

# The professional activity of architect Edward Goldberg (1842–1928)

## Abstract

The work of many Warsaw architects, active in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is still little known. Thus, there is insufficient knowledge about the Warsaw buildings from that period, which to a large extent have not survived due to the destruction of World War II and the doctrinal assumptions of the post-war reconstruction. Its reconstruction, along with scientific reflection, is not only due to the need – even if only virtually – to save the lost architectural heritage, but also due to the conservation works carried out on the existing objects. The article presents the professional profile of Edward Goldberg, an architect working in the indicated period mainly in Warsaw. His work has not been the subject of comprehensive studies so far. The analyses carried out in the article allowed for the presentation of many typical solutions characteristic of Warsaw architecture at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially residential – from luxurious tenement houses to workers' housing and public buildings. The text focuses not only on stylistic solutions, but also on functional and sometimes technical aspects.

**Keywords** Edward Goldberg | Warsaw architecture | historicism | eclecticism

The work of many Warsaw architects, active in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is still very poorly researched<sup>1</sup>. Thus, there is insufficient knowledge about the Warsaw buildings from that period, which to a large extent have not survived due to the destruction of World War II and the doctrinal assumptions of the post-war reconstruction. Its reconstruction, along with scientific reflection, is not only due to the need – even if only virtually – to save the lost architectural heritage, but also due to the conservation works carried out on the existing objects. Recognition and a synthetic approach to the characteristic features of Warsaw architecture may, and even should, precede design work in this area.

The aim of this work is to present the profile of a successful builder of the late historicism era, Edward Goldberg, an architect, designer of

<sup>1</sup> However, monographic studies that have already been prepared significantly enrich the knowledge of the builders active at that time: J. Roguska, *Karol Jankowski, architekt warszawski początku XX w., życie i twórczość*, Warszawa 1978; G. Jonkajtys-Luba, *Czesław Przybylski*, Warszawa 1996; M. Brykowska, *Katalog projektów i dzieł Oskara Sosnowskiego*, in: *Oskara Sosnowskiego świat architektury. Twórczość i dzieła*, Warsaw 2004; M. Rozbicka, *Oskar Sosnowski – naukowiec architekt*, in: *ibidem*; H. Faryna-Paszkiwicz, *Edward Zachariasz Eber*, „Kwartalnik Historii Żydów”, 2011, vol.1 (237); M. Rozbicka, *Józef Handzelewicz (1880–1963): architekt, inżynier-ceramik i przemysłowiec*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, 2011, no. 1; eadem, *Architekt Władysław Marconi jako miłośnik i konserwator zabytków przeszłości*, in: *Przyszłość rzeczy minionych. Studia do dziejów architektury i urbanistyki w Polsce*, vol. 2, Warszawa 2019; A. Lis, *Feliks Michalski (1879–1946). Meandry Mazowieckiej Architektury*, Warszawa 2012; A. Szmítowska, *Architekt Zdzisław Mączyński 1878–1961*, Białystok 2014; M. Tomiczek, *Juliusz Nagórski 1887–1944, monografia architekta*, Warszawa 2015; P. Kilanowski, *Arthur E. Gurney – brytyjski architekt czynny w Warszawie i na dawnych ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej od 1899 do 1915 roku*, „Ochrona Zabytków”, 2019, no. 2; idem, *Józef Napoleon Czerwiński (1870–1940) i Wacław Heppen (1866–1939) – sylwetki twórcze, indywidualna działalność oraz współpraca architektoniczno-budowlana w latach 1909–1914*, „Ochrona Zabytków” (in preparation).

numerous buildings, especially residential architecture, and educator, teacher at the Wawelberg and Rotwand Technical School. So far, the most complete source of knowledge about it has been the biography in Stanisław Łoza's *Dictionary of Architects and Builders of Poles and Working in Poland (Słownik architektów i budowniczych Polaków oraz w Polsce pracujących)*<sup>2</sup>, inevitably shortened, based only on a few of the available sources – those themselves being very modest<sup>3</sup>. Contrary to many other architects, Goldberg was not honored with a biographical note even after his death – probably because at the end of the 1920s, the historicizing / eclectic stylistics characteristic of this architect's work, close to his convictions, were no longer recognized and understood by the professional community. Information on individual buildings by the architect can be found in the subsequent volumes of Jarosław Zieliński's *Atlas of the Old Architecture of Warsaw's Streets and Squares (Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy)*, but there is no study that would broadly describe this work, symptomatic of its time. The intention of the author is to fill this void as fully as possible.

### 1. Biographical information

Edward Jan Wawrzyniec Goldberg (Fig. 1) was born in Warsaw on January 26, 1842 in the family of Wilhelm Goldberg, a private teacher, and Marianna Styczyńska<sup>4</sup>. He graduated from a real gymnasium in Warsaw, and then entered the Construction Department of the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw. In the years 1862–1864 he was also a student of the Physics and Mathematics Faculty of Szkoła Główna Warszawska<sup>5</sup>. We also know that on November 19, 1863, he married Marianna Rychter, the daughter of Frydrych

Rychter and Maria née Janicki<sup>6</sup>. After receiving the rank of builder of the 1st class, he went to Berlin and started studying at the Royal Academy of Construction, his teachers there were, among others architect, archaeologist and art historian Karl Bötticher and architect, archaeologist, and antiquity researcher Friedrich Adler<sup>7</sup>. As a student of the Academy, Edward Goldberg received the first prize for the design of the spa house in Bad Warmbrunn (today Cieplice Śląskie) from 1855–1856, he was also an assistant to Carl Ferdinand Langhans in the construction of the Neues Theater in Leipzig. After returning to Warsaw, he worked under the direction of Julian Ankiewicz in the construction of houses at Instytutowa Street (today Matejki Street)<sup>8</sup>. He made two attempts to obtain the class II builder license. He took the exam for the first time on December 29, 1866, the title of the task was “Kassino nad źródłem wód mineralnych” (Cassino over mineral waters springs) (Fig. 2). However, by decision of January 9, 1867, the General Construction Council did not accept the project<sup>9</sup>. The justification of the decision, drawn up by Wojciech Bobiński, noted on the examination board, has not survived, so it is impossible to say what was the reason for its rejection. Presumably this was due to the apparent nonchalance with which Goldberg drew up the drawings. The second exam took place on April 13, 1867, the task was to design a circus for equestrian shows (Fig. 3). This time the commission gave a positive opinion on the work on May 14th<sup>10</sup>.

In accordance with the regulations governing the professional career of architects, after obtaining the 2nd class qualifications, Edward Goldberg was obliged to work for three years before taking another test before the Construction Council<sup>11</sup>. However, as part of the repression af-

<sup>2</sup> S. Łoza, *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce*, Warszawa 1954, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, no. 5, p. 40; *Księga Pamiątkowa Zjazdu b. wychowanców b. Szkoły Głównej Warszawskiej w 40<sup>o</sup> rocznicę jej założenia*, Warszawa 1905, p. 87–88; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (encyklopedyczny) na rok 1905*, Warszawa 1905, p. 287–288.

<sup>4</sup> State Archives in Warsaw (hereinafter APW), Files of civil status of the Evangelical Reformed parish in Warszawa, ref. 182/0/9.

<sup>5</sup> *Księga Pamiątkowa Zjazdu b. wychowanców b. Szkoły Głównej Warszawskiej w 40<sup>o</sup> rocznicę jej założenia*, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> APW, Files of civil status of the Roman Catholic parish of St. Cross in Warsaw, ref. 158/0/36.

<sup>7</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (encyklopedyczny) na rok 1905*, op. cit., p. 287.

<sup>8</sup> S. Łoza, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter AGAD), Cartographic Collection, ref. 35–10.

<sup>10</sup> AGAD, Cartographic Collection, ref. no. 35–11 and 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Zbiór Przepisów Administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Komunikacyi Lądowych i Wodnych*, Vol. 1, 1866, p. 349–357.

ter the January Uprising, by the decree of July 20, 1867, the above law was abolished, and the decisions on the qualifications of builders were to be made by the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg<sup>12</sup>. Goldberg took advantage of the legislative confusion associated with the changes and in the same year applied to the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts for an extramural diploma, presenting the design of a railway station. As a result, he obtained his diploma in 1868<sup>13</sup>, which in practice meant obtaining the highest design qualifications and allowed him to start a professional career throughout the Russian Empire.

After obtaining the qualifications, Edward Goldberg moved to St. Petersburg, where he took the office of builder of the customs department of the Ministry of Finance<sup>14</sup>, and then the Technical and Construction Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, he also ran a private construction practice<sup>15</sup>. At the turn of the 1880s and 1890s, he returned to Warsaw<sup>16</sup>, where he received numerous commissions from private investors and became famous as a designer of mainly residential architecture<sup>17</sup>. Particularly fruitful for the professional achievements of Edward Goldberg was the cooperation with the banker and active philanthropist Hipolit Wawelberg<sup>18</sup> and Wawelberg's brother-in-law Stanisław Rotwand, a lawyer, financier, industrialist, member

of the Russian Council of State<sup>19</sup>, which brought not only design commissions, but also the opportunity to work at the Mechanical and Technical School of H. Wawelberg and S. Rotwand

After 1906, Goldberg gave up his active design activities, but took up his pen several times to express his views on various issues related to architecture in the periodical "Przegląd Techniczny"<sup>20</sup>.

Edward Goldberg died in Warsaw on April 10, 1928<sup>21</sup>.

## 2. Commissions

Edward Goldberg's works from before 1883 can be defined mainly on the basis of laconic references in publications from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries<sup>22</sup>. It is known that in 1868 he designed a neo-Gothic tomb for the Grossé family, which was erected in Warsaw's Powązki cemetery. The project was carried out by Ewaryst Zbąski, a sculptor, who made an angel figure for it<sup>23</sup>. The work has not survived. As an official in the customs department, Goldberg designed the customs chambers in Sevastopol and Yalta<sup>24</sup> and the building of the customs museum in St. Petersburg<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> A. Okolski, *Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego*, Vol. 1, Warsaw 1880, p. 129.

<sup>13</sup> S.N. Kondakov, *Spisok russkich hudożnikov k Ūbilejnomu sprawoĉniku Imperatorskoj Akademii hudożestw*, Moscow 2002 (reprint of the issue from 1914), p. 333; M. Omilanowska, *Polscy architekci w petersburskiej Akademii Sztuk Pięknyc w latach 1814–1918*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 2004, no. 3–4, p. 365.

