

# THE TOWN-PLANNING AND BUILDING DIRECTIVES OPERATIVE IN THE CONGRESS KINGDOM OF POLAND (1815-1915) AS REFLECTED IN THE REGULATION PLANS OF THE PRAGA QUARTER IN WARSAW

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Before the 1830s the large-scale scheme of regulating towns in the Kingdom of Poland, as in most European countries, was inspired with the early-eighteenth-century French theory of urban-planning. Evidence of such actions in Poland can be traced back to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., and the initiatives undertaken at the times of the Kingdom, including the government's plan to restructure and beautify many towns, were in a way their continuation.

The process of urbanizing Praga intensified in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., together with the economic development of Warsaw.<sup>1</sup> It was confirmed by granting a town charter to Skaryszew in 1641 and to Praga in 1649. In the mid 17<sup>th</sup> c. Praga, Skaryszew and Gołędzinów were separate economic units.<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1)

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. there were five administratively independent towns within Praga: Skaryszew, Praga Biskupia, Praga Książęca, Gołędzinów Królewski and Kamion (Fig. 2). In 1770 all of them were encircled within an earth embankment that embraced Warsaw too, which eventually resulted in more high-density housing (Fig. 3).

The previous road network, comprising several old routes and streets that emerged spontaneously in separate settlements, can be seen in a surveying plan from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., drawn by Maciej Deutsch (Fig. 4), a sworn land surveyor working for the Paving Committee.<sup>3</sup> In 1791 the Praga towns became part of Warsaw as a separate administrative unit, known as the 7<sup>th</sup> district, the other six being located on the left (western) bank of the Vistula.<sup>4</sup>

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., as a result of war, the layout of Praga was largely destroyed. Further dam-

age was caused during the construction of Napoleonic fortifications<sup>5</sup> in 1807-1811. The fortifications, in the form of a three-bastion bridge-head, are shown in Bach's plan from 1809, together with entrenchments dating back to 1794.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 5) The plan also shows the embankment delimiting the area of Praga as a city district, inscribed over the original drawing. The construction of the bridge-head changed the layout of Praga completely. Almost half of the buildings and many streets vanished. Many inns, manors, granaries, churches and gardens were demolished on the basis of a decree from 1807, which transformed this part of the city into more of an agricultural area.

A scheme of restructuring many towns emerged already in the time of the Duchy of Warsaw and was implemented starting with the capital, through issuing new building directives, decreeing the development of empty plots and preparing a general regulation plan specifying the positions of future streets and squares.<sup>7</sup>

In 1809 a decree was issued to regulate the issue of the Jewish population. It prohibited Orthodox Jews from living at specified streets of Warsaw due to "many dangers, namely fire and health damage, considering that untidiness, disorder and unlawfulness are a natural effect of excessive concentration of people in a small area, which can hardly be prevented by the Police". In 1821, after the establishment of the Kingdom, the directives were extended to apply to further streets, "due to their increasing tidiness and decoration, as well as to streets that are disposed to become equally tidy and decorative and lead to the city's major

<sup>1</sup> Praga together with Skaryszew were called 'a second Warsaw' in a 1643 guidebook by Adam Jarzębski *Gościniec abo krótkie opisanie Warszawy*, ..., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The town layout of Skaryszew was planned as a whole at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., whereas Praga and Gołędzinów retained earlier layouts, characteristic of large villages. Cf. T. Wyderko, *Urbanizacja i zagospodarowanie prawobrzeżnej Warszawy w okresie od XVI w. do początku XIX w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Pragi*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 139-141.

<sup>3</sup> T. Krogulec, *Kartograficzny obraz Pragi*, [in:] *Warszawskiej Pragi dzieje dawne i nowe*, (a joint publication), Warszawa 2006, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Due to the development of Warsaw and its changing administrative divisions the Praga district was numbered differently in the following years.

<sup>5</sup> After the establishment of the Congress Kingdom the fortifications lost their importance and fell into disrepair.

