

W ciągu 10 lat od likwidacji twierdzy (1903-1913), opierając się na planie Josepha Stübgena i w część na modyfikacjach Wilhelma Wagnera, wytyczono 18 nowych ulic i kilkadziesiąt utworzonych przez nie bloków zabudowy, ukończono reprezentacyjne: Hohenzollernstrasse (dziś: aleja Wolności) i Ring (dziś: ul. Bolesława Krzywoustego i Wały Chrobrego), wytyczono i zagospodarowano kilka dużych założeń zieleni oraz kilka skwerów (il. 12). W nowych częściach miasta wzniesiono 10 okaza-

łych gmachów publicznych (jednym z pierwszych był hotel „National” przy dworcu kolejowym) i ponad 100 prywatnych, głównie wielorodzinnych kamienic a także 15 jedno i dwuapartamentowych willi i landhausów³⁹. Władze miejskie zakładały zrealizowanie wszystkich celów planu i zabudowę pozyskanych terenów w ciągu 30 lat, a rezultatem, obok znacznego powiększenia obszaru Głogowa, miał być także wzrost liczby mieszkańców do ok. 43 tysięcy (il. 13)⁴⁰.

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³⁹ J. Blaschke, op.cit., s. 535.

⁴⁰ Por. E. Griesinger, *Städtebauliches aus Glogau*, „Deutsche Bauzeitung”, 1928, nr 4, s. 49-60, nr 5, s. 65-74. Zmiany założeń planu Stübgena dokonane zostały w drugiej poł. lat 20. przez kolejnego architekta miejskiego Eugena Griesingera. Dotyczyły przede wszystkim niewielkich korekt sieci ulic na południowych

i południowo-zachodnich przedmieściach, wytyczenia lokalizacji nowych gmachów i obiektów publicznych a także powiększenia terenów przemysłowych. Mimo, że Griesinger przedstawiał je jako nowy, własny plan urbanistyczny Głogowa w rzeczywistości był to nadal plan Josepha Stübgena, nieco tylko zmodyfikowany.

FROM THE FORTRESS TO THE MODERN CITY. URBAN PLANNING OF GŁOGÓW BY JOSEPH STÜBBEN

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Joseph Stübgen, author of the general spatial development plan elaborated in 1905, which was the fundament for the development of Głogów after liquidation of the fortress and dismantling of fortifications, is mentioned in a majority of Polish and German publications devoted to the newest history of the town. The basic information on the plan can be found in the work by Oliver Karnau and in an article by Eugen Griesinger from 1928, which included a small black and white reproduction of Stübgen's design¹.

An important source of information on the Głogów project and its realization are the newspapers published at the time in the city: "Neue Nieder-

schlesische Zeitung" and "Niederschlesische Anzeiger". Furthermore, specialist magazines supplied details about the modifications of Stübgen's plan by town architect Wilhelm Wagner, responsible for Głogów's development in the years 1906-1914, who also illustrated this with his own blueprints².

The original draft for Joseph Stübgen's plan has not been preserved to our times. The collection of the Historical and Archeological Museum in Głogów does have a colour reproduction, published in 1905 by the renowned local publishing house of Carl Flemming³.

¹ O. Karnau, *Hermann Josef Stübgen. Städtebau 1876-1930*, Braunschweig-Wiesbaden, 1996; E. Griesinger, *Städtebauliches aus Glogau*, „Deutsche Bauzeitung”, 1928, no 4, pp. 49-60, no 5, pp. 65-74; E. Griesinger, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung Glogaus*, „Monographien deutscher Städte. Glogau”, vol. 17, Berlin 1926, pp. 79-90.

² W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan des südlichen Festungsgeländes der Stadt Glogau*, „Deutsche Bauzeitung”, 1908, no 94, p. 644; W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan für einen Teil des ehemaligen Fe-*

stungsgeländes in Glogau, „Der Städtebau”, 1907, issue 6, pp. 79-80, Taf. 44-45.

³ *Allgemeiner Bebauungsplan der Stadt Glogau*, ed: Flemming, Glogau, 1905. Maßstab 1 : 6250. (78x55 cm), Mehrfarb. Karte Ausgestellt nach dem Entwurf des Geheimen- und Ober-Baurat Stübgen. History and Archeology Museum in Głogów, file no. MG/D/1032. The reproduction also features the elements that Stübgen questioned and eliminated from an earlier plan by Uhlig for the western areas situated between the existing ramparts and Elm Quarter, as well as outlines of old fortifications.

The aim of this study is to present and analyse Joseph Stübben's plan, an interesting example of activities that intensified in the second half of the 19th century and made an indelible mark on the history of European urban planning: to transform old fortresses into modern and attractive urban centres.

City in a ring of fortifications

The decision to convert the Głogów fortress that had existed since the mid-17th century, adopted by the Prussian authorities in 1902, became an opportunity for the city to overcome an impasse that had lasted for years and intensified since the early 1800s. In 1809 the city ceased to function as the province's second capital next to Wrocław, in 1815 the seat of the district or *Regierungsbezirk* (replacing Głogów kammer) was established in Legnica. Głogów missed out on the dynamic development of industry and a number of related advantages. The population density at the turn of the 19th and 20th century (314 persons/hectare), in spite of a restricted population growth (around 22 thousand in the year 1900), reached numbers approximating Berlin (330 persons/hectare) and that in large cities⁴. Initiatives undertaken by townspeople and military authorities only brought about a small improvement in the situation (fig.1,2)⁵.

Since the 1840s the civilian authorities of Głogów had made attempts to generate a climate for the city's development. In 1843 negotiations were started with the president of the province and the Prussian War Ministry, intending to move the southern part of fortifications and expand the urban area, as well as build a fourth gate in the surrounding walls. Talks proceeded slowly. They were stalled for several years by the events of 1848-49. Not until 1857 did the military authorities consent, on condition that the city agree to a number of commitments and the payment of an exorbitant sum of 1 745 000 thalers which far exceeded its means. Schemes of one-off development subjected to all planning rigours were abandoned, while the consequence of pressing needs was to establish in the western part of the so-called Elm Quarter (*Rüstervorstadt*⁶), a suburban residen-

tial and industrial zone located at a distance of 1.2 kms from the defence ramparts (with railway workshops, a commercial port, a gasworks, a starch factory, a cast-iron foundry, two factories of agricultural machinery, a tower clock manufacturer, a brewery, a hat factory, and a musical instruments factory). In the following years it was enlarged with the purchase of small plots from the military and from the neighbouring borough of Brostau (Brzostów). Another failure was the attempt made in 1869 to buy part of the army's territory towards the construction of a railway line to Legnica and Wrocław, valued at 700 000 thalers⁷.