<sup>14</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Księga Pamiątkowa (...)*, op. cit., p. 87; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 287; M. Omilanowska, *Działalność polskich architektów w cesarstwie rosyjskim w XIX i pocz. XX wieku*, „Pina-kotheke”, 2005, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 287.

<sup>16</sup> In 1883 or 1892 – there is a discrepancy in the sources: ibidem.

<sup>17</sup> The return to Warsaw, despite professional successes in Russia, was not an isolated phenomenon – similarly did Miłkołaj Tołwiński, Marian Lalewicz, and Kazimierz Skórewicz: J. Roguska, *Architekci polscy w kręgu petersburskich neoklasyków*, in: *Przed wielkim Jutrem. Sztuka 1905–1918*, Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Warszawa, październik 1990, Warszawa 1993, p. 61.

<sup>18</sup> APW, Przyborowski Collection, ref. 2674.

<sup>19</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-rotwand> (access 24.04.2018).

<sup>20</sup> E. Goldberg, *W sprawie konserwatorskiej*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 9, p. 117, no. 10, p. 129–130; idem, *Ochrona swojskiego charakteru miast*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1911, no. 16, p. 209, no. 17, p. 227–228, no. 19, p. 251; idem, *O baroku*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1912, no. 2, p. 23, no. 3, p. 35–36; idem, *O przekroczeniach sum kosztorysowych*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1912, no. 13, p. 177; idem, *Architektura jako sztuka przestrzemi*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1916, no. 1–2, p. 12–15.

<sup>21</sup> S. Łoza, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Which means that these references were made during Goldberg's lifetime and he was probably the source of information, unfortunately they are not very precise, which makes it impossible to define the selected projects and implementations more precisely.

<sup>23</sup> „Kurjer Warszawski”, 1869, no. 10, p. 3; M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Rzeźbiarze warszawscy XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1995, p. 215.

<sup>24</sup> *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit.; S. Łoza, op. cit. Other sources say that the building in Sevastopol was built by the engineer Fiedor Nikolaewicz Eranceev (Федор Николаевич Еранцев), later mayor of the city: *Istoria Sevastopola*, <https://ok.ru/yuzhnyforp/topic/66006896438206> (access 12.10.2018).

<sup>25</sup> *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit.; S. Łoza, op. cit.

Parallel to his work as a clerk, he ran a private practice in the capital of the Russian Empire, where he built rental houses, and outside St. Petersburg he was also a designer of residential buildings. The latter include palaces near Liège: Cockerilla – which does not seem likely, because the industrialist John Cokerill died two years before Goldberg's birth, and his enterprise became property of the state<sup>26</sup> 1 – and a person known only by the name Charlier<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand, there is still **the villa of Dimitri Milutin**, the Russian field marshal and minister of war, mentioned as the work of Goldberg<sup>28</sup>, erected near Alupka (Алупка) and Simeiz (Симеиз) in the Crimea. Milutin bought the property in 1873, the house was ready three years later<sup>29</sup>. The architect proposed a Gothic-style structure with two floors, balconies and round towers in the corners, but the minister of war asked for the plan to be simplified<sup>30</sup>. As a result, a building on a rectangular plan was created, with irregularly arranged avant-corps, enriched with smaller blocks with flat, gable roofs (Fig. 4). The picturesque quality of the building was emphasized by the tower that has not been preserved until today, as well as roofed terraces and balconies in the southern and northern elevations – allowing the observation of the sea and the mountains. The entrance openings were covered with segmental arches with the introduction of window frames with a rectangular view. The detail was developed relatively modestly: some parts of the building were emphasized with rustic character, profiled / earthen frames were placed around the doors, some windows received window sills with flat pilasters, others – window cornices (Fig. 5)<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> R. Schreier, *John Cockerill (1790–1840) – Brits-Belgische staalmagenaar*, <https://historiek.net/john-cockerill-brits-belgische-staalmagenaar/73664/> (access 15.09. 2018).

<sup>27</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit.

<sup>28</sup> *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit.; Russian-language websites mention the name of the builder Golikov: eg. <http://www.bigyalta.net/blog/dacha-generalamilyutina-v-alupke/> (access 26.06.2018).

<sup>29</sup> <https://rg.ru/2016/07/26/rodina-dom-miliutina.html> (access 26.06.2018).

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.bigyalta.net/blog/dacha-generalamilyutina-v-alupke/> (access 26.06.2018).

<sup>31</sup> More photos at: <https://rg.ru/2016/07/26/rodina-dom-miliutina.html> and <http://alupka24.ru/2018/02/dom-milyutina-v-alupke/> (access 26.06.2018).

The interiors were characterized by simplicity (Fig. 6). The house was surrounded by a large garden with a fountain. The most likely inspiration for the villa of Dimitri Milutin was the House of the Gardener in Potsdam, known to Goldberg from the period of his studies in Berlin, designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, referring to early Renaissance, irregular Italian villas. Unfortunately, at present Milutin's house is deteriorating and is in danger of demolition<sup>32</sup>.

In the period preceding Edward Goldberg's move to Warsaw, his creative output was also enriched by a sacred building, namely **the chapel of Alexander Nevsky in St. Petersburg** (Fig. 7). This building was erected in the years 1882–1883 near the barracks of the Lejb-Guard Grenadier Regiment on the Karpowki wharf at 27 Czajkowska Street<sup>33</sup>. The small building, built on a square plan, received a rich, eclectic interior with a distinct Ruthenian-Byzantine decor. On each of the elevations, the architect designed a semicircular arcade supported on sculpted plinths, decorated with panels and friezes, on prominent impostes there are low columns that form the corners. One of the arcades led to the interior, while the others featured images of saints. The whole is topped with two rows of arches in the shape of a donkey back and covered with an octagonal, tower roof with a bulbous, gilded dome and an Orthodox cross. The author of the stucco decorations was David Jensen, a Danish sculptor, a student of Bertel Thorvaldsen, who settled permanently in St. Petersburg<sup>34</sup>. The chapel has not survived to modern times, it was destroyed around 1930.

After returning to Warsaw, Edward Goldberg was primarily involved in designing residential buildings. This included numerous tenement houses. Goldberg's earliest realization was probably **the Polakiewicz brothers' tenement house** at 19 Zielna Street, mortgage no. 1412a<sup>35</sup>. Unfortunately, we know very little about the commission. The Polakiewicz brothers, owners of a tobacco factory, owned a plot of land with the aforementioned

<sup>32</sup> *Защитить генерал-фельдмаршала!*, „Родина”, <https://rg.ru/2016/07/26/rodina-dom-miliutina.html> (access 26.06.2018).

<sup>33</sup> <http://sobory.ru/article/?object=35417> (access 26.06.2018).

<sup>34</sup> <https://artinvestment.ru/auctions/49300/biography.html> (access 26.06.2018).

<sup>35</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.

mortgage number as early as 1883<sup>36</sup>. The existence of a rental property is confirmed by the so-called Lindley's plan from 1897, which suggests that it was created in the period of the previous dozen or so years. The plan shows that it was a tenement house typical for the last decades of the 19th century, with a two-bay front house and three single-bay outbuildings, surrounding a quadrilateral courtyard on all sides. The indentations between the individual parts of the building allowed for the introduction of windows and lighting in the corner rooms (Fig. 8). A photo from the collection of the Dimensions Department of the State Archives in Warsaw shows an eleven-axis building with a basement, five storeys and a façade, completely devoid of any architectural decorations (Fig. 9). It is highly doubtful that the state documented in 1942 mirrored Goldberg's design. The changes were probably made in the interwar period, recovering the shape of the original façade, due to the lack of appropriate sources, remains impossible so far.

**Maria Tabenhaus's tenement house** at the intersection of Al. Ujazdowskie 18 and ul. Instytutowa 9<sup>37</sup>, mortgage no. 5622 was built in 1893<sup>38</sup>. Both street-facing parts of had a two-bay layout, while the outbuildings enclosing the yard were constructed as one-bay (Fig. 10). The front side facing Aleje Ujazdowskie has been moved back so that a small garden could be introduced in front of the house - emphasizing the residential character of the tenement house. A lawn was also established in the middle of the inner courtyard. The house had a basement, it consisted of the ground floor and three floors. While the tenement house itself has not survived to the present day<sup>39</sup>, its archival photos allow for a more precise identification of the facade from the side of Aleje Ujazdowskie (Fig. 11, 12). The aforementioned photographs indicate that Edward Goldberg shaped the tenement house in a spirit reminiscent of the Middle Ages, combining Romanesque

and Gothic forms. The facades were lined with red veneers. The ground floor with semicircular openings was separated from the upper storeys by a prominent cornice. The outermost parts of the thirteen-axis (fifteen-axis on the upper floors) façade were accentuated with huge bay windows on three corbels, spanning the floors and topped with triangular gables with arcaded decorations. With a narrower bay window placed one floor lower, the architect emphasized the central axis - where he retracted the triangular gable in the finial. On the level of the first floor, he placed balconies in the bay windows, the wider ones on the sides divided by a column in the middle. Above the balconies, he placed flat niches, topped with traceries, in the extreme bay windows on the second and third floors, he changed the rhythm of the openings, introducing three narrower windows, which gave the tenement a picturesque character. The windows between the bays had an arcade pattern, while in the level of the upper part of the first and the lower part of the second, they were separated by corbels, on which were placed slender statues by Jan Woydyga<sup>40</sup>, and pilasters on the last floor. Decorated dormers illuminated the attic.

The free combination of Romanesque and Gothic forms confirms the eclectic approach of Edward Goldberg to medieval forms. This attitude was also characterized, among others, by the tendency to transform historical patterns, change their scale, as well as considerable freedom in using elements taken from the past without taking into account their original location and role<sup>41</sup>. This attitude was the reason for severe criticism of the architecture of the Tabenhaus tenement house in the press. Konstanty Wojciechowski in "Przegląd Tygodniowy" accused Goldberg of, among others, mixing ornaments and features from the Byzantine, Romanism, Gothic and Renaissance periods, and also of "sedentary proportions (...) combining small and light ornaments with heavy masses", to finally compare the building to an old fashionista who wears whatever she can get her hands on<sup>42</sup>.

