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## *ALICE IN THE WONDERLAND?* SOCIALIST REALIST INTERIORS IN POLAND<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The subject of this article is the representative Polish interiors of the period of Socialist Realism. Although they were supposed to follow the doctrine, they represented various forms, conventions, motives, and patterns far from those imposed. They make us revise the views on the monolithic and colonial nature of the Socialist Realism in Eastern Europe. In this article, I would like to discuss the diversity of the Polish interiors created in the period of Socialist Realism. The analysis will indicate that even in the most “socialist realist” creations we are dealing with the “socialist realist” elements only. Moreover, these single forms or items seldom became “doctrinal”: it was difficult to define what the “socialist realist” design should look like. Socialist Realism in the interior design is, therefore, highly hybrid in many layers.

**Keywords:** Stalinism, Socialist Realism, Modernism, architecture, interior architecture, design

The subject of Socialist Realist interiors is a research issue of a complex nature, the phenomenon spread on many levels, suspended between the material and sacral space, between sacrum and profanum.<sup>2</sup> The interiors evoking the world behind Alice’s mirror became the objects of, as well as a symbol of and a portal to, another (better, that is socialist) world. Two orders existing in the space caused its superficial inconsistency. We often deal with buildings of simplified exteriors and lavish interiors or, vice versa, with historical buildings and simplified, modern interiors. The esthetic incoherence can be treated as an immanent feature of the doctrine and, in the interior design, as a deliberate narration, especially given the fact that the Socialist Realist esthetics mixed the axiological, ideological, and artistic categories.

The Polish interiors of the period of Socialist Realism, although subjected to the Soviet model, represented various forms, conventions, motives, and patterns far from those imposed. They make us revise

the views on the monolithic and colonial nature of the Socialist Realism realized in Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup> The architecture and interiors were created there by the domestic, not Soviet, architects faithful to their own artistic interests and traditions, only slightly adjusted on the basis of cultural mimicry to the requirements of the new style. In reality, in each country of the so-called Eastern Bloc, forms were non-uniform, consciously borrowing from different architectural patterns. They represented versions of modernity that differed between the countries and significantly differed from the imposed Stalinist model.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, we should place the Eastern European interiors of that period in the context of creation, not imitation, where Socialist Realism can be seen as a specific hybrid emerging from the application of different socialization strategies, irreducible to one universal pattern. A number of factors, including these ideological, pragmatic (economic) or personal, were responsible for the plurality of the “socialist realisms” negotiating, modifying, and diversifying the doctrinal principles.<sup>5</sup>

In this article, I would like to discuss the differences between the Polish interiors realized in the

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Fig. 1. Parliament, Warsaw, main hall; architect: Bohdan Pniewski, 1949–1952 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

period of the Socialist Realism and stress their diversity. The analysis will indicate that even in the most model “socialist realist” creations we are dealing primarily with the “socialist realist” elements only. Moreover, these single forms or items seldom became “doctrinal”, as it was difficult to define “socialist realist” design. Socialist Realism in the interior design is, therefore, highly hybrid on many layers.

#### *Socialist Realism and Socialist Realist hybrids in the interiors*

The Soviet model of culture, gradually implemented in Eastern European countries after 1945, was based on the doctrine of Socialist Realism, which provided (theoretically) visual uniformity for socialist states and defined their new political membership and dependence.<sup>6</sup> The shortest approved definition of Socialist Realism, and the one most often referred to, is that “it is the art that is socialist in content and national in form”. This slogan was totally inadequate as the description of a program of artistic activities, but extremely useful in the process of the expansion of communism beyond the Soviet Union’s borders after

1945. Moreover, the doctrine and the term rather concerned literature.<sup>7</sup> Its tenets and guidelines toward design and architecture changed with time, and were clearly represented by such model works as, in the case of architecture and design, the Moscow subway, and then by the construction of Moscow high-rise buildings (*vysotkas*).<sup>8</sup> The doctrine, however, did not explicitly define the form or composition of architectural work. It was not unequivocally codified, even in the Soviet Union.

In Eastern Europe, according to the tenets of the so called “soft revolution”, the implementation of the Soviet cultural model began gradually, with such organizational changes as the centralization of architectural life, and a ban on private practice. At this initial stage (1945–1948), the architectural style, mainly based on modernism, was not defined. However, a new role and function of architecture, which was intended to meet all of the man’s needs, was being developed. At the end of the 1940s, another stage of Sovietization began. New ready-made mottos and slogans that explained the principles of the new style in a very sketchy and vague way were imported. During meetings, conventions, and discussions, it was stressed that, in order to express “socialist content”,

architecture was to use explicitly defined, commonly known and acceptable forms derived from the past. In Poland, Socialist Realism was “introduced” during the Meeting of Party Architects in 1949 by its chief “Polish” theorist, Edmund Goldzamt (1921–1990).<sup>9</sup>

In Hungary, however, the codification of new style principles and the national form only took place in 1951, during the First Congress of Hungarian Architects, which was attended by a Polish representative, Jan Minorski (1914–1980).<sup>10</sup> In Hungary, the discussion concerning the “new” architecture, initiated, among others, by Máté Major (1904–1986) in the magazine *Új építészet* (“New Architecture”), began earlier than in Poland. It was agreed that there was a necessity to create progressive, socialist humanistic architecture. However, its doctrinal forms were not accepted.<sup>11</sup> Most Hungarian architectural projects completed by 1951 were modernist, or even functionalist, in design. The first polarization of Hungarian architects’ viewpoints took place in April 1951, when Imre Perényi (a former functionalist; 1913–2002) delivered a speech concerning the necessity of drawing inspiration from one’s heritage. But in another speech, Máté Major encouraged architects to create a socialist

architecture based on a modern style.<sup>12</sup> This doctrinal standpoint was finally adopted a few months later, in October 1951, during the First Congress of Hungarian Architects. It should be emphasized that the keynote speech, delivered by György Kardos (1902–1953), was focused primarily on the criticism of previously designed architecture and barely explained the principles of the new style. Similar underspecifications were a common practice. The Polish Meeting of Party Architects was similar in its structure, focusing on three basic activities: the criticism of existing works, an “offer” of cooperation, and vaguely defined principles of the new style.

It is of note that the spheres of applied art and design were not included in a separate program. David Crowley notes that “the politically correct face of design and the applied arts was, however, less clear. The tenets of Socialist Realism were difficult or even impossible to apply to the design of a vehicle or a teapot.”<sup>13</sup>

Design and interior design were situated at the intersection of art and architecture, though the program was defined according to doctrinal guidelines concerning other disciplines, not directly design. The guidelines were clarified through exhibitions (occasion-



Fig. 2. Palace of Science and Culture, Warsaw, Dramatic Theatre; architect: Lev Rudniev with a team (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



Fig. 3. Palace of Science and Culture, Warsaw, Dramatic Theatre; chandelier: Helena and Lech Grzeŝkiewicz, 1955 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

ally devoted to design<sup>14</sup>) or model works. General slogans claimed that forms must be socialist and humanist above everything else, to serve all human needs. However, forms themselves were not clearly defined. They were to be easily perceived and therefore needed to refer to a well-known legacy derived from the past. According to the Soviet model, history was understood as a kind of a bank of forms, details, and ornaments, from which it was possible to freely choose, although the state determined the “degree” of this freedom. The basic content of stylistic conventions was European styles derived from the “classical” heritage: the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome, partly the Renaissance and, above all, the neoclassical, especially the academic style.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, the dazzling historical interiors, which Sheila Fitzpatrick aptly labeled the “Monday palaces”,<sup>16</sup> were scarce, and if they did appear, it was mostly to fulfill the needs of culture. Definitely less eclectic were the interiors provided for the state and government: these were much more esthetic and ele-

gant. However, they were realized in the first phase of the doctrine’s implementation.

