

“The First Such Liberal Undertaking in Breslau”¹

The Breslau Competition for the Design of the New Exchange Building in 1863

Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos

Uniwersytet Wrocławski

The so-called “New Exchange” (in Breslau, located at 15 Krupnicza Street [Graupenstraße], can be considered as one of the most interesting works, both in terms of architecture and style, created in Central Europe until the 1870s. It is a Neo-Gothic building, and its final form was obtained as a result of a thorough reworking of the competition project, awarded second prize (the motto “*nur deutsch*”, “German only”), by the Breslau architect Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894). The competition, announced in October 1863, was one of the most intriguing artistic undertakings in Silesia in the third quarter of the 19th century. In the Breslau press it was described as “the first such liberal undertaking, which is noteworthy”.

Usually, public utility buildings were designed here by private architects or those employed in the municipal or government administration. If any competition was held, it was an internal one, to which just several architects were invited. This time, however, the competition was open to architects probably from all over Germany. All submitted works were shown in an exhibition open to the public, accompanied by a small catalogue. They could therefore be subjected to public evaluation and some of the works were thoroughly discussed in the press. The selection of the project was decided by architects from outside Breslau, and the most influential citizens were included in the construction committee. Thus, not only was it ensured that architects had open access to the competition, but also that the works were assessed objectively. The undertaking was within the then understanding of the concept of “liberal”, i.e. free, or even libertine, progressive, open, universally accessible. The possibility of an open discussion on the visual appearance of such an important and prestigious building for the city community was a “new opening” in creating civic responsibility for architecture in Breslau. Since then, many projects of Breslau’s buildings (mainly, but not only, Evangelical churches) have been selected through an architectural

¹ See “Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Neue Folge” 1864, p. 381: “Die zur Konkurrenz eingegang. Pläne f.d. Börsenbau waren, was als das **erste** (emphasised in the text) *dareartige liberale Verfahren in Breslau sehr anzuerkennen, dem Publikum zu Schau u. Urtheil öffentl. ausgestellt i.d. Ständehausgalerie*”.

competition. Without a doubt, the competition for the design of the exchange started announcing architectural competitions in the capital city of Silesia, and at the same time, at last, it has included Breslau in this all-German practice. 26 works were submitted to the competition². These projects are the starting point for this study.

Unfortunately, neither the archival materials for the construction of the exchange nor the files of the Chamber of Commerce [Handelskammer], the commissioner of the whole project, have been preserved, which makes the interpretation of the project very difficult. On the other hand, the iconographic material is relatively well known, including some of the competition projects and the realization project. In Lüdecke's legacy stored at the Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität in Berlin the drawings marked as designs 1–5³ are preserved. Their authorship was entirely attributed to Lüdecke, and they have generally been interpreted as such by previous researchers. The aim of the present study is to present the backstage events of the launching of the competition in the context of the conflict between Christian and Jewish merchants, to discuss and analyse the competition projects and to propose a new attribution of the projects in Lüdecke's collection.

The context of the exchange construction and its initiators, the announcement of an architectural competition

In 1848 the Chamber of Commerce was established in Breslau. It was a milestone in regulating trade relations in the capital of Silesia, which was characterized by a conflict between Christian and Jewish merchants. This conflict was unique in comparison with other Prussian cities. One of the most important issues was the participation of Jewish merchants in exchange transactions taking place in the building belonging to the Christian merchants' club [Kaufmännische Zwinger- und Ressourcengesellschaft] at 16 Solny Square⁴ (Blücherplatz). The exchange was managed by Christian merchants, and Jews could not be members of the union. Although in 1843 the doors of this institution were opened for them, numerous disputes between Jewish and Christian visitors led to the creation of an independent Jewish exchange in 1851. Thus, two exchanges were established in Breslau and the whole event was described as a "exchange market schism"⁵. In the face of this tense situation, the Chamber of Commerce took active steps and already on 1 VII 1851 a new, common Christian-Jewish exchange was established, managed by the Chamber of Commerce. Thus, the use of the building at Solny Square was dropped. The Jewish exchange was also dissolved. Sessions of the new exchange institution took place in the large Café Restaurant, in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Palace⁶. However, this place was perceived as temporary and incompatible with the merchant class⁷.

² The events of the competition have already been discussed in: **J. Dobesz**, *Gmach Nowej Giełdy we Wrocławiu. Projekty konkursowe*, [in:] *Sztuka XIX wieku w Polsce. Naród – miasto. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Poznań, grudzień 1977*, Warszawa 1979; **B. Grzegorzcyk**, *Pałace–instytucje dziewiętnastowiecznego Wrocławia – znak patronatu obywatelskiego*, Toruń 2014, pp. 240–253. The author is preparing a book on the history of the Breslau Exchange in a broad Central European context.

³ Lüdecke's legacy include: Architekturmuseum Technische Universität Berlin (hereinafter AMTUB), Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, inv. no. 6691–6692 Börse, Breslau, 1. Design; inv. no. 6693–6699 Börse, Breslau, 2. Design; inv. no. 6700–6704 Börse, Breslau, 3. Design; inv. no. 6705–6716 Börse, Breslau, 4. Design; inv. no. 6717–6728 Börse, Breslau, 5. Design (realization), and inv. no. 10972–10973. There are also drawings and photographs related to the realization design inv. no. 10954–10960.

⁴ So-called Old Exchange.

⁵ **W. Henschel**, *Die Börse in Breslau: Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der rechts- und staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Schles. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, Breslau 1933, pp. 21, 22. Detailed account: **A. Zabłocka-Kos**, *The "Merchant Schism" in Breslau: A Christian–Jewish Conflict and the Construction of the Exchange Building in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, "Acta Poloniae Historica" vol. 120 (2019).

Also a historical study by **A. Reinke** on this subject (in print). Cf. **B. Grzegorzcyk**, *op. cit.*, pp. 191–198.

⁶ Former address was Carlsstr. 37. The spelling of the place is different in *Adressbuch der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Breslau für das Jahr 1852*, bearb., Hrsg. **A. Müller, J. C. Baumgarten**, Breslau 1852, Theil IV, p. 19, is given as Kafé Restaurant; *Jahresbericht der Handelskammer zu Breslau für das Jahr 1854*, Breslau 1855, p. 14.

⁷ See **H. Freymark**, *Die Handelskammer Breslau: 1849–1924. Festschrift der Industrie- und Handelskammer Breslau*, Breslau 1924, p. 17.

Therefore, already in the first period of operation of the Breslau Chamber of Commerce the purchase of land for its future headquarters became a priority. It was to house not only exchange rooms, but also office premises. As early as in 1853, from the financial surpluses collected from the fees for entering the exchange a plot of land was purchased, in the name of Theodor Molinari, then president of Chamber of Commerce, with the intention of erecting a building of this institution together with the exchange⁸. The property was located in a very attractive part of Breslau, by the city promenade created in the early 19th century in the place of former fortifications. Opposite there was the Silesian Parliament (Ständehaus), on the other side of the moat the Royal City Court (Königlicher Stadtgericht) and the prison (*Gefängnis*), and the Royal Palace on the nearby Wolności Square (Exercierplatz). The complex of these buildings was part of the Royal Forum⁹. At that time, it seems, it was the only property so attractive available, located at the junction of the Old Town area and the rapidly developing Świdnica Suburb (Schweidnitzer Vorstadt). Thus, in 1853 a decision was made not only to build a "supra-national exchange", but also for its prestigious location.

As indicated in a report of Chamber of Commerce, it was hoped that the new building would contain rooms for exchange sessions, product exchange, archive, library, reading rooms, showrooms for various products, and finally the Commercial Court¹⁰. Thus, as early as 1854 a preliminary functional scheme of the building was formulated.

The first conceptual sketches seem to have been made by the architect Hermann Friedrich Waesemann (1813–1879), active that time in Breslau, the creator of a wonderful villa for the Moriz-Eichborn banking family¹¹. A situation plan is preserved, signed by him, but defined in the collection, probably wrongly, as a design by Lüdecke too. It depicts a L-shaped building matched in width to the Silesian Parliament located on the other side of the street [fig. 1]¹². In Lüdecke's legacy there are also unsigned plans, drawn on tracing paper, defined as the second design [fig. 2–5]. The edifice was designed as a two-winged, two and a half storey building located exactly in the width of the Silesian Parliament. The exchange hall was placed in the central part of the building, and the entrance was designed in the corner of Krupnicza and Włodkowica (Wallstraße) streets. A very spacious, dome vaulted hallway with a semi-circular staircase led to the main hall of the exchange. The hall was connected by wide entrances to the garden from the west side (a summer exchange?). High semi-circular closed windows marked the axes of the hall on the side of Krupnicza Street. In the basement, mezzanine and partly on the first floor there were apartments, while the Chamber of Commerce offices together with the library, reading room and the technical collection room occupied the top floor. The café was located in the short south wing, while the restaurant, in a medieval fashion, was located in the basement under the main hall. Only the façade on the side of Krupnicza Street and part of the façade on the side of Włodkowica Street with the main entrance had rich decorations in the form of panels, niches with sculptures, pilasters, cornices etc. The floor plan matches perfectly with Waesemann's situation plan, so maybe this is the full version of his design. The functional content of the rooms corresponds to the requirements formulated in 1854. Thus this Berlin architect could be regarded as the first to elaborate the spatial and functional concept of the New Exchange. His authorship, however, is not confirmed in source and is a proposal for attribution of the project. This ques-

⁸ See *ibidem*, pp. 27, 37; **W. Henschel**, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹ More thoroughly about the creation and importance of the Royal Forum see **A. Zabłocka-Kos**, *Zrozumieć miasto. Centrum Wrocławia na drodze ku nowoczesnemu city 1807–1858*, Wrocław 2006, pp. 229–255. The name Royal Forum is a term which was not applied to this area in the 19th century and is the result of academic interpretations that occurred in the 1990s.

¹⁰ *Jahresbericht der Handelskammer zu Breslau für das Jahr 1854*, Breslau 1855, p. 16.

¹¹ Waesemann, creator of, among others, the Berlin City Hall and participant in the competition for the design of the Berlin Exchange, resided in Wrocław from 1853 to 1854, holding the position of *Landbaumeister*. See **E. Börsch-Supan**, *Berliner Baukunst nach Schinkel 1840–1870*, München 1977, pp. 712–713; **A. Bober**, *Wrocławska willa Eichborn i jej motywy antyczne*, [in:] *Dylematy klasycyzmu. O sztuce Wrocławia XVIII–XIX wieku i jej europejskich kontekstach*, ed. **Z. Ostrowska-Kębtowska**, Wrocław 1994.

¹² In the AMTUB collection it has a double attribution: ATUB, inv. no. 6691 Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke / Hermann Friedrich Waesemann, Börse, Breslau. 1. Design.

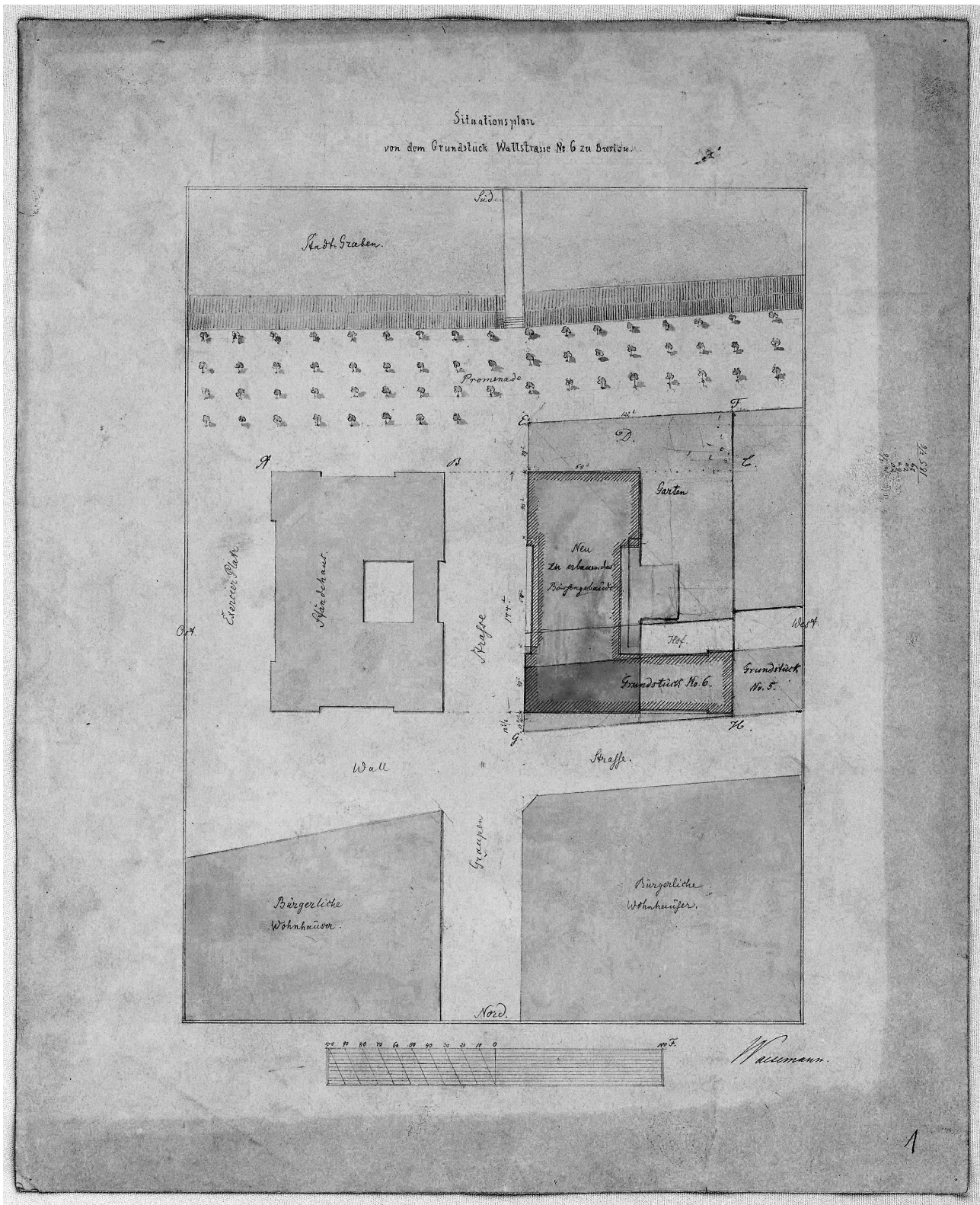


fig. 1 H. F. Waesemann, Exchange, situation Plan, 1853 (?); AMTUB, inv. no. 6691, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke / Hermann Friedrich Waesemann, Börse, Breslau, 1. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=9> (access date: 20 II 2020)

tion requires further study. The design corresponded quite accurately to the spatial situation at the time (e.g. still no extension of Krupnicza Street beyond the moat). This suggests that it was not a theoretical design, e.g. the lost design by Lüdecke, who supposedly prepared a design of the exchange between 1852 and 1853 as a practical task to obtain the title of architect¹³.

From the time of purchasing the land and the first ideas to the day of opening the new building, more than ten years were to pass. Seemingly not much. For Breslau at that time, however, it was an entire epoch during which the city's position on the map of Central Europe changed very positively. The dynamic development of the capital of Silesia, the flourishing of industry, trade and railways was undoubtedly due to the good economic prosperity. It contributed to the rapid development of the middle class and the haute bourgeoisie, which originated in Breslau primarily from Protestant and Jewish communities. Therefore, at that time the efforts to settle disagreements between Christian and Jewish merchants intensified, under the patronage of the Chamber of Commerce. A kind of symbolic end to the conflict could therefore be precisely the erection of a common exchange.

The foundation of the Breslau Exchange Stock Union (Breslauer Börsen Actien Verein) in 1863 and the drafting of its statute began a long process of construction of the edifice. The original version of the statute of 1863 stated: "a style [of the Exchange Building] which, both externally and internally, adequate to the dignity of the local merchant state"¹⁴, but this requirement was deleted in the approved version. It seems that the removal of this point reflected the existence of some discrepancies as to the appearance of the exchange already at this stage, and in any case, this fact opened the way for the search for the form and style of the new building. The capital in the amount of 150 thousand thalers (§ 5), which was to be raised through the sale of shares, was allocated for the implementation of the plan. It was a common practice that a joint stock company was established to erect public utility buildings. This was the case forty years earlier in Breslau, when it was planned to erect the building of the Christian merchants' club, so-called Old Exchange, at 16 Solny Square¹⁵. However, a direct model could have been the company established a few years earlier for the construction of the Berlin Exchange. The Breslau Exchange Stock Union was founded for 50 years, then it was to be dissolved. Among other things, it was to supervise the construction process, i.e. the selection of the design and to take care over the building even after its completion. The shareholders had an influence on the choice of the Company's council, which was mentioned in the statute. The statute was approved by the King (3 VII 1864) and the Minister of Trade (9 VIII 1864). In paragraph 2, the objective has been defined: the construction of an exchange with offices and housing for officers.

