

## Housing Estate Exhibitions in Interwar Poland: Genesis, History, and Transformations

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Construction–housing exhibitions, whose most important aspect was the showing of a complex of houses considered a nucleus for a future housing estate, were an innovation that did not get introduced to European architectural exhibitions until after World War I.

At the root of development of this exceptionally efficient form of propaganda – the exhibition formula – was primarily the need to find effective methods to fight the effects of the postwar housing crisis and its related urgent need for a broad launching of popular housing construction in terms of both new design concepts and dwelling standardization as well as the lowering of price through industrialization involving the use of standard elements and the rational and quick implementation of modern building technology.<sup>1</sup>

In the second half of the 1920s, this new exhibition formula began to find broad application, primarily in the German Werkbund and its national sections and in related organizations in Austria, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia.

In terms of the development of Modern housing architecture, the first and at the same time most significant exhibition venture of the German Werkbund was the building of the famous experimental Weissenhof Housing Estate within the framework of the international Die Wohnung Exhibition organized in 1927 in Stuttgart. Successive exhibition housing complexes were built in 1928 in Brno (the Nový Dům Housing Estate), in 1929 in Wrocław (the WuWa Housing Estate), in Karlsruhe (the Dammerstock Housing Estate), in 1932 in Basel (the Eglisee Housing Estate), in 1931 in Zurich (the Neubühl Housing Estate), and in 1932 in Vienna (Werkbundsiedlung) and in Prague (the Baba Housing Estate).

The architectural–construction and propaganda qualities of these experimental housing estates were very quickly noted and appreciated by Polish architects and housing activists.<sup>2</sup> However, the first exhibition in Poland conceived as the nucleus of a model suburban housing estate was not organized until 1932 – the *Tani Dom Własny* (Inexpensive Own Home) Exhibition.

The Polish Society for Housing Reform (PTRM) played

one of the main roles as organizer of this experimental venture that was intended to propagate wood building materials among the domestic housing construction industry and convince Poles that in spite of the economic crisis “the achieving of an own home was not beyond the limits of possibility of people of modest means.”<sup>3</sup>

Thanks to the support of many influential state institutions and associations as well as a wide–ranging promotional campaign urging participation in the exhibition, seventeen exhibitors and several dozen architects, including many designers with a renown professional position, such as R. Gutt, J. Jankowski, and R. Miller, and also younger ones with links to the Modern avant–garde such as B. Lachert, J. Szanajca, L. Korngold, and W. Prochaska were successfully attracted to the project.

In a very short period of time, thanks to the “Inexpensive Own Home” Company established by the Polish Society for Housing Reform and the Union of Polish Cities (ZPM), and with the substantial financial support of the Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (BGK – Domestic Economy Bank), in addition to the exhibition pavilion with its displays of several dozen single–family house designs,<sup>4</sup> a mini exhibition housing estate encompassing twenty–five lots of an area of approximately 750 m<sup>2</sup> (8,073 sq. ft.) each located on previously improved grounds in Warsaw’s Bielany was established within the quarter defined by Cegłowska, Grębałowska, Karska, and Twardowska streets (Fig. 1).

Ultimately, by September of 1932, twenty–one timber, mostly Modern, inexpensive single–family houses, with an area of no less than 30 m<sup>2</sup> (323 sq. ft.), were erected on the exhibition grounds (Fig. 2). Most were designed with an eye to mass production and, in several cases, taking into account the possibility of future expansion (Fig. 3, 4, and 5).<sup>5</sup>

The planned wide–ranging promotional campaign<sup>6</sup> and the ideal organization of the entire event resulted in over 30,000 visitors to the experimental housing estate over the month during which it was open to the public. This number included many prominent individuals, including President Ignacy Mościcki and Prime Minister Aleksander Prystor. The exhibition also met with generally favorable interest on the part of the press.<sup>7</sup>

1. Also compare Teige Karel, *The Minimum Dwelling*, MIT Press, 2002, pp. 185–187.

2. Also compare with I. N. J., “Osiedle eksperymentalne na Wystawie w Stuttgarcie” (Experimental housing estate for the Stuttgart exhibition), *Architektura i Budownictwo* (Architecture and Building Construction hereinafter A i B), 1927, No. 2, p. 339; Syrkus Szymon, “Fabrykacja osiedli” (The fabrication of housing estates), *A i B* (Architecture and Building Construction), 1928, No. 8, pp. 277–303, and Wierzbiński Witold, “Wystawa ‘Werkbundu’ we Wrocławiu” (The Werkbund exhibition in Wrocław), *Architekt*, 1930, vol. 1–2, pp. 24–39; Lubiński P. M., “Tani dom własny zagranicą” (The inexpensive own home abroad), *Tani Dom Własny* (Inexpensive Own Home) exhibition catalogue, *DOM*, 1932, No. 7–8, pp. 69–79.