<sup>6</sup> J. Berger, *Praga warszawska w czasach Księstwa Warszawskiego*, [in:] *O roku ów... Epoka napoleońska w polskiej historiografii, literaturze, sztuce i tradycji*, Warszawa 2003, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> Archiwum Publiczne Potockich [The Public Archive of the Potocki Family], vol. 108/2, p. 349, AGAD [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], after: W. Trzebiński, *Aleksander*, op. cit., p. 36.

entrances”.<sup>8</sup> A year later separate quarters started to be organized for Jews.<sup>9</sup> The official separation of Jewish population in towns was abolished only in 1862 r, the relevant directive lifting any “restrictions and bans on the settlement of Jews in towns or their quarters, as well as villages, following from any sort of previous titles, privileges or arrangements”.<sup>10</sup>

Since 1816 Praga had its own mayor, who was subordinate to the municipal authorities and mayor of Warsaw, but entitled to act independently when there was no connection between the two bank of the Vistula.<sup>11</sup> Praga had its own municipal officials and its own modest budget. In the same year a special directive forbade erecting any new wooden buildings “in the area of the city of Warsaw delimited with the embankment, including Praga, for whatever purpose, either facing the street or the yard”.<sup>12</sup>

Directives concerning the preparation of regulation plans were issued in 1820<sup>13</sup> but Alexander I’s decree on modernizing Warsaw, demolishing the Napoleonic fortifications and reconstructing Praga facilitated works on a new urban-development plan for the district. In 1816 two different concepts were ready, one prepared by Wojciech Lange<sup>14</sup>, and one by Jakub Kubicki<sup>15</sup>. The latter was presented to Alexander I for approval and accepted in 1817.

The design submitted by Kubicki, an outstanding architect, was one of the most interesting regulation plans for Warsaw in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. (Fig. 6). It envisaged

the area of Praga encircled in the embankment together with Warsaw as a baroque-type arrangement based on five grand streets radiating from a main square located on the riverbank and opening towards the Vistula and the Royal Castle visible across the river.<sup>16</sup> The axes of the streets crossed in the middle of the rococo façade of the Castle, highlighting it as a symbolic seat of government. Simultaneously, the streets mimicked the fan-like arrangement of the alleys Kubicki had planned for the Castle gardens,<sup>17</sup> thus creating a visual link between Praga and Warsaw (Fig. 7). Kubicki’s plan was also an implementation of eighteenth-century French urban-development theories, which promoted wide straight streets, squares diversified in shape, grand entrances to cities and a unified though varied composition of the whole town space.

The new conception retained the former main route of Praga, the Wołowa and Targowa streets, regulated into a very wide avenue with a market square in the southern part, narrowing towards the north. It also preserved Brukowa Street as perpendicular to the avenue.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the three existing tollbooth entrances to the town, Kubicki planned a fourth one, highlighting the axis of the intended bridge. Each of the entrances had a view on the Castle. For each of the Praga tollbooths Kubicki designed a square of a different form, although to some extent he followed his own designs of left-bank Warsaw tollbooths.

<sup>8</sup> 1809 – Dekret względem zamieszkania żydów w Warszawie; 1821 r. – Protokół Sekretaryatu Stanu Król. Pol., Postanowienie Królewskie, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego [The Law Register of the Kingdom of Poland]. 1821, Vol. VII, no. 30, art. 1, pp. 155-173.

<sup>9</sup> 1822 – Protokół Sekretaryatu Stanu Król. Pol. Postanowienie królewskie do KRSWiP, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego [The Law Register of the Kingdom of Poland]. 1822, Vol. VII, no. 32, art. 9, p. 389.

<sup>10</sup> 1862 – Ukaz Cesarsko-Królewski, *dotyczący uprawnień żydów w Królestwie Polskiem*, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego [The Law Register of the Kingdom of Poland], 1862, Vol. LX, no. 180, art. 2, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Postanowienie Namiestnika Królewskiego, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego [The Law Register of the Kingdom of Poland], 1816, no. 1, vol. 1, p. 382.