The board of the Breslau Exchange Stock Union consisted of representatives of Christian merchants: Johann August Franck became the chairman and the members were Theodor Molinari, Heinrich Korn, Rudolph Schoeller, and the Jewish community: Isidor Friedenthal, Robert Caro, Löbel Guttentag, Wilhelm Berliner, Albert Schreiber, Salomon Kauffmann and Siegfried Goldschmidt¹⁶. There is no explanation for the name of Louis Reichenberg, who is not on any address list. It is probably Louis Reichenbach, a wool merchant and member of the Jewish community¹⁷. It was therefore a mixed board, which included extremely influential representatives of the Christian and Jewish bourgeoisie. They were generally owners of large commercial and industrial companies, bankers and board members of railway companies and insurance companies. Often they were also involved in the life of the city (members of the city council and municipal councillors) and the State (members of the Prussian parliament). The Board was chosen

¹³ See J. Dobesz, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁴ See *Statut des Breslauer Börsen Actien Vereins*, Breslau 1863, p. 1: "in einem der Würde des hiesigen Handelstandes entsprechenden äußeren und inneren Style".

¹⁵ A. Zabłocka-Kos, *Zrozumieć miasto...*, p. 97.

¹⁶ See *Statut*, p. 10.

¹⁷ See Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw (hereinafter: ŻIH), *Synagogen Gemeinde zu Breslau (Jewish Community in Wrocław), 1852-1944*, ref. 105/355, p. 113.

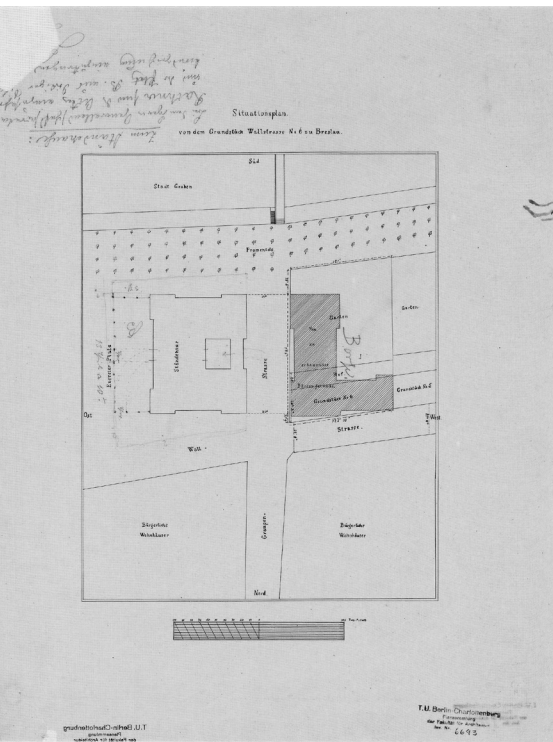


fig. 2 H. F. F. Waesemann (?), *Exchange, situation plan*, undated, 1854–1855 [?]; AMTUB, inv. no. 6693, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau, 2. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=11> (access date: 20 II 2020)

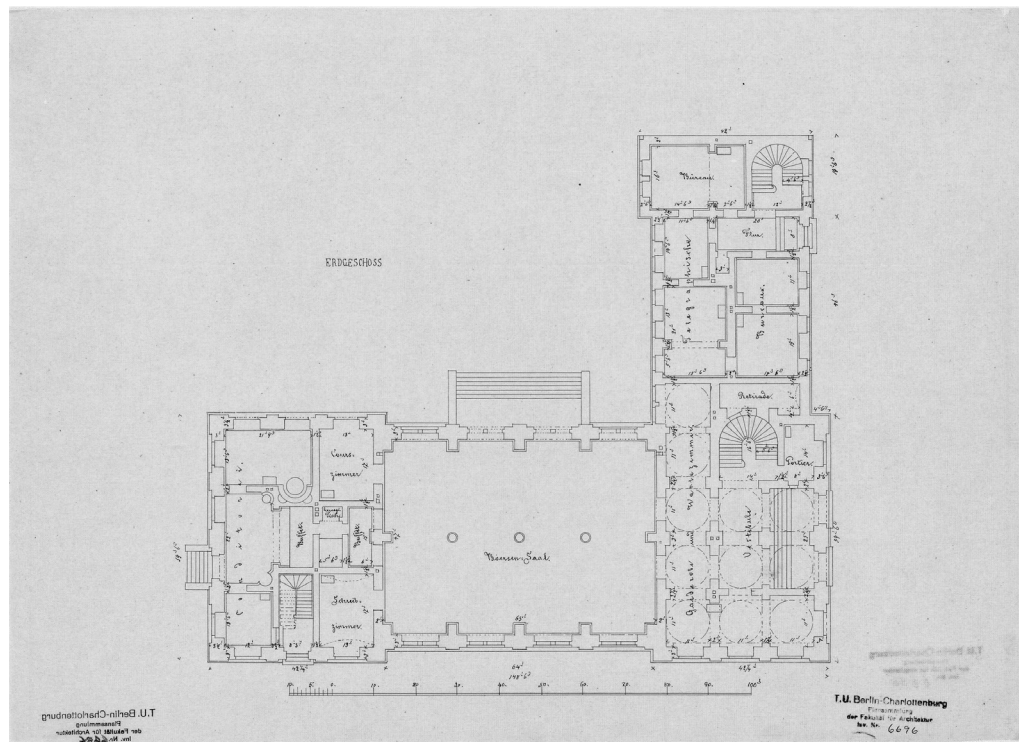


fig. 3 H. F. F. Waesemann (?), *Exchange, ground floor plan*, undated, 1854–1855 [?]; AMTUB, inv. no. 6696, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau, 2. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=14> (access date: 20 II 2020)

in such a way as to have an overall insight into the economic life of Breslau and also to influence or even create the development of Silesian trade, industry and banking. One can guess that by creating the Breslau Exchange Stock Union, its shareholders, and especially representatives of the management board, wanted to influence not only its smooth operation but also the architecture of the new building. Although the board was dominated by Jewish entrepreneurs, the decisive voice, as one can guess, was that of the influential Christians. The members of Breslau Exchange Stock Union represented Christian religious factions: Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism, which seems to have provided a mental basis for seeking agreement, settlement and compromise with Jewish associates¹⁸.

¹⁸ The most distinguished was undoubtedly the secret commercial councillor **Theodor Molinari** (1803–1867), a Catholic, who descended from an Italian family which came to Silesia in the late 18th century. He was the President of the Chamber of Commerce from its establishment in 1849 until 1861. He was praised for his ability to find compromise and resolve conflicts and enjoyed the unlimited trust of merchant circles. He was undoubtedly a supporter of the Christian–Jewish agreement and a compromise solution of the Breslau dispute. But he was not only a well-known wholesale merchant, but also an industrialist and co-owner of metallurgical plants in Osowiec, among others. An equally key role was probably played by the secret commercial councillor **Johann August Franck** (1805–1878), a Protestant. He was a banker, member of the Silesian Provincial Parliament (*Landtag*), chairman of the Chamber of Commerce in 1861–1869 and direct initiator of the construction of the exchange building. He was also a municipal councillor and a member of the City Council, an active banker, a co-founder of railway and insurance companies. **Heinrich Korn** (1829–1907), also a Protestant, was the owner of the largest publishing house in Silesia, founded in 1732. He can be considered to be the only heir of the Breslau patriciate in this group. He was also a municipal councillor and a member of the City Council. **Rudolf Wilhelm Schoeller** (1827–1902) came from a very branched Calvinist family of industrialists from the Rhineland. The family invested primarily in heavy industry, textiles, sugar factories and banks, and had branch offices of its plants thorough Germany, Austria and Switzerland. It can be considered a representative of the European bourgeoisie, perhaps best of all among the members of a board

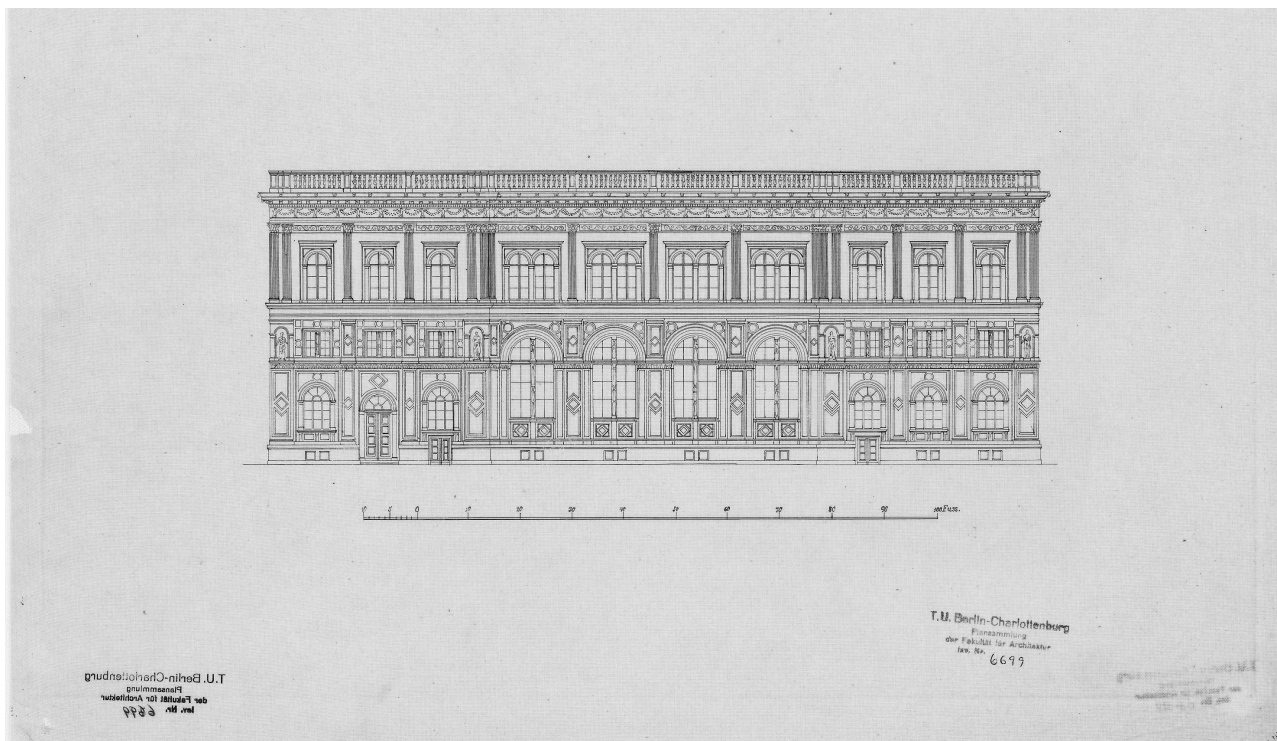


fig. 4 H. F. Waesemann (?), *Exchange, façade from Krupnicza Street (formerly Graupenstraße)*, undated, 1854–1855 [?]; AMTUB, inv. no. 6699, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 2. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=17> (access date: 20 II 2020)



fig. 5 H. F. Waesemann (?), *Exchange, façade from Włodkowica Street (formerly Wallstraße)*, undated, 1854–1855 [?]; AMTUB, inv. no. 6698, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 2. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=16> (access date: 20 II 2020)

On 15 X 1863 a short note signed by [Johann August] Franck was published in one of the main German architectural magazines “Zeitschrift für Bauwesen” about the announcement of a competition for the design of the Breslau Chamber of Commerce headquarters together with a exchange. The deadline for the submission of the designs was scheduled for 1 III 1864. The note also mentions that the Company initiating the construction – the Börsen Aktien Verein (original name) is currently trying to obtain corporate rights in the region. This meant that if it had obtained them, it would have become the owner of the building, which should be understood as information for architects giving a guarantee for the realization of the project. The first prize was to be 500 thalers and the second 300, which were very high sums for the time. Both facts: the possibility of realizing the awarded work, which was not the rule at all in architectural competitions¹⁹, as well as the amount of the award proved the prestigious character of the project and the expectation of renowned architects to take part in it.

Due to the lack of any source materials, the matter of the organisation of the competition, its course, the formulation of the jury etc. is very difficult to reconstruct and some of the theses presented here require further research. The detailed reasons for announcing the competition are not known, however, it can be assumed that the earlier talks with Lüdecke, a renowned artist from Breslau, then a district architect, have not brought promising results. In the architect’s legacy there is a design sketch dated 6 IV 1863, i.e. almost half a year before the announcement of the competition (signed on the drawing as sketch 1) [fig. 6]. Lüdecke designed a three-wing building with a modest main entrance leading to the exchange hall through a narrow vestibule located on Krupnicza Street. The main hall would be located on the side of the promenade and would be preceded by a multi arcade loggia facing south, connected with a small garden directly adjacent to the promenade. Above it, there were balconies of the hall. The inner courtyard, also enclosed by arcades, would house the so-called Summer Exchange. From the garden facing the promenade, there would be an entrance to a small confectionery located in the corner of the building. The architect also used part of the building standing on the plot from the side of Włodkowica Street, designating it for apartments. The building’s body referred to an Italian villa with a tower in the corner, while the style was maintained in Renaissance forms, with elements of the Florentine Renaissance (windows)²⁰.

This small (66 × 46) wash drawing with a staffage of greenery has the characteristic features of a design sketch (and so it was called), which the architects usually made when they wanted to get a commission and convince the investor of their idea. Perhaps, however, this was the first concept of the edifice (the functions of specific rooms could be a proof of that). Lüdecke’s exchange presented itself as a rather modest two-storey building, the exchange hall was only about 300 m², there was no impressive entrance. The only stylistic solution – the architect chose the Neo-Renaissance forms – was within the canon preferred

familiarized with European economic life; also politically involved. Among the Jewish board members, the main role was undoubtedly played by the commercial councilor and a member of the City Council, **Robert Caro** (1819–1875), an owner of a huge fortune related to metallurgy in Upper Silesia. The secret commercial councilor **Isidor Friedenthal** (1812–1886) was a member of the City Council and a municipal councilor; he was a Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the Jewish community during the construction of the exchange. The owner of the cloth wholesale trade was involved in the development of the railway and insurance. The remaining Jewish members of the board also belonged to the economic elite of Breslau and Silesia, although probably not as international in scale as the above mentioned figures of the political and economic life of the city. All, except for Berliner, were members of the board of the Jewish community. **Löbel Guttentag** (1801–1881) owned one of the most important Silesian banks, **Salomon Kauffmann** (1824–1900) was one of the leading Silesian entrepreneurs in the textile industry, and between 1886 and 1900 he was a Vice President of the Handelskammer, **Wilhelm Berliner** (1882–1881), **Albert Schreiber** (?–?) and **Louis Reichenbach** (1815–1871) were wealthy merchants, **Siegfried Goldschmidt** (1803–1876) was also a member of the City Council and a member of the Handelskammer between 1849 and 1861.

Information about them is based on archives in the ŻIH, Synagogen Gemeinde zu Breslau 1852–1944, ref. 105/355, ref. 105/357, as well as websites and address books in Breslau. Cf. also **H. Freymark**, *op. cit.*, p. 48 ff. Some of the above mentioned persons were linked by their participation in the board of the Schlesischer Bankverein (Silesian Banking Association), established in 1856, one of the most important Silesian banks lending to industry and trade. Franck was the Chairman of the Bank’s Board of Directors, while Guttentag, Schoeller and Reichenbach were members of it. See in: **T. Afeltowicz**, *Studia nad historią banków śląskich (do roku 1918)*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 123–132, here p. 124.

¹⁹ See **H. Becker**, *Geschichte der Architektur- und Städtebauwettbewerbe*, unter Mitarbeit von S. Knott, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 34–41, here p. 34. Unfortunately, the book does not mention the competition for the Breslau Exchange.