The interiors most common in Poland during the Socialist Realist period were those in which the new style was reduced to the repertoire of some basic, repetitive elements – architectural: symmetrical design plan with strongly accentuated public space (cf. Figs. 1, 14); decorative: coffered ceiling (cf. Figs. 3, 10, 18), simplified columns (cf. Figs. 1, 13, 15), and other “classical” details (cf. Fig. 9), hidden light sources (cf. Fig. 12); design elements: metal and ceramic chandeliers (cf. Figs. 2–3, 8–9, 19), ornamental balustrades or grilles (cf. Figs. 1, 2, 11, 13, 15–16), radiator covers (cf. Fig. 2); elaborated materials like: marbles and coloured stones (cf. Figs. 2, 5, 20), stucco (cf. Figs. 3, 6, 12, 17), ceramics (cf. Figs. 7–9), ornamental painting (cf. Fig. 19). Certainly, we are dealing with distinctive interiors, based on the compilations of various elements and traditions: historical, modernist, etc. It is difficult, however, to assume the existence of the “ideal” Socialist Realism interior. If the Moscow projects are seen as the model, the Polish (but also the Hungarian) interiors are not following it. One of the most influential and well-recognized Polish interiors of this period was created for the Parliament House, but it cannot be described as the doctrinal Socialist Realism at all<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 1). Paradoxically, the interiors most representative of the Socialist Realism, realized for the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw (Figs. 2–3) or the Palace of Culture in Dąbrowa Górnicza (Figs. 4–7), were finished at the end of the doctrine, and could, therefore, never serve as the model creations.

### *Wedding cake style?*

#### *Not only Palace of Culture and Science*

Undoubtedly, the interiors of the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science have a special place in the history of Socialist Realist interiors.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand, the Palace defines the canon of Socialist Realism in Poland (but not necessarily Polish) and may serve as a reference point for other creations from that period. On the other hand, as a model interior, it failed due to the late realization (opening in 1955) and the reluctance of many artists and architects to follow the “Soviet style”, with which the Palace was identified. Moreover, it should be remembered that the Palace represents a great variety of interior forms, often genuinely historical and pompous, but at the same time surprisingly



Fig. 4. Palace of Culture, Dąbrowa Górnicza; architect: Zbigniew Rzepecki, 1951–1958 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



Fig. 5. Palace of Culture, Dąbrowa Górnicza, foyer; architect: Zbigniew Rzepecki, 1951–1958 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

good, with the sophisticated detail of the best quality, elegant materials: marble, stucco, unique design art (Fig. 2). The design elements and furnishing were provided mostly by Polish artists. The monumental ceramic chandeliers by Helena (1909–1977) and Lech Grześkiewicz (1913–2012) attracted attention in particular (Fig. 3). The interiors of the theaters, two dramatic and one for children, the Youth Palace, movie theaters, and the most prestigious interior, that of the Congress Hall, were created with great care. In addition to these showpiece spaces, there were numerous smaller interiors: reception rooms, libraries, restaurants, and a variety of offices and educational rooms.<sup>19</sup>

The second largest palace of culture (*Pałac Kultury Zagłębia*) in Poland, designed by Zbigniew Rzepiecki (1901–1977) in Dąbrowa Górnicza with original, splendid forms, could fit the “canon” of Polish Socialist Realism, but was opened even later than the Palace in Warsaw, in 1958<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 4). Huge interior spaces are surprising not only in terms of the variety of decorations and the richness of materials, but also with respect to forms and their origins (Fig. 5). The ceiling in particular creates the ornamental “microcosm” based on the oriental forms, probably drawing upon the folk art of one of the Soviet republics, i. e. Armenia (Fig. 6). Other

decorations were mostly historical (detail of wood paneling). Other attention-grabbing elements are also the realistic paintings depicting Silesian themes made on the majolica tiles covering the walls of a few reception rooms (Figs. 7, cf. Fig. 8). The splendor of the decoration contrasts with the building’s general layout, which remains very symmetrical. The center of this monumental Palace was occupied by the main hall and the auditorium for about 900 people. However, the project provided numerous other showpiece interiors and spaces – staircases, entrance hall, movie theater, cafes, clubs, library, educational rooms, etc.

Historical interior spaces, though not so monumental, were also realized for other buildings serving cultural purposes. They emerged in certain places of particular political significance. Examples of stunning theatre interiors, but very tasteful and small-scaled, can be provided by theatres in Warsaw (Żoliborz district) or in Nowa Huta (the best known socialist city in Poland).<sup>21</sup> In particular, the interiors of the Warsaw theatre were designed with special care and attention to detail. Its historical forms contrasted with the earlier modernist building of the cultural house located in the vicinity (in fact, they were linked together). The rich decor of interiors such as halls and foyers included



Fig. 6. Palace of Culture, Dąbrowa Górnicza, stucco ceiling details, architect: Zbigniew Rzepiecki, 1951–1958 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

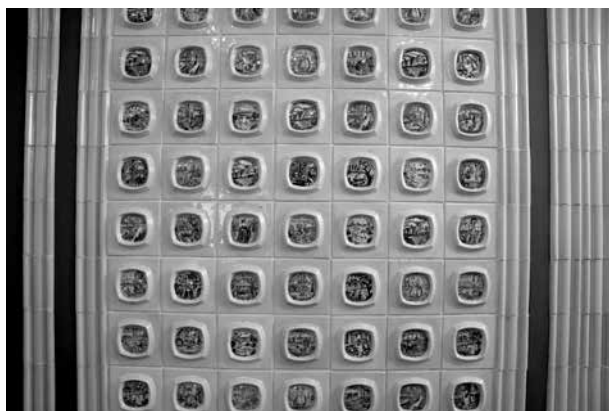


Fig. 7. Palace of Culture, Dąbrowa Górnicza, majolica tiles, 1951–1958 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



Fig. 8. Żoliborz Theatre, Warsaw, foyer with majolica tiles; architect: Stanisław Brukalski, 1952 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

ceramic tiles on the walls (Fig. 8), mirrors in green ceramic frames (cloakroom), marble floors laid out in geometric patterns, and very decorative stucco ceilings (foyer) (Fig. 9). An elaborated architectural and artistic decoration was given to the 500-seat auditorium with a coffered ceiling (Fig. 10).

