

The market square in Katowice – a place which no longer exists – an evolution of the spatial structure

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Typesetting: Małgorzata Murat-Drożyńska,
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Received: January 7, 2023

Accepted: April 26, 2023

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Data Availability Statement: All relevant
data are within the paper and its Supporting
Information files.

Competing interests: The authors have
declared that no competing interests exist.

Citation: Ptasińska-Gucik, K. (2023).
The market square in Katowice – a place
which no longer exists – an evolution of the
spatial structure. *Technical Transactions*,
e2023006. <https://doi.org/10.37705/TechTrans/e2023006>

Abstract

This study attempts to explain why the space in the centre of Katowice is formally called “The Market Square” even though the square itself no longer exists. Some archival documents and existing studies are analysed. The evolution of the market square in Katowice is presented against the background of historical and economic transformations, putting an emphasis on depicting valuable and interesting architecture that was irretrievably lost and replaced with entirely new urban fabric. Moreover, the article aims to show that the region of Upper Silesia does not only constitute industrial plants but also, created by the mixture of cultures and nationalities, other types of architecture, that was irretrievably lost. It was found out that the market is not actually the main square.

Keywords: the market square, Katowice, Upper Silesia, frontage, tenement, industry

The market square as an urban concept refers to a centrally located urban space with ancient traditions and is particularly specific in Poland for location founded on German law during the mediaeval and modern era (an ideal town). It is a place of economic, public, and religious activities and is included in the framework of urban planning composition (Kadłuczka, 2015).

According to the definition, market squares are main squares in urban spaces, from where streets lead out, surrounded by a growing town. They are usually restricted from each side with frontages and essential buildings such as a town hall, a church or a cloth hall. They were places of trade and events, including executions (Tołwiński, 1939), they were well connected with the transport system which created a specific and individual character of these places, provoking thought and creating an image of the city (Lynch, 1960). Typical market squares were created as a result of administrative and spatial processes, which marked out the squares with some building plots.

The market square in Katowice, as well as the surrounding architecture, was created accidentally, at the junction of two roads. The contemporary market square in Katowice constitutes a form of the marketplace that is completely different from the traditional one: dense, originated in mediaeval towns. It is based on an irregular section, restricted with some unusual frontage buildings and crossed with tramway lines and wheeled transport, which prevents its use as a public space and does not foster social communication. In the past, the market square in Katowice looked completely different.

The aim of this study is to present the phenomenon of the specific transformation of the marketplace from the traditional square to the hub and a passage space, which does not encourage visitors to spend much time there. This research also presents the precious, historical architecture of the square which was irretrievably lost. We can question whether the market square in Katowice is still a market square that is understood as a traditional space of the activity of an urban community as is the case with, for example, the main squares in Kraków and Wrocław. Did the effect of the market's reconstruction that took place over the centuries end successfully?

Some documents stored in Katowice City Hall, such as construction records of contemporary and non-existing tenements and mining maps of the case study area from the State Archives in Katowice were valuable sources of information. The iconographical materials are also an important source of information.

When joining all of the pieces of information contained in the city hall, an image of the evolution of the marketplace over the years has emerged and it provides the answer as to why this creation in the urban space is called the market square. In fact, there are some publications concerning the market square, including, for example, "Streets and Squares in Katowice" (Ulice i Place Katowic) by Michał Bulsa; however, they do not fully reflect the discussed issue as far as the architectural details of buildings which existed until 1945 is concerned. Moreover, the architecture and the spatial structure of the city during different periods of time were the case study for many prominent researchers, such as Irma Kozina, Ewa Chojecka, Ryszard Nakonieczny, Anna Syska and Aneta Borowik. Nonetheless, in order to deeply understand the situation and circumstances of forming the main square, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the settlement here.

Katowice is an interesting example of the transformation of a village to a town form, which took place inseparably and simultaneously with industry growth in Upper Silesia. The beginnings of settlement on the area of today's Katowice date back to the fourteenth century. There were mainly forge and agricultural settlements. Villages obtained location privileges based on German law. Former villages are today the city districts. The distinctive feature for Upper Silesia was the fact that settlements were developing simultaneously, without one dominant centre, and later became one city.

On the left bank of the Rawa river, there was Kuźnica Bogucka (today Bogucice district), where the steel industry dominated. It owned areas where at the end of

sixteenth century, Andrzej Bogucki, a forger, established the village of Katowice. In 1598, the village name appeared in a record made by the priest, Krzysztof Kazimierski, after his visitation (Rzewiczok, 2006).