²⁰ Dobesz categorises the style and form of the exchange as villa architecture, pointing to other Lüdecke’s projects from that time, e.g. the plan of the Malkasten – Artistic Society House in Düsseldorf. See in: **J. Dobesz**, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

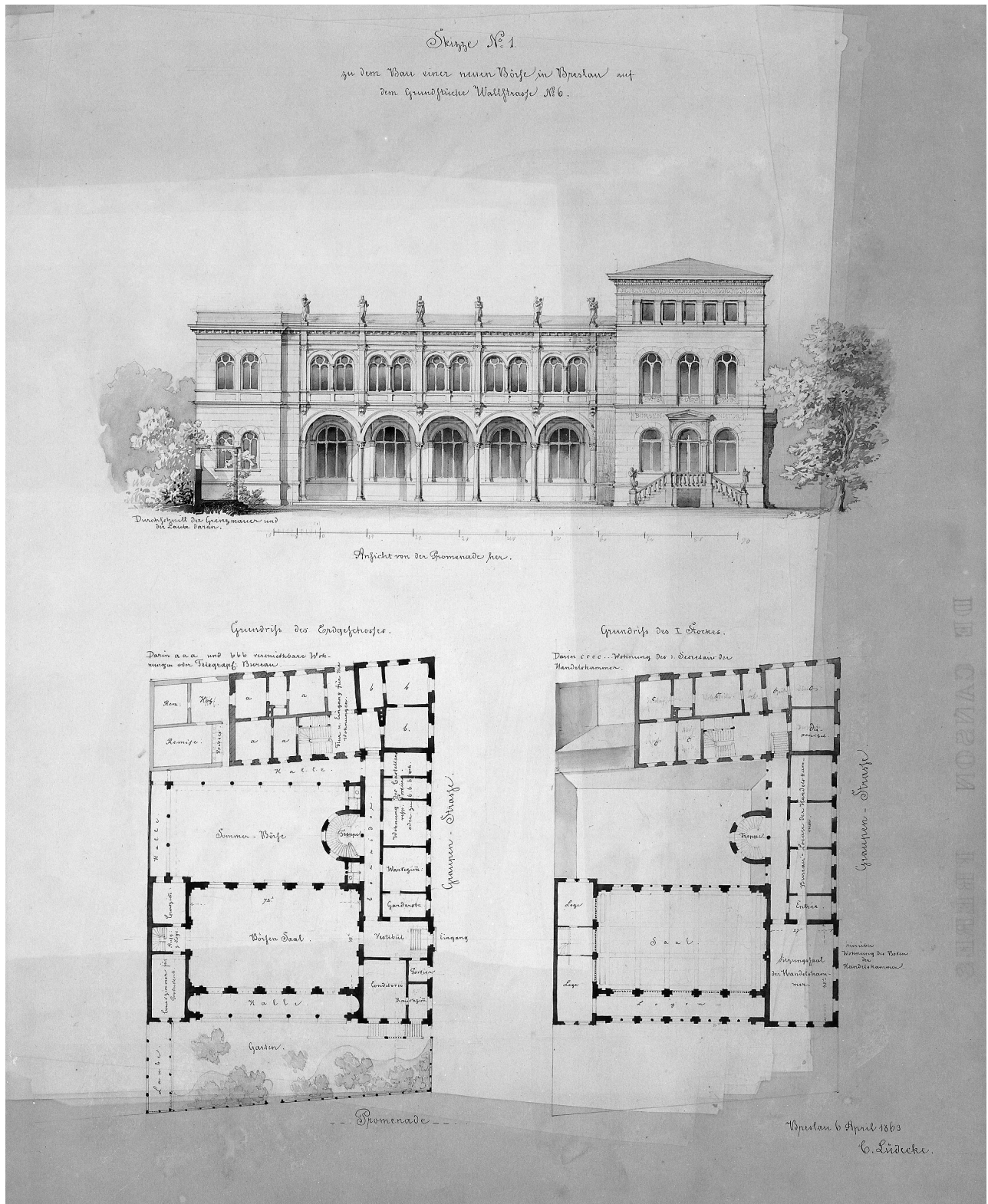


fig. 6 C. J. B. Lüdecke, Exchange, façade from the side of the promenade, ground and 2nd floor plan, 6 IV 1863; AMTUB, inv. no. 6692, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 2. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=10> (access date: 20 II 2020)

for this type of function at the time²¹. The drawing was based, as one can suppose, on the already mentioned Waesemann's sketch, but the architecture was different, although maintained in a similar style. Clearly, however, this project did not suit the investors intending to erect a representative edifice testifying to the power of Breslau merchants, and that is why they most likely decided to launch a competition. It allowed them to send a sort of "message into the world" about the intended impressive headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce in Breslau.

Two architects were appointed to the jury: Baurath Carl Ferdinand Busse (1822–1868), then the director of the Berlin Bauakademie, the author of the designs for the court and prison erected near the future exchange²², and (?) Wolff, an employee of the construction office in the Legnica Region (Regierungsbezirk Liegnitz), a construction inspector from Legnica²³. It is difficult to justify why the jury included an insignificant architect from Legnica. Probably, as it was the case in the competition for the Berlin Exchange, the jury was composed, apart from renowned architects, of representatives of the Breslau Exchange Stock Union, although unfortunately there is no reliable source confirmation on this subject. The appointment of Busse and his agreement, which is important because he did not agree to take part in the jury of the Berlin Exchange competition, guaranteed not only the most professional assessment. Due to the realization of his own project, the court and prison in Breslau, he knew perfectly well the area where the exchange was to be located and probably also the expectations of the commissioners.

Twenty six designs were submitted for the competition, and even before the results were announced in March 1864, they were shown in the Silesian Parliament exhibition halls, i.e. in the building located opposite the future headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce. As can be seen from the catalogue accompanying the exhibition, which, according to the rules, gave only mottoes of the designs and the number of sheets, the architects have approached the task in a varied way and sent from six to as many as fifteen sheets²⁴. It must have been an impressive show, which, for the first time in Breslau, presented to a wide audience the scale of design capabilities of the German environment of the time, as well as the ideas about the shape of the exchange building. As mentioned above, the competition was described as "the first such liberal undertaking in Breslau"²⁵, which says a lot about the artistic life of the city at that time. Little is known about the reception of this exhibition. While art exhibitions were held in the city on a regular basis, the inhabitants of Breslau were not given the opportunity to learn the principles of architectural art at any shows. Such presentations were held in cities where there were architectural schools. In Berlin, they took place on the occasion of annual exhibitions, organized since 1854 in connection with the Karl Friedrich Schinkel competition [Schinkelwettbewerb] organized by the Architekten- und Ingenieur-Verein. In Paris, the exhibitions open to the public accompanied the presentations of students of the École des Beaux-Arts²⁶. One might wonder whether the Breslau post-competition exhibition has not been an impulse to express ever louder demands to open the Academy of Fine Arts here. Unfortunately, out of many, certainly wonderful projects, we know only a few. These are Neo-Renaissance concepts by August Orth and Bernhard Kolscher, Lüdecke's Neo-Gothic design, fragments of the second Neo-Gothic design, and two Neo-Renaissance works attributed, probably wrongly, to Lüdecke²⁷, found in the legacy of this architect.

²¹ See S. A. Meseure, *Die Architektur der Antwerpener Börse und der europäische Börsenbau im 19. Jahrhundert*, München 1987.

²² E. Börsch-Supan, *op. cit.*, pp. 560–563; A. Zabłocka-Kos, *Zrozumieć miasto...*, pp. 241–248.

²³ Information in: "Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Neue Folge" 1864, pp. 381–382. About Wolff: *Handbuch der Provinz Schlesien. Erste Abtheilung: Schlesische Instanzen-Notiz. Zweite Abtheilung: Gewerbliches Adress-Buch*, Breslau 1864, p. 55, <http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/337084/edition/318477> (access date: 20 XI 2019).

²⁴ See *Verzeichnis der Concurrentz-Pläne für den projectierten Bau eines Börsengebäudes in Breslau*, Breslau 1863, Wrocław University Library, Silesian-Lausitz Collection, ref. Yn 350/8; "Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Neue Folge" 1864, pp. 381, 382 (here information about the jury and the awards). Cf. "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, nos. 125 (13 III); "Breslauer Zeitung" 1864, no. 143 (19 III).

²⁵ "Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Neue Folge" 1864, p. 381.

²⁶ See "Notiz-Blatt des Architekten Vereins zu Berlin" 1849, nos. 6–7, pp. 72, 73.

²⁷ The thesis about Lüdecke's authorship of two design versions: the Neo-Renaissance "unverdrossen" and the Neo-Gothic "nur deutsch" was first put forward by E. Börsch-Supan (*op. cit.*, pp. 157–158). This was probably due to the fact that both projects were found in Lüdecke's legacy. This thesis was repeated by the next researchers.

Competition projects

The competition results were announced in the press on 25 III 1864²⁸. The first prize of 500 thalers was awarded to the Dresden architects Ernst Friedrich Giese (1832–1903)²⁹ and Karl Friedrich Bernhard Schreiber (1833–1894)³⁰, the second prize (300 thalers) was won by Carl Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894) from Breslau³¹, and the third prize (200 thalers) was awarded to the increasingly recognized young architect Carl Schmidt (1835–1888)³² from Breslau. In the weeks preceding this event, the projects were presented at this exhibition in the Silesian Parliament and some of them were discussed in the "Schlesische Zeitung". The possibility of watching and commenting on them was considered, as mentioned above, to be an unusual, liberal event, giving the inhabitants of Breslau a taste of influence on creating the architectural appearance of the city.

1. "The palaces of commercial aristocracy in the style of sunny Italy"³³ – Neo-Renaissance concepts

In March 1864, just before the announcement of the results of the competition, an in-depth discussion of the works entitled *Die neue Börse* was published in the "Schlesische Zeitung", written by the author signed only with the initials H.B.³⁴. The text emphasised that the subject of the competition was the design of an exchange "for the trading metropolis of the German East". The author stated that most of the works presented "a palace of the commercial aristocracy" in the style of sunny Italy – the homeland of modern trade, as well as in the style of Louis XIV, obligatory in Paris – the city which was "the regulator of all exchanges"³⁵. The Neo-Renaissance and Baroque Classicism were undoubtedly among the most popular style costumes used both in German exchange buildings that have been realized as well as in competition designs. The most complete review of these solutions was provided by the competition for the building of the Berlin Exchange (1858, built 1859–1863)³⁶, and its realization according to the winning design by Friedrich Hitzig was the best example of an exchange in the style of Louis XIV³⁷. For the participants of the competition in Breslau, this building, like the competition for its design, was undoubtedly an important reference, especially since some of the Breslau participants also participated in it³⁸.

Perhaps the greatest admiration evoked a beautifully and carefully drawn, lavishly coloured designs described as "a fairy tale of a thousand and one nights" and "a vivid and joyful design"³⁹.

²⁸ See "Breslauer Zeitung" 1864, no. 143 (25 III); "Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Neue Folge" 1864, p. 381.

²⁹ About Giese: V. Helas, *Architektur in Dresden 1800–1900*, Dresden 1991, p. 195; *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, begründ., mitherausg. G. Meissner, vol. 53, München, Leipzig 2007, pp. 422–423.

³⁰ About Schreiber: V. Helas, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–199.

³¹ Unpublished monograph of C. B. Lüdecke: J. Dobesz, *Nurty architektury II połowy XIX wieku w twórczości Karla Lüdeckego*, Wrocław 1976, PhD thesis, Wrocław University of Technology; *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, Hrsg. H. Vollmer, vol. 23, Leipzig 1929, p. 448.

³² There is no comprehensive monograph on Schmidt. Cf. B. Grzegorzcyk, *Karl Schmidt*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Wrocławia*, academic ed. J. Harasimowicz, Wrocław 2000, p. 742; *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike...*, vol. 30, Leipzig 1936, p. 157.

³³ See "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III).

³⁴ Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine who was hiding under that initial.

³⁵ "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III). For the first time this description was noted by B. Grzegorzcyk, *Pałace-institutiony...*, pp. 241–245, here p. 242.

³⁶ Descriptions in the press: "Beilage der Berliner Börsen Zeitung" 1858, no. 438, pp. 1821–1823; "Erste Beilage zu den Berlinischen Nachrichten von Staats und gelehrten Sachen" 1858, no. 172; "Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung" 1858, no. 170, p. 8; no. 174, pp. 6–8. Complete documentation of the competition in Landesarchiv Berlin, ref. 200–01, no. 1392, there is information about Lüdecke's request to send him the competition conditions, p. 34.

³⁷ See H. Riegel, *Deutsche Kunststudien*, Hannover 1868, pp. 125–138.

³⁸ The Berlin Competition is the subject of the author's research.

³⁹ See "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III): "Wie eine Mär' aus „Tausend und eine Nacht“ lockt uns ein unter dem Symbol des Unbekannten (X) auftretendes Gebilde der Phantasie, ein lachender, lebensvoller Entwurf".

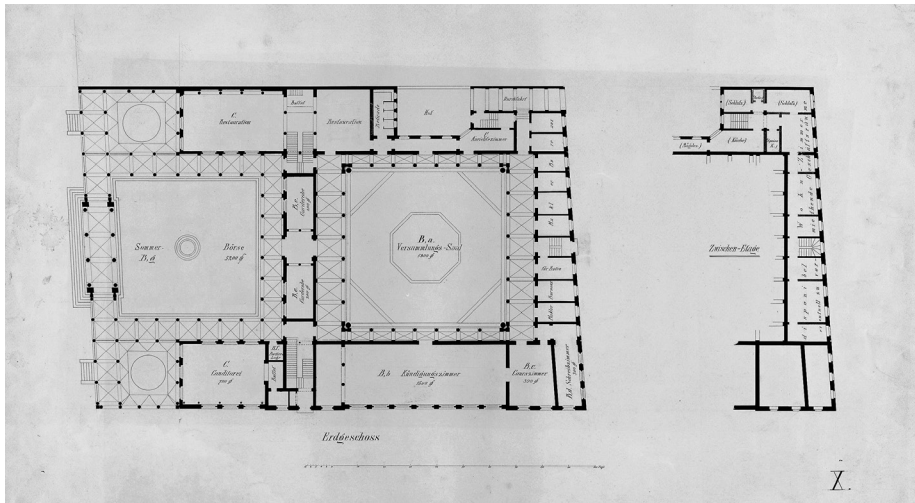


fig. 7 A. Orth, *Exchange, competition design, motto "X", ground floor plan, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 14235. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=1> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

It might have been the work of August Orth (1828–1901)⁴⁰, a Berlin-based architect from the school of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, who took part in several German competitions at the time. The luckily preserved, impressive design with seven sheets, presented in the first hall, was clearly scaled up in relation to the plot and proved the architect's ignorance of the local spatial situation (motto: X) [fig. 7–10]⁴¹. Orth envisaged the location of the main entrance from the side of the promenade in the form of an open arcade cloister accentuated in the central part by three higher arcades resembling a triumphal arch. From here a passage led to a courtyard intended to serve as a summer exchange (area of 5200 sq. feet, i.e. 468 m², also surrounded by cloisters and decorated with a fountain. It adjoined a large exchange hall with an area of 5800 sq. feet = 522 m², covered with a huge cast-iron dome. This solution resembled the designs for covering the open courtyard with a cast-iron dome by Charles Marcellis for the Antwerp Exchange, realized in 1852. In 1858 as a result of fire the structure collapsed. Soon an idea contest for the new exchange was announced. In the submitted projects, innovative solutions with the use of cast-iron appeared. Orth's project undoubtedly followed this direction⁴². The high dome would provide a height architectural dominant of the city panorama from the south, and numerous sculptural groups (including Silesia crowning the entrance, Mercury on the dome, trade symbols) informed about the purpose of the building. The whole would undoubtedly be a counterbalance to the Royal Forum and the prison, a massive and even gloomy Neo-Gothic "castle", situated on the other side of the moat. Due to, among other reasons, a complete disregard for the