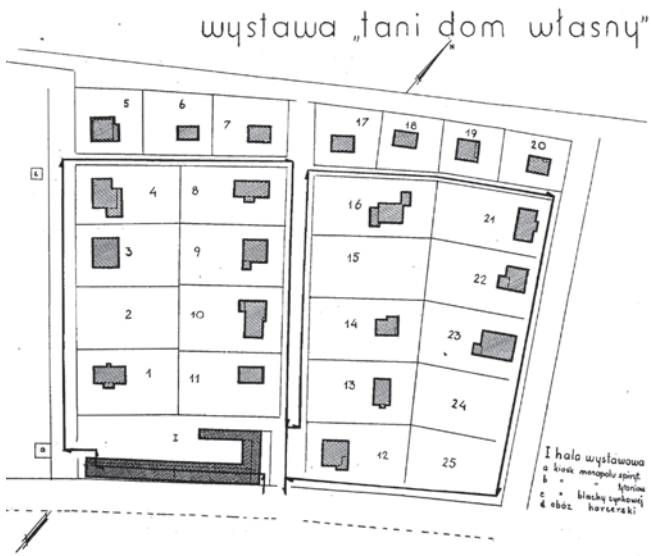
3. The “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition, *DOM*, 1932, No. 5, p. 27.

4. Also compare with *DOM*, 1932, No. 9/10, pp. 5–17 and 1933, No. 1, pp. 13–14.

5. Compare with the “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition, *DOM*, 1932, No. 5, pp. 27–28; “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition Catalogue, *DOM*, 1932, No. 7–8, and *DOM*, 1932, No. 9/10, pp. 20–21.

6. Also compare “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition Catalogue, *DOM*, 1932, No. 7–8.

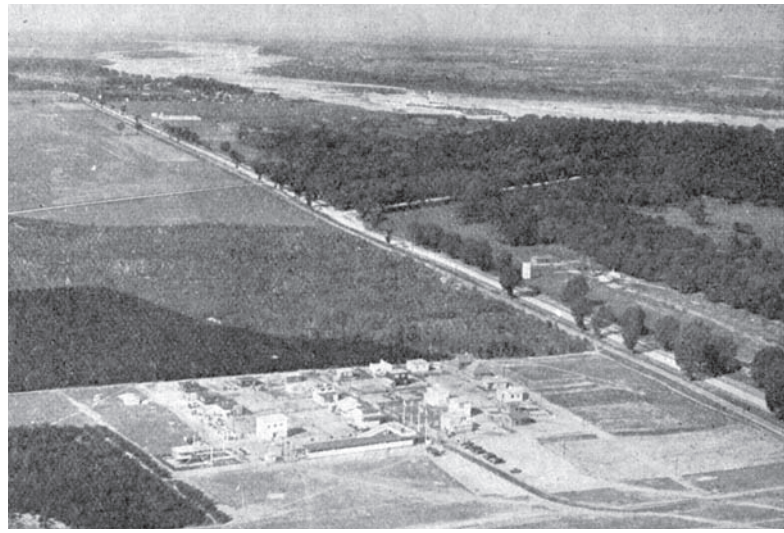
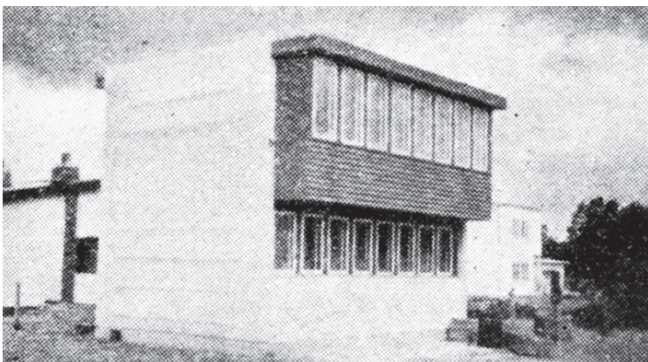
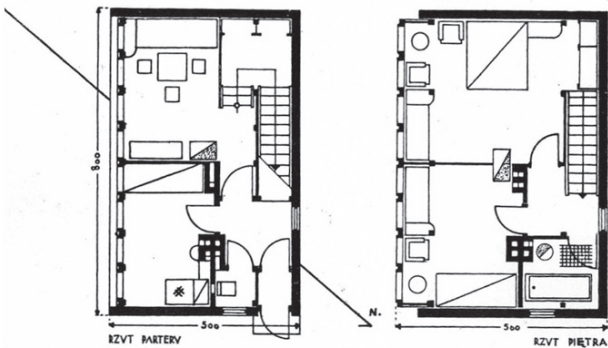
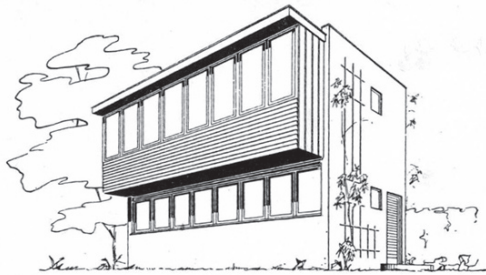
7. For example, compare *Samorząd Miejski*, 1932, No. 20, p. 1092 and also Porebska–Srebrna Joanna and Stepiński Zygmunt, “Historia użyteczna – ‘drobne budownictwo mieszkaniowe’ w Polsce w latach trzydziestych (Useful history: ‘Small-scale housing construction’ in Poland in the 1930s), *Murator*, 1995, No. 3, pp. 22–30.