<sup>12</sup> 1816 – Postanowienie Namiestnika Królewskiego. No. 681, Zbiór przepisów administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego, Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych [The Register of the Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Departament of Internal Affairs], Part IV. Powinności i posługi gminne. Vol. II. 1867, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Rozporządzenie Komisji Rządowej Spraw Wewnętrznych i Policji. No. 57/192, Zbiór przepisów administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych i Duchownych

[The Register of the Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Departament of Internal and Religious Affairs]. Część 1. Gospodarstwo miejskie. Tom II. O obronie własności i praw miastom służących, o uporządkowaniu miast i realności miejskich, o robotach i ulepszeniach w miastach, i o funduszu budowlanym miast, 1866, p. 339.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. W. Trzebiński, *Aleksander I a działalność urbanistyczna rządu Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815-1821*, Kwartalnik AiU, 1991, vol. XXXIV, issue 1-2, pp. 43, 46.

<sup>15</sup> J. Kubicki was appointed Builder General. Before the final partition of Poland he planned the restructurings of certain parts of Warsaw and in the times of the Duchy of Warsaw he worked for the Building Committee, dealing with urban-development problems of restructured towns. T. Szafer, *Ze studiów nad planowaniem miast w Polsce XVIII i pocz. XIX w.*, Studia z historii budowy miast, Vol. V, issue 1/14, Warszawa 1955, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> The composition principle was modelled on Versailles.

<sup>17</sup> W 1816 Tsar Alexander I obliged Kubicki to prepare a regulation plan for Plac Zamkowy (the Castle Square), Podzamecze and the reconstruction of Praga, after: P. Wątroba, *Jakuba Kubickiego projekty urbanistyczne dla Warszawy i Pragi*, Rocznik Warszawski, 1998, vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

<sup>18</sup> Also Ząbkowska Street was left intact, being with Brukowa Street a major communication route from the bridge to the tollbooths and then through Targówek.

An important element of this conception was situating bridges within the town structure. The 1817 plan changed the location of the crossing, moving the future bridge from the exit of Brukowa Street down the river, to meet Mostowa Street in the Old Town, which was a revival of the tradition of the Jagiellonian bridge from the 16th c.<sup>19</sup> Leading to the bridge was supposed to be a wide straight avenue from an elegant square at the new tollbooth. The square was designed to imitate the baroque Piazza del Popolo in Rome, which also functioned as a city entrance and was quoted in eighteenth-century French urban-development treatises as a perfect model.

The trading functions of Praga made Kubicki plan several market places. The animal market was left at the wide Wołowa Street. In the northern part of the district the architect situated a huge rectangular 'All-Purpose Market Place', with exits of as many as eight streets around. Next to it, close to the river, there was to be an irregularly shaped 'Industrial Market Place'. In addition to market places Kubicki designed several more elegant squares. The Grand Square on the bank of the Vistula was to be half-circular with two churches in the centre, symmetrical frontages of church outbuildings and three streets radiating; it was to be located in the former area of the bridge-head. The nearby smaller Government Square was to be surrounded with municipal and military offices. The drawings bear additions made by the Grand Duke Constantine, who wanted the area allocated to the army to be extended to two squares.<sup>20</sup> Other additions to the original are two new streets cutting Kubicki's arrangement at the right angle, marking a straight connection between the squares and the existing bridge and the Gołędzinów tollbooth at the north.

The planned street network was regular, although Kubicki avoided monotonous rectangular blocks and introduced building quarters of various shapes. He allocated the northern part of Praga, located close to the tollbooths and the embankment, as a Jewish section. It consisted of seven blocks of housing with a small square in the centre.<sup>21</sup> He also provided loca-

tions for future public buildings (administrative, military, religious) and for bothersome institutions, like hospitals and factories, at some distance from the centre, on the riverbank. The architect did not plan greenery or parks, as space was scarce within the embankment, or cemeteries, which according to the Enlightenment trends were moved outside towns.

Kubicki's plan special value was a carefully thought-out composition that linked Praga with Warsaw and created a cohesive urban structure. Later plans, especially the one from 1828, followed its main assumptions. Also the 1864 plan of restructuring a fragment of Praga took over the idea of radiating streets, though they were composed in a different way.

