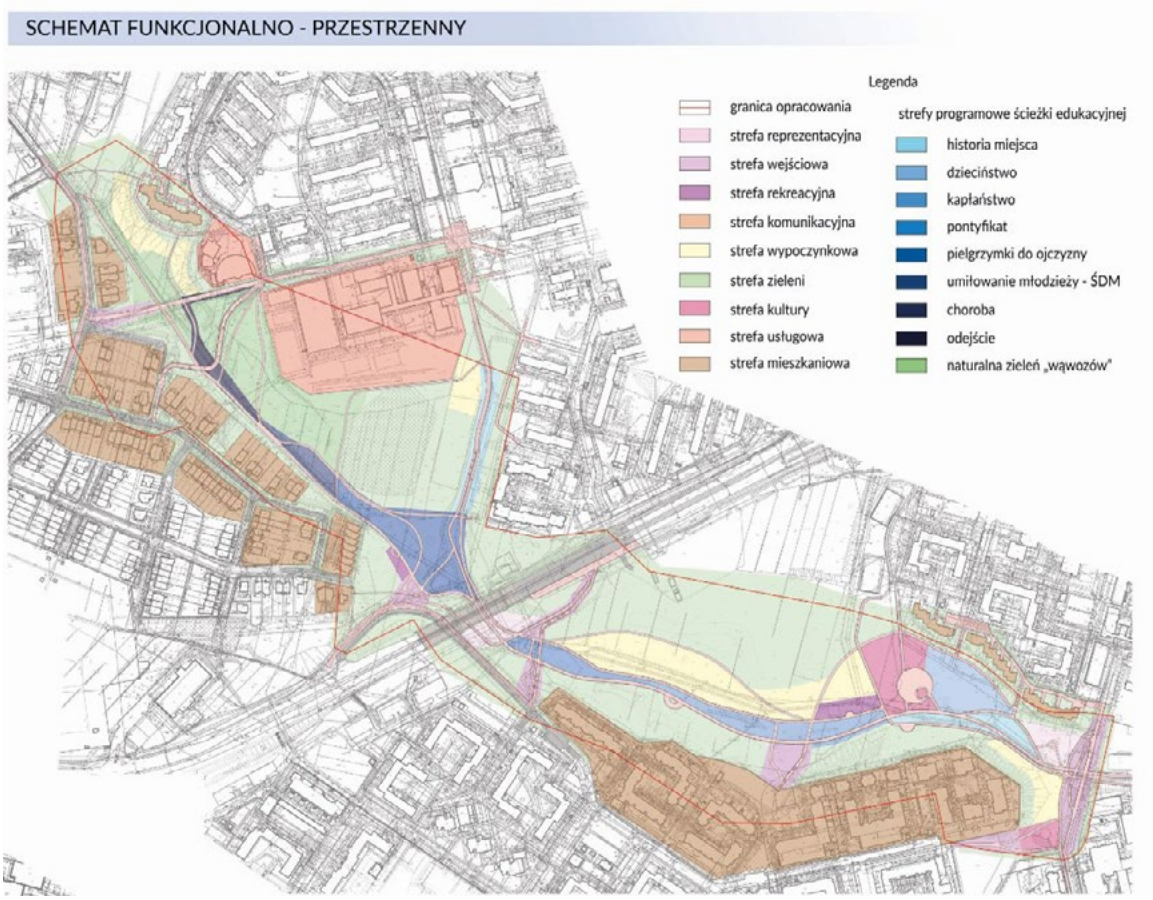

Fig. 6. Functional and spatial diagram of the Multimedia John Paul II Park in the ravine of Czuby (by M. Kowalczyk)

Due to the existence of many "wild" entrances to the ravine and footpaths, additional paths and openings to the district were designed. Due to the good condition of existing greenery and rich variety of trees and shrubs species, existing vegetation was preserved, while new routes were designed so that it would not be necessary to cut down existing trees. It has been proposed to plant the rows along pedestrian paths, as well as the flowered meadows repeated throughout the projected area (Fig. 6).

In order to increase the recreational function of the Park, it was designed to place garden chairs in sunny areas with special scenic values. Users will be able to sunbathe and relax, while admiring the views. On the same hills, in winter season, sledging will be possible.

Due to the intensity of use of the area in question, both during the day and in the evening, a larger number of lanterns was designed, as well as the introduction of new forms of lighting.

Summary

The aim of the project was to create a transparent public space, lively, with no architectural barriers, with a guiding idea based on the moral and ecological teaching of Pope John Paul II. Developed part of the ravine was extended with another, carefully composed and thought-out space, referring to already existing one, and at the same time, having an original solution in the form of an educational path. The unique qualities of the tradition and the identity of the place determined the specificity of the project and equipment of the natural space of the ravine. Presented vision is a complementary proposal that takes into account specific nature and functioning of a valuable green area in the entire city structure and a modern residential area.

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The state of wooden housing architecture preservation from the interwar period in cities of the Lublin region. Protection possibilities

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Summary: The article describes the condition of the wooden buildings created in the interwar period in the Lublin region and the method of its conservation, taking into account legal forms in force in Poland and in the world. This is a very substantial topic, because buildings of this type are increasingly disappearing from the landscape of a small city, in favor of catalog construction, thereby destroying the unique small-town landscape.

Keywords: Lublin region, wooden buildings, interwar period, condition, forms of legal protection.

Introduction

Interwar period in Poland was a time of rapid state reconstruction, not only at political level, but also in architecture. It must be stresses, that war loses incurred in the area of built environment were enormous. Thus, prevailing housing crisis was substantial, therefore the State decided to help citizens in the reconstruction[1]. At the beginning of the 1920s, the first housing associations began their operation and the major of which – established in 1934 – was Towarzystwo Osiedli Robotniczych (Eng. Society of Workers' Housing Estates – self translation). The aim of aforementioned organization was raising housing estates for a less prosperous part of society. First of all, small single-family houses were built[2], most often in a terraced manner and blocks of flats. The newly designed households were located mostly in suburbs or on vacant plots.

Wooden buildings in the Lublin region at that time were very popular, due to several factors. Not only wood was an easily available material, but areas spoken of had rich tradition related to timber construction. Hence, above all, it was simple and economic to use this technology instead of other possibilities.

The starting research material used in this study for determining wooden buildings preservation condition, were projects retained in the State Archives and Karty Ewidencji Zabytków Architektury i Budownictwa (Architecture and Building Monuments Record Cards) so-called *white cards* (polish *białe karty*). Records analyzed allowed defining the date of each object creation. However, it must be highlighted, that there is no certainty for implementation of retained house projects in showed a form. Some of the buildings, may have had not occurred at all. In addition, it should be noted, that at the beginning of operation of the Polish state, the building regulations of the partitioning powers were in force, including the former Kingdom of Poland until 1928,

1 In the Lublin Voivodeship, according to data from the 1926 census, there were an average of 4.7 people per apartment in the city. *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny*, no. 4, 1933.

2 An example would be the Legionistów estate in Lublin, where single-family houses of mixed wood and brick construction have survived.

in which no design documentation was required. This raises some issues in determining the actual date when objects were created. To carry out a reliable analysis, there were selected houses, which had sufficient archival documentation.

For research there were selected cities that in the discussed period had formal city status or regained their city rights at that time, i.e. from the northern part of the region (Biała Podlaska, Janów Podlaski, Łuków, Międzyrzec Podlaski), central (Kock, Lubartów, Lublin, Ostrów Lubelski, Parczew, Puławy) and southern (Chełm, Dubienka, Hrubieszów, Krasnystaw, Tomaszów Lubelski, Zamość) as well as two small town settlements: Bełżyce, Izbica and one health resort – Nałęczów.

Wooden buildings of the interwar period – form

In the first years after the war, both the partitioning powers and the former Polish Kingdom building regulations were simultaneously still in force[3] until 1928, when a standardized building code was adopted[4]. The new law limited the height of timber or mixed wooden-brick buildings, erected in urban areas to four fathoms, i.e. 8.52m (this distance was measured from the ground level to the eaves). Moreover, non-fireproof buildings longer than 25 meters had to be separated by a fire wall every aforementioned 25 meters[5]. The roofs of the buildings had to be covered with flameproof material.

Concerning a style of elaborated buildings, in interwar period, several catalogs were created containing typical single-family wooden houses, however none of them was adopted in this area. Local building tradition was in advance at all times, despite proposed patterns or weak influence of a few model projects, especially those erected in national style. Noticeable are also rare examples of using the same project repeatedly within one city. In the Lublin region popularity gained a style referring to the traditional house construction, while so called manor style, understood in the classical sense, spread in the north. At the end of 1930s, functionalism became popular, especially in larger cities of elaborated region Focusing on structure details, most of timber buildings were raised in post-and-plank construction, sometimes with the use of log cabin. This frame structure was mainly implemented in porch structure, outbuildings and elements of small architecture. While, mixed construction houses, where ground floor was made of stone and wooden upper floor, were rather rare. Building facades, depending on the style and the region, were plastered or boarded. Roofs were most often manufactured as: gable, jerkin head (so called half-hip), stepped, dutch gable jerkin head dutch gable roof (in the southern region).

State of the preservation

Not many wooden or mixed-type residential buildings have survived to present day, and their current technical condition is often poor. In this case, comparing design documentation of particular home with its current state is often difficult, sometimes impossible. Reasons for poor condition can be seen in war damages brought by the World War II and the occupier's policy related to mass deportations. Abandoned houses, due to lack of proper maintenance, fell into ruins and were subjected to the process of destruction, leading to their complete disintegration (Fig. 1A). In addition, most of the nowadays inhabitants of these houses are mostly elderly, destitute people. Some of elaborated buildings are also owned by the city or municipality – among others serving as social low standard flats. Another reason for this condition is poor quality of original construction. Wooden buildings of period discussed were a response to prevailing housing crisis, some of them supposed to be temporary. Frequently their original function was changed throughout time and currently are adapted to the new way of use, i.e. for shops (Fig. 1B).

3 Dz.U. 1919 nr. 14 poz. 176, *Dekret w przedmiocie tymczasowych przepisów budowlanych na obszarach byłego zaboru rosyjskiego* compare *Ustawy i rozporządzenia z dziedziny budownictwa obowiązujące w Państwie Polskiem: ustawy i rozporządzenia wydane przez władze polskie do dnia 1 czerwca 1923 r. obowiązujące bądź na obszarze całego państwa, bądź w poszczególnych dzielnicach oraz przepisy wydane przez b. władze rosyjskie i okupacyjne niemieckie, obowiązujące na obszarze b. zaboru rosyjskiego*, ed. by Gustaw Szymkiewicz, Warszawa 1923.

4 *Ustawa Budowlana. O prawie budowlanym i zabudowaniu osiedli z dnia 16 lutego 1928 roku*, Warszawa 1928.

5 *Ustawy i rozporządzenia*..., op.cit., C. I, art. 200–201, compare *Ustawa Budowlana*..., op. cit., art. 202.

Moreover, wooden houses were often rebuilt and their transformations were carried out without any conservation manner, so in this processes initial form was often destroyed. Window frames were replaced in many cases, in a way, where original casement windows have been changed for standard plastic ones. New typical joinery usually neither retained original size of window nor initial glass division, and thus openings lost their historical form. The same statement is true for roofing and in place of the historical coverage, cheap corrugated sheets were introduced. However, the most destructive procedure was thermal modernization of the buildings. Though, the process is required in order to update buildings to contemporary energy-saving requirements, at many occasions it was performed improperly and destroyed not only the detail, but also the entire structure of the building, by changing its historical form (Fig. 1C). The second negative factor was improper reconstruction. It was connected to a fact, that at erection time most of the houses did not have any media, and sanitary facilities inside the building were rare. In this cases, owners wanting to adapt homes to new living conditions, usually created additions. These were often made from modern materials, which resulted in changing original shapes of homes and disfiguring buildings original form (Fig. 1D). In addition, constant improper maintenance of wooden elements or complete absence of conservation activities lead to the destruction of building material, including unique details, such as: decorative corners (polish *kożuchowanie*), porches or ornamental window headers and aprons.

The enrichment of society is another factor in the disappearance of wooden buildings, often due to poor technical condition and too high cost of reconstruction. In respect of these facts, many timber structures are being demolished, in order to provide a place for new brick households. Highly rare positive practice, which was noted in this manner is translocation of the building, consisting of unfolding the whole structure and reassembling it in a new place. It was also observed that, formerly such activities took place, now they are gaining its supporters again. Another reason for reducing the number of wooden houses is their location. Previously situated on plots at the outskirts of cities, now these buildings are located in a downtown area, at sites attractive for new investments, like multifamily estates or commercial enterprises.

Fig. 1. A – Krasnystaw, Krakowskie przedmieście, **B** – Parczew, ul. Kościelna 42, **C** – Hrubieszów ul. 1 maja, **D** – Kock, ul. Ostrowskiego. Photo author 2012.

In spite of many negative factors, which are affecting this buildings' development also positive examples have been noticed, in which owners with care are looking after their households, keeping its original form and the detail. Single objects are bought or offered to became part of open air museums or antique building museums, and thus are subject to proper conservation after which can serve as exhibits. One example is the Museum of the Lublin Village in Lublin, where currently a project is being carried out, aiming at reconstruction of a typical provincial town of Central Europe from the 1930s. On the exhibition area, there are not only residential wooden buildings, but also public edifices. This display, due to attention to detail, allows to present the character of a small town of the interwar period.

Unfortunately, despite the positive examples, the current condition of wooden architecture is poor. This is indicated by, among others statistical data from the 1980s presented by Ignacy Tłoczek, showing the percentage share of wooden houses in the Lublin region, in relation to the whole building number, which at that time was between 75 and 90%. An example of a city, for which a plan was made in 1928 showing the type of buildings, was Łuków (fig. 2). In that plan about 70% of existing buildings, was timber structures, located outside the city center.

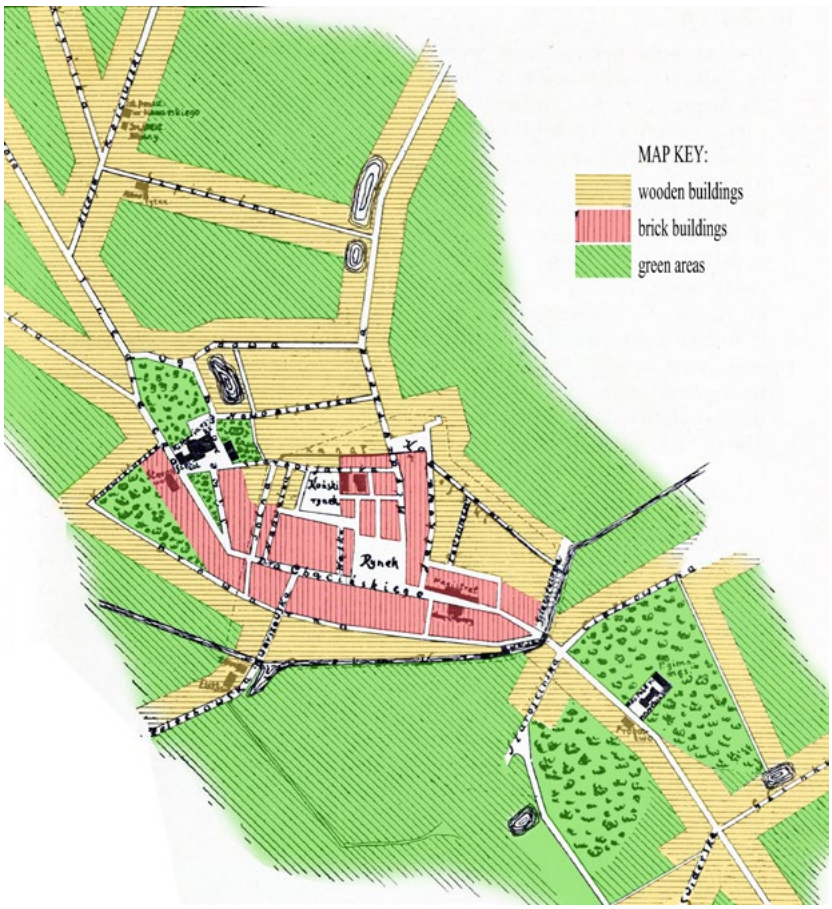

Fig. 2. Plan of the city of Łuków from 1928. Ed. author based on J.S. Majewski, *Łuków, district town in the Lubelskie voivodship*, Łuków 1930, p. 47

Quantitative changes in wooden housing structure are large. To illustrate this process, author analyzed available archival materials and unpublished papers, for one representative city – Międzyrzec Podlaski, among others analyzed data as listed:

- The Measure Plan from 1942[6],

6 Made by measurer Czekaliński, [in:] J. Chomicki, *„Powstanie i rozwój urbanistyczny Międzyrzeca Podlaskiego od średniowiecza do czasów obecnych"*, Rocznik Międzyrzecki, vol. XX-XXI-XXII, 1988–1990.

- regional literature, mainly the *Rocznik Międzyrzecki*[7],
- BEng Thesis of Tomasz Siedlanowski, *Drewniana zabudowa mieszkalna Międzyrzeca Podlaskiego* (Wooden residential buildings of Międzyrzec Podlaski), conducted under the supervision of assoc. prof. Eng. Arch. Elżbieta Przesmycka made at the Faculty of Civil and Sanitary Engineering of the Lublin University of Technology, defended in 2006,
- master's thesis of Łukasz Netczuk, *Międzyrzc Podlaski – miejsca ożywione* (Międzyrzec Podlaski – vivified places) conducted under the supervision of PhD. Eng. arch. Regina Maga-Jagielnicka made at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology defended in 2009.