1. The "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, Bielany, Warsaw (1932). Site plan of the exhibition grounds. "Tani Dom Własny" (Inexpensive Own Home) Exhibition Catalogue, DOM, 1932, No. 7-8

The planned execution of the task defined by the Polish Society for Housing Reform and presented on the fields of Bielany stirred lively emotion and numerous comments, including in the professional community. Approximately 200 people took part in the two evenings of discussion organized by the Circle of Architects in Warsaw and the Polish Society for Housing Reform. In addition to praise, discussion participants also forwarded critical comments. They raised questions regarding the flawed urban planning of the housing estate, its peripheral site, the highly experimental nature and

3. The "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, Bielany, Warsaw (1932). House No. 11 exhibited by the General Parquet and Anglowood Society (PTPiA). Design by B. Lachert and J. Szanajca - design and view. "Tani Dom Własny" (Inexpensive own home) Exhibition Catalogue, DOM, 1932, No. 7-8



2. The "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, Bielany, Warsaw (1932). Overall view of the exhibition grounds. *Poradnik dla budujących dom dla siebie (Building your own home: A manual)*, Polish Society for Housing Reform (PTRM), 1936

low hygienic standards of the timber houses, and, in many cases, the underestimated construction costs. Moreover, several doubts were stirred with respect to the durability of the construction and, for this reason, the legitimacy of promoting housing construction using wood materials.<sup>8</sup>

The "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, though undoubtedly a propaganda success, also demonstrated

8. Also compare "Na temat wystawy 'Tani Dom Własny'" (On the Inexpensive Own Home Exhibition, *A i B*, 1932, pp. 358-361 and the editorial pages of *DOM*, 1932, No. 9/10, pp. 3-4 and Miller Romuald, paper on the structural engineering aspects of the single-family houses of the "Inexpensive Own Home" exhibition in Warsaw, *A i B* 1933, No. 4, pp. 42-48.

4. The "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, Bielany, Warsaw (1932). House No. 21 (presently No. 35 Ceglowska Street) exhibited by the Head Office for State Forests. Design by J. Zablocki. State in 1932 and 2008. "Tani Dom Własny" (Inexpensive own home) Exhibition Catalogue, DOM, 1932, No. 7-8. Photo by the author.





that neither state administration nor national activists and architects were sufficiently prepared for the development of popular small-scale housing construction. Among the numerous deficiencies of a planning, legal, and technical nature, the high prices of drafting and approving architectural-construction designs were completely ill-fitted to the financial potential of small-scale investors.<sup>9</sup>

In 1933, in order to solve this problem, the BGK joined the campaign to promote rational single-family housing, underway as of 1931, with the support of the Government of the Republic of Poland. Among other things, it announced two architectural competitions through the Head Office of the Association of Polish Architects (CZ SAP). Out of a design bounty of over 1,000 designs, ultimately eighty-three were selected for sale and wide-ranging dissemination. Following supplemental work, these were published in the *Katalog typowych domów dla drobnego budownictwa mieszkaniowego* (Catalogue of typical houses for small-scale housing) and designated for sale in the form of approved working drawings.<sup>10</sup>