The “ideal” Social Realist space, which is characterized by exceptional decorativeness, was created for the Soviet embassy in Warsaw, although it is difficult to classify it as “Polish.” The building and its interiors were designed by Russian (Soviet) architect Lev Rudniew (1885–1956) and his team. However, similarly to the Palace of Culture and Science, some design elements, such as chandeliers, were delivered by Polish artists. We are dealing there with luxurious, palace-style interiors in the neoclassicist style, complemented by expensive materials, such as marble. Particularly noteworthy are five presentable halls: Fireplace Room, Mirror Room, Round Room, Golden Room, and Marble Room, situated in an enfilade.<sup>22</sup>

Because of their prestigious function, palace-like spaces with enhanced decorativeness were also realized for the clubs of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Societies. Particular attention was paid to the Warsaw club designed by Michał Ptici-Borkowski. Therefore, numerous architectural decorations (stucco, columns, neoclassical details), sculpture, and painting appeared there.<sup>23</sup>

However, in the case of creations with historical stylization, we will be dealing more often with the interiors restrained in form, inspired more literally by neoclassicism. Such creations can be found, among others, in Rzeszów, the capital of a new industrial region in the south-east of Poland (although planned and developed since the interwar period, as the Central Industrial Region<sup>24</sup>). Special care was given to designing the interiors of the local culture house, which were widely commented on in the professional press and therefore gained the reputation for a model construction (arch. Józef Polak [1923–]).<sup>25</sup> This presentable but small building inspired by Neoclassicism received an interior with a complex, almost fully



Fig. 9. Żoliborz Theatre, Warsaw, foyer; architect: Stanisław Brukalski, 1952 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



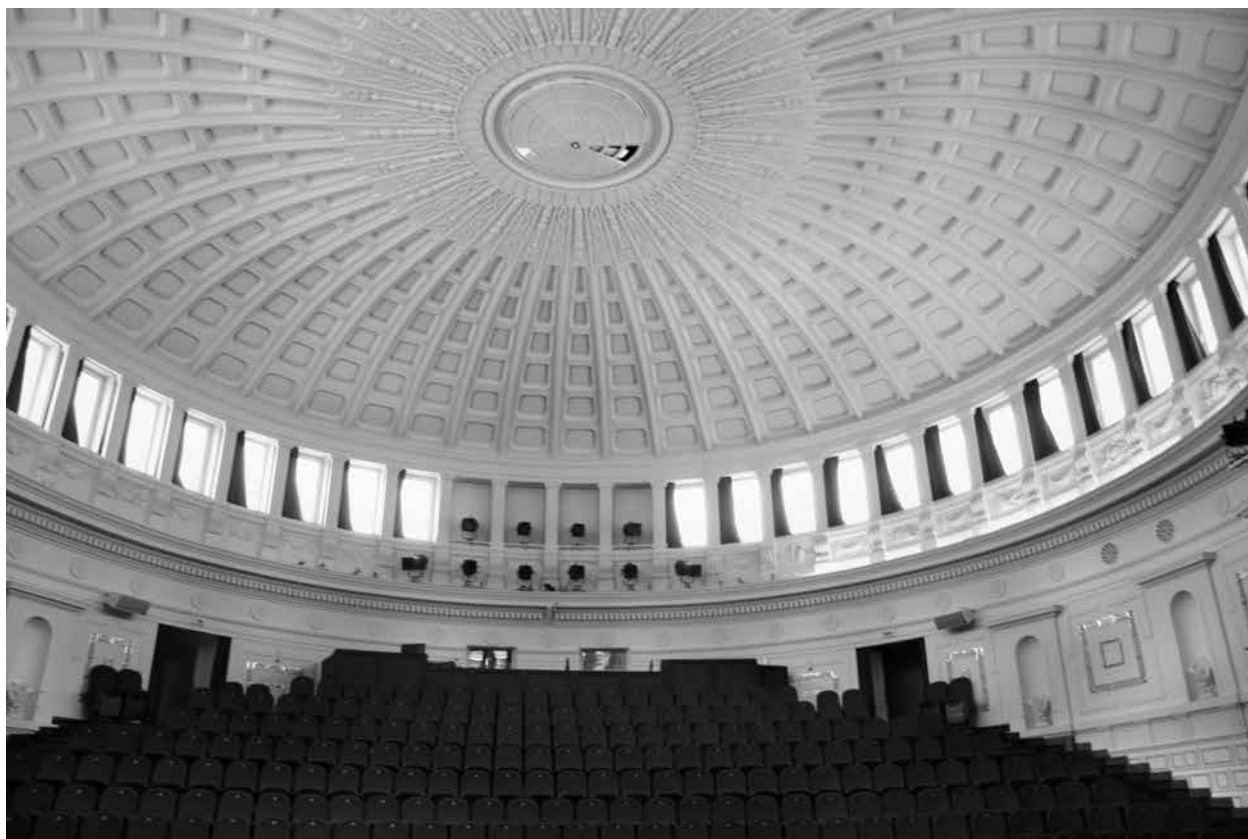


Fig. 10. Żoliborz Theatre, Warsaw, auditorium; architect: Stanisław Brukowski, 1952 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

realized iconographical program. Logically designed internal space housed both showpiece and smaller, educational rooms. The greatest focus was put on the decoration of the main hall and the auditorium (Figs. 11–12). The two-story, bright and spacious main hall received a monumental staircase with a painted panneau. The forms and ambience of this space brings some associations with the Parliamentary Hall in Warsaw (designed by Bohdan Pniewski [1897–1967]). On the first floor, in the auditorium, the visitor's attention is attracted by the relief decoration of the ceiling referring to "cultural" themes (allegorical masks, musical instruments, etc.).<sup>26</sup>

An interior similar in style appeared in another Rzeszów building, which was used by the state administration. Initially, simplified, modern forms in the Perret style were planned.<sup>27</sup> After the introduction of the doctrine, the interiors were "improved" by Marcin Weinfeld (1884–1967) (acting in his capacity of a high-ranking ministry officer), a famous Polish prewar architect, responsible during Socialist Realism for the approval and evaluation of projects. The new interiors were more pompous and enriched with neoclassical details (Fig. 13). This building, characterized by a relatively austere architecture, devoid of historical detail,



Fig. 11. Palace of Culture, Rzeszów, hall; architect: Józef Polak, 1953 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



and by monumental, decorative interiors, indicated the process of the “sorealization” and hybridization of the Socialist Realism typical of this period full of inner contradictions.

*Socialist realist hybrids.  
Utilitarian, pragmatic, modernist*

Most often, we deal with interiors which are far from the guidelines of Socialist Realism. They represent various “sorealization” strategies, rooted in modernist, as well as in historical, but often simplified, forms. Sometimes the austerity of the interiors was the result of financial restraints. Various factors have determined the multiplicity of the “socialist realisms”. These hybrid “socialist realisms”, in their turn, also manifested themselves in the interiors, clearly proving that the officially condemned “third way” of Socialist Realism became a fact.