The Measure Plan from 1942 refers to the Jewish quarter and lists wooden and brick buildings according to the state before the destruction. The *Rocznik Międzyrzecki* (yearbook) provides detailed data on the nature of buildings and their transformations. T. Siedlanowski's BEng Thesis attempts to register and valorize the condition of wooden buildings throughout the city, with a detailed inventory of several, selected objects. As the author writes on pages 5 and 48 of his work, it covered the scope of the detailed inventory only for a very small part of wooden houses (5 buildings, including 3 from the city and 2 from Rzeczyca) on the background of the general analysis of its condition presented on the map on page 47. It must be stressed, that detailed local vision of the city introduced for presented study, revealed, that there was much greater number of wooden buildings, literally 300 existing buildings and 49 from the Siedlanowski map non-existent in 2019, than the map of the analysis of the state of preservation in 2005 – 186 existing buildings (not including 2 objects from Rzeczyca, which was included in the work of Tomasz Siedlanowski, however this area is not formally part of the city and thus, was not included in presented author's research). Recalled map does not include many evidently wooden houses built before 1950, preserved until today in whole or in part, especially those that have been: plastered, subjected to thermal modernization or have had blurred traces of original wooden structure, as an effect of the reconstruction and renovation. In these buildings only the endings of ceiling beams, gable eaves board or wooden gables, reveal their original wooden structure. The largest deficiencies were recorded in the Stołpno and Zawadki housing estates and along Piłsudski and Zarówie Streets. Non less important is the record of the state of buildings at the beginning of the 21st century, it also documents the inventory of several houses. Their author also does not rule out omission of other timber residential buildings, which identification is currently not possible, on the basis of external examination. However, in publication every effort was made to ensure, that the quantitative diagnosis of this type of buildings was as complete as possible. By the way, the technical state of reference was updated in relation to Siedlanowski's analysis of 2005, showing that 49 wooden house of this map do no longer exist.

Urban planning Master's Thesis of Ł. Netczuk, in addition to detailed urban and planning analyzes on the spatial development background of the city, in the form of maps presents the valorisation of preserved wooden residential architecture of Międzyrzec Podlaski. At page 49 author indicates that presented research have been conducted in the categories of cultural heritage, as the ones, that are very legible in the city landscape. In the analysis of cultural heritage in point 8 and 9 on aforementioned page, among the buildings appointed to be included in homogenous conservation protection, author lists two locally sanctioned customary categories of wooden housing: richer in spatial form and dimensions, the so-called burgher houses and manor houses (item 8.), supplemented by other smaller timber households of various forms (item 9.), listing the more valuable to preserve. The postulate of protection includes, in the form of a list (table 6), well-preserved wooden objects with a relatively well-documented history known at that time to the author (2008–2009), including buildings at Piłsudskiego from Sienkiewicza streets to the Piszczanka river – as the most aggregated and representative complex of buildings of this type in the city – and additionally 12 preserved wooden objects from point 8 and 9. – with valuable architecture and relatively good condition (page 49, full-scale drawing no. 5). The work also postulates the protection of this form of development by creating a tourist trail called: *Program of attractions and cultural heritage of the Międzyrzec Region* (pp. 4, 66–67, 98, full-scale drawing no. 1) as well as conservation and cultural protection zones in spatial development plans (p. 61, 70, 73, full-scale drawing no. 3).

7 e.g.: J. Chomicki, *op. cit.*, J. Geresz, *Międzyrzec Podlaski. Dzieje miasta i okolic*, 2001.

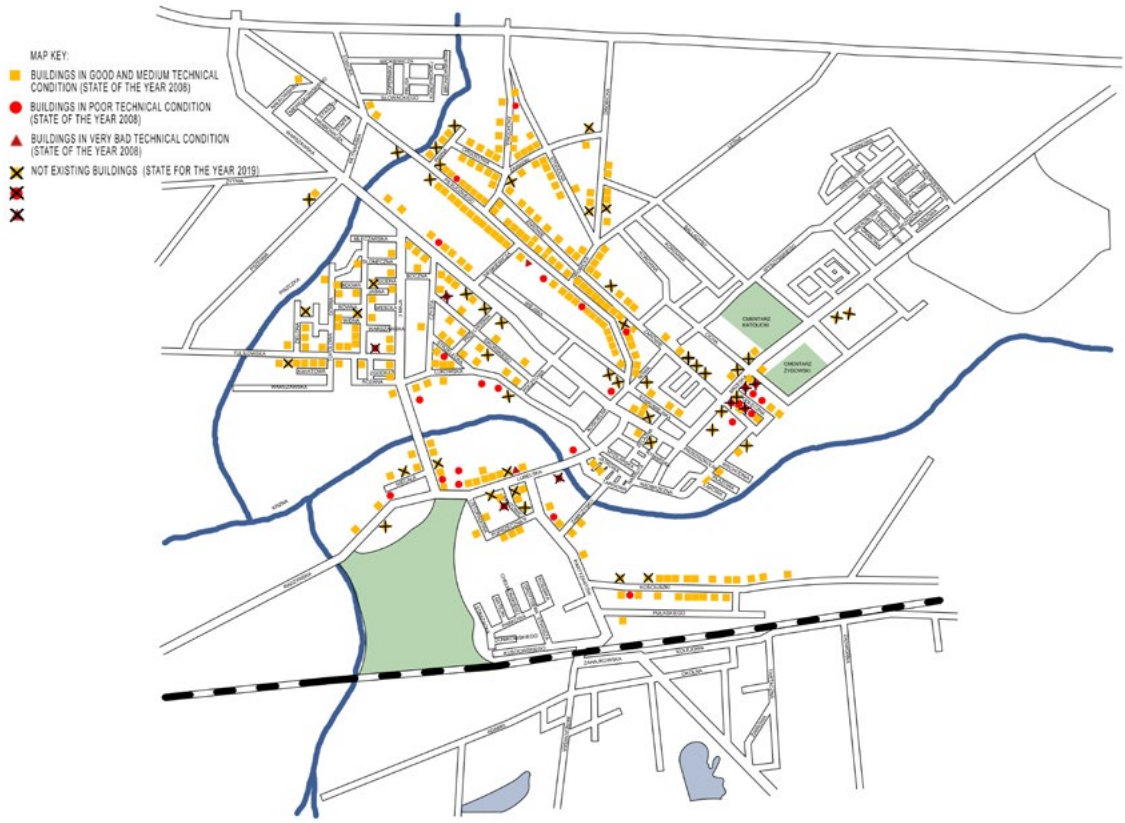

Fig. 3. Plan of the city of Międzyrzec Podlaski with marked buildings. Ed. author based on the BEng Thesis of Tomasz Siedlanowski, titled: *Drewniana zabudowa mieszkalna Międzyrzeca Podlaskiego* (Wooden residential buildings of Międzyrzec Podlaski), under the guidance of assoc. prof. Eng. Arch. Elżbieta Przesmycka, Lublin University of Technology, Faculty of Civil and Sanitary Engineering, Lublin 2005 and the Master's Thesis by Łukasz Netczuk, entitled *Międzyrzec Podlaski – miejsca ożywione* (*Międzyrzec Podlaski – vivified places*), under the supervision of PhD. Eng. Arch. Regina Maga-Jagielnicka, Wrocław University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, Wrocław 2009 and the author's detailed local vision carried out in August 2019

To illustrate the changes that have occurred in the last decade, a local visit was carried out in 2019. On the plan from 2008, objects were marked according to the state of 2019 together with changes which occurred since the valorisation of 2005, i.e. objects that have been irretrievably damaged (fig. 3). In their place, contemporary residential buildings or commercial and service facilities were erected. These changes mainly concern the main communication routes, due to the favorable location close to the center. The dynamics of erecting buildings in the interwar period of Międzyrzec was greater than before World War I (table 1). In the years 1918–1933, on newly incorporated areas and as supplement of the city center were erected 194 new wooden houses. In the years 1933–1939 this dynamics was even greater, because in 1939 there was already around 1300 wooden houses and residential outbuildings. The war brought significant damage, thus in 1948, despite three years of reconstruction, timber residential buildings still constituted just over half of the state before the war. Following decades brought changes in city's landscape. As a result of the factors discussed earlier, wooden buildings began gradually to give way to stone ones. In 2005, it is estimated that the number of wooden houses should be around 360. In 1948–2005, the condition of this form of development decreased by almost 44%. Meanwhile, only in 2005–2019 49 objects disappeared (17% of the previous state). As can be seen from the analysis, wooden housing architecture without systemic protection will soon cease to exist, completely changing the landscape and character of the small town of the Lublin region. The situation is similar in other cities in the region.

Table 1. Change in the condition of wooden residential buildings in Międzyrzec Podlaski

Change in the condition of wooden residential buildings in Międzyrzec Podlaski						
Year		1896[8]	In years 1918–1933 built[9]	1939[10]	1948[11]	2005[12]
Number of residential houses (total buildings amount, including industrial farm buildings)	wooden	503	194	ok. 1300	638 (2083)	86* (ok. 360) * understated by at least 163 objects
	stone	96	65	ok. 300	218 (352)	lack of data

Legal forms regarding the protection of wooden buildings

Currently law for protection and conservation provides four forms of monuments protection (Dz.U. nr 162 poz. 1568 z późn. zm.)[13], as listed: entry in the register of monuments, recognition as a historical monument, creation of a cultural park, establishing protection in the local spatial development plan, as well as an entry in the register of monuments which is not formally regulated[14]. An immovable monument is an object that is a property in itself or is part of a larger complex, created by man or related to his activities. Such monument stands as a testimony of a previous era or important event, thus its conservation is understood as the public interest, due to its unique values, like: historical, artistic or scientific. It is worth noting, that the objects are protected and taken care of regardless of their condition, thus poor technical situation cannot be a premise to question its value and reject the procedure of entry in the monument's register[15].

Entry in the register of monuments is the elementary form of protection established in Polish legislation. It takes place on the basis of a decision issued by the Provincial Conservator of Monuments (Wojewódzki Konserwator Zabytków – WKZ), which is preceded by detailed archival, field and other relevant research. An entry in the register of immovable monuments is initiated *ex officio* at the request of the WKZ or the application of a submitter, whom can be: the institution, property owner or is its perpetual usufructuary. In addition, social associations and organizations, whose foundation is to protect cultural heritage (Article 31 § 2 and 4 of the Code of Administrative Procedure), also have the right to propose object to the register. After successful completion of the entire procedure, the object is entered in the register of monuments[16]. Unfortunately, described form of protection for wooden houses, built in the interwar period, is neglected. It was noticed, that only a few Cards of Architecture and Building Monuments Records available on behalf of the WKZ, have been created. It was stated, that there are many reasons of monument register unpopularity as a form of these unique objects preservation. One of them is owners insufficient awareness of timber construction value. And the other is society's lack of knowledge about its cultural value.

Another form of protection is a cultural park with special values for a particular region. It is created to protect the unique cultural landscape and preserve the distinctive landscapes with immovable monuments

8 J. Chomicki, *Powstanie i rozwój urbanistyczny Międzyrzeca Podlaskiego od średniowiecza do czasów obecnych,* Rocznik Międzyrzecki, t. XX-XXI-XXII, 1988–1990, s.121.

9 Ibid., p 124.

10 Ibid.

11 J. Chomicki, op. cit, p. 126.

12 T. Siedlanowski, op. cit., p. 47.

13 Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami (Dz.U. Nr 162, poz. 1568 z późn. zm.), z mocą obowiązującą od dnia 17 listopada 2003 r.

14 The issues of monument protection in the commune and voivodship records constitute a separate complex issue that will not be developed in this article due to the lack of recognition of wooden residential buildings with this form of protection in the presented city.

15 https://nid.pl/pl/Dla_wlascicieli_i_zarzadcow/opieka-nad-zabytkami/zabytki-rejestrowe/procedury/ (access 12.07.2019).

16 https://nid.pl/pl/Dla_wlascicieli_i_zarzadcow/opieka-nad-zabytkami/zabytki-rejestrowe/procedury/ (access 12.07.2019).

characteristic of the local building and settlement tradition (Article 16 (1) of the Act)[17]. Each area covered by this form of protection must have a spatial development plan, which includes conservation protection forms. Currently, it is difficult to separate such an area, in which there is a possibility of preserving a majority of the original urban tissue, containing traditional wooden buildings, because many of these objects no longer exist or they have been repetitively rebuilt, thus losing their unique character. What is more currently surroundings also degraded, among others secondary parcel divisions have been introduced.

Pursuing of historical buildings protection methods, it may be highly useful to contain appropriate information in the study of conditions and directions of spatial development plan for the commune and in local spatial development plan. Such information could relate to use manner, building's nature, maintenance method and possible expansion. The provisions contained in the plans would allow to preserve the unique values of wooden buildings, that were once an element creating a characteristic landscape for a small town.

The form of protection, that has the greatest potential for preserving this buildings's types, is to create a cultural route. It is one of the forms supported by the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in the context of cultural heritage[18].The definition of cultural route was presented by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which since 1998 has its own International Committee on Cultural Routes (ICOMOS-CIIC), it assumes that the cultural route is a water, land or mixed trail that has a unique history, showing development humanity, as a multifaceted exchange of goods, ideas, knowledge and cultural values within countries, regions as well as between them, through the long-term mutual interaction of cultures in time and space, which results in a material or immaterial heritage[19][20]. In Europe, already in 1985, the resolution of the Assembly of the European Parliament mentions the European Cultural Route, and in 1987 the Program of European Cultural Routes was created and in 1997 the Institute of Cultural Routes in Luxembourg[21]. These institutions promote the the concept of cultural travel in an international context. However, in the case of timber buildings in the Lublin region, more adequate is the definition proposed by L. Puczek and T. Ratz, who present the cultural route, as a thematic and cultural trail, which ethnic value or element of heritage are focus on a given factor, which in itself will be educational and tourist attraction at the same time. They propose a division into routes due to their coverage into: local, regional, national, international[22]. Unfortunately the lack of an unambiguous definition of route categorization, causes difficulties in proper naming of specific enterprises. Armin Mikos v. Rohrscheidt, who introduces the categorization of tourist and sightseeing routes[23] attempts to order those definitions.

This form of protection would give the possibility of greater protection of wooden buildings in the Lublin region, thus allowing monitoring the changes taking place in the structure of a small town. Another effect should be awareness increase of the local community about the uniqueness of timber heritage. The wooden architecture route of the Lublin region could become a tourist product, attracting not only the inhabitants of the region, but also foreign tourists.

17 https://nid.pl/pl/Dla_wlascicieli_i_zarzadcow/dla-samorzadow/parki-kulturowe/ (access 12.07.2019).

18 UNESCO Annual Report 2005, pp. 34, 83 and 88–89.

19 In the literal wording: "A cultural route is a land, water, mixed or other type of route, which is physically determined and characterized by having its own specific and historic dynamics and functionality; showing interactive movements of people as well as multi-dimensional, continuous and reciprocal exchanges of goods, ideas, knowledge and values within or between countries and regions over significant periods of time; and thereby generating a cross-fertilization of the cultures in space and time, which is reflected both in its tangible and intangible heritage". (ICOMOS CIIC Annual Meeting Report 2003, Attachment 2).

20 CIIC Annual Meeting Report 2003, Attachment 2. Source: http://www.icomos-ciic.org/INDEX_ingl.htm (access: 12.04.2018).

21 Orzechowska-Kowalska K., Zasady *tworzenia europejskich szlaków kulturowych*, [in] *Turyzm*, no. 13/2, 2003, pp. 69–78 after: Armin Mikos v. Rohrscheidt, *Kulturowe szlaki turystyczne – próba klasyfikacji oraz postulaty w zakresie ich tworzenia i funkcjonowania* [in:] *Turystyka Kulturowa*, www. Turystykakulturowa.org, no. 2/2008.

22 Puczko L., Ratz T., *Trailing Goethe, Humbert, and Ulysses; Cultural Routes in Tourism*, [in:] G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural tourism, Global and Local perspectives*, The Haworth Hospitality Press, Nowy Jork, pp. 131–148.

23 Armin Mikos v. Rohrscheidt, *Kulturowe szlaki turystyczne – próba klasyfikacji oraz postulaty w zakresie ich tworzenia i funkcjonowania* [in:] *Turystyka Kulturowa*, www. Turystykakulturowa.org, nr 2/2008.

Summary

The number of wooden residential buildings is decreasing every year, being replaced by brick buildings. At many occasions remaining timber households have very little architectural value or are being kept in poor technical condition. In some places, wooden heritage was almost completely erased from the landscape, subsequently built over with catalog houses. This is a huge loss for the cultural scenery, especially in small towns. Wooden buildings were most often located in the suburbs, creating a certain "backdrop" for the city. In addition, localization plots were large and had major gardens. All this provided a unique small-town character[24].

What is more, those buildings that have survived to this day are subject to significant biological corrosion, which is a consequence of the owners negligence. Another factor destroying this unique timber heritage is poor maintenance and thermal modernization, which is most often carried out in an inappropriate manner and effects in demolition of the unique detail.