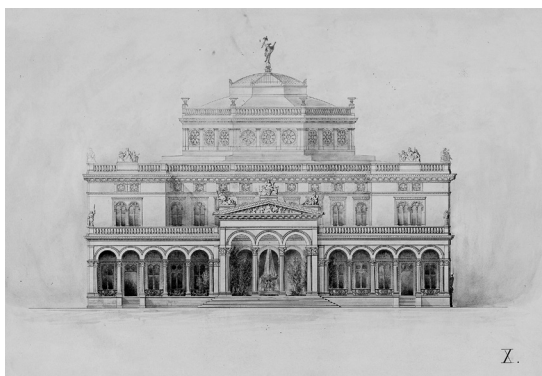


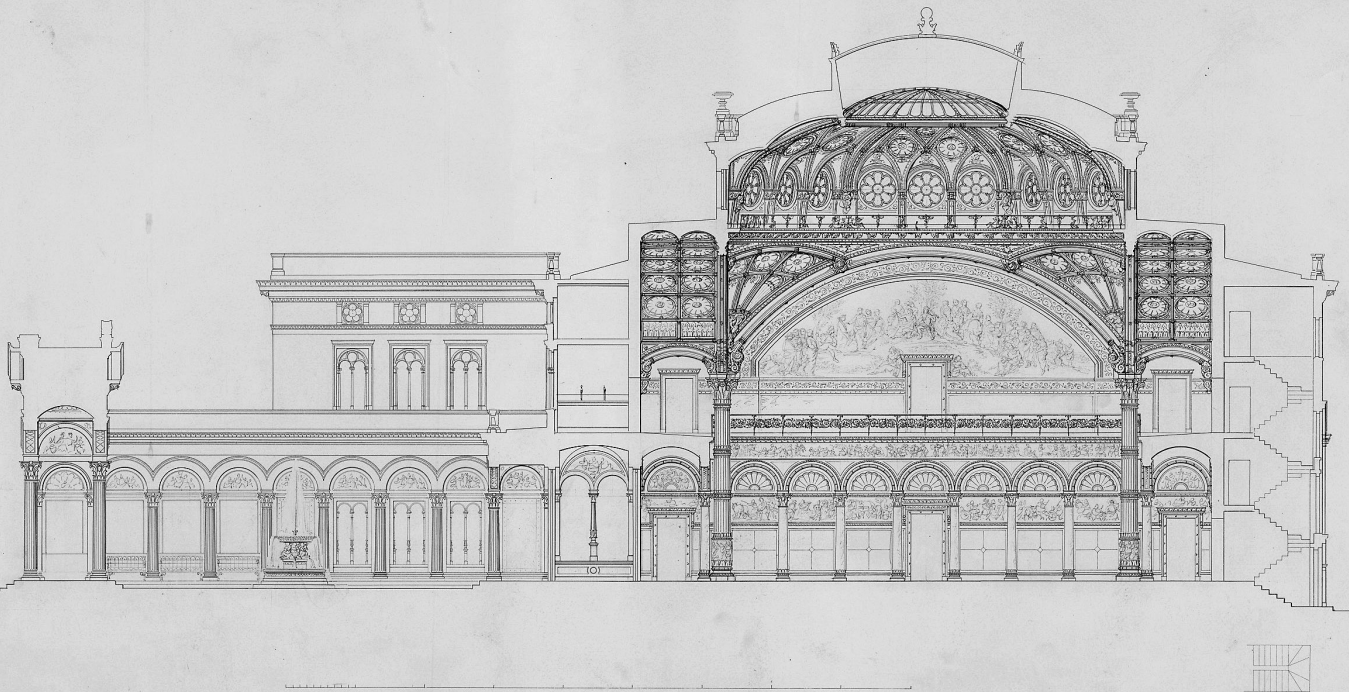
fig. 8 A. Orth, *Exchange, competition design, motto "X", ground floor plan, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 14236. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=2> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

realities of the spatial situation, and probably also for the costs, and it cannot be ruled out that because of Busse's reluctance to build a concept that would be competitive in relation to its own implementation, the project has not even won one of the awards. Similarly impressive must have been a project by an unknown author with the motto "Schlesiens Hauptstadt [The capital of Silesia]", as many as 15 boards), about which H.B. wrote:

⁴⁰ See G. Hahn, *Entwürfe eines Architekten aus der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. August Orth*, Dissertation, Technische Universität Berlin 1954, typescript); E. Börsch-Supan, *Berliner...*, pp. 643–647, there bibliography.

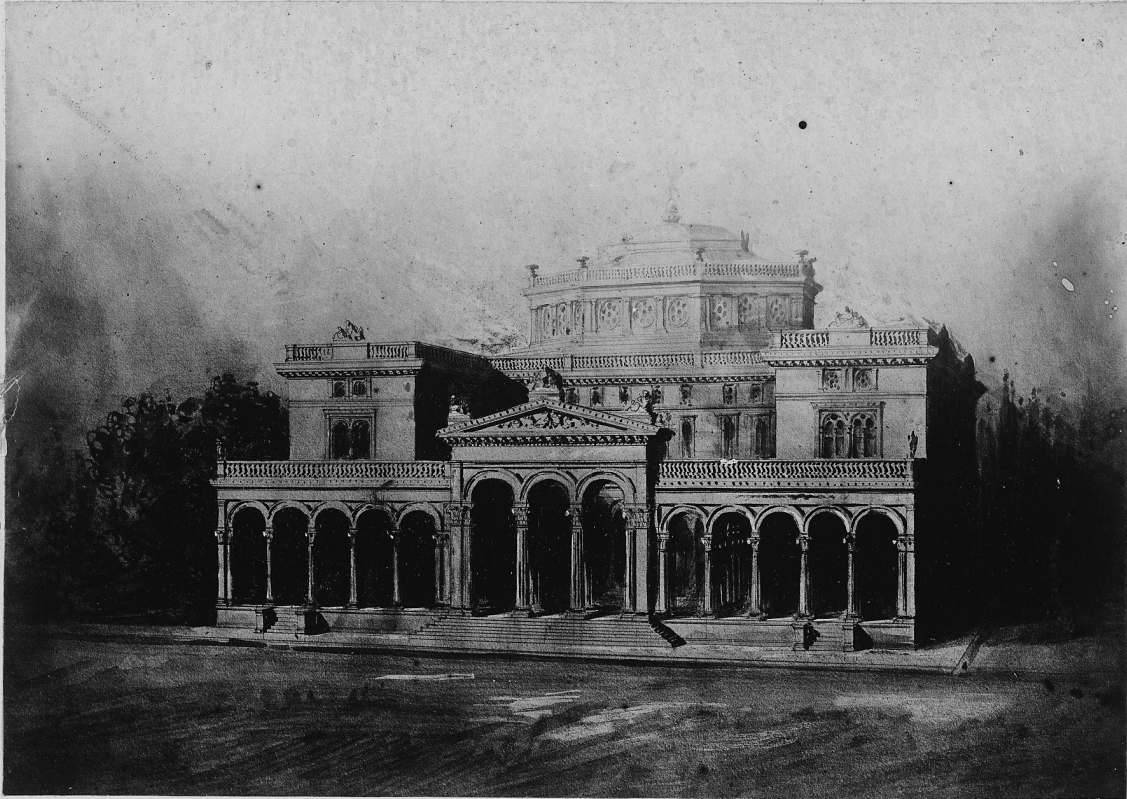
⁴¹ AMTUB, inv. no. 14235–14237, inv. no. F 5591 – F 5593 August Orth Börse, Breslau.

⁴² S. A. Meseure (*op. cit.*, pp. 27–56). J. Dobesz (*Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, pp. 210, 211) and also E. Börsch-Supan (*Berliner...*, p. 140) give a slightly different interpretation.



X.

fig. 9 A. Orth, *Exchange*, competition design, motto "X", cross section, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 14237.
Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=3> (access date: 20 II 2020)



Börse für Breslau. Perspective.

Motto: X.

Concurrentz-Entwurf 1864.

Architekt: A. Orth.

fig. 10 A. Orth, *Exchange*, competition design, motto "X", cross section, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. F 5591.
Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=4> (access date: 20 II 2020)

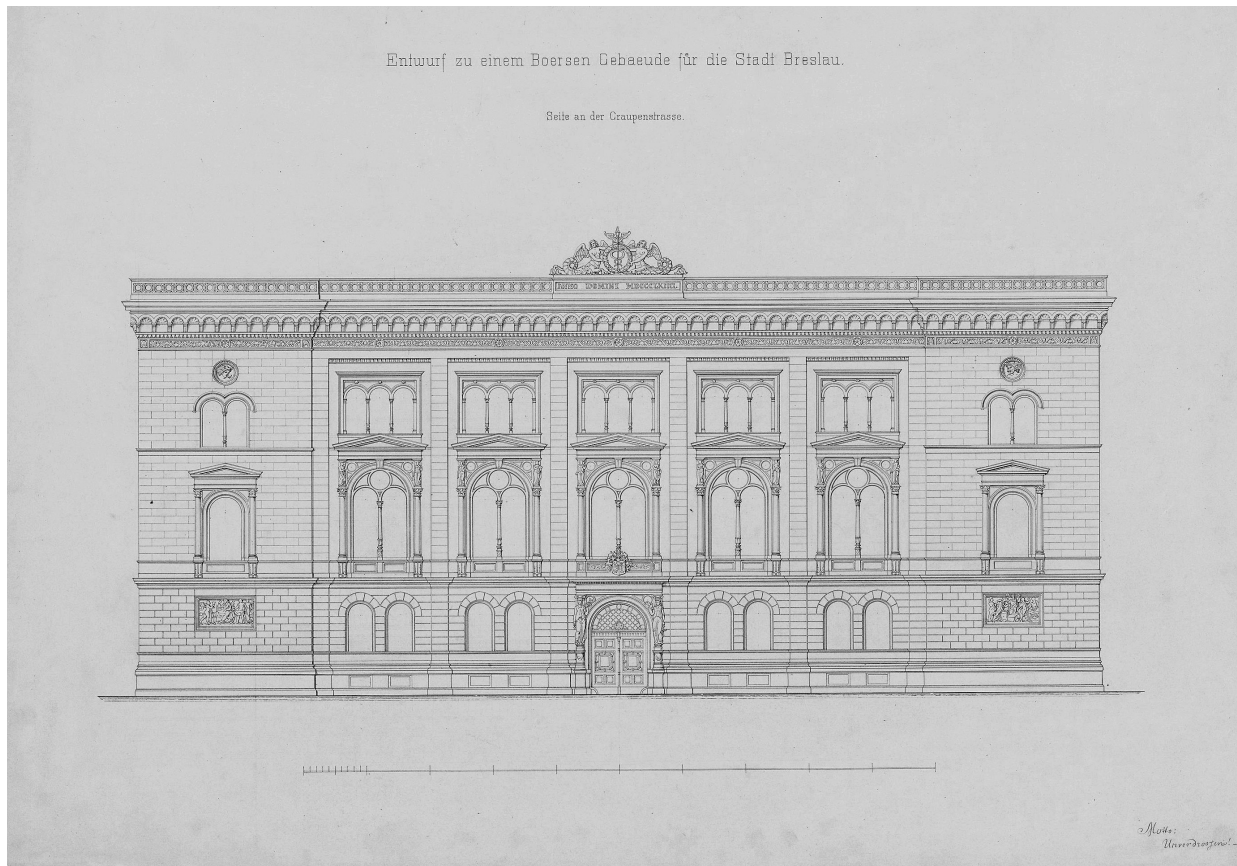


fig. 11 E. F. Giese [?], K. F. B. Schreiber [?], *Exchange, competition design, motto "unverdrossen", façade from Krupniczka Street (formerly Graupenstraße), probably first prize, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6703, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 3. Design, <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=21> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

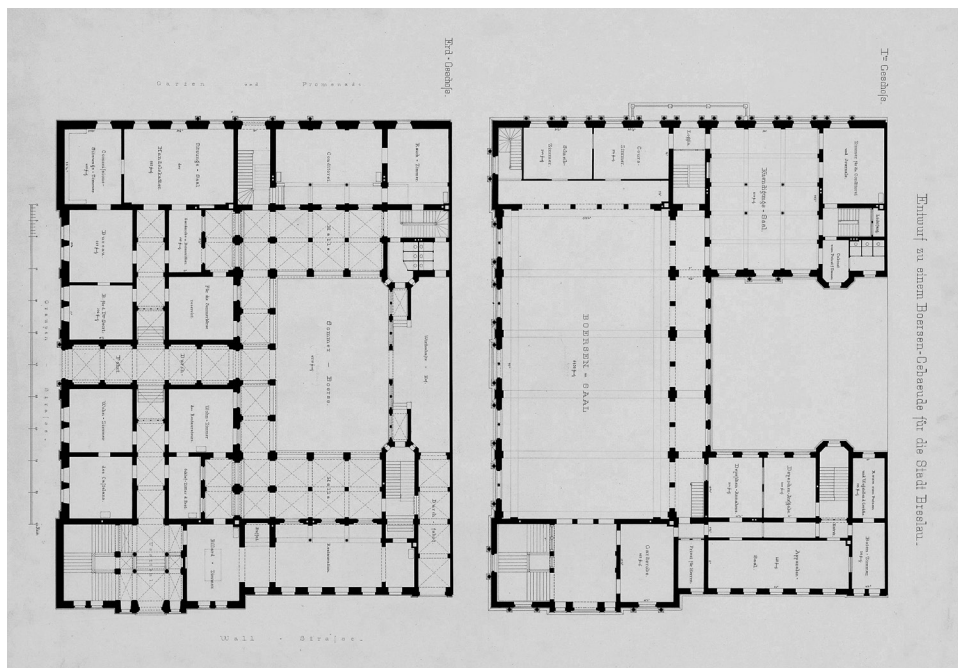


fig. 12 E. F. Giese [?], K. F. B. Schreiber [?], *Exchange, competition design, motto "unverdrossen", ground and 2nd floor plan, probably 1st prize, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6700, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 3. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=18> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

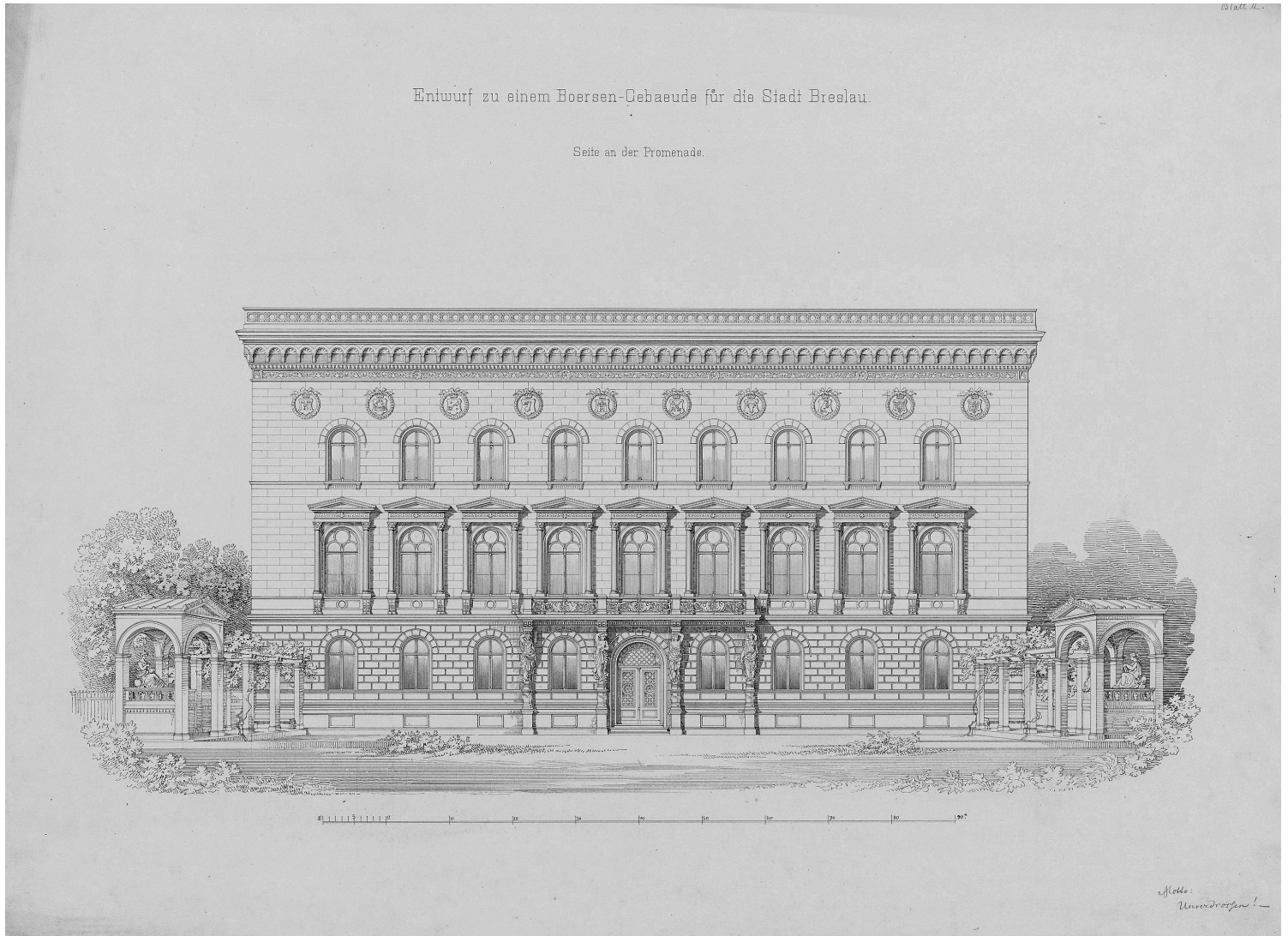


fig. 13 E. F. Giese [?], K. F. B. Schreiber [?], Exchange, competition design, motto "unverdrossen", façade on the side of the promenade, probably first prize, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6704, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislav Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 3. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=22> (access date: 20 II 2020)

a work of art in dazzling and vivid colours. Under the green roof of the foliage, water rang out, and the liquid robe coated playfully tempting Naiads. Nevertheless, it was not Virgil’s songs about Dido or any of the fairy tales of Boccaccio that were listened to by those gathered around: a benefactor banker at a spouting spring was concerned with more serious matters⁴³.