**The spacious tenement house of Doba Nowińska** at 6-10 Krasińskich Square, mortgage

<sup>36</sup> *Taryfa domów Miasta Warszawy i Przedmieścia Pragi*, in: *Przemysłowy Kalendarz Ilustrowany Echa dla wsi i miasta na rok zwyczajny 1883*, Warszawa 1883.

<sup>37</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> J. Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1995, p. 68; Vol. 10, Warszawa 2004, p. 258-259.

<sup>39</sup> Destroyed during World War II, the remains were dismantled in 1949.

<sup>40</sup> M.I. Kwiatkowska, op. cit., p. 291.

<sup>41</sup> J. Roguska, *Neogotyckie w architekturze warszawskich kamienic*, „Kronika Warszawy”, 1986, no. 2, p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 113.

no. 547bc–5761 is dated 1896<sup>43</sup>. The narrow plot allowed for the construction of only a two-bay building, without a yard, its rear façade overlooked Nowiniarska Street, from which the architect located two rectangular indentations – cortilettos, allowing for better lighting of the interior (Fig. 13). The staircases were accessible directly through the entrances in the front elevation. The building consisted of a basement, ground floor and three floors. The location in front of the Krasiński Palace was undoubtedly a factor that determined the use of neo-baroque forms (Fig. 14), however, in the composition of the façade, the principles adopted earlier in the Tabenhaus tenement house can be observed. Here also the ground floor was distinguished from the upper parts by covering the entire flat wall with rustication and a relatively homogeneous shape of the openings, most of which had a rectangular shape, only in the extreme parts there were arcaded openings. On the other hand, the higher parts of the walls were divided by the architect with bay windows, of which there were as many as five in this long, symmetrical, thirty-four-axis façade. The outermost semicircular and rectangular central ones were prominent, covering the first and second floors, those spanning the ninth to eleventh and twenty-fourth to twenty-six axes respectively – flat, in fact they could be described as pseudo-bay windows. They were all supported on corbels, supported on the ground floor by the figures of atlases, carved by Jan Woydyga<sup>44</sup>. In the finial they were emphasized by the arched curve of the cornice, the exception was the central bay, over which the architect placed a baroque gable. All the openings of the floors were decorated with triangular gables with broken sides, filled with floral ornaments, harmonizing with the delicate detail of the palace across the street. The windows of the piano nobile had an arcaded shape set on pseudobalustrades framed by pedestals, on the second floor rectangular openings were given ornamental window sills, the windows of the third floor were located directly on the cordon cornice. The façade was enriched with balconies equipped with balustrades: made of stone on the first floor, and made

of iron on the second; sophisticated and delicate. The side elevations had five axes, the middle one was distinguished by a flat bay window or avant-corps, ending at the top with a semicircularly curved cornice. According to archival photos<sup>45</sup>, the building suffered severe damage at the beginning of World War II; the design was not recreated after the war.

The neo-baroque forms were also used by Goldberg when he transformed **Stefanowicz's tenement house** situated at the corner of 20 Aleje Ujazdowskie and 12 Matejki Street, mortgage no. 1726 F<sup>46</sup>. The tenement house was built in 1863 by Leon Rakowski as a two-story building with flat, horizontal façades in the early Renaissance style (it is visible in Fig. 11 – second from the right). At the beginning of the 20th century, Edward Goldberg raised the building by adding a floor and a residential mansard, at the same time giving it a new decor. It can be concluded from the plan that he did not transform the outbuildings, which did not completely surround the inner courtyard – which was typical of Warsaw's buildings in the 1860s (Fig. 15). The thirteen-axis façade was symmetrically shaped, with flat avant-corps, crowned semicircular gables, including two side axes. The central axis with a semicircular entrance to the property is topped with a triangular gable. The ground floor and the first floor were treated as a pedestal, they were covered with strip rustication, and rectangular openings were given simple frames. The upper parts of the wall were smooth, the openings were separated by carefully ordered pilasters. The windows of the second floor, crowned with plant festoons and sections of the cornice, and in the avant-corps finished with triangular gables with a delicate ornament, were set on a wide inter-story strip with balustrades and pedestals, there are also balconies within it. The architect used similar gables on the second floor, only in the avant-corps, where instead of two openings he used three, at the same time introducing a cornice with a semicircular gable in the center. The balconies of this storey had iron balustrades. The mansard was illu-

<sup>43</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; more in J. Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Vol. 8, Warszawa 2002, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> M.I. Kwiatkowska, op. cit.

<sup>45</sup> APW, Dimensions Department, ref. 4156.

<sup>46</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; J. Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1995, p. 68; tome 10, Warszawa 2004, p. 259; <http://www.warszawa1939.pl/obiekt/ujazdowskie-20> (access 11.11.2018).

minated by dormers with curvilinear frames, and in the parts of the breaks there were double, arched windows, separated by a column (Fig. 16). The house was destroyed during the World War II, after the war the ruins were taken apart.

The year 1898 is the time of the construction of a number of buildings again in the neo-Gothic style, with only faint references to other trends. These tenement houses were characterized by a simplified decoration compared to the one previously used in the house at Aleje Ujazdowskie, with a noticeable reference to the so-called Vistula-Baltic Gothic style. In the second half of the 19th century, this style was developed as one of the responses to the then emerging need to create a nationwide style. It was characterized by references to forms developed in Pomerania and northern Mazovia, with heavy proportions, massive frames, brick walls and applications in plaster<sup>47</sup>. The **Mathias Tabenhaus's tenements** were formally twin buildings that were erected at the intersection of Marszałkowska and Sadowa Streets (today Skorupki), at no. 68–70, mortgage register no. 5956 and 72, mortgage register no. 5955<sup>48</sup> (Fig. 17). Both buildings received two-bay street sections and one-bay outbuildings surrounding inner courtyards. The elevations spanning three floors up from the ground floor were characterized by emphasizing vertical lines by introducing flat avant-corps in the extreme axes, ending with triangular gables protruding above the level of crowning cornices and three-story bay windows with slender cupolas in the cut corners. The ground floors in both houses received openings topped with a segmental arch, separated by plastered Corinthian capitals. The gate passages leading to the courtyards were treated differently, they were decorated with pointed arches and underlined with stepped gables. The ground floor was separated from the upper storeys by a profiled cornice with a frieze decorated with a trefoil motif. The windows of the first floor ended with a Tudor arch, under them the architect placed panels with circles, decorated with four-leaves. On the second floor, the openings, set on a cordon cornice, were

topped in sections, in the unprotected parts they were inserted into shallow recesses with the outline of a trefoil arch. Above the windows, they had a pointed shape, here, in turn, three-leaf recesses appeared in the breaks. Some axes of the buildings were emphasized by Goldberg by stacking balconies - with brick balustrades with a horseshoe arch motif on the first and second floors and iron balustrades on the third. The elevations were covered with orange veneers, some elements were made of red fittings, strip decorations of the ground floor and the first floor - of white ones (Fig. 18–22). The house at No. 68–70 was not rebuilt after the war, the tenement house No. 72 survived and underwent a complete renovation and partial reconstruction at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Edward Goldberg used similar forms in a tenement house at 36 Nowogrodzka Street from 1898, mortgage no. 5988<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 23). The preserved photo from the 1920s shows fragments of the ground floor and the first floor with a uniaxial bay window with balconies and a windscreen, probably above the entrance to the tenement house. The windows of the ground floor and first floor, embedded in shallow recesses, were crowned with segmental arches, the storeys were separated by stripes, above the ground floor with brick balustrades, above the first floor - with quad-foil wheels. The brick façade was orange with red stripes. The house was built as a two-bay, with one-bay outbuildings closing off the courtyard (Fig. 24).

Usually, the architect's own house may provide an interpretation of personal preferences in the field of shaping the facade. However, in the case of Edward Goldberg, a closer recognition of this realization is not possible. We know that the **architect's own house** was built at 45 Koszykowa Street, mortgage register no. 5263, after 1897 and before 1900, however, it did not survive the military operations in 1939–1945, as well as there were surviving or preserved iconographic sources enabling the study of its architecture<sup>50</sup>. The plan (Fig. 25) shows that the plot had a shape similar to

<sup>47</sup> J. Roguska, *Neogotyki (...)*, op. cit., pp. 99 and 110.

<sup>48</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; more: J. Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Vol. 10, pp. 149–150 and 247–254.

<sup>49</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; J. Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Vol. 13, Warszawa 2007, p. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; J. Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Vol. 6, Warszawa 2000, p. 160.

a trapezoid, yet by appropriately shaping the outbuildings, the architect obtained a regular, almost rectangular courtyard.

The only known villa in the achievements of Edward Goldberg was the **villa of the Olszewicz family** at 5 Aleja Szucha, mortgage register no. 5444<sup>51</sup> – where the architect rebuilt an existing building. The house was built before 1870 for the eminent chemist Napoleon Milicer, the author of the design is not known. It was a one-story mansion, set with its shorter side to the street, with an entrance from the street in an asymmetrically added extension. The façade from the garden side was diversified by a triangular gable. The buildings were completed by a street-facing outbuilding, detached from the villa (Fig. 26). Before 1897, Goldberg carried out the transformations. The building was extended toward the garden and raised by a second floor, its body was enriched by an octagonal tower added from the south, crowned with a dome with a lantern and a mansard with a triangular gable above the avant-corps placed asymmetrically from the street, repeating the size of the original building. The entrance is located in the first axis from the south. The building was decorated in the spirit of classicist baroque. The facades were covered with strip rustication, while the storeys were separated with smooth stripes. The decor was limited to simple framing of window openings and slightly more decorative framing of windows within the tower and mansard – with semicircular ends, with a key in the arch, in the tower doubled with a pilaster in the middle and accentuated by triangular gables (Fig. 27). Opposite the house, from the south, there was a separate outbuilding with avant-corps on the sides, and a tiny garden at the back of the plot (Fig. 28).