It light of aforementioned considerations it can be stated, that appropriate investor training should be carried out, showing how to introduce thermal modernization in such type of constructions properly. It would also be necessary to create a catalogue of characteristic functional-spatial systems and a detail for this region, which could be used to reproduce unique detail. That is why archival and field research are a very important element to deepen knowledge about the construction tradition of interwar period. In addition, it is necessary to carry out a detailed inventory of the preserved objects, in particular the preserved original details and woodwork.

It is worth making every effort to preserve wooden heritage of Lubelszczyzna region in Poland, that is still past years witness and reminds of the difficult time that was after war re-housing of the towns. Especially, that after war damage timber households were preserved and renovated in accordance with all conservation rules. In addition, these buildings represent construction tradition of bygone era, which is now almost completely forgotten. Preservation should be carried out currently and use all possible legal aspects of protection of monuments law. In this case, important step is to enter possible buildings in the register of immovable monuments. Additionally, areas with wooden buildings should be included in the study of conditions and directions of spatial development for the commune, as well as in the local spatial development plan, and both as areas, as well as individual objects should become subjects of conservation care. Such provisions would limit the investors' freedom during renovation works, at the same time preventing secondary divisions of plots.

Yet, the most beneficial solution for both investors and municipalities, would be to create a wooden architecture route of the Lublin region, thus proving the uniqueness of the this area timber development. Propagating this idea would increase tourism in the region and sensitize to the unique buildings of interwar period, becoming a marketing product encouraging to visit these picturesque places.

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Social exclusion of people with disabilities in the local community. Barrier-free architecture on the example of Rehabilitation and Leisure Center in Okuninka, Poland

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Summary: The main barriers to the exclusion of people with disabilities from society are architectural, urban and social barriers of all kinds. Adapting areas and buildings to the needs of people with disabilities is one way of combating social exclusion and an important therapeutic element. In this paper the problem of social exclusion of people with disabilities due to architectural and psychological barriers (social prejudices) has been addressed. The Rehabilitation and Recreation Centre in Okuninka served as an example of a place fully adapted to the needs of the disabled, called barrier-free architecture.

Key words: barrier-free architecture; social exclusion of disabled people; architectural, urban and social barriers

Introduction

One of the main factors hindering the functioning of people with disabilities in public spaces are all kinds of architectural and urban barriers. These conditions lead to the isolation of people with dysfunctions, preventing them from active participation in social life. Illness, physical or mental underdevelopment, disability – all of these significantly complicate the life and functioning of a disabled person in society. Numerous restrictions on logistics, work, education and leisure activities not only make it difficult to establish contacts, but also often lead to isolation and social exclusion.

Disability is a relatively young concept and means a lack of ability to perform activities in a manner considered normal for a person resulting from damage or impairment of the body's functions. Disabled persons are characterized by a slower pace of learning, understanding, perception, cognitive and motor difficulties, which significantly complicates their functioning in a fully-capable society.[1]

Until now, disability has been considered mainly from the medical point of view and has been perceived as an individual problem requiring appropriate medical care. Over the years, in order to improve the health condition and functioning of people with disabilities, the existing activities have been extended to include psychosocial aspects covering the real problems of this part of the society. A particular focus has been put on the removal of obstacles limiting the possibility of their participation in social life after the elimination of architectural and urban barriers.

1 Definicja przyjęta 1980 przez Światową Organizację Zdrowia (WHO).

In 1994, the European Forum of the European Parliament introduced legislation that defined a person with a disability as *an individual with full rights who is disadvantaged by environmental, economic, and social barriers, who, because of the impairments they suffer from, cannot overcome them in the same way as other people. These barriers are too often reinforced by depreciating attitudes from the non-disabled part of the society*.[2]

Stereotypical perception of people with developmental dysfunctions contributes to isolation and marginalisation, leading to their exclusion from life in a fully-capable society. According to a study conducted in 1994 by Anna Pawlik, siblings of children with disabilities often feel embarrassed about their brother or sister's disability and are reluctant to play with them outside their home environment.[3] Still on the streets of many cities, we can encounter people with disabilities, whom other people are afraid to help and even approach. The same is true for parents of children with disabilities, who isolate their children from the ones with disabilities and often misinform them about the danger they face from the disabled child.

Disability is a kind of *otherness* that can generate interest or fascination, but is more often a source of fear, anxiety and uncertainty. According to Frantz Fanon, *the other* person is considered to have supernatural features that evoke contradictory attitudes and fears.[4] Therefore, otherness, on the one hand, is the desire to learn something new, and on the other hand, is a source of fear and anxiety, which in time can lead to rejection and isolation.

Once unknown races of people, and today 's disabled people are a source of anxiety and unstable social reactions. Social exclusion can lead to depression and tragic consequences, even causing the death of a person. The lack of acceptance of a disabled person also affects the closest members of the family, causing painful emotions and a sense of lack of support. Man, as a social being, needs other people and establishing ties with them, and an unfulfilled need for belonging causes physical and mental suffering.

Being excluded is certainly an important and difficult experience in the life of every person, because it can affect not only disabled people but also their whole families. The problem of social exclusion is a very important issue discussed in this paper, which still needs to be discussed so that it can be changed for the better. The aim of this paper is to present the problem of social exclusion concerning people with disabilities, including various aspects of social life.

Disability – evolution of the term

There are many definitions of disability in various disciplines: pedagogy, psychology, sociology, medicine, Catholic social teaching, law, etc.[5] Therefore, we are not dealing here with an unambiguous and universal concept on the basis of all the fields that use this concept.

The concept of disability has been developed over the centuries, which is mainly due to socio-cultural factors. In ancient times, all kinds of deformities, illnesses and mental disorders were treated as a punishment of the gods for sins committed by parents or ancestors.[6] That is why people with disabilities were often cruelly rejected to the margins of society. The times of ancient Greece were full of ignorance, ignorance, and cruelty to others. The same happened in ancient Rome, where newborns with visible deformities were killed in order to protect society from catastrophe.[7] The Middle Ages was a period in which people with disabilities or deformities were considered misfits, but during that period assistance for them started to develop. The care of the disabled became something natural, both for families and for religious orders and hospitals. A form of support for people with disabilities was also the creation of sickness funds by the guilds, which provided real

2 M. Giełda, *Prawno – administracyjne aspekty sytuacji osób niepełnosprawnych w Polsce*, Repozytorium, Wyd. Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Wrocław 2015, s. 17–32.

3 A. Pawlik., *Funkcjonowanie rodziny z dzieckiem niepełnosprawnym fizycznie*, Instytut Socjologii UAM, Poznań 1994, s. 40.

4 F. Fanon, *The Fact of Blackness*, [w:] J. Donald (red), *Race, Culture and Difference, Sage Rattanisi*, London 1992, s.43.

5 Przegląd definicji niepełnosprawności ujmowanej przez różne dziedziny nauki przedstawia m.in. A. Bieganowska, *Przekaz medialny w modyfikowaniu postaw studentów pedagogiki wobec niepełnosprawności*, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 2015, s. 15–36. Z. Urbanowicz, *Od interdyscyplinarnego do trans dyscyplinarnego spojrzenia na niepełnosprawność, Ogrody Nauk i Sztuk* 2012, R. 2, s. 443–457.

6 B. Borowska-Beszta, *Niepełnosprawność w kontekstach kulturowych i teoretycznych*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls, Kraków 2012, s. 18 i n.

7 Ibdem: s. 17–18.

help for the sick and disabled people.[8] The subsequent epochs saw a growing knowledge of disabilities and forms of education, development, assistance, and support for the disabled individuals.

Nowadays, the problem of disability is perceived differently both in the social and public space. Despite the growing knowledge and development of society in the spirit of empathy, understanding and respect for the dignity of others, we can still often find negative attitudes towards *different* people, which lead to their discrimination and rejection.

As John Paul II said, *a society which has a place only for people who are fully capable, completely independent, and autonomous, would not be a society worthy of m*an.

Different versus disabled

While revealing the sad truth about people with disabilities, one should consider why most people do not accept them. Probably for the same reasons as we do not like everything that is alien and unknown to us, that causes fear and uncertainty. Aversion to *otherness* can be found in the old days, when it was believed that autistic children are enchanted or possessed by demons. It would seem that in 21st century society old-fashioned views are no longer relevant, but it turns out that such thinking is still present in many people.

Nowadays, it is more and more common to say that a disabled person means *different*, but what is really his/her *otherness* and who is actually *different*? Does it make him/her worse and should he/she be deprived of their rights by being pushed to the margins of society?

The concept of *otherness* contains internal variability and ambiguity, is understood and defined differently in many philosophical trends and social theories referring to social differences.

According to F. Fanon, *the other/different is the opposite of the common vision of man, equipped with supernatural features that evoke contradictory and negative attitudes. The other/different, also called ab alien, is endowed with excessive emotionality, primitive mentality, spirituality, which is associated with animism or animal eroticism. The otherness of the other threatens intellect, morality and social order*.[9]

In a broadly understood philosophical approach, *everything that is not me, is different, but at the same time I myself am everything that is different, it is the whole world around me and I am in this world*.[10] Man is the basis of relations with various people, he/she is a space that is touched by otherness, determines his/her existence, in which he/she must find himself/herself and identify as himself/herself. In a slightly different, narrower sense, the other/different can be understood as a different person, encountered in the real world, who is a space of co-existence with other people, who is willing to build different interactions with other humans.[11]

As Bernhad Waldenfels notes, *what is alien and goes beyond the absolute collides with what is normal*.[12] We talk about otherness when in the field of our activity, appears a phenomenon which does not belong to the known world and destroys the existing order of reality. Such a perception of *otherness* may take on different levels, which come from different areas of social order and trigger more complex mechanisms of understanding of differences caused by illness and suffering.

People who are often seen as *different/other* are those who stand out in terms of religion, culture, poverty, illness or disability. This kind of *otherness* can be interpreted in terms of the structural difference that results from the experience of entering a new social order. *Otherness* questions all boundaries and arrangements perceived as unchangeable and constant in accordance with the existing reality that was not yet questioned.

In everyday life, people encounter individuals with different skin colors, religions or cultures, and this does not cause rejection or dislike in the same way as it does to people with disabilities. Why, then, is it so unfamiliar to meet a disabled person, who is defined as *different*? What is *otherness* and why it is often ridiculed and rejected? After all, a person with intellectual disability is not worse, just because he/she is disabled. They did

8 M. Kolwitz, S. Dąbrowski, *Postawy wobec niepełnosprawności fizycznej w okresie średniowiecza, Roczniki Pomorskiej Akademii Medycznej w Szczecinie* 2014, nr 60, 1, s. 105, 106, 108.

9 F. Fanon, *The Fact of Blackness*, [w] J. Donald (red.), *Race, Culture and Difference*, Sage Rattansi, London 1992, s. 28.

10 M. Kowalska, *Wstęp. Dialektyka bycia sobą*, [w:] *O sobie samym jako innym*, red. P. Ricoeur, PWN, Warszawa 2005, s. 276.

11 Ilab., s. 277.

12 H.G. Gadamer, *Prawda i metoda*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Kraków 1993, s. 335.

not become *different* of their own free will, but because of illness, so they should be treated on an equal level with other members of a fully-capable society.

Attempts to explain why people with disabilities are treated differently/worse, were made in the 1950s, when research was started to find the factors leading to aversion towards people with disabilities. In the search for reasons for treating people with disabilities as others, an attempt was made to apply one of the theories of social control, which assumed that within people with visible disabilities, there is always a situation of a certain discrepancy in expectations related to the performance of certain social roles.[13]

Social exclusion is most often understood as an attitude towards a group of people who, for reasons beyond their control, are isolated from the rest of society because of their differences.[14]

On the basis of the analysis carried out by Zofia Kawczyńska-Butrym, concerning the reaction of fully-capable people to people with disabilities, it was found that perceived deviations from the norm, disability or *otherness* cause certain, often negative social reactions, which lead to rejection and isolation.[15]

From a sociological point of view, the best-known concept to explain the phenomenon of exclusion and isolation is Erving Goffman's concept based on the concept of social identity. This scientist considered stigmatization as a physical defect that makes a person *different* from the rest of society.[16]

The social environment imposes a *stigma of otherness* on the disabled, mainly through the creation of separate jobs, schools and institutional, social and psychological barriers. People with disabilities are often perceived as an incomprehensible and odd group of people, which often stems from ignorance about them. Being distinguishable by their appearance or behavior, they are often subject to discrimination and rejection, which in turn leads to their exclusion from society.

Disability as a premise for social exclusion

Attempts to explain why people with disabilities are treated differently from fully-capable people had been undertaken for a long time, but it was not until the 1950s that research began to identify the factors that would condition the dislike of people with disabilities.[17]

Both sociologists and psychologists tried to explain the phenomenon of stigmatization and distance to people with disabilities by using a theory of behaviour that would allow a better understanding of the underlying psychological processes of prejudice and discrimination. The first formulations of this theory date back to the 1930s, but these attempts were criticized as they tried to explain the phenomenon of distance to other people through a dogmatic system of beliefs.[18]

Originally, the term *social exclusion* was used by the French Minister for Social Welfare Rene' Lenoir in 1974 to refer to people considered unfit to live in the society, thus pushed to its margin. This term officially appeared for the first time in the European Commission's document on the poverty eradication program in 1990.[19]

Social exclusion is most often understood as a situation where a certain group of people becomes somehow incapable of participating in important stages of social life, experiences poverty and rejection, leading to the inability to exercise their rights.[20] In most definitions, social exclusion is defined as the lack of opportunity to participate in important aspects of the social, economic and cultural life of a group that is not the result of the choice of an individual but of the obstacles he/she encounters.[21]

The finally adopted definition of *social exclusion* appeared in the document of *the National Strategy for Social Integration for Poland*, specifying that it is "the lack or limitation of the possibility to participate and use

13 D. Niklas., *Zależność i piętno w życiu osób niepełnosprawnych, „Studia Socjologiczne"* 1976, nr 3, s. 156.
14 B. Gaś, *Profilaktyka w szkole,* WSiP S.A.,Warszawa 2006, s. 48.
15 Z. Krawczyństa-Butrym., *Niepełnosprawność – specyfika pomocy społecznej,* Wydawnictwo Interart, Warszawa 1996, s. 76.
16 Z. Bokszański , *Tożsamość, interakcja, grupa,* Łódź 1989, Goffman 1979, s. 155.
17 E. Aronson, *Człowiek istota społeczna,* PWN, Warszawa 1995, s. 358.
18 A. Malewski, *O nowy kształt nauk społecznych,* PWN, Warszawa 1975, s. 58.
19 J. Nogowski. *Wykluczenie społeczne w kontekście ubóstwa i bezdomności,* Civitas et lex 2015/1(5), s.55.
20 B. Gaś, *Profilaktyka w szkole,* Wsip S.A., Warszawa 2006, s. 48–49.
21 J. Nogowski, *Wykluczenie społeczne*....cyt., s. 56.

basic public institutions and markets, which should be accessible to all."[22] This phenomenon is therefore multidimensional and means that certain groups of people are unable to participate in the economic, political and cultural life, which leads to the depravation of the needs of citizens.

The problem of *social exclusion* can take different forms and affect different social groups. A large number of people with disabilities are marginalized people who are excluded from all areas of society. Psychologists agree that the basis for social rejection is mistrust, suspicion, superiority or aggression. Negative attitudes manifested in numerous prejudices, distance, and lack of communication lead to isolation from social life.

People with disabilities can be recognized as beneficiaries of all the rights of people with disabilities, but at the same time they belong to one of the most vulnerable groups in society. Even people with profound and multiple disabilities are human rights holders. Unfortunately, society often isolates these people from the enjoyment of their rights. There may be many reasons for marginalization and they may result from dysfunctional features, life features, imperfections of the education system, care or rehabilitation. Legal and social restrictions imposed on people with disabilities prevent them from exercising fundamental freedoms in social life, and discrimination and stigmatization affecting them leads to their exclusion.

People with disabilities are often disadvantaged compared to other social minorities due to ignorance, fear and social backwardness. Also those who have a disability that is easily recognizable often try to hide it in order not to be rejected and excluded. Hiding disability is often associated with the desire to make it blurred, which compensates for the chosen way of life or leads to behavior that does not comply with social norms. *Social exclusion* that is not reflected in society is not as damaging and ruinous for a person with disabilities as in the case when the barriers are clearly visible.

The hitherto sociological and psychological research shows that not only the society creates barriers for people with disabilities, but it is also created by people from the closest social circles as a result of ignorance, stereotypical behaviors, and lack of experience in providing assistance.[23]

Numerous architectural barriers to access to social goods and services often prevent people with disabilities from exercising all their rights, privileges and freedoms in social, political and personal life. Discrimination and stigmatization of these people results in the disappearance of different forms of life activity they can perform, leading to social and legal exclusion. The concepts of discrimination and exclusion create a closed system which is very difficult for people with disabilities to get out of.