A design with six sheets and the motto “*unverdrossen* [tirelessly]” is known from five original competition drawings in Lüdecke’s collection (perspective view not preserved) and was attributed by researchers to this architect as project no. 3⁴⁴ [fig. 11–14]. However, it is probably one of the two remaining awarded projects, as they were supposed to be models for Lüdecke, the winner of the second Prize, as reported in the press⁴⁵. I suppose the “*unverdrossen*” design could be attributed to Ernest Giese (1832–1903) and Bernhard Schreiber (1833–1894) from Dresden, who received first prize in the competition. At that time they were beginner architects, but with a great deal of knowledge of the Italian Renaissance (Giese travelled there in 1855–1858). They were among the students of Hermann Nicolai, who, alongside Gottfried Semper, was the most important creator of the Dresden Neo-Renaissance.

This trend was characterized by references to the Florentine and Venetian Renaissance, very spare use of details as well as linearity.

“*Unverdrossen*” was the motto for a proud palace, which was a perfect reminder of how splendour is born out of trade and change; and how Italy’s prosperity brought its cities to the heights of art and economy⁴⁶

– wrote the article quoted. All these features are visible in the discussed project. The functional layout was very clearly composed with the main hall located on the side of Krupnicza Street on the second and third floor and enclosed on each storey by semi-circular arcades. A small courtyard – a summer exchange, centrally located, was

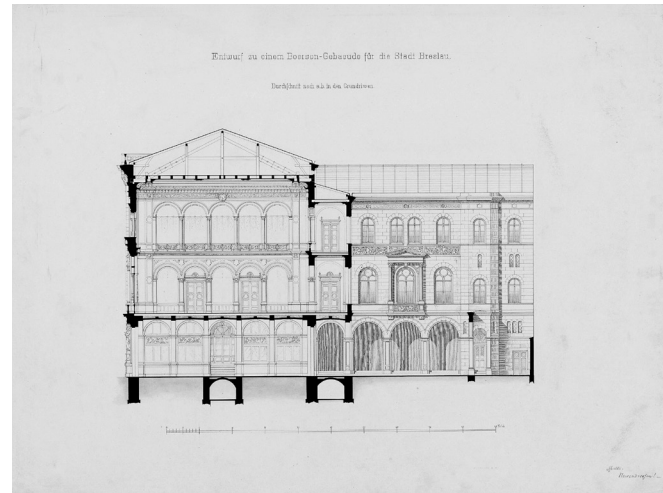


fig. 14 E. F. Giese [?], K. F. B. Schreiber [?], *Exchange, competition design, motto “unverdrossen”, cross section, probably first prize, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6702, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke, Börse, Breslau. 3. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=20> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

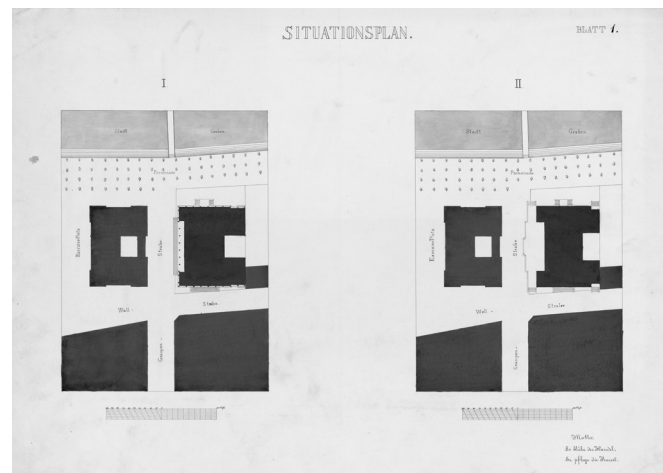


fig. 15 B. Kolscher, *Exchange, competition design, motto “Es blühe der Handel, Er pflege die Kunst”, two versions of situation plan, 1864; Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ref. Hdz 12949*

⁴³ See “Schlesische Zeitung” 1864, no. 125 (13 III): “...eine in glühender Farbenpracht strahlende Kunstschöpfung. Unter grünem Laubdache rauschten die Wasser, das flüssige Gewand verschleierte schelmisch lockende Najaden. Aber es war nicht Virgils Gesang von der Dido und kein Märchen Boccaccio’s, dem die Umstehenden lauschten: der wohlthätige Bankier am plätschernden Springquell unterhält sich von ernsteren Dingen”.

⁴⁴ See E. Börsch-Supan, *Berliner...*, p. 627; J. Dobesz *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, pp. 220–221; B. Grzegorzcyk, *Pałace-instytucje...*, pp. 244–245; AMTUB, inv. nos. 6700–6704.

⁴⁵ See “Breslauer Zeitung” 1864, no. 143 (19 III); “Deutsche Bauzeitung” 1867, no. 4, p. 28.

⁴⁶ See “Schlesische Zeitung” 1864, no. 125 (13 III): “*Unverdrossen* war der Wahlspruch eines stolzen Palastes, der wohl geeignet war daran zu erinnern, wie Pracht und Glanz aus Handel und Wandel erwachsen und wie der Wohlstand Italiens seine Städte zu glücklichen Sitzen der Kunst und der Wirtschaft erhob”.

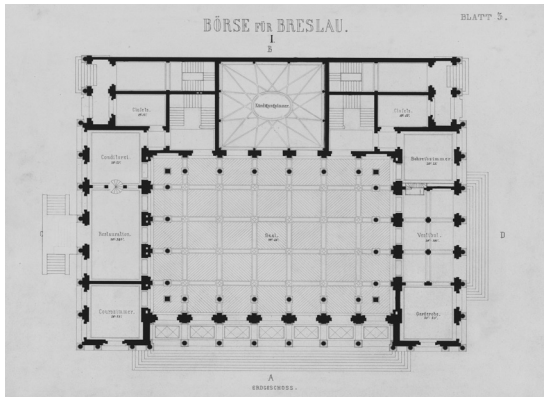


fig. 16 B. Kolscher, *Exchange, competition design*, motto “*Es blühe der Handel, Er pflege die Kunst*”, 1st version of ground floor plan, 1864; Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ref. Hdz 12944

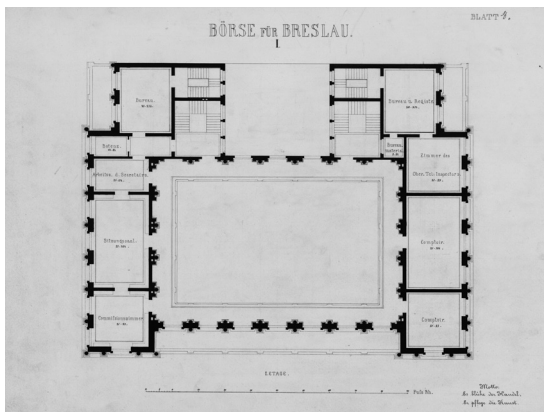


fig. 17 B. Kolscher, *Exchange, competition design*, motto “*Es blühe der Handel, Er pflege die Kunst*”, version I of 2nd floor plan 1864; Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ref. Hdz 12945

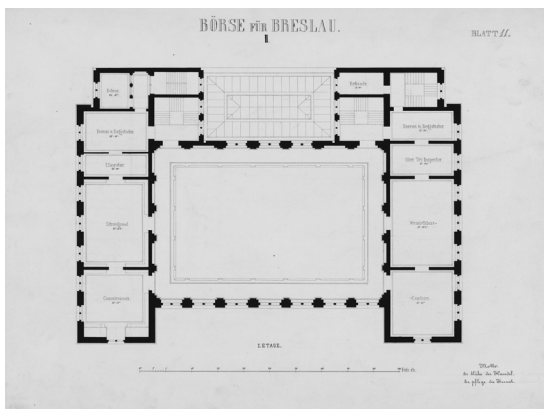


fig. 18 B. Kolscher, *Exchange, competition design*, motto “*Es blühe der Handel, Er pflege die Kunst*”, version II of 2nd floor plan, 1864; Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ref. Hdz 12947

surrounded by arcades and two-*na*ve halls. The design envisaged two hallways enabling the entry by carriage to the exchange and the main entrance in an *avant-corps* in the corner of Krupnicza and Włodkowica Streets connected with a representative staircase. The author did not use the south side for spectacular arcades, but he enclosed a small garden, just as Lüdecke did in his award-winning Neo-Gothic design, with trellises and small gazebos with sculptures.

This similarity of the garden solution in both designs, suggested, perhaps mistakenly, one authorship of both concepts, attributed to Lüdecke⁴⁷. The uniform three-storey southern elevation had a modest entrance leading to a café and a balcony supported by caryatids as trade personifications, in the medallions under the cornice there were conventional coats of arms of cities. The style of the building referred to the Italian *Quattrocento* and *Cinquecento*. The building corresponded stylistically and formally (corner *avant-corps*es window arrangements, bossage etc.) to the building of the Silesian Parliament and even perfectly matched it creating homogeneous stylish “entry pylons” to the city. At the time of the competition for the design of the exchange, the works were in progress to extend Krupnicza Street – the shortest road leading from the Old Town area to the new building of the Court and the prison. The design was functionally well arranged, not over decorated, which also guaranteed low manufacturing costs compared to Orth’s proposition, for example. It displays an excellent architectural skill and a great affinity with the Dresden Neo-Renaissance, especially Nicolai’s work. This suggests that the “*unverdrossen*” design was awarded the first prize, not the Lüdecke’s one. H.B. probably already knew the recommendations for the jury’s verdict, so he devoted a little more space to this project. Giese also took part in the design competition for the Berlin Exchange, so he was certainly well familiarized with concepts for this type of building.

There is still a Neo-Renaissance, unrewarded project, not described in the article in the “*Schlesische Zeitung*”, but giving an idea of the style preferred by architects for exchange architecture. The pencil drawing design by a Berlin architect Bernhard Kolscher (1834–1868)⁴⁸ had the motto “*Es blühe der Handel, Er pflege die Kunst*”

⁴⁷ See J. Dobesz *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, pp. 219–221; B. Grzegorzcyk, *Pałace-institute...*, pp. 244–245.

⁴⁸ See E. Börsch-Supan, *Berliner...*, pp. 604–661.

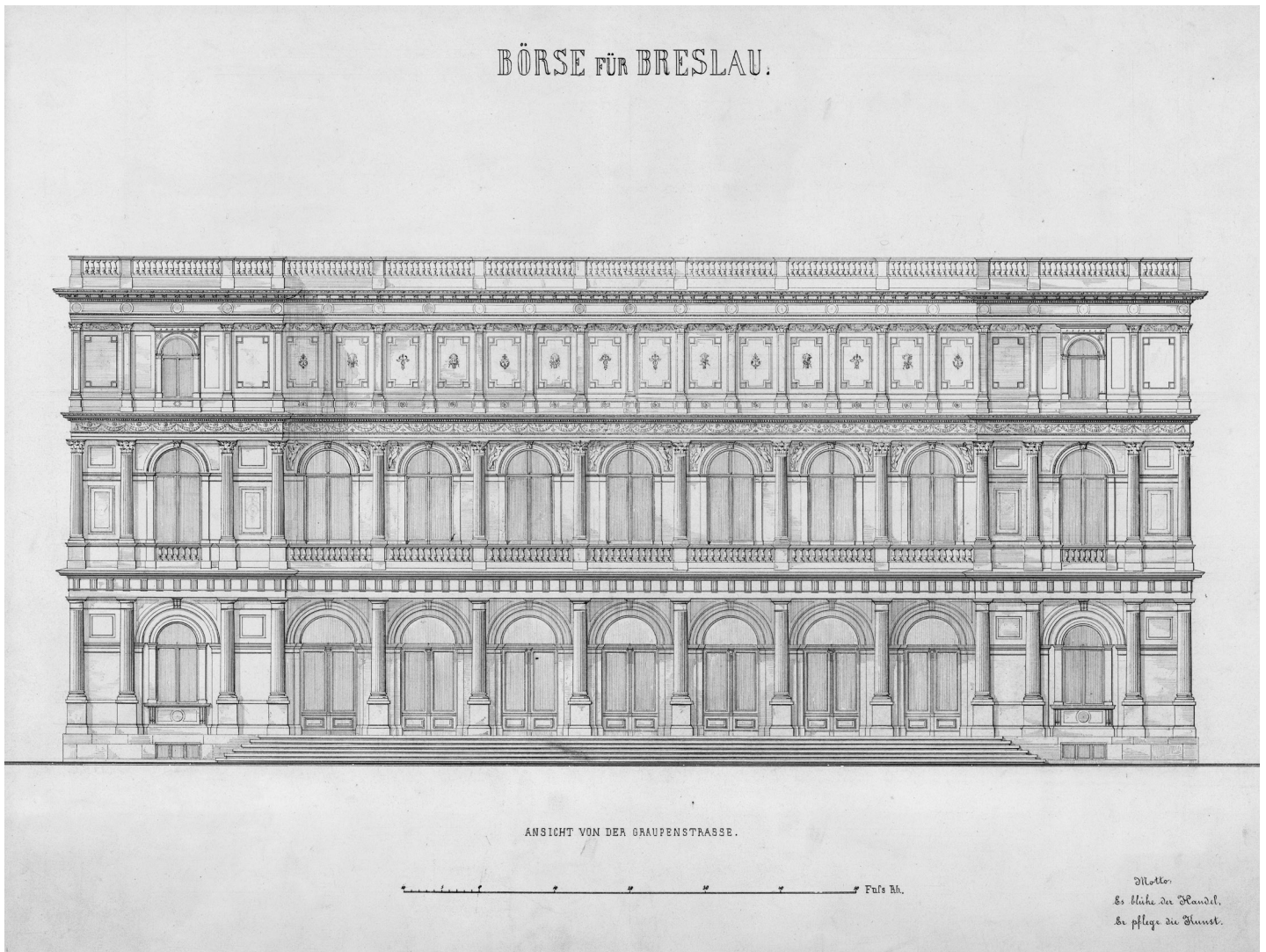


fig. 19 B. Kolscher, *Exchange, competition design*, motto "Es blühe der Handel, Er pflege die Kunst", 19th Façade from Krupnicza Street (formerly Graupenstraße), 1864; Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ref. Hdz 12950

[Blooming trade serves art]” and was made in two variants of floor plans and façade cladding (14 sheets, 8 sheets preserved): with a stone cladding (costs 173 thousand thalers) and a plastered brick version (for 141.5 thousand) [fig. 15–19].

The description and cost estimates for this design are preserved, which gives an idea of what the full set of the competition design might have looked like⁴⁹. Both versions had a similar rectangular floor plan with side avant-corpses from Krupnicza Street and the courtyard from the west. Most of the preserved drawings are related to the first version. In the basement, the architect placed a very large restaurant in the central part, under the exchange hall, to which one could descend by wide stairs from both the promenade and Włodkowica Street. In the wings he designed a beer tavern and a wine tavern. Among the designs of the competition, this one had the most extensive restaurant part, which would probably bring considerable income. The restaurant and the café also occupied the southern part of the ground floor, opening with wide windows to the promenade. The functionally excellent ground floor had a wide main entrance from Włodkowica Street (i.e. relatively the least representative) and arcades from Krupnicza Street. The central part was occupied by a two-storey exchange hall covered with a wooden ceiling of about 600 m², surrounded by a gallery on the second floor. Wide staircases led to the second floor, where the exchange offices available from the gallery were located. The third floor was occupied from the south by the first and second secretary’s apartments and a post office and telegraph office. The preserved drawing of the façade on the side of Krupnicza Street shows an elegant, three-storey building in the style of the High Renaissance, with decoration created by a superposition of the orders (Doric, Ionic, Corinthian) and a balustrade crowning the whole edifice. Wide, semi-circular windows are covered with balustrades and columns. The author has placed reliefs of trade personifications in the arches, and also trade-related decorations in the tiles. Kolscher was only on the threshold of his activity when he took part in the Breslau competition. He proposed a rich Neo-Renaissance style, quite unusual for the post-Schinkel Berlin school, referring to Jacopo Sansovino’s architecture, especially to the Venetian Biblioteca Marciana (Libreria Vecchia). He repeated, in a simplified version of course, not only the layout of the façade, windows and decoration, but also the arcades on the ground floor. In the description, the author himself mentioned a reference to the Italian Renaissance. Kolscher perfectly fitted into the stylistic paradigm of exchange buildings designed around 1860, and even was a bit ahead of it. High Renaissance Style became most fashionable in exchange buildings only after 1870, e.g. in the exchange buildings in Königsberg (1870–1875) or Frankfurt am Main (1879). However, its design remained unnoticed by the jury and the Breslau press, although it was very well arranged in terms of functionality and academically correct in the façade solution.