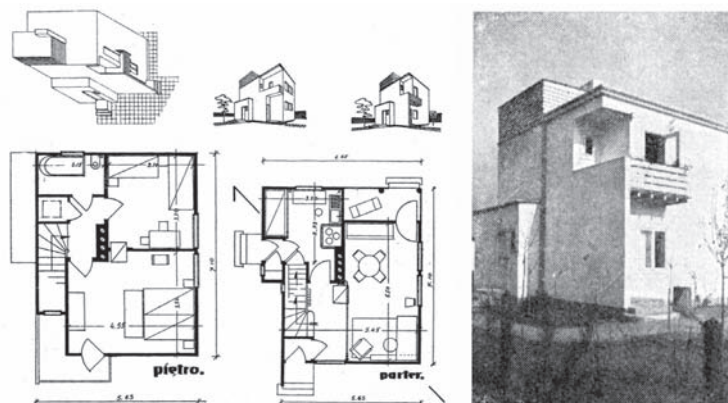
It should be stressed that the *Catalogue*, which did not bypass designs with traditionally developed free-standing houses, was decidedly dominated by architecturally Modern designs in line with the views of progressive architectural circles. These were mainly masonry two-story semi-detached and row house segments, with a clear majority of the latter.

Similar principles in selecting typical small-scale buildings were in force during the on-going design selection that the Bank performed with a construction-housing exhibition that was planned as the final propaganda note of the entire campaign in mind.<sup>11</sup>

As in the case of the "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, the most important aspect of the BGK Construction-Housing Exhibition was the residential building complex designed as the nucleus of a future, rationally-designed housing estate. It was prepared very carefully.<sup>12</sup>

The Bank, in conjunction with Warsaw City Hall, selected a site within the peripheral district of Koło for the planned exhibition grounds. Municipal plans zoned this area as construction lots for housing. Prior to commencing construction of the exhibition housing estate, with the financial support of the BGK, City Hall provided the grounds with necessary water and sewage, gas, electricity, and road systems over the years 1934-1935. A special tramway, the W Line, was also launched as a nucleus for a future ring line.<sup>13</sup>

It was only when the land was ready that construction of the exhibition housing estate was started using typical designs selected from the *Catalogue* (Fig. 6). The rectangle defined by Obozowa, Dalibora, Dobrogniewa, and Dahlberga streets, staked out and provided with amenities, was the site of forty-six typical free-standing (Fig. 10), semi-detached



5. The "Inexpensive Own Home" Exhibition, Bielany, Warsaw (1932). House No. 14 exhibited by K. Stroczyński, Eng., R. Czarnota-Bojarski, Eng. and Co. Building Society, Joint Stock Company. Design by M. Łokcikowski and M. Wroczyńska - design and view. "Tani Dom Własny" [Inexpensive own home] Exhibition Catalogue, DOM, Polish Society for Housing Reform (PTRM), 1936

(Fig. 7 and 8), and row (Fig. 9) masonry houses with fire-proof floor slabs and roofing with small, usually furnished dwelling units.<sup>14</sup>

The remaining sections of the exhibition encompassed just about everything that was related to the "concept of rational construction in the field of small home housing estates" of those days. They were housed in a temporary pavilion with a floor area of 1,500 m<sup>2</sup> (16,146 sq. ft.) as well as in free-standing stands of companies representing various branches of domestic industry and crafts.

The BGK Construction-Housing Exhibition, open from May to August of 1935, was almost universally acclaimed by professionals, journalists, and the numerous public as the "first truly mature, rational, and well-targeted construction exhibition in Poland." The architectural and utilitarian qualities of the buildings and facilities of the model housing estate, and its educational quality as well as the overall very high level of exhibits and presentations as demonstrated by almost a complete set of domestic institutions and companies involved in housing construction, were acknowledged.<sup>15</sup>

The present state of research makes it difficult to assess exactly to what degree the exhibition housing estate in Koło

14. Among others, designs by B. and S. Brukalski (Fig. 7), M. Łokcikowski, M. Wroczyńska, M. Zachwatowicz, and L. Tomaszewski as well as T. Cwierdziński and R. Gürtler were built. All in all, twenty typical single-story free-standing houses, five different two-story semi-detached houses, one two-story house with four apartments, and two row-house buildings consisting of seven, dual-apartment segments each were constructed.

15. Also compare with Lubiński P.M., "Wystawa budowlano - mieszkaniowa B.G.K. na Kole" (The BGK Construction-Housing Exhibition), *Arkady*, 1935, No. 3, pp. 140-148.

9. Compare with Toeplitz Teodor, "Trzy wystawy mieszkaniowe w Warszawie" (Three housing exhibitions in Warsaw), in *Katalog Wystawy Budowlano-Mieszkaniowej Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w Warszawie na Kole maj - sierpień 1935* (Catalogue of the construction-housing exhibition of the Domestic Economy Bank in Koło, May-August 1935), Warsaw, 1935, p. 10.