The situation improved in the 1870s. In 1872 a fourth gate was opened, improving communication with the railway station situated not far from the Elm Quarter, and a year later, with backing from Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, it was agreed to shift part of the fortifications and gain land for development. An instruction of the Prussian government of 30 May 1873 ordered the relocation of the eastern part of fortifications and the Wrocław Gate, transferral to the city of almost 70 hectares assigned for housing construction (88 plots) as well as public buildings (post office, schools, hospitals, higher education and army institutions, the Bank of the Reich, synagogue) and reduction of the amount of compensation to be paid to the army from 600 000 to 350 000 marks. In December 1876 construction of the new fortifications and Wrocław Gate was completed; in 1878 construction began of the army hospital and in 1881 of the first house in the new quarter⁸.

The formation of the new quarter was characteristic for contemporary German urban design. A checkered arrangement of nine streets marked out rectangular blocks parcelled into even plots. The wider central avenue (*Wilhelmstrasse*, today: *ul. Piaskowa*) provided a representative rectangular square filled with flowerbeds and boasting a monument of the ruler (*Wilhelmsplatz*, nonexistent). A small park was featured by the embankment, around the building of the garrison headquarters, and a tree-lined promenade that ran along the fortifications closed the quarter from the south (*Neue Wallstrasse*, today: *ul. S. Staszica*). In the 1890s the quarter was

⁴ E. Griesinger, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung Glogaus...*, op.cit., p. 82, note 3.

⁵ A. Bok, *Głogów – miejskie tereny zielone (do 1945 r.)*, "Encyklopedia Ziemi Głogowskiej", issue 42, 1997, pp. 9-11.

⁶ Names of locations and streets according to a plan of Głogów from 1910.

⁷ J. Blaschke, *Geschichte der Stadt Glogau und der Glogauer Landes*, Glogau 1913, pp. 517-519.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 519-521.

almost completely built up and the city faced again the problem of further development. Subsequent negotiations with the army on modifications to the ramparts and taking over of more land were interrupted by the decision to liquidate the fortress.

In the closing decades of the 19th century, a reform of municipal finance and a rational economic policy brought Głogów into the 20th century as a relatively affluent town, disposing of considerable financial reserves and able to launch the costly task of complex development of urban structure⁹. In April 1903 a deal was struck with the military authorities for the purchase of land and former fortress buildings (with the exception of some forts, single positions for the defence of the railway line and several larger plots intended for new buildings of barracks, provisions storehouses and the garrison command), at the price of 2 046 000 marks, payable in instalments until the year 1910. Moreover, in 1904, a total 177 hectares were bought from neighbouring boroughs Rauschwitz (Ruszowice) and Brostau (Brzostów), to make extensive suburbia in the south and west; and from private owners - mill grange lands Klostermühle and Gratzmühle (today: ul. W. Witosa and Park Piastowski) at the outskirts of the city on the south-eastern side. In 1905 another 92 hectares were purchased from former estate Nieder Zarkau (today: Osiedle Żarków), and the area of Głogów increased to 828 ha (in comparison to some 300 ha before the fortress was closed down). Apart from the built-up

areas or those destined for development it included 43 ha of roads, 83 ha of water reservoirs and water-courses, 17 ha of railway land and 29 ha of military area. Moreover, the city also owned more than 3478 ha of crops and forests outside its limits¹⁰.

In November 1902 demolition and levelling of ramparts began on the western side, in February 1903 the Prussian Gate was dismantled and by March the fortifications on the south-eastern side, between existing Piastowska and H.Kołłątaja streets, disappeared. The first urban plan which provided for the development of the city on the western side, in-between the Prussian Gate and the Elm Quarter, was designed in 1903 by then city architect of Głogów, Uhlig¹¹. It was used as grounds for demarcation of streets (e.g. what would later be Hohenzollernstrasse and currently Aleja Wolności), for sale of plots and land development. For reasons which are lost to us today, the plan did not gain permanent approval from the city authorities or councillors, who in 1904 decided to commission a "general plan for the spatial arrangement for the development of Głogów" from professor Joseph Stübgen, delegated at the time by the Prussian authorities to Poznań¹². The contract set out planning materials and starting information as "agreements between the city and the army authorities of 1 April 1903, local viewings and inspections of the terrain done by the author as well as agreements with the City Board, and also cadastre maps, situational and altitude, and geodetic"¹³. The plan

⁹ More in: J. Blaschke, op.cit., pp. 485-495.

¹⁰ Ibidem., p. 534.

¹¹ *Stadtverordnetenversammlung*, "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 99 (28.04.1905), p. 5.

¹² Joseph Stübgen (1845-1936). Between 1864-70 studied at the Bauakademie in Berlin. Initially rail architect in Elberfeld and Holzminden, in the years 1876-81 city architect in Aachen, 1881-1891 city architect in Cologne, between 1898 and 1904 owner of a private design studio in Cologne. From 1904 to 1920 expert for architecture at the Finance Ministry in Berlin (Geheimer Oberbaurat), from 1892 main designer and head of the Royal Commission for the Development of Poznań. From 1921 in Münster. Doctor of technical sciences honoris causa and doctor of philosophy honoris causa, member of architectural societies in Aachen, Münster, Cologne, Berlin, Paris, Brussels, London, Rome, Bucharest, Petersburg and Vienna. Member of the Academy of Sciences (Building Construction) in Berlin. Laureate of Gold Medal of Merit in Building and Transport (1913) and the Goethe medal for artistic and scientific achievement (1935). He was one of the foremost authors of modern European urban development and leading German urbanist at the turn of the 19th century. His practice included more than 90 general realizations, e.g. in Aachen, Altona, Antwerp, Basel, Bilbao, Bruges, Brussels, Bydgoszcz, Chemnitz, Darmstadt, Düren, Bratislava, Düsseldorf, Emden,

