

HISTORICAL ALLOTMENT GARDENS OF THE CITY OF WROCLAW AS AN ELEMENT OF URBAN GREENERY SYSTEM PLANNING

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Introduction¹

Allotment gardens in Wrocław have a history of more than a hundred years. The first ones appeared around 1840 as lands given over to the poor, and later as tenement gardens. At that point they were of temporary nature, serving primarily utilitarian purposes, providing food for the less privileged inhabitants of the growing city. The emergence of the allotment system in Wrocław, much like in other German cities, was a result of the city's political, economic and social situation. The increasing momentum of the 19th century industrial revolution and of the development in means of transport contributed to a dynamic demographic growth in urban areas. The 1870s in Germany, and the early 20th century in Wrocław, saw the establishment of so-called Schreber gardens² – a mature form of allotments designed by architects and created with assistance from municipal authorities according to urban planning schemes. Simultaneously, there appeared workers' gardens, set up by factory owners and by the Prussian railways for their employees. Before World War I, there were also school gardens where schoolchildren could grow vegetables. During the Great War, the outskirts of cities abounded in colonies of small vegetable gardens.

As time went by, allotment gardens became an important fixture in the respiratory system of Wrocław and played a significant social role, promoting health, family life and recreation. In 1920s allotments were already so deeply settled in the fabric of the city that they began to be intentionally inscribed in the urban structure.

1. Schreber gardens

Before World War I most of Wrocław's allotments were temporary tenement gardens. A new quality was

brought to allotment gardening by the idea of Schreber gardens (*Schrebergärten*), proposed by dr. Daniel G. M. Schreber (1808–1861), an orthopaedist and scholar from Leipzig, whose particular concern was mental and physical health of children and adolescents³ (Fig. 1). Schreber gardens combined utilitarian functions with recreation, didactics, education and culture. Besides growing fruit, vegetables and flowers, children could enjoy some open air exercise here, enjoy shows and take part in different kinds of competitions which were held in vast common open spaces. Schreber gardens were meticulously designed to follow a well-defined functional and spatial programme.

Schreber gardens set up in Wrocław from the early 1900s were the first of their kind to be marked on city plans.⁴ They had detailed descriptions added, accounting for each lane and interconnection with the urban street grid.

Before World War I, there were several Schreber gardens in Wrocław; one appeared in 1901 in Pola Stawowe (1.2 ha), (Fig. 2, Fig. 3), another in 1906 in Przedmieście Odrzańskie and Przedmieście Piaskowe (3.5 ha), yet another two in 1907 in Popowice (3 ha), (Fig. 4) and Karłowice (2.8 ha), in 1911 and 1914 in Gaj (1.8 ha and 1.4 ha, respectively). During the war only one Schreber garden was created in Popowice in 1915 (3 ha). In the post-war period, several new gardens were set up, e.g. in Sępolno in 1919 (Fig. 5), in Grabiszyniek in 1919, in Tarnogaj in 1929.

1.1. The gardens in Pola Stawowe

The oldest of Wrocław's Schreber gardens was created in 1901 in the urban area of Pola Stawowe (*Teichäcker*) at Gliniana Street (*Lehmgrubenstrasse*),

¹ The article draws on the main propositions of a doctoral dissertation supervised by prof. dr hab. inż. arch. Wanda Kononowicz. See: K. Gryniewicz-Balińska, *Rozwój ogrodów działkowych we Wrocławiu od końca XIX w. do II wojny światowej*, doctoral dissertation, Wrocław 2013.

² *Wasmuths Lexikon der Baukunst*, Verlag Ernst Wasmuths A–G, Berlin 1929–1937, Dritten Band, p. 378–379.

³ G. Katsch, H. Kosbi, E. Kroß, K. H. Leistner, R. Philipp, E. Uschpilkat, *Geschichte des Kleingartenwesens in Sachsen*, Dresden 2007, p. 24.

⁴ The zoning plan of 1904 and its subsequent versions published every two years until 1912. These plans were developed by the Municipal Survey Office (*Städtisches Vermessungsamt*) at a scale of 1:10,000 and 1:15,000; W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki rozwoju urbanistycznego w okresie międzywojennym*, Wrocław 1997, p. 15.

the main road of the former village of Glinianki (*Lehmgruben*).⁵ Designed by Head of Public Gardens Hugo Richter⁶ (Fig. 2), this scenically planned garden has been referred to as a model example of a landscape garden⁷ and served as a recreation and education venue. Its central space was a large yard surrounded by a hedgerow with occasional trees⁸ (Fig. 3). Within the yard, on the axis of the site, there was an open portico (*Schutzhalle*), intended to provide shade and shelter in case of rain.⁹ The portico divided the yard into two sections: the common section and a playground for children. On the axis of the site, by the eastern entrance, there were public toilets, tastefully covered by vegetation (*Bedürfnisanstalt*).

The Schreber garden in Pola Stawowe featured 49 lots of 100–200 sq. m.¹⁰ Half of each lot was earmarked for vegetable beds, the other half for fruit trees. Individual plots had their specific layouts, with round, square, rectangular and hexagonal cabins. The gardens were rather an elitist luxury, with most of the users originating from the middle class.¹¹

The Pola Stawowe garden first appeared in the zoning plan of the city in 1904. The oldest allotment complex in Wrocław has survived to this day, albeit it has lost its original spatial structure, the central yard having been redesigned to provide space for additional allotments.