It should be remembered that Socialist Realism as a new, imposed style at the beginning of the 1950s

was often deliberately “misunderstood” by architects and mixed with the modern tradition. A building that had already been under construction represented modern forms slightly decorated with a delicate historical ornament. More changes were visible in the interiors. A well-known example of this early “sorealization” is the Youth Palace in Katowice (arch. Zygmunt Majerski [1909–1979] and Julian Duchowicz [1912–1972]).<sup>28</sup> A modernist building received historical details, a coffered ceiling in the auditorium, sculptures, and relief decoration inside.<sup>29</sup> This kind of hybrid or, shall we say, “enhanced” modernism was officially accepted and recognized as “own”, socialist.

A reference to the best traditions of modernism appeared in the interiors of the most important “state” institutions.<sup>30</sup> These elitist interiors were then created in Warsaw, the symbol of the new, socialist Poland. Adam Szymiski accurately emphasizes that the year 1948 was important for Polish architecture and urban planning not because of the creation of ZOR (Company of Workers’ Housing Estate), but mainly



Fig. 12. Palace of Culture, Rzeszów, auditorium; architect: Józef Polak, 1953 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



Fig. 13. State Administration Office, Rzeszów, entrance hall; architect: Ludwik Pisarek, Marcin Weinfeld, 1953 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

because of the government's initiative to urgently erect important buildings for public administration. One of the first were the interiors of the Central Planning Council (P.K.P.G.) (designed by Stanisław Bieńkuński [1914–1989] and Stanisław Rychłowski [1909–1981]) (Fig. 14). This building was supposed to mark the beginning of developing the ministerial district. Later on, the interiors of the Ministry Council, the Central Committee of the Party, and the Parliament (Fig. 1) were realized. They represented a breakthrough moment, as they were designed shortly before the doctrine, but finished after 1949, which led to a rather superficial “sorealization”, usually involving the addition of the ornament. These interiors continued the prewar tradition, although it must be noticed that the style developed in the 1930s was transformed due to the new political and economic conditions.<sup>31</sup> They were created by eminent architects and interior designers and attract attention especially thanks to their finesse, elegance, subtle detail, sophisticated historical references, and, what is especially surprising in

such showpiece objects, lack of monumentality and pathos (i. e. the interior of the Parliament by Bohdan Pniewski<sup>32</sup>).

After 1950, the buildings and interiors of the state (state offices, party headquarters, etc.) were erected all over the country. Elegant spaces undergoing slight “sorealization” were created, among others, in Poznań, Łódź or Gdańsk, by great artistic individuals. Excellence of proportion and detail will be found in the creations by Władysław Czerny (1899–1976), Witold Minkiewicz (1880–1961) (Gdańsk Region) (Fig. 15), Julian Duchowicz and Zygmunt Majerski<sup>33</sup> (in Gliwice and Zabrze). Although these excellent interiors were scarce, they had a great impact on the whole generation of younger architects. They proved that creating good spaces in time of limited artistic expression was possible.

More and more various “sorealization” strategies appeared with time. Among others, the approach based on heritage, but used in a witty way, can be noticed. The architects referred to historical forms,

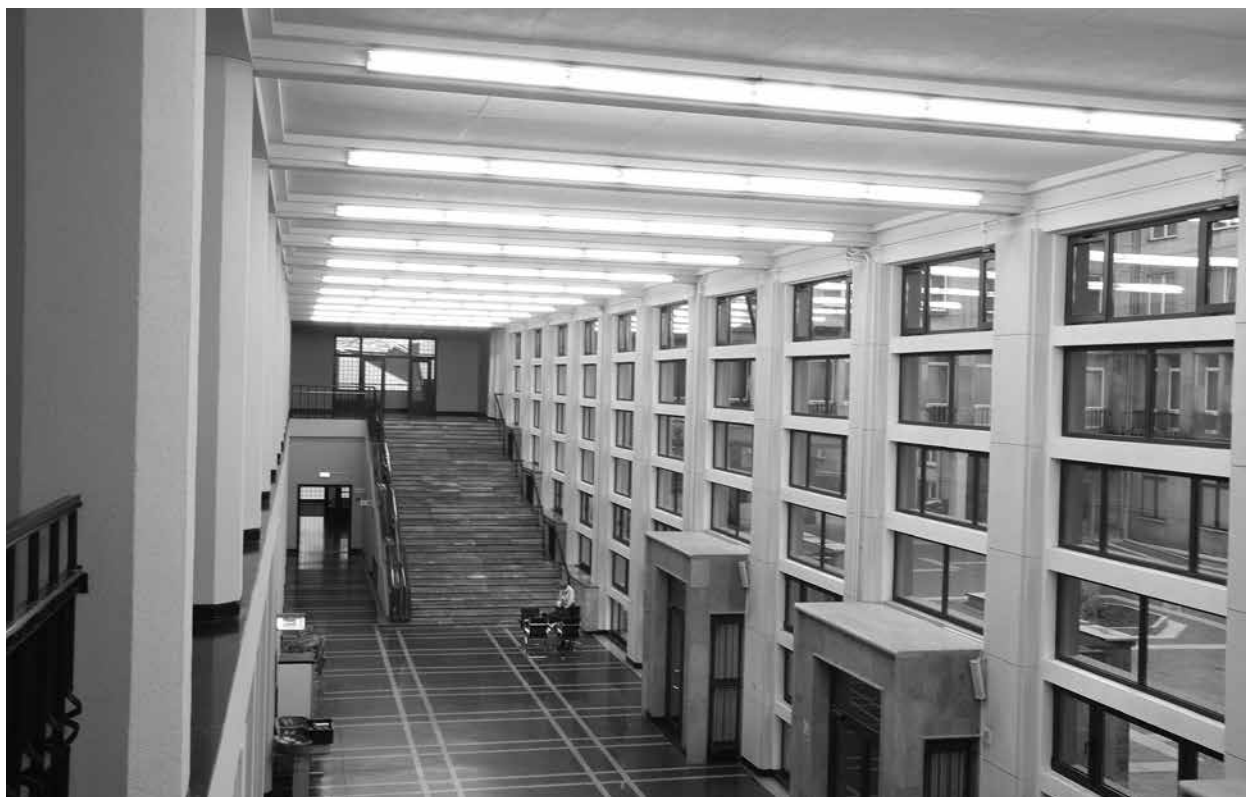


Fig. 14. Central Planning Council, Warsaw, main hall; architects: Stanisław Bieńskuński, Stanisław Rychłowski, 1951 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

but combined them in a surprising way. This strategy was characteristic of the young generation of architects represented by, among others, Marek Leykam (1908–1983), the designer of the Government Presiding Office interiors in Warsaw (Fig. 16), and the architects' team of Henryk Buszko (1924–2015), Aleksander Franta (1925–), Jerzy Gottfried (1922–) in Silesia. The most “non-orthodox” approach to the heritage is shown by Buszko, Franta, and Gottfried, in the interiors of the palace of culture in Świętochłowice<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 17). The conscious contrast between modern architecture and historical detail based on the thorough knowledge resulted in an ambiguous hybridism.