In addition to luxurious tenement houses with high-standard apartments, Edward Goldberg also designed cheap houses for workers<sup>52</sup>. The problem of housing for the poorest sections of the population became more and more urgent in the second half of the nineteenth century: in the years 1864–1914, the number of Warsaw residents increased from 223,000 to over 884,000. The majority of the newcomers were villagers who joined the

group of physical laborers<sup>53</sup>. The disastrous conditions in which they lived were noticed by both social activists and hygienists who responded with numerous press appearances, as well as the owners of industrial plants, who were the main investors in the construction of workers' housing. Social initiatives in this area were less common. In the second half of the 1890s, at the request of the editorial office of the "Zdrowie" magazine, Goldberg designed a colony of one-, two- and four-family brick one-story houses surrounded by greenery. The project was presented at the convention of doctors in Lviv, but was never implemented<sup>54</sup>. The only charity initiative implemented before Poland regained independence was **the housing estate of the workers' colony named after the Wawelbergs** in Warsaw at 15 Górczewska Street<sup>55</sup>. The aim of the implementation was broadly understood: in line with the philanthropy at the time, it was not only about economic reasons, but also educational or even civilization ones, aimed at raising health awareness, and thus maintaining health for the longest time, and finally social, so that the beneficiaries of the program could earn money for themselves as long as possible, without being a burden to anyone. Apart from improving the housing conditions, it was assumed that nurseries and shelters, workshops, cheap eateries, shops, etc. would be established there. The pretext for establishing the foundation was the 50th jubilee of the Wawelberg banking house, Hipolit and Ludwika Wawelberg donated 300,000 rubles for the implementation of the project<sup>56</sup>.

The house building committee met for the first time on November 6, 1897, Edward Goldberg

<sup>53</sup> J. Roguska, *Architektura i budownictwo mieszkaniowe w Warszawie w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku. Zabudowa mieszkaniowa dzielnic przemysłowych i peryferii. Domy robotnicze*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, 1986, no. 2, p. 151.

<sup>54</sup> M. Rozbicka, *Małe mieszkanie z ogrodem w tle*, Warszawa 2007, p. 187.

<sup>55</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288. More: J. Brunner, K. Szokalski, *Instytucja tanich mieszkań Hipolita i Ludwika małż. Wawelberg*, Warszawa 1904; J. Roguska, *Architektura i budownictwo mieszkaniowe*, op. cit., p. 166–168; K. Dumala, *Najstarsze osiedle społeczne w Warszawie. „Tanie Mieszkania im. Wawelbergów” z końca XIX wieku przy ul. Górczewskiej*, „Mazowsze”, 1995, Vol. 1, p. 29–32.

<sup>56</sup> J. Brunner, K. Szokalski, *Instytucja tanich mieszkań Hipolita i Ludwika małż. Wawelberg*, Warszawa 1904, p. 59–60.

<sup>51</sup> Mentioned in: „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.

<sup>52</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288.



was among those invited by Hipolit Wawelberg. Financial considerations prompted the members of the committee to give up the idea of building small houses with a garden; it was decided to go for cheaper barracks-type buildings<sup>57</sup>. The peripheral location of the selected plot 15 Górczewska Street allowed the purchase of a relatively large plot of land with an area of 31,000 cubits (over 10,000 m<sup>2</sup>). Goldberg's design, innovative for Warsaw conditions, was adopted for implementation, assuming the abandonment of the peripheral layout, loosening of buildings, occupying only 33% of the plot (while downtown buildings could reach up to 80%) and the creation of an additional social program in separate buildings<sup>58</sup>. The works started in the spring of 1898 and were conducted by Warsaw entrepreneurs Z. Frumkin and I. Rothberg<sup>59</sup>. Ultimately, a complex of three five-storey residential buildings was raised, arranged almost parallel, but not connected with each other and set apart far enough to create two spacious courtyards. The proposed solution allowed for good lighting and ventilation of the apartments. The complex was enriched by three service buildings: a laundry room with baths and a shelter for children on the sides of the second courtyard, and a funeral home with a third residential house on the far side (Fig. 29). The service program was supplemented by 6 shops in the front house, two elementary schools for girls and boys, and flats for the teachers in the second house. The comfort of the estate's inhabitants was to be additionally strengthened by the greenery: the square in front of the house and plantings in the courtyards. The original project involved the construction of three-staircase, two-bay houses with four apartments on each landing, with taps and sinks in each apartment. This option turned out to be too expensive for the workers' pockets, so the architect cut the costs and, consequently, lowered the standard. Houses were built in a stairwell-corridor system, with seven apartments accessible from the landings and service corridors, equipped with a common tap, sink, trash chutes (the first such solution in Warsaw),

a urinal and two toilets<sup>60</sup>. The first house housed 88 apartments, including 37 one-room apartments, the rest consisted of a room with a kitchen, the second house had 90 apartments, including 36 one-room apartments, 54 two-room apartments, and in the third house, due to the difficulties of workers in paying for apartments with two rooms, 111 single room flats were introduced and only twenty with two rooms<sup>61</sup>. Despite many innovative solutions introduced in the colony, the complex was not enthusiastically received by Warsaw social activists. At the meeting of the Hygiene Department of the City and Housing of Warsaw Hygiene Society, apart from praise for the spacious courtyards, good light, sufficient room size, sewage system, water supply, gas, sinks, a nursery for children, a laundry and three bathrooms, the excessive corridor system in the buildings was criticized, the lack of elevators, as many as seven doors that open on each landing, smoke-making stoves, urinals and toilets that proved too slim and the faulty solution of garbage chutes, which in the opinion of the evaluators should have outlets to external tanks, not reservoirs located in insufficiently ventilated basements<sup>62</sup>.

Buildings developed in raw brick received a modest decor in the form of sparing details: strip rustication in the ground floor, friezes made of alternately protruding and retracted bricks or shaped by their diagonal arrangement, crowning the cornice on corbels, diagonal grates in the sill sections (Fig. 30–34). Krzysztof Dumala argues that the brick walls were originally supposed to be plastered<sup>63</sup>. The first and second houses were designed in a mirrored manner: the facades facing Górczewska Street, and the facades facing the inner courtyard, were decorated with flat breaks, cornices separating the first floor and an arcaded frieze at the finial. The façades from the side of the first courtyard were divided with prominent avant-corps containing staircases: they were placed in the extreme and middle parts – the middle ones were shaped in a stepped manner. The third building was divided with flat breaks

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 61–63.

<sup>58</sup> J. Roguska, *Architektura i budownictwo mieszkaniowe*, op. cit.

<sup>59</sup> J. Brunner, K. Szokalski, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>60</sup> J. Roguska, *Architektura i budownictwo mieszkaniowe*, op. cit.

<sup>61</sup> J. Brunner, K. Szokalski, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>62</sup> M. Rozbicka, op. cit., pp. 187–188.

<sup>63</sup> K. Dumala, op. cit., p. 31.

on both sides. Originally, the windows were ended with a segmental arch, today they are rectangular, and the old layout has been crowned with brickwork. The shelter and the laundry room with baths, which have not survived to this day, were different. The shelter was shaped symmetrically, with two outer axes broken and crowned with triangular gables with stepped panels. The windows in the ground floor and breaks had segmented ends, the remaining openings in the first floor were topped with a semicircle, with decorations in the connections. The picturesque shape of the laundry and bath, consisting of several parts of different heights, covered with a separate gable roofs, resulted from utilitarian needs.

Houses of the workers in the Wawelberg colony were not the only housing estate of this type built by Goldberg. He also allegedly erected houses for Jewish (or working class) families in Vilnius, about which, however, nothing more is known<sup>64</sup>.

**Tenement house at 85 Sienna Street**, mortgage register 11483 (in the 1930s it was no.87<sup>65</sup>) was built in 1894 by Edward Goldberg at the request of Stanisław Rotwand for philanthropic purposes. In this way, the founder wanted to commemorate his deceased wife Maria née Wawelberg<sup>66</sup>. The buildings housed a nursery for the children of working mothers, a playroom, a bathhouse with bathtubs and a cloakroom, a sewing room for girls, a library, and at the back of the plot there was a garden. In 1900, the house was given at the disposal of the Warsaw Charity Society, which transferred there one of its orphanages from Leszno Street<sup>67</sup>. The Lindley's Plan (Fig. 35) shows that initially the plot was occupied by a two-bay front house and two detached brick single-bay annexes: one at the western border of the plot and the other, closing the property from the south. Over the next decades, the expansive property was enriched by adding two two-bay buildings across the plot, sep-

arating it into two yards and a one-bay outbuilding from the east (Fig. 36). The three-story, seven-axis tenement house received a modest interior in the spirit of the early Italian Renaissance, appropriate to its intended use and in line with the décor of the surrounding buildings (Fig. 37). The ground floor above the plinth was covered with strip rustication. The gate passage located on the central axis with an opening crowned with a full arch was accentuated with a segmented gable, the entrances to the building were also finished in arcades, leading straight from the street, located in the extreme axes. The remaining openings were rectangular in shape. On the first floor, the architect gave the windows the form of an edict and crowned them with triangular gables, the windows of the second floor and the openings of the last floor on the cordon cornice were decorated with segmental cornices. The façade composition was closed with a relatively prominent cornice crowning on the consoles.

A building erected around 1901 at 43 Gęsia Street, land and mortgage register no. 5637, referred to as **Zakłady Wychowawcze im. Markusa Krolla (Markus Kroll's Educational Facilities)**<sup>68</sup> – a banker from Warsaw founded a nursery, orphanage and religious school for children from poor Jewish families<sup>69</sup>. The preserved archival photograph shows a building composed of two three-axis sections, one is adjacent to the street, the other recessed, preceded by greenery (Fig. 38). The shape of the buildings on the plot was presented differently on the map from 1936–1945 (Fig. 39) – it shows a deep front section entirely erected in the frontage of the street and a two-part outbuilding closing the plot from the south. Discrepancy in the solution of the building line from the side of Gęsia Street could have been caused by the later addition of the building with a street-facing section. The building was shaped in the medieval, Romanesque-Gothic spirit. On the first floor there were openings with window sills on the consoles, closed with a segmental arch with a key, on the second floor there were arcaded windows mounted on the inter-story cornice. Between the windows, partly on the ground floor and partly on

<sup>64</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>65</sup> *Książka informacyjno-adresowa „Cała Warszawa” 1930*, Warszawa 1930.

<sup>66</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, op. cit.

<sup>67</sup> K. Nalepiński, *Rys Historyczno-Statystyczny Ochrony 9<sup>ej</sup> Imienia Księżdz Piotra Gabryela Badouina*, Warszawa 1901, p. 40.