Settlers, mainly from the land of Pszczyna, arrived in Katowice. An important point in history, also for people who lived in Prussia, including Katowice, was the enfranchisement of peasants in 1827. Gustaw von Wedding, a former owner of Katowice, issued a document, according to which, thirty-two settlers purchased farms, which so far had been used by them. They were also released from forced labour for the owner (Rzewiczok, 2006). As a result, settlers could inherit or sell their farmstead and get a job in newly established industrial plants. Katowice and the whole of Upper Silesia was found to be rich in metal ores and thanks to their smelting, these areas flourished. There were ores such as zinc, lead and iron (this is the reason why a forging hammer, moved with a cog wheel, was presented on the municipal seal and later on the coat of arms). A lot of steel mills were established in the presented region from 1825.

In the eighteenth century in Upper Silesia, some geological survey was carried out, which uncovered rich deposits of hard coal. The above-mentioned Gustav von Wedding and Johann Ferdinand Koulhaab initiated the development of mining in nearby villages through the construction of mines.

Beginning with Andrzej Bogucki, Katowice passed through many hands, either through inheritance or sale. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the property owner Jan Krzysztof Mieroszewski made an agreement with Rudolf Kamieński in terms of lands; he got into a dispute within the village. Together with the agreement, a hand-drawn map was created, which presented streets junction where the marketplace is located today.

The oldest map presents the situation between 1800-1804. It shows four roads joined at one point – the early market square. A pond and the outflowing Rawa river were landmarks there. At the street junction, between the south-east and the south-west and the north-west, there were built-up areas (Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach).

In 1839, the village was purchased by Franz von Winkler because he noticed its convenient location and also its potential. As a consequence, he relocated an administration of his goods from Miechowice to there. Thanks to the efforts of both von Winkler and Fredrich Grudmann, a railway line to Katowice was launched in 1846. From this moment, the village of Katowice started to grow significantly.

In 1856, the first project of the regulation of the town structure was made in the area of the marketplace among other places. Henrich Moritz August



Fig. 1. A plan section of the years 1800–1804
(source: Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach)

Nottebohm (Hoffmann, 2003), a building inspector, was its author. At the road junction, he located the market square and at the extension of an outgoing street, he designed the square which is known today as Liberty Square (Plac Wolności). The next regulation was performed by Peiper in 1859. Between 1856 and 1864 in what is today's Market Square (at that time Friedrich Platz) there were at least four significant buildings.

Between the marketplace and Katowice pond there was an inn, spaces for animals and a brewery from the beginning of the 19th century. The building had a section on a polygonal plan and it was covered with a multi-clasp roof at an acute angle. The inn collapsed in 1864.

On the eastern frontage (where the theatre is now located), there were some farm buildings of the Tiele-Winkler's goods administration, who owned Katowice at that time. The building which was nearest to the market square was rebuilt into the town hall in the eighteen-seventies, according to Karl Heitz's design. It was a tiny object on a rectangular plan. A clearly accentuated risalit transformed into a higher part, which dominated over the whole building. The building had three storeys, covered with a gable roof and its gable wall faced the market and closed off the view of Grundmannstrasse (at present 3 Maja Street). Next to the building, on the northern part of the garden, there was a prison. There were some rooms in the building for clerks and the other rooms were used as the mayor's residence.

The Welt hotel was built in 1848 on the Myslowicka route (now Warszawska Street). The hotel was later renamed the Hotel Retzlaff (which today is the Zenit department store). In the beginning, it was a detached building built on an irregular plan, three ground-based storeys, with a full basement. A seven-axis elevation, with a clearly presented risalit over the top, in the neoclassical style. Later, it was extended in the western direction, and after 1900, it was extended in the eastern direction. The building was joined with neighbouring buildings, which created the frontage. On the ground floor, there was a restaurant with a back room, and higher there were some guest rooms.