Flensburg, Ghent, Heidelberg, Helsingfors, Kiel, Köln, Löwen, Liege, Luxembourg, Madrid, Malmö, Poznań, Rostock, Schwerin, Torgau, Tournai, expert appraisal of the plan for Warsaw, Wesel, Wiesbaden, Vienna and hundreds of detailed plans of spatial development). He was a theoretician (several hundred publications), and a teacher (professor at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin). He set down and systematized the main directions of urban development with the use of means and solutions that were a conglomerate of practical experience and theoretical concepts; starting from the time's exemplar realizations by Haussmann in Paris and Förster for Vienna, as well as his own earlier experiences with the expansion of Cologne, adapting in practice the known postulates of Reinhard Baumeister on technical, sanitary, financial and legal conditions of urban construction, and drawing on the romantic manifestoes of Camillo Sitte on the protection of historic substance and concern for aesthetics, originality and variety in modelling compositions or "picturesqueness" of cities. He considered the requirements of modern, mass transport as well as hygiene and health. Author of the first textbook on modern urbanistics titled *Der Städtebau*, he emphasized the scientific methods of urban construction, based on normative solutions, tested in practice, which however did not mean compositions of a uniform character.

composed of three charts in a scale of 1:2500 "would not describe the line of development, leaving it to own elaborations by construction institutions and city authorities, but will only relate to those areas, where old fortifications and defence arrangements exist, as well as external areas between fortifications and the boundaries of the Głogów borough and neighbouring boroughs"¹⁴. The first presentation of the draft plan to the municipal authorities took place in February 1905, the next, accompanied with a description of the details by the designer and submission of the complete plan on 11 and 18 April, 1905. Intervention of local press and the interest in the project caused it to be laid out for public inspection on 26-28 April in the session chamber of the city hall (fig.3)¹⁵.

On 26 April 1905, at a meeting of the authorities and the Municipal Board, a discussion was held on the plan elaborated by Stübben. It was agreed that its weakness was indifference to the development of industry in the town and lack of larger areas for the construction of factories. However, the architect's explanations were accepted (as presented on 11 and 18 April) that such areas must have access to water, rail and road communication routes, and that demarcation must be preceded by modernisation of the transport network, and especially of roads and railways in Głogów. As a result of the discussion it was decided to commission a technical appraisal of the plan and ask the opinion of the town Bauamt on the costs of its realization. The behaviour of architect Uhlig was criticised, after he openly manifested his aversion to Stübben's plan and boycotted its adoption and implementation. During subsequent meetings the plan was voted through, it was also decided to pay its author the fee of 5500 marks¹⁶.

The selection of Joseph Stübben, one of the major European urban planners of his time, meant not just development of Głogów based on new ideological concepts of transformation, development and arrangement of cities, as well as modern planning solutions. It was also to be – something obvious

to Głogów authorities from the start – an important means of promoting the city. The issue of authorship of the plan was underlined in public appearances and in print. In 1905 the Głogów-based Carl Flemming company published a coloured *Allgemeiner Bebauungsplan der Stadt Glogau*, a large reproduction of Stübben's draft. In March 1906 city authorities put together a leaflet distributed with "Berliner Tageblatt" featuring a colour reproduction of the plan, advertisements of the city and Głogów companies¹⁷. It was distinguishing to have a plan designed by a valued author of projects carried out for big German and European metropolitan centres.

Głogów according to Stübben

The urban design for Głogów by Joseph Stübben implemented three objectives. The fundamental one was to create a functional structure of internal communication (in the city generally, in quarters, in estates, interlinking the new parts of the city and the old centre), as well as connections with the chief external routes in the south, east and west. Another was the functional division of the various areas (residential, recreational, industrial), their formation and mutual relations, complete with localization of new public utility buildings that resulted from the plans of the city, and of other investors, and also layout and composition of green zones. The last objective referred to the aesthetics of urban composition and, ultimately, of the city. It expressed the will to effect a modern centre, free from accidental or chaotic elements of spatial structure and development, constituting a harmonious whole. The means to achieve this end was to zone the height of the buildings with precisely defined limits (from tallest in the centre to lowest on the outskirts); draft a well-considered arrangement of streets with a variety of additional elements and front gardens on the streetside (*Vorgarten*). Numerous squares, flowerbeds, green pedestrian belts, parks, plantings and also unconventional, individual design of squares and streets in the

¹³ *Erläuterungsbericht des Ober- und Geheimen Baurats Stübben zu dem allgemeinen Bebauungsplan für die Stadterweiterung Glogau*, "Niederschlesische Anzeiger", 1905, no 101, p. 5. See also: O. Karnau, *Hermann Josef Stübben. Städtebau 1876–1930*, Braunschweig-Wiesbaden, 1996; E. Griesinger, *Städtebauliches aus Glogau*, "Deutsche Bauzeitung", 1928, no 4, pp. 49-60, no 5, pp. 65-74; E. Griesinger, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung Glogaus*, "Monographien deutscher Städte. Glogau", vol. 17, Berlin 1926, pp. 79-90.

¹⁴ *Erläuterungsbericht des Ober- und Geheimen Baurats Stübben zu dem allgemeinen Bebauungsplan für die Stadterweiterung Glogau*, "Niederschlesische Anzeiger", no 101 (30.04.1905), p. 5.

¹⁵ "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 96 (23.04.1905), p. 2; nr 97 (26.04.1905), p.2; no 99 (28.04.1905), p. 5.

¹⁶ "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 99 (28.04.1905), p. 5.

¹⁷ "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 63 (16.03.1906), p. 5.

central part of the city blended the requirements of pragmatic functionality with the postulates of Sitte on picturesqueness and aesthetic qualities of urban structures and buildings (fig.3).