1.2. The garden in Przedmieście Odrzańskie and Przedmieście Piaskowe

The first urban planning projects for Wrocław which took account of urban greeneries and allotment gardens can be attributed to the efforts of Municipal Building Counsellor for Urban Planning Alfred von Scholz,¹² who introduced Wrocław to Camillo Sitte's idea of artistic and aesthetic outlook on city planning.¹³ In the 1905 zoning plan for Przedmieście Odrzańskie and Przedmieście Piaskowe (*Oder u.- Sand-Vorstadt*) von Scholz envisaged an immense wedge of greenery cutting into the suburban area from the bed of Old Oder River down to what was to be a park (*Waschteich Anlage* – presently prof. Stanisław Tołpa Park). The greenery wedge bordered Schreber Gardens designed to take up part of the urban lands (*Städtischer Besitz, projektierte Schrebergärten Anlage*)¹⁴, (Fig. 6). Von Scholz's plan was a turning point when greeneries, including allotment gardens, started to be perceived as vital elements of the urban space. The park and the green wedge with the St. Lawrence Cemetery and allotment gardens constituted a type of greenery system which later proved very popular in contributions for the architectural competition regarding the expansion of Berlin (1910).

The layout of the area, including the allotments, underwent a number of transformations. Until World War I, the prevailing version was the one by von

⁵ W. Kononowicz, *Przemiany formy urbanistycznej Wrocławia w XIX wieku i na początku XX wieku*, doctoral dissertation, Wrocław 1974, p. 98, p. 119; W. Kononowicz, *Gliniana*, [in:] J. Harasimowicz (ed.), *Encyklopedia Wrocławia*, Wrocław 2006, p. 237.

⁶ *Różne tereny zielone 1894–1945*, Construction Archives of Wrocław (ABWr.), project file (TP) 1283, ref. no. 28128.

⁷ H. Stein, *Inseln im Häusermeer. Eine Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kleingartenwesens bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Reichsweite Tendenzen und Groß-Hamburger Entwicklung*, Hamburg 2000, p. 534–535.

⁸ The yard took nearly one fourth of the garden's area.

⁹ This type of portico was also used in allotment gardens designed in 1929 as a complex with today's Józef Piłsudski Park (also known as Park na Zdrowiu) in Łódź.

¹⁰ *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Breslau*, Breslau 1927, p. 6.

¹¹ For example, one of the gardeners was an engineer and municipal official. See: *Gesuch des Vereins der Pächter städt. Schrebergärten auf den Teichäckern um Abweisung des Vertrages des Lehmgrubener Diakonissen-Mutterhauses und Erhaltung der Schrebergartenanlage auf den Teichacker*, special collection of the Wrocław University Library, Silesia-Lausitz Cabinet, (Ye 634,4, H. Wendt catalogue, "Katalog der Druckschriften über die Stadt Breslau. Nachtrag (1903–1913), Garten, Parks, Promenaden. Schrebergärten", Breslau, März 1914).

¹² Alfred von Scholz held his office of Municipal Building Counsellor for Urban Planning between 1894 and 1924. He died 10 years later. See: W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 29.

¹³ Camillo Sitte (1843–1903) – a Viennese architect and urban planner. He was the first to introduce aesthetic considerations to urban planning. He believed sensitivity was a vital element of city planning. He wrote: "Works of art cannot be created by a committee or through office activity, but only by a single individual; an artistically effective city plan is also a work of art and not merely an administrative matter". See: C. Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, Wien 1889, p. 258–263 quoted in: D. Kłosek-Kozłowska, *Ochrona wartości kulturowych miast a urbanistyka*, Warsaw 2007, p. 23.

¹⁴ W. Kononowicz, *Przemiany formy...*, op. cit., fig. III-27; eadem, *Kształtowanie się przestrzeni miejskiej przedmieścia Odrzańskiego i Piaskowego w sąsiedztwie gmachu Szkoły Rzemiosł Budowlanych we Wrocławiu*, [in:] O. Czerner, A. Gryglewska (eds), *Schola Architecturae*, Wrocław 2005, p. 93–116.

Scholz, where the allotments filled a closed space within a residential area (Fig. 7). In a new version of the plan, developed in 1924–1925 by the City Development Bureau, closed architecture was rejected to create better air circulation and better interconnections with the green space (Fig. 8). The green space itself was enlarged; so was the allotment area, and additional allotments were added to the north of today's Tołpa Park, in close vicinity to the sports facilities designed to be created there.¹⁵ The original allotment area was to be expanded and given a public lane that would join the modern wedge of greenery with the boulevard by the river.

The Schreber garden was created here in 1906, in the area of today's Odon Bujwid Street (Fig. 9) and St. Lawrence Cemetery. From the east, the area bordered a vast grassland (*Auenwiese*)¹⁶. Nearby, school gardens were established. The complex was the biggest urban Schreber garden in Wrocław before WWI. With a total area of nearly 3.5 ha, it included 137 lots of 100 to 300 sq. m.¹⁷

The garden, with the lanes plotted out, appears in the 1910 zoning plan. After the Great War, a number of different size allotments were added, and in the 1928 section plan (Fig. 10) the entire area included a total of 200 lots. At present, the area is part of a bigger garden complex along the Old Oder River, reaching the Jaracza and Damrota Streets.