2. Neo-Gothic concepts: “*nur deutsch*” (“German only”) – 2nd prize for the design by Carl Johann Bogislav Lüdecke

The Neo-Renaissance projects, although they seemed to be the most suitable for the Breslau Exchange because of the style preferred at that time for this function, were probably not expected in that city. This aspect of the selection of the design to be realised has recently been pointed out by Bożena Grzegorzczuk when she analysed the aforementioned article discussing competition designs⁵⁰. It is worth quoting it in a larger fragment, as it illustrates the attitude of Breslau’s opinion-forming circles towards architecture that referred, for various reasons, to the past:

⁴⁹ See B. Schällicke, *Die Zeichnungen des Berliner Architekten Bernhard Kolscher (1834–1868). Der Bestand in der Kunstbibliothek Berlin*, Berlin 1979, pp. 29, 30.

⁵⁰ B. Grzegorzczuk, *Pałace-instytucje...*, pp. 242–250.

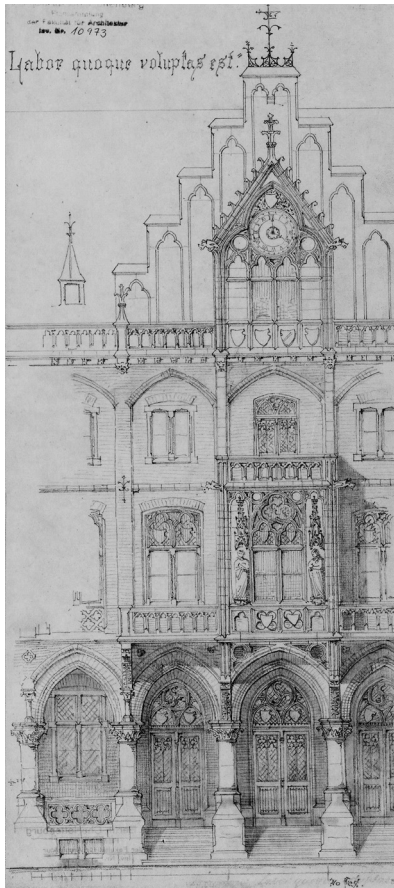


fig. 20 Unknown author, *Exchange, competition design, motto "Labor quoque voluptas est", fragment of façade, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 10973, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), Börsengebäude (?). Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=64> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

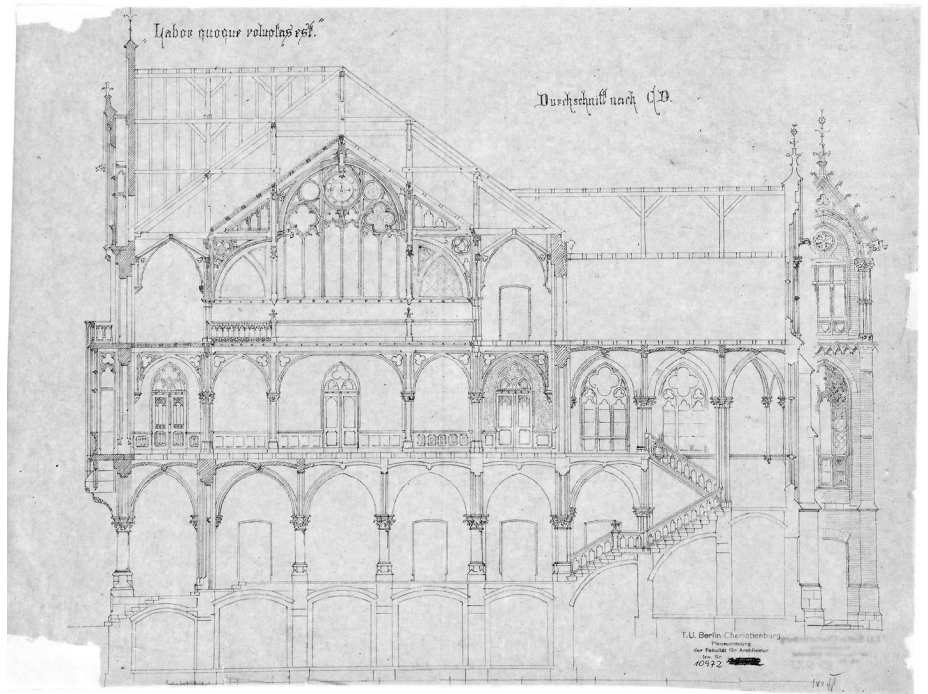


fig. 21 Unknown author, *Exchange, competition design, motto "Labor quoque voluptas est", cross-section through the exchange hall, 1864; AMTUB, inv. nr. 10972, labeled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), Börsengebäude (?). Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=63> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

He who believes in the unquestionably right principle that a building should by its monumentality testify the spirit of its times to posterity, will probably not deny all the more that this view has allowed an exceptionally free development of truly artistic aspirations. However, another belief may come to mind. Trade is not only what a current trend of an epoch allows it to become; it is also what it has always been: a carrier of culture, a cosmopolitan intermediary for exchanging and monetizing all entrepreneurial activities from the boldest ventures of industry to the humble looms in the shade of thatched roof. As a truly burgher activity, it is a source of prosperity for the cities which were created and developed by it, and without which they are in decline and wasting. This burgher element has the right to find its expression in a building intended solely for the centre of the activities of the leaders of the local trade. The city to which it belongs may demand that this edifice, in all its glory, should appear to be a local heritage site, declaring an affinity with other buildings of the community erected by its fathers and forefathers. The character of Breslau, the backbone of the old town – not the suburbs which could not function without the commercial vigour and bustle – was shaped by the late Middle Ages. The splendour of the 16th century architecture did not manage to deprive it of this essential feature,

even if there were so many ingredients added at the time that the overall picture of the city brings to mind that century. However, if one wants to match the building to the character of the Silesian capital, **it is not the Renaissance buildings that will be the reference, but the late Gothic ones.** After all, we must not lose sight of our magnificent, beautiful City Hall. The direction should be set by the magnificent patterns which the Flemish cities, as well as Cologne, Nuremberg, Danzig and many other gems of the Middle Ages remind us of the times of prosperity and power of the burghers⁵¹.

This statement, being an introduction to the description of the exhibition of competition designs, suggested that the author would not be sufficiently impressed with the Renaissance designs prevailing in it. What's more, the narrative aimed the reader and the visitor to positively assess the medieval past and architecture of Breslau. It should be emphasized that it was at that time that the Municipal House (Stadthaus), the seat of the magistrate and city council, was being completed in the Market Square next to the Gothic City Hall. At the request of the Berlin city councillors, Friedrich August Stüler, the author of the design, was to refer in the façades to the demolished Canvasworkers' House (Leinwandhaus), which had previously stood on this site, and to incorporate its details as *spolia*. The councillors rejected the Renaissance version and ordered that the façade be made in the style of the "Gothic Renaissance"⁵². This inclination of the inhabitants of Breslau to the Gothic tradition, which was also to be repeated at the end of the century in the opinion of a municipal construction councillor Richard Plüddemann (1846–1910) about the Gothic character of the city⁵³ can be associated not only with outstanding buildings from the Middle Ages. Did it not mean a kind of negation of the period of Habsburg rule in Silesia, and wasn't it an attempt to ignore, a kind of oblivion in the collective memory of that period of Silesian historiography? The late medieval period, associated with the separation of Silesia from Poland, the entry into orbit of strong Czech and German influences, the development of trade and belonging to the Hanseatic League, was perceived as the "Golden Age" of Silesian merchants and burghers, whose most prominent old symbol was the old City Hall and the new symbol was the Municipal House.

Hence perhaps another statement by H.B.:

The transitional style of the 14th/15th century, in which the more important buildings of Breslau refer to the newer times, allows for the abandonment of rigid forms in order to meet the requirements of modern times. There are not many cities like ours, cities that deny their original character so much by new architecture. [...] The style of the Silesian Parliament [Ständehaus] building cannot have a decisive influence on this design [exchange design]. On the contrary, it may become a challenge to compete by referring to the Gothic style. The Renaissance character of the Burghers'

⁵¹ See "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III): "Wer dem unbedingt berechtigten Grundsatz huldigt, daß ein Bauwerk von dem Geiste der Zeit, in der er geschaffen, in monumentaler Sprache den Nachkommen Zeugniß geben sollte, der wird dieser Anschauung seine Anerkennung um so weniger versagen, als sie zur freiesten Entfaltung echt künstlerischer Bestrebungen Gelegenheit geboten hat. Er darf aber noch eine andere Auffassung ihr Recht geltend machen. Der Handel ist heute nicht nur das, was ihn die herrschende Zeitströmung werden ließ, er ist heute auch noch das, was er immer war, ein Träger der Cultur der weltüberblickende Vermittler des Austausches und der Verwerthung aller gewerblichen Thätigkeit von dem kühnsten Unternehmungen der Industrie hinab bis zum Webstuhl in der Hütte. Als eine echt bürgerliche Thätigkeit ist er die Quelle des Wohlstandes der Städte, die er schuf und wachsen ließ, die ohne ihn sinken und verfallen. Dies bürgerliche Element darf einen Ausdruck fordern in einem Bauwerke, das ausschließlich zum Mittelpunkte für den großen Verkehr der Spitzen des Handels bestimmt ist, und die Stadt der es angehört, darf beanspruchen, daß es in seiner ganzen Erscheinung als ihr eigenes Kind aufträte, dass es sich bekenne zu den verwandten Gemeinheitsbauten, die Väter und Urväter gegründet haben. Der Charakter Breslaus, des alten Kernes der Stadt, nicht jener des Handels und Wandels entbehrenden Vorstädte, ist der des späteren Mittelalters. Was das üppige sechzehnte Jahrhundert hinzugefügt hat, vermochte ihm diesen Grundzug nicht zu rauben, wenn auch der Zuthaten so viele waren, daß der ganze Eindruck der Stadt zumeist an jenes Jahrhundert erinnert. Will man ein Bauwerk dem Charakter der Stadt anpassen, **so ist nicht die Renaissance, sondern die spätgothische Architektur** die maßgebende. Unser prächtiges Rathaus darf dabei nicht aus den Augen gelassen werden. Die herrlichen Vorbilder durch welche uns die flanderischen Städte, sowie Köln, Nürnberg, Danzig und viele andere Perlen des Mittelalters an die Blüte und Macht des Bürgerthums erinnern, müssen die Richtung vorzeichnen".

⁵² A. Zabłocka-Kos, *Zrozumieć miasto...*, pp. 356–363, here pp. 359, 362.

⁵³ That is why he chose Neo-Gothic forms for municipal buildings (schools, hospitals). Cf. A. Gryglewska, *Architektura Wrocławia XIX-XX wieku w twórczości Richarda Plüddemanna*, Wrocław 1999.

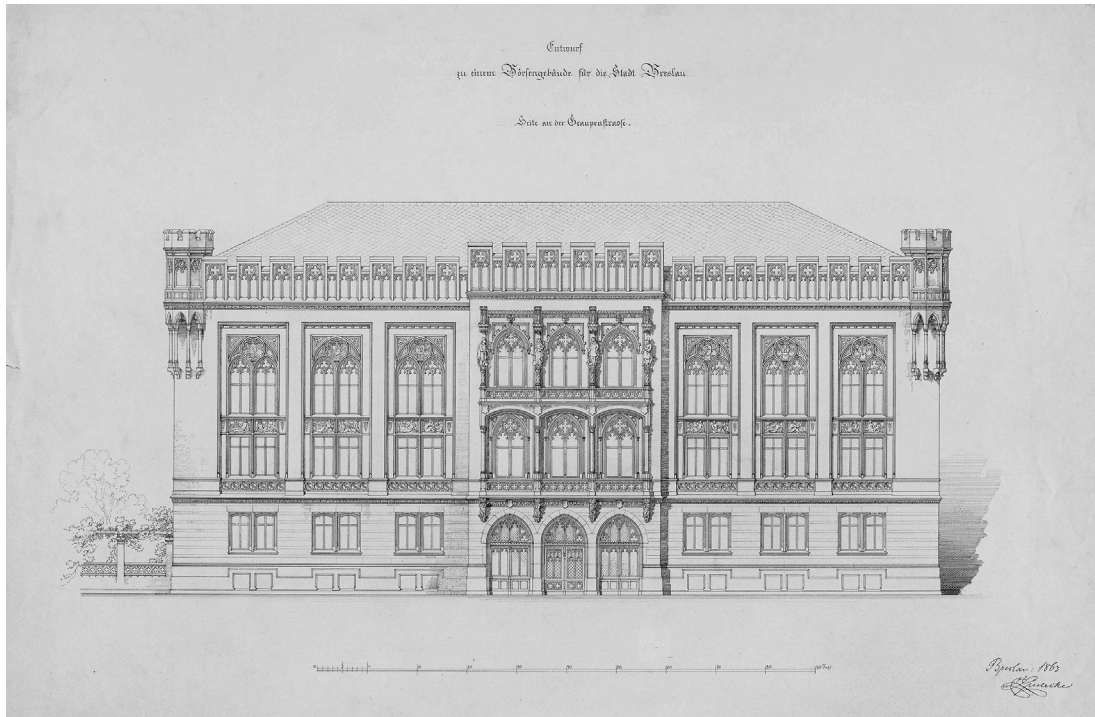


fig. 22 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange, competition design, motto "nur deutsch", façade from Krupnicza Street (formerly Graupenstraße), 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6712, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826-1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=30> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

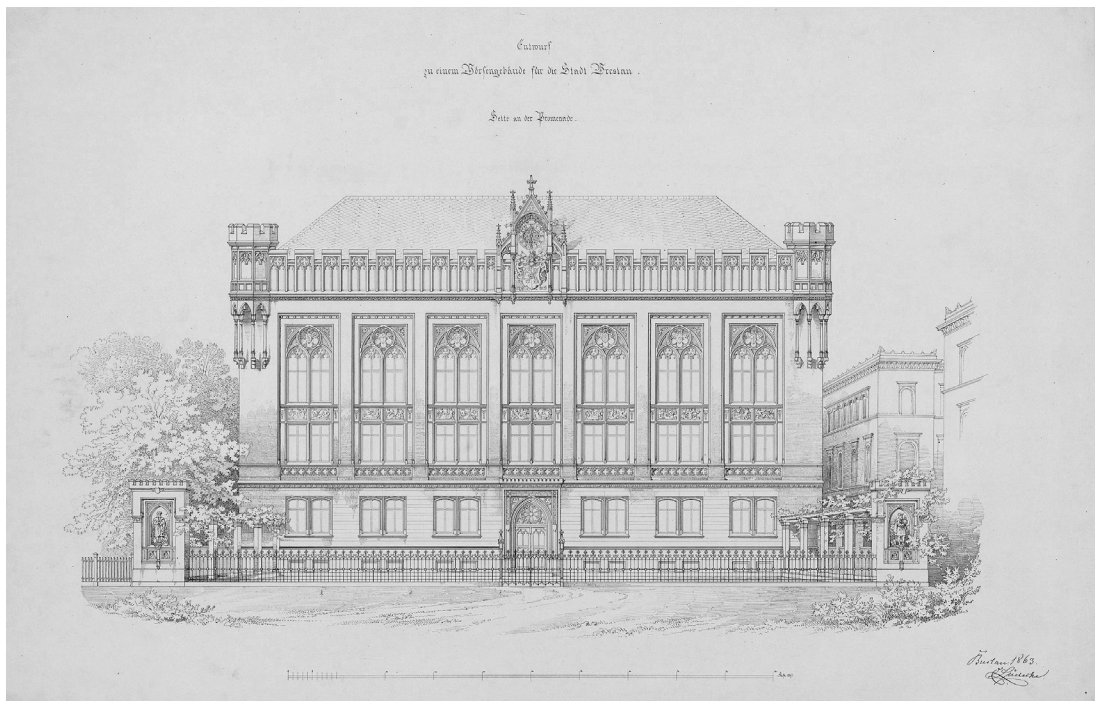


fig. 23 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange, competition design, motto "nur deutsch", façade from the side of the promenade, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6711, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826-1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=7> (access date: 20 II 2020)*



fig. 24 C. J. B. Lüdecke, Exchange, competition design, motto "nur deutsch", perspective view from Włodkowica Street (former Wallstraße) on the corner of the exchange in Krupnicza Street (former Graupenstraße), on the left the Ständehaus, on the far right the Pokoyhof, 9 II 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6716, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826-1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architektur-museum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=7> (access date: 20 II 2020)

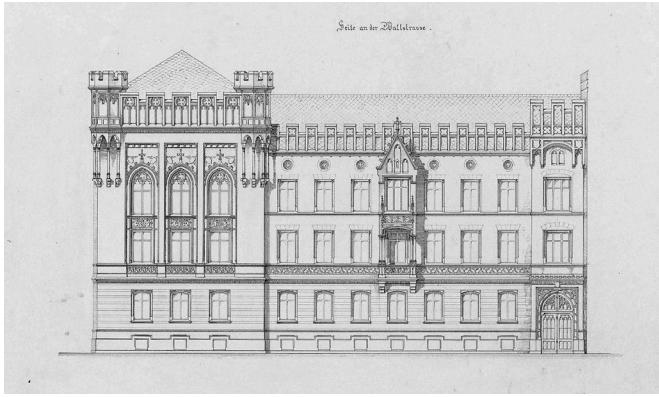
state's edifice of the Silesian Parliament, which in the past centuries was in no way inferior to that of the Burghers of today, could only be reflected in the art of the Renaissance. The building, which will serve the burgher aspirations of today's times, is all the more capable of expressing its character with the burgher architecture inherited from the era of the city's heyday. After all, it is an important virtue of this style that what is generally appropriate for it is expressed by its own means. Classical art and its posterity renaissance operate with the same elements, regardless of whether a church, public building, fortress or private house is to be built. Medieval artistry has for all these purposes its unique manifestation, its own expression. Gothic without lancet arches also has a reason to be⁵⁴.