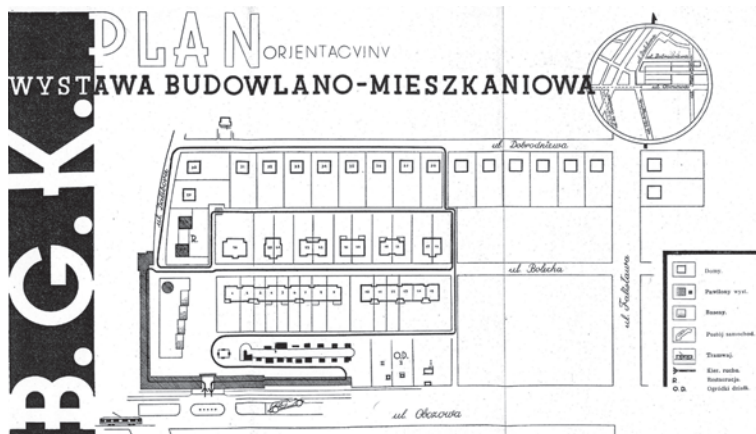
10. The final version of the *Catalogue* contained twenty-two free-standing house designs, nineteen semi-detached houses, and twenty-one row house segments.

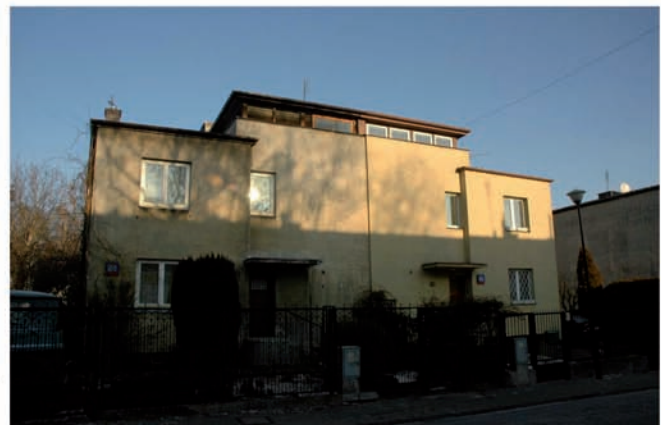
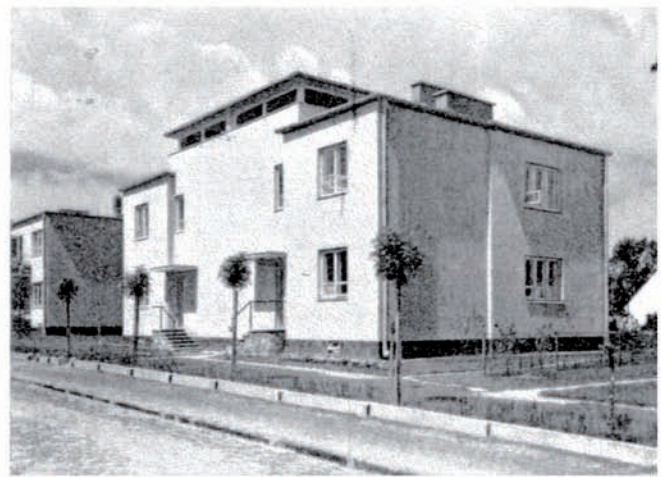
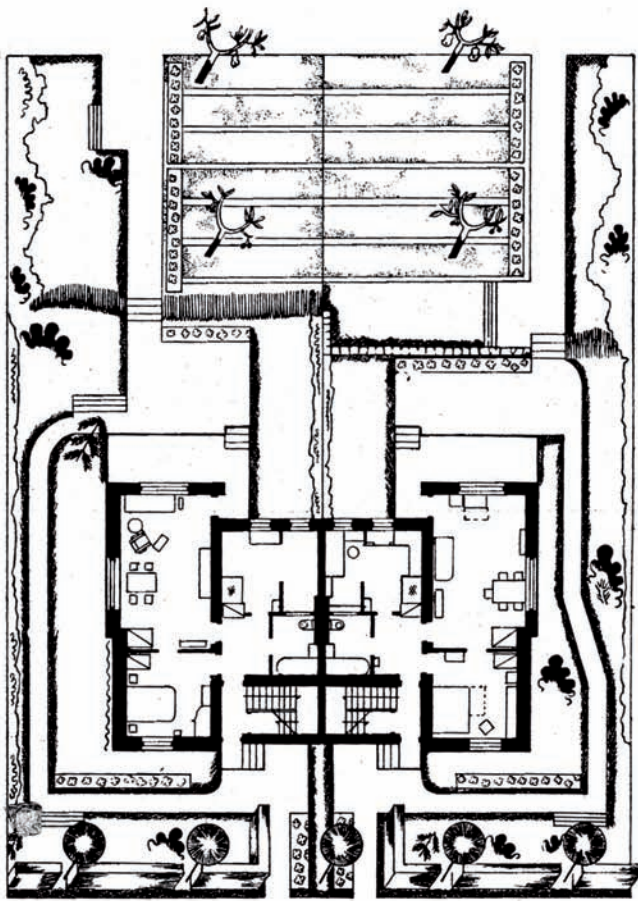
11. More on the competition and publishing campaign of the BGK in Rozbicka Małgorzata, *Małe mieszkanie z ogrodem w tle teorii i praktyki popularnego budownictwa mieszkaniowego w międzywojennej Polsce* (Small dwellings with gardens against a backdrop of the theory and practice of popular residential construction in interwar Poland), Warsaw, 2007, pp. 309-320.