Worth mentioning is a plan from 1828, which concerned the area delimited by the embankment as the 7th district, established in 1791. It was prepared by an anonymous author and then reduced and redrawn by Józef Górecki<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 8). Its original version has not survived<sup>23</sup> and its main assumptions are known from fragmentary copies. It took over the main concept of the 1817 plan, that of several streets radiating towards the Castle; it also followed Kubicki's ideas as to the regulation of Wołowa, Targowa and Brukowa streets. Its major element was an enormous square central to the composition, with a view opening on the river and the Castle, and with a dominant placed in the middle of the eastern frontage. Two arterial exit routes went axially to the north and south along one of the frontages of the square. Compared to Kubicki's plan from 1828, this one had fewer squares: apart from the above-mentioned disproportionately huge central square there were only two others near the tollbooths. Streets were to be very wide. Although this plan showed little originality, borrowing the main concept from the 1817 one, it was based on more practical assumptions: it introduced more regular rectangular blocks of housing and abandoned the idea of developing the northern riverbank part of Praga, where natural conditions were unfavourable for building.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, it provided for

<sup>19</sup> E. Szwanowski, *Kubickiego plan regulacji Pragi*, Biuletyn Historii Sztuki, 1948, no. 2, p. 162.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. W. Trzebiński, *Aleksander*, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> E. Szwanowski, *Kubickiego*, op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>22</sup> H. Bartoszewicz, *Rozwój przestrzenny Warszawy w latach 1800-1914 w świetle źródeł kartograficznych*, Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne, 2003, no. 1-2, p. 171. A scheme of the

design is reproduced in: O. Sosnowski, *Powstanie, układ i cechy charakterystyczne sieci ulicznej na obszarze Wielkiej Warszawy*, table XIX.

<sup>23</sup> It survived in the Municipal Archives until 1944.

<sup>24</sup> W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Uwagi o urbanistyce i architekturze miejskiej Królestwa Kongresowego w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1956, p. 70.

regulating the riverbanks and building boulevards there, as well as shifted the position of the planned bridge upstream, to meet the axis of Karowa Street on the left bank, instead of replicating the position the existing bridge on the axis of Bednarska Street. The author also planned several new blocks of housing on the left bank of the Vistula to form a half-circular square at the exit of the future bridge. Oskar Sosnowski described this plan as the last of “a number of attempts undertaken still in the situation of relative political freedom”, in a period when urban development was still inspired by eighteenth-century models, perhaps not sharing their brilliance<sup>25</sup> but being better adjusted to the changing needs and conditions of the time.

It is worth mentioning that in 1828 an inspiring, though unrealizable project emerged, one of building an underground tunnel to connect Praga with left-bank Warsaw<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 9). It was authored by Adam Idźkowski, an architect and builder, and dedicated to Franciszek Drucki-Lubecki, the minister of treasury. 1829 saw the construction of a new pontoon bridge on the border of the New Town and Żoliborz. In the 1820s the so-called Brześć or Moscow road was built in the southern part of Praga, at the exit of Wołowa Street through the Moscow tollbooth. The so-called Petersburg Road went north, through the Petersburg tollbooth.

In 1820 *Przepisy ogólne Policji budowniczej dla miast w Królestwie Polskim*<sup>27</sup> [General directives of the building police for towns in the Kingdom of Poland] were introduced, in order to “gradually bring towns to orderly and regular shapes and set stable rules that shall be followed in those towns’ development and reclamation”. It was decreed that each new building had to conform to the accepted regulation plan for the whole city. Those who used government loans could only build tile-roofed houses of brick or

other non-flammable materials. It was forbidden to build or renovate wooden houses. Factories potentially causing fire and pollution were only allowed outside the city. The width of the streets was to be determined by the regulation plan.

Two years earlier, in 1818, it was ordered that empty plots in towns be developed; in 1820 this decree was kept in force and extended to forbid turning empty plots into gardens.<sup>28</sup> In 1823 it was decided that the regulation plan should precisely delimit the borders of the city, as the intended “tidying-up and restoration can only be executed upon a foundation of a properly prepared plan”.<sup>29</sup>

After the November Uprising of 1830-31, which again brought a destruction of large parts of Praga, including the new bridge built in the 1829, the government of the Kingdom again wanted to rebuild the area. A plan of Warsaw from 1831 has Kubicki’s design inscribed as valid and intended for realization (Fig. 10). In 1832 the Tsar’s decree abolished Praga’s autonomous administration and made it again an administrative district of Warsaw. In the 1830s financial and administrative directives were issued specifically aimed at facilitating the reconstruction and regulation of Praga.<sup>30</sup> In 1835 the municipality got many plots that used to belong to the state to intensify the building activity in the district.<sup>31</sup>

In 1835 the Government Committee for Internal Affairs issued a decree on executing simplified regulation plans of private towns, which had no funds for preparing fully-fledged plans, as well as of government towns that had not been regulated before.<sup>32</sup> This spirit of economical effectiveness inspired yet another plan for Praga.