With the latter statement, the author of the article prepared the readers to review the "*nur deutsch*" design.

After such great praise of the Gothic, H.B. went on to discuss the Renaissance designs presented above. However, he had already prepared the public for their critical reception and announced, as he put it, the "two pearls" in the last room: the "*nur deutsch*" and "*Labor quoque voluptas est* [Work is also a pleasure]" designs. Eleven drawings bearing the emblem "*nur deutsch*" were made by Lüdecke, who received the second award for them. The columnist spared him no praise and verses of description:

This one with a German motto represented a palace building conceived in great and simple proportions, which, in the overall effect, fits perfectly into its special location, namely it also takes into account the appropriate perspective from a considerable distance. The whole is as dignified as the place that was chosen for it, as the surroundings in which it is to stand. Any petty bourgeois tone, which would only disturb and suppress the expression of such an important role of trade today, was avoided. The main façade, if we understand it to mean the one decorated by the portal, is, according to its urban character, directed towards Graupenstraße [Krupnicza Street], and the side facing the promenade has been treated equally meticulously and generously. The ground floor creates a simple, sparingly divided substructure, which only in an avant-corps of the main façade got richer ornaments and in its architectural segmentation it rises upwards. The city character of the building is mainly manifested by this avant-corps. The whole thing is intended for an even more noble purpose. Although the first and second floors are divided according to the needs many times, they still form the most coherent unity. Corresponding windows of the second and third floors are connected by a multiple broken quadrangle which underlines the coherence of the whole. Where – as in the main hall – the room covers two storeys, the strip of wall dividing the windows overlaps with the gallery surrounding the interior, creating at the same time its window railing. Thanks to this successful combination of windows on both floors, the linear slenderness has been reinforced; the planes seem less divided and the whole takes on a more dignified dimension in all its details. The finial of the building is exceptionally rich. Deprived of any military character, the crenellation conceals the roofing, and the sumptuous corner turrets, reminiscent of Marienburg, highlight the advantages of open space and give the building a triumphant rank among the surrounding buildings. It should also be appreciated that the main hall is directed towards the promenade, which pleases eyes with a beautiful view from the windows. However, the artist could be questioned about introducing slightly more modern English wooden structures, which in the case of the vaulting of the main hall resemble our railway stations a bit too much. The same applies to the fact that by enclosing the side

⁵⁴ See „Schlesische Zeitung“ 1864, no. 125 (13 III): „Der Uebergangsstyl durch den Breslaus bedeutendere Bauwerke an die neuere Zeit anknüpfen, gestatte von voller Formenstrenge Abstand zu nehmen und den Anforderungen der Gegenwart ausreichend Rechnung zu tragen. Es gibt wenige Städte, die in ihren Neubauten so sehr ihren ursprünglichen Typus verleugnen, wie unsrige. [...] Der Styl des Ständehauses kann nicht bestimmend auf ihren (Börse) Entwurf einwirken, im Gegentheil, er kann nur dazu herausfordern, durch das Zurückgeben an den gothischen Baustyl einen Wettkampf einzugehen. Die Renaissance des Ständewesens, die in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten keineswegs unter gerechter Würdigung der heutigen Bedeutung des Bürgerthums hervortrat, konnte nur in der Kunst der Renaissance ihren Ausdruck finden. Ein Bauwerk, das den bürgerlichen Bestrebungen unserer Zeit dient, wird vorzugsweise in der uns aus der Glanzperiode des Städtewesens überkommenen bürgerlichen Baukunst seinen Charakter kennzeichnen können. Ist es doch ein wesentlicher Vorzug diese Styles, das was ihm überhaupt conform ist, durch eigenthümliche Mittel zum Ausdruck bringen zu können. Die klassische Kunst und die aus ihr erwachsene Renaissance arbeiten mit denselben Elementen, gilt es eine Kirche, ein Gebäude zu gemeinheitlichen Zwecken, eine feste Burg oder ein Privathaus herzustellen. Die mittelalterliche hat für alle diese Richtungen ihren gesonderten Ausdruck, ihre eigenthümlichen Mittel. Es giebt eine Gothik auch ohne Spitzbogen“.



facing the neighbouring garden, the architect did not provide as much light as he could have allowed by its opening⁵⁵.

In the next part there was a description of the second Gothic design, referring, according to the author, to Venetian palaces, but showing ignorance of the local spatial situation. From this design (6 drawings), by an unknown author, two copies on the tracing paper of a fragment of the façade and cross-section are stored in Lüdecke's legacy [fig. 20–21]. They represent late historicism. The exchange hall on the second floor was covered with an extended open roof truss⁵⁶. The author finished his article in way: "This suggestion and wish to refer in this case to the architecture of our ancestors is the only purpose of writing these words"⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ See "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III): "Der mit dem deutschen Wahlsprüche hat ein palastartiges in großen, einfachen Verhältnissen gedachtes Bauwerk hingestellt, das in seinem Gesamteffekte durchaus der speciellen Oertlichkeit entspricht, namentlich aber auch die Wirkung auf bedeutendere Entfernung berücksichtigt. Vornehm wie der Platz, den man ausgewählt hat, wie die Umgebung, in die er eintreten soll, ist die Haltung des Ganzen. Jeder kleinbürgerliche Anstrich, der hier störend wirken und die heute so bedeutende Stellung des Handels nicht zum Ausdruck gelangen lassen würde, ist vermieden. Die Hauptfäçade, wenn man darunter diejenige versteht wo das Portal liegt, ist dem städtischen Charakter entsprechend, der Graupenstraße zugewandt, dagegen die der Promenade zugekehrte Seite mit gleicher Liebe und Pracht behandelt. Das Erdgeschoss bildet einen einfach gehaltenen, sparsam durchbrochenen Unterbau, der nur in dem Risalit der Hauptfäçade reicher behandelt und in die aufsteigende Richtung der architektonischen Gliederung hineingezogen ist. In diesem Risalit charakterisiert sich vorzugsweise das städtische Moment. Für die Gesamtwirkung hat sich der Künstler ein stolzeres Ziel gesteckt. Das erste und zweite Stockwerk sind zwar dem Bedürfnis entsprechend vielfach getheilt, in der äußeren Anordnung aber als ein durchaus zusammengehörendes Ganze behandelt. Ein von tief greifenden Gliederungen umrahmtes Gevierte umschliesst die correspondirenden Fenster des ersten und zweiten Geschosses in der Absicht, sie nach außen hin als ein zusammengehörendes Ganzes wirken zu lassen. Wo, wie im Hauptsaal, der Raum durch beide Stockwerke hindurchgeht, deckt der die Fenster theilende Mauerstreifen, die im Innern umlaufende Galerie und bildet für dieselbe gleichzeitig die Fensterbrüstung. Durch dieses glücklich gelöste Zusammenfassen der Fenster beider Stockwerke wird das aufsteigende Streben der Linien erhöht, die Flächen erscheinen den Gesetzen der Profanarchitektur des Mittelalters entsprechend weniger durchbrochen, und das Ganze entwickelt in allen Einzelheiten stattlichere Dimensionen. Die Krönung des Gebäudes ist eine außerordentlich reiche. Ein umlaufender, durch Ornament jedes kriegerischen Charakters entkleideter Zinnenkranz läßt die Dachungen verschwinden, während prächtige, an Marienburg erinnernde, frei auskragende Eckthürme den Vortheil der freien Lage ausdeuten und dem Gebäude in Bezug auf Effect den Sieg über Nachbargebäude sicher stellen. Das der Hauptsaal der Promenade zugewandt ist und dadurch reiches Licht und eine schöne Aussicht gewinnt, können wir nur anerkennen. Ueber die Einführung etwas moderner englischer Holzkonstruktionen, die bei der Deckenconstruction des Saales etwas zu sehr an unsere Eisenbahnhallen erinnern, läßt sich aber mit dem Künstler rechten. Ebenso darüber, daß er dem Hofe durch Verbauung der durch dem benachbarten Garten gewandten Seite nicht so viel Licht gegönnt hat, als ihm bei Anordnung einer durchbrochenen Abschlusswand hätte zugeführt werden können".

⁵⁶ See J. Dobesz, *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, p. 211.

⁵⁷ See "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III): "Dies anzudeuten und den Wunsch zu motivieren, dass im vorliegenden Falle auf die Bauweise unserer Altvordern zurückgegangen werde, ist der einzige Zweck dieser Zeilen".

fig. 25 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange, competition design, motto "nur deutsch", façade from Włodkowica Street (former Wallstraße), 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6713; labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=9> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

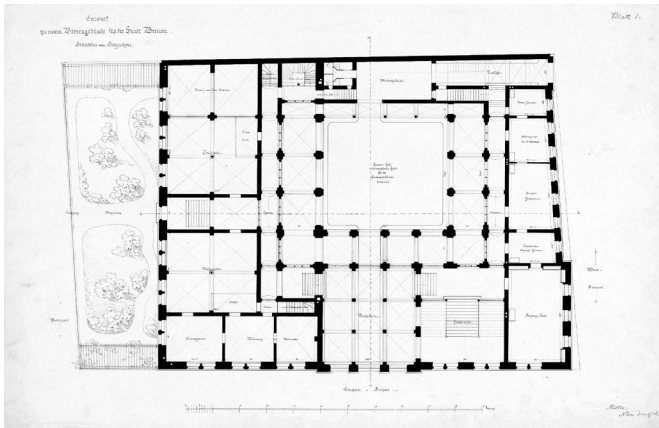


fig. 26 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange, competition design, motto "nur deutsch", ground floor plan, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6706, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=2> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

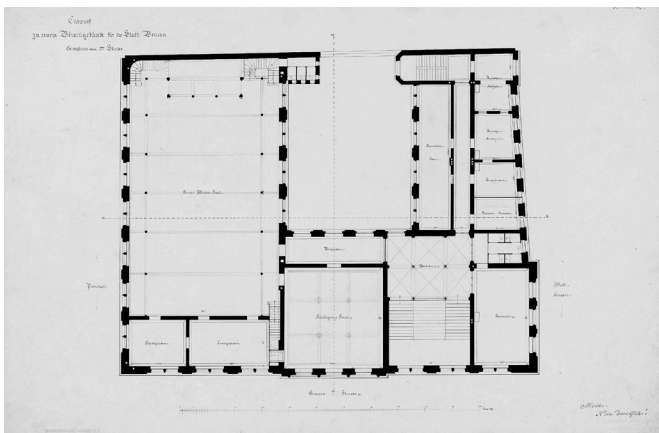


fig. 27 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange, competition design, motto "nur deutsch", 2nd floor plan, 1864; AMTUB, inv. no. 6707, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=3> (access date: 20 II 2020)*

Entwurf zu einem Börsen-Gebäude für die Stadt Breslau Blatt 11.
Innere Ansicht des großen Börsen-Saales.



Breslau 1863
Lüdecke

fig. 28 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange*, a view of exchange hall. Competition design [?], 1863; AMTUB, inv. no. 6714, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislav Lüdecke (1826–1894), Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=10> (access date: 20 II 2020)

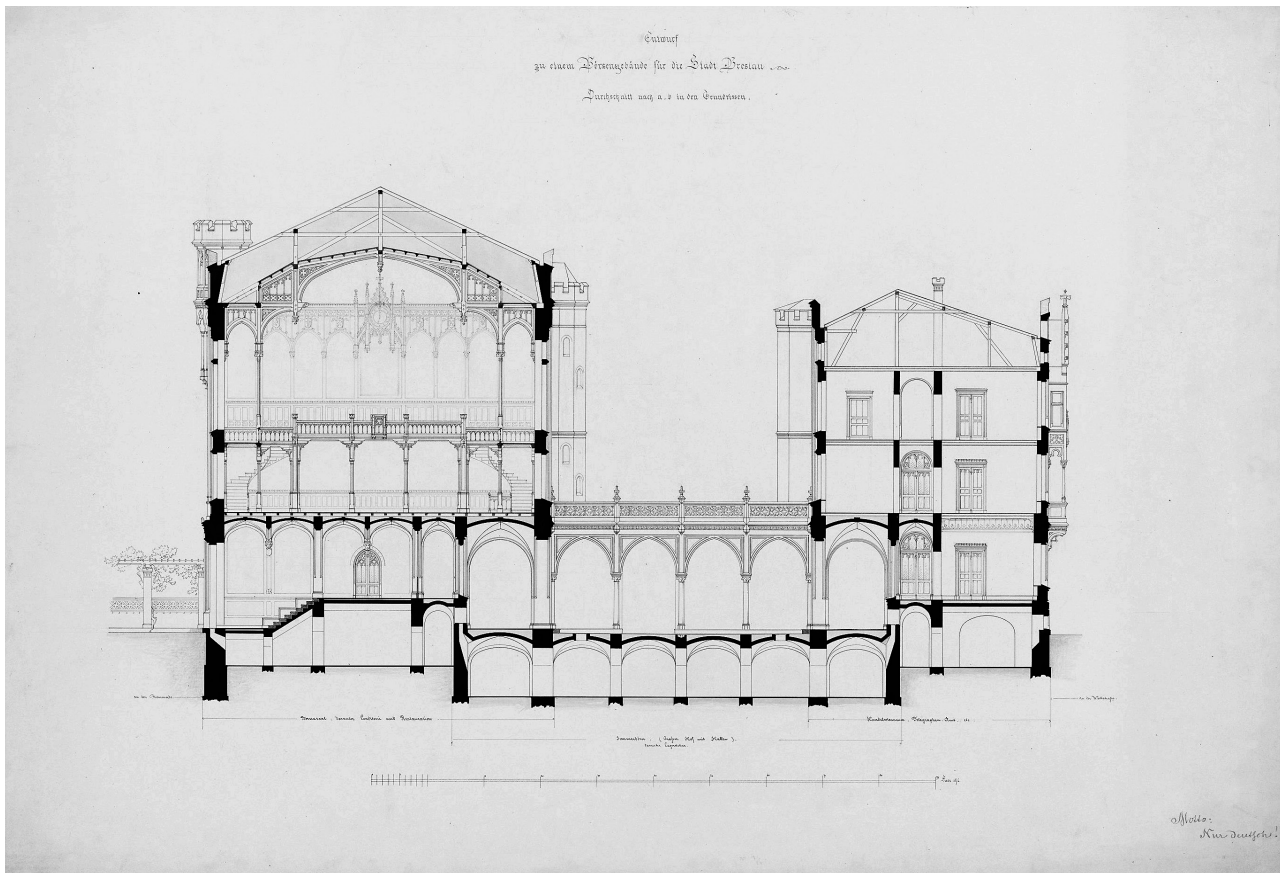


fig. 29 C. J. B. Lüdecke, *Exchange, competition design, longitudinal section, 1864*; AMTUB, inv. no. 6709, labelled as: Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), s. Börse, Breslau (Wrocław). 4. Design. Photo: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=5> (access date: 20 II 2020)

The exhibition presented 11 drawings by Lüdecke, from which the perspective view is signed “Breslau 9 II 1864” (the note was probably made later), while in the legacy there are 12 drawings referred to as project 4 [fig. 22–29]. The work of the Breslau architect has already been characterized by previous researchers, with general indications of inspiration from the Cloth Hall in Bruges, the medieval building for various celebrations (Festhalle, Banqueting House) of Gürzenich in Cologne and the castle in Marienburg⁵⁸, as well as patterns preferred by Schinkel’s students.

Who was Carl Johann Bogislaus Lüdecke, the author of the award-winning design, finally selected for implementation? Around 1860 he was one of the first architects operating in Silesia with a full university education obtained in the Berlin Bauakademie⁵⁹. In 1855 he successfully passed the exam for the degree of master builder (*Baumeisterprüfung*), which opened up to him the possibility of obtaining both private and public orders and starting his career as a civil servant. In 1863 he was already an architecture teacher at the Königl. Kunst-, Bau- und Handwerkschule in Breslau and held the position of district architect (*Kreisbaumeister*) in the Breslau Region (*Regierungsbezirk*). Around 1864 he was on the threshold of his

⁵⁸ J. Dobesz, *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, pp. 216, 221; B. Grzegorzczak, *Pałace-instytucje...*, p. 245.