<sup>68</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>69</sup> E. Mazur, *Dobroczytność w Warszawie XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1999, p. 29.

the first floor, the architect planned short pilaster strips finished with a triangular detail. The street-facing part also had a third façade with bifurcated openings and a gable with a rosette, framed by pinnacles. The vertical character of the façade was also emphasized by narrow turrets on the sides.

Edward Goldberg's social involvement also resulted in participation in the 2nd Hygienic Exhibition in Warsaw, which took place in 1896 (the first was organized eight years earlier) - he was both a member of the organizing committee, but not in the construction section, but as one of the representatives of the "Zdrowie" (Health) Magazine<sup>70</sup>, and the designer of **the main pavilion**. The aim of the hygiene exhibitions was to promote the broadly understood issues of healthy life, from occupational hygiene in factories, through treatment, physical culture to avoiding parasites. The second exhibition was organized on a large, trapezoidal square, limited by the streets: Przedokopowa, Polna, Topolowa and Koszykowa, intended for the future university of technology (Fig. 40)<sup>71</sup>. The pavilion erected by Goldberg took a central place in the area planned by the garden designer Franciszek Szanior. It was established on the plan of a very elongated rectangle with an area of 2000 m<sup>2</sup> with prominent avant-corps at the ends and flat in the middle of the longer sides. The central projections are made of unplastered brick, the side parts are made of wood. The wooden structure was also visible inside. Originally, the central hall was to be covered with a tall four-sided roof with a structure visible inside, on which it was planned to have electric lighting. The roof was not built however, instead a dome appeared, which was criticized in the "Przegląd Techniczny" as "slump"<sup>72</sup>. The brick breaks were shaped in a fairly broadly understood medieval style (Fig. 41–42). The facades were divided into three parts with pilaster strips, topped with slender towers. The wider and higher central part, ended triangularly and topped with a small chapel, had three entrance openings in the ogival recess – the middle ogival, framed by a triangular frame, and two side ones, ended with a segmental

arch. There were tracery windows in the side parts. The pavilion was decorated with polychromes made by Warsaw painters: Wojciech Gerson, Kazimierz Alchimowicz, Władysław Wasilkowski, Franciszek Żmurka and Henryk Piątkowski<sup>73</sup>. After the end of the exhibition, the pavilion was not initially dismantled, it was used for the purposes of later exhibitions. It was probably dismantled in 1899 in connection with the construction of the buildings of the Warsaw University of Technology (more or less this is where the building of the Faculty of Physics is now located).

The public utility function, but this time in a more permanent version, was presented by Edward Goldberg in the building of **Szkoła Zgromadzenia Kupców (the Merchants' Assembly School)**<sup>74</sup>. The Merchants' Assembly of the Capital City of Warsaw was established by a decree of the Governor of the Kingdom of Poland on January 11, 1817<sup>75</sup>. The association was interested, among other things, in providing future employees with proper education. In 1855, under the aegis of the Assembly, a Sunday school with an economic profile was opened – initially in the premises of the Kazimierzowski Palace. In 1896, Tsar Nicholas II approved the law on commercial education, which established various types of schools with this profile. Pursuant to the Act, the Merchants' Assembly of the Capital City of Warsaw in 1900 created two new institutions: a seven-class Trade School and a three-class Merchant School – both for men. The schools were characterized by an extensive program and a high level of education<sup>76</sup>.

Initially, the schools operated in a rented building at 51 Żłota Street. At the same time, the Assembly was aiming to build a new building. An extensive program, with flats for teachers, which at that time were still located in the school build-

<sup>70</sup> „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1896, no. 18, p. 346.

<sup>71</sup> A.A. Wagner, *Czas i miejsce. Architektura Politechniki Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 2015, p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1895, no. 29, p. 46; „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1896, no. 3, p. 77.

<sup>73</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1896, op. cit.

<sup>74</sup> More about this facility: I. Szustakiewicz, *Budynek Szkoły Handlowej Zgromadzenia Kupców m. st. Warszawy z początku XX wieku – utracone dziedzictwo a współczesne działania konserwatorskie*, in: *Dziedzictwo. Architektura historyczna współcześnie: studia, badania, wnioski: prace naukowe Zakładu Dziedzictwa Architektonicznego i Sztuki Wydziału Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 2018, pp. 137–146.

<sup>75</sup> *Statut Zgromadzenia Kupców m.st. Warszawy*, Warszawa 1930, [no page numbering].

<sup>76</sup> J. Miąso, *Szkolnictwo handlowe w Królestwie Polskim (1855-1914)*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, 1965, Vol. 8, no. 8, p. 133.

ings, required a large plot and prompted the abandonment of a smaller one located in the city center. On May 24, 1903, land was purchased for the sum of 14,000 rubles, belonging to Gustaw Ulrich, located at the intersection of ul. Prosta and Wali-cowa, with mortgage number 1117, with an area of over 21,000 cubits (approximately 7,000 m<sup>2</sup>). Edward Goldberg was tasked with drawing up a design. To cope with it, he made a study trip to Switzerland, Austria and Germany, where he visited the newly built schools, contacted architects who designed them and teachers who used them<sup>77</sup>.

Construction began in June 1903, the works were carried out by the Martens and Daab Joint-Stock Society of Construction Companies<sup>78</sup>. On July 6, 1905, the school was opened<sup>79</sup>. The commission of the Merchants' Assembly of the Capital City of Warsaw included two buildings: a spacious school building, designed to be able to separate the Merchant School from the Trade School, and a small teacher's house with apartments for the headmaster and some of the teaching staff. For the purposes of the school, Goldberg designed a horseshoe-shaped building, consisting of two representative street wings and an outbuilding perpendicular to Prosta Street, dividing the plot into two parts. In the north-west corner of the plot, he placed an L-shaped residential house with a small, separate courtyard (Fig. 43). The considerable size of the plot allowed for recreational space for students in the form of two courtyards – inside the horseshoe and at the back of the outbuilding. The architect provided for the possibility of extending the building from the side of Prosta Street<sup>80</sup>, however this never happened.

The teachers' house was built as a three-story house with a basement. There were five- and six-room apartments for the headmaster and teaching staff "with all comforts", the exact number of apartments is unknown. Some of the cellars were designated as premises for the school staff. The press wrote then that "The residential house does not present anything special, neither in terms

of its plan, nor in terms of construction – it is an ordinary type of this kind of Warsaw building, so it can be ignored in silence"<sup>81</sup>.

The school building consisted of high basements, the ground floor and two floors, and in part of the wing running along Prosta Street – also the third floor (Fig. 44). In all wings, Edward Goldberg essentially used a two-bay interior layout, with spacious corridors 4 meters wide, intended for recreation for students in the bays located on the courtyard side. It was the design used in modern school buildings<sup>82</sup>. The storeys were connected by two representative staircases located on the central axes of the street wings and by auxiliary stairs in the outbuilding.

The basements, slightly sunken into the ground, served as a technical storey with a laundry room, boiler room, coal storage room, and there were also apartments for the boiler room operator and school janitors. However, the most space was devoted to students, in the basement there was a school canteen (Fig. 45) with kitchen facilities, cloakrooms, showers (Fig. 46), as well as rooms for learning slöjd – i.e. handwork. Including such rooms in the program was an expression of a modern approach to designing school buildings.

Most of the classrooms are situated on the first and second floors. Their repeatable layout and symmetrical location in relation to the staircases bring to mind the modular concepts of Jean Nicolas Louis Durand. Each room was designed to accommodate 36 students. They covered an area of 6.5×9 meters and were 4.20 meters high. They were brilliantly lit on one side by three tall windows, with a total area of not less than 1/5 of the floor area (Fig. 47). The chemistry and physics lecture halls located on the ground and first floors were designed differently (Fig. 48–49): they covered the entire width of the outbuilding and were lit from both sides. They were equipped with rooms in the back, where laboratories and warehouses for instruments were arranged. The drawing room on the second floor was connected to the terrace where students could take classes. The commodity science rooms were also treated individually, providing the possibility of experimen-

<sup>77</sup> E. Goldberg, [no title], „Architekt” 1906, no. 2, p. 39–40, tab. VI.

<sup>78</sup> *Odkrywanie Warszawskiej Pragi*, Warszawa 2013, p. 117.

<sup>79</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Zgromadzenia Kupców m. st. Warszawy za rok 1937*, Warszawa 1938, p. 4–6.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>81</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit.

<sup>82</sup> A.A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 327–353.

tally testing the properties of various substances and the so-called book-keeping rooms, where future merchants and bankers learned in a practical way by running fictitious businesses. With time, a typing workshop also appeared, with machines equipped with blind keyboards<sup>83</sup>. A spacious gymnasium was located on the third floor (Fig. 50), it also served as a school lecture hall. The architect explained the unfortunate location of the gymnasium with the need to introduce many different rooms on the lower floors<sup>84</sup>. The rich program of the school was complemented by the library, the science office and the school museum.

Most of the rooms were decorated modestly. The walls were painted light gray with glue paint, the floors in the classrooms were made of pine boards (with time they were replaced with oak parquet<sup>85</sup>), in corridors, toilets, cloakrooms, and the canteen there was terracotta, workshops were floored with xylolite and the laundry and showers with terrazzo. Peat was placed under the floor of the gymnasium for acoustic insulation<sup>86</sup>. Goldberg gave a representative character only to the multi-flight staircases of the street wings, introducing columns, Silesian granite on the steps and wrought balustrades (Fig. 51), as well as in the vestibules, the library and the dining room, where classicist columns or pillars appeared.

The building has been equipped with a water and sewage system. On all floors there were bathrooms with toilets and urinals, and in the corridors, there were also springs with drinking water. There was central steam heating in the entire building with the possibility of individual temperature control in the classrooms. The architect temporarily used natural ventilation, but the building was adapted to the introduction of mechanical ventilation. The lighting in the building was provided by a gas installation, municipal electric lighting was introduced in rooms for chemistry and physics classes, the museum and the library<sup>87</sup>. In the entire building, except for the gym-

nasium, refractory ceilings were used: in rooms with a span of up to 3,5 meters, Klein ceilings, up to 6,5 m of iron-cement Koenen system, up to 9 m of Hennebique system<sup>88</sup>. The use of reinforced concrete beams on such a large scale was a rarity in the Russian partition at that time<sup>89</sup>.