The basic element of the new transport and communications arrangement was the Ring – a wide (from 12 to 90m) avenue circulating the city in the place of the old fortifications, from the easternmost side (the old Wrocław Gate) to the embankment of river Odra on the west. This was not only a ring route to the city centre but also the hub that brought together the streets of historic Głogów, exit routes, main roads, inner communications connections as well as the network of streets in the new quarters in the southern and western part of the city. At the Ring began, concentrically drawn, wide streets (13 to 26 metres) leading towards neighbouring boroughs and to main regional transport routes (Gurkauerstrasse, today: ul. Wita Stwosza; Lindenruherstrasse, today: ul. Budowlanych; Rauschwitzerstrasse, today: ul. Obrońców Pokoju; Brostauerstrasse, today: ul. Słowiańska and Wojska Polskiego; Herrndorferstrasse, today: ul. W. Sikorskiego; Victoria- and Ober-Zarkauerstrasse, today: ul. Piastowska and aleja Karola Wielkiego). They were at the same time the basic means of dividing the new sites, and the quarters which they demarcated were filled with a geometric scheme of small streets and rectangular plots, complemented by small squares and patches of green, acting as communications junctions and recreational spots; as well as two circle routes parallel to the Ring, linking the new quarters of the city (Güterstrasse – Gürtelstrasse to Gurkauer- and Ober-Zarkauerstrasse; today: ul. Przemysłowa, W. Pola, S. Żeromskiego, T. Kościuszki and Sportowa with Königstrasse – Promenadenstrasse, today: ul. Jedności Robotniczej – I. Daszyńskiego). A multi-lane avenue (28 to 50 m wide) led through the city centre via new residential quarters to the old Elm Quarter and the future industrial area in the west part (Hohenzollernstrasse, today: aleja Wolności); and the connection with the railway station was a wide street (16 m) on the north-western cusp of the Ring (Neue Bahnhofstrasse, today: ul. Poczdamka).

Areas of different function were demarcated and plotted out. The existing industrial zone at the western outskirts of the city, partially filled with residential buildings constructed in the final decades of the 19th century, was slightly expanded and furnished with access roads. Areas towards the south-west of the centre were intended for housing construction

and areas towards the south were to preserve their green character, with individual detached villas and representative *landhauses* standing in large gardens. The architect precisely described the density, nature and height of future buildings in the individual areas, quarters and parts of quarters, equipping them with distinctive qualities.

The old city area, filled with historic buildings of various shapes and heights was a dominating element, continued in the dense construction along Hohenzollernstrasse (today: aleja Wolności) and the blocks between the old town and the Elm Quarter. Here buildings could be at the utmost 18 m tall, with four storeys. Such instructions were forced by the existing development on Hohenzollernstrasse, realized between 1903 – 1905 on grounds of the draft by Uhlig. The expanse of the future housing quarter between Hohenzollernstrasse, Güterstrasse, Rauschwitzerstrasse and the southern limit of the city (today: aleja Wolności, ul. Przemysłowa, W. Pola, S. Żeromskiego, T. Kościuszki and Obrońców Pokoju) was to be filled up with blocks of three storeys and up to 16m tall. The area of the old Elm Quarter and the plots for industrial development in the western part of the city were described as a sector of dispersed buildings, detached houses, (some blocks as well), up to 16m high and with three storeys. Here too the future development was drafted with regard to existing buildings. A separate area was the land lying between Rauschwitzerstrasse, Ring and Victoriastrasse (ul. Obrońców Pokoju, Bolesława Krzywoustego, Wały Chrobrego, Piastowska and aleja Kazimierza Wielkiego). A considerable part of this was taken up by parkland and waterways, there were also some sparse buildings of a suburban or rural type. Stübben proposed a compromise solution: development on plots neighbouring the main external routes i.e. Rauschwitzerstrasse, Promenadenstrasse and Gurkauerstrasse (today: ul. Obrońców Pokoju, I. Daszyńskiego and Wita Stwosza) was to be mainly detached villas of height up to 16 metres and three storeys. On the inner plots, which were larger and more irregular in shape, he situated imposing *landhauses*, 12 metres high, with two storeys and surrounded by spacious gardens.

An important place and a significant percentage of the city limit was dedicated in Stübben's plan to green areas. The biggest of these, a broad park that was already in existence, located on the outskirts of the city on the southern side, was extended towards the railway track and the river embankment on the

eastern side, and expanded to include land that had already been partly planted out and afforested on the outside of the belt of fortifications. It was also complemented by some stretches of green remaining in those parts of the moat that were to be preserved, between streets in the old town lengthened to join up with the Ring. One of these (between Poststrasse and Jesuitenstrasse, today: ul. Staromiejska and Rzeźnicza) was to function as a children's playground, another (westwards from Poststrasse, today between ul. Staromiejska and the bastion "Sebastian"), would be a spot to preserve the relics of the old layout, with its – as Stübben mentioned – "garden maintained on the bottom of the moat, planted with beautiful trees, which should be kept"¹⁸. Of quite another character was development of the valley of the streams Mühlgraben and Rauschwitzbach (today: the stream Sępolno), acting as a woodland park with footpaths for strolling leading out of the city, and at the same time a green corridor for the ventilation of the old town centre. As the architect saw it, the wooded valley with the streams that flowed through it and the paths there would become in its eastern part a park promenade parallel to Promenadenstrasse (today: ul. I. Daszyńskiego), preserving, by way of attractions and valued historical sites, the old buildings of the millhouses Klostermühle, Fiedlermühle and Gratzmühle, and the villas dotting the outskirts¹⁹.

An original solution was the so-called *Parkblock*. Located partly alongside of a development, on the back of streets, there was a sizable green area, part of the former "sappers' garden" between the Ring, Hohenzollernstrasse, Herrndorfer- and Königstrasse (today: Park Słowiański), "the designing of which was forced by a desire to preserve two old avenues. The gardens in front of the buildings should have passages through to the park, which thus will gain the character of a park on the inside" (fig.4)²⁰.

An extensive park was also located by the castle gardens, near the river Odra, in the northern part of the Ring. Apart from paths, alleys and small architecture it was also to have: a pond in place of the old moat and a large building to house the municipal swimming baths, that would close the Ring (today's square between ul. Strzelecka, Nadbrzeżna and

Zamkowa). Some small green spots filled with flowerbeds were placed among the network of streets of the residential quarter between Hohenzollernstrasse (today's aleja Wolności) and Rauschwitzerstrasse (today: ul. Obrońców Pokoju). Bigger green squares were sited in the middle of Hohenzollernstrasse and in the widening of the northern fragment of the Ring, between the lanes in the road.