⁵⁹ See J. L. Dobesz, *Nurty architektury...*; E. Börsch-Supan, *Berliner...*, p. 624. The almost complete architectural legacy of this architect containing 1685 drawings is kept in the Plasammlung: <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=51&SID=1547549762448> (access date: 7 II 2020); obituary “Deutsche Bauzeitung” 1894, no. 9 of 31 I 1894, p. 56.



fig. 30 Cologne, Interior of Gürzenich after rebuilding by J. Raschdorff, 1861, picture entitled *Le ball de Jean Marie Farina a Cologne 1861*, "L'Univers illustré" 1861, p. 83. Photo after: <http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:1861-L%27univers-illustre.jpg> (access date: 20 II 2020)

long career. His award in the competition was undoubtedly a breakthrough for his later activities in Breslau and Silesia. It is not the first time he faced the subject of the exchange, as he had previously made such drawings related to obtaining the title of architect (unknown drawing)⁶⁰. It is known that he asked for the terms and conditions of the competition for the design of the Berlin Exchange, and in 1869 he made plans for the competition for the Königsberg Exchange⁶¹.

Lüdecke had already known about the plans to erect the building before, as evidenced by his unsuccessful, and in a sense provincial, sketch from 1863. The artist was therefore certainly aware of the expectations of Breslauer Börsen Actien Verein, and probably guessed its preference for Gothic style. It can be assumed that the second prize was awarded to him through intervention of investors. Lüdecke was well acquainted with the surroundings of the future exchange, which he presented excellently in the perspective drawing, and in the competition drawings he probably perfectly guessed the intentions of Breslau merchants.

The first researcher of the Breslau Exchange Eva Börsch-Supan indicated on the stylistic links of this project more to German Gothic than English one. In her opinion, the patterns of the traceries were taken

⁶⁰ See J. Dobesz *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, p. 211.

⁶¹ Lüdecke's legacy includes: AMTUB, inv. no. 11383 Börse, Berlin Grundriss des Vorgängerbaus and inv. no. 11119, 11114-111123 - design of the exchange in Königsberg.

from the Gothic Cathedral (14th century). Crenellated walls are modelled on Late-Gothic public buildings (Gürzenich). Börsch-Supan also pointed to another building from Cologne: Wallraff-Richartz-Museum, which was completed in 1861:

*Die stilistische Haltung war trotz starker Horizontalen eher deutsch als englisch, daß Maßwerk des Spitzbogenfenster stammte aus der Kathedralgotik des 14. Jahrhunderts, der Zinnenkranz war spätgotischen Profanbauten wie etwa Kölner Gürzenich ähnlich, den z.B. sämtliche Entwürfe für das Kölner Wallraff-Richartz-Museum als Vorbild beachtet hatten*⁶²

Dobesz added to this inspiration the architecture of Flanders⁶³.

Lüdecke's Neo-Gothic competition project therefore combined many stylistic trends. The eastern façade with the main entrance from Krupnicza Street and the southern façade, which was spectacularly open towards the promenade and a small garden, were composed in the same way [fig. 22–23]. The low ground floor, based on a plinth with small windows, was the basis of two floors covered with flat frames filled with windows: on the second floor, rectangular ones, and on the third floor, bipartite closed with a lanced-arch tracery with integrated shields of arms. Between the windows there was a strip of panels decorated with trade-related representations. This arrangement of windows suggested as if a unified space of both storeys, which was indeed the case from the side of the promenade, where the architect located a two-storey exchange hall on the second floor. The main entrance from Krupnicza Street, designed as a flat avant-corps included three high lancet-arched portals and an overhanging oriel very richly decorated with tracery windows and panels with cartouches of arms and allegories of trade, industry, agriculture and pastoralism. The corners of the building were crowned with polygonal turrets, most reminiscent of Gürzenich. The internal façades on the courtyard side, which were the architectural setting of the summer exchange, were treated in the same way as the outer façades.

The perspective view attached to the design shows how many elements from the architecture of the nearest surroundings Lüdecke took into account in his concept [fig. 24]. The compact body of the building, and above all the corner avant-corpses referred to the Silesian Parliament (there were no roofs visible in both of them). The corner turrets were also a pendant to the finials of the Pokoyhof – a tenement house at the intersection of both streets; similarly, the figures under the canopies were a reference to the corner bay window of the Pokoyhof (at the intersection of Krupnicza and Włodkowica Streets) with the figures of St. Hedwig and St. John the Baptist⁶⁴. The façade from the side of Włodkowica Street had only a decorative corner, the remaining part, according to the functions of this part of the building, was designed most modestly. Therefore, the architect very deliberately inscribed the building of the exchange in the surroundings. The character of the main façades resembled the Flemish architecture of Bruges, mentioned in an article in the “Schlesische Zeitung”. The windows filling almost entirely the wall were the composition principle of the local town hall, while the corner turrets were characteristic, not only for the Gürzenich Hall in Cologne, but also for the seat of the Hanseatic cantor (Oosterlingenhuis in Bruges). The author of the article in “Schlesische Zeitung” pointed to the similarity of the corner turrets with the Cologne buildings, but also the Flanders and Marienburg (today Malbork) ones. Whereas the rich entrance avant-corps was undoubtedly a suggestive allusion to the southern bay window in the Breslau Town Hall, which is also mentioned in the quoted article. The floor plan in turn referred to the floor plan of the Breslau Old Exchange [fig. 26, 27]. Similarly to 16 Solny Square, the entrance led to a vaulted three-nave passage hall (exit from Włodkowica Street), from which, as in the Old Exchange, one turns right to the staircase designed here by Lüdecke as a representative staircase in the imperial layout. Just like in Solny Square, the main hall is located on the

⁶² E. Börsch-Supan, *Berliner...*, p. 158.

⁶³ J. Dobesz *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, p. 218, description of the Neo-Gothic competition design in: *ibidem*, pp. 216–220; B. Grzegorzcyk, *Pałace-instytucje...*, p. 245.

⁶⁴ A. Zabłocka-Kos, *Sztuka, wiara, uczucie. Alexis Langer – śląski architekt neogotyku*, Wrocław 1996, pp. 81–85.

side. On the ground floor, in the inner courtyard surrounded by lancet-arched cloisters, the summer exchange was located. The individual floor plans were designed very clearly, and the architect integrated the foundations of the old house standing on this plot on the side of Włodkowica Street. This is evidenced by the cutting of the building from Włodkowica Street, which Lüdecke already took into account in the 1863 design, and which was not used in other designs and which probably did not escape the attention of the jury. Thus, he implicitly informed the jury that this place is well known to him. Analogies with the building in Cologne are evident in the main hall: it is simply a copy of the Gürzenich Hall in Cologne [fig. 28, 29], with the difference that in Breslau the hall is surrounded by a shallow gallery with a balcony (in Gürzenich the gallery is located just below the ceiling), and the wooden ceiling is covered with painted decoration with shield of arms. This hall, in terms of layout, form and decoration, does not refer to English interiors, as suggested by researchers⁶⁵, but directly to Cologne in the version after the rebuilding by Julius Raschdorff in 1858 [fig. 30]⁶⁶.

In his competition design, Lüdecke therefore combined many elements: the architecture of the exchange resembled buildings connected with trade, merchant corporations or municipal authorities from the late Middle Ages, both from the Hanseatic cities (Bruges and especially Cologne, and from Breslau (City Hall). The composition of the façade with its high ground floor and representative *piano nobile* and the concept of the main entrance and the layout of the interior were in fact associated with the exchange on Solny Square, well-known to Christian merchants. Moreover, the plot of the building was very well used in the design by Lüdecke, e.g. he planned basements around the whole courtyard [fig. 31], which was often practised in Breslau, due to the limited space available (Kolscher also did so in his design). The architect proposed an elegant architecture, with rich decorations: coats of arms, scenes connected with trade and allegorical figures. The shape of the building, however, had essentially a classicistic character.

H.B. admiration was therefore justified, because the concept, as it was probably expected, incorporated the building into the magnificent Breslau tradition of trading connections of medieval merchants linked by numerous ties to the leading Hanseatic cities of Rhineland and Flanders. Thus, Lüdecke's design corresponded to the current aspirations of Breslau's elite to revive the international trade links between Breslau and Europe. With such a concept for the development of Silesian trade, the seat of Breslau merchants could not be "a palace in the style of sunny Italy". In that way, it would be fulfilled the conviction that "the direction should be shown by the magnificent patterns of the Flanders cities, as well as Cologne, Nuremberg, Danzig and many other gems of the Middle Ages reminding us of the times when the burghers were in their heyday and power"⁶⁷ and that the exchange was to be a style element that would supplement and complement the environment dominated by the Neo-Renaissance buildings of the Royal Forum, which was demanded by H.B. in his article for the "Schlesische Zeitung". At the same time, drawing on the late-medieval Breslau patterns, the artist gave the building a local character, and by repeating the functional layout of the Old Exchange on Solny Square, he created a bridge between the Old and New Exchanges. For non-Christian merchants, this could have a considerable symbolic meaning. The Neo-Gothic exchange would be one of the most representative buildings of the time, filling the southern edge of the Old Town in the prestigious surroundings of the promenade; a kind of burgher accent, different in style from the Neo-Renaissance royal buildings (the new wing of the Palace) and military buildings (Generalkommando – headquarters of the VI Army Corps in Świdnicka Street, Schweidnitzerstraße). It would be a style counterweight to the Silesian Parliament building. The complexity of the task of building a representative headquarters for the Chamber of Commerce in Breslau could only be understood by

⁶⁵ See J. Dobesz, *Gmach Nowej Giełdy...*, p. 216.

⁶⁶ [J.] Raschdorff, *Das Kaufhaus Gürzenich in Cöln*, "Zeitschrift für Bauwesen" 1862, issue 1, pp. 3–20; *idem*, *Das Kaufhaus Gürzenich in Cöln nach seinem Umbau dargestellt von J. Raschdorff*, Berlin 1863; J. J. Merlo, *Haus Gürzenich zu Köln, sein Saal und dessen Feste. Nach den Urkunden*, "Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein" vol. 43 (1885), pp. 64–67.

⁶⁷ See "Schlesische Zeitung" 1864, no. 125 (13 III): "Die herrlichen Vorbilder durch welche uns die flanderischen Städte, sowie Köln, Nürnberg, Danzig und viele andere Perlen des Mittelalters an die Blüthe und Macht des Bürgerthums erinnern, müssen die Richtung vorzeichnen".

a local architect, and probably the jury of this competition knew that among so many works, there was also the work of an artist with whom they had already cooperated.

Lüdecke's design is almost entirely known, while Giese and Schreiber's design is identified with the "unverdrossen" design preserved in Lüdecke's legacy. Schmidt's design is probably unknown.

The press report on the conclusion of the competition states that the construction of the exchange is entrusted to Lüdecke, who should preserve the Gothic architectural forms, but in the "bauliche Anordnung und innere Eintheilung [in terms of construction and functionality]" refer to the design of the architects from Dresden. The decision of the jury was a compromise solution. Considering that Giese and Schreiber's Neo-Renaissance design was preserved in Lüdecke's legacy, it can be said that the jury rewarded the Neo-Renaissance work, which was in line with both the prevailing fashion and the harmonious stylistic combination of the exchange building and the Silesian Parliament. The Neo-Gothic design seems to have been preferred by investors and its second award is not surprising. By choosing it, the decision was almost ostentatiously made to erect in Breslau a building that was not in harmony with the contemporary preferred forms used in the exchanges, and in particular, it was a counter-proposition to the Berlin exchange, the construction of which was just nearing completion.

A turn towards medieval forms, on the other hand, made it possible to symbolically connect the building of Breslau merchants with those cities where Neo-Gothic was considered an anti-Prussian style (Cologne)⁶⁸, directed against the Jewish community (Bremen), or identified with Germanness (buildings of merchant guilds in Riga)⁶⁹. It can be assumed that the decisive vote in this choice was not so much the architects sitting on the jury, but first of all the initiators of the construction, representatives of the Breslau merchants. Their choice was evidence of the preference for a "Christian" style, as Gothic was then considered. This allows us to look at the Breslau Exchange design competition not only in the context of stylistic exploration and artistic concepts characteristic of the mid-19th century. The competition and its surprising result can be read, in reference to the existing here sharp and long-lasting dispute between Christian and Jewish merchants, as the final "victory" of the Christian option and the forcing through of a style that was alien in ideological terms to part of the merchant community. On the one hand, there was a search for a compromise and a settlement of the conflict, which was evidenced by the very fact of building a common edifice, but on the other hand, the final decision seems to have been made by the Christian merchants' faction, a minority in the committee.

Starting to build the exchange, Lüdecke fundamentally changed his award-winning competition concept, which resulted in a more academic form of his Romantic vision of the Gothic. The Breslau Exchange building and the headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce, built between 1864 and 1867, were ceremonially opened on 19 VI 1867⁷⁰. The press recalled the complicated history of the conflicts between Christian and Jewish merchants, so the history was still relevant even in 1867⁷¹. From the tone of the accounts one can conclude that it was hoped that the opening of the new exchange seat would be the beginning of a new era.

The Neo-Gothic exchange soon gained its unusual pendant: another mighty building emerged from its foundations: the Neo-Romanesque new Synagogue am Anger designed by a Jewish architect, a Silesian from Hanover, Edwin Oppler (1831–1880). Built as a general community temple, it was a kind of ideological manifesto of the Jewish community of Breslau. In its creation, there were active participation of Jews who were simultaneously involved in building the exchange. Both buildings symbolically exposed the complicated history of the Christian and Jewish communities in Breslau⁷².

⁶⁸ See S. Fraquelli, *Im Schatten des Domes. Architektur der Neugotik in Köln 1815–1914*, Köln 2008, pp. 78–79, 185–193.

⁶⁹ See A. Zabłocka-Kos, "Im Stein Gebaute deutsche Eiche". *Neogotyckie siedziby gildii w Rydze*, in print.

⁷⁰ Construction costs amounted to 577,954, marks, i.e. approximately 190 thousand thalers. See "Breslauer Zeitung" 1867, no. 281 (20 VI); "Schlesische Zeitung" 1867, no. 280 (20 VI); H. Freymark, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁷¹ "Schlesische Zeitung" 1867, no. 278 (19 VI).

⁷² The author is preparing an extensive work on this subject.

Słowa kluczowe

giełda, konkurs architektoniczny, architektura XIX wieku, historyzm, Wrocław, Carl Bogislaw Lüdecke, chrześcijaństwo, Żydzi

Keywords

exchange, architectural competition, 19th century architecture, historicism, Breslau, Carl Bogislaw Lüdecke, Christians, Jews

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Dr. habil. Eng. Arch. Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos, Prof. of University of Wrocław, agnieszka.zablocka-kos@uwr.edu.pl, ORCID: 0000-0002-5602-6387

She works at the Institute of Art History of the University of Wrocław. She deals with the history of European architecture and urban planning of the 19th and 20th centuries of historicism and post-war modernism, as well as European heritage, national identity and the Cultural and Communicative Memory. Currently she is preparing books on the history of architecture in Wrocław in the second half of the 19th century, and on exhibitions in Central Europe from the end of the 19th century to the mid-20th century. Her publications include: *Sztuka, wiara, uczucie. Alexis Langer – śląski architekt neogotyku* (Art, Faith, Feeling. Alexis Langer – Silesian Neo-Gothic Architect, 1996); *Zrozumieć miasto. Centrum Wrocławia na drodze ku nowoczesnemu city 1807–1858* (Understanding the City. The Centre of Wrocław on Its Road to a Modern City 1807–1858, 2006).

Summary**AGNIESZKA ZABŁOCKA-KOS, The First Such Liberal Undertaking in Breslau. The Breslau competition for the design of the New Exchange in 1863**

The Neo-Gothic Exchange Building in Wrocław (15 Krupnicza Street) was erected in the years 1864–1867. It can be considered as one of the most interesting works, both in terms of architecture and style, which were built in Central Europe until the 1870s. Its final form was created as a result of a thorough transformation of the competition design ("nur deutsch" motto) by the Breslau architect Carl Johann Bogislaw Lüdecke (1826–1894), who won second award. The all-German competition, announced in October 1863 and decided in March 1864, was one of the most interesting artistic undertakings in Silesia in the third quarter of the 19th century. It was described in the Breslau press as "the first such liberal undertaking". Twenty-six designs were submitted for it. They were shown at an exhibition open to the general public, and some of them were thoroughly discussed in the press. The aim of the article is to present the context of the competition, which takes place against the background of the conflict between Christian and Jewish merchants in Breslau, and to discuss and analyse the competition designs. It was proposed that a new attribution be made to the part of these projects stored in the Lüdecke's legacy at the Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität in Berlin.