Edward Goldberg wrote that in the design he avoided similarities with old school buildings resembling barracks, and he was not a supporter of forms defined as modernist. He decided to stick to the style of historicism, combining classicising detail with a baroque composition of the body, striving to give the building the necessary seriousness (Fig. 52). He designed the street façades in a parallel, but not identical manner. In the block, he strongly accentuated the prominent extreme projections, Five-axis from Waliców Street and three-axis from Prosta Street. On the other hand, he distinguished less clearly only the central axes protruding in front of the face of the wall with entrance porticoes. The very high plinth part, including the basement and the ground floor, was covered with rustication. It was separated from the upper storeys by a prominent cornice. The first and second floors are connected with Corinthian columns in great order in the avant-corps and pilaster strips, separating rectangular windows in the walls, grouped in three. There are also Tuscan pilasters between the windows. The whole was crowned with a cornice on corbels, full attics appeared above the avant-corps, in the sides from Prosta Street replaced by triangular gables. Quite conventional facades, which in the nineteenth century could conceal virtually any function, in the last two floors, however, reflected the internal layout: pilaster strips were placed where the transverse walls separated the classrooms, double windows in the middle axes illuminated the staircases. The appearance of the internal façades is unknown, it is impossible to determine whether they were developed in the same spirit as the front ones. The outbuilding, perpendicular to Prosta Street, was given by Goldberg a much more modest decor, reminiscent of the Northern

<sup>83</sup> *Liceum Handlowe Męskie Zgromadzenia Kupców m.st. Warszawy. Rok założenia 1924*, Warszawa 1929, p. 10.

<sup>84</sup> E. Goldberg, op. cit.

<sup>85</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności...*, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>86</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit.; E. Goldberg, op. cit.; „Gazeta Lekarska”, op. cit.

<sup>87</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit.; E. Goldberg, op. cit.

<sup>88</sup> E. Goldberg, op. cit.

<sup>89</sup> M. Gutowski, *Architektura szkół średnich w okresie zaborów*, Białystok 1991, p. 181.

Renaissance<sup>90</sup>. Here, the bright detail is contrasted with the darker parts of the walls, most likely brick-colored. The decoration was limited to segmented arches with a key above the windows on the ground and first floors and modest bands with rectangular beadings around the windows.

The school building, clad in a monumental, historicizing appearance, contained an extremely extensive and modern functional program. It distinguished itself with its class from the relatively modest architecture of Warsaw's Wola district, and at the same time reflected the development of the architecture of school buildings in the Kingdom of Poland. Described in detail in the professional architectural and medical press<sup>91</sup>, despite the external appearance embedded in the tradition, it contributed to the popularization of modern ideas in the architecture of schools.

In 1912, the complex was enriched with a new building of the Commercial School, located along the northern border of the plot<sup>92</sup>. The pavilion consisted of a spacious basement with canteens for students and teachers, and three floors containing classrooms and a gym<sup>93</sup>. The author of the design is unknown. In the 1930s, the facility again began to require expansion, which prompted the Board of the Assembly to decide on its implementation. The designs were prepared by the architect Stefan Kraskowski, the construction works were entrusted by tender to the company T. Czosnowski i S-ka. The work was carried out very quickly, from May to November 1937. The superstructure extended the usable space by about 800 m<sup>2</sup><sup>94</sup>, covered the entire wing from Prosta Street and the outbuilding<sup>95</sup>.

The project of the Warsaw school was not the only educational purpose design in the achievements of Edward Goldberg. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Lodz Merchants' As-

sembly decided to follow in the footsteps of the Warsaw district and open a school. In 1904, the Guardianship Council of the School of the Merchants' Assembly in Łódź announced a competition for its construction, which did not bring satisfactory results, so in 1906 a designer was still being sought. One of the applicants was Goldberg, who proposed a V-shaped structure with a gymnasium on the second floor. However, the project was not approved by the Guardianship Council<sup>96</sup>.

### 3. Competition entries

In biographical references to Edward Goldberg, one can find information about the victorious participation in architectural competitions. As a student, in the years 1865-1866 he made a design of a **spa house in Warmbrunn (Cieplice Śląskie)**, for which he received the first prize<sup>97</sup>. His concepts of a **gymnasium in Kerch in the Crimea**, **the central station in Brest-Litovsk** and **the English club in Yekaterinoslav** were also appreciated<sup>98</sup>. In 1888, E. Goldberg is said to have participated in the competition for the design of **the City Theater for the City of Krakow**<sup>99</sup>. None of these works survived. Only two of the architect's competition designs, published in the Warsaw press, are known. The first is a sketch of the **Warsaw railway station** from 1892 (Fig. 53-54), not submitted for evaluation to the competition jury, but publicly displayed in the building of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts (Fig. 53-54), with a favorable review by Józef Dziekoński in the "Przegląd Tygodniowy", who appreciated the feasibility of the project, harmonious composition of individual parts, the logic and functionality of the plan, as well as the manner of presentation in the form of a perspective drawing<sup>100</sup>. Dziekoński noticed the relationship between the building and the

<sup>90</sup> R. Marcinkowski, *Ilustrowany Atlas Dawnej Warszawy*, Warszawa 2013, p. 167.

<sup>91</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit., p. 41-42, table VIII-XVI; E. Goldberg, op. cit.; „Gazeta Lekarska”, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

<sup>92</sup> Plan Warszawy, APW, ref. 124/S<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>93</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności...*, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>94</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>95</sup> L. Sempoliński, E. Borecka, *Warszawa 1945*, Warszawa 1985, p. 31.

<sup>96</sup> A. Szczerba, *Szkoła Zgromadzenia Kupców miasta Łodzi*, Łódź 2015.

<sup>97</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit.

<sup>98</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>99</sup> J. Purchla, *Teatr i jego architekt / Das Theater und sein Architekt*, Kraków 1993, p. 42.

<sup>100</sup> J. Dziekoński, *Szkic do projektu dworca drogi żelaznej*, „Przegląd Tygodniowy”, 1892, no. 9, p. 162. According to another source, E. Goldberg won the competition for the station building; *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie: wraz z treściwym opisem okolic miasta*, Warszawa 1893, p. 44.

train station in Frankfurt, but it seems that it was in fact distant. The neo-baroque building proposed by Goldberg is much more decorative than the supposed prototype with numerous domed parts and an accumulation of details. In the plan, the architect proposed a solution that is quite typical for railway stations, with two elongated wings running along the tracks, fastened by a transverse section.

The first prize, accompanied by cash award of 600 rubles, was awarded to the eclectic design of the **town hall** (Fig. 55) – it was appreciated along with the entirety of the architect's achievements<sup>101</sup>. The reviewer, in this case Wojciech Gerson, was less favorable to the whole and accused the author of an excessive liking for baroque decorativeness and not always skillfully adapting to the purpose of the building<sup>102</sup>.

#### 4. Didactic work at the Wawelberg and Rotwand School

The repressive policy of the authorities of the Russian partition towards Poles included, inter alia, the sphere of education. One of the consequences in Poland was a significant shortage of workers with a broadly understood technical education. Efforts to establish a polytechnic were unsuccessful for a long time. On March 19, 1888, the "Law on Industrial Schools" was approved, allowing the organization of technical schools at secondary and lower levels, and craft schools, but the authorities did not provide funds for this purpose. Private donation has become the only way to establish such institutions<sup>103</sup>. It prompted the creation of the Secondary School of Mechanics and Technology in Warsaw. Hipolit Wawelberg and Stanisław Rotwand, wanting to honor the memory of their father and father-in-law, banker Henryk Wawelberg, in 1891 allocated 100,000 rubles for this purpose, counting on social support for the initiative, because the funds provided by them covered only the initial demand. As such support did not follow, they took on the entire cost and effort of organiz-

ing the school. It was opened on September 4, 1895 in rooms rented from the Museum of Industry and Agriculture at Składowa Street<sup>104</sup>.

School education lasted four years. In accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1888, the program also included subjects related to construction and architecture: 3 hours of lectures a week on construction in the second grade, and in the third, construction drawings carried out in the same number of hours. According to the provisions of the Act, "Construction includes detailed principles of major works and building structures in the field of factories, and at the same time assesses the properties and types of various materials used in construction (...) Construction drawings consist in copying architectural drawings and making a complete design of a wooden and brick building, with appropriate calculations and blueprints"<sup>105</sup>. In 1895, the school had one Faculty of Mathematics and Technology, in 1898 the Faculty of Construction was established. 32 students were enrolled for it, 50 in the following year (and 12 were second-years). Unfortunately, soon, in 1900, the Faculty had to be closed, because the facility did not obtain the rights of government schools, and thus the graduates did not obtain the rights enabling them to start work<sup>106</sup>. Nevertheless, elements of architectural teaching remained in the school curriculum.

Already in the first year of operation of the Mechanical and Technical School, the interest on the part of students was so great that work began on its own headquarters. It was then that Edward Goldberg's cooperation with the school began – he became a member of the building committee

<sup>101</sup> „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1894, no. 4, p. 52.

<sup>102</sup> W. Gerson, *Konkurs architektoniczny Towarzystwa Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych*, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1894, no. 5, p. 66.

<sup>103</sup> J. Miąso, *Szkolnictwo zawodowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1915*, Wrocław 1966, pp. 191–201; R. Jakubów, *Pierwsze dziesięciolecie Szkoły Technicznej Wawelberga i Rotwanda (1895–1905)*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, 1991, no. 34, p. 75.

<sup>104</sup> T.J. Eytner, *Monografia Szkoły Mechaniczno-Technicznej H. Wawelberga i S. Rotwanda*, Warszawa 1909, pp. 2–3; T.U. Szmigielska, *Szkoła Wawelberga i Rotwanda*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 3–4; R. Jakubów, op. cit., pp. 76–77; *To była wspaniała szkoła. Z dziejów Szkoły im. H. Wawelberga i S. Rotwanda w Warszawie (1895–1951)*, Warszawa 1995, p. 10. In the first year, the facility operated as the M. Mitte Secondary School of Mechanics and Technology, because its founders initially did not receive a license due to the lack of appropriate education, which was easily received by Maurycy Mitte, a professor of the Mining Institute in St. Petersburg - this situation changed a year later and the name of the school was changed.