In 2006 The Council of Europe launched an action plan to improve the quality of life and the full participation of people with disabilities in society.[24] The aim of the plan was to oblige society to minimize the impact of disability and to provide practical tools for the development and implementation of a strategy for the full participation of people with disabilities in society, which mainly refers to non-discrimination and equal opportunities. A number of research initiatives are currently underway to identify and meet needs, minimize barriers and prevent social exclusion of disabled people.[25]

In Poland, the issue of ensuring a dignified life in society for people with disabilities was included in the Act on Vocational and Social Rehabilitation and Employment of People with Disabilities of 27 August 1997, which was specifically devoted to this problem.[26] It lists a number of psychological, architectural, urban and communication barriers that significantly limit the full participation of these people in society. A democratic state cannot legally allow a situation in which a person with a disability, as a result of a dysfunction of their own body, is not guaranteed the same rights as non-disabled members of society.[27] A special role is played here by legislation which should take into account the rights of people with disabilities and contribute to their equal treatment through enabling their access to all forms of social activity. No one shall be discriminated against in political, social or economic life for any reason whatsoever. The prohibition of discrimination is set out in

22 *Narodowa Strategia Integracji dla Polski*, jest dokumentem przygotowanym przez Zespół Zadaniowy do Spraw Reintegracji Społecznej, któremu przewodniczył Minister Gospodarki, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej – Jerzy Hausner. Zespół został powołany 14.04.2003 r. przez Prezesa Rady Ministrów 2003, s. 23.

23 M. Sokołowska, A. Ostrowska , *Socjologia kalectwa i rehabilitacji. Wybrane problemy,* Polska Akademia Nauk, Wrocław 1976,s. 63.

24 http://www.niepelnosprawni.gov.pl/index.php?c=article&id=50&pdf=1 [dostę: 24.04.2015].

25 S. Darcy (1995), Sydney's access for people with various disabilities questioned, "Examining Issues From Disability Perspectives", No. 4(3). Darcy S. (1998), People with a Disability and Tourism: A Bibliography, "Online Bibliography", No. 7. Darcy S. (2005).

26 http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19971230776/O/D19970776.pdf [dostęp:10.09.1997].

27 T. Sienkiewicz, *Status człowieka niepełnosprawnego w prawie publicznym,* Warszawa 2007,Krajowa Izba Gospo-darczo-Rehabilitacyjna, s. 161.

the Charter of Rights of Persons with Disabilities of the Republic of Poland, which recognizes that persons with disabilities have the same rights as fully-capable citizens to an independent, autonomous and active life and must not be subject to discrimination.

Barrier-free architecture in Rehabilitation and Leisure Centre in Okuninka

In the whole Poland, there are about 5017 facilities adapted to the needs of the disabled. This base consists of accommodation facilities, catering facilities, tourist offices, cultural institutions, sports, recreation facilities, and parks. The most numerous accommodation group adapted to the needs of the disabled is located in the Mazowieckie (379) and Lubuskie (191) Voivodships. Lubelskie voivodship has about 102 facilities, which constitutes about 2% of all facilities in Poland.[28]

One of the few places in the Lublin Voivodeship fully adapted to the needs of the disabled is the Rehabilitation and Recreation Centre located in Okuninka. This village is located in the Lublin Voivodeship in the Łęczyńsko-Włodawskie Lake District. Its attractive location, by the White Lake, promotes the development of tourism, making it a popular holiday resort. It is an ideal place for people who prefer active recreation in the midst of beautiful nature. In the vicinity of the lake, there are many paths and trails for hiking and biking.

The Rehabilitation and Holiday Centre "Astur" is one of the few facilities in the Lubelskie Voivodeship, which is comprehensively adapted to accommodate a large number of disabled people and their families. It is located on an area of about 4.5 hectares adjacent directly to the White Lake and is located in a safe distance from a very bustling town center (fig. 1, 2). It has 180 beds, own canteen, where tasty home-made meals are served with consideration of different diets. Holiday makers have at their disposal: a medical and treatment room, physiotherapy, kinesitherapy, massage, exercise room, gym, 2 conference rooms, football pitches, volleyball, café, bar with billiard table, designated place for barbecue and bonfire, playground for children, campsite and own beach with lifeguard supervision.

Fig. 1. Photos illustrating the location of the center in Okuninka. Photo: from the database of Astur tourist office.

Fig. 2. A plan illustrating the area and location of the facility. Drawing by the author.

The Centre has gained the name of "barrier-free architecture" because it is comprehensively adapted to the needs of people with various disabilities, both in terms of architecture, urban planning and therapeutic aspects. The main hotel pavilion and cottages are equipped with wheelchair ramps, wide doors, and supporting handholds in the toilets (Fig. 3, 4, 5). The whole resort has paved paths allowing free movement around the whole area. It is the only one in this area to have a gentle descent to the lake with a special hard-surfaced material laid out to allow direct access to the water on a wheelchair (Fig. 6, 7). One-storey holiday cottages are located between tall trees, which protect them from excessive heat on hot days, creating comfortable conditions for rest. Wide, paved avenues throughout the resort allow easy and efficient wheelchair access for people with

28 A. Bogucka, *Przystosowanie bazy turystycznej na potrzeby osób niepełnosprawnych.*„Economy and Management", Politechnika Białostocka, Wydział Zarządzania, Katedra Turystyki i Rekreacji, No.3,2010.

disabilities. Additionally, the center regularly organizes therapeutic and rehabilitation stays for both adults and children. During such a stay, the disabled are provided with rehabilitation, therapeutic, entertainment and integration activities, which very often constitute their only form of travel and rest outside the place of residence.

The demand for such centers, which additionally run specialist classes, is very high in Poland. This type of activity promotes broadening knowledge, acceptance or integration, which allows to prevent exclusion of these people from society. Adaptation of architecture and urban planning facilities to the needs of people with dysfunctions additionally has a positive impact on the development of a *different* individual in terms of physical, mental, emotional and social aspects. It improves the organism, enhances physical fitness, regenerates strength, allows to experience joy, and teaches how to overcome difficulties, contributing to the acquisition of skills to establish and maintain contacts and social bonds. The activity of specialist centers adapted to the needs of people with disabilities enables those people to overcome their own weaknesses and social barriers.

An important task for such centers is to bring them out of social isolation, break the monotony of everyday life, provide psychological experiences, and stimulate their desire to live (Prokopiuk 2005).[29]

Fig. 3. Holiday cottages with paved access road. Author's photo 2019

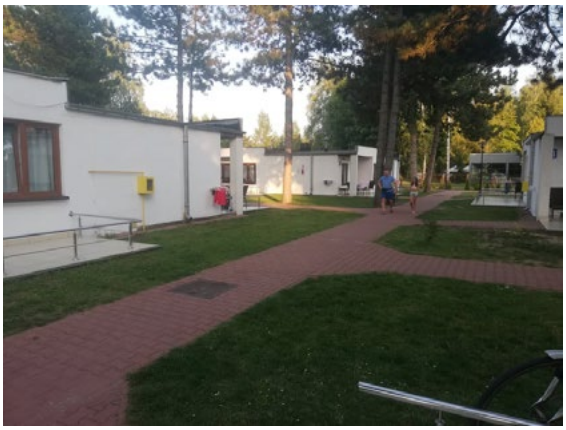

Fig. 4. Holiday cottages with paved access road. Author's photo 2019

Fig. 5. Restaurant and hotel pavilion. Author's photo, 2019

Fig. 6. Restaurant and hotel pavilion. Author's photo, 2019

29 Propopiuk, M. *Udział osób niepełnosprawnych zamieszkałych na terenie Południowego Podlasia w turystyce aktywnej.* W: F. Midura, J. Żbikowski (red.), *Krajoznawstwo i turystyka osób niepełnosprawnych*. Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Papieża Jana Pawła II w Białej Podlaskiej, Biała Podlaska 2005, s. 143–150.

Fig. 7. A hard-surfaced access road to the beach. Author's photo 2019

Fig. 8. A hard-surfaced access road to the beach. Author's photo 2019

Nowadays, architects and urban planners increasingly adopt a comprehensive approach to their design, taking into account also the needs of people with disabilities. Poland still lacks adequate standards when it comes to adapting buildings to the needs of such people. The current guidelines mainly focus on people with physical disabilities, but we must not forget about the others, such as the hearing-impaired, the blind, or the mentally handicapped. It is therefore essential to remember about people with different needs, who should be provided with all the architectural, urban and social amenities to be able to function in a fully-capable society.

Summary

It is difficult for people with disabilities to live in a world where widespread consumption and competition create a kind of contemporary identity. These people very often have worse access to education, employment, health services, rehabilitation and social support. The consequence of such actions is the risk of exclusion and pushing them to the social margin. Of significant importance in raising social awareness is the change of stereotypical thinking about people with disabilities and the elimination of all architectural, urban and social barriers.

The degree of social exclusion and its commonness in relation to people with disabilities is a problem in everyday life and varies according to education, age, social or economic status. Numerous architectural, urban, educational, social and cultural constraints contribute significantly to the isolation of people with disabilities from public life. An education system that enables learning in an inclusive way, taking into account the individual needs of people with disabilities. We can say that it is the basis for their functioning in social, family and professional life, leading to personal development of the individual.

The numerous results of studies carried out so far on social attitudes towards people with intellectual disabilities show that they have improved over the years. At present, a large proportion of people with dysfunctions study in mainstream schools, work or participate in cultural events like the rest of a non-disabled society. For architects and urban planners, designing objects that enable people with disabilities to use all available

objects, has become the core of the design process. *Barrier-free architecture* has been a guiding principle for designers and urban planners already for several years.

The social attitude towards disability itself is also changing significantly. Increased social awareness has led a large group of people to accept the fact that people with disabilities are among us and have the same rights as the non-disabled society. Acceptance of people with disabilities and counteracting all barriers, create real opportunities for their development by improving their psycho-social condition. Integration and acceptance of differences is the preparation of children, young people and adults for a dignified life in society. The possibility of joint education of children with disabilities and fully-capable children makes it possible to educate a new generation ready for mutual, natural communication. The best way to learn how to accept differences is through direct contact, not only for children with disabilities, but for healthy groups as well. Human relations are a very important aspect of proper development, as *other* people are part of our natural environment.

A change in the attitude and mentality of society towards people with disabilities is very important and should focus on adapting the environment to the needs of the individual and not vice versa. The existing programs and special support centres are designed to prepare people with dignity for specific social roles and personal fulfilment.

If the majority of society understands that all of us are equal and have equal rights, regardless of the problem we face, then the perception of people with disabilities will also change. Social acceptance and *barrier-free design* are a kind of basis for changing the life and functioning of people with disabilities in society. Many social groups can fight for their rights themselves, but other non-disabled members of society must ensure equality for disabled people. Only universal tolerance of all differences and lack of architectural and urban barriers, guarantee equal treatment of all.

In recent years, many positive changes have taken place thanks to the deepening of knowledge about the needs of people with disabilities. More and more centres and facilities are being adapted for disabled people in order to provide them with a variety of leisure activities and rehabilitation opportunities.

The process of adaptation of changes and adjustment to the needs of people with architectural and social dysfunctions is long-term action, but thanks to the basic principles of creating them and reducing barriers, these people have a chance to participate in social life in a dignified and independent way. The process of breaking stereotypes and prejudices takes time and should not be postponed. The greater the knowledge about the causes of disability and the needs related to it, the easier the way to eliminate architectural barriers and prejudices leading to social exclusion will be.

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Transformations of the transport system of the city of Lublin as a city-forming factor. Part 1

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Summary: Lublin is an example of a medium-sized city, whose urban layout was shaped to a large extent by the conditions resulting from changes in the transport system. The very emergence of the city – initially as a settlement complex located on the neighbouring hills – was associated with the travel and trade routes of supra-regional importance crossing the Lublin region. The historical communication system is still visible in the urban structure of the city. The paper presents the most important transformations of the communication structure of the city of Lublin from the beginning of its existence to the 1920s. The next part will deal with issues from the years 1931–2016.

Keywords: Lublin, urban planning in Lublin, historical communication network of Lublin, roads and streets of Lublin

Introduction

The spatial layout of the city of Lublin is characterized by its uneven development in different periods of time in the city's history. The mechanisms influencing it were primarily related to the economic importance and political situation of the city. Through most of its history: the Middle Ages, the later prosperity period of the 16th century or the gradual economic decline from the 17th century to the end of the 18th century, the city did not see any significant territorial expansion. The situation changed in the 19th century. The urban development of Lublin in the first years of the Russian partition was brought about by the growing political importance of the city as the capital of the province with a large Russian army garrison stationed there. The urban transformations of Lublin in the period 1815–1939 depended both on local as well as national and international aspects. Urban planning decisions taken during this period were subject to various factors such as the specific topographical conditions (the location of the city on the hills intersected by the valleys of three rivers), the complex ownership structure resulting from the existence of several dozen separate settlements within the city, as well as complex social and religious relations within the population.

As a result of the planning actions of the period in question, communication arteries, residential districts, industrial development zone and important municipal investments, which are of key importance for the urban shape of the present-day Lublin, were laid-out and later implemented.

Communication as a city-forming element

Trade settlements

Transportation in antiquity and in the Middle Ages was based mainly on water transport routes. Hence, urban centres which had access to the sea or rivers suitable for sailing or floating developed first. In such cases, waterfronts and port areas very often took on the role of the most important public spaces with their dominating trade function. In the case of cities that were located far from the waterway access that allowed goods to be transported[1], settlements developed in places where land transport routes split or crossed, and sometimes in places where travellers stopped on a longer route, which had to be additionally have favourable natural environmental conditions. In the case of market settlements, the location near an important and frequented transport route was the basic **urban-forming factor**. On the territory of today's Poland, this factor played a crucial role mainly in the settlements established in the 11th – 12th century (after the period of decline in the development of the town and their function). Many trade settlements developed into urban centres – linking their urban layout with the structure of original foundation towns in a variety of ways. Analyzing this process the following process outlines can be distinguished:

- Preservation of the spatial layout of the commercial settlement by excluding it from the city's charter. In such case this settlement usually formed a city's suburb
- Inclusion of the spatial layout of a commercial settlement in the layout of the charter city. Depending on the size and shape of the settlement, it was possible to entirely or partially adapt its layout to the location boundaries of the city. Large trade settlements with large internal squares could become cities in their entirety once they were surrounded by city walls, the market was establishment and the plot layout was regulated, while smaller settlements were sometimes included in the regulated urban layout of the city's charter.

In most cases of trade settlements, urban layout formed along the existing transport routes. The role of the market was often taken over by the extended part of the main street, which was at the same time a section of a trade route or a local road, cutting through a banded, transverse arrangement of plots of land[2].

The oldest roads and tracts in Lublin

When discussing the communication system of medieval Lublin in the pre-charter period, one should pay attention to the particular natural conditions determining the development of the settlement. The existence of two very different geographical regions – northern woodland and southern agricultural land – was the reason behind the emergence of trade in this area. The Czechówka River flowing into Bystrzyca River formed a swampy wetland prone to flooding. In the early Middle Ages, the original Czechówka riverbed was located near the escarpment of the Old Town Hill, while Bystrzyca was running at the foot of the escarpment of Podwale. The topographical layout was dominated by hills, which guaranteed a comfortable observation spot increasing the settlement's safety. Equally attractive were the fringe areas of the upland (tip of the upland embankment), which were crossed by communication routes. The first settlement was established on the following hills: Czwartek, Grodzisko and Białkowska Góra. At the turn of the 7th and 8th century settlements also appeared on the Old Town and Castle hills, and perhaps also on Żmigród. The earlier communication system shaped the urban form of market-centred settlements and influenced the development of the location city. At the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, the population grew, and by the beginning of the 12th century, the shape of a pre-location town

1 In Poland there are a number of places whose names refer to the tradition of weekly fairs on specific days of the week, e.g. Saturday, Wednesday or Thursday.

2 A. Berdecka, *Lokacje i zagospodarowanie miast królewskich w Małopolsce za Kazmierza Wielkiego (1333–1370)*, W-wa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, 1982, s. 94–95.

(a market settlement on Czwartek, a settlement on the Old Town and a governor's stronghold on Castle hills) became established.

In the 8th to 9th century Lublin was already a relatively large settlement centre in the region. In the pre-Christian period, the buildings formed a dense belt of open settlement situated by the communication route towards the Bystrzyca River crossing. In the 10th century, a church dedicated to St. Nicholas was built on Czwartek Hill, commonly considered to be the oldest church in Lublin.

In the first half of the 10th century, a settlement on the Old Town Hill near St. Michael's Church became a new centre of Lublin. Researchers believe the location of the temple to be a former place of pagan worship.

During the 12th century, the castle was relocated from Grodzisko Hill to Castle Hill. Since the Castle Hill had better defensive qualities than Grodzisko Hill. It was located among the wetlands formed by the flooding waters of Czechówka and Bystrzyca rivers. The most important trade and communication routes of the time met at the foot of the hill, leading in directions of Sieciechów, Sandomierz, Ruthenia and Łuków[3].