2. Permanent gardens

In 1912, the first congress of German allotment gardening presented its official proposal regarding creating permanent allotment gardens within cities (*Dauerkleingärten, Dauergärten*)¹⁸. The allotments were to be considered important features of urban greenery and as such constitute a fixture in zoning plans and ensure permanency of lease to

the users. In 1925, landscape architect Leberecht Migge¹⁹ had a survey conducted among 20 urban planners regarding permanent allotment gardens. All responders declared their support for the idea, accepting the gardens as an indispensable component of the city plan. Support for the idea came not only from urban planners and architects, but also authorities, journalists, social activists, medical professionals and educators. Earmarking urban space for permanent allotments was subsequently taken account of in legislature.²⁰ The idea came to be brought to life in Germany after the World War I.

In Wrocław, designing allotment gardens became a challenge in urban planning of the early 1920s. Before that time, plans were only updated to include already existing gardens. The new approach was systemic, which resulted from the emerging new regulations and urban planning documents: the Land Subdivision Plan (*Flächenaufteilungsplan*) and the General Development Plan (*Generalbebauungsplan*). They both accounted for allotment gardens by default. An important foundation for developing these two plans was the urban planning competition for the extension of the city (1921). Permanent allotment gardens started appearing in Wrocław in late 1920s and in early 1930s.

2.1. Gardens in competition entries for the extension of Wrocław

After WWI, city authorities in Wrocław deemed it necessary to expand the city limits. Overpopulated districts needed thinning and poor housing conditions called for action. In mid-1920s, Wrocław extended over an area of approx. 4,900 ha and was inhabited by roughly 575,000 people – around 117 per each hectare of city area.²¹ Manufacturing plants, hospitals, sanatoriums and cemeteries reached beyond the borders

¹⁵ This was to be the People's Park, though the name does not appear in the design.

¹⁶ The grassland might have been a later addition, it appeared in 1926 section plans.

¹⁷ *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Breslau*, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁸ The full title of the conference was: "Family allotments and other efforts around allotment gardens and their importance for the city and the country." See: *Familiengärten und andere Kleingartenbestrebungen in ihrer Bedeutung für Stadt und Land. Vorbericht und Verhandlungen der 6. Konferenz der Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt in Danzig vom 18 Juni 1912*, Schriften der Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt, Berlin 1913, Heft 8; *Der Grosse Brockhaus. Handbuch des Wissens in zwanzig Bänden*, Leipzig 1913, p. 214–215

¹⁹ Leberecht Migge (1881–1935) was a landscape architect, writer, and self-taught urban planner with a bent for social activism; he authored many books on gardens and other forms of greenery. He also pioneered the idea of permanent allotment gardens.

²⁰ Weimar Constitution of 11 August 1919, Housing Act of 10 May 1920 and the Regulation on the so-called Heimstättengärten of 12 September 1924. A formal recommendation for creating permanent gardens was given by the Minister of Labour in 1929 in the "Draft Guidelines for the housing industry" (*Entwurf von Richtlinien des Reichs für das Wohnungswesen*), but in reality gardens of this type had already been created before.

²¹ For the sake of comparison, at that time population density in Cologne was approx. 28 people per 1 ha, and in Frankfurt am Main – approx. 31 people per 1 ha.

of Wrocław, and their total area nearly equalled that of the city itself.²²

The first effort made by authorities with a view to extend the city was organizing a competition in 1921 for an urban development project for Wrocław (*Grosssiedlungsplan*). The jury, composed mostly of experts in construction and architecture from other big cities of Germany, was chaired by Supreme Burgo-master of Wrocław, Otto Wagner²³.

The terms and conditions for the competition were developed by the city officials and included the requirements for designing architecture, greeneries and transportation routes.²⁴ One of the recommendations was e.g. to provide for greeneries as much as possible in any open areas and make them connected with the existing green spaces (parks, promenades, cemeteries or playgrounds). Solutions suggested in the competition entries were later considered in developing the Land Subdivision Plan (*Flächenaufteilungsplan*).

In his contribution, architect Adolf Rading put special emphasis on the arrangement of green areas and allotment gardens (Fig. 11). The design revolved around the idea of “land reform” (*Bodenreform*), a reflection of the contemporary aspirations on the part of gardeners, urban planners and social activists to introduce changes in the land laws.²⁵ Vast plots of land were intended for allotments in this design, connected in an interesting manner with multi-storey residential houses.²⁶

The designer meant allotment gardens to compensate for the density of multi-storey architecture in the city. This solution would make it possible to use the street infrastructure more effectively, at the same time improving the living conditions of city

dwellers to the benefit of public health. In residential areas, greeneries were designed to surround high-rise residential architecture, and on a wider scale, green wedges cut deep into the heart of the city, a solution greatly appreciated by the jury.²⁷ Planning greeneries (tenement gardens, agricultural lands and recreation areas) as this type of wedges was later presented by Rading in a schematic design for a great city of the future.

