



17. Frampol. Rekonstrukcja pierwotnego rozplanowania.  
Oprac. W. Trzebiński, *Działalność urbanistyczna magnatów i szlachty w Polsce XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1962

17. Frampol. Reconstruction of the original layout. Prepared by W. Trzebiński, *Urban planning by the aristocracy and gentry in 18<sup>th</sup> century Poland*, Warszawa 1962

Nie można pominąć polskiego niezwyklego przykładu miasta o układzie gwiazdzistym, o dwa wieki późniejszego od Głowowa. Jest to Frampol na Lubelszczyźnie, założony przez Marka Antoniego Buttlera około 1736 roku<sup>31</sup>. Analogia z Głowowem jest ewidentna, zwłaszcza we wprowadzeniu przy kwadratowym rynku czterech narożnych placików. Z nich zostały wyprowadzone ulice przekątniowe. Ślady narożnych placów przy rynku wnikliwie od-

czytał prof. Tadeusz P. Szafer<sup>32</sup> (il. 16-17). Frampol jest znakomitym przykładem długiej tradycji takich rozwiązań w urbanistyce.

Ostatni, ale ważny problem autorstwa projektu „miasta idealnego” Głowowa był poruszany w niektórych artykułach. Wojciech Kalinowski początkowo napisał: „nie znamy autora planu Głowowa, lecz możemy przypuszczać, że nie znał on projektów «idealnych» miast teoretyków włoskich, natomiast nieobce mu były pewne zasady kompozycji renesansowej oraz średniowieczne tradycje rozplanowywania miast. Można stąd wysnuć, że autor planu Głowowa może nie był Włochem”<sup>33</sup>. Później zweryfikował swoje stanowisko, skoro napisał: „Pierwszym miastem, którego układ przestrzenny wskazuje na świadome nawiązanie do «idealnych» projektów teoretyków włoskich, jest Głogów Małopolski (dawn. Głowów) założony w 1570 r.”<sup>34</sup>. Problem autorstwa projektu szerzej zreferował Teresa Zarębska: „Założyciel miasta, Krzysztof Głowa, związany jako sekretarz królewski z grupą zatrudniających włoskich architektów, mógł skorzystać z usług jednego z nich. Brak jednak jakichkolwiek informacji źródłowych dotyczących projektanta Głogowa, a także bliskich analogii do planu tego miasta w dziełach włoskich, nie można więc na razie traktować tego obiektu jako bezpośrednio powiązanego z włoską szkołą urbanistyczną”<sup>35</sup>. Bez komentarza.

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## GŁOWÓW. THE ENIGMA OF THE PLAN FOR THE FIRST RENAISSANCE TOWN IN POLAND

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In sixteenth century Poland stylistic changes in urban planning occurred later than in architecture and only began in the 1570s. It has long been accepted that the first Renaissance layout in Poland was of a small town near Rzeszów called Głowów,

named so, in 1570, after its founder, the king's secretary Krzysztof Głowa. The town was later renamed Głogów. The first person to take note of the town was Ignacy Drexler, a researcher and urban planner from Lwów. He published a plan of the town and

<sup>31</sup> W. Trzebiński, *Działalność urbanistyczna magnatów i szlachty w Polsce XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1962, s. 62-71.

<sup>32</sup> T.P. Szafer, *Ze studiów nad planowanie miast w Polsce XVIII i pocz. XIX w.*, „Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury”, R. V: 1955, z. 1/14, s. 50.

<sup>33</sup> W. Kalinowski, *Miasta polskie...*, s. 177.

<sup>34</sup> Tenże, *Zarys historii...*, s. 20.

<sup>35</sup> T. Zarębska, op. cit., s. 264.

stressed its imposing design, equal to the most grand cities of western Poland (il. 1)<sup>1</sup>.

Luckily, the State Archive in Rzeszów still has three documents connected with the founding of the town. One is the Głowów foundation act issued by Krzysztof Głowa in Przybyszówka on 23 April 1570. The full version of the document, written in Polish, exists as a copy in manuscript form<sup>2</sup>. The second document is a location privilege, drawn up May 31 1578 by the royal office on parchment with the seal and signature of Stefan Batory<sup>3</sup>. The third extremely important document is the second version of the location act, issued on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1583 by Krystyna of Paniowo, widow of Castellan Krzysztof Głowa. The document was drawn up in Polish on parchment, with heraldic seal (illegible), in the presence of several witnesses. The deed was signed by Maciej Neapolitanus, the parish priest from Świlcza, in the name of the illiterate widow<sup>4</sup>.