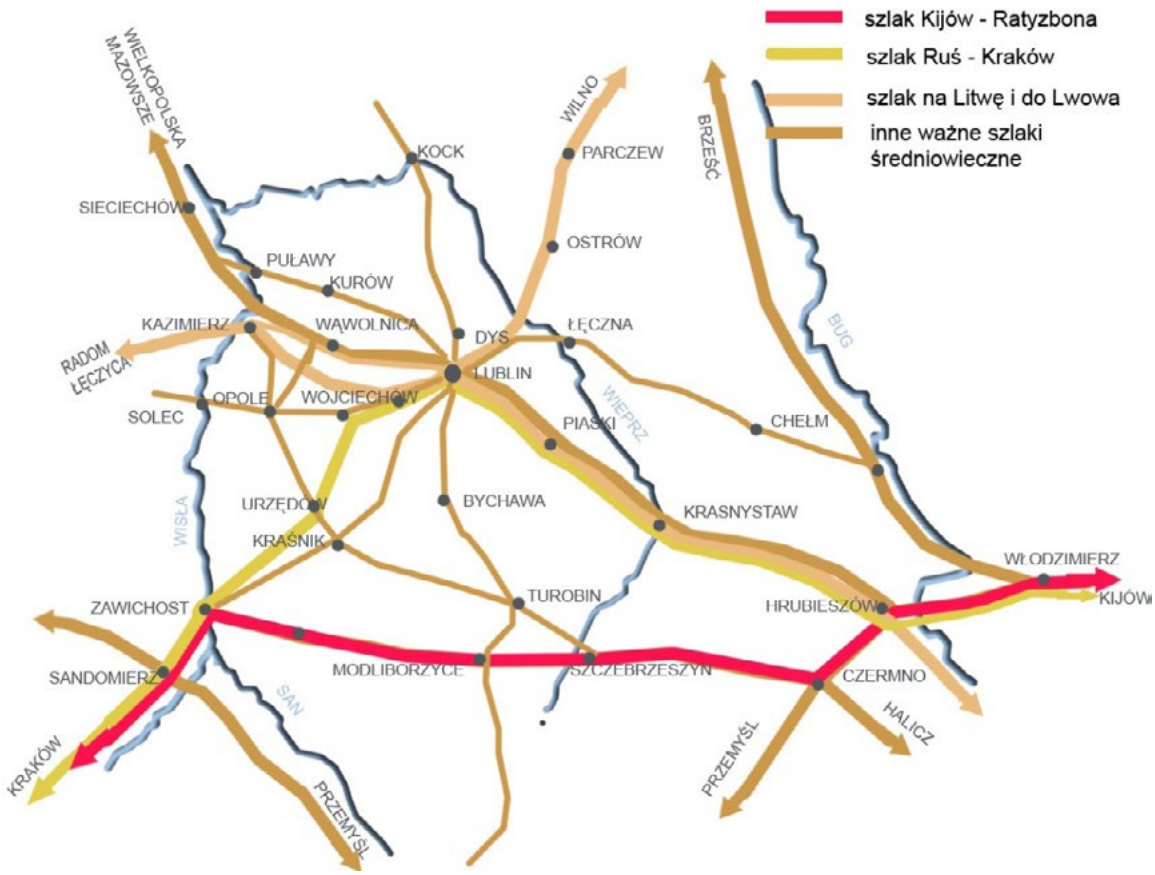

Fig. 1. Road network diagram of the Lublin region in the Middle Ages. Author: Natalia Przesmycka

In the urban layout of contemporary Lublin, several structures from the pre-localisation period can be observed, which shape was determined by the earlier communication system. The most visible are the urban structures of open settlements, emerging in the northern part of the medieval settlement system, today they are located in the inner-city: Czwartek and Kalinowszczyzna. Czwartek is considered to be the oldest settlement within the urban complex in the area of the present-day Lublin. The name itself indicates its commercial

3 The time of establishing the castle as an administrative and economic centre, which would also be a convenient defensive point, is defined at the beginning of the second half of the 12th century, when Duke Henryk Sandomierski returned from the Crusade and the Sandomierz Province was separated from the Crusade. It is believed that in the beginning of the 13th century at the latest, the town administration was transformed into a castellan administration. Za: A. Rozwałka, R. Niedźwiadek, M. Stasiak, *Lublin wczesnośredniowieczny*, Wyd. Trio, Lublin 2006, p. 99–102.

origins. Settlement developed by the communication route running along the edge of the Czechówka River valley upland, and connecting with the route leading south-east (passing through the Old Town Hill and leading further to Lesser Poland region – present-day Małopolska). Located in the highest part of the settlement, the Church of St. Nicholas was probably the oldest Christian church in Lublin.

Kalinowszczyzna (Słomiany Rynek – Hay Market). This is an example of a trade settlement in the form of a fork. Transport routes splitting in the vicinity of the ford on Bystrzyca River in the direction of Ruthenia and Lithuania have created a convenient place for the development of local agricultural products trade. With time, local trade became specialised in grain and cattle, hence the name Słomiany Rynek (Hay Market). The subsequent housing development along the Towarowa and Kalinowszczyzna Streets had preserved the course of medieval communication routes.

Urban Charter

The granting of urban charters to Polish cities in the 13th – 14th century was usually involved the regulation of their existing spatial layout. Most often the city was planned on a rectangular, regular street layout with a centrally located square. In the case of Lublin, the layout of the city did not follow any regular geometrical pattern, the arched curves of the market square frontage and streets were adjusted to the terrain's morphology and most probably to the existing earlier housing development of the hill. At present, it is believed that the urban planning of the Old Town Hill is the effect of the urban charter being granted in two stages.[4]

In 1317 Władysław Łokietek ordered Maciej, the mayor of Opatów, to grant the charter to the city of Lublin and conferred 100 fields of cultivated and uncultivated land to the city as measured according to Magdeburg law. This act excluded the city from the authority of the Lublin Governor and the Sandomierz Voivode. The charter most probably fixed the previous shape of the pre-charter settlement, which stretched on both sides of the communication route towards Małopolska – along the line of today's Grodzka Street. The layout of the city does not assume a regular geometrical pattern due to natural conditions. The arrangement of the city from the period of the second stage of granting the charter is based on the chessboard planwhich was flexibly adapted to the configuration of the Old Town Hill and its pre-existing buildings. Certain compositional coherence is visible in the urban arrangement between the city and the castle along the Grodzka Street, analoguous with the layout of Cracow and the Wawel Castle.[5]

The Lublin market was laid-out in the form of a trapezoid, with curved sides, measuring 62 x 72 metres. The arc-shaped deflection of Złota and Rybna Streets probably resulted from the existing remnants of defensive fortifications, from the time of the pre-charter town settlement. Złota Street leading to the monastery and Dominican church is 9 metres wide. Similarly, Grodzka Street's variable width also reaches 9 metres. Other residential streets – Olejna, Archidiakońska and Jezuicka were 6–7 m wide.

Housing development outside the city walls

From the early Middle Ages Lublin functioned as a complex of several settlements. The fortified charter city existed in the vicinity of other settlements: the former market settlement by the Czwartek Hill, a settlement in the area of the present Kalinowszczyzna and clusters of buildings along the main communication routes. According to Cz. Gawdzik, church locations took place in areas that had already been settled before.[6]

With the development of settlement outside the city walls in the 14th and 15th centuries, Lublin suburbs developed. The development took place in two directions:

4 The first layout of the city took the form of a street and stripes. It did not include the southern and western parts of the Old Town Hill and the part belonging to the Church – along the eastern edge of the Old Town slope. On the south-western side of its border there was the current line of Hartwigów, Rybna and Złota Streets – a former line after the fortifications of the castle from the tribal period. Ibid., p. 147.

5 T. Tołwiński, *Urbanistyka*, T. 1, Warsaw 1939, p. 147.

6 Cz. Gawdzik, *Rozwój urbanistyczny Starego Lublina, Ochrona Zabytków,* 7 (3)/26, 1954, p. 148.

North-eastern – along the route to Ruthenia, forming the suburbs of Czwartek, Podzamcze and Kalinowszczyzna. The oldest continuous open settlement existed there;

Western – part of the city, on the outskirts, where the following church and monastery locations: The Holy Spirit Church, Bridgettine Order monastery and The Cistercians monastery became the elements crystallising the urban layout. As a result, the Krakowskie Przedmieście formed.

Outside the city walls, in the Middle Ages, several residential colonies of immigrant populations were established. The Ruthenian people, who probably came with merchants from Ruthenia, settled on the southern side of the suburbs of Czwartek[7]. A vibrant Jewish community started settling in Podzamcze area in the first half of the 14th century.

Communication system of Lublin until the end of XVIII century

Since 1532 Lublin has been the venue for local nobility assemblies of the Lublin Voivodeship, and since 1543 Lublin has been the venue for general assemblies. The growing political importance of Lublin led to the establishment of the Main Crown Tribunal for Lesser Poland in 1578. This event had a major impact on the economic and urban development of the city and its suburbs. At the same time as the economic and political significance of the nobility grew, the importance of the bourgeoisie was decreasing. In 1550, the law allowed the nobility to invest in construction and do business in urban areas. Thus, the period of noble democracy in Poland coincided with the economic collapse of many urban centres, which began to lose their privileges. Despite purchasing real estate located in the city, the nobility did not want to bear the burden of urban law and be subject to urban jurisdiction. The so called "libertations" were the legal sanction of removing private land from the city's authority. With time "jurydyki" (separate jurisdictions for nobility, clergy and royalty) began to be established in the city. The political and economic role of the bourgeoisie has weakened in favour of the nobility and the magnates.

Until the 18th century, the road network shaping Lublin's urban layout had an outstandingly reconstructive character and ran along to the most convenient terrain. The transport system of the city, shaped in the 16th – 17th century, was the result of the consolidation of earlier routes and the growing importance of new directions of transport (e.g. route to Zamość). Secondary streets were most often developed from small access roads leading to premises within the boundaries of ownership divisions.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century the main communication route (East-West), still ran through the city within its walls. In the west it was Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, the trail ran through Grodzka Street, Market Square, St. Michael's Church, through the Grodzka Gate, Szeroka Street in the direction of Podzamcze Suburb, where it forked to the north and east, i.e. to Lithuania and Ruthenia. Krakowskie Przedmieście Street was a fragment of the route to Cracow and Warsaw, which from the 16th century took over this function from the older Cracow route, which ran along today's Narutowicz and Kozia Streets. The route towards Warsaw led through Dominican fields and Wieniawa. It branched out in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Cross in the direction of Cracow.

At the end of the 16th and 17th centuries, apart from the road layout, the elements which had the most impact on shaping the urban layout developing outside the city walls were monasteries and church assumptions, constituting a kind of "islands" in the fabric of suburbs[8]. Due to their dominant size over the surrounding buildings, they quickly became landmark and identification points of the surrounding area. Their location often determined further directions of housing development, grouped by the adjacent communication routes, and in respect to the ownership boundaries of land. The range of residential function areas has undergone significant changes since the 16th century. In the suburbs, magnate residences and noble manors appeared. Some of

7 The first mention of the Lublin Orthodox Church comes from a document from 1390 and testifies to the then existing in Lublin temple and religious life centre in the Eastern rite. The next one, from 1447, talks about the foundation of the Spas Church "at Słomianym Rynek" by Princess Maria Ivanova of Kiev. After: G. Kuprianowicz, M. Roszczenko, *Cerkiew Prawosławna Przemienienia Pańskiego w Lublinie*, Lublin 1993, p. 11,14. Probably the church was built on a hill, near the road to Ruthenia and Lithuania. Near the church there was a market square for grain or animals, hence the name of Słomiany Rynek (Hay Market), which appears in documents.

8 In the first half of the 17th century 11 new church and monastery foundations were established, which performed religious, cultural, manufacturing (mostly for own needs), care, education and housing functions.

them were fortified, however this changed over time and these residences became more and more residential. Until the 18th century, only the Old Town Hill and Krakowskie Przedmieście were dominated by compact brick buildings. In the suburbs of Czwartek, Kalinowszczyzna, Podzamcze and the surrounding settlements buildings were still mostly wooden. The building development in the immediate vicinity of the river valleys and the Castle Hill (the Jewish town) was gradually becoming denser.

In the 17th century the river valleys underwent significant transformations. Under the influence of human activity and climate change, the floodplains of Bystrzyca, Czechówka and Czerniejówka[9] rivers began to gradually dry out. The Great Royal Pond was reduced, leaving behind wet meadows and swamps. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries levees with added communication capacity were built.

Urban transformations during the 16th and 17th centuries led to the development of the main elements of the current city's structure. The development of new buildings was adjusted to the natural conditions and ownership relations. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a street network developed, which stood in a slightly modified form until the early twentieth century. In the 16th century the following street names of appear on the map: Kowalska and Żydowska (1598); in the 17th century Dyska (1601), Szeroka (1622), Zasrana Brama (1626), Podzamcze (1626) and Podwale (1683)[10].

Particular phases of construction development were limited and determined by the presence of fortification lines and ramparts. At the turn of the 18th and 19th century, the city walls were almost completely absorbed by the developing residential areas. The last noticeable remains of seventeenth-century fortifications and ramparts currently follow the line of present-day Lipowa Street.

Fig. 2. The road network diagram in the Lublin area against the background of the local topography of the 12th – 13th century. Author: Natalia Przesmycka

9 D. Kociuba, *Przyrodnicze, gospodarcze i polityczne uwarunkowania rozwoju struktury przestrzennej Lublina*, doctoral thesis, mps., UMCS, Lublin 2005, p. 125.

10 *Studium Historyczno-Urbanistyczne do planu szczegółowego Śródmieście w Lublinie*, mps WKZL, Lublin 1969, p. 95.

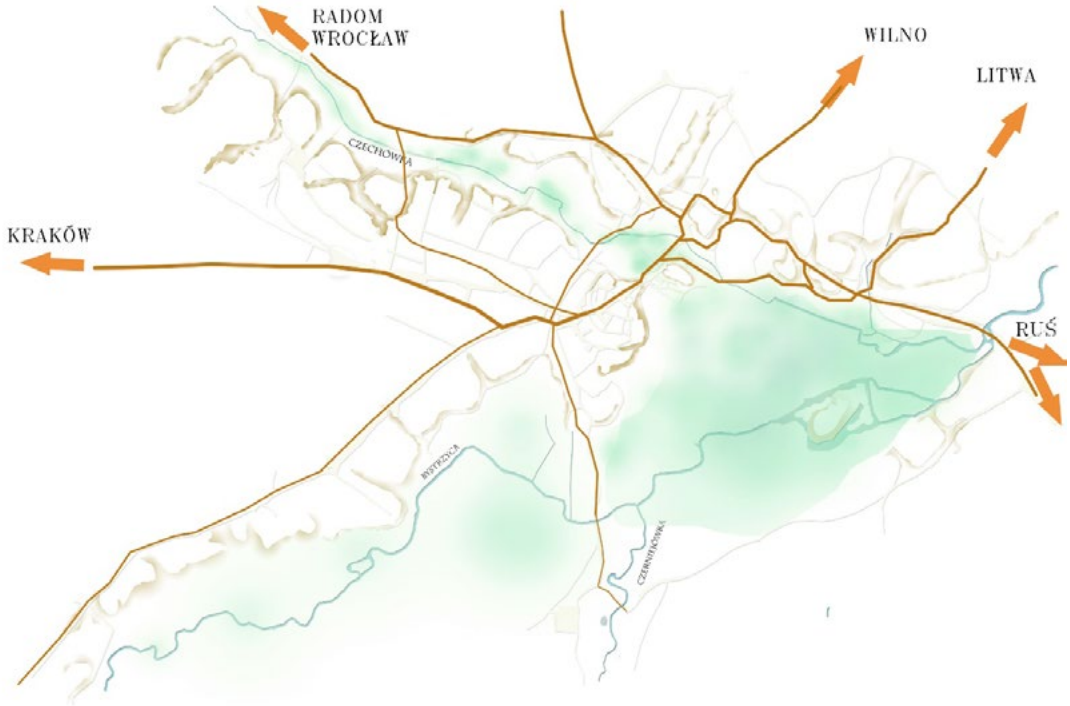

Fig. 3. The road network diagram in the Lublin area against the background of the local topography of the 14th – 15th century. Author: Natalia Przesmycka

The restructuring of the Lublin communication system in the XIX century

In the first years of the Kingdom of Poland, Lublin, which became the next largest city in the Kingdom (after Warsaw), was abandoned, ruined and with poor sanitary conditions. After the establishment of the Zamość fortress, it became an important transport hub between the Kingdom and Russia, gaining military and political importance. The 1830s was a period of fundamental change in the appearance of the city, often referred to as the "second rebirth of Lublin". It was then that the city's transport system underwent fundamental transformations. In the 19th century, for the first time in a planned manner, new streets were laid-out and the existing ones were regulated.

After 1815 the western side of Lublin's trenches were renovated, along the lines of the former city ramparts, thus making it impossible to reach the city without police control. In 1818, the city tollgates (Warsaw, Lubartów and Zamość) were established. These tollgates protected the interests of the treasury and the city, but did not determine its administrative limits. Outside the tollgates, but within the administrative limits there were suburbs of Piaski and Czwartek, and within the boundaries of "consumption embankments" there was a village and Rury farm, which at that time was a separate rural commune. The only entrance to the city without the tollgate was from the side of the village of Rury, because it was only of local significance for villagers to enter into the city. As a result, the former communication route towards Małopolska has lost its importance[11].