Another entry the jury found interesting was the design by Paul Wolf, senator and member of the City Council for construction matters, and Otto Meffert, building official (Fig. 12). In the rationale of their evaluation, the jury praised e.g. the interconnection between allotment gardens, backyards adjoining residential houses, and the natural landscape along the Ślęza river (near the districts of Muchobór Mały and Nowy Dwór).²⁸

2.2. Gardens in the Land Subdivision Plan of Wrocław

The first Land Subdivision Plans (*Flächenaufteilungsplan*) appeared in early 1920s with the necessity to extend city limits resulting from the rapid development of urban areas. In contrast to schematic regulation plans which only delimited the pattern of city streets and squares, Land Subdivision Plans set up detailed rules for earmarking specific areas for housing, transportation routes, greeneries etc. The latter, existing and planned, took up a large part of the urban space. Land Subdivision Plans served as starting points for developing general development plans and constituted an important step towards spatial planning in a modern sense.²⁹

²² M. Fuchs, F. Behrendt, *Die Stadt Breslau und die Eingemeindung ihres Erweiterungsgebietes*, Breslau 1925, p. 6.; W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 29–49.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

²⁵ In October 1921, the same year when the competition for Wrocław's expansion was announced, Wrocław's Centenary Hall housed a convention of the German Federation of Land Reformers (*Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer*), with the honorary participation of Adolf Damaschke, doctor honoris causa in theology, law and medicine, President of the Federation and Chairman of the Permanent Housing Advisory Unit at the Ministry of Labour (*Ständiger Beirat für Heimstättenwesen beim Reichsarbeitsministerium*). Another prominent attendee was Löbl, Chairman of the German National Assembly. During the convention, they both gave speeches on the ways to combat the overpricing and short supply in the housing industry (see: A. Damaschke, *Vom*

neuen deutschen Bodenrecht in seiner Bedeutung für das Kleingartenwesen. Vortrag gehalten auf dem 6 Reichskleingärtnerstag zu Breslau, am 28. Juli 1928, Frankfurt am Main 1928, Heft 14, title page). According to Damaschke and Löbl, an improvement in living conditions of the population could only be effected if “immediate measures are undertaken regarding land”. Evidently, the land reform introduced by the act of 10 May 1920 (so-called *Reichsheimstättengesetz*), which stipulated that land should be put into private hands (*Heimstätte*, in cities – *Wohnheimstätte*, in rural areas – *Wirtschaftsheimstätte*) by the state and local authorities, was not being properly implemented.

²⁶ W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 41, p. 129.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 41, p. 134.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

The community of allotment gardeners put great faith in these plans, expecting a well-designed land policy to guarantee allotments their well-deserved place in the urban landscape.³⁰ The years 1924–1925 saw the emergence of a Land Subdivision Plan for Wrocław. Developed by the Urban Development Office (*Stadterweiterungsamt*) at a scale of 1:10,000, it drew on the best solutions proposed in the 1921 competition.³¹ The plan covered the extended city area (within its new limits), including areas within a radius of approx. 10 km from the city centre. The expansion meant the city was to grow to an area of 27,300 ha, more than five times its original size.³² The Wrocław Land Subdivision Plan demarcated areas for housing (existing and projected), public greeneries, industry, agriculture and railways (including railway tracks), floodplains, waters and streets,³³ and included detailed development plans (*Bebauungspläne*) for each district of the city³⁴ (both the existing districts and the ones to be created after the expansion).

The plan envisaged a comprehensive greenery system which connected the greeneries to be created (usable and public) with those already in existence (public greens and forests). The existing public green spaces extended over 580 ha at the time, i.e. 12% of the city area. The authors of the Wrocław Land Subdivision Plan intended 1500 ha³⁵ to be covered by green spaces, 5.5% of the envisaged total area of the city. These greeneries were to include allotment gardens (100 ha), playgrounds (120 ha), sports fields (100 ha, 5 ha for each of the 20 sports associations operating in the city), cemeteries (450 ha), areas intended for so-called air bathing³⁶ (88 ha) and public greeneries in new residential districts (485 ha), existing hospitals and sanatoriums (100 ha) and greeneries

to be used by the inhabitants of the suburbs (57 ha).³⁷ The recreation greeneries (promenades, parks, sports fields and playgrounds) were to double in size per one inhabitant.³⁸

The green space, including allotment gardens, was to be placed mainly on the floodplains of the Oder and Oława rivers, on lowlands and areas where ground water levels were high (north Klecina)³⁹. Urban greens also included areas whose management could be temporary, such as greenfields, private land and remaining wartime vegetable gardens (*Kriegsgemüseland*).⁴⁰ All land deemed fit for the purpose was to be converted to green space.

Allotments were intended to cater to the needs of both the inhabitants of existing compactly built-up and densely populated districts and new residential areas.⁴¹ In many cases, allotment complexes were designed to cut into residential architecture.

2.3. Allotment gardens in the general development plan for Wrocław

The draft Land Subdivision Plan was a foundation upon which a new plan was to be conceived, the so-called General Development Plan for Wrocław (*Generalbebauungsplan*)⁴², (Fig. 13). Made in 1924–1925, it was based on population data, including growth forecasts, detailed calculations regarding residential areas versus green spaces, and calculations of geographic and organic building zones, areas for work and leisure etc. The plan envisaged a functional division of the city area between green spaces, transportation areas, floodplains, industrial areas, residential areas and public facilities. The green spaces included parks and gardens, usable

³⁰ II. Internationalen Kongreß der Kleingartenverbände und 7. Deutscher Reichskleingärtnerstag in Essen (Ruhr) vom 5 bis 9 September 1929, [in:] "Der Schlesische Kleingartenfreund", 11. Jahrgang, Oktober 1929, no. 10, p. 139.