Excellent interiors combining historical elements with the prewar tradition, expressed especially in the furnishing and metal work, appeared in Nowa Huta. The leader of the interior designers' team in Miastoprojekt Nowa Huta, Marian Sigmund (1902–1993), was a member of the influential modernist organization Order (ŁAD). The interiors of Nowa Huta, both the showpiece ones, such as the Administrative Center, and those for public use, such as shops restaurants, or cinemas, clearly conveyed the spirit of the 1930s.<sup>35</sup> However, these interiors were more conventional in form than the prewar ones. It is also worth mentioning the

provincial Socialist Realism hybrids, which are a separate genre. The local “party's houses” and/or “palaces of culture” were palaces without a palace. They were supposed to dazzle one with their beauty. However, they did so in a superficial manner, since their presentability, understood in terms of increased decorativeness, could only be observed in accessible spaces: entrance halls with open stairways, lounges, or meeting rooms. An example can be the interior of the party's building in Kielce designed by Jerzy Żukowski (1907–1980), which draws attention to its decoration only in the central parts: the entrance hall and conference room<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 18). The decoration evoked the Renaissance, as the region was associated with the “Polish” national architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>37</sup>

Most of the Polish interiors of the years 1949–1956 represented the hybrid style in various layers. The reduction of the historical form was a result of both the vitality of the modernist tradition and the economic restraints (reduction of expensive decor), as well as the need to create the presentable space and at the same time utilitarian and functional one, especially in the case of office or school interiors. It must be also remembered that all types of interiors received the categories of “presentability”. The categories of the



Fig. 15. Central Coal Centre, Gdańsk, hall; architect: Witold Minkiewicz, 1951 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

1st, 2nd or 3rd grade (not applicable to the most prestigious buildings) precisely defined the architectural details (its type), the number of paintings and sculptures, and the quality of the material (marble, stucco, terrazzo, plaster).<sup>38</sup>

#### *Vernacular traditions. Doctrinal and modern ideas*

The specific form of Socialist Realism can be observed in the south of Poland, in the Podhale region. The local architecture continued the prewar attempts to create a picturesque vision, based on the vernacular traditions, of this mountainous region. This new regionalism, although far from the doctrinal forms, gained the approval of the authorities, as an example of the “national” forms.<sup>39</sup>

The quality of this style and its high artistic values were determined by various factors. Firstly, great influence on the postwar architecture and interiors of Podhale, especially Zakopane, was exerted by the modernist (vernacular) creations of the 1930s, such as the cable car station on Kasprowy Wierch (designed by Anna and Andrzej Kodelski, 1898–1973). An impor-

tant fact was also the settling down in Zakopane during the Second World War of some outstanding Polish architects, including Juliusz Żórawski (1898–1967), Jerzy Mokrzyński (1909–1997) or Marian Sulikowski (1913–1973).<sup>40</sup> Architectural society in Zakopane remained very active in the time of the German occupation. The Architecture Department of the City Council (*Der Stadtkommissar in Zakopane – Bauabteilung*) was operating, headed by Stefan Żychoń (1904–1992), as was the informal branch of the Faculty of Architecture of Warsaw University of Technology. After 1945, although most of the architects returned to their previous workplaces, the architectural “spirit” of that place had remained. Not only architects, but also excellent artists resided in Zakopane, such as Tadeusz Brzozowski (1918–1987). Moreover, Antoni Kenar with his wife Halina reformed the school for young artists, which quickly became a very influential center of art and design, called the “Kenar” school.<sup>41</sup>

The concept of a new regional style of architecture and interiors was mainly defined and developed by Anna Górska (1914–2002), a graduate of the Warsaw University of Technology, a student of Bohdan Pniewski, one of the most prominent prewar Polish



Fig. 16. Government Presiding Office, Warsaw, internal atrium; architect: Marek Leykam, 1954 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

architects and a person very sensitive to the problem of the detail. Górka designed most of the buildings and interiors of that time in the Zakopane region. She emphasized the importance of traditional building methods, techniques, and materials and therefore used in her projects timber framing, high shingle roofs. Górka carefully designed the interiors, always in cooperation with local craftsmen and artists. Her “trademarks” were handmade wooden furniture, elaborate metalwork in zoomorphic forms, as well as sgraffitos inspired by folk. The best example of that style was the shelter in the Chochołowska Valley<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 19).

This new regionalism became a very popular language of architecture, but replicated outside the Podhale region, it yielded different results. In particular, the “regional” style was applied to all kinds of buildings, even utilitarian ones, such as garages or fire stations. The forms were reduced, simplified, and deprived of details and interesting interiors.

### *(Re)Built interiors. Between reconstruction and fantasy*

The Polish architecture of the 1940s and the beginning of Socialist Realism was largely dominated by the problem of mass scale destruction. An exceptional case was the interiors for the rebuilt city centers of Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań, or Lublin. They can be situated between creation, vision, and reconstruction. Special attention was given to the reconstruction of the national monuments serving as symbols of rebirth, such as the Wawel Castle. The design teams were then established, although architects were supervised by the head of the “conservators”, Jan Zachwatowicz (1900–1983). Aside from these most important monuments, most Polish historical interiors were freely reconstructed, with various principles and patterns employed. Sometimes architects created a historical (often politicized) vision, in other cases the most important consideration was the simplification and “modernization” of the interior. Generally, the emphasis was put on the reconstruction of the façade, not the interior, which was to serve more pragmatic purposes.

Most of the “historical” interiors can be found in Warsaw. Historical stylization took place in all interiors of the Old Market Square. Another example can be the Polish Craft Association, located in the newly reconstructed Chodkiewicz Palace on Miodowa Street. The elegant interiors designed by Jan Bogusławski (1910–1982) and Józef Łowiński (1902–1976) were supposed, through historical styling, to refer in the “creative” manner to the “palace” character of the exterior.<sup>43</sup> Hence, the rich decoration in the form of stucco, metal grids by a famous art deco artist Henryk Grunwald (1904–1958), or paintings such as Edward Czarnecki’s “Jan Kiliński leading the people of war in Warsaw” appeared in the interiors.<sup>44</sup>

In the Old Town of Gdańsk, *de facto* changed into a large scale housing estate, the “preservation” principle was the reconstruction of the façades. The interiors served pragmatic purposes and contemporary functions. Many “bourgeois” palaces were converted into kindergartens to become the public good. In the case of the most important historical interiors on Długa Street, the details were reconstructed precisely, but the layout and floors plan were often changed, as in the House of Polish Kings.<sup>45</sup> Sometimes, behind the historic façade, completely new spaces were hidden, as in the case of Grain Central, designed at the very center of the Old Town by Władysław Czerny. The office building occupied a place of the few market



Fig. 17. Palace of Culture, Świętochłowice, foyer; architects: Henryk Buszko, Aleksander Franta, Jerzy Gottfried, 1955 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

tenements. Behind the artificial façades, singular, not divided office interiors were hidden.