<sup>105</sup> *Wyjątki z Ustawy dla średnich szkół mechaniczno-technicznych, zatwierdzonych przez Ministerium Oświaty*, „Przeгляд Techniczny”, 1895, no. 7, p. 167–168.

<sup>106</sup> T.U. Szmigielska, op. cit., p. 12; R. Jakubów, op. cit., p. 86.

for the new building (Jan Hinz was the head, and the building at Mokotowska Street was erected according to his design)<sup>107</sup>. In 1897, he joined the group of teachers as a teacher of construction and construction drafting, and from 1898 he also ran construction project classes<sup>108</sup>. In sources from the beginning of the 20th century, he was described as a teacher of building construction and head of architectural design<sup>109</sup>. He worked at the school until 1908<sup>110</sup>. Unfortunately, apart from the curricula, no materials have survived to characterize the teaching methods he used. You can guess, however, that he could draw on his own rich professional experience.

### 5. Publicist activity

The list of Edward Goldberg's publications begins with the article **On conservation**, published in 1910 in "Przegląd Techniczny"<sup>111</sup>. It was a reaction to the emotional statement of H. St. (Henryk Stifelman) in the pages of this magazine, which, delighted with the architecture of the village church in Rusiec, described the neighboring neo-gothic temple as "ignorance"<sup>112</sup>. Goldberg's answer is, on the one hand, a voice in the ongoing discussion on the conservation of monuments<sup>113</sup>, and on the other – a defense of 19th-century architecture. Edward Goldberg expressed his conviction that it was wrong to recognize as historic and protect every old building with conservation. He believed that such an orthodox approach could harm the idea of conservation, resulting in "embalming" villages and towns and causing opposition in the

face of the inability to make transformations, even necessary for utility reasons. He postulated to protect objects with "civilization value" – determined in the course of scientific research, individually for each building. He also expressed his opinion on the rebuilding and reconstruction. He pointed to the possibility of using both the stylistics in line with the era in which the construction works took place, as well as the use of forms characteristic of the time when the building was erected. He allowed the latter solution as a representative of historicism in architecture, strongly opposing the view that the art of the nineteenth century was dead, and that "artists of the nineteenth century created earlier, and not with their own inspiration, and that they did not create, but improvised..."<sup>114</sup>. Edward Goldberg noticed that the relationship between historicism and ancient styles was similar to the relationship between the Renaissance and antiquity, which in any of these cases was not an obstacle to the construction of valuable buildings. How rightly he predicted that with time the nineteenth-century ones would also be appreciated<sup>115</sup>.

Edward Goldberg was prompted to write another text on a similar subject, entitled *Protection of the homely character of cities*<sup>116</sup>, by reading the article by Józef Dziekoński, entitled *Endangered Buildings*<sup>117</sup>. In it, Dziekoński called on the public to protest against the demolition and transformation of historic public buildings in Warsaw. This time E. Goldberg did not argue with the author, but extended his reflection to the area of entire cities. He noticed that the increase in population in the cities must have resulted in the intensification of the construction movement. New districts with water supply, sewage systems and lighting are more con-

<sup>107</sup> T.J. Eytner, op. cit., p. 4; T.U. Szmigieliska, op. cit., p. 4; R. Jakubów, op. cit., p. 81: Ryszard Jakubów believes that Goldberg was the author of the plans for the building.

<sup>108</sup> T.J. Eytner, op. cit., pp. 36 and 109; *To była wspaniała szkoła (...)*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>109</sup> „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, op. cit.; *Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (...)*, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>110</sup> *To była wspaniała szkoła (...)*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>111</sup> E. Goldberg, *W sprawie konserwatorskiej*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 9, p. 117, no. 10, pp. 129–130.

<sup>112</sup> H. St. (H. Stifelman), *Do rysunków w tekście i na tablicach*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 5, p. 65. For drawing attention to this polemic, I would like to thank Dr. Piotr Kilanowski from the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology.

<sup>113</sup> W. Tatariewicz, *O założeniu Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*, „Ochrona Zabytków”, 1958, no. 3–4, p. 156.

<sup>114</sup> E. Goldberg, *W sprawie konserwatorskiej*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 10, p. 129.

<sup>115</sup> In response, Henryk Stifelman pointed to the changeability of criteria and recommended preserving the monument, even if it seems to be worthless from a contemporary point of view. On the other hand, he definitely rejected the art of the 19th century as creative: H. St. (H. Stifelman), *W sprawie konserwatorskiej. (Odpowiedź p. Edw. Goldbergowi)*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 11, pp. 141–142.

<sup>116</sup> E. Goldberg, *Ochrona swojskiego charakteru miast*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1911, no. 16, p. 209, no. 17, p.p. 227–228, no. 19, p. 251.

<sup>117</sup> J. Dziekoński, *Zagrożone budowle*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1911, no. 10, p. 125–126.



venient for the residents. However, in artistic terms, they fail and induce seekers of aesthetic sensations to head towards winding streets and old markets. The reasons for the monotony and heartlessness of the newly built-up parts of cities, Goldberg found in the building and police regulations specifying the sizes of buildings and regulatory plans created by engineers and geometers without taking into account local building traditions and aesthetic issues. In his opinion, part of the responsibility fell also on the owners of tenement houses, who in their investments were guided solely by economic considerations, and on architects who did not take into account local forms in their projects. Among the negative phenomena, he mentioned, in his opinion, the unfortunate transformations of the ground floors of old houses for the purposes of trade, with large glazed shop windows. Edward Goldberg postulated that legal regulations should not be limited to ensuring fire safety, durability of structures or providing residents with light and air, but also take into account aesthetic aspects and protection of historical buildings. He recommended studies on historical urban layouts, allowing to determine the values inherent in them and derive from them principles for the design of new districts and a harmonious combination of new buildings with old buildings, taking into account both forms and materials. Here he pinned great hopes on universities and the urbanistic departments that were established there. Such studies, in his opinion, could not only deepen the knowledge of old architecture, but also balance the tendency of architects to excessively succumb to modern trends. He considered the liking, especially of young artists, to modern forms as another danger to the familiar character of cities.

Edward Goldberg's interest in the history of architecture is reflected in the article *On Baroque*<sup>118</sup>. The architect described in it attempts to define this era and the changes that took place in its assessment over the second half of the 19th century in the publications of art historians – including Jacob Burckhardt, Cornelius Gurlitt, August Schmarsow, Heinrich Wölfflin. E. Goldberg wrote that in his time, despite the research and abundance of literature, the reader was still unable to come up with a precise idea of what the described style was – in fact, extremely

rich and varied. The features indicated by the authors cited, as difficult to define as picturesque or as non-specific as “strong shadow effects”, did not constitute sufficiently precise criteria for unambiguously including (or not) individual objects as baroque buildings. It was also not possible to clearly determine the time limit between the Renaissance and the Baroque. In the opinion of Edward Goldberg, what distinguished Renaissance buildings from Baroque ones, and what was clearly visible in the case of Italian churches, was the fact that during the Renaissance they were built for perfect beauty, and during the Baroque – for the purpose of upholding the authority of the papacy. And it was the primacy of the goal that determined the baroque style for the architect, and he saw the beginning of such an approach in the French construction of the 17th century. He denied the existence of other demarcations. He applied such a peculiar view to the professional practice of an architect, for whom it is not important to classify a building for a specific style, but to understand it. This was to be achieved by examining the basic factors - the owner of the building, the functional program and the architect, whose task is to meet the goals defined by the person commissioning the project.

Historical examples were used by Edward Goldberg to illustrate the main thesis of the article entitled *On exceeding the cost estimates*<sup>119</sup>, namely the claims that the complaints about the above are by all means unfair and derogatory to the site manager. The increase in costs most often results from later changes proposed by the owners themselves, program extensions, structural transformations or an increase in the prices of building materials and labor. And the acceptance of this, often inevitable, fact is an expression of respect for the architect's painstaking work. Goldberg wrote, inter alia, that Bernardo Rosellino, working in Pienza on the order of Pope Pius II, exceeded the original cost estimate five times, but the client, delighted with the perfection of the building, did not rebuke him, but additionally rewarded him. At that time, the city council of Mainz appreciated the efforts of the architect Gelius<sup>120</sup> in the reconstruction of the

<sup>118</sup> E. Goldberg, *O baroku*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1912, no. 2, p. 23, no. 3, pp. 35–36.

<sup>119</sup> E. Goldberg, *O przekroczeniach sum kosztorysowych*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1912, no. 13, p. 177.

<sup>120</sup> Adolf Gelius (1863–1945): <https://rpb.lbz-rlp.de/cgi-bin/wwwalleg/srchnam.pl?db=rnam&recnums=0009646> (access 12.12.2021).

municipal theater, despite more than 12% increase in costs compared to the initial amount intended for the construction. This approach was postulated by Edward Goldberg on his native soil.

The last article, published in 1916, entitled *Architecture as the Art of Space*<sup>121</sup>, also dealt with the practical aspects of design. E. Goldberg started it with the statement that in the last 25–30 years there has been an increase in architectural creativity towards the aesthetic improvement of the body, contrary to the architecture which he described as “apparent”, that is limited only to decorating the facade. This growth was slow, because approaching architecture as an art of space requires the artist’s rich imagination and simultaneous consideration of many aspects - sizes, shapes, proportions, material properties and lighting. Contrary to this introduction, which suggested the subject of the general shape of the external body of the building, the architect focused on the interiors. He postulated not to focus only on representative rooms, but also to take care of those considered to be subordinate, such as staircases and corridors. Here, he also indicated that the architect should begin his work with an analysis of the goals and needs of the building. He warned against routine and recommended that each project be solved individually, adapting to the needs of the inhabitants and changing living conditions. According to Edward Goldberg, the apartment was not only a place where people lived, but also a place of peace and coexistence with the family, it was “a place of arousing good and noble dispositions”<sup>122</sup>. When pointing to the principles of interior design, the architect focused on four aspects: shape, materials, lighting and color. For ordinary rooms, such as living rooms, dining rooms or bedrooms, he recommended a rectangular plan, facilitating furnishing and allowing to create a pleasant space, and at the same time, by changing the proportions – to modify the shape. In representative rooms with a special purposes (e.g. a music room, a house master’s billiard room, public meeting rooms), he advised enriching the rectangular plan with additional elements: a semi-circle, ellipse, polygons. These transformations, along with various ways of covering the rooms,

created an unlimited field for the development of the builder’s imagination. The almost unlimited choice of materials also offered many possibilities. Goldberg cautioned against using this wealth without moderation, and advised to focus on the properties, overall impression, and interaction of different materials. He assigned a large role in shaping the atmosphere in the interiors to lighting, both natural, resulting from the size and arrangement of windows, and artificial, where the location of the light sources was important. He advised creating bright interiors, but he considered excessive lighting to be inappropriate, in his opinion, making the interiors less cozier. He was also opposed to the introduction of a large number of stained glass with colored panes, making it impossible to look out the window and introducing colored light into the interior. In Goldberg’s opinion, the main problem of contemporary architects was creating a colorful mood in the rooms, because they were not prepared for it. In technical universities, the emphasis was on form rather than color, which is considered to be the painters’ domain. Edward Goldberg considered this approach to be wrong.