³¹ W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 31, p. 43, p. 140.

³² M. Fuchs, F. Behrendt, *Die Stadt Breslau...*, op. cit., p. 17; W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 43.

³³ In 1925, under the direction of Fritz Behrendt, a plan was developed which compared the existing and developed areas within the existing city limits with those yet to be developed. Behrendt envisaged e.g. new green spaces to cover an area of 257 ha, which equalled approx. 5% of the city area. See: W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 30, p. 150–151.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 43.

³⁵ M. Fuchs, F. Behrendt, *Die Stadt Breslau...*, op. cit., p. 18.

³⁶ Air baths were a type of natural health treatment consisting in physical exercise and lying in fresh air without clothes

on. Places intended for taking air baths were called *Luftbad* or *Licht-Luftbad*.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 12.

³⁸ From 5 sq. m per person in 1925 to 10 sq. m in 1950, assuming the population would nearly double within that time. Ibidem, p. 12.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 68.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 12.

⁴¹ Ibidem, passim.

⁴² *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien I Breslau I. Stadtplanung 2. Wohnung und Siedlung*, Breslau 1926, p. 30, p. 43, p. 141.

greens (agricultural areas), allotment gardens, playgrounds and sports areas, and cemeteries.

Permanent allotment gardens, grouped in large complexes, were usually situated near spots facilities, playgrounds and parks.⁴³ Several of them found their place nearby rail tracks and residential districts (Brochów – by Wiaduktowa Street, Tarnogaj, Muchobór Mały – near the Linke-Hofmann-Werke plant, Ołtaszyn, Kowale). They were usually designed as permanent by default and most of them did come to existence. The emergence of the Land Subdivision Plan helped to speed up the decision process regarding the expansion of the city limits,⁴⁴ which was eventually effected in 1928.⁴⁵

2.4. Projects and execution

In post-WWI Wrocław allotment gardening followed several major trends: 1) the majority were temporary tenement gardens; 2) former Schreber gardens were being transformed into permanent allotments;⁴⁶ 3) new allotment gardens were being established by default as permanent ones. The latter first began to appear following the State Allotment Gardening Convention in Wrocław in 1928. In the 1934 city plan there were already 11 complexes of this kind:⁴⁷ three in na Kowale (*Friedewalde*), (Fig. 14 – no. 20 a, b, c), one in Tarnogaj (*Dürrgoy*), (Fig. 14 – no. 24), one in Sępolno (*Zimpel*), (Fig. 14 – no. 18), one by the East Park (*Ostpark*), (Fig. 14 – no. 14), one in Ołtaszyn (*Oltaschin*), (Fig. 14 – no. 19), Muchobór Mały

(*Klein-Mochbern*), (Fig. 14 – no. 27), Osobowice⁴⁸ (*Oswitz*), (Fig. 14 – no. 23) and Popowice (*Pöpelwitz*), (Fig. 14 – no. 22). Later years saw permanent allotment complexes also appear in Księżę Małe⁴⁹ (*Klein Tschansch*), (Fig. 14 – no. 25), Rakowiec (*Morgenau*), (Fig. 14 – no. 26) and probably in the vicinity of Żerniki (*Neukirch*)⁵⁰. All the permanent allotment complexes were within the new city limits, established as of 1 April 1928.⁵¹ They formed a ring evenly surrounding the city centre.

Permanent gardens were similar in nature to Schreber gardens, but designed on a bigger scale and assigned a more comprehensive functional and spatial programme (e.g. a number of playgrounds). They were meticulously laid out, designed with regularity and often symmetrical, with a very pronounced composition axis accentuated by a wooded lane which served as a reference for the location of common spaces and squares. The layout was often arranged in geometrical shapes. A permanent garden complex usually did not exceed an area of 10 ha and its arrangement often brought to mind residential areas of “garden cities”, whose spatial layout was a closed composition, with a well-defined shape and very specific functional programme. It often comprised two distinct parts: common spaces open to the general public (yards, greens) and private areas (individual allotment plots and a playground), only accessible to allotment users. There was always a connection with the urban green spaces. Most permanent garden designs were conceived at the Municipal Garden Directorate, many

⁴³ E.g. in Grabiszynek, Muchobór Mały, Popowice, Karłowice, Zalesie, Rakowiec, Wilczy Kąt – by the East Park, in Gaj, Ołtaszyn, Gajowice.

⁴⁴ W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 72, p. 140. From this point onwards, the city area amounted to over 17,000 ha.

⁴⁶ In the Wrocław city plans the name “permanent garden” (*Dauergarten*) first appeared in the greenery plan developed by the Municipal Survey Office (*Stadt. Vermessungsamt*) in 1926. The name was given to the existing Schreber gardens (the plan defines them as “*Städtische Schrebergärten als Dauergärten*”). Schreber gardens had always had a rich functional programme and were carefully designed and set up. It was therefore quite natural that they would be the first to acquire the status of permanency. The city, through its gardening associations, was able to ensure the gardens performed their assigned functions and the gardeners were ensured stability of lease.

⁴⁷ In 1931 the entire Lower Silesia had a total of 732 ha of allotment gardens, of which nearly 25% were under long-term lease. Of these, some 60 ha were under compulsory lease, 71 were permanent and leased under the *Heimstättengärten* regulation or under local laws or local development plans, and 47 ha were under long-term lease exempt from statutory regulation. See: *Zur*

Geschichte des deutschen Kleingartenwesens, Frankfurt am Main 1931, Heft 21, p. 78–79.

