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**Monument of Earl Aleksander Fredro. Concepts of location in Wrocław’s spatial structure**

**Introduction**

Today, the monument to Aleksander Fredro, erected in 1956 in Wroclaw’s Market Square, counts among the city’s most prominent landmarks. The seated comedy writer’s silhouette, displayed on a low plinth, seems to be blend symbiotically in its current location. The sculpture, however, was not designed for the central square of Wroclaw, but for the small Academic Square (currently проспект Тараса Шевченка) in Lviv, from where after World War II it was transported to Warsaw as part of a “repatriation” action of a kind. The backstage of the systemic recovery of works of art from Lviv was described by Maciej Matwijów in his book entitled *Walka o lwowskie dobra kultury 1945–1948* [The Struggle for Lviv’s Cultural Assets 1945–1948]. According to the documents collected by him, the monument to Aleksander Fredro was brought to Poland in 1950 together with the Lviv sculptures of Jan III Sobieski and Kornel Ujejski [1, p. 158]. Bogdan Zakrzewski, in his work entitled *Śląskie przygody Aleksandra Fredry* [Aleksander Fredro’s Silesian Adventures] [2], presented the story of the creation of the Fredro monument, whereas Piotr Marek Stański wrote about the ceremony of its unveiling in Lviv in his article entitled *Pomniki Aleksandra Fredry we Lwowie i Krakowie* [Aleksander Fredro’s Monuments in Lviv and Kraków] [3]. Encyclopaedic entries on the Fredro monument can also be found in Zygmunt Antkowski’s works [4], [5] and in the *Leksykon zieleni Wrocławia* [Lexicon of Wrocław’s greenery] [6]. This article thus supplements the existing literature with hitherto neglected information, demonstrating not only the municipal authorities’ far-reaching indecision regarding the location of the Fredro Monument but also an attempt to involve the city’s residents in the decision-making process. The paper was written based on an analysis of archival source materials.

**The Monument to Aleksander Fredro. Lviv**

The monument to Aleksander Fredro was sculptured based on a model designed in 1894 by Leonardo Marconi. As reported by the press at the time: [...] the model depicts the father of Polish comedy in a sitting position, on a chair with the drapery of his coat hanging flowing down from the poet’s shoulders. A modest Kraków coat, shirt collar broadly laid out, and a tie tied in the old fashion make up the details of the attire of this nobleman, who holds a pen in his right hand as a sign of authorial activity. Both in modelling his face, characterised by a truly inspired expression and in recreating individual accessories, Marconi used photographs [...] and Fredro’s death mask [...] [7] (Fig. 1). Marconi’s project was selected in a competition held in 1892 on the initiative of the Lviv Art and Literary Circle, upon the request of Professor Romuald Bobin. As Stański mentioned, the rules of the competition envisioned commemorating the Honorary Citizen of Lviv with a monument characterised by [...] Renaissance style, where the figure of the writer was to be captured in a sitting position, dressed in a Kraków coat [3, p. 38]. The monument was cast in bronze in the Krupp factory in Vienna, and the pedestal was made of red sandstone by “Góra, the stonemason” [8, pp. 2, 3]. The Lviv authorities contributed financially to the construction of the monument and also specified its intended location: the Academic Square, just next to the fence of the garden surrounding the Fredro’s little palace. In the last decade of the 19th century, the square was irregular in shape, and its centre was occupied
were demolished, paving the way for the regulation of its boundaries. In the 1920s, regulatory works took place and the square was given a trapezoidal shape, dividing it into two functional zones; the south-western one, which was a kind of intimate “interior” for the Fredro monument; and the north-eastern one being a traffic node (Fig. 3a). The monument was then surrounded by a trapezoidal lawn and enclosed by a row of low trees (Fig. 3b). Despite the correction of the square boundaries, the monument failed to blend with its architectural settings. The northern and eastern frontages were clearly higher than the remaining ones, and in the southern building row, there was a gap left. It seems, that the regular greenery arrangement was thus intended to hide the “imperfections” of the composition of the square’s surroundings.

In 1944, once the city got occupied by the Soviet army, the monument was disassembled and then, a few years later, brought to Poland. Negotiations on the transfer of the sculpture to Wrocław took almost three years; in January 1956 the press reported: [...] the Ministry of Culture and Art actually decided on the matter, giving Wroclaw priority to place the monument to this outstanding Polish comedy writer in that city. Unfortunately, two years have passed since that decision and the monument is still not there. Apparently, the Presidium of the City National Council cannot decide on where to place the monument. However, the Poznań authorities found the choice easy and, as we have learned, city representatives are already negotiating with the Ministry of Culture and Art to have the monument to Fredro placed in Poznań [9].