Considerable fragments of these three fundamental documents concerning the founding of the town were published by the regionalist historian Kazimierz Nitka in "Gazeta Rzeszowska" of March 19 1933. However, Nitka did not inform where the papers were being kept<sup>5</sup> and it was only after the war, in 1954, that Franciszek Kotula, director of the District Museum in Rzeszów, published an article in "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" titled *Głowów renesansowe miasteczko* [Głowów, a Renaissance town]<sup>6</sup>, in which he disclosed that the documents were in the museum archives. The current director of the museum, Professor Sylwester Czopek informed me that the documents concerning Głowów had been transferred to the National Archive in Rzeszów and it was from there, with the help of Dr Jan Basta, that I was finally able to obtain their electronic versions.

Before analyzing the documents, let us take a look at what is known about the founder of the town according to Franciszek Kotula: "Krzysztof Głowa, of the Jelita coat of arms, holds local public posts in the Przemysł land, from 1545 attends the parliaments of

1553, 1563/4, 1569, is active during the period of interregnum in 1572, is the Połaniecki Castellan, last mentioned in 1581, deceased by 1583"<sup>7</sup>. Additional information can be found in the armorial of Kasper Niesiecki: "Krzysztof Głowa, king's secretary, assigned by the Senate of the Lublin Sejm of 1569 to inspect the royal estates in the Kijów voivodeship"<sup>8</sup>.

In the earlier mentioned foundation act, issued by Krzysztof Głowa on April 23 1570, we can read: "We Krzysztof Głowa, heir to the name of Przybyszowski, Nowosielski and Lipski, etc. etc. Secretary to his Majesty the King, do openly state here in our letter to all and to each one, now and in future who should need to know, that we have established *in cruda radice*, on the hereditary land of our State, on the Slachcina river, a Town to which we give our own name, Głowów, in the Market Square of which we measured forty lots for building houses, each with two peaks, that is ten houses with two peaks in each frontage. A town to which we measured four streets, with twenty lots in each street for the building of houses, also with two peaks. And to these two hundred lots we measured two hundred *pułanki* of land for each lot (...) On these *pułanki* they can build farms and grow gardens according to each persons needs and as they see fit. And we give common land to the town for its own use, from the border of Bratkowski beyond the mill. And we give for the use of our town a pond on the river Szlachcina at the back of the houses in the market square, from Styków (...). In which Town, in the middle of the Square, we allow the townfolk of our Głowów to build a town hall and all taxes they should take themselves for the improvement of the Town (...) Separate lots have been measured for the Church and the Presbytery, also for the Bath House, the Brewery, and the Malt House have been measured by the water and for the Hospital and for the Manor for the arrival of the Lord. We have also made dikes on our river Rogozna for a pond where the Town Mill will be built (...)"<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I. Drexler, *Odbudowa wsi i miast na ziemi naszej* [The rebuilding of villages and towns in our land], ed. II, Lwów 1921, p. 79, Fig. 35.

<sup>2</sup> State Archive in Rzeszów, further as: APR, sygn. 59-397.

<sup>3</sup> APR, sygn. 59-397-1.

<sup>4</sup> APR, sygn. 58-397-87. The parish of Świlcza belonged to the deanery of Rzeszów. Cf. S. Litak, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku* [The Latin Church in the Republic around 1772], Lublin 1996, p. 401.

<sup>5</sup> K. Nitka, *Z najdawniejszych dziejów Głowowa*, Cz. I: Głowów [From the oldest history of Głowów, Part I: Głowów], offprint from "Gazeta Rzeszowska" from 19 III 1933.

<sup>6</sup> F. Kotula, *Głowów renesansowe miasteczko* [Głowów, a Renaissance town] "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", Vol. 16, 1954, no 1, p. 3-10.

<sup>7</sup> op. cit., p. 3, footnote 2.