This project, prepared in 1835, was initiated by the Government Committee for Internal Affairs in cooperation with the mayor of Warsaw, Jakub

<sup>25</sup> O. Sosnowski, *Powstanie*, op. cit., pp. 43-42.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Z. Bieniecki, *Pierwsze metro w Warszawie*, Stolica, 1951, Vol. VI, no. 4, p. 8; I. Pannenkowa, *Na most warszawski*, Skarpa Warszawska, 1946, no. 4, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Decyzja Namiestnika Królewskiego, No 11.572, Zbiór przepisów administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych i Duchownych [The Register of the Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Departament of Internal and Religious Affairs]. Part 1. Gospodarstwo miejskie. Vol. II. O obronie własności i praw miastom służących, o uporządkowaniu miast i realności miejskich, o robotach i ulepszeniach w miastach, i o funduszu budowlanym miast, 1866, pp. 339-355.

<sup>28</sup> Postanowienie Namiestnika Król. No 5.367, ibidem, p. 335.

<sup>29</sup> Instrukcja Kommissyi Rządowej SWiP. No 2.682, ibidem, p. 277.

<sup>30</sup> The government of the Kingdom introduced loans to promote the building of new houses, as well as tax reductions and compensations for buildings destroyed in war or demolished in the course of constructing fortifications, provided they were restored. It also ceded to the municipality a brickyard in Kawęczyn.

<sup>31</sup> AGAD [Central Archives of Historical Records], KRSW 5689, k. 105, k. 187; after: A. Szczypiorski, *Plan regulacyjny Pragi i zjazd Pancera*, Rocznik Warszawski, 1964, vol. V, p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> 1835 – Rozporządzenie KRSWiP. No. 7645/16525. O sporządzaniu planów regulacyjnych miast, Zbiór przepisów, op. cit., p. 313.

Łaszczyński. The actual design was probably worked out by Edward Klopmann.<sup>33</sup> It did not follow the concept of the 1817 plan and was much more modest in scope. It has not survived as a whole but its assumptions, known from fragmentary copies (Fig. 11), served as basis for a gradual reconstruction of the district. Due to financial limitations it was decided that the existing layout of streets would not be changed. Only a few were straightened, where the existent housing allowed it. The empty space facing the Castle was allocated as a greenery area, with a plantation of trees arranged in several groups. No public edifices were designed; a park was treated as a reserve of space should a need arise for new municipal or governmental buildings.

The street visible on the plan as leading to the future bridge marked a new location for the axis of the bridge, which was now to run very close to the Castle, and for the entry to the bridge, leading down the left bank of the Vistula, which is higher than the right one. Kubicki's earlier idea of moving the location of the bridge north, to Mostowa Street, was abandoned, since such an arrangement would require those wishing to cross the river to make an inconvenient detour around the Old Town. Similarly, the idea of locating the bridge on the axis of Karowa or Bednarska Street was abandoned, since those options offered no convenient access from the bridge to the principal Krakowskie Przedmieście Street (Fig. 12, 13).

Any extension of Praga along the Vistula towards the north was blocked by Śliwicki's Fort, built in 1833, which was the head-bridge of the Citadel, and by its esplanade, widened in 1851. Therefore, there was a ban on building 'permanent', i.e. brick houses in northern Praga and in parts of its centre.<sup>34</sup> The regulation plan from 1835 was binding until 1859, when the Petersburg railway line and bridge began to be built. Until then, according with its assumptions, several straight streets had been delineated. There were three old entrances to the town area enclosed within the embankment from 1791: the Petersburg

tollbooth in the north, the Ząbki tollbooth in the east and the Moscow tollbooth in the south. In 1840, due to the worsening condition of towns in the Kingdom, the ban on renovating wooden buildings was suspended for several years.<sup>35</sup> In Warsaw a new ban was issued in 1847 but this time Praga was exempted.<sup>36</sup> It was only in 1860 that wooden buildings were forbidden in Praga along the main streets: Targowa, Wołowa, Brukowa, Ząbkowska and Szeroka.<sup>37</sup>