Most of the main streets of the city were designed as green promenades, planted with rows of trees. Ring and Hohenzollernstrasse additionally received central belts in the road itself, filled with rows of trees, hedges and flowers. In the majority of the new streets buildings were to be moved back and have front gardens (*Vorgarten*), of varying depth from 3 to 9 metres, edged with openwork railings (a requisite of erstwhile construction law).

An important part of the plan was the location of new public utility buildings. In each case, independently of investor (whether city, army, borough or church authorities) and the building's destination (school, institution, offices, military storehouse, theatre, pool, church, new garrison headquarters, shopping centre, fire department) it was assumed that the new buildings would have a representative function and would be important and attractive elements of the architectural texture of Głogów. That is why each of the planned investment projects was designated a separate plot, every time accounting for the functional requirements (for instance a spacious open market and parking lot at the shopping centre planned in the northern part of Königstrasse, today's ul. Jedności Robotniczej), as well as representative. The new buildings were to be placed apart from neighbouring ones, situated as picturesque ends to streets, or drafted as a dominating element because of size, location in a small square or in the vicinity of a green plot. This was the idea for the siting of: the school at Neue Bahnhofstrasse (today: ul. Poczdamka), the Realschule near Hohenzollernstrasse (today: aleja Wolności), the middle school at Alte Wallstrasse (today: ul. Szkolna), another school not far from the planned shopping centre at Königstrasse (today: ul. Jedności Robotniczej), the army depot on a large plot near Jesuitenstrasse (today: ul. Rzeźnicza), for the purpose of which "city

¹⁸ Erläuterungsbericht des Ober- und Geheimen Baurats Stübben zu dem allgemeinen Bebauungsplan für die Stadterweiterung Glogau, "Niederschlesische Anzeiger", no 101 (30.04.1905), p. 5.

¹⁹ Erläuterungsbericht des Ober- und Geheimen Baurats Stübben

zu dem allgemeinen Bebauungsplan für die Stadterweiterung Glogau, "Niederschlesische Anzeiger", no 102 (02.05.1905), p. 5.
²⁰ J. Stübben, *Der Städtebau*, Darmstadt 1907, pp. 324-325, pic. 600.

authorities stress a splendid and representational form of the new military construction in the vicinity of the Ring²¹. Similarly: the court building, impressively situated on the crown of the defence walls, the new theatre building on the earthen ramparts on the outskirts of the park, on the Ring and opposite to the court building, the city swimming baths on a square that closed the Ring on the northern side, or the building of the garrison headquarters next to the old Prussian Gate in the corner of the junction of Hohenzollernstrasse and Alte Wallstrasse (today's aleja Wolności and ul. S. Kutrzeby). A separate example was the complex (Realschule, middle school, district offices and new temple) gathered around the transport hub connecting Herrndorferstrasse, Königstrasse and Berndtstrasse (today: ul. W. Sikorskiego, Jedności Robotniczej and M. Skłodowskiej – Curie), which being "full of attractive architecture, may become in this place a beautiful and representative square"²².

An important role was performed by the plan as an instrument shaping the city's aesthetics. This was served by many elements and solutions adopted for the arrangement of the urban composition, such as functional zoning, which apart from the fundamental intent to introduce order and organize urban functions had the importance of a feature of spatial order and simultaneously a factor of urban aesthetics. The city's aesthetics were to be influenced by the planned qualities of height and building types, as well as the variety and large number of green areas. The monotony of geometrical street networks in the residential areas was to be offset by a variety of sizes of the plots that were mostly rectangular (thus also of the blocks that were to be raised on them), by small, haphazardly placed squares and open areas, curves on longer stretches of road as well as short, diagonal connectives.

A slightly different character had the roads in the areas intended for dispersed development in the southern part of the city. Freely drawn and meandering they complemented the two streams which flowed there, Mühlgraben and Rauschwitzbach (today's Sępólno stream) as well as the network of walks

and paths of an extensive park. The composition of the main routes was especially carefully designed. Most would have the nature of promenades planted with rows of trees and pavements for pedestrians. Rows of trees and pavements gave the Ring and Hohenzollernstrasse (today: ul. Bolesława Krzywoustego, Wały Chrobrego and Aleja Wolności) long stretches of planted green belts which divided the lanes of traffic through the middle, rendering more pedestrian routes, lawns, benches and paths for horse riding. In places, both avenues cut through squares (e.g. a 50-metre wide garden square between today's ul. Jedności Robotniczej and a parallel frontage, both nonexistent); or the streets would diverge to form green expanses (e.g. Jana z Głogowa square). Additionally, to raise the visual and aesthetic attraction of wide, straight and long Hohenzollernstrasse, the architect proposed for the pavements to run under two-storey high arcades topped with towers (never realized)²³. A vitally important element of the city aesthetics were the said gardens which separated the buildings from streets and pavements (*Vorgarten*), between 3 and 9 metres wide, which were featured on almost all the new designed streets (excepting those on the inside of estates and between blocks of buildings).

Some of the streets were so designed that the end or exit in the distance was closed by an attractive vista of a building or a dominant in the guise of a facade or church spire. Such was the design for the junction of Poststrasse (today's ul. Staromiejska) with the Ring, shifted to open from the Ring a view on to the spires of the Catholic church and, in the future, close the street exit with the building of the new theatre. Enderstrasse (a fragment of ul. S. Kutrzeby), eventually not realized, providing a direct connection of the southern suburb with the old town centre via Rauschwitzstrasse (today: ul. Obrońców Pokoju), was to close with a vista of the Protestant church. Similar courses of thought are evident in Königstrasse and Herrndorferstrasse (today: ul. Jedności Robotniczej and W. Sikorskiego), exiting on a square and church located at one side, or ultimately the Ring with its multiple picturesque spots.

²¹ *Erläuterungsbericht des Ober- und Geheimen Baurats Stübben zu dem allgemeinen Bebauungsplan für die Stadterweiterung Glogau*, "Niederschlesische Anzeiger", no 101 (30.04.1905), p. 5.