Hotel de Prusse, built in the middle of the nineteenth century, adjoined to the Welt hotel formed the western side. Adolph Frochlich was the first owner of the hotel, later it was Max Wiener. On the ground floor there were some services. The building was then bought by the town. For some time, the city council had its seat there and the building was used as a town hall. Later, it became the registered office of the Municipal Savings Bank. It was a building in the shape of a letter 'L', located on the corner of the marketplace and the Bahnhofstrasse (now, ulica Pocztowa). Over time, it was extended in three phases, along the street, to Querstrasse (now, Staromiejska Street) and its plan was more 'C' shaped. The



Fig. 2. A plan section of the years 1856–1864
(source: Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach)

Fig. 3. Tavern in Katowice (source: Muzeum Historii Katowic)



Fig. 4. Town Hall, Welt hotel, dePrusse hotel (source: Muzeum Historii Katowic)



extensions were visible on its elevation. The oldest part had twelve axes with accentuated risalit at the corner and at the top of the elevation on the right side. The first and the last part had four storeys, the middle one had three storeys, all with a basement. The whole foundation was created in an eclectic style.

On 11th September 1865, Katowice gained the status of a town (Hoffmann, 2003). More and more residents were coming to the town and there was an increasing demand for technical buildings and infrastructure. From the eighteenth-seventies, the water and sewage system was successively extended and new roads were built. Bigger consumption occurred as well as a need for expanding the intensity of goods exchange. As a consequence, from this time, a huge space on the market square started to be used for trade. After gaining city status, more regulations or revisions of the urban planning were made. This was based on the last regulation of Peiper from 1859.

Other buildings in the market square were created in a short space of time. A tenement located on the corner of Grundmanstrasse and Poststrasse was built in 1875 in a place where a single-storey house and forge had been located before. The tenement house was 'L' shaped with an acute angle between its sides and sharply cut corner. A forger, Sommer, was the owner of these two buildings. It was a tenement house with services on the ground floor. It has four storeys and a basement. The elevation style was neoclassic with risalit at the corner of the building. Windows were located on fourteen axes; these were

either singular or double. The elevation was clearly accentuated with an attic. When the building was pulled down, The House of Silesian Press was built in approximately the same place (today it is the Town Hall). The western frontage consisted of the building located between Grudmannstrasse and August Schreiderstrasse streets on the site of a collapsed inn (where Skarbek is located today). Little is known about this. Any construction records were not preserved. The main structure of the building had two parts. From the southern side, the tenement had three storeys and topped with an attic. The second, the northern one, had two storeys and the loft. The building was covered with a multi-clasp roof. The northern part had seven axis. On the ground floor there were some services of trade and there were some apartments on higher storeys.

Due to the street August Schreiderstrasse 10 departing at an angle, the first building (no. 2) on the northern side of the market, from the west, was built between 1872 and 1875. It was designed by I. Grünfeld, born in Jewish-German family. He was an architect, master builder, developer of that time, and entrepreneur. He practised mainly in Katowice and nearby towns. The building was used as a hotel (Bulsa, 2018), run by L. Lebuscher. There were some services on the ground floor. A merchant, Levy (Levi), was the owner of the building. At first, the building was based on the 'L'-shaped plan. It had three storeys and a basement and it was covered with a gable roof. The four-axis elevation was shorter from the marketplace side and the longer side had eight axis. The building was maintained in the neoclassical style. In 1900, an expansion and build-up project was made. The project was later accomplished with two wings, which as a result, formed a closed rhombus with the yard inside. The elevation was rebuilt for the eclectic style. The building gained a corner bay with a distinctive, onion-shaped dome. The roof gained lucarnes. In the nineteen-thirties, the building had four, ground based storeys. The elevation lost its decorations and the onion-shaped dome. It was given its modern appearance.

Next to tenement building no. 2, in the northern part of the frontage on the right side, was tenement building no. 3. It was built between 1872 and 1875, according to J. Haase's design. It was a residence tenement with some services on the ground floor. Its owner, a chemist from Bytom, Hugo Barthusel, ran his business there. The building was created on a 'V'-shaped plan. It had four storeys and a basement, covered with a single-pitched roof. A building with a five-axial facade (arranged in three and two axis), at first had the neoclassic style. The elevation was rebuilt in the nineteen-thirties in a contemporary style and topped with an attic.

Next to the tenement no. 3, on the right side, there was tenement building no. 4. It was built in 1875, according to the project of I. Grundfeld for the investor Ludnofski. The tenement was residential on the higher floors; on the ground floor, there were some services (which over time, were also located on higher levels). Initially, it was built on a rectangular plan. Later, it was extended in the north direction with two outbuildings, which made a 'U'-shaped tenement. The building had four storeys and a basement. It was covered with a gable roof and a traditional, wooden construction, on which there was a steel substructure for the purposes of advertising. The facade had six axis grouped in pairs.

After 1920, the elevation was rebuilt according to the design of the architect, A. Kochter. The building was expanded, one storey was added and the central bay was topped with a dome. The elevation gained some decoration in the form of architectural details.

Tenement no. 5 was on Fredrichplatz (at present, *The Main Square*) and Schloßstrasse (at present Korfantego Street) number 5. Built for a merchant Schlas according to the project of Carl Moritz and Julius Haase (Bulsa, 2018). The building was 'L' shaped with a longer side at Schloßstrasse. It had three storeys. On the ground floor there were some services and on higher levels, there was a residential section. The building was covered with a multi-clasp roof with visible chimneys. The elevation had many axes with a corner bay, the entrance and window at the corner of the building. The building was maintained in the neoclassical style.

Tenements in the northern part of the marketplace on the other side of

Schloßstrasse still exist today in more or less the same form, apart from the third tenement because it no longer exists. It was probably a residential tenement with some services on the ground floor. It was built on a 'U'-shaped plan, had four storeys and was covered with a gable roof. The elevation had seven axis with some bays on both sides of the building.

There was a tenement located in the southern frontage of the market square. In the past at Johanestrasse 1 (the present św. Jana Street), at the junction of Querstrasse (currently Staromiejska Street) and Postfstrasse (currently Pocztowa Street). It was a tenement house with some services on the ground floor. Moreover, there was a butcher's shop in the building. It was a 'U'-shaped building with three storeys (without a basement), covered with a multi-clasp roof. The elevation maintained the neoclassical style, with six axis (from Johanestrasse), nine axis (from Querstrasse), eight axis (from Bahnhofstrasse), with some bays at the corner and at the end of the building. This building was one of the earliest to have a sewage system.

The second building which was located in the southern part of today's Market Square, at the corner of Poststrasse (currently Pocztowa Street) and Muhkstrasse (currently Młyńska Street), was built between 1865 and 1875 according to the design of Ignaz Grunfeld for a merchant, M. Fischer. The tenement had a residential character with some services on the ground floor. The section was 'L' shaped with a wide angle. A three-axis bay at the corner had four storeys, the other part had three storeys. Side elevations had four and seven axis. The whole building was in the neoclassical style. Later, the building was expanded with an outbuilding and its plan was 'U' shaped.

At Querstrasse, then number 4, directly adjacent to the de Prusse hotel, there was a four-storey residential building with services on the ground floor. The owner's name was Berfikaner. The main part of the plan was based on a rectangle that was parallel to the „de Prusse” hotel annex. It had a symmetrical seven-axis elevation, with some balconies in the central part. It was richly decorated and completed with a ledge.

Tenement houses were designed according to templates and were often 'U', 'L' or 'V' shaped and were in the historicist spirit. Their designers were usually local architects, educated in Berlin in Bauakademie (the technical academy in Berlin, run between 1799 and 1879).

The turn of the centuries brought new changes in the appearance of the Market Square. At the end of the nineteenth century, in 1896, a tramway line was launched (at first, with horse power, later with steam and eventually with

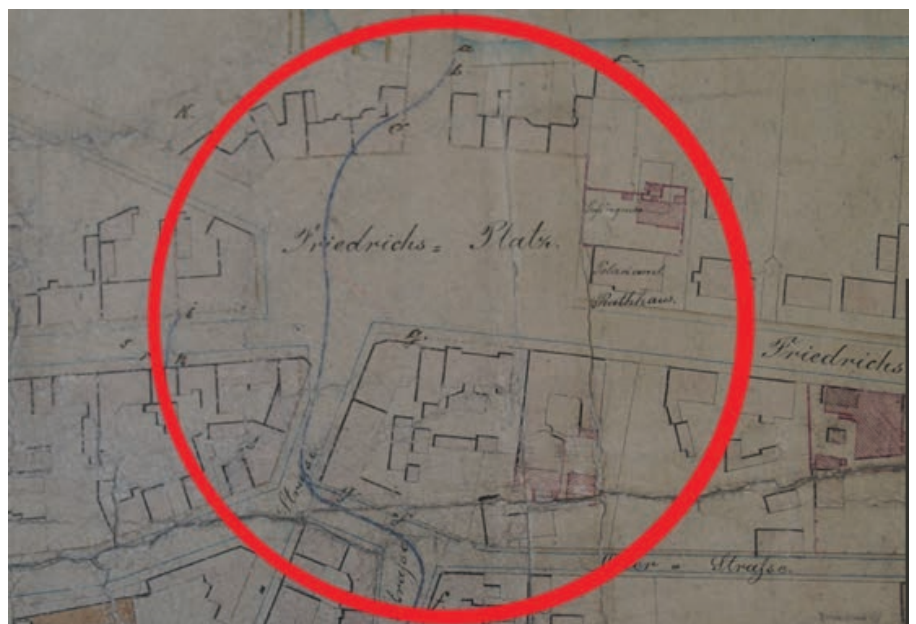


Fig. 5. A plan section from 1875
(source: Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach)



Fig. 6. The Welt hotel and the dePrusse hotel on the right, a part of the tenement on the corner of Grundmannstrasse and Poststrasse (source: Muzeum Historii Katowic)



Fig. 7. On the left, a tenement on the corner of Grundmannstrasse and August Schreiderstrasse, on the right, a northern frontage and tenement nos. 2,3,4,5 (source: Muzeum Historii Katowic)



Fig. 8. On the right north frontage and tenement nos. 4,5,6,7,8,9 (source: Muzeum Historii Katowic)

Fig. 9. On the left, a building at the junction of Johanestrasse 1 (at the junction of Querstrasse and Postfstrasse, on the right, tenement Querstrasse 4, straight on, a tenement at the junction of: Poststrasse and Muhlstrasse streets (source: Katowice. Nasze Miasto)



electrical power) to the neighbouring towns and districts of Katowice. It went through the marketplace, dividing it north to south and east to west. Shortly afterwards, the bus line was also launched. As a consequence, the Market Square became a transport hub.

In 1907, the Municipal Theatre was built, designed by Carl Moritz in the neoclassical style. It was created in the place of the first town hall and nowadays it constitutes the eastern frontage.

In the interwar period, when Katowice was a part of the Polish state, the Prussian name of Friedrichplatz square was officially changed to Market Square. During WWII, it was called the Ring.

Even before WWII, there was an attempt to regulate the spatial structure of the marketplace. In 1928, 'Marta', the steel mill was closed. It was located northwards, near the Market Square. For the town, these lands were valuable for new development, therefore, they wanted to open the marketplace northwards. In 1938, the corner tenement building, no. 5, located on the north side of the marketplace, was demolished. Shortly afterwards, the same situation occurred with the neighbouring building, no. 4.

In the nineteen-thirties, the Market Place was no longer used for trade. In front of the theatre, the square was turned into a roundabout in order to improve the traffic.



Fig. 10. A plan section after 1907 (source: Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach)

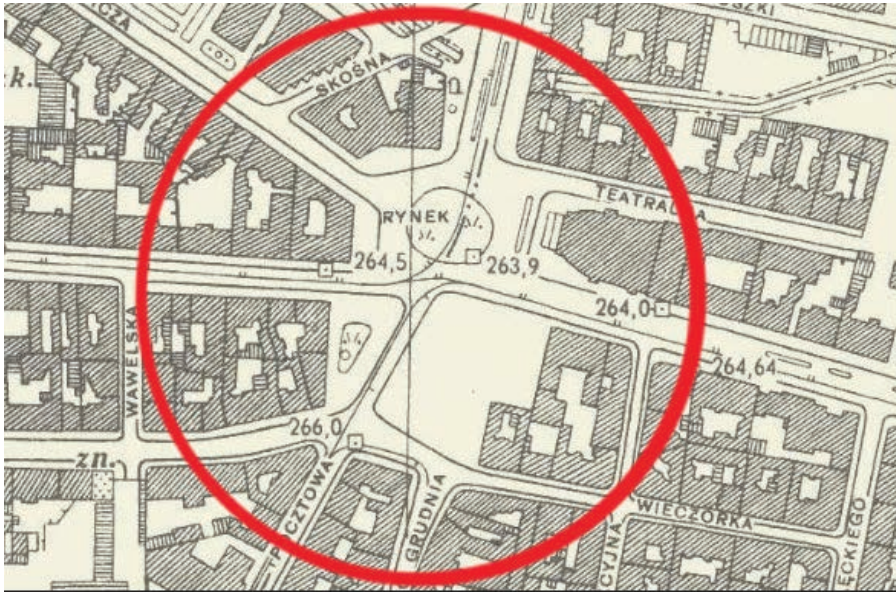


Fig. 11. A plan section after 1945
(Source: Geoportal)

The biggest changes in the urban fabric were made at the end of WWII. In January 1945, the units of the Red Army entered the town and they were responsible for cases of rape, robbery and destruction. Among others, they set the southern part of the marketplace on fire. The Welt and de Prusse hotels were also burnt down as were some neighbouring tenements. After the war, their ruins were demolished, leaving an open space or close quarters with some new buildings.

After the war, there were many competitors seeking to rebuild the Market Square. There were numerous conceptions and ideas for its rebuilding. The first competition for remodelling the market square was carried out in 1946. The winners were Julian Duchowicz and Marian Śramkiewicz. One of their concepts was to demolish the buildings in the Market Square and some others between św. Jana and Pocztowa streets and to extend the communication artery (now Korfantego Avenue) to the south with the simultaneous organising of communication. New buildings with the commercial and office function, with their sizes were supposed to refer to the theatre building. The entire development was supposed to be created in the spirit of pre-war modernism. The concept was not realised due to geological, ownership, and financial problems. Further concepts for the reconstruction of the market square appeared in the nineteen-fifties. They reflected the times and political system of socialism that was taking place at that time. For a few years, Katowice had its name changed to Stalinogród. The idea of demolishing old buildings, opening up the market to the north, widening it, and creating a main artery from Armii Czerwonej Street (now Korfantego Avenue) ending at the market, was still alive. Parades, marches, and state ceremonies were supposed to take place there, as the city was already the capital of the province. Stately, monumental public buildings in the spirit of socialist realism were intended to be built in the city centre.

Architects such as Tadeusz Łobos, Henryk Buszko, Aleksander Franta, and Jerzy Gottfried were involved in the conceptual work. The concept was not realised then. These buildings were constructed to the south of the city, on the side of the railway tracks. In 1957, a team was formed under the leadership of first Zygmunt Majerski and later Jędrzej Badner in order to develop a concept for the reconstruction of the city centre. The final project was approved for implementation in 1962. It involved the demolition of many buildings in the market square and the connection with Armii Czerwonej Street, which was widened towards the west by demolishing existing buildings (Borowik, 2019).

The southern frontage was completed with the Kamienica Zieleniaka building, which is now no. 13. In 1962, in the place of the former Welt hotel in the eastern frontage, the Zenit department store (by Jurand Jarecki) was built. There is an

empty space after the de Prusse hotel. Opposite, The House of Silesian Press (by Marian Śramkiewicz) was opened in 1964. In the nineteen-sixties, the other tenements in the northern part of the frontage were deconstructed. As a result, the pre-war idea of expanding the marketplace in the north-south direction was accomplished. The Market Square occupied a larger space.

The tenement at the junction of 3rd May Street and Mickiewicza Street was also demolished. In 1974, the Skarbek department store was established in this place. Apart from rebuilding elevations, the modernisation of the pavement and the replacement of small furniture, the spatial structure of the Market Square remains unaffected.

There were some attempts to make some adjustments in order to solve the problem with the transport system. As a consequence, many interesting projects were created. One of these was concerned with moving the tram tracks under the marketplace.

This could not be accomplished due to lack of funds and some geological problems. Another idea was to join the buildings, for example, joining The House of Silesian Press with Zenit using some catwalks or overpasses (Borowik, 2019).

On Armii Czerwonej Street, the buildings were replaced and concentrated. The Tiele-Winkler's "Castle" was demolished on the eastern side of the street, and in its place, the "Katowice" hotel was built. Next to it, to the south, there was a residential and service building called "Delikatesy". The western side of the street was practically rebuilt from scratch. Modern buildings such as the Separator office and commercial building, the Art Exhibition Office (BWA) building, the Ślizgowiec multi-family residential building, the Wedding Palace building, and the Superjednostka multi-family residential building were built. This stretch of the street was completed by a roundabout intersection called "Rondo" along with the Spodek sports and entertainment hall.

In 2006, Tomasz Konior won a competition for the redevelopment of the city centre. His proposal included closing the visual axis from the market square, concentrating the development in the square and on Korfantego Avenue. The space was to be enlivened with ground-floor establishments such as restaurants and shops. The project was criticised and ultimately not implemented.

In 2009, a competition was announced for the redevelopment of the market square. No design firm won first place. Through a tender process, a design firm from the other end of Poland was selected to carry out the redevelopment project. Tram tracks were moved and three plazas were created: Kwiatowy, Teatralny, and Centralny. A fountain was built as an artificial extension of the Rawa River. A gastronomic building was constructed on the visual axis, and a playground was built nearby. The entire pavement was replaced, and the area was filled with small architectural elements such as benches, seats, and planters with trees. Small shops were also built near the Zenit building (www.katowice.wyborcza.pl).

SCHEMES OF THE MARKET SQUARE EVOLUTION

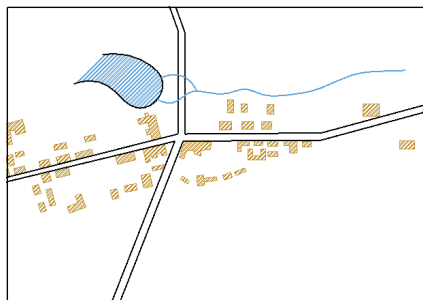
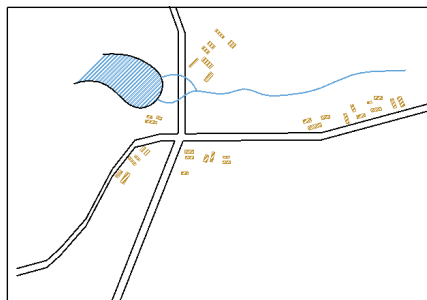


Fig. 12. Turn of the 18th and 19th centuries (own study)

Fig. 13. Mid 19th century (own study)

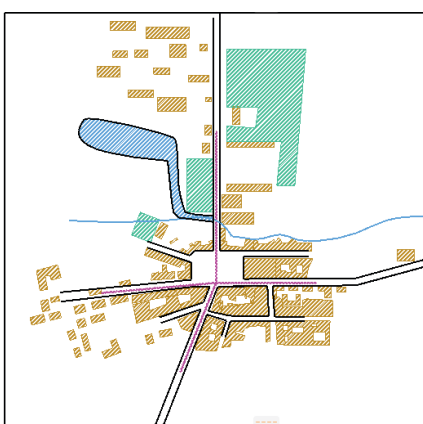


Fig. 14. Second half of the 19th century (own study)

Fig. 15. Beginning of the 20th century (own study)



Fig. 16. After 1945 (own study)

Fig. 17. Nineteen-sixties (own study)

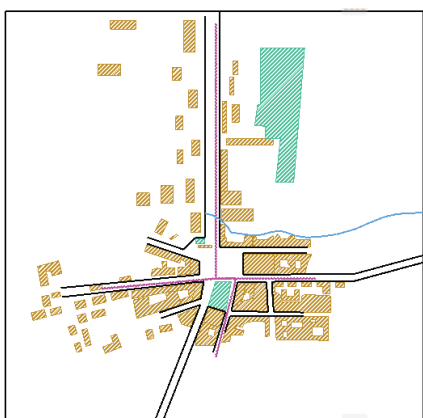


Fig. 18. Between the nineteen-sixties and 2017 (own study)

Fig. 19. After 2017 – currently (own study)

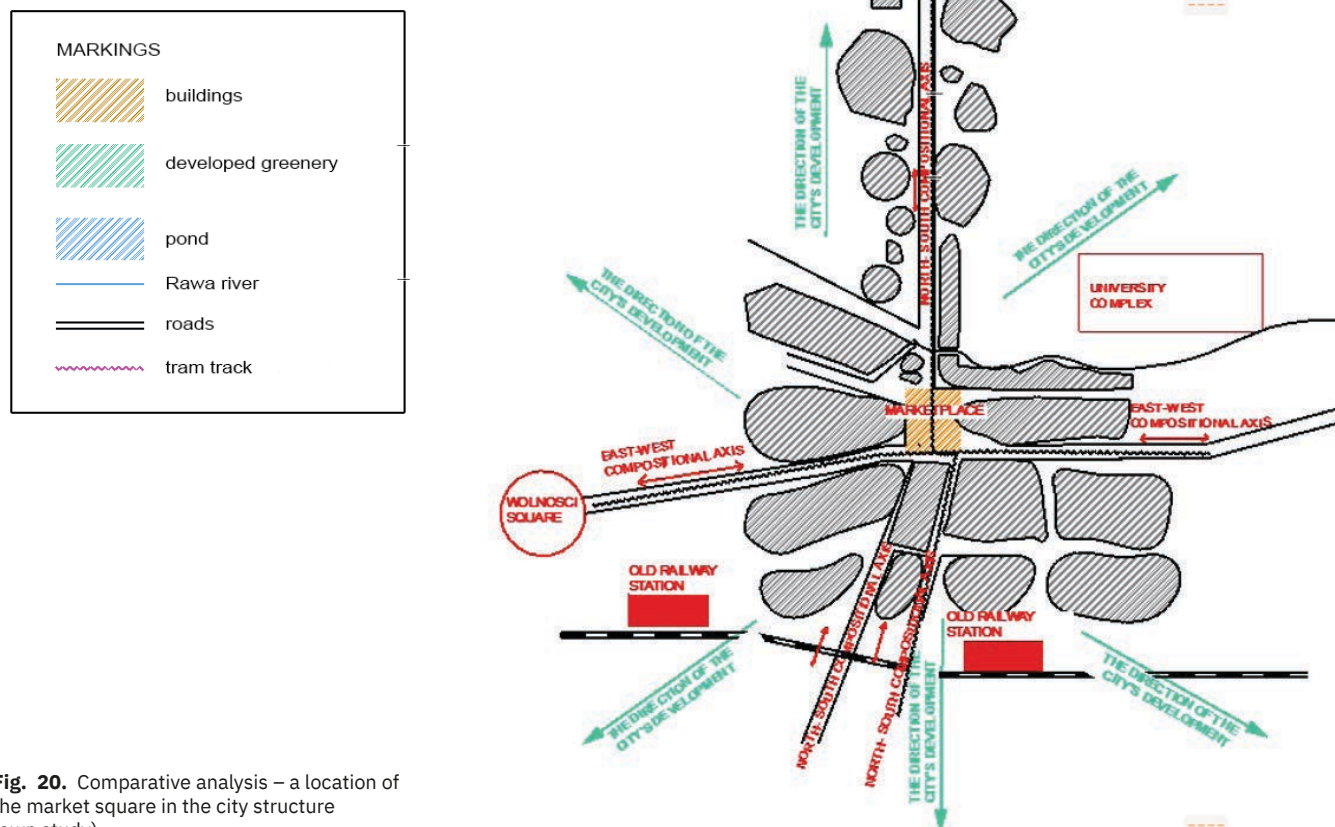


Fig. 20. Comparative analysis – a location of the market square in the city structure (own study)

A lot of towns from Upper Silesia, including Katowice, had very rich culture, history and architecture. On the one hand, they arose as a result of blending the nationalities and cultures of people who created them and on the other hand, they appeared as a consequence of the economic activity of the region. The architecture of Upper Silesia includes not only buildings which were created in the industrial style for industry and its services. These are also buildings whose form refers to the architecture of past eras, which were located in the centres of town and represented them. They were designed by educated architects who cared about the form, details and function of the building for their time. In addition, the compositional entirety of these objects was coherent and well thought out. All of these factors made the architecture of these buildings unique. Unfortunately, due to wars, economic and political changes or lack of knowledge in some cases, many buildings were irretrievably destroyed.

The Market Square In Katowice is different to how it used to be. It became a hub, a space which does not force or even encourage people to spend time there. An essential reason for this is the tram track system which divides the marketplace and a passing tram poses danger and discomfort. The majority of buildings do not correspond with an open space because their functions are inside them. However, the redevelopment of the market over the years did not go in the right direction. Moreover, after the last redevelopment, the visual axis towards Korfantego Avenue was disturbed because the building erected in the northern part of the market is random and does not correspond to the surrounding volumetric development, nor does it shield the visual axis. The introduced functions such as a poorly equipped playground for children, a relaxation area on sun loungers by the imitation of the Rawa River, or a square

with too many seats without a specific justification (justification could be, for example, local gastronomic facilities or a tram stop located close by) do not fit the context of this space or the intensity of traffic that is found here. The last redevelopment did not actually help the space become a market with an orderly front building development, such as in Krakow or Wroclaw, as a zone of entertainment, relaxation, or culture. The transformation effect did not end successfully and is not satisfactory.

For this reason, the phrase “Market Square” is a kind of reminder from a past era rather than a real function of this place. The market square is not actually a market. Furthermore, there are no traces of past buildings. Open spaces, which used to be built-up, are not marked, for example, with a contour on the pavement of the square.

Newly designed buildings which are created on the sites of demolished buildings do not correspond to the former buildings. Furthermore, a good and easy solution would be to place some information about them in the form of a memorial plaque on buildings or a model of the previously existing marketplace. There could also be a return to unfulfilled plans and relocating the transport system and commerce underground.

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