⁴⁸ The garden played the role of an anti-crisis settlement and is more widely discussed in Section 2.4.7.

⁴⁹ The garden played the role of an anti-crisis settlement and is more widely discussed in Section 2.4.6.

⁵⁰ A complex of permanent allotment gardens called “*Przy Rowie Tratwowym*” (“*Am Flossgraben*”). Evenly sized lots of 18 m × 54 m probably served as arable lands. In 1932 the *Schlesische Heimstätte* housing cooperative designed a wooden cabin for one of the lots. See: ABWr., TP 1057, ref. P.1003.32. This complex is not present in the 1934 plan.

⁵¹ W. Kononowicz, *Wrocław. Kierunki...*, op. cit., p. 47–49.

of them by Director Franz Hahnel himself (e.g. Popowice, Osobowice, Sępólno). Let us now take a closer look at some selected designs (both realised and unrealised).

2.4.1. Allotment gardens in Tarnogaj

Demarcated by what is now Gazowa Street, Ziębicka Street and the freight railway, the area was originally intended to become a new cemetery for the district of Południowe Przedmieście.⁵² The first design for a permanent allotment garden complex in Wrocław was most probably part of the 1927 green space plan for Tarnogaj (*Dürrgoy*), a district incorporated to the city in 1904.⁵³ The Municipal Garden Directorate (*Städt. Gartendirektion*) developed two versions of this scenic design, which, however, never came to be implemented. The design comprised green spaces, sports and recreation areas, permanent allotment gardens and fifteen detached houses (Fig. 15). The area blended harmoniously with the nearby Saint Henry Cemetery and the Tarnogaj Hill (*Dürrgoy-Hügel*).

The first version of the design provided for over 200 allotment gardens, while the second one envisaged almost twice the number. They were to be accompanied by two rectangular recreation spaces: a small one of 2,000 sq. m and a large one of 3.500 sq. m. The complex was connected with external streets and the public green in the south by way of avenues and promenades highlighted by rows of trees and flowerbeds. The diversity of forms and spatial elements (meadows, open tennis courts, a tournament square, wading pools and a vantage point) arranged symmetrically along axes in the southern part are reminiscent of solutions applied in baroque gardens.

Permanent allotments appeared here in early 1930 and followed a different design. They are present in section plans from 1930s and in the 1934 city plan. Nearby, a municipal gas plant was erected in

1906, together with a working-class housing estate designed for the employees and built in stages up until 1937.⁵⁴

2.4.2. Allotment gardens in Kowale

Kowale (*Breslau-Friedewalde*) comprised the largest of Wrocław's allotment complexes, regularly laid out over an area of approximately 25 ha. It was located in the northern part of the Old Oder River basin, to the west from today's Brückner Street (*Friedewalderstrasse*)⁵⁵, (Fig. 14 – no. 20a, Fig. 16). What used to be a large wasteland was transformed into scenic gardens with little cabins. Over 400 lots and wide avenues lined with linden trees were arranged in a shape of an open fan on both sides of a stream which crossed the area. The fan-shaped plan added to the aesthetic value of the gardens and made the area stand out among others of its type all around the city.

The central point of the fan-shaped design, along its axis of symmetry, was a rectangular complex of common recreation greens, 300×80 m, surrounded by lines of trees. The complex comprised sports fields, a bowling green, and probably a union house. Placed symmetrically in relation to the main axis of the fan were small playgrounds for children, designed as an additional compositional accent.

The allotment gardens in Kowale were city-owned. They were part of the functional and spatial programme of Schreber gardens, with a common recreation space, places designed for children's play and a union house. The design bears features suggestive of inspiration from landscape gardens. Besides the one described, there were two other complexes of permanent allotment gardens in Kowale – one (no longer in existence) near today's Brückner street (*Friedewalderstrasse*), and another (still surviving) between today's Krzywoustego (*Hundsfelderstrasse*) and Olsztyńska (*Allensteinerstrasse*) streets.

⁵² The Tarnogaj commune, incorporated to Wrocław in 1904, was planned to house a new municipal gas plant, a working-class housing estate and a new cemetery; cf.: H. Markgraf, *Geschichte Breslaus*, Breslau 1913, p. 86; W. Kononowicz, *Osiedle Tarnogaj we Wrocławiu w latach 1904–1939. Od kolonii robotniczej do osiedla społecznego*, [in:] *Nie tylko zamki*, Wrocław 2005, p. 454.

⁵³ W. Kononowicz, *Między tradycją a nowoczesnością. Przyczynki do rozwoju racjonalnych form budownictwa mieszkaniowego we Wrocławiu w latach 1874–1930*, [in:] "Architectus", 2006, no. 1 (19), p. 23.

⁵⁴ W. Kononowicz, *Osiedle Tarnogaj we Wrocławiu...*, op. cit., p. 454.

⁵⁵ K. Maleczyński, M. Morelowski, A. Ptaszycka, *Wrocław. Rozwój urbanistyczny*, Warsaw 1956, p. 307.