### Summary

Edward Goldberg’s design activity was extensive and varied, ranging from residential buildings to various public utilities. Despite quite frequent criticism in the press regarding the architect’s work, he was hired willingly and often. Investors were not deterred by unfavorable opinions, it is possible that what the critics did not like attracted the clients. He was able to combine conservative forms with an innovative shape of the plan, using solutions applied abroad. It is also worth noting that when the nature or location of the building was not conducive to decoration, he renounced eclectic lushness. Its popularity made Goldberg one of the architects who strongly shaped the architectural landscape of Warsaw in the late historicist era. He also took an active part in public life. His cooperation with the magazine “Zdrowie” indicates that issues related to the broadly understood hygiene were important to him – which he also expressed in his architectural projects, equipping buildings with modern facilities. Teaching work at the Wawelberg and Rotwand School proves that educating young adepts of architecture was of great importance to Edward

<sup>121</sup> E. Goldberg, *Architektura jako sztuka przestrzeni*, „Przełęcz Techniczny”, 1916, no. 1–2, pp. 12–15.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13.

Goldberg. And his journalistic activity, albeit unremarkable, shows the breadth of his interests and the desire to deepen his knowledge through numerous readings. It is also a testimony to the views of a representative of the epoch on a number of issues related to architectural and urban design as well as the conservation of monuments and the discussions taking place around these issues.

## Bibliography

- „Gazeta Lekarska”, 1905, vol. 25, no. 5
- „Kurjer Warszawski”, 1869, no. 10
- „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1896, no. 3
- „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1906, no. 5
- „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1894, no. 4
- „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1895, no. 29
- „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1896, no. 18
- Brunner J., Szokalski K., *Instytucja tanich mieszkań Hipolita i Ludwiki małż. Wawelberg*, Warszawa 1904
- Dumała K., *Najstarsze osiedle społeczne w Warszawie. „Tanie Mieszkania im. Wawelbergów” z końca XIX wieku przy ul. Górczewskiej*, „Mazowsze”, 1995, no. 1
- Dziekoński J., *Szkic do projektu dworca drogi żelaznej*, „Przegląd Tygodniowy”, 1892, no. 9
- Dziekoński J., *Zagrożone budowle*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1911, no. 10
- Eytner T.J., *Monografia Szkoły Mechaniczno-Technicznej H. Wawelberga i S. Rotwanda*, Warszawa 1909
- Gerson W., *Konkurs architektoniczny Towarzystwa Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych*, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1894, no. 5
- Goldberg E., *O przekroczeniach sum kosztorysowych*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1912, no. 13
- Goldberg E., [no title], „Architekt” 1906, no. 2
- Goldberg E., *Architektura jako sztuka przestrzeni*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1916, no. 1 and 2
- Goldberg E., *O baroku*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1912, no. 2 and 3
- Goldberg E., *Ochrona swojskiego charakteru miast*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1911, no. 16, 17 and 19
- Goldberg E., *W sprawie konserwatorskiej*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 9 and 10
- Gutowski M., *Architektura szkół średnich w okresie zaborów*, Białystok 1991
- H. St. (Stifelman H.), *Do rysunków w tekście i na tablicach*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 5
- H. St. (Stifelman H.), *W sprawie konserwatorskiej. (Odpowiedź p. Edw. Goldbergowi)*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1910, no. 11
- Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie: wraz z treściwym opisem okolic miasta*, Warszawa 1893
- Jakubów R., *Pierwsze dziesięciolecie Szkoły Technicznej Wawelberga i Rotwanda (1895–1905)*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, 1991, no. 34
- Kondakov S.N., *Spisok russkich hudożnikov k Ūbilejnomu spravočniku Imperatorskoj Akademii hudożestw*, Moskwa 2002 (reprint of the issue from 1914)
- Książka informacyjno-adresowa „Cała Warszawa” 1930*, Warszawa 1930
- Księga Pamiątkowa Zjazdu b. wychowañców b. Szkoły Głównej Warszawskiej w 40q rocznicę jej założenia*, Warszawa 1905
- Kwiatkowska M.I., *Rzeźbiarze warszawscy XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1995
- Liceum Handlowe Męskie Zgromadzenia Kupców m.st. Warszawy. Rok założenia 1924*, Warszawa 1929
- Łoza S., *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce*, Warszawa 1954

- Marcinkowski R., *Ilustrowany Atlas Dawnej Warszawy*, Warszawa 2013
- Mazur E., *Dobroczynność w Warszawie XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1999
- Miąso J., *Szkolnictwo handlowe w Królestwie Polskim (1855–1914)*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, 1965, Vol. 8, no 8
- Miąso J., *Szkolnictwo zawodowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1915*, Wrocław 1966
- Nalepiński K., *Rys Historyczno-Statystyczny Ochrony 9-iej Imienia Księdza Piotra Gabryela Badouina*, Warszawa 1901
- Odkrywanie Warszawskiej Pragi*, Warszawa 2013
- Okolski A., *Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1880
- Omilanowska M., *Działalność polskich architektów w cesarstwie rosyjskim w XIX i pocz. XX wieku*, „Pinakothek”, 2005
- Omilanowska M., *Polscy architekci w petersburskiej Akademii Sztuk Pięknych w latach 1814–1918*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 2004, no. 3–4
- Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/stanislaw-rotwand>
- Purchla J., *Teatr i jego architekt / Das Theater und sein Architekt*, Kraków 1993
- Rocznik Naukowo-Literacko-Artystyczny (encyklopedyczny) na rok 1905*, Warszawa 1905
- Roguska J., *Architekci polscy w kręgu petersburskich neoklasycystów*, in: *Przed wielkim Jutrem. Sztuka 1905-1918*, Materiały Sejsji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Warszawa, październik 1990, Warszawa 1993
- Roguska J., *Architektura i budownictwo mieszkaniowe w Warszawie w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku. Zabudowa mieszkaniowa dzielnic przemysłowych i peryferii. Domy robotnicze*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, 1986, no. 2
- Roguska J., *Neogotyki w architekturze warszawskich kamienic*, „Kronika Warszawy”, 1986, no. 2
- Rozbicka M., *Małe mieszkanie z ogrodem w tle*, Warszawa 2007
- Schrever R., *John Cockerill (1790–1840) – Brits-Belgische staalmaganaat*, <https://historiek.net/john-cockerill-brits-belgische-staalmaganaat/73664/>
- Sempoliński L., Borecka E., *Warszawa 1945*, Warszawa 1985
- Sprawozdanie z działalności Zgromadzenia Kupców m. st. Warszawy za rok 1937*, Warszawa 1938
- Statut Zgromadzenia Kupców m.st. Warszawy*, Warszawa 1930
- Szczerba A., *Szkoła Zgromadzenia Kupców miasta Łodzi*, Łódź 2015
- Szmięgielska T.U., *Szkoła Wawelberga i Rotwanda*, Warszawa 1980
- Szustakiewicz I., *Budynek Szkoły Handlowej Zgromadzenia Kupców m. st. Warszawy z początku XX wieku – utracone dziedzictwo a współczesne działania konserwatorskie*, in: *Dziedzictwo. Architektura historyczna współcześnie: studia, badania, wnioski: prace naukowe Zakładu Dziedzictwa Architekturalnego i Sztuki Wydziału Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 2018
- Taryfa domów Miasta Warszawy i Przedmieścia Pragi*, in: *Premiowy Kalendarz Ilustrowany Echa dla wsi i miasta na rok zwyczajny 1883*, Warszawa 1883
- Tatarkiewicz W., *O założeniu Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*, „Ochrona Zabytków”, 1958, no. 3–4
- To była wspaniała szkoła. Z dziejów Szkoły im. H. Wawelberga i S. Rotwanda w Warszawie (1895–1951)*, Warszawa 1995
- Wagner A.A., *Czas i miejsce. Architektura Politechniki Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 2015
- Wyjątki z Ustawy dla średnich szkół mechaniczno-technicznych, zatwierdzonych przez Ministerium Oświaty*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1895, no. 7
- Zbiór Przepisów Administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Komunikacyj Lądowych i Wodnych*, Vol. 1, 1866
- Zieliński J., *Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy*, Warszawa since 1995
- Дача генерала Милютин в Алупке, <http://www.bigyalta.net/blog/dacha-general-a-milyutina-v-alupke/>
- Иенсен Давид Иванович <https://artinvestment.ru/auctions/49300/biography.html>
- Петроградский район. Часовня Александра Невского при казармах Лейб-гвардии гренадерского полка, <http://sobory.ru/article/?object=35417>
- Экштут С., Защитить генерал-фельдмаршала! <https://rg.ru/2016/07/26/rodina-dom-miliutina.html>

**Archival sources**

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Zbiór Kartograficzny, ref. 35-10

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Zbiór Kartograficzny, ref. 35-11 i 12

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Akta stanu cywilnego parafii ewangelicko-reformowanej w Warszawie, ref. 182/0/9

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Akta stanu cywilnego parafii rzymskokatolickiej św. Krzyża w Warszawie, ref. 158/0/36

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Plan Lindleya, 1897, Zarząd Budowy Kanalizacji i Wodociągów w Warszawie, ref. 785

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Plan Warszawy, 1936–1941, Kolekcja I map i planów Warszawy, ref. K I 124

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Referat Gabarytów

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Zbiór Przyborowskiego, ref. 2674