It should be remembered that the preservation discourse underwent ideologization on various levels. It used social desires and expectations to affect collective memory. However, these political attempts were more visible in the exteriors of buildings than in the interiors.<sup>46</sup>

Marta Leśniakowska, a Polish art historian, noticed that the construction of “new monuments” and new Old Towns had no precedent. The so-called Polish school of conservation created the artificial cities model, the scenography in accordance with political guidelines, and catchy slogans – “the whole nation builds its capital”. Only few (e.g. Piwocki) have the courage to write that by the superficial resurrecting of traditions we destroy them.<sup>47</sup>

Drastic examples of using the historical form for the destruction of local identity can be observed especially in the so-called Regained territories, but the

interiors of buildings are affected only sporadically. One of the examples can be found, among others, in the interiors of the party’s house in Grudziądz. The large hall of that building was decorated in detail with stucco work imitating the forms characteristic of the “national” Renaissance of the Lublin region, though never existing in the north.

New, unknown narratives were introduced, not only in reconstructed cities, but also in those with existing city tissue, but with a “problematic” history, such as Łódź (a multicultural place before 1939). The best example of an attempt to change a city’s identity was the expansion of the Poznański Palace, the most famous nineteenth-century Jewish palace, a visual sign of the multiculturalism of Łódź. In the newly created wing of the building, a government office was established. However, the interiors remained very utilitarian (arch. Józef Korski, 1886–1967). The only presentable space was the main hall of the first floor, belle etage, covered with a coffered ceiling.<sup>48</sup>



Fig. 18. Party House, Kielce, conference room; architect: Jerzy Żukowski, 1953 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

An interesting, less known example of a “creative” reconstruction and picturesque historization occurred in the interiors of Kazimierz Dolny thanks to architect Karol Siciński (1884–1965). Siciński was chief conservator of this town, 80% of which was destroyed during the Second World War. Kazimierz gained a significant status, not only as an artistic center (the town already had it before the war), but also as a symbol of national values, a place that is a treasure of outstanding architectural monuments of the national Renaissance. Siciński constantly realized the vision of a picturesque, romantic village filled with buildings resonating with the spirit of the Renaissance. He created a recognizable style of Kazimierz, which is in fact a mixture of styles and traditions. Although it is difficult to attribute it to the Socialist Realism, it perfectly fits into a broadly understood doctrine, because of the usage of national forms. One of the larger and well recognized interiors was designed by Siciński between 1952 and 1955 for the Architect’s House.<sup>49</sup> The building was described as a prewar dream that came true. It received presentable interiors inspired

by a Renaissance burgher house. They were carefully designed, with care for the tiniest detail (Fig. 20).

### Conclusions

In spite of the doctrine, we are dealing with the diversity of interior forms, not only in Poland, but also in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Many of the differences observed in the interior design (sometimes insignificant ones) resulted, among others, from an individual approach to the socialist realist, differences in the implementation process, and different traditions or architects. The architectural landscape of these times, though subordinated to the unifying doctrine, was created by individuals, creators, not imitators. Unlike Polish ones, Hungarian interiors were seldom historical and palace-like, and if so, they referred to a strong, massive Neoclassicism. The furniture was more influenced by the design of Scandinavian countries, where at the end of the war many of the influential designers were educated, than by the Soviet.





Fig. 19. Chochołowska Shelter, Chochołowska Valley, restaurant; architect: Anna Górską, 1953  
(photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)



Fig. 20. Architects' House, Kazimierz, restaurant; architect: Karol Siciński, 1955 (photo: Aleksandra Sumorok)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The research was financed by the National Science Center, NCN Sonata 2, nr 173986.

<sup>2</sup> CLARK, Katerina: Socialist Realism and the Sacralization of Space, in *The Landscape of Stalinism. The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space*, eds. DOBRENKO, Evgeny – NAIMAN, Eric, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003. 3–18.

<sup>3</sup> Among others, Greg Castillo tends to place Soviet imported architecture in the colonial context: CASTILLO, Greg: Soviet Orientalism: Socialist Realism and Built Tradition, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements, *Review* 2 VIII. 2. 1997. 33–47; In Poland, however, there prevails the post-colonial discourse started by art historian Piotr Piotrowski, see: PIOTROWSKI, Piotr: *Awangarda w cieniu Jalty. Sztuka w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1945–1989* [In the Shadow of Yalta: Art and the Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989], Warsaw, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Compare: *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, eds. CROWLEY, David, REID, Susan, Berg, 2000; ZARECOR, Kimberly: *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960*, Pittsburg Univeristy Press, 2011; *Modern és szocreál. Építészeti és tervezési Magyarországon 1945–1959* [Modern and Socialist Realism. Architecture and Planning in Hungary 1945–1959], eds. FEHÉRVÁRI, Zoltán – HAJDÚ, Virág – PRAK-FALVI, Endre, Budapest: Magyar Építészeti Múzeum, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Socialist Realism can be analyzed at many different levels connected, among others, with politics, the totalitarian culture, and stylistic concerns. A reconsideration of Socialist Realist architecture requires a multi-faceted approach. Nowadays, the research perspective on the Stalinist architecture, design, and its implementation in Eastern Europe is free from schematic views and the adoption of only political, totalitarian context. More and more contemporary interdisciplinary research projects have been conducted showing the complexity of the socialist realism architecture and design, avoiding the clichés.

The study of individual cases was also important in the context of attempts to position Socialist Realism in a broader political and/or esthetic order. Only the analysis of works of individual artists, architects, and designers was able to uncover concrete ways of referring to tradition – including the real motives for introducing or omitting modernist and modernizing elements. Anthropological research has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Stalinist art, capturing this phenomenon in the context of civilization. This is especially true of the works of Sheila Fitzpatrick, Svetlana Boym, and, in Poland, of Zuzanna Grębecka and Jakub Sadowski, who investigate the relationships of Socialist Realism with popular culture. Compare: BOGUSŁAWSKA, Magdalena, GRĘBECKA, Zuzanna: *Popkomunizm. Doświadczenie komunizmu a kultura popularna* [Popcommunism. The Experience of Communism and Pop-culture], Kraków: Libron, 2010; FITZPATRICK, Sheila: *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*, Oxford University Press, 1999; BOYM, Svetlana: *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.

<sup>6</sup> The similarity of forms, as well as of compositional and artistic solutions became apparent in the case of the comparison of Marszałkowska Housing District in Warsaw (MDM), and Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin (KMA). This fact was strong-

ly emphasized by the authors of the catalogue of the exposition: *Architektoniczna spuścizna socrealizmu w Warszawie i Berlinie: Marszałkowska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa – aleja Karola Marksa* [The Architectural Heritage of Socialist Realism in Warsaw and Berlin: The Marszałkowska Housing District – the Karl-Marx-Allee], ed. WOJTYSIK, Maria, Warsaw–Berlin, 2001; it was much earlier pointed to by WŁODARCZYK, Wojciech: *Socrealizm. Sztuka polska 1950–1954* [Socialist Realism. Polish Art 1950–1954], Paris: Libella, 1986.