2.4.3. People's Park in Popowice

Some urban planners and landscape designers suggested that allotments should be permanently connected with other urban greens, together forming so-called People's Parks (*Volkspark*). According to Longin Majdecki, the idea first appeared in late 19th century and became popular in the 20th century. People's Parks had a very extensive functional programme for entertainment and recreation. They featured open spaces, sports facilities, swimming pools, sometimes concert bowls.⁵⁶ Allotments were deemed an integral part of People's Parks, sometimes a very extensive one.

Only two People's Parks were ever created in Wrocław: in Karłowice (*Carlowitz*), by today's Kasprowicza Street (*Korsoallee*), and in Rakowiec (*Morgenau*), by today's Na Niskich Łakach Street (*Hollandwiesenstrasse*). Other designs for similar, very scenic complexes, conceived in the 1920s at the Urban Development Office (*Bauamt-Stadterweiterung*) by Fritz Behrendt, have survived but were never implemented.

The design of the People's Park "Sporna Łąka" (*Volkspark – Zankholzwiese*) in Popowice was developed in 1924 (Fig. 17). Envisaged to occupy the area near the existing Popowicki Park, by the railway station, it was to comprise two sports fields, a stadium, a playground (*Spielwiese*) and some Schreber gardens, taking up nearly half of the area.⁵⁷ The park was to accompany another project, the construction of a large residential area in Szczepin (*Tschepine*),⁵⁸ and therefore constitute a perfect recreation area and usable green space for the prospective residents.

2.4.4. People's Park in Gajowice

An interesting functional programme was implemented at the People's Park "Przy Kwaśnym Źródle" (*Volkspark am Sauerbrunn*) in Gajowice (*Gabitz*), situated between the present day streets: Krucza (*Chartlottenstr.*), Kwaśna (*Sauerbrunn*), Stalowa (*Kopischstr.*) and Oporowska (*Opprerauerstr.*), (Fig. 18). The complex comprised sports and recreation facilities, both closed and public, separated by dense, one-species greenery. It was to serve as a venue for active leisure of adults, students and schoolchildren, as well

as younger children. There was a spacious grassy schoolyard, school gardens and probably a folk high school. Nearby, a public sports facility was situated (presently WKS Śląsk stadium). The north-east corner of the park featured some sandpits, and the southern part had tennis courts, a recreation hill, a meadow and wading pools for children.

Probably just before World War II or right afterwards, nearly the entire area of what was to be the People's Park became a complex of allotment gardens, presently the Gajowice Family Allotment Complex. The gardens are today the only green space available to the local residents for strolling and recreation.

2.4.5. Allotment gardens in Borek

Allotment gardens in Wrocław often appeared in urban parks or in their vicinity. Worth having a closer look at is a scenic design for the allotments in Borek (*Kleinburg*), (Fig. 19), developed in 1920 and intended to provide for a continuation of Południowy Park, but never actually implemented. The gardens were designed in the shape of an ellipse surrounded by a wide avenue lined with two rows of trees. In the western part of the complex there was a semi-circular public space connected with the park, which could be used as a venue for occasional events. To the east, a smaller space, filled with vegetation, was to serve the needs of allotment users. On the axis of the entire design a two-wing building was envisaged, presumably to house public toilets.⁵⁹ The centre of the area was regularly plotted into gardens with cabins.

The design for Borek had features of Schreber gardens, a mature composition and a well-defined functional programme. Combining two different functions, public and private, indicates that the designer might have wanted to make it a part of a larger recreation complex, perhaps a People's Park.

2.4.6. Allotment complex in Księża Małe

After World War I, Wrocław and the entire Weimar Republic faced an economic crisis manifested, among others, by a housing crisis. It was then that allotment gardens became more than places of leisure – they be-

⁵⁶ L. Majdecki, *Historia ogrodów* (revised and updated by Anna Majdecka-Strzeżek), Vol. 2, Warsaw 2008, p. 449.

⁵⁷ These included existing gardens developed in 1907 (Fig. 14 – no. 3, Fig. 4) and those still in design.

⁵⁸ The development of the residential area began in 1925. See: W. Kononowicz, *Między tradycją...*, op. cit., p. 19–30.

⁵⁹ The layout of the gardens and the toilet building brings to mind the axial palace complexes of baroque, called "between the courtyard and the garden". An avant-cour of sorts was created here by the two wings of the building protruding from the facade.

came places of residence. The state found itself obliged to accept this phenomenon as a solution of the housing problem. In 1931, President of the Reich issued an extraordinary regulation⁶⁰ regarding, among other things, the construction of so-called anti-crisis settlements, intended primarily to house the unemployed. They were rural settlements (*landwirtschaftliche Siedlung*), small suburban settlements (*vorstädtische Kleinsiedlung*) or allotments for the unemployed (*Erwerbslosensiedlung*).⁶¹ An allotment garden was to provide a place for work and a source of income from growing fruits and vegetables and keeping small farm animals. The cabin (*Wohnlaube*) could serve as a place to live in.⁶² This type of gardens were permanent, serving as anti-crisis settlements, also set up in Poland and referred to as residential allotment complexes.⁶³

In 1934, Heinrich Knipping, at the time Head of the Urban Development Office (*Stadtplanungsamt*),⁶⁴ designed a garden in Księżę Małe (Fig. 20). Intended for the unemployed, irregular in shape and devoid of a common recreation space, the design comprised 113 allotments along today's Raciborska (*Ratiborerstr.*), Gliwicka (*Gleiwitzerstr.*), Bytomska (*Beuthenerstr.*) and Hajducka (*Laurahuetterstr.*) streets (Fig. 14 – no. 25). The lots, deep and narrow, from 700 sq. m in area to more than 1000 sq. m, featured one-storey wooden cabins of four types (three semi-detached and one detached), (Fig. 21). Knipping not only designed the area, but was also the author of detailed designs for the cabins.