<sup>8</sup> K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski* [Polish Armorial], vol. IV, Leipzig 1839, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> APR, sygn. 59-397.

Krzysztof Głowa planned a town of two hundred houses, widespread, with a large, square-shaped town square, with four smaller squares at the corners and eight streets. Round the large square there were to be forty houses, ten on each side and twenty houses in the so-called cross streets running from the middle of each side of the square. There were also four streets termed as transverse – but the founder did not give any precise location. The houses in the square and in the streets were to be double gabled. The buildings were to be uniform, so as a first step, the lots had to be of equal width. The expression “houses with two peaks” probably meant that the buildings were semi-detached. There is a resemblance here to the type of house found in small towns and promoted by Sebastiano Serlio in Book VI (unpublished) of his famous treatise from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In the royal privilege issued by Stefan Batory on May 31 1578, there are no guidelines as to the layout of the town. The king granted the town German (Magdeburg) rights, established the dates for fairs and determined judicial affairs. One of the witnesses of the royal grant was Jan Zamoyski, Great Chancellor of the Crown<sup>10</sup>.

Since the town did not meet the founder’s expectations, because there were too few settlers, Chrystyna of Paniowo, the widow of Castellan Połaniecki, on April 18 1583, issued a second, modified foundation act<sup>11</sup>. She began by mentioning that her husband “had founded the town, (...) and established a market square and four cross streets running from the square, while around that square there were measured out... **four transverse streets, that is slantwise**<sup>12</sup>, also there were to be altogether two hundred houses, for which a certain amount of farming land was marked out and also lots for gardens and a malt house. (...) Therefore, there were measured lots for houses but one hundred and twenty and as many *pulanki* (...) after the forest was dug out very little appeared (...)”<sup>13</sup> already my late Husband also gave to the townfolk of Głowów all the lots along **the four transverse or slantwise streets**, which they had around the town and cross streets, for gardens

and a malt house, keeping only four lots, one for the Manor, a second for the Church, a third for a bath house and a fourth for the hospital” (il. 2).

From a comparison of the two foundation acts it can be surmised that in the second phase Chrystyna of Paniowo confirmed the elimination of transverse streets, probably running between the arms of the cross layout. She kept the four squares where the public facilities were (were to be) built.

The first researcher who tried to recreate the ideal plan of Głowów was Franciszek Kotula, who combined written sources with the cadastral plan of the town.

Basing on the plan prepared by Krzysztof Głowa, Franciszek Kotula placed four transverse streets along the sides of the cross streets. Two ran from the south-east corner of the market square and the two others from the north-east corner (next to the church) and the south-east corner (il. 3). Kotula’s reconstruction is unconvincing because of the asymmetrical placing of the so-called transverse or slantwise streets. He also did not attempt to situate the four squares where the public facilities were to be located.

Once Franciszek Kotula published his sensational article on Głowów, other urban historians became greatly interested in the town. The same issue of “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” carried an interesting article by Prof. Stanisław Herbst about Głowów and urban planning in Europe<sup>14</sup>. Herbst did not try to recreate the complete layout of the town, limiting himself to what had been measured out and allocated. The town has a central plan of a Greek cross, with a square-shaped market square in the middle surrounded by buildings and with four cross streets. The small squares in the corners of the main square are marked. A parish church is located in the north-east corner. On his plan, Herbst does not try to locate the “transverse or slantwise streets” (il. 4). The attempt was made by two other researchers – Wojciech Trzebiński and Teresa Zarębska. Four years later, in 1958, they endeavoured to reconstruct the theoretical layout of the town as it had been planned in Krzysztof Głowa’s foundation act<sup>15</sup>. Following Stanisław

– state of research and issues], „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 3, 1958, no 3-4, pp. 213-328. W. Trzebiński carried out his theoretical layout of Głowów together with T. Zarębska, who also mentioned her collaboration with Trzebiński in later articles. Cf. T. Zarębska, *O związkach urbanistyki węgierskiej i polskiej w drugie połowie XVI wieku* [On the relations between Hungarian and Polish urban planning in the second half of the 16th century], „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 9, 1964, no 4, p. 263.