Olgierd Czerner, who at that time was Wrocław’s monuments restorer, played an important role in the negotiations. Upon the order of the Presidium of the Municipal National Council, he negotiated with officials of the Ministry of Culture and Art [10, p. 209], and briefly summarised the mission entrusted to him as follows: Go to Warsaw and do not return without a monument [11]. The monument finally arrived in Wrocław in April 1956.

The Monument to Aleksander Fredro, Wrocław

When the Fredro statue was delivered to Wrocław, it was placed without its plinth on wooden pallets in the southern part of the Market Square, almost exactly in place of the destroyed equestrian statue of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III. As Olgierd Czerner recalled, the mere unloading of the monument caused some serious trouble to the transport organisers, as no crane in the whole city could remove the sculpture from the truck [10, p. 209]. Despite the great enthusiasm that bringing the Lviv monument aroused among the Wrocław citizens, the monument kept incurring damages at regular intervals so as it even became necessary to cover it with a wooden cube [12]. At the same time, the final location of the monument stirred heated discussion. One of the local dailies reported

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1 The statue of Jan III Sobieski was given to Gdańsk and the statue of Kornel Ujejski to Szczecin. The monuments were widely perceived as symbols of “Polishness”, so they were eventually given back to the largest cities of the so-called Recovered Territories.
Monument of Earl Aleksander Fredro. Concepts of location in Wrocław’s spatial structure

Fig. 2. Lviv, Academic Square:

a) fragment of the city plan, 1894 (Plan der königlichen Hauptstadt Lemberg, J. Kostkiewicz Lithography and Printing House in Lviv, source: http://igrek.amzp.pl/11778976),


II. 2. Lwów, plac Akademicki:

a) fragment planu miasta, 1894 (Plan der königlichen Hauptstadt Lemberg, Litografia i Drukarnia J. Kostkiewicza we Lwowie, źródło: http://igrek.amzp.pl/11778976),


Fig. 3. Lviv, Academic Square:

a) fragment of a city plan, 1917 (contour map of the capital city of Lviv, made at the Surveying and Regulating Division of the city’s Technical Department, source: http://igrek.amzp.pl/11769543),

b) monument to Aleksander Fredro, view from the east, postcard, the 1920s–1930s (source: National Library, ref. DŻS XII 8b/p.70/1, Pocz.24, https://polona.pl/item/lwow-plac-akademicki-leopol-la-place-d-akademie,ODIzNzk4NDg/0/#info:metadata)

II. 3. Lwów, plac Akademicki:

a) fragment planu miasta, 1917 (mapa warstwicowa królewskiego stołecznego miasta Lwowa, wykonano w Oddziale pomiarowo-regulacyjnym miejskiego Departamentu technicznego, źródło: http://igrek.amzp.pl/11769543),

b) pomnik Aleksandra Fredry, widok od strony wschodniej, pocztówka, przełom lat 20. i 30. XX w. (źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, sygn. DŻS XII 8b/p.70/1, Pocz.24, https://polona.pl/item/lwow-plac-akademicki-leopol-la-place-d-akademie,ODIzNzk4NDg/0/#info:metadata)
that during the first weeks of Fredro’s “stay” in Wroclaw, the editorial office had received many suggestions from readers on where to place the statue [14], so it was decided to organise a competition among the citizens of Wroclaw to find a solution to this difficult issue. The inhabitants of the city reacted vividly to the journalists’ initiative and proposed placing the statue:

– “in the Market Square, in the place of the pigeon drinker”[2]; whereas opponents to this idea argued: but not there! There would be a Polish-Czech friendship tree next to it, which is also a kind of monument. Moreover, the tree is amid a floral carpet, so the monument to Mr. Aleksander

2 The exact location is not entirely clear as the drinker was movable, it was placed in the western part of the square or in the vicinity of the Polish-Czechoslovak friendship tree, in the place of the demolished equestrian statue of Friedrich Wilhelm III.

would also deserve such a carpet. And two carpets next to each other, well, this would probably be too much [15] (Fig. 4, p. 1),

– “near the State Department Store” (today Renoma Department Store), with a dissenting vote stating: there used to be a monument there, but a colossal one! It had a powerful architectural form that made it independent of its surroundings. Meanwhile, a small Fredro’s status near the Wertheim’s PDT colossus would be overwhelmed by the enormity of this modern edifice [15] (Fig. 4, p. 2),

– “in the commons the Słowacki Street” (a square in Słowacki Av. opposite to Krasińskiego), opposing view: […] a monument cannot be placed on a park road. Only a floral carpet could provide a due base for the monu-

3 The monument to Kaiser Wilhelm I, demolished in 1945.
The first of them envisaged placing the monument in the southern part of the Market Square “with its back to the cloth hall and its side to the town hall” (Fig. 6a). This choice was supported by tourist reasons, it was also considered that the cloth hall edifice “is a peaceful background for the monument” [16]. However, the differences in style between the Gothic town hall, the buildings on the southern frontage of the Market Square, and the monument itself were perceived as problematic.