11 N. Przesmycka, *Lublin przeobrażenia urbanistyczne 1815–1939*, Lublin 2010.

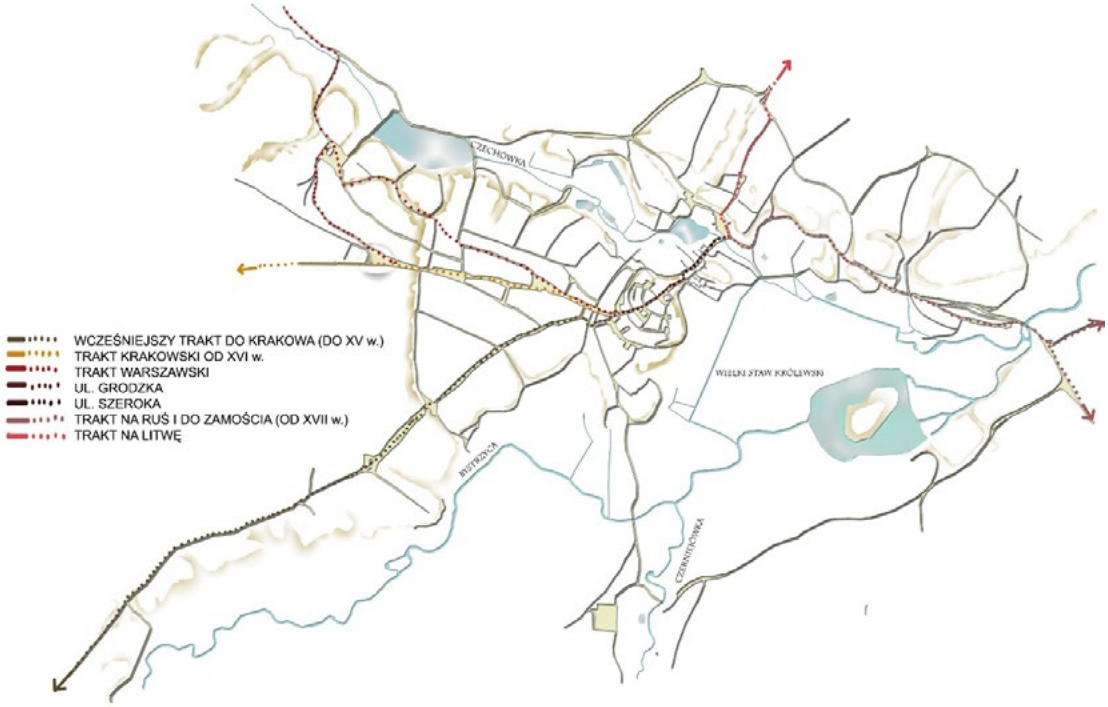

Fig. 4. The road network diagram in the Lublin area against the background of the local topography at the beginning of the 19th century. Author: Natalia Przesmycka

Reconstruction of the city in the period 1815–1830 was mainly associated with setting new communication routes: Warsaw, Lubartów and Zamość, as well as with the creation of new town squares: cathedral, Town Hall (Łokietka), Drill (Lithuanian) and Bernardyński (Wolności).

As a result of the reconstruction, the Old Town remained on the sideline of communication routes. All three main routes converged in front of the Cracow Gate. Since then the city centre has moved in the direction of Krakowskie Przedmieście[12].The new Warsaw route was built as the extension of Krakowskie Przedmieście, by-passing the existing road running thorough the towns of Wieniawa and Snopków.

The most important change in the transport system, which affected the future urban shape of the city, was the establishment of the Zamość route. The Zamość route was set along the former Korce Street (today Królewska Street). In 1818 the buildings of the former Jesuit college, destroyed during the fire of 1803, were demolished. Only the northern wing, adjacent to the Trinitarian gate, remained. After the area was levelled, it became possible to arrange a representative square in this place, its spatial frames were determined by: the building of the cathedral church, the building of the college and the Trinitarian tower dominating over them (erected in 1819 on the site of the former gate in the city walls). The collected rubble was formed into a mound, on which a new street ran next to the cathedral church and missionary buildings (present-day theological seminary). Material from the ruined castle was also used for these works. In this way a monumental Cathedral Square was created, which at that time performed communication and representative functions, and the Trinitarian tower became a new dominant in the panorama of the Old Town Hill. The road ran along the cobbled route to Bystrzyca River, where a new brick bridge was built[13]. This road was finally completed in 1826.

12 A similar situation took place in other Polish cities, e.g. in Warsaw, where the Old Town, while remaining on the sideline of the developing city, gradually declined.

13 M. Kurzątkowski, *Materiały do lubelskiej działalności M. Stompfa*, [in:] *Studia i materiały Lubelskie*, T. VI, 1972, p. 29.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Drill Square was created[14]. It was the first public square in Lublin for non-trade purposes. Variety shows and military parades, as well as demonstrations of drill exercises were performed in this new square, attracting crowds of citizens and visitors. This was in line with the contemporary trend for spending free time and providing entertainment for the masses (modelled after the Saski Square in Warsaw), and was combined with the desire to highlight the leading political forces in the city space. In 1819, at the order of the Imperial Governor, General Prince Joseph Zajączek, a new drill square was arranged in the empty area created after the demolition of the ruins of the church and hospital of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God and the surrounding buildings. The creation of the new square led to the final decision on the course of the new Warsaw route – by extending of Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. Thus, the narrow and winding road leading through Wieniawa and splitting in the vicinity of the remains of the Monastery of St. John of God ceased to be important. The square "at the crossroads" ceased to exist as well, and the first modern, consciously composed urban city interior – the present Lithuanian Square – was created.

The communication system also entailed the regulation of the new functional division of the area. Interestingly, the first demarcated zone of general urban importance was the cemetery. The location of the municipal cemetery on Rury (the land located on the western side of the city trenches) was crucial for the city's spatial development in the western direction. The beginning of the functioning of the cemetery dates back to October 1811. In 1829 burials at the old Jewish cemetery (the Jewish cemetery on Grodzisko Hill) ceased and a new Jewish cemetery was established next to the exit road from Lublin to the north, located near the Orthodox cemetery (extension of Nowa and Lubartowska Streets)[15].

In the first years of the Kingdom of Poland development was concentrated in the area of Krakowskie Przedmieście, which was a continuation of Lublin's urban growth towards the west, which had been going on since the Middle Ages. Single and two-storey brick tenement houses with adjacent annexes were erected instead of the former single-storey wooden houses. Side offices reached deep into the back of the plot and rear outbuildings were also created, so that with time the courtyards closed completely. Nowa Street, today's Lubartowska Street, marked a new direction of residential development in the centre of Lublin, starting from the 1840s and 1800s.

In the middle of the 19th century, the city began to lack land plots suitable for residential construction. In the western part of the city, on the northern side of the Warsaw route, there was a city garden, while the southern side was intended for the army use in the future[16]. The development of buildings in this part of the city was also blocked by the areas designated for the municipal cemetery and the buildings of the Wieniawa town adjacent to Lublin. In this situation, the city tried to incorporate into its area land plots previously used for agricultural purposes.

The transport system in the Jewish Town

In 1825, the Jewish population constituted 54.4% of the town's population. The Jews, according to royal privileges *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, could only live in certain districts and had no right to purchase or lease property in Christian parts of city. In spite of this, Jews often built on contested land adjacent to Christian population. In the northern part of the town on Czwartek and around the Castle Hill an area called the Jewish Town has

14 The first drill square was arranged near the Warsaw route, in the vicinity of the "Świętokrzyskie" barracks. Next, the parades were carried out on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street near the present Lithuanian Square. Since the surface of the street was made of field stones, the so-called "cats' heads", the street turned out to be unsuitable for this purpose. N. Przesmycka, *Lublin*..., op.cit., p.

15 Mikulec B., *Aktywność gospodarcze ludności żydowskiej Lublina w latach 1815 – 1864*, [in:] Żydzi w Lublinie, Lublin 1995, p. 70.

16 The presence of military garrisons of occupying forces stationed in Lublin initially influenced the urban shape of the city during the time of Austrian Partition (1794 – 1805). The area adjacent to the Świętokrzyskie barracks, situated by the Warsaw road, became the property of the army in 1858. This area was customarily called the Western Camp. Other extensive military areas were located on the southern side of Lublin, outside the city's administrative borders, in the vicinity of the railway line – the so-called South Camp.

developed, inhabited since the 15th century. Within this area, the poorest housing conditions could be found in the Podzamcze area, a former prefect's jurisdiction, stretching around the Castle Hill[17].

The Jewish town was characterized by its organic layout of streets, the oldest of which was Szeroka Street. The street was a part of an early medieval communication route running through the Castle Hill towards the settlement of Czwartek and the ford on Bystrzyca River. It gained the status of a local market and, with time, a shopping street. It was the first street in this part of the city with a paved surface (1815–1830). Another street of commercial importance was Ruska (paved after 1837). As the buildings grew, streets were formed at the foot of the Castle Hill: Krawiecka and Jateczna. Their names referred to the dominant activities of the inhabitants in these areas. Properties along the larger communication routes could be accessed by means of perpendicularly branching roads. Attempts at regulating the road system of the Jewish Town begin with the establishment of Nowa Street (1815–1830) and parallel streets towards Szeroka Street. The communication system in this part of the city was complemented by bridges connecting the two banks of the Czechówka River.

Transport system in the centre of Lublin in the years 1864–1914

In the second half of the 19th century saw the first clear functional divisions appearing in the spatial structure of Lublin. Lublin, like most of the cities of the Russian Partition, suffered from the lack of adequate technical and sanitary infrastructure, which was severely affecting the population in the face of increasing density of buildings caused by the rapid rise in the number of inhabitants. The answer, at the time, to bad sanitary conditions was to establish public gardens and green areas, and to establish strict building and housekeeping regulations. The issues of street layout regulation, especially in the inner city area, were crucial for the proper shaping of buildings and public spaces. For Lublin, the years 1864–1914 were a time of significant spatial transformations, which shaped the city's new image.

The directions of urban development of Lublin in the middle of the 19th century, apart from ownership status, began to be determined by new industrial investments and infrastructure. Industrial plants, initially built in a spontaneously, adopting abandoned buildings (e.g. monasteries), or located in the centre, after the construction of the railway line, began to be moved and erected in the southern part of the city. Thus, the railway (from 1877) became a new urban development factor.

In the 1860s, the need to redefine the administrative city limits and city's areas emerged. In the 1870s Lublin became the third largest city in the Kingdom of Poland with a population of 29,000. The transport system together with the public areas and urban greenery (both the arranged and natural ones, interconnected with watercourses), created a framework for the development of buildings at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The urban layout, shaped in the years 1864–1914, has survived to this day in an essentially unchanged form, becoming the basic structure of the city centre of Lublin.

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, Lublin's buildings developed along the main routes of national importance: west towards Warsaw, south to Zamość, and north, along the route of regional importance towards Lubartów. Industrial investments developed along the railway line. The greenery formed a banded system linked with river valleys. Along the Czechówka River, despite technical and sanitary problems, substandard residential buildings developed intensively.

The transport system of the city centre and the northern part of Lublin in the years 1864–1914 became denser and more complete in comparison to the previous period, but its basic framework did not change. The most important street in the city and its communication axis was still Krakowskie Przedmieście. All of important state offices were concentrated in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. In search of new building areas in the city centre new streets were marked out at the end of the 19th century: Ogrodowa (1883), Szopena (1892–1908), Sądowa (1894), and Hipoteczna (1895), and just before the outbreak of World War I: Krótka, Zielona, Czysta and

17 In 1822 Jewish districts were introduced in the cities of the Kingdom of Poland, and in 1836 those who were granted the right to live outside the district were forbidden to run more than one shop. B. Mikulec, *Aktywność...*, op. cit. Podzamcze area was developed in a dense and chaotic manner. This area became habitable as a result of a decrease in the level of groundwater, but it still consisted of marsh and peat land. The concentration of buildings on a small area was so great that it did not allow for the construction of toilets or garbage bins, not even a shared one between a few houses. Podzamcze area was additionally exposed to the runoff of wastewater from the Old Town and Czwartek Hills and from the municipal slaughterhouse located on the left side of the Czechówka River.

Cicha streets. Streets were also laid-out between parcelled areas and existing transport routes. More new streets were planned in the south of the city due to the location of the railway station and southern industrial district.

A characteristic feature of Lublin is the differentiation of the course of streets. In the part of the city centre delimited from the west by a line of trenches, they had an organic course, adapting to the terrain and previous administrative and ownership divisions. Due to the specific, rich terrain only few of the newly marked out streets had a straight course (e.g. Nowa Street, Zamość Route, Warsaw Route, Foksal). On the other hand, thanks to a less diverse terrain, the newly marked out streets in the southern part of the developing city – in the industrial district – were straight. This arrangement helped to ensure the most rational and economic manner of dividing land into building plots.

Gradually, the street network in the city centre was paved and renovated. Pedestrian traffic was improved with paved sidewalks made of stone slabs, bricks and asphalt (since the 1860s). The streets did not have sewers and storm canals. They were equipped with deep gutters or ditches covered with wooden bridges.

New transport routes of importance for the whole city were created as a result of the need to connect the train station located in the Piaski suburb with the city centre. In 1875 (i.e. 2 years before the opening of the railway), a new street called Foksal (now May 1st Street) was established, reaching Zamojska Street, connecting the railway station with the city[18].

In 1899 regulation works were carried out on Cmentarna Street, levelling the former ramparts, thus creating a "boulevard for funeral processions"[19]. The newly created street (present-day Lipowa Street) has preserved in its shape the course of the the 17th century fortification lines, with characteristic triangular squares free of buildings in place of the former bastions. The only preserved bastion is located in the Saski Garden Park, while the squares are visible next to the building of Secondary School No 29, in front of the cemetery and at the intersection of Lipowa and Narutowicz Streets.

At the beginning of the 20th century several new bridges were built in Lublin. The first reinforced concrete bridge was erected on the Czechówka River on Lubartowska Street, another one over Bystrzyca River by the road in the direction of Łęczna (1908)[20] and at Zamojska Street (1909), connecting the city with the railway station and roads in the direction of Zamość and Bychawa. The latter two replaced the old wooden ones, which were no longer able to handle the increased traffic. The neo-Gothic bridge over Bystrzyca on Zamojska Street, built in 1909, is particularly interesting in terms of its architectural form[21].

The regulations of the transport system were also applied to the zone of the strict city centre – the vicinity of the Lithuanian Square. In 1876 an Orthodox Church cathedral was erected opposite the government building. This has increased the importance of the square as a place of political significance. The new arrangement of the square was designed by the Warsaw city planner Zygmunt Kisielewski, dividing the square with alleys into three parts. Each of them a greenery, arranged in calligraphic style[22]. The project was not entirely implemented, but the division of the interior and the idea of establishing greeneries were maintained. The garden in front of the governor's palace, together with the monument of the Union of Lublin, was separated from the space of the square with a wooden fence, while the greenery was surrounded with barriers[23].

Before 1875, in order to widen the Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, the wall surrounding the Capuchin monastery was demolished, and later a part of Lithuanian Square (1900) was turned into a street. After the wall was demolished, the street was extended to the line of the church buildings, which finally cleaned up the space around the monastery. The Victoria Hotel was built on a parcelled post-monastery plot. Other buildings – two and three-storey tenement houses with shops on the ground floor, were erected at the end of the 1870s in the vicinity of the post office building, completing the southern frontage of the square.

18 Kierek A., *Rozwój gospodarczy Lublina w latach 1918–1939*, [in:] *Dzieje Lublina,* Volume II, edited by S. Krzykały, Lublin 1975, pp. 181- 182.

19 *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lublinie ułożony przez Marię Antoninę hr. Ronikerową*, Warszawa 1901, p. 214.

20 Gazda L., Karaś S., *Inż. Lutosławski i jego mosty w Lublinie*, *Drogownictwo*, no. 2/2004, Warsaw.

21 Żywicki J., *Architektura neogotycka na Lubelszczyźnie*, Lublin 1998.

22 Ciołek G., *Ogrody Lublina w XIX wieku*, *Ochrona Zabytków*, rok 7, Warsaw 1954, nr 4, p. 270.

23 Gawarecki H., *Stanisław Krzesiński: Dwa wrażenia, czyli Lublin jak był w roku 1827 i jaki jest w roku 1877*, [w:] *Rocznik Lubelski*, R. I, 1958, Lublin, p. 246.