<sup>10</sup> F. Kotula, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> K. Nitka, op. cit. pp. 5-15.

<sup>12</sup> Author’s emphasis.

<sup>13</sup> Missing fragment of manuscript.

<sup>14</sup> S. Herbst, *Uwagi nad renesansowym rozplanowaniem Głowowa* [Remarks on the Renaissance layout of Głowów], „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 16, 1954, no 1, pp. 11-14.

<sup>15</sup> W. Trzebiński, *Polskie renesansowe założenia urbanistyczne – stan i problematyka badań* [Polish Renaissance urban layouts

Herbst's notion of a connection between the layout of Głowów and the theoretical concepts of Renaissance urban planning, the authors surmised that the town was based on the plan of a square with strict symmetrical divisions. The notion of recreating the modular structure of the town's plan was borrowed from the pioneering work done by Jerzy Adam Miłobędzki for Zamość<sup>16</sup>. The side of the rectangle intended for urban construction was calculated to be 150 rods (one rod = c.4.4 m). The ideal plan attempts to reconstruct how the land was allocated. The four small corner squares intended for public facilities are clearly marked. Zarębska and Trzebiński also noted the "cross", "transverse" and "slantwise" streets, as well as bypass and access roads. They had most difficulties with locating the "transverse" streets, also referred to as "slantwise". On the ideal plan (Pl. I) they are placed at the sides of the main, cross streets. The authors provide a rather vague explanation as to the possible location of these streets; they try to interpret the statement that the streets were planned "around" the market square and the cross streets<sup>17</sup> (il. 5, 6).

The prominent urban historian Wojciech Kalinowski made references to Głowów in three of his synthesizing publications<sup>18</sup>. He gave his own reconstruction of the theoretical "ideal" layout of Głowów and calculated the size of the town as 13 "cables" (Pol. *sznur* = c. 20 ares)<sup>19</sup>. On his plan, the "transverse, that is slantwise" streets, which were never actually built, are drawn at the sides of the cross streets (il. 7).

Another historian of urban planning who also discussed the Głowów plans, was Mieczysław Książek from the Cracow University of Technology. He published a contemporary plan of the town, from 1970, to show that Głowów did not develop over

the years<sup>20</sup>. In his drawing reconstructing the layout of the settlement (building) lots he is evidently referring to Stanisław Herbst's drawing. However, Książek takes into account changes introduced in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the town belonged to the Ligęza family, who surrounded it with earthen ramparts and moats (il. 8). Książek also follows Wojciech Kalinowski in an attempt to reconstruct the ideal plan and publishes Kalinowski's drawing in his book<sup>21</sup>.

Almost every researcher, from Stanisław Herbst onwards, showed an interest in the origins of the Głowów layout. Herbst compared some of the elements with theoretical plans in European urban planning. The allocation of the corner squares for public facilities reminded him of Dürer's theoretical plans in his treatise from 1527<sup>22</sup>. The layout of the main streets, crossing in the middle of a square shaped market square, and the differentiation of the secondary streets led the author to compare it with the design for Vitry-le-François, a town on the German-French border, prepared by the Italian engineer Girolamo Martini in 1545<sup>23</sup> (il. 9). According to Herbst, the unusual regularity of the Głowów plan merited it being "placed in the history of theoretical inquiries by Italian, German and French urban planners".

Wojciech Kalinowski was more cautious when evaluating the innovative character of the Głowów plan. He noted that the axial placing of the town's main streets which "are closed by the structure of the town hall, located in the middle of the central town square, indicates new elements in the spatial composition of the town, relates to the earlier designs of "ideal" cities drawn by Italian theorists from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (B.T. Peruzzi, A. da San-

<sup>16</sup> J.A. Miłobędzki, *Ze studiów nad urbanistyką Zamościa* [From studies of Zamość town planning], „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 14, 1953, nos 3-4, pp. 68-87.

<sup>17</sup> The authors tried to solve this puzzle writing: "As we understand it [these streets] are so called because each of them ran not in one straight line but consisted of two sections perpendicular to each other (transverse or slantwise)". Cf. W. Trzebiński, op. cit., p. 316.