²² *Ibidem*. Ultimately, only two school complexes were built there (today a high school and middle school no.1). Another school

building, the City Treasury and District Office were raised on a representative square, planted with greenery and decorated with a fountain and monument, created by widening the northern part of the Ring (today: pl. Jana z Głogowa).

²³ *Erläuterungsbericht des Ober- und Geheimen Baurats Stübben...*, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

Work on the Głogów urban plan was for Joseph Stübben another opportunity to apply and test a number of modern theoretical concepts as well as practical solutions for modernisation and development of the city, which he collected among others in *Der Städtebau*, one of the most important textbooks of European urban planning of the time. Results must have been satisfying, since in his own notes he described the plan he had devised for Głogów as "important"²⁴. Some of the planning solutions developed during the elaboration of the Głogów project Stübben considered novel and worthy of popularisation. Among these was the park and residential complex *Parkblock*, underscored as a prime urban planning example in a subsequent edition of *Der Städtebau* published in 1907²⁵. Among the solutions gleaned from urban planning and historical architecture, along with their regional mutations, adapted by Stübben in his projects and promoted (among others in *Der Städtebau*), the Głogów project features ways of shaping city squares. Taking as example old town markets in East Germany, the architect applied the characteristic arrangements of such squares, with street exits (especially main transport routes) located in the corners, as well as a dense arrangement of building fronts. These patterns are typical for most of his designs, Głogów included, intended for cities in the eastern provinces of Germany (e.g. Bydgoszcz, Poznań, Wałbrzych, Prudnik)²⁶.

Realization and modifications of Stübben's plan

The city's development was immediately continued. In July 1905, Uhlig's plan was replaced with

Stübben's and work began on the western part of the ramparts. 6500 marks were allocated to finish the demarcation of streets, put down service infrastructure, lay sewage and water pipes, extend the promenade and close the old Jewish cemetery in the neighbourhood of river Odra²⁷. Work was supervised by Uhlig, still city architect at the time, although municipal authorities were looking for a Bauamt chief more favourably inclined to the projects being realized. In October 1906 Wilhelm Wagner assumed the post of Głogów city architect²⁸. He had gained the approval of critics and journalists of German periodicals devoted to architecture mostly for his realizations of school buildings, what was important for the city authorities as they planned to raise schools, and what became the direct reason to employ Wagner²⁹. Another asset no less important (considering that he was to spearhead the giant task of developing Głogów) was experience gathered during the modernising of the spatial structure of Naumburg on the Saale³⁰.

Wagner modified Stübben's plan in several instances, altering the course of streets and the location of squares, adapting them to appearing needs or suggesting less costly and, in his opinion, better solutions.

The first alteration was connected to a competition announced by the city in early 1907 for a representative monument to war heroes (fig. 5)³¹. The architect, wanting to emphasize the monument on a square specially adapted for it, decided to change the course of a south-western fragment of the Ring, replacing a gentle curve with an elongated court and almost perpendicular arrangement of both sections of the avenue. The space thus gained augmented the small square and a sizable sculpted composition could be

²⁴ O. Karnau, op. cit., p. 350.

²⁵ J. Stübben, op. cit., pic. 600.

²⁶ J. Stübben, op. cit. (1907), pp. 159, 205-208; J. Stübben, op. cit. (1924), pp. 152, 201-203.

²⁷ *Stadtverordnetensitzung*, "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 145 (23.06.1905), p. 5.

²⁸ Wilhelm Wagner (1875–1937). Studied at Technische Hochschule in Braunschweig and Munich, trained with Franz Schwechten. He was a craft teacher at builders' schools in Holzminden and Cologne, then assistant to Johannes Vollmer at the Technische Hochschule in Charlottenburg. In 1903 his design for *Deutschen Künstlerheim* in Rome won the prestigious German architecture competition "Schinkel-Wettbewerb". Until 1906 he worked in the offices of city architects in Naumburg on the Saale and Gelsenkirchen, between 1906-1914 he was city architect in Głogów. In 1914 he became the director of the School of Artistic Handicraft in Berlin. Wilhelm Wagner is the author of many monuments as well as public and private buildings i.a. in

Naumburg, Głogów, Zielona Góra, Neunhagen, Gelsenkirchen, Braunschweig and Berlin. He was juror of many architecture competitions. He took part in contests for public offices in many German cities. See U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. XXXV, Leipzig 1942, p. 54; J. Opaska, *Wilhelm Wagner*, "Encyklopedia Ziemi Głogowskiej", no 66/67, 2007, pp. 39-40; "Niederschlesische Anzeiger", no 175 (29.06.1906), p. 2; "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 243 (17.10.1906), p. 5.

²⁹ "Das Schulhaus", 1907, issue 3, p. 141; issue 5, p. 235; issue 8, p. 8; *Die städtische Selbstverwaltung und das Volksschulunterhaltungsgesetz*, "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 302 (24.12.1905), p. 5.

³⁰ W. Wagner, *Zur Frage der Erhaltung des alten Stadtbildes von Naumburg a. d. Saale*, "Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung", 1903, p. 324.

³¹ *Stadtverordnetensitzung*, "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 31 (01.03.1907), p. 6.

located at its southern end. Also changed were the lines of construction, straightened to lie parallel to the square, and with the facades forming an architectural frame to the composition. A downside to this was having to discard Stübben's plans of a junction to organize traffic between the Ring and three main routes connecting the centre with southern and western suburbia. It was replaced with an irregular area, not very fortunately joining to the main avenue with a sharp turn (fig. 6)³².

Another alteration concerned the road leading from the railway station and the shape of a large green complex on the north-western fragment of the Ring, neighbouring river Odra, next to the castle which housed courts and administration offices. Stübben planned new streets to link the old town centre with the rail station (Neue Bahnhofstraße branching in its northern part towards an underpass of the railway line, currently ul. Poczdamaska), straight and shorter than the old Bahnhofstraße which followed the line of the fortifications in a wide arch (currently ul. Gołębia – Strzelecka – Nadbrzeźna; fig. 3, 7). The Ring would close with an expansive arrangement in the place of the old bastions and moat, between the street which ran along the Odra embankment and the railway tracks. A lush green strolling area, dotted with ponds in place of the moat, was also to be the location for a large building housing the city swimming pool and baths (fig. 3,7).