The allotment complex adjoined the nearby large settlement of linear blocks developed in 1928 to the

design of Heim and Kempter.⁶⁵ The two areas formed an inseparable compositional whole.

2.4.7. Allotment complex in Osobowice

Another designer of residential allotments was Franz Hahnel, Director for Urban Greenery. In 1933, he developed a design for an allotment complex in Osobowice⁶⁶ (Fig. 14 – no. 23, Fig. 22). It was independent and unconnected with any residential area. The scenic, regular layout within an irregular polygon was both symmetrical and axial. In the central part of the design there was a rectangular common recreation space, with a union house and a playground. From the middle points of the rectangle came out four perpendicular lanes lined with trees on both sides, leading to four entrance gates.⁶⁷ The main gates were situated on the north-south axis and were accentuated with small yards. The area comprised five slightly secluded sections, each of which had a rectangular playground of almost 1200 sq. m placed in the centre and surrounded by rows of trees. Four of the five playgrounds were placed symmetrically versus the main lanes and were mirror images of one another.

The complex in Osobowice was implemented in stages according to Hahnel's design. The first to appear was the southern part. In 1936, the eastern part⁶⁸ was constructed, with 49 lots of approx. 300 sq. m. The works were completed most likely in 1938, but Hahnel's design was never implemented in full – its south-eastern fragment was the only part realised.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ *Dritte Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zur Sicherung von Wirtschaft und Finanzen und zur Bekämpfung politischer Ausschreitungen. Vom 6. Oktober 1931*, [in:] "Reichsgesetzblatt" I, 1931, no. 67, p. 537, p. 551, vierter Teil, Kap. II.

⁶¹ In Polish literature these are referred to as "suburban farmstead settlements" (pol. *przedmiejskie osiedle zagrodowe*). They were crisis or alimentation-oriented settlements. See: W. Kononowicz, *Drewniane budownictwo w osiedlach mieszkaniowych Wrocławia okresu międzywojennego XX wieku*, [in:] *Budownictwo drewniane w gospodarce przestrzennej europejskiego dziedzictwa*, Białystok 2003, p. 189.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 181–197.

⁶³ The term "residential allotment complexes" (pol. *mieszkalne osiedla działkowe*) taken from: M. Rozbicka, *Małe mieszkanie z ogrodem w tle w teorii i praktyce popularnego budownictwa mieszkaniowego w międzywojennej Polsce*, Warsaw 2007.

⁶⁴ ABWr., T 1646, ref. 3579.34.

⁶⁵ W. Kononowicz, *Ewolucja osiedla mieszkaniowego we Wrocławiu okresu Republiki Weimarskiej – Księżę Małe*, [in:] J. Rozpędowski (ed.), *Architektura Wrocławia*, Vol. 2. Urbanistyka do roku 1945 [Urban planning until 1945], Wrocław 1995, p. 445–478. Heim and Kempter were famous e.g. from their previous design and implementation of the Flachbausiedlung residential area in Sępólno. See: W. Kononowicz, *Osiedla mieszkaniowe Wrocławia*, text, copy no. 1, images, copy no. 3, [in:] *Osiedla mieszkaniowe na tle koncepcji i realizacji urbanistycznej Wrocławia w okresie międzywojennym*, order no. 311-029, Research Bureau and Heritage Documentation Bureau in Wrocław, Wrocław 1988.

⁶⁶ ABWr., T 3465, ref. P.330.33.

⁶⁷ The design for the allotment complex in Osobowice brings to mind renaissance designs for ideal cities. Some of them featured rectangular or square-shaped arrangements, with a rectangular market square in the centre (in the case of allotment the equivalent of the market square was the playground). The middle of each frontage was the starting point of the main streets of the city (in the allotment complex these were the main avenues).

⁶⁸ ABWr., T 3465 (Osobowicka 2–5), sygn. P.4713.36.

⁶⁹ Presently, the south-eastern corner of the complex is crossed by the western fragment of the bypass completed in 2010.

Summary

Allotment gardening, which had been developing in Wrocław since mid-19th century, held a prominent place in the everyday lives of the residents. Originally, allotment gardens were temporary in nature. From the early 20th century, Schreber gardens started emerging, featuring an ideological programme and mature in composition. They combined social, educational and economic functions, and promoted health and family entertainment. They were taken account of in city plans. Besides Schreber gardens, other types of gardens included school gardens and workers' gardens, and during the Great War – wartime vegetable gardens.

In post-WWI Germany, the evolution paths of all the different types of allotment gardens converged into the mature idea of a permanent garden serving a variety of social functions. In Wrocław of the 1920s, gardens became an important element in urban landscape planning, and were taken into account in general urban development plans. In late 1920s and early 1930s, allotment complexes flourished over vast areas, laid out with regularity, featuring evenly sized plots and uniform cabin architecture. Permanent complexes were intended as public and open. They neighboured city parks or major sports and recreation areas – the then popular People's Parks. In 1930s, a new type of permanent allotment garden emerged, with residential cabins – the so-called anti-crisis settlements.

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