Earlier, in 1855, the government decreed that new regulation plans be prepared for all the towns of the Kingdom, simultaneously annulling all the previous plans. New plans were required to specify the location and orientation of streets and public squares, as well as to delimit precisely the borders of towns. A regulation plan had to conform to "rules accepted for the Empire", specified in a 1848 rescript, and to the appended Russian model of "normal town Krasne",<sup>38</sup> having a rectangular embankment and a schematic perpendicular street network.

The lack of a permanent bridge over the Vistula slowed down the growth of Praga for a long time. It was only in the 1860s that its rapid development started, resulting from the construction of a permanent bridge and of railway lines – the Petersburg line in 1862 (Fig. 14), the Terespol line (providing connections with Moscow and Kiev) in 1867, and the Vistula line in 1875 (Fig. 15). In 1865 a horse-tram line going over the permanent bridge, designed by Stanisław Kierbedź and finally opened in 1864, connected the Petersburg Line and the Terespol Line stations in Praga with the Warsaw-Vienna Line Station in left-bank Warsaw. The function of the tram-line was later taken over by a town-encircling railway line built in 1867 together with a railway bridge located near Śliwiński's Fort. All those tracks made a huge junction point in Praga, whose development was for a long time grossly complicated due to the rapid expansion of railways.

In 1861 the suburb called Nowa Praga (New Praga) was parcelled out according to a plan initiated

<sup>33</sup> E. Szwankowski, *Praga w latach 1814-1880*, [in:] *Dzieje Pragi*, Warszawa 1970, p. 166.

<sup>34</sup> E. Szwankowski, *Praga w latach 1814-1880*, [in:] *Dzieje Pragi*, Warszawa 1970, p. 167.

<sup>35</sup> 1840 – Postanowienie Rady Administracyjnej, *Dziennik Praw* [The Register of Laws] 1840, Vol. XXIV, no. 83, art. 3, p. 369.

<sup>36</sup> 1847 – Postanowienie Rady Administracyjnej Królestwa, *Dziennik Praw* [The Register of Laws] 1847, Vol. XXXIX, no. 121, art. 1ff., p. 261.

<sup>37</sup> J. Berger, *Praga przelomu XIX i XX wieku w statystyce*, [in:] *Warszawskiej Pragi dzieje dawne i nowsze*, (collective publication), Warszawa 2006, p. 141.

<sup>38</sup> Rozporządzenie KRSWiP. Nr 16812/36171, *Zbiór przepisów administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego* [The Register of the Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland], Part 1, vol. II, 1866, p. 401.

by a private owner (Fig. 16). The plan concerned an area outside the town, north of the Petersburg railway line, for which eleven streets were designed, six of them parallel to the tracks (Fig. 19). Plot no. 48 was donated by the owner to build a hospital on it, and the largest two plots were allocated for factories<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 17, 18).

In 1863 the Government Committee of Internal Affairs accepted a new plan for Praga, concerning the area within the embankment. It became part of the general regulation plan of the capital city of Warsaw, approved by the Governor of the Kingdom in 1864.<sup>40</sup> This plan remained binding until the end of Russian rule in Warsaw. It was probably worked out by the city's head engineer Konstanty Jodko, obowiązujący do końca rosyjskich rządów w Warszawie (Fig. 20). It did not introduce any vital changes in comparison with the plan from 1835; the only modification was the widening of the street leading from the bridge to the railway station that was being built at that time to make it into Aleksandryjska Avenue, which was connected with the intention to locate the Petersburg line in this area. Aleksandryjska Avenue became the axis of a new layout – a 'starry' square with eight streets radiating from it. The delineation of the Avenue was connected with designing a new centre for the district, fitted between the three existing major streets and the riverbank, which delimited the scope of the intended spatial composition. The centre of Praga was now to be a radiating square in the form of a cyclic rhombus, named Alexander Square, cut by a railway line running on an embankment, which made the square function on two levels. The square was intended to be impressive rather than functional; its concept was influenced by popular European models, including Haussmann's designs. It was also inspired by the much earlier, eighteenth-century layout of squares in southern Warsaw. Similar layouts could be found in a widely-accessible and popular Russian atlas of regulation plans from the epoch<sup>41</sup>. This regulation plan also determined a street network for