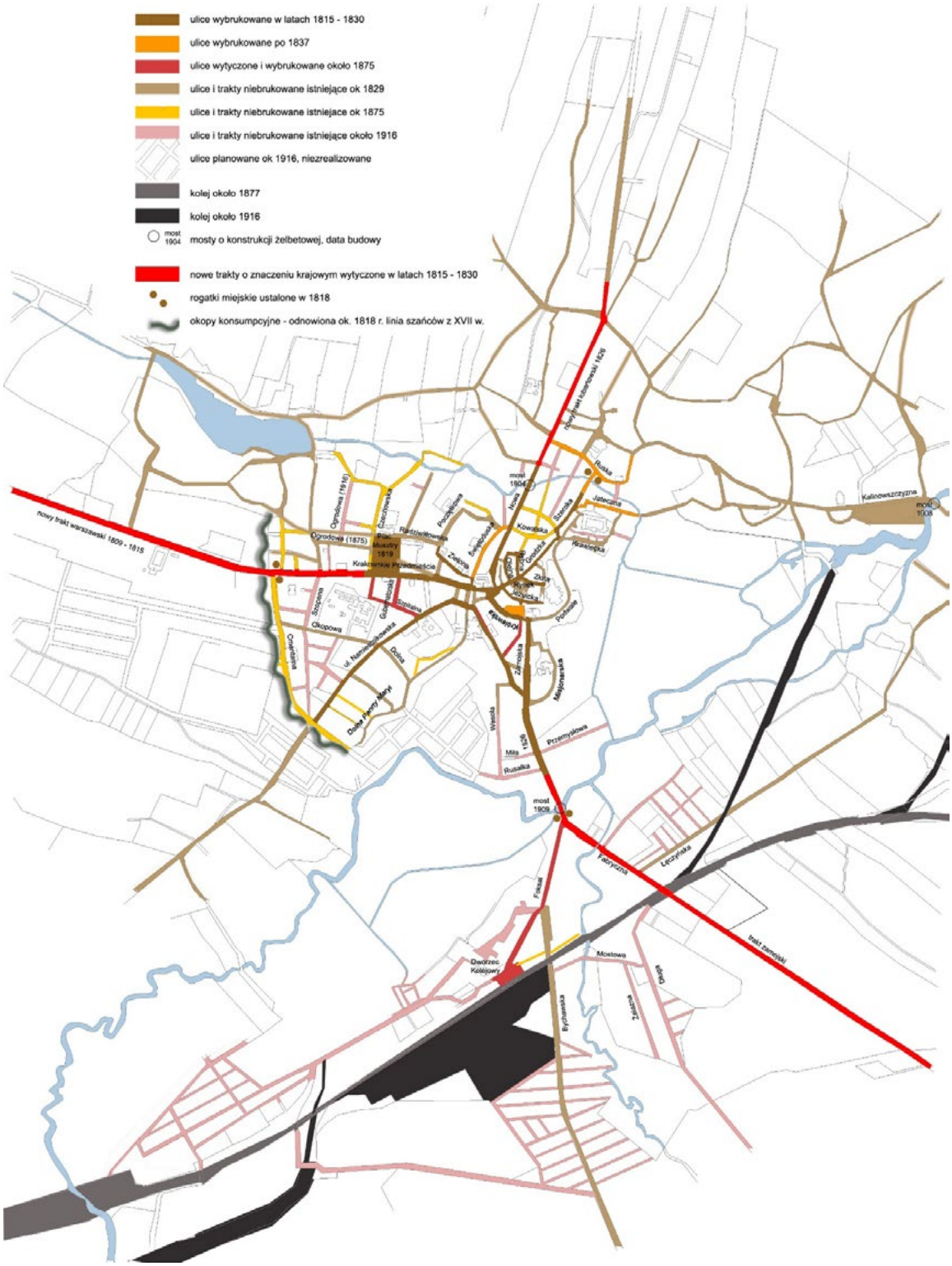

Fig. 5. The diagram of Lublin's transport system 1815–1916. Author: Natalia Przesmycka

Development of the southern part of the city

The decision which had the greatest influence on the direction of Lublin's development at the end of the 19th and 20th century was the location of the railway station. The shape of the land, ownership status and regulations effective in the Russian Empire determined the choice of land in the suburbs of Piaski. This marked the beginning of a new southern direction of spatial development of Lublin. The buildings, with a dominant industrial function, first filled the area between the railway station and Zamojska Street, and later concentrated along the railway line, where large production plants were built. The factories were accompanied by workers' housing estates built in two ways: in the areas designated for it, with streets and allotments (e.g. Bronowice, side streets of the Bychawska Street, Za Cukrownią district), and spontaneous illegal buildings, on the periodically flooded meadows of the Bystrzyca River (Dzierżawna Street, Wapienna Street). These substandard buildings, intended as a temporary, have survived to the present day, preserved in the 20th century after the construction of the Zemborzycki Reservoir and the regulation of the Bystrzyca River.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th century, Lublin started to develop spontaneously along its main communication arteries (roads and railway lines), thus adopting the model of a linear city. In the first years of the 20th century the auxiliary and technical buildings along the railway line developed spontaneously. A railway bridge was built in 1907. By 1914, dense buildings along Bychawska Street reached the vicinity of Nowy Świat Street.

The spontaneous development of construction in the southern part of the city, on the right bank of Bystrzyca River – along the streets leading to Bychawa and Wrotków in the districts of Piaski, Bronowice and Kośminek, started in the last quarter of the 19th century. In these districts the whole industry of the city was gradually concentrated. New factories were established in this area and those that were previously located in the city centre were relocated here. Along the railway line, industrial plants were set up: a sugar factory, rectification plants, a starch factory and associated banded housing; at Krochmalna and Bychawska Streets. These new districts were separated by railway tracks and the Czerniejówka River. Their buildings were initially chaotic and the districts did not have any communication links between them. The districts "behind the tracks" connected to the city centre with only one artery – Zamojska Street, which already a few years after the railway was put into operation became overloaded with traffic. Most of the investments made at that time were located within the range of the railway line, along the sidetracks. The main building bands in this area are the located along the railway line near Łęczyńska Street in Bronowice, where several larger warehouses were erected: the governmental spirit storehouse, liquid fuel storehouses (kerosene), grain warehouses, as well as along Krochmalna Street on the land of the former Bridgettines' Rury farm. The early twentieth century was a period of intensive development of the food industry. An important investment was the construction of a gasworks in 1879–1882, located near a railway station in Lublin's industrial district.

Summary

Difficulties in shaping new developments, resulting from land ownership status, previous courses of roads, communications tracts and particular topography contributed to the picturesque urban landscape of the city at the beginning of the 20th century. The development of buildings in the direction of the city centre was prevented by wet, occasionally flooded meadows in the Bystrzyca River valley. Never again, these complex conditions constitute an obstacle to the development of the city, which of course was due to the development of engineering capabilities and legal instruments. In the 1920s and 1930s, the planners were already able to act with a broad scope, creating comprehensive plans for the "great Lublin"[24].

24 Przesmycka N., *Polska myśl urbanistyczna okresu międzywojennego – zarys problemu,* [w:] *Architektura modernizmu. Kraków, Lublin, Otwock,* collective work edited by E. Przesmycka, Lublin 2008. pp. 17–29

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The architecture of the Nałęczów Nursery in the context of designing kindergarten and care facilities

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Summary: The article presents the history and architecture of the nursery building in Nałęczów, one of the first buildings of this type erected in rural areas of the Lublin region. This building escapes the clear stylistic classification and is an inseparable element of the cultural landscape of Nałęczów.

In an attempt to determine the implementation of the Nałęczów project in comparison with other shelters created in a similar period of time, this paper takes a broader look at the problems of establishing the institution of nurseries and later transformations of such objects.

Keywords: Nałęczów, nurseries architecture, Nursery's building, Jan Witkiewicz-Koszczyc

> *Beautiful school hill. At the front of the square, just behind the road, a beautiful brick house rises. Walls made of grey stone jointed with cement, roof's strong line broken with protruding small windows and balconies, veranda supported by arched arcades. Mighty escarpments contain the building; thick wall surrounds the square from the side of the road.*[1]

The Nursery in Nałęczów is one of the oldest buildings designed specifically for care and education of the youngest children in Poland. Additionally the building's form and programme is considered to be superior to similar facilities located in other Polish cities or villages.

Current state of research and methodology, literature review

Research of Nałęczów's architecture, including the Nursery's building, is inhibited by the small amount of source materials such as preserved architectural projects. Building development in Nałęczów concentrated in the area administered by the Medicinal Institute. There was no need to obtain building permits through a regular project approval process, hence the lack of archival documentation. Nałęczów's Nursery, as one of the buildings

1 S. Żeromski, *Róża*, 1909, p. 205 (All translations by Jacek Przesmycki, unless otherwise noted.)

designed by architect Jan Witkiewicz-Koszczyc, was included in a monographic study of the designer's work by M. Leśniakowska (Leśniakowska, 1998).

Authors' research and results are based in literature studies on the subject, including compilations from the period when Nursing facilities forms were formulated (the end of the 19th century), iconographic analysis, queries in the archives of WUOZ (Voivoidship's Office for Heritage Preservation) in Lublin and authors' own field research.

This paper presents a comparative analysis of nursing facilities built at the turn of the 19th and 20th century in the area of present-day Poland (30 objects). The analysis took into consideration the composition of the architectural form, location in the spatial structure of the urban area, the state of preservation and contemporary role and use.

Care facilities for the youngest – function's origins

Analyzing the architectural form of nursing facilities, it should be noted that its formation was sparked by the emergence of a demand for such a new function. Existing care facilities were dedicated primarily to adults: the elderly, the poor and the handicapped, their operation was often tied with charitable activities of the Catholic Church in Poland.

The institution of nurseries, which, over time, developed into modern kindergartens, became popular in the 19th century. The movement involved with small children's nursing schools has developed intensively in the British Isles, France and Germany. In 1817 in the industrial settlement of New Lanark in Scotland, its owner Robert Owen, gathered 150 children aged 2 to 7 years under the care of one of the weavers – John Buchman. The children were looked after while their mothers were at work. The so called Infants Schools developed further both as institutions and teaching methods. The intensive development of nurseries also took place between 1890 and 1923 in the United States where, together with other forms of charity institutions, their formation became an inseparable element of civic duties.

The first nursery in the Kingdom of Poland was established in Warsaw as the initiative of Teofil Janikowski, a member of the Charitable Society (Towarzystwo Dobroczynności), in 1840, and within the next 9 years the number of Warsaw nurseries increased to eight.[2] In the early years of functioning, the employees in these nurseries were exclusively men, but in a short time this occupation became the domain of women.[3] Simultaneously, religious organisations and religious orders also started to create nurseries.

The first nursery in Silesia was established in Opava by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis in June 1849, initially accepting 60 children. Karol Antoniewicz describes it the following way:

> "In the town of Freuwaldau, in Silesia, at the foot of the Grafenburg Mountain, world-famous for Priessnitz's water treatment, there is a small, slim house on an outside street. Enter this house if you are sad, your heart is heavy, and you will be comforted if you have the faith and love of God and people in your heart! (...) a children next to each other develop in work and prayer! (...) Children learn to mend, stich, pray and love God, covered from the evil influence of corruption, who left to themselves, living the street life, would inevitably die, both physically and eternally!"[4]

The nursery was a modestly equipped building – in one room there was a table, "several benches for children, a few pictures and a little stoop and a moneybox for charity donations, visiting the nursery". The institution had a religious character, according to the belief that prayer can save from corruption and demoralisation.

2 Goltz A., *Ochronki wiejskie*, 1860, p. 23.

3 Cieślińska B., *Kształcenie nauczycieli przedszkoli w Polsce w wymiarze instytucjonalnym*, „Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego", 2017, nr 9, p. 510.

4 Antoniewicz K, *Ochronka*, 1849, N. Piekary: T. Henetzek

In the second half of the 19th century the forms of pre-school institutions were diversified; urban, rural, factory nurseries as well as children's gardens were created, whose functioning was closest to that of modern kindergarten. In larger cities the so-called Fröbel's gardens (Friedrich Froebel Approach) began to be organized, which, in contrast to the nurseries, were targeted at children of wealthier classes, preparing them for later school education. The nursing facilities supervisory function gradually evolved in favour of care and educational functions, conducted by professional societies.[5]

With time, the nurseries begun to be established in village areas as well, where they had a different character from those functioning in cities. The aim of rural nurseries was not to change the way rural children were formed, nor was their education. These nurseries were supposed to "protect the body and soul of a village child; to teach the Lord's Prayer as well as the first principles of faith and morality" and "to awaken minds with skillful conversation, work and play" (p. 19). For this reason, nurseries for rural children operated differently from those for urban children. Rural nurseries were primarily intended to help bring up the youngest children from the poorest families, relieving their working mothers.[6] Helping villagers to raise their offspring was considered to be the duty of the "higher classes". There was a close relation between the way the child was brought up in the countryside and its future role in society, shaping its character and health (through hardening) to perform heavy physical work from an early age (p. 10). By the age of seven or eight, the child "can be of help around the house only temporarily and to a very limited extent", at the ages of eight and ten, children's help with farm work began to be effective, and later they quickly became coworkers. The difficulty of farm work was dosed with age: from helping with picking forest fruits, mushrooms, peeling potatoes, bringing food to field workers, taking care of animals (herding), simple field work (guiding a horse while harrowing, helping with harvest), to the most demanding ones – i.e. operating sokha or plough, which boys usually mastered at the age of about 19, which was also the time of finding a mate and getting married.

The enfranchisement of peasants (1864) resulted in a change in socio-economic relations in the countryside. Charity institutions were to be moved from parish custody to communal management. However, the commune boards were not interested in the organization of nurseries, nor did they have at their disposal the means to do so.

It was particularly important to organize nurseries for children of the farm workers. Among the functional and accommodation guidelines for the nursery facility, the dominant belief was that their standard should be appropriate to the level of wealth of the families from which the children came and to not exceed it in any way, so as not to "arouse the whims towards the position and wealth of parents".[7] The cleanliness of the interior, the modesty and functionality of the equipment, the heating capacity ("it is good to instal the fireplace next to the stove"), good lighting, the floor made of boards and the possibility of opening windows (vents), were mandatory requirements for the building or room of the nursery. The children had to be provided with appropriate low benches, while the nurse had to be provided with a desk with a drawer and several chairs. Altar was an obligatory element of decor, the function of which could also be performed by a table covered with a cloth and placed by the wall.[8] The nursery's equipment for playing and learning indicated in the nineteenth-century handbooks were sand trays, chalkboards and abacuses but still the most important were the wallboards with religious inscriptions.

Educational and pedagogical ideas were developed in intelligentsia social circles. Helping people from lower social classes was also one of the determinants of the patriotic civic stance. Many eminent contemporary intellectuals, educators and creators were concerned with the problems of early education and upbringing, physical condition and health of children. Many of whom were visiting Nałęczów, as the popular health resort at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. The particular development of education in Nałęczów was influenced by such personalities as: Bolesław Prus,[9] Stefan Żeromski, Faustyna Morzycka, and, above all, members of the "Światło" Educational Society.

5 Cieślińska B., *Kształcenie...*, op. cit., p. 511.

6 Goltz A., *Ochronki..., op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.

7 Golz A., *Ochronki..., op. cit.*, p. 43–44.

8 Ibid., p. 44.

9 Prus B., *Kroniki* Tom II, Warsaw 1953, p. 353–354.

Nałęczów Nursery – rise of an institution

Attention to education and improvement of qualifications and living standards of the inhabitants of Nałęczów and nearby area was an expression of the positivist movement which characterised the health resort's development at the turn of the century. In 1903 the School of Basketry Instructors was established, and two years later the J. Bloch Toy Maker Instructors School. In 1904 a public bathhouse was opened – the Bolesław Prus People's Baths. At the same time, on the initiative of doctors: Lasocki, Malewski and Puławski, the Museum of the Lublin Region was established.[10] In 1906 the People's House (Ludowiec) was established, where agricultural associations Zgoda and Nałęczów Credit Society (so called Kasa) found their seat.[11] In 1908, the Museum of the Lublin Region, where regional and ethnographic collections were displayed, was relocated from the Małachowski Palace.

At the turn of 1907/1908 the first round of 6-month courses for peasants took place – in a school that has been operating since then in the People's House.[12] Since 1908 the schools have been known under the common name Szkoła Instruktorów Przemysłu Ludowego (School of People's Industry Instructors). At the same time, the Female Farming School was established. In 1911 the School of Wood Industry was established, a year later, under the direction of Jan Żylski, the School of Wood Sculpture Instructors was established. Jan Żylski continued his activity in the field of education also after World War II, together with Mieczysław Pazura, initiating in 1947 the creation of the Secondary School of Fine Art Techniques, which still exists today.[13]

The schools of Nałęczów are still a phenomenon on a national scale. In a small private town before World War II there were a number of educational institutions with a diverse offer. One of them was the Nursery established at the beginning of the 20th century.

Main objectives and tasks of the "Światło" Educational Society

The Educational Society "Światło" was established in Nałęczów in 1906.[14] It's establishment was a resut of the activity of educated and progressive people such as Stefan Żeromski, Gustaw Daniłowski or Faustyna Morzycka. Officially, in August 1906 "Światło" was registered with associations and unions for the Lublin Governorate. Its main objective was to provide educational and cultural activities for the benefit of fellow citizens.

"Światło" operated without the support from the state – it was a grassroots organization. It's motto was "People's education is a debt owed by the enlightened circles to the whole of the nation" together with a belief that "the prosperity of the nation and the whole country" rests upon them. Each member of the Society was obliged to work in "one of its departments" and should "in cultural matters renounce all political, party or social considerations."[15]

"Światło" organized courses for illiterate peasants, created a system of primary education and Polish textbooks for people.[16] Educational programmes were developed to supplement and deepen the already acquired education – agricultural courses (School of Female Landowners, Courses for Peasants, etc.).[17] There was a

10 Puławski A., *Materiały do historii zakładu Leczniczego w Nałęczowie (1807–1907)*, Nałęczów 1908, s. 29

11 Stanisław Śliwiński, the owner of the Antopole estate since 1895, played an important role in the shaping of various social undertakings and agricultural education in Nałęczów. He was the initiator of the agricultural association Zgoda, a dairy company, one of the founders of the Nałęczów Credit Society, an agricultural school for landowners. Przegaliński A, *W kręgu Stanisława Śliwińskiego i nałęczowskiej oświaty rolniczej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, "Rocznik Lubelski" 35, 139–154, 2009, s. 143–150.

12 Ibidem, pp. 149–150.

13 *110 lat Liceum Plastycznego im. Józefa Chełmońskiego w Nałęczowie*, wyd. Petit na zlecenie, Liceum Plastycznego im. Józefa Chełmońskiego w Nałęczowie, red. P. Kmieć, Ł. Głowacki, K. Rządowski, J. Ćwiek, Lublin 2013.

14 Initially, in 1906, in Nałęczów there was a School Matrix Circle, founded by Stefan Żeromski, which was a branch of the School Matrix in Warsaw. M. Gawarecka, *Lubelskie Towarzystwo szerzenia oświaty pod nazwą „Światło" (1906 – 1917)*, Rocznik Lubelski 16, 1973, pp. 183–186.