Another proposal for the location of the monument was the square located on the western side of the Ossolineum (Fig. 6b) – the small size of the square matched well with the size of the sculpture, and some “thematic” link between the monument and the Ossolineum Library was also noted. Lack of development on the southern and northern sides of the square was perceived as a drawback. It was planned to cover the rear elevation of the former University Museum by a line of trees as a background for the monument, but the southern frontage of the square awaited reconstruction, having been destroyed during the war.

Consideration was also given to placing a monument in the vicinity, in the square in front of the University’s main building (Fig. 6c). The drawbacks of this location included the very poor condition of the buildings enclosing the square from the south and east, and, as with the monument’s plinth. But the park environment in this place is poor. In winter, architectural elements would appear from behind leafless trees, providing unsuitable perspective [15] (Fig. 4, p. 3).

– near the Opera (Fig. 4, p. 4),
– on the square near to the Ossolineum Library (Fig. 4, p. 5),
– on the Solny Square, because “the perspective of the square matches well with this kind of monument”[4] [15] (Fig. 4, p. 6).

– On the Powstańców Śląskich Square “surrounded by greenery and beautiful reconstructed buildings” [15],
– on “the square in front of the club of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society” (today the seat of Teatr Lalek, the Puppet Theatre) – a proposal made by Jerzy Winklendt and Bogusław Łacioka, architects, who justified their choice by the favourable opening of the view towards the monument, the similar style of the club building and the monument, as well as the intimate character of the monument and the square (Fig. 4, p. 7; Fig. 5a). The location of the monument between the building of the former merchant club and the city moat, near the Staromiejska promenade, was also considered (Fig. 4, p. 8; Fig. 5b).

The suggestions from the citizens of Wrocław cited above served as a starting point for the selection of four potential locations for the Fredro monument put forward by officials of the Municipal Architectural and Construction Management Board headed by Leszek Dąbrowski. The first of them envisaged placing the monument in the southern part of the Market Square “with its back to the cloth hall and its side to the town hall” (Fig. 6a). This choice was supported by tourist reasons, it was also considered that the cloth hall edifice “is a peaceful background for the monument” [16]. However, the differences in style between the Gothic town hall, the buildings on the southern frontage of the Market Square, and the monument itself were perceived as problematic.

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4 Until 1944, in the Solny Square there was a monument to Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher.
previous proposal, low intensity of pedestrian traffic. Despite this, the installation of the monument was thought to be able to provide an impetus to transform the random space created by the demolition of several tenement houses into a square, which in turn would make it possible to unveil the “outstanding architecture” of the University’s headquarters.

Finally, the last suggestion of the officials related to the square arranged along Świdnicka Street (then Stalingradzka), between the Opera and the city moat (Fig. 6d). The advantage of this location undoubtedly lied its accessibility, the “thematic” link (theatre – comedy writer). However, it was feared that the small monument would get “lost” in the greenery. The proposals were supplemented by information on the dimensions of the sculpture (2 m 18 cm high) and the plinth, which was also brought from Lviv (2 m 8 cm high), as well as a suggestion to increase the height of the monument with an additional step, which would make it easier to expose it well.

This discussion was an attempt, unprecedented in the history of Wrocław, to find a place for the sculpture in the structure of the existing city. The destruction of the Old Town, estimated in 1945 at around 50%, posed a considerable challenge. By 1956 the frontages around the Market Square and Solny Square had been partially rebuilt, while the north-eastern area of the Old Town remained undeveloped. The fact that no monument was erected in the city’s public space during the first post-war decade added significance to the matter. It seems, therefore, that the searched site should be developed (preserved or rebuilt), exposed, “ideologically” (proximity to art institutions, places associated with the culture of pre-war Lviv), or stylistically (looking for links between the architectural setting and the character of the monument itself) convergent with Fredro’s sculpture. References were also made to the tradition of placing monuments to writers, especially in seated positions, in park surroundings. Places in Wrocław where monuments used to be located were also pointed to. Eventually, in June 1956, it was decided that the sculpture of Fredro would be placed in the Market Square, close to the spot where the monument to Friedrich Wilhelm III had stood before the war (Fig. 7a, b). Gregor Thum, the author of a book on the immediate post-war history of Wrocław, believed that the choice of location for the statue of Fredro was not accidental, as the intention was to preserve the function of “nationally marked places of remembrance” [18, p. 337]. The researcher’s words seem to be confirmed by the attitude of the contemporary city authorities of Lviv, who decided in the early 1990s to erect a similar monument to Mikhail Hrushevsky (1866–1934) in the place formerly occupied by the Alexander Fredro monument (Fig. 7c).