<sup>7</sup> PAPERNY, Vladimir: *Architecture in the Age of Stalin. Culture Two*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Compare: *Architektura stalinsoj epoki. Opyt istoricz-eskowo osmyslenija* [Architecture of the Stalinist era. Historical Experience], ed. KOCENKOWA, Julia, Moscow: Komkniga, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> GOLDZAMT, Edmund: Zagadnienie realizmu socjalistycznego w architekturze [The Problem of Socialist Realism in Architecture], in *O polską architekturę socjalistyczną. Materiały z krajowej partyjnej narady architektów z dnia 20–21 VI 1949 w Warszawie* [For Polish Socialist Realist Architecture. Proceedings of the National Party's Meeting of Architects 20–21st June 1949 in Warsaw], ed. MINORSKI, Jan, Warsaw, 1950. 15–47. The Socialist Realism theoreticians assigned to “implement” the doctrine and to deliver manifestos were already acquainted with Stalinist architecture, which they first saw in the 30s or during the war.

<sup>10</sup> The report from the debate was published in the “Architektura” magazine: MINORSKI, Jan: Pierwszy kongres architektów węgierskich [The First Congress of Hungarian Architects], *Architektura* 2. (52.) 1952. 52–55.

<sup>11</sup> In April 1951, speeches were given by Imre Perényi (“Western Dekadent Trend in Today's Architecture”), and Máté Major (“Confusion in Today's Architecture”), later published in a small booklet. Compare: PRAK-FALVI, Endre: The Plans and Construction of the Underground Railway in Budapest 1949–1956, *Acta Historiae Artium* 37. 1994–1995. 319.

<sup>12</sup> MINORSKI, *op. cit.* (see note 10).

<sup>13</sup> CROWLEY, David: Design in the service of politics in the People's republic, in *Out of the Ordinary. Polish Designers of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. FREJLICH, Czesława, Warsaw: Adam Mickiewicz Institute, 2011. 186.

<sup>14</sup> In fact, only one major exhibition devoted to design was held in the socialist realism period. Moreover, it was focused on the applied arts and decorative art rather than on industrial or product design, whose role was diminished. The First National Exhibition of Interior Architecture and Applied Art took place only in 1952. Compare: *I Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej* [The First National Exhibition of the Interior Architecture and Decorative Art], exhibition catalogue, Warszawa: Zachęta, 1952.

<sup>15</sup> The problem of “national forms” in the context of Soviet Art was emphasized by many researchers. For example, Anders Aman provides an excellent outline of the problem: AMAN, Anders: *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin Era. The Aspect of Cold War*, The MIT Press, 1992; In the case of Poland, so called national forms were discussed for the first time by WŁODARCZYK, *op. cit.* (see note 6), and in the case of Hungary by PRAK-FALVI, Endre, RITOÓK, Pál: W treści socjalistyczny, w formie narodowy. Poszukiwanie form narodowych w węgierskiej architekturze w

pierwszej połowie lat pięćdziesiątych [Socialist in Content, National in Forms. The Search for National Forms in Hungarian Architecture in the mid 50s], *Autoportret* 3. 2010. 66–68. In general, the problem of ‘history’ was discussed by, among others, GROYS, Boris, *Stalin jako totalne dzieło sztuki* [Stalin as a Work of Art], Warsaw, 2010.

<sup>16</sup> FITZPATRICK, *op. cit.* (see note 5).

<sup>17</sup> Even those exemplary interiors were subjected to “constructive” criticism. Compare: Dyskusja na temat architektury Gmachu KC PZPR [Discussion on the Architecture of the Party Headquarter], *Architektura* 5. 1952.

<sup>18</sup> ROKICKI, Konrad: Kłopotliwy dar: Pałac Kultury i Nauki w Warszawie [Bothersome Gift: Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw], in *Zbudować Warszawę piękną... O nowy krajobraz stolicy (1944–1956)* [To Build Warsaw Beautiful ... A New Landscape of the Capital], ed. KOCHANOWSKI, Jerzy, Warsaw, 2003. 97–210; *Pałac Kultury i Nauki: między ideologią a masową wyobraźnią* [Palace of Culture and Science: between Ideology and Mass Imagination], ed. GRĘBECKA, Zuzanna, Warsaw, 2007; ZIELIŃSKI, Jarosław: *Pałac Kultury i Nauki* [The Palace of Culture and Science], Łódź, 2012; BARANIEWSKI, Waldemar: *Pałac w Warszawie* [The Palace in Warsaw], Warsaw, 2014; PASSENT, Agata: *Pałac wiecznie żywy* [The Longlive Palace], Warsaw, 2004; However, only a few publications discussed the problem of interiors; these included *Renowacje i Zabytki* 3. 2005.

<sup>19</sup> MAJEWSKI, Jerzy, URZYKOWSKI, Tomasz: *Spacerownik. Pałac Kultury i Nauki. Socrealistyczna Warszawa* [Book of Walks. The Palace of Culture and Science. Socialist Realism in Warsaw], Warszawa, 2015.

<sup>20</sup> According to the words of architects Aleksander Franta and Henryk Buszko, it was not even known whether the Palace would be realized according to the original concept due to the thaw modernism imperatives. Its opening was also not recorded by any major professional magazine: DOMANIK-GROWIEC, Anna: Pałac Młodzieży w Katowicach [Youth Palace in Katowice], *Wiadomości konserwatorskie województwa Śląskiego, Zamki i pałace* 2. 2010. 119–126.

<sup>21</sup> These theaters became the flagship works of Socialist Realism, but for political, not artistic reasons, especially given that the theatre in Nowa Huta was not supposed to be the only one, but one of several cultural premises of this type in the city. The theatre in Żoliborz, though, was rooted in the functionalist ideas.

<sup>22</sup> ZIELIŃSKI, Jarosław, *Realizm socjalistyczny w Warszawie. Urbanistyka i architektura (1949–1956)* [Socialist Realism in Warsaw. Urban Planning and Architecture, 1949–1956], Warszawa, 2009. 283; Gmach ambasady ZSRR w Warszawie [The USSR Embassy Building in Warsaw], *Stolica* 4. 1956. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Domy społeczne w Warszawie. Zebranie dyskusyjne Komisji Krytyki Oddziału Warszawskiego SARP [Culture Clubs in Warsaw. Discussion by the Critics Committee of the Society of Polish Architects], *Architektura* 6. (56.) 1952. 145–156.

<sup>24</sup> The capital of the inter-war Central Industrial Region was Stalowa Wola. The communist authorities, in order to emphasize their contribution to the creation of this region, decided to establish the center of the region in Rzeszów. That is why the period of Socialist Realism saw Rzeszów gain many exceptional creations (a movie theater, two offices, a community center, police headquarters).

<sup>25</sup> The building was initially planned for Łódź, but due to changes in investment plans, a new location was found: MIRONSKI, Jan: Dom kultury w Rzeszowie [Palace of Culture in Rzeszów], *Architektura* 11. (73.) 1953. 281–289. This building was also included in Bohdan Garliński’s propagandistic album showing the “Polish” way of the Socialist Realism: GARLIŃSKI, Bohdan: *Architektura polska 1950–1951* [Polish Architecture 1950–1951], Warszawa, 1953.

<sup>26</sup> DŁUGOSZ, Alicja: Rzeszów socrealistyczny – architektura i urbanistyka miasta w pierwszej połowie lat pięćdziesiątych XX wieku [Socialist Realism in Rzeszów – Architecture and Urban Planning in the First Half of the 50s], in *Pod dyktando ideologii. Studia z dziejów architektury i urbanistyki w Polsce Ludowej* [Under the Dictation of Ideology. Studies in the History of Architecture and Urban Planning in People’s Poland], ed. KNAK, Paweł, Szczecin, 2013. 110–122.