poorly developed areas, introducing new streets as well as widening and straightening the existing ones. It also provided for building a boulevard along the Vistula (Bulwar Mikołajewski) with a square in place of the former bridge-head.<sup>42</sup>

Of the radiating layout only six streets were actually realized, as well as a park which was already present in the 1835 plan, reaching up to Śliwicki's Fort. The 1864 plan remained in effect until 1915 and although it was not fully carried out, it determined the final layout of streets, squares and parks in Praga. One of its conspicuous results was that the district was almost devoid of squares.

The 1864 regulation plan, deciding about the street network and the parcelling of the area, provoked a number of lawsuits concerning the ownership of plots that were expropriated to build the fortifications in the years 1807-1811.<sup>43</sup>

A 1870 decree that deprived Warsaw of its state capital status and equalled it with other Russian province capitals resulted in urban-planning regulations that followed the rules applied to all cities. In 1871 a decree from 1816 was repealed, which for several decades had exempted newly-built and rebuilt houses in Warsaw and Praga from tax.<sup>44</sup>

In reaction to the dynamic development of the city, in 1886 a new regulation plan for Warsaw was prepared. It embraced the suburbs as well as the centre, so it included the part of Praga adjacent to the Terespol Line (Fig. 21). Those regulations, carried out without a detailed surveying plan and without a proper consideration of ownership structure, were schematically designed. The plan also provided for narrowing and regulating the Vistula.

In 1889 some suburban areas were administratively included into Praga; these included Nowa Praga, Targówek and Kamion, with chaotic housing developing between the railway lines (Fig. 22, 23).

In 1911 the Building Department of the Municipal Council of Warsaw proposed that new areas should be included into the city and new regulation

<sup>39</sup> *Nowa Praga pod Warszawą*, Tygodnik Ilustrowany, 1867, Vol. XV, no. 381, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> A. Szczypiorski, *Warszawa* op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Pelen zbiór ustaw imperium rosyjskiego. Księga wykresów i rysunków (plany miast)*, [Połnoje sobranije zakonow rossijskoj impierii], Sankt-Petersburg 1839, K. Dumala, *Przemiany*, op. cit.; K. Pawłowski, *Francuska myśl urbanistyczna epoki oświecenia*.

<sup>42</sup> K. Dumala, *Przemiany przestrzenne miast i rozwój osiedli przemysłowych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831-1869*,

Wrocław 1974, p. 139, E. Szwankowski, *Warszawa, rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny*, Warszawa 1952, p. 190.

<sup>43</sup> *Rys placów popofortyfikacyjnych na Pradze położonych*, a plan from c. 1880, showing the ownership of plots, AGAD [Central Archives of Historical Records], cartographic collection, 360-76, after: J. Berger, *Praga*, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>44</sup> 1871 – Uchwała najwyższej zatwierdzona Komitetu do spraw Królestwa Polskiego, Zbiór praw: postanowienia i rozporządzenia rządu, w guberniach Królestwa Polskiego obowiązujące, wydane po zniesieniu w 1871 roku urzędowego wydania Dziennika Praw Królestwa Polskiego, Vol. 1, 1871, p. 372.

plans for them should be worked out. This proposal was declined by the Russian government.<sup>45</sup> On the threshold of Poland's regained independence Warsaw still lacked a modern regulation plan (Fig. 24, 25). Its preparation was initiated by the Municipal Council in 1915. The resulting *Szkic wstępny planu regulacyjnego Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy* [Initial outline of a regulation plan for the capital city of Warsaw] was based on thoroughly modernized assumptions and rules relevant to town regulation.

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<sup>45</sup> T. Kotaszewicz, *Międzywojenny okres planistyczny*, [in:] *Atlas historyczny Warszawy*, Warszawa 2004, p. 13.