Wilhelm Wagner also negated this solution, indicating the big differences in land height, the large costs of earthworks and the considerable steepness of new streets, very disadvantageous in the case of busy arteries with the expected high traffic³³. In his detailed plan, he decided to leave the existing connection between the old town and the railway station, placing new residential development on the embankment (now ul. Nadbrzeźna), on a high terrace with a tree-lined footpath and stairways connecting the various levels, as well as an elaborate system of drainage to offset the danger of flooding. At the crossing of the thoroughfare with the green zones of the Ring, the architect designed an imposing temple, standing representatively apart from the block of buildings originally planned by Stübben, located on the square in the middle part of Hohenzollernstrasse. In the large square at the close of the Ring,

in place of the park and ponds from Stübben's plan, Wagner proposed a complex of terraces at various levels, filled with plants and small architecture, and also preserved a fragment of the moat in its original shape. He also suggested to resign from having a street run alongside the river. The final layout of this part of the city, not realized until the between-war years, combines solutions by both architects.

Alterations of a different nature were introduced by Wagner to development plans of the southern fragment of the old fortification (from the existing ul. H.Kołątaja to ul. Szkolna). Stübben's plan envisaged almost complete demolishing of the defensive structures on the outside and inside, and levelling most of the plots which had held them. Sectioned into regular, rectangular quarters they were intended for housing, preserving here and there patches of green on the site of the moat. Wide streets led from the old city area, cut through the Ring which was to follow a slight curve in the place of the levelled trenches and external ramparts, through extensive greenlands connecting with the old promenade (Promenadenstraße, now ul. I. Daszyńskiego); and ran through the new sites at the southern extremes of the city towards the main exit routes (fig. 3).

The alterations suggested by Wagner in an equal degree made consideration for practical factors (enormous costs of dismantling and levelling works), as well as important postulates of the movement for the protection of national heritage and natural landscape (Heimatschutz)³⁴, gaining significance at the turn of the 20th century. The argument cited by Wagner to support the changes in the plan was inspiration by the work of one of the time's leading theoreticians and ideologues of the movement, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, crusader in defence of historic walls and fortifications, supported on research of strongly idealized city planning of the 18th century. "It is easy to see how many medieval remains can be utilized for the needs of a modern city and its inhabitants. (...) High-rise walls, with crowns offering excellent exposition over trenches and city structure were a challenge for the building initiatives of talented eighteenth-century communities. Friendly and charged with the joy of living. There arose the ideas, thanks to which these so adequate, high places were turned into viewing positions, quiet nooks and gra-

³² W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan für einen Teil...*, op. cit., p. 79.

³³ W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan für einen Teil...*, op. cit., p. 79.

³⁴ W. Nerdinger, *Narodziny idei tradycji w architekturze niemieckiej ok. 1900 roku*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", Vol. 45, 2000, issue 2, pp. 156-161.

icious corners for joyous contemplation. These ideas also found reflection in the forms of gardens. How often were these planted on former ramparts, looking joyfully over low defence walls onto the surrounding world. (...) In a similar way have been adapted old towers and bastions. It happens that, making use of solid, old fundamentals of fortifications, new buildings stretch in long lines towards centres, passing over narrow streets which run along the walls.

Also the moats were put to use. (...) Freed from a surplus of water they became excellent sites for gardens, serving – in contrast to the epicurean nature of those on the ramparts – cultivation of crops and orchards. (...) These low-lying and well-placed sites rendered exceedingly rich harvests. Protected from wind, situated at depth, they preserved moisture while walls on the south and north protected both from frost and heat.

The external walls located before the moats (...) were also valuable for the communities which enjoyed life. (...) The levelled, outside earthworks were used for wide streets planted with double rows of lindens and chestnuts, to create impressive promenades around the old, fortified cities. Inhabitants, thanks to them, have gained in the near neighbourhood long roads leading to distant unbuilt suburban areas. Excellent for long walks from home as well as daily short strolls. Pleasant corsos were created, tree-shaded, in the healthy outdoors, offering varied, charming vistas on towers, walls and roofs rimmed with gardens. Inhabitants, on their daily saunters contemplating the beauty and the history of their little homeland (Heimat), strengthened their love for it and the conviction that concern for the future should be closely linked to the existence of the city³⁵.

Wilhelm Wagner's comment proves that he fully identified with the theories of German conservators of regional tradition, as well as "protection and revival of home and homeland". "Anyone who knows the old urban layouts with their breathtaking squares and parks, mounted in the fortifications, especially those still preserved in their original shape, must feel sorrow at the thought that these beautiful and idyllic places will be built up, obliterating the traces of the

past. It is the duty of subsequent city authorities to take care that historic city walls are reverently protected and preserved for posterity. It will give the city more charm and individual expression, setting [Głogów] apart from many other, modern urban centres"³⁶.

On the site in question the architect decided against a geometric network of straight streets, dividing the old fortified area into regular building plots, and precisely demarcated connections of the central area with new quarters. The decision not to go through with demolition and levelling resulted that the Ring, instead of the drafted almost-straight course, ran alongside preserved moat fragments turned into greens and squares, and the ramparts and walls of bastions "Leopold" and "Sebastian". It was decided not to develop this area, instead filling it with plantings, monuments and small garden architecture, to emphasize the preserved fragments of defensive infrastructure, particularly from the perspective of the Ring, in the new draft directed away from buildings and conducted through a part that became the mid-park avenue. A consequence of this picturesque, aestheticising correction, in line with the known postulates of C.Sitte, was less fortunate connection of the city centre with the Ring and the southern outskirts. The decision not to demolish parts of the fortifications or fill in the trenches, as well as resignation from the geometric alignment of streets and quarters meant that only some of the streets in the old town connected with the Ring and the external city areas (fig. 8). Wagner's alterations were accepted and realized. In this example of urban planning, picturesqueness and considerations for preserving "traces of heritage" took precedence over functional pragmaticism (fig. 9, 10, 11)³⁷. The changes were consulted with Joseph Stübben and underwritten by him. Much more difficult, as Wagner reported, was getting the agreement of the city authorities to modify the plan³⁸.