12. Compare with the article by A. Hanaka entitled "Wystawa budowlano-mieszkaniowa Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego na Kole w Warszawie w 1935 roku - ku poprawie budownictwa mieszkaniowego" (The Domestic Economy Bank construction-housing exhibition in Warsaw's Koło in 1935: For the improvement of housing construction), *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 2012, No. 3, pp. 93-110, published after the Polish-language version of the monograph *Architektura pierwszej połowy XX wieku i jej ochrona w Gdyni i w Europie* (The architecture of the first half of the 20th century and its protection in Gdynia and Europe).

13. Garbusiński Tadeusz, "Geneza Wystawy Budowlano-Mieszkaniowej, jej założenia, cele i program" (Genesis of the construction-housing exhibition, its assumptions, objectives, and program), in *Katalog Wystawy Budowlano - Mieszkaniowej Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w Warszawie na Kole maj - sierpień 1935* (Catalogue of the construction-housing exhibition of the Domestic Economy Bank in Koło, May-August 1935), Warsaw, 1935, pp. 6-9.

6. Domestic Economy Bank (BGK) Construction-Housing Exhibition, Koło, Warsaw (1935). Exhibition ground site plan. *Katalog Wystawy Budowlano - Mieszkaniowej Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w Warszawie na Kole maj - sierpień 1935* (Domestic Economy Bank Construction-Housing Koło Exhibition Catalogue: May-August 1935), Warsaw, 1935





7. Domestic Economy Bank (BGK) Construction–Housing Exhibition, Kolo, Warsaw (1935). BGK Type 408/2.1 semi-detached house No. 22/23. design by B. and S. Brukalski – ground floor plan and garden as well as a view of the frontal façade. State in 1935 and 2007. *Katalog Wystawy Budowlano – Mieszkaniowej Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w Warszawie na Kole maj – sierpień 1935 (Domestic Economy Bank Construction–Housing Kolo Exhibition Catalogue: May–August 1935), Warsaw, 1935; A i B, 1935, No. 5. Photo by the author*

achieved the propaganda and educational targets set by its organizers. However, there can be no doubt that its rationally and frugally designed buildings provided an impulse to the throngs of medium-affluent investors to raise the architectural, cultural, and technical levels of their houses, dwellings, and gardens. It also played a critical role in popularizing the rational aesthetic of Modernism. Its real-world result was the model organization of building lots in Kolo and the creation of the nucleus of this new Warsaw district in the form of a modern housing complex of high architectural standard.

The ongoing fate of the Polish interwar exhibition housing estates, like that of most Werkbund housing estates, symptomatically mirrored the cultural and social-political transformation to which the individual countries of central and eastern Europe were subject in the successive decades of the 20th century.

What happened was that with the rise to power of Hitler, the Modern housing estates built thanks to the initiative of the German and Austrian Werkbund started to be openly criticized. Pressured by the Nazis, the Stuttgart city authorities even agreed to demolish the Weissenhof Housing Estate. Thankfully, that never happened. However, its building tissue suffered significant damage and was even obliterated in places during and after the war. On the other hand, the housing estates in Vienna and Wrocław survived the war almost completely unscathed. In spite of this, their surviving buildings did suffer depreciation and major damage was wrought as a result of remodeling and expansion work over the two decades following the war.