On the different concepts of monuments that were planned to be built in Breslau in 1945–1956, cf. [17].
It is worth mentioning that the decision of the Wrocław authorities was protested against by members of the local branch of the Association of Art Historians, who in a letter addressed to the Presidium of the City National Council criticised the idea of placing the Fredro monument on the main city square, in the vicinity of the city hall. The authors of the letter pointed, not without reason, to the intimate nature of the statue, which “lacks any monumental features”, while the location chosen by the officials should feature “a monument of a heroic type”. As argued, in the Market Square there could be space for a national hero, bard, or one of the Piast dynasty members connected with the history of Wrocław. It would be a perfect location, and maybe one day we would bring ourselves to do it, for example, a monument to Henry IV, Prince of Wrocław, Krakow, and Sandomierz [19]. One of the local dailies also printed a letter from a “reader”, a Lviv-born journalist Bronisław Winnicki, who appealed to the city authorities to locate the monument in a setting reminiscent of its Lviv original. When considering where to place this monument – Winnicki wrote – let us remember that in Lviv it stood on the small Academic Square, opposite Fredro Street, in the immediate vicinity of the old University. In Wrocław we do have a suitable place for this monument. One of them includes the square next to the Ossolineum Library, which could be transformed into a beautiful square. Another one could be the square next to the PDT at the end of park avenue, at the moat, and near Fredro Street. Even if we fear that it would be overwhelmed by the grandeur of the PDT, the vicinity of Fredro Street justifies the choice [11]. Representatives of the Association of Art Historians proposed organising a conference to find a statue placement other than the Wrocław Market Square but the meeting never took place, and the statue was officially unveiled on 15 July 1956, on the 80th anniversary of the writer’s death. However, the comments by Winnicki and representatives of the Association of Art Historians were not unfounded. The statue was placed in a much larger space, the area confined by the façade of the town hall, and the frontages of the buildings in the market square are about 2.5 times larger than the Academic Square in Lviv. The buildings in Wrocław are also almost one and a half times higher than those on the Lviv square, and additionally, the eastern and western borders of the urban space are defined by two high landmarks, i.e., the Town Hall tower, which is 66 m high at its highest point, and the modernist headquarters of the former Municipal Savings Bank (Städtische Sparkasse, now Santander bank), which is almost 40 m high (Fig. 8).

Summary

Even if it lacks monumental character, the monument to Aleksander Fredro responded well to the realism movement, which the socialist doctrinaires regarded as the benchmark of the new art canon. As stated by Vera Mukhina, the author of the Worker and Kolkhoz Woman, a monument being the flagship work of socialist realism, the
a hero of a “people’s” sculpture should be a person, either a great historical figure (homeland defenders, artists, scholars, writers) or workers who “pave new roads for socialist production” [20, p. 30]. At the same time, art, as an element of state policy with a propaganda function, was assumed to be available to the public and thus, sculptures were placed in the most important city squares and places of gatherings and demonstrations, and the way they were adapted to the least demanding audience. Please note that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin himself spoke out on the subject of art, describing in 1918 the importance of artistic activity in building a new socialist culture and listing the historical figures who could and should be commemorated with monuments, plaques with reliefs, or commemorative boards. Frédéric Chopin was among the 66 people (European revolutionaries, socialists and artists) that Lenin listed in his “programme”. Lenin believed that abstract and non-figurative art would not be understood by the proletariat, thus artists were urged to draw inspiration from the artistic legacy of 19th-century realism. Realism was seen as “the basis of true art”, attempted to get synthesised through the conventionality of the message, as Mukhina explained: [...] conventionality gives some clarity and brightness to the image, explains it, sharpens it, makes the image reach the consciousness more easily even when viewed superficially, and at the same time warrants its decorative character [20, p. 30]. Mukhina’s words rather referred to the large-scale representations, groups of sculptures, so popular during the socialist realism period. Marconi’s monument was not about synthesis, it was simply supposed to be a realistic portrait of Aleksander Fredro.