<sup>27</sup> National Archive in Rzeszów, APRz, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej, 221/2455.

<sup>28</sup> BOROWIK, Aneta: Forma architektoniczna Pałacu Młodzieży im. prof. Aleksandra Kamińskiego w Katowicach oraz materiały źródłowe do konkursu z 1948 r. [Architectural Form of the Youth Palace in Katowice], in *Zamki i pałace Śląska. Dziedzictwo-tożsamość-arystokracja* [Castles and Palaces of Silesia. Heritage-Identity-Aristocracy], eds. SZCZYPKA-GWIAZDA, Barbara, ZIEGLER, Paweł, Katowice, 2014. 68–99.

<sup>29</sup> SIENNICKI, Stefan: Wnętrza Pałacu Młodzieży [Interiors of the Youth Palace in Katowice], *Architektura* 4. (66.) 1953. 87–98.

<sup>30</sup> SZYMSKI, Adam: *Architektura i architekci Szczecina, 1945–1995* [Architecture and Architects in Szczecin, 1945–1995], Szczecin, 2001. 165.

<sup>31</sup> A change in artistic geography and architects’ generations had an impact on certain modifications of the prewar ideas. It should be remembered that all ideas were transferred directly by the creators themselves. After the war, the most active generation was that of the designers born at the beginning of the twentieth century, who started their careers in the 30s. However, it was the older generation of “professors” that was commissioned to do the most prestigious projects.

<sup>32</sup> CZAPELSKI, Marek: *Bohdan Pniewski – warszawski architekt XX wieku* [Bohdan Pniewski – Warsaw Architect of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century], Warszawa, 2008; CZAPELSKI, Marek: *Gmachy Sejmu i Senatu* [Parliament and Senate Buildings], Warszawa, 2010; MAAS, Jan: Wartości plastyczne wnętrz gmachu sejmu [Artistic Values of the Parliament Interiors], *Architektura* 2. (64.) 1953. 29–52.

<sup>33</sup> NAKONIECZNY, Ryszard: Julian Duchowicz, Zygmunt Majerski, in *Gliwice na ich drodze* [Gliwice on Their Way], ed. ŻMUDZIŃSKA-NOWAK, Magdalena, Gliwice, 2013.

<sup>34</sup> RZEPECKI, Zbigniew: *Dom Metalowca w Świętochłowicach* [Palace of Culture in Świętochłowice], *Architektura* 5. (91.) 1955. 111–117.

<sup>35</sup> SIBILA, Leszek J.: *Nowohucki design. Architektura wnętrz i twórcy w latach 1949–1959* [Design in Nowa Huta. Interior Architecture and Their Creators, 1949–1959], Kraków 2007.

<sup>36</sup> Dyskusja o domu partii w Kielcach [Discussion on the Party House in Kielce], ed. KOŚCIELNY, Tadeusz: *Architektura* 6. (68.) 1953. 164–168.

<sup>37</sup> BLASCHKE, Kinga: *Nasze własne, nasze polskie. Mit renesansu lubelskiego w polskiej historii sztuki* [Our Own, Our Polish. The Myth of Lublin Renaissance in Polish History of Art], Kraków, 2010. The views are based on Eric Hobsbawm's approach to tradition: HOBBSAWM, Eric: *Tradycja wynaleziona* [Tradition Invented 1983], Kraków, 2008.

<sup>38</sup> The norms were developed by the Institute for Urban Planning and Architecture (IUA). The choice: *Normatyw techniczny projektowania barów* [Technical Standards for Bar Projects], Warszawa 1956.

*Normatyw Techniczny projektowania budynków powszechnego domu towarowego* [Technical Standards for the Shopping Centers Project], Warszawa 1956.

*Normatyw techniczny projektowania kawiarni* [Technical Standards for Cafe Projects], Warszawa 1956.

*Normatyw techniczny projektowania kin* [Technical Standards for Movie Theatres Projects], Warszawa 1953.

*Normatyw techniczny projektowania restauracji reprezentacyjnych* [Technical Standards for the Showpiece Restaurants Projects], Warszawa 1956.

<sup>39</sup> SZCZERSKI, Andrzej: *Cztery nowoczesności. Teksty o sztuce i architekturze XX wieku* [Four Modernities. Texts About Art and Architecture of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century], Kraków, 2015. 74–78.

<sup>40</sup> MOŹDZIERZ, Zbigniew: *Architektura i rozwój przestrzenny Zakopanego: 1600–2013* [Architecture and Urban Planning in Zakopane: 1600–2013], Zakopane, 2013.

<sup>41</sup> KENAR, Urszula: *Antonii Kenar: 1906–1959*, Warszawa, 2006.

<sup>42</sup> GÓRSKA, Anna, RÓŻYŃSKA, Krystyna: *Przegląd współczesnych realizacji Podhala* [Contemporary Architecture in Podhale], *Architektura* 2. (88.) 1955. 34–43.

<sup>43</sup> KONTHE, Czesław: *Dom Rzemiosła przy ulicy Miodowej* [Polish Craft Association Building on Miodowa Street], *Architektura* 5/6. (31–32.) 1950. 150–154.

<sup>44</sup> GIERGOŃ, Paweł: *Mozaika warszawska. Przewodnik po plastyce w architekturze stolicy 1945–1989* [Mosaics in Warsaw. The Guide to Visual Arts in the Capital, 1945–1989], Warszawa, 2014. 98.

<sup>45</sup> FRIEDRICH, Jacek: *Odbudowa Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku w latach 1945–1960* [The Reconstruction of Old Town in Gdańsk, 1945–1960], Gdańsk, 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Historical distortions have become visible in the process of the reconstruction of Warsaw: it saw a specific selectivity in the choice of historical styles, as well as their “creative” interpretation helping to create a good, “positive” tradition legitimizing new authorities (e.g. Nowy Świat street).

<sup>47</sup> LEŚNIAKOWSKA, Marta: *Polska historia sztuki i nacjonalizm* [Polish Art History and Nationalism], in *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1950* [Nationalism in Art. and Art History 1789–1950], eds. KONSTANTYNÓW, Dariusz, PASIECZNY, Robert, PASZKIEWICZ, Piotr, Warsaw, 1998. 46; LEŚNIAKOWSKA, Marta: *Warszawa: miasto palimpsest* [Warsaw: the Palimpsest City], in *Glory of the City*, ed. ŚWIĄTKOWSKA, Bogna, Warsaw, 2012. 95–102.

<sup>48</sup> SUMOROK, Aleksandra: *Architektura i urbanistyka Łodzi okresu realizmu socjalistycznego* [Architecture and Urban Planning in the Socialist Realist Period], Warsaw, 2010. 153–154.

<sup>49</sup> SUZIN, Marek: *Dom architekta w Kazimierzu* [Architect's House in Kazimierz], *Architektura* 9. (95.) 1955. 270–277.