It was not until the end of the 1950s that an awareness of the need to protect the Modern architecture of the former exhibition housing estates gradually began to mature in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The experimental Weissenhof Housing Estate was first to be once again appreciated for its architectural and cultural value. In light of the role its buildings played in the development of contemporary architecture and the stature of its designers, it was inscribed onto the register of historic monuments as

early as 1958. In theory at least, this gave it a measure of protection. The Vienna housing estate was also awarded legal protection soon afterward. The individual buildings of Wrocław's WuWa Exhibition were inscribed onto the register of historical monuments at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s. Earlier, in 1972, Hans Scharoun's "House for Single People" was encompassed by heritage protection. Ultimately, it was the WuWa Housing Estate that had to wait for legal protection as a valuable urban complex the longest.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the fact that symptoms of broader research interest into the experimental Modern housing estates of the Werkbund appeared as early as the 1950s, in practice it was necessary to wait until the 1980s for the conducting of the first all-encompassing conservation work. This was the case in Stuttgart and Vienna. The historical buildings of the Weissenhof Housing Estate were painstakingly renovated over the years 1981–1987.<sup>17</sup> In many cases, those buildings were subjected to efforts reinstating their original architectural form. From among the seventy buildings making up the Vienna housing estate, fifty-six were municipal property. These were renovated over the years 1983–1985 in a manner taking into account their architectural and technical qualities.<sup>18</sup> Up to the present, in spite of the good level of scientific cognizance,<sup>19</sup> only the Wrocław housing complex has as yet not undergone all-encompassing conservation work, although some of the buildings forming it have been carefully renovated.<sup>20</sup>

16. Inscribed onto the Register of Historical Monuments on March 28, 2007 (Reg. No. A/1003).

17. Compare Nägele Herman, *Die Restaurierung der Weissenhofsiedlung 1981–1987*, Stuttgart, 1992.

18. Krischanitz Adolf, *Die Wiener Werkbundsiedlung: Dokumentation einer Erneuerung*, Vienna, 1985.

19. Including Urbanik Jadwiga, *Wrocławska Wystawa Werkbundu WUWA 1929 (The Wrocław WuWa Werkbund Exhibition)*, Wrocław, 2002.

20. More on the topic of the renovation of the Wrocław housing estate in J. Urbanik, "Renowacja wzorcowego osiedla Werkbundu we Wrocławiu" (Renovation of the model Werkbund housing estate in Wrocław), [in:] *Architektura XX wieku do lat sześćdziesiątych i jej ochrona w Gdyni i w Europie (Twentieth century architecture up to the 1960s and its protection in Gdynia and Europe)*, Gdynia City Hall, Gdynia, 2014, pp. 209–216.





8. Domestic Economy Bank (BGK) Construction–Housing Exhibition, Koło, Warsaw (1935). Overall view of the complex of semi-detached houses on Bolecha Street. State in 1935 and 2007. *Poradnik dla budujących dom dla siebie (Building your own home: A manual)*, Polish Society for Housing Reform (PTRM), 1936. Photo by the author



9. Domestic Economy Bank (BGK) Construction–Housing Exhibition, Koło, Warsaw (1935). Overall view of the complex of row houses on Bolecha Street. State in 1935 and 2007. *Poradnik dla budujących dom dla siebie (Building your own home: A manual)*, Polish Society for Housing Reform (PTRM), 1936. Photo by the author

The fate of the experimental housing estates built at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s in Czechoslovakia through the initiative of the Association of Czechoslovak Creativity (SČSD) was similar, though slower. Like other Werkbund housing estates, they too are encompassed by heritage protection, documented, and subject to studies today.<sup>21</sup>

Against such a backdrop, what is the fate and current state of preservation, research, and heritage protection of the two exhibition housing estates built in interwar Poland?

As in the case of the German, Austrian, and Swiss housing estates, the changeover of the two experimental Warsaw housing complexes into normally functioning housing estates occurred quickly and efficiently. From among the twenty-seven properties of the “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition, a total of twenty-three lots were sold by 1933, of which seventeen were built-up. The remaining four houses were most probably sold in 1934.<sup>22</sup> The lots and well-furnished masonry houses of the BGK Exhibition passed into private hands even more quickly.<sup>23</sup>

Free-standing two-storey single-family houses were erected on the unbuilt-up lots of the “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition Housing Estate before the outbreak of the war. Certain timber exhibition houses were significantly remodeled or even replaced. Most of the unbuilt-up land on the post-exhibition grounds of Koło was also supplemented by buildings, mainly single-family houses, prior to 1939.