<sup>18</sup> W. Kalinowski, *Miasta polskie w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [Polish towns in the 16th and first half of the 17th c.], „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 6, 1963, nos 3-4, Fig. 9; *idem*, *Zarys historii budowy miast w Polsce do połowy XIX wieku* [Outline history of city building in Poland to the middle of the 19th c.], Toruń 1966, pp. 21-22, Fig. 42; *idem*, *Krzyżowe układy miast polskich i ich średniowieczna geneza* [Cross layouts of Polish towns and cities and their medieval origin], [w:] *Architectura perennis*, „Studia i Materiały do

Teorii i Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 9, Warszawa 1971, p. 76, Fig. 3.

<sup>19</sup> W. Kalinowski, *Miasta polskie...*, p. 177. In the caption for the illustration the author mistakenly writes that "the town was measured out within an exact square with sides of 14 'cables'" The wrong number of 'cables' was repeated by Kalinowski in two other articles.

<sup>20</sup> M. Książek, *Zagadnienie genezy rozplanowania i typologii miast prywatnych XVI i XVII wieku w południowej Małopolsce* [Origin of layouts and typology of private towns in the 16th and 17th c. in southern Małopolska], Kraków 1988, pp. 76-81, Fig.. 25-29.

<sup>21</sup> op. cit, Fig. 29.

<sup>22</sup> A. Dürer, *Etliche vnderricht, zu befestigung der Stett, Schloß vnd Flecken, Nürnberg 1527*. Cf. S. Herbst, op. cit., pp. 12-13, il. 3.

<sup>23</sup> S. Herbst, op. cit., p. 13, il. 4.

gallo). The situating of the public buildings in the Głowów plan is also similar to the sketches of Francesco di Giorgio Martini from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>. At the same time, Kalinowski's plan of the town underlines elements of traditional medieval urban planning. Such are the cross-shaped arrangements in Polish medieval towns (Kalisz, Wschowa). The perpendicular arrangement of the building lots surrounding the square is also a medieval tradition. The important difference was that in medieval cities the market square was closely built up so communication routes ran along the sides of the square, forming a ring around the buildings standing in the middle of the square. In the modern cities the town square takes on the character of a representative public place, as was the case in Głowów.

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I would like to make a suggestion which, I hope, will solve the problem of where to situate the unbuilt transverse or slantwise streets (il. 10). The simplest solution would be to assume that these streets were placed radially, that they were meant to come out from the small squares located in the corners of the central market square. The radial layout of the town concurs to some extent with the three spears on the Jelita coat of arms used as a seal by Krzysztof Głowa, the founder of the town. This idea, put forward by Wojciech Boberski, during a discussion, is worth noting. Iconological proposals were not foreign to European urban planning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As I pointed out some time ago, in Poland the anthropomorphic town plan of Zamość bears such characteristics<sup>25</sup>.

Obviously, the origin of the radial layout stems from the Italian theory of urban planning. Apart from the fantastic ideas of 15<sup>th</sup> century theorists such as Filarete and his Sforzinda, we can find many examples in the works of Baldassare Peruzzi, Antonio

da Sangallo and, first and foremost in the architecture of Francesco di Giorgio Martini from the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They have been collected by Teresa Zarębska in her work about the theory of Italian urban planning<sup>26</sup>. It was stressed that Vitruvius advocated that cities should be built on a central radial plan, so 16<sup>th</sup> century editors of his works tried to graphically recreate his model<sup>27</sup>.

One good example is the theoretical design of a city in a treatise on fortifications by Girolamo Maggi and Jacopo Castriotto from 1564<sup>28</sup> (il. 11). The square-shaped fortified city-fortress has a square-shaped central public space (town square) with streets branching out radially. Though we do not find them in Italy (Palma Nuova was only built in 1593), Italian engineers designed and oversaw the building of such towns in other transalpine countries.

In the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, two Spanish towns were built on a radial plan in the Netherlands: Mariembourg and Philippeville. The town-citadel of Mariembourg was designed in 1546 by the engineer Donato di Buoni Pellezuoli. It was quadrilateral in shape, with a rectangular square in the centre, from which eight streets branched out radially. The regularity of the town plan can be seen on this aerial photograph taken in 1971<sup>29</sup> (il. 12-13). The design for Philippeville by Sebastien van Moyen comes from 1555<sup>30</sup>. The town-citadel of Philippeville is designed on the plan of a regular pentagon (il. 14-15). Both citadels are to be found in the well-known publication of Braun and Hoderberg *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* from 1581. When studying the maps we realise that these towns did not have the regular division of buildings into blocks, as in the Gothic and modern towns in Poland, and also as in Głowów.