Over 10 years from liquidation of the fortress (1903-1913), based on the plan by Joseph Stübben and partly on the modifications by Wilhelm Wagner, 18 new streets were demarcated as well as dozens

³⁵ P. Schultze-Naumburg, *Städtebau*, after: W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan des südlichen...*, op.cit, pp. 644-646.

³⁶ W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan des südlichen...*, op. cit., p. 644; *Stadtverordnetensitzung*, "Neue Niederschlesische Zeitung", no 161 (12.06.1907), p. 5; no 184 (08.08.1907), p.2.

³⁷ A gate in the bastion wall was used by defeated French troops leaving the fortress after capitulation in 1814.

³⁸ W. Wagner, *Bebauungsplan des südlichen...*, op. cit., p. 646. Wilhelm Wagner was also the author of new embankments on river Odra in the vicinity of the railway bridge, the rail tunnel and the connection of Ostrów Tumski with the old town circular. Wilhelm Wagner was city architect at a vital time in the development of Głogów, and the work done brought him much popularity.

of blocks of buildings created by these, completing the representative Hohenzollernstrasse (today: aleja Wolności) and Ring (today: ul. Bolesława Krzywoustego and Wały Chrobrego); staked out and developed were several large green areas and several squares (fig.12). In the new city quarters 10 imposing public office buildings were raised (one of the first was Hotel National at the railway station) and

more than a hundred private, mainly multi-family houses constructed, as well as 15 single- and double-apartment villas and *landhauses*³⁹. The city authorities intended for all the provisions of the plan and development of recovered sites to be realized within 30 years, and the result as well as a considerable increase of the area of Głogów, was population growth to c.43 thousand (fig. 13)⁴⁰.

Translation by E. Krajewska

FROM THE FORTRESS TO THE MODERN CITY. URBAN PLANNING OF GŁOGÓW BY JOSEPH STÜBBEN

SUMMARY

In 1902 Prussian authorities closed down the Głogów fortress which had existed since the mid-17th century. For the city, which so far remained closed in the ring of fortifications, it was a chance to start spatial and industrial development. At the beginning of the twentieth century, thanks to the reform of municipal finances Głogów was a prosperous centre which could undertake the comprehensive development of the city.

The first plan of the old forest conversion was prepared in 1903 by the city architect Uhlig. The redevelopment had started but in 1904 the city authorities commissioned the preparation of the "general development plan for the expansion of Głogów" to Joseph Stübben, one of the famous European planners at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. Since 1905 this project formed the basis of the city development.

Urban planning by Joseph Stübben implemented three objectives. The first one was to create a functional structure of

the internal communication and connections with the external communicational routes. Another is the functional separation of the various areas (residential, recreational, industrial), their formation and interaction and designation of places for new public buildings and also the demarcation and arrangement of green areas. The last of the objectives concerned the aesthetics of urban composition of the city. Creation of a modern centre without random and chaotic elements of the spatial structure and development, which would form a harmonious composition. During the implementation the plan was modified and adjusted by William Wagner, the city architect of Głogów since 1906.

The article discusses the Joseph Stübben plan as an interesting example of transforming former fortifications into modern urban centres, which has been permanently preserved in the European history of town planning.

Translation by the Author

OD TWIERDZY DO NOWOCZESNEGO MIASTA. PLAN URBANISTYCZNY JOSEPHA STÜBBENA DLA GŁOGOWA

STRESZCZENIE

W 1902 r. władze pruskie zlikwidowały istniejącą od poł. XVII w. twierdzę głogowską, co miastu, dotąd zamkniętemu w pierścieniu obwarowań, dało szansę na rozwój przestrzenny, przemysłowy i infrastrukturalny. Dzięki reformie miejskich finansów Głogów na początku XX wieku był stosunkowo zamożnym ośrodkiem, mogącym podjąć kosztowne zadanie kompleksowej rozbudowy.

Pierwszy plan urbanistyczny przekształcenia dawnych terenów fortecnych i rozbudowy przygotował w 1903 r. ówczesny architekt miejski Uhlig. Podjęto jego realizację, ale już w 1904 r. władze miasta zleciły przygotowanie „ogólnego planu zagospodarowania przestrzennego dla rozbudowy Głogowa” Josephowi Stübbenowi, jednemu z najważniejszych urbanistów europejskich przełomu XIX i XX wieku. Projekt ten od 1905 r. stał się podstawą rozbudowy miasta.

Plan urbanistyczny Josepha Stübbena realizował trzy cele. Podstawowym było stworzenie funkcjonalnej struktury komu-

nikacji wewnętrznej oraz połączeń z głównymi, zewnętrznymi traktami komunikacyjnymi. Kolejny to podziały funkcjonalne poszczególnych obszarów (mieszkaniowe, wypoczynkowe, przemysłowe), ich ukształtowanie i wzajemne relacje wraz z wyznaczeniem miejsc dla nowych budowli publicznych a także wytyczenie i zakomponowanie terenów zielonych. Ostatni z celów dotyczył estetyki kompozycji urbanistycznej a przez nią miasta. Stworzenia ośrodka nowoczesnego, pozbawionego przypadkowych i chaotycznych elementów struktury przestrzennej i zabudowy, stanowiącego harmonijną całość. W trakcie realizacji plan ulegał modyfikacjom i korektom dokonany przez Wilhelma Wagnera, od 1906 r. architekta miejskiego Głogowa.

W artykule omówiono plan Josepha Stübbena, jako interesujący przykład trwale zapisanych w dziejach urbanistyki europejskiej przekształceń dawnych twierdz w nowoczesne ośrodki miejskie.

cerned minor corrections to the streetplan in the south and southwestern suburbs, plotting locations for new buildings and public utilities, as well as enlargement of the industrial zones. Although Griesinger presented this as his own new plan for Głogów, in reality it was still Joseph Stübben's draft, slightly modified.

³⁹ J. Blaschke, op.cit., p. 535.

⁴⁰ Por. E. Griesinger, *Städtebauliches aus Glogau*, "Deutsche Bauzeitung", 1928, no 4, pp. 49-60, no 5, pp. 65-74. The alterations to Stübben's plan were done in the second half of the 1920s by the next city architect, Eugen Griesinger. They mainly con-