In contrast to monumental sculpture, which was ascribed the role of “a centre crystallising the meaning of the whole, often vast architectural composition” [22, p. 5], the monument to Fredro was treated as a decorative element, an object of small architecture decorating a space alien to it for which it was not designed. The choice of Wrocław’s market square, considered the most prestigious location for any monument, becomes more under-
standable if we take into account its ideological significance and the degree of the city’s post-war destruction. This state of affairs was mainly blamed on the indolence of the city authorities, the reluctant attitude of the State Economic Planning Committee towards the financing works of art, the low public interest with simultaneous passive attitude of the Wrocław’s artistic community. The press lamented that […] neither the city administrators, nor national councils did make an effort to build monuments […], to promote Polishness and Wrocław’ inseparability from the Motherland with something more than mere slogans on canvas, but with permanent statues made of stone and bronze [23].

Today, 65 years after unveiling Aleksander Fredro’s statue, most Wrocław citizens cannot even imagine the Market Square without it. If a monumental sculpture, as Stefan Tworkowski wrote, “gets deeply and permanently etched in the consciousness” [22, p. 5], then in this respect Marconi’s work has become monumental.

References

[14] [n.a.], Pokłony Wrocławia dla Aleksandra Fredry, “Słowo Polskie” 1956, nr 121, 22.05.1956, 3.

Abstract

Monument of Earl Aleksander Fredro. Concepts of location in Wrocław’s spatial structure

The Monument to Aleksander Fredro was brought to Wrocław in 1956 and placed in the Wrocław Market Square to become a favourite meeting place of the city inhabitants after some years. The final location decision was preceded by a discussion, reported in detail in the press. Initially, it was thought that the small and rather coy monument form precluded its placement in the large, open space of a central city square. After all, Leonardo Marconi’s work was designed for the small Lviv Academic Square, located in the vicinity of the Fredro family’s residence gardens. However, the writer’s sculpture took a special meaning in post-war Wrocław. Firstly it was perceived as a symbol of Polishness, a metaphorical link between the Recovered Territories and the lost Eastern Borderlands, and secondly, it was the first “Polish” monument to be unveiled in the centre of former Breslau. This is why the monument was finally placed in the city’s most important square, in place of the equestrian monument to Friedrich Wilhelm III, demolished after Word War II, thus symbolically “sacralising” the Wrocław market square.

This paper aims to present a discussion, now forgotten, on the location of the Fredro monument, to which not only decision-makers but also citizens of the city were invited. The paper presents previously unpublished concepts for the location of the monument in various, nowadays not obvious, spots in Wrocław.

Key words: art, monumental sculpture, Leonardo Marconi, Aleksander Fredro monument, Lviv, Wrocław, Regained Territories
Streszczenie

Pomnik Aleksandra hr. Fredry. Koncepcje usytuowania w strukturze przestrzennej Wrocławia

Pomnik Aleksandra Fredry przywieziony do Wrocławia w 1956 r. i ulokowany na wrocławskim rynku stał się po latach ulubionym miejscem spotkań mieszkańców miasta. Ostateczną decyzję lokalizacyjną poprzedziła dyskusja, którą szczegółowo relacjonowano w prasie. Początkowo uważano, że kameralne formy pomnika wykluczają umieszczenie go w dużej, otwartej przestrzeni centralnego placu miejskiego – dzieło Leonarda Marconiego było w końcu projektowane z myślą o niewielkim lwowskim placu Akademickim, położonym w sąsiedztwie ogrodów rezydencji Fredrów. Tymczasem w powojennym Wrocławiu rzeźbie pisarza nadano szczególne znaczenie – po pierwsze postrzegano ją jako symbol polskości, metaforyczne powiązanie Ziem Odzyskanych z utraconymi Kresem Wschodnim, po drugie zaś była pierwszym „polskim” monumentem odsłoniętym w centrum dawnego Breslau. Dlatego właśnie zdecydowano o postawieniu go na najważniejszym placu miasta, na miejscu zburzonego po wojnie konnego pomnika Fryderyka Wilhelma III, symbolicznie „sakralizując” tym samym wrocławski rynek.

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie zapomnianej dziś dyskusji na temat lokalizacji pomnika Fredry, do której zaproszono nie tylko decydentów, ale też mieszkańców miasta. W pracy zaprezentowano niepublikowane wcześniej koncepcje usytuowania pomnika w różnych, nieoczywistych dziś punktach Wrocławia.

Słowa kluczowe: sztuka, rzeźba monumentalna, Leonardo Marconi, pomnik Aleksandra Fredry, Lwów, Wrocław, Ziemie Odzyskane