We cannot omit an unusual Polish example of a radial town, two centuries younger than Głowów. Frampol, lying south of Lublin, was founded by Marek Antoni Buttler around 1736<sup>31</sup>. The similarities

<sup>24</sup> W. Kalinowski, *Miasta polskie...*, p. 176.

<sup>25</sup> J. Kowalczyk, *Zamość città ideale in Polonia*, Warszawa 1986, pp. 18-19.

<sup>26</sup> T. Zarębska, *Teoria urbanistyki włoskiej XVI i XVII wieku*, [Theory of Italian urban planning in the 15th and 16th c.] Warszawa 1971, il. 41-43, 45, 51 (Francesco di Giorgio Martini), il. 88 (Antonio da Sangallo), il. 91 (Baldassare Peruzzi).

<sup>27</sup> The "Vitruvian" model of a city was included in the editions published by Cesare Cesariano (Como 1521) and Giambattista Caporali (Perugia 1536).

<sup>28</sup> G. Maggi, J. Castriotto, *Della fortificazione della città libri III*, Venezia 1564, Pag. 139.

<sup>29</sup> O. Berckmans, *Mariembourg et Philippeville, villesnueves et fortes de la renesans*, „Bulletin de la Commission Rouale des Monuments et des Sites”, 1977, pp. 68-78, Fig. 1-11. I am grateful to Dr Krista De Jinge from the University in Louven for drawing my attention to radial cities in Belgium and for a copy of the source article by Oliver Berckmans.

<sup>30</sup> O. Berckmans, *Mariembourg et Philippeville, villesnueves et fortes de la renesans*, secondo partie, „Bulletin de la Commission Rouale des Monuments et des Sites”, 1979, pp. 109-123, Fig. 1-12.

<sup>31</sup> W. Trzebiński, *Działalność urbanistyczna magnatów i szlachty w Polsce XVIII wieku* [Urban planning by the aristocracy and gentry in 18th century Poland], Warszawa 1962, pp. 62-71.

to Głogów are very clear, especially in the four small squares at the corners of the main square, with diagonal streets leading away from them. Traces of the corner squares were noted by Prof. Tadeusz P. Szafer<sup>32</sup> (il. 16-17). Frampol is an excellent example of the long tradition of such designs in urban planning.

Finally, several articles dealt with the important issue of who designed the “ideal city” of Głogów. Wojciech Kalinowski initially wrote: “we do not know the author of the town plan for Głogów, but we can suppose that, though he was not familiar with the designs for “ideal” cities of the Italian theorists, he was aware of some of the rules of renaissance composition and medieval traditions in city planning. From this we may draw the conclusion that the author of the town’s layout may not have

been an Italian”<sup>33</sup>. Later he must have changed his views, since he wrote: “The first town whose spatial layout indicates a conscious reference to the “ideal” designs of Italian theorists, is Głogów Małopolski (formerly Głogów) founded in 1570”<sup>34</sup>. The question of authorship was discussed in more detail by Teresa Zarębska: “The founder of the town, Krzysztof Głowa, as the king’s secretary connected with the group which employed Italian architects, could have employed the services of one of them. There is, however, no source information concerning the planner of Głogów, or any close analogies between the layout of this town and Italian designs. Therefore, for the time being, this feature cannot be considered as directly connected with the Italian school of urban planning”<sup>35</sup>. No further comments.

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<sup>32</sup> T.P. Szafer, *Ze studiów nad planowanie miast w Polsce XVIII i pocz. XIX w* [From studies on the planning of towns in Poland in the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> c.], „Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury”, Year V: 1955, no. 1/14, p. 50.

<sup>33</sup> W. Kalinowski, *Miasta polskie...*, p. 177.

<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, *Zarys historii...*, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> T. Zarębska, *op. cit.*, p. 264.