15 M. Biernacki, *Cel i zadania Światła*, [in:] *Zebranie organizacyjne Lubelskiego Towarz. Szerzenia Oświaty p. n. „Światło" odbyte w Lublinie w dniu 23 września 1906 roku, nakład Towarzystwo Światło*, 1906, Lublin, pp. 4–10.

16 *The question of setting up nurseries, as these require a lot of capital and teaching staff resources. Naturally, something can be achieved with the help of municipalities and towns. "Światło" will create, besides home teaching of reading and writing, at least a small number, but exemplary, of schools according to the new rules and programmes, in order to prepare the material and an example for those nurseries, which will later undoubtedly create self-government or autonomy.* M. Biernacki, *Cel i zadania Światła*, [w:] *Zebranie organizacyjne Lubelskiego Towarz. Szerzenia Oświaty p. n. „Światło" odbyte w Lublinie w dniu 23 września 1906 roku, nakład Towarzystwo Światło*, 1906, Lublin, pp. 4–10.

17 M. Gawarecka, *Lubelskie..., op. cit.*, pp. 183–186.

theatre and the People's University[18], which during its functioning (10 December 1905 – 22 November 1907) organized 65 talks and lectures[19]. All the initiatives needed accommodation. For this purpose, model nurseries, people's houses, libraries, schools of various levels and teacher seminars were opened.[20] One such buildings is the Nałęczów Nursery. Originally, the Nursery, like many similar institutions, found its place in a building not designed for this specific purpose – in the Józefinka villa. From 1905 it was located in the Octavia villa, except during the summer period, when the rooms of the Octavia villa were rented to the sanatorium patients, and the Nursery functioned in a nearby building. Later it was moved to a villa rented from Mr Trojanowski.[21] The building of the Nursery, also known as the "House of Light" (Dom Światła) was erected on commission from Stefan Żeromski.

Fig. 1. The Adaś Żeromski Nursery, circa 1928, source: National Digital Archives

This was associated with the writer's initiative to open the aforementioned People's University, which was inaugurated on the 75th anniversary of the November Uprising,[22] and the need to create a nursery for the children of craftsmen and farm workers.[23] The building was built in 1906[24] it was designed free of charge by Jan Witkiewicz-Koszczyc.[25] Funds for the construction of the Nursery came mostly from Stefan Żeromski (honorarium for his novels "The Wages of Sin" and "Ashes"), as well as from community contributions and a book published in order to obtain funds under the title "For a new school".[26]

Stefan Żeromski was very invested in the project – he himself ordered roof tiles and other materials. The final construction cost was estimated as follows: – Masonry work amounted to one and a half thousand roubles,

18 *The People University in Nałęczów (...) must try to make the students interested with the help of loose lectures. Slowly a systematic course is being organized (...)* M. Biernacki, *Cel i zadania..., op. cit.*, pp. 4–10.

19 M. Mironowicz – Panek, *Działalność lubelskiego Towarzystwa Oświatowego „Światło"* w: Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie, p. 362

20 M. Gawarecka, *Lubelskie...op. cit.*, pp. 183–186.

21 S. Butryn, *Nałęczów wspomnienia o Żeromskim i goście kurorttu,* Wydawnictwo Pro – Info, Lublin 2011, pp. 27–28

22 M. Mironowicz – Panek, Działalność... op. cit., p. 362.

23 S. Butryn, *Nałęczów...op. cit.*, pp. 28 – 29.

24 M. Leśniakowska, *Architect Jan Koszczyc Witkiewicz (1881–1958) and building in his time*, Warsaw 1998, p. 163.

25 *In 1906 I was in a Pawiak prison, when* Żeromski *came to me to design him a building as an exemplary nursing school. After I was released from prison, I started building. After its construction, it housed a nursery, a secret school, a meeting place of "Światło", a library. I would like to mention, by the way, that Stefan Żeromski gave over 6000 roubles for the construction of the nursery. At that time, I remember, under the influence of* Żeromski*, we carried out social and political work in Nałęczów,* S. Butryn, *Nałęczów...op. cit.*, pp. 50.

26 M. Mironowicz-Panek, *Działalność lubelskiego Towarzystwa Oświatowego „Światło"* w: Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie, p. 362

wood – about a thousand roubles, and ceramic roofing tile 355 roubles[27]. The building of the Nursery was erected by local builders: Łuka, Lenartowicz, Oreszczyński, Krajewski and Pakuła.[28]

The Nursery building was located on a plot purchased by Stefan Żeromski from Michał Górski near the Poniatówka Hill at Poniatowski Street (Fig. 1). The area of the plot was nearly 3,000 m^2 and sloping to the east. The difference in altitude was quite significant and originally amounted to 13 meters. The building is located in the eastern part of the plot right next to Poniatowski Street. The Nursery building has been very well adapted to the surrounding area, using the plot's difficult topography. The building was separated from the street by a stone fence – a retaining wall, which was erected in 1909.[29] On a postcard from that time you can see that the limestone wall separating the plot was also located on the northern side of the plot. The garden was arranged to form a landscape – plants were planted in groups and the geometry of the walking path was designed to resemble an English garden. Due to the terrain's requirements, terraces were used in the Nursery's garden. Dancing squares and sand playgrounds surrounded by turf benches were located in the central part of the garden. The garden was planted with pines, groups of birches and also had a *field for vegetable plant farming.30* Behind the Nursery's building, facing the garden, there was a dugout cellar hidden in the slope of the escarpment.

The usable area of the Nursery building was 130 m^2 and was intended for about forty children.[31] The building served primarily the children of farmers from the surrounding villages: Charza, Bochotnica, Strzelec, as well as the children of employees of the Medicinal Institute and staff from private villas.[32] The Nursery was built of limestone and ceramic brick, which were fashioned into architectural decorations, such as, among others: window frames – arches of windows, blind windows, etc. The Nursery's Designer Jan Witkiewicz-Koszczyc applied a characteristic arrangement of bricks (alternating the stretcher and header sides of bricks) contrasting with the white limestone, a solution often repeated in other public buildings erected in Nałęczów at that time. The form of the Nursery referred to the national style popular in Polish architecture in the first quarter of the 20th century.[33]

The single-storey building, supported by a brick foundation, has a utility attic and basement. The body of the Nursery has been covered with a steep, multi-sloped roof with various angles of inclination, which line broken with protruding small windows and balconies, covered with ceramic tiles. The top of the eastern front elevation was emphasized with blind windows, crowned with a rectangular plaque with the year 1906 and a thistle branch – the symbol of Young Poland and an inscription *Jan Witkiewicz-Koszczyc*. The characteristic element of the building is the veranda on the side of Poniatowski Street (eastern front facade), which was supported by quadrangular columns reinforced with buttresses and wide arcades.

The building was supposed to evoke a feeling of "cosiness" – provide a sense of security and shelter. This effect was achieved by the use of protruding hoods and characteristic curves. Thanks to this, the architecture of the building has gained a "fairy tale, childlike element." The architectural detail characteristic to the design of Witkiewicz's Nursery, which was present in the building's body, both inside and outside, was a pinnacle, in the form of a geometrised flower bud, crowning the tops of the facade and repeated inside, in the staircase balustrade's detail.

Functionally, the building consisted of a vestibule (veranda), cloakroom and a spacious hall which had the capacity to be separated into two smaller rooms (Fig. 2). The institution's facilities were a small kitchen located in the eastern part with a warehouse and a toilet. This part of the building could be entered by a separate entrance. The rest of the internal area was dedicated to communication, children's toilets and a boiler room. The main hall was decorated with oil paintings by Kazimierz Młodziankowski in the form of a wall frieze, depicting

27 S. Butryn, *Nałęczów... op. cit* p. 28

28 Ibidem.

29 Such information is included in the white card of the WUOZ attachment 5 "Nursery's fence Poniatowski St. 33, M. Leśniakowska cites 1913 as the date of erecting the stone fence, M. Leśniakowska, *Architekt Jan Koszczyc Witkiewicz (1881–1958) i budowanie w jego czasach*, Warszawa 1998, p. 163.

30 S. Żeromski, *Róża*, 1909, p. 205

31 Reports from 1907–1909 have not survived to date, which means that we are not able to determine precisely the number of children attending the Nursery during this period of time. In 1909/1910 there were 82 children enrolled in the Nursery and 40 children attended classes. The library operating in the institution numbered 380 books at that time. Za: S. Butryn, *Nałęczów..., op. cit.*, p. 30.

32 S. Butryn., *Nałęczów...op. cit.* s. 35.

33 M Lesniakowska classifies the Nursery building as an example of Zakopane style architecture. The author states that this is the *first attempt to translate the Zakopane style into a material other than wood.* M. Leśniakowska, *Architekt..., op. cit.,* p. 30.

the Vistula Landscape and the allegory of human life. The paintings were to be inspired by paintings in the Paris's Pantheon. They were made free of charge in 1910. The costs of canvas and paints were covered by the Żeromski family.[34]

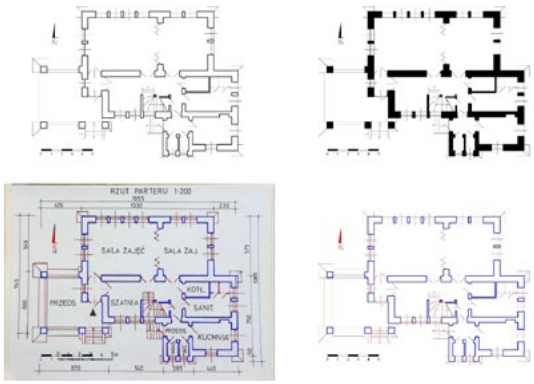

Fig. 2. Schematic plan of the Nursery, current state, (archive of KAUiPP),

Fig. 3. Adaś Żeromski Nursery 2018, photo by authors.

Fig. 4. Fragment of the Vistula Landscape by Kazimierz Młodzianowski, photo by authors 2018.

The building together with the Jordan's garden was put into use on 19.07.1907. Stefan Żeromski, Oktawia Żeromska and Henryka Witkiewicz took custody of the building. Due to financing problems of the institution, in 1915 the Nursery and the school were closed down. During the war, soldiers were stationed in the Nursery and it was only after their departure that it resumed its activity. In 1918, with the consent of the founder of the facility, the Nursery received the name "Adam Żeromski Nursery" in honour of the Stefan Żeromski's deceased son. Jan Witkiewicz-Koszczyc, its designer, was responsible for the conservation of the building from 1908 for nearly forty years (after the war) as an employee of the General Directorate of Museums and Heritage Protection.

In 1920 Stefan Żeromski handed the Nursery over to the Government of the Republic of Poland[35] at whose expense the renovation was carried out. Since then, the Nursery has become the property of the state and has become the oldest state kindergarten in Poland.

34 S. Butryn, *Nałęczów…op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

35 The nursery was then taken over by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment.

After regaining independence, an attempt was made to regulate the organisation of pre-school education institutions at the First National Teachers' Congress in 1919. The Kindergarten Education Section was established, which presented an outline for functioning of these institutions.[36]

Nałęczów Nursery, its architecture and fate in the context of other nurseries

The nurseries created in the same period of time on the territory of present-day Poland had various architectural forms. Their size and presence depended on the financial capabilities of the founders, which were most often Catholic Church institutions (such as monasteries), private entrepreneurs and landowners. Nurseries dedicated to the children of industrial workers were most often in an architectural form consistent in style with the one of the neighbouring factory plants, their design was entrusted to recognized architects. (e.g. a 1912 nursery for working children funded by Anna Scheibler in Łódź, designed by Hans Schlicht, or in Żyrardów (1875), designed by Franz Lessner).

The Nałęczów Nursery was established at a similar time to the St. Joseph's Nursery in Rymanów (1902) run by The Little Servants of Mary Immaculate Sisters (Old Town), often referred to as "Nursing Sisters". This congregation was founded by Blessed Fr. Bojanowski, who was one of the initiators of the establishment of the nursery for children, seeing in them, first of all, the tools of moral education, without neglecting physical and mental development. It is also worth emphasizing the importance of bringing up children in the spirit of national tradition and language.[37] The nursery's building was erected on the land donated by Countess Anna Potocki. Local residents and priests helped to finance the investment. In the *first years it functioned mainly thanks to grants from Fr. Koleński and Fr. Federkiewicz and the Count Potocki. Before the war, 200 children were nursed here. The destruction of World War I affected Rymanów and did not spare the Nursery.*[38] The building still functions as a kindergarten today. The architectural form of the building has not changed.

Many nursery buildings have not survived to this day with the Second World War being the turning point. At that time, the Germans liquidated practically all nurseries and orphanages for Jewish children, which usually involved killing of the children who were under the care of these institutions and their nurses. Private nurseries, which were part of the land estates, whose owners disappeared, were destroyed and dismantled. This was the fate of Ignacy Paderewski's Nursery in Kąśna near Cracow, which was established thanks to the initiative of Ignacy Paderewski's foundation.

Poor technical condition, lack of possibility or idea how to adapt to modern needs has lead to the demolition of the nurseries in Kolno and Lubcza in recent years. The Lubcza nursery was established on the initiative of Father Józef Lenartowicz.[39] The building had characteristic neo-Gothic decorations – a toothed gable, sharp-edged blind windows and a bell tower. As part of the revitalisation programme project, a *modernised municipal facility with socio-cultural functions40* was to be established there. Unfortunately, the building of the former nursery was demolished in January 2018; however its oldest part with a characteristic turret is to be reconstructed.

Built in 1919, the nursery for war orphans, located in the center of Kolno, was demolished in March 2014. A shopping centre was built in its place, which in no way reflects the previous form of development. In the year of its construction the Presidential Oak of Freedom was planted on the axis of the main entrance. The architectural form of the building invokes the regional characteristics of development through a jerkinhead roof and the decorative use of wood – decorating the gable emphasizing the entrance to the building, or roofing over the side entrance supported by carved columns.

Some of the former nurseries after World War II functioned as kindergartens (Pleszew, Węglin, Żyrardów), or facilities for orphaned children. Among the best preserved are the buildings founded by monasteries, that did not change their ownership (Rymanów, Tuchów, Zbąszyń, Bełk, Bochnia, Lipnica Murowana). In the case of

36 Cieślińska B., *Kształcenie nauczycieli przedszkoli w Polsce w wymiarze instytucjonalnym*, Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego, 2017, nr 9, p. 511.

37 http://www.rymanow-zdroj.pl/materialy/tom06_03.pdf S. Jolanta Bartman, Bł. Edmund Bojanowski prekursorem pedagogiki przedszkolnej i wczesnoszkolnej na ziemiach polskich. *Ochronka Św. Józefa w Rymanowie.* :Rocznik Rymanowa Zdroju" Tom VI, p. 24

38 8 (19) "Nasz Rymanów" of August 2002.

39 http://www.szkolalubcza.pl/index.php/patron.html.

40 Gminny Program Rewitalizacji gminy Ryglice na lata 2016–2023 (Ryglice Municipal Revitalisation Programme 2016–23).

nurseries located in larger cities, the attractive architectural form was conducive to adaptation to contemporary purposes (Bydgoszcz, Anna Scheibler Nursery in Łódź, nurseries in Warsaw).

An example of the harmonious extension and transformation of a nursery building to changing needs, while maintaining the basic function is the building in Szynwałd. The three-storey brick building was quickly expanded and transformed into a women's school. Currently, the function of a kindergarten run by nuns has returned.

The Nałęczów Nursery building after World War II was renovated by the Craftsmen Cooperative of Renovation and Building Services, as a result of which the truss and roofing were partially replaced and the interiors were refreshed.[41] The nursery served as a kindergarten for over 100 years. In 2001 the kindergarten function was moved from the Nursery to a new building erected at E. Szelburg-Zarembina Street in Nałęczów. The building was later leased and renovated by the Villa Polonia Foundation, it also served as the seat of the Society of Friends of Nałęczów. According to the inhabitants of Nałęczów, this function has grown so strong in the landscape of Nałęczów that it was opted for the building to serve as the Museum of Kindergarten Education and the Nałęczów Museum.[42] Currently, the "House of Light" is the seat of the Bolesław Prus Museum.[43] The museum is situated on the outskirts of the main walking routes of patients and tourists, not enjoying special popularity. However, the very fact that the facility retains a public utility function is worth emphasizing.

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[1] *110 lat Liceum Plastycznego im. Józefa Chełmońskiego w Nałęczowie*, wyd. Petit na zlecenie, Liceum Plastycznego im. Józefa Chełmońskiego w Nałęczowie, red. P. Kmieć, Ł. Głowacki, K. Rządowski, J. Ćwiek, Lublin 2013.

[2] Antoniewicz K, *Ochronka*, 1849, N. Piekary: T. Henetzek.

[3] Bartman J., Bł. Edmund Bojanowski prekursorem pedagogiki przedszkolnej i wczesnoszkolnej na ziemiach polskich. Ochronka Św. Józefa w Rymanowie. Rocznik Rymanowa Zdroju Tom VI, s. 24 za: http://www.rymanow-zdroj.pl/materialy/tom06_03.pdf.

[4] Biernacki M., *Cel i zadania Światła,* [w:] *Zebranie organizacyjne Lubelskiego Towarz. Szerzenia Oświaty p. n. „Światło" odbyte w Lublinie w dniu 23 września 1906 roku, nakład Towarzystwo Światło*, 1906, Lublin, s. 4–10.

[5] Butryn S., *Nałęczów wspomnienia o Żeromskim i gościach kurortu,* Wydawnictwo Pro – Info, Lublin 2011, s. 27–28, 34.

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