The remodeling of post-exhibition buildings that, in the case of both housing complexes, survived the war

without major damage, was rather slow and limited up to at least the end of the 1980s. The process of their radical transformation and sometimes even replacement started around the year 1990.<sup>24</sup> Thus, paradoxically, it started at the moment when most of the Werkbund exhibition housing estates not only found their place in topical literature, but were also appreciated, provided with protection, and to a great extent subjected to renovation-conservation efforts. Unfortunately, the listing of many of Warsaw’s exhibition homes into the record of historical monuments of the Voivodeship Heritage Director, most probably during the 1980s, had only a minimal effect on stopping or at least limiting the process of transformation of their architecture and, in the case of the timber buildings of the “Inexpensive Own Home” also their gradual replacement. Encompassing the grounds of both exhibitions with a legal protection zone by the Heritage Director in the Local General Spatial Development Plan for the Capital City of Warsaw, in effect over the years 1992–2004, also failed to improve the effectiveness of heritage protection. The same is true of the general provisions applying to them as found in the Study of Conditions and Directions of the Spatial Development of the Capital City of Warsaw.

As a result, at the moment of ratification in 2010 of the new local spatial development plan for the Stare Bielany area, which defined detailed principles for heritage protection of the former “Inexpensive Own Home” Exhibition Housing Estate, apart from the street network laid out in 1932 and the original lot boundaries, for all practical purposes, only a single post-exhibition house survived in its original form (Fig. 5).<sup>25</sup>

21. Compare also Senberger Tomasz, Ślapeta Vladimir, and Urlich Petr, *Osiedle Baba: Plany i modele* (The Baba housing estate: Plans and models), Wrocław, 2002.

22. “Z Polskiego Towarzystwa Reformy Mieszkaniowej – Sprawozdanie z Walnego Zgromadzenia” (From the Polish Society for Housing Reform: Minutes of the General Assembly), *DOM*, 1933, No. 3, 4, pp. 29–30.

23. Also compare Bober Tomasz, “Cele program i realizacja wystawy” (Exhibition program objectives and building), in *Wystawa budowlano-mieszkaniowa Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w dzielnicy Koło w Warszawie* (The Domestic Economy Bank construction–housing exhibition in Warsaw’s Koło), *A i B*, 1935, No. 5, pp. 152–153.

24. Compare, for example, Porebska-Srebrna Joanna, “‘Tanie Domy Własne’ po sześćdziesięciu latach” (The “Inexpensive Own Home” after sixty years), *Murator*, 1995, No. 4, pp. 38–40.

25. The house at No. 35 Ceglowska Street (designed by J. Zabłocki, exhibited by the State Forest General Directorate).



**10.** Domestic Economy Bank (BGK) Construction–Housing Exhibition, Koło, Warsaw (1935). BGK Type 13 free–standing house. Design by T. Ćwierdziński and R. Gürtler. House No 29 on Dalibora Street, state in 1935. House after remodeling (No. 7 Dalibora Street), state in 2007. *Katalog Wystawy Budowlano – Mieszkaniowej Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w Warszawie na Kole maj – sierpień 1935 (Domestic Economy Bank (BGK) Construction–Housing Koło Exhibition Catalogue: May–August 1935), Warsaw, 1935. Photo by the author*

Fortunately, the buildings of the BGK Housing Estate were significantly better preserved. In fact, the semi-detached and row houses on Bolecha Street (Fig. 8 and 9) survived in almost unchanged form. The seventeen typical free-standing single-story houses on Dobrogniewa, Dahlberga, and Dolibora streets fared much worse (Fig. 10). However, as in the case of the Bielany housing estate, a reason for hope is the fact that in 2010 the former BGK Housing Estate was also encompassed by the local spatial development plan for the Lasek na Kole region, which establishes a ban on modifying the principles shaping the historical composition of the building façades and volumes and the building of new volumes, and also orders the molding and modernization of public space pursuant to detailed guidelines and recommendations as issued by the heritage director within the limits of the “Koło Housing Estate – BGK Exhibition Grounds” heritage protection zone.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps there still exists a chance for the buildings of at least one of the two Modern exhibition housing estates built in interwar Poland to be at least partially saved. Perhaps, thanks to proper documentation and development work<sup>27</sup> it will, at long last, be encompassed by heritage protection that is in line with the architectural standing and the role that the BGK model housing complex in Koło undoubtedly played in the process of disseminating Modernism in Polish popular housing architecture.

26. Compare with Chylak Aleksander, et al., *Miejscowy plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego rejonu Lasku na Kole* (Local spatial development plan for the Lasek na Kole region), Warsaw, 2007. Compare with Capital City of Warsaw City Council Resolution No. XCIII/2010.

27. Compare with A. Hanaka, *Wystawa budowlano-mieszkaniowa* (Construction–Housing Exhibition), op. cit.