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Saul Wexner (1890–1962) and Henryk Jakubowicz (1893–1943): Genealogy and Projects That Created Kraków's Housing Environment, with a Focus on 1939–1945

Abstract

This article explores the professional work of Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz, with particular emphasis on the buildings constructed in Kraków during 1939–1945. Its purpose is to enhance understanding of this valuable architectural heritage. The authors employed traditional research methods – such as literature review, analysis of design and official documentation, and on-site investigations – alongside genealogical research and microhistorical analysis.

The article concludes that Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz significantly shaped the urban fabric of Kraków, particularly its residential districts. Throughout their careers, they designed numerous buildings in Kraków – mainly residential tenement houses (around 30) – as well as public utility and industrial structures. These buildings have survived to the present day and are an important part of the city's architectural heritage. They showcase the architects' exceptional design skills and expertise, and also reflect their involvement in the technical and cultural development of their era. This is clear in their use of functionalist layouts, their pursuit of harmony between form and function, their focus on contact with nature, the application of reinforced concrete frames where suitable, and their refined choice of materials and aesthetic solutions.

Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawiono działalność zawodową Saula Wexnera i Henryka Jakubowicza, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dzieł z okresu 1939–1945 powstałych w Krakowie. Jego celem jest pogłębienie wiedzy dotyczącej tego cennego dziedzictwa architektonicznego. Wykorzystano w nim tradycyjne metody badań (badania literatury, badanie dokumentacji projektowej i urzędowej, badania in situ) oraz metodę badań genealogicznych i analizę mikrohistoryczną.

W artykule wyciągnięto wnioski, że Saul Wexner i Henryk Jakubowicz w znaczącym stopniu przyczynili się do kształtowania przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa, zwłaszcza mieszkaniowej. W trakcie swojej działalności zawodowej stworzyli w Krakowie kilkadziesiąt dzieł zbudowanych – w większości kamienic mieszkalnych (około 30), ale także obiektów użyteczności publicznej i przemysłowych. Zachowały się one do dzisiaj i stanowią cenne dziedzictwo architektoniczne. Ukazują one znakomity warsztat projektowy twórców, a zarazem odzwierciedlają ich podążanie za postępem technicznym i cywilizacyjnym, jaki dokonywał się w tym czasie (m.in. funkcjonalistyczne rzuty, dążenie do jedności formy i funkcji, dbałość o kontakt z naturą, adekwatne do potrzeb stosowanie konstrukcji żelbetowej, wyszukane rozwiązania materiałowe i estetyczne).

Keywords: Saul Wexner, Henryk Jakubowicz, Krakow architecture 1939–1945, housing environment, Krakow townhouse

Słowa kluczowe: Saul Wexner, Henryk Jakubowicz, architektura Krakowa 1939–1945, środowisko mieszkaniowe, kamienica krakowska

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1. INTRODUCTION

Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz were respected civil engineers who, most often working together, designed buildings primarily in Kraków. This article focuses on their professional activity, which was predominantly designing and building high-quality residential architecture, with particular attention given to works completed between 1939 and 1945. It discusses their most important projects from 1925–1939, as well as all designs for Kraków locations from 1939–1945 that could be found. Based on discovered documents, genealogical trees of both engineers' families, who were of Jewish origin, were also developed.

The territorial scope of the study covers still-existing projects executed in Kraków within the boundaries of the city's districts as defined in the 1930s: I Śródmieście; IV Piasek; VII Stradom; VIII Kazimierz; XII Półwieś Zwierzynieckie; XIV Czarna Wieś; and XV Nowa Wieś.

The architectural heritage of Jewish architects and civil engineers in Kraków is of great significance. Commemorating and analysing the work of members of this professional group seems especially important, given the number and quality of their contributions.

The aim of the article is to present the designs of Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz, with a particular focus on the period between 1939 and 1945. A publication discussing their professional activity from the perspective of their background and personal histories may contribute to a deeper understanding of Kraków's valuable architectural heritage.

The article proposes the following research hypothesis: the efforts of the successful firms S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz contributed to the creation of a high-quality residential environment in Kraków by designing and building around 30 functional, elegant tenements and houses, as well as several public utility buildings.

This study examines the works of Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz, with particular focus on the years 1939–1945. The analysis is based on a selection of 16 key projects that they either authored, co-authored, or worked on as structural engineers. A more detailed analysis was conducted for seven buildings from 1925–1939 and nine from 1939–1945. During the war, most members of the Jewish community lost their lives, including Henryk Jakubowicz. Others, even if they survived, were either forced to emigrate after 1945 or left Poland voluntarily; one of these was Saul Wexner.

2. STATE OF RESEARCH

The fate of architects and civil engineers in Kraków during the Second World War has been discussed in several publications (Agatstein-Dormontowa, 1957; Motak, 2024; Makowska, Motak, 2025). The professional activity of Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz has been concisely outlined in works by, among others, Maciej Motak and Barbara Zbroja (Motak, 2020, 145; Zbroja, 2005, 133, 158–159; Zbroja, 2006; 2013). Zbroja also presents a broader overview of the work and lives of Saul Wexner (Zbroja, 2023, 264–268) and Henryk Jakubowicz (Zbroja, 2023, 104–106) in her book on Kraków's Jewish architects and builders. Research results concerning S. Wexner's foreign education in Vienna were presented by Jacek Purchla (Purchla, 1991). A concise list of selected projects by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz can also be found in several other publications (Zabytki architektury, 2007, 431, 512–513; Koźlik, 2014; Nosalska, 2016, 34, 36, 38) and in typescripts (Danilczyk et al., 2004). Kraków tenement houses from the interwar period – including selected buildings

designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz – are discussed in several studies (Purchla, 1997; Makowska, 2009; Zbroja, 2013; Makowska, 2014).

However, there is a lack of a comprehensive study presenting the full scope of work by the firm of S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz. Therefore, it seems important to develop a detailed analysis of their architectural output, especially their projects from the most difficult time of the WWII. This article aims to contribute to the recognition and preservation of this valuable heritage.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The adopted traditional research methods – literature review, archival research at the National Archives in Kraków (ANK), examination of design and official documentation, in situ studies of existing buildings, as well as creating and analysing photographic documentation of them – enabled presentation of the activities of the once well-known Kraków-based firm of Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz. The article also employs the method of microhistorical analysis (Motak, 2024), preserving an individual narrative element while allowing for generalisation of the results. The work of Wexner and Jakubowicz is presented in the broader context of their family genealogies, as well as their varied fates during World War II, using genealogical research methods.

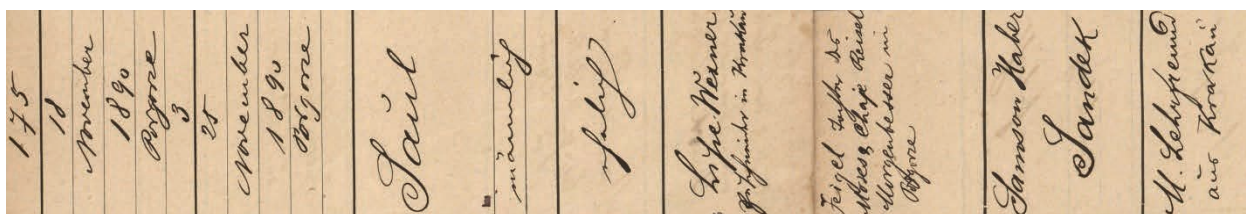
The analysis of projects by Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz was primarily based on a survey covering several dozen folders and hundreds of design and official documents from the collections of the National Archives in Kraków. The genealogical analysis of Saul Wexner's ancestors and family history was based on genealogical research and the discovery of documents found in the collections of the National Archives in Kraków (ANK Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Kraków) and Kraków-Podgórze, while for Henryk Jakubowicz, documents were found in Kraków, Bochnia, Brzesko, and Strzelce Małe (Bochnia district). The construction of a genealogical tree spanning four generations of Saul Wexner's ancestors was aided by the works of Dan Hirschberg concerning Jewish families in Kraków (Jewish Krakow, 2023) and information found on genealogical websites (Geni, 2016; My Heritage, 2025; Ancestry, 2025). Data on three generations of Henryk Jakubowicz's ancestors were found in the National Archives in Kraków in the unfortunately incomplete collection (ANK Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Bochnia). Publications by Iwona Zawidzka, who transcribed data from tombstones at the Jewish cemetery in Bochnia, were also helpful (Zawidzka, 2018; 2021). A limited information (some of it, unfortunately, containing errors) was verified by locating 11 vital data records (birth, marriage, and death certificates) relating to 12 of Saul Wexner's ancestors and 9 records relating to 7 of Henryk Jakubowicz's ancestors. Documents from the ANK also enabled an analysis of the changes in the addresses of the Wexner family in Kraków and the Jakubowicz family in Bochnia.

The result of this work is an analysis of the most important works by Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz created between 1925 and 1945, as well as the genealogical trees of their ancestors.

4. GENEALOGY

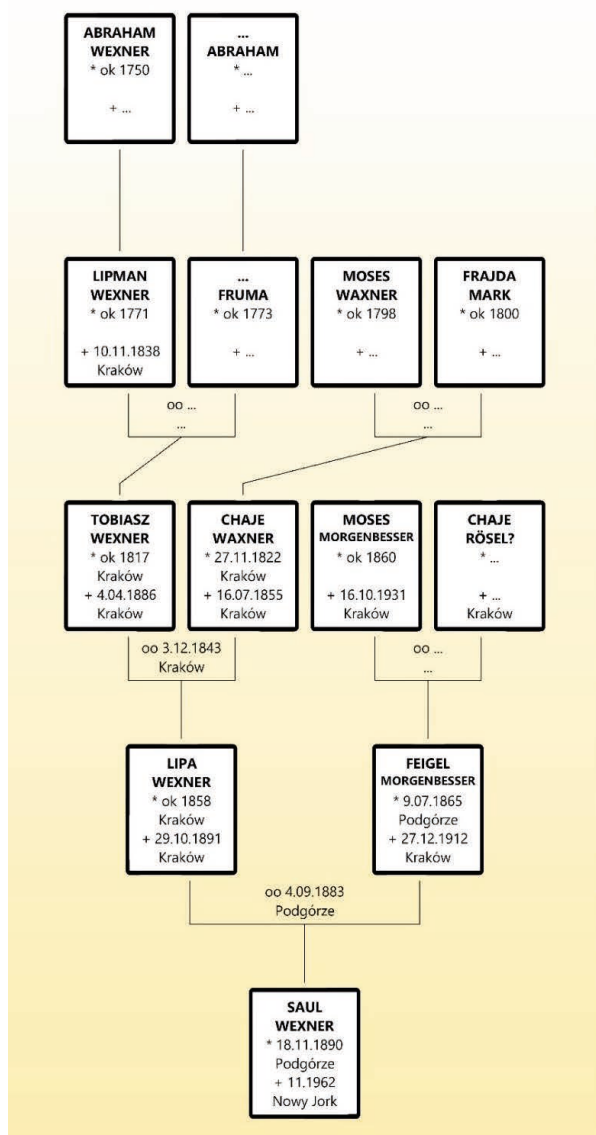
4.A. SAUL WEXNER'S FAMILY

Saul Wexner¹ came from a Jewish family with roots in Kraków and Podgórze (a former town that became a district of Kraków in 1915). He was born in Podgórze on 18 November 1890 (Ill. 1) and died in November 1962 in New York, USA (Zbroja 2024; My Heritage Social Security Death Index, 2025). The parents of Saul



III. 1. Saul Wexner's birth certificate (source: ANK, Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Klasno-Podgórze, ref. no 29/1473/0/2.1/29, record 175, pp. 40-41)

Tablica przodków SAUL WEXNER



III. 2. Genealogical tree of Saul Wexner's ancestors – compiled by B. Makowska (source: ANK, Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Kraków, ref. no 29/1472/488; ANK Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Klasno-Podgórze, ref. no 29/1473/0/2.1/29; Jewish Krakow 2023)

Wexner were the tailor Lipe (Leon) Wexner (b. ca. 1858 in Kraków – d. 29 October 1891 in Kraków) and Feigel Morgenbesser (b. 9 July 1865 in Kraków – d. 27 December 1912 in Kraków). Saul had older siblings: a sister Jetty (b. 6 September 1884 in

Podgórze – d. ca. 1942 in Bełżec), a sister Gittel (b. 29 August 1886 in Podgórze), and a brother Towja (Tobiasz) (b. 14 October 1887 in Kraków – d. ca. 1942 in the Kraków Ghetto), who was also an engineer.²

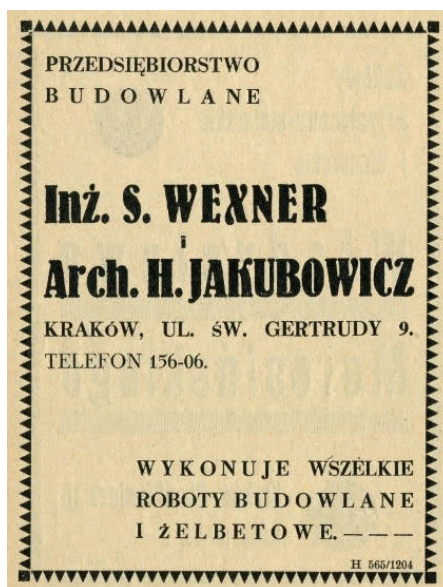
Lipe Wexner and Feigel née Morgenbesser lived in Podgórze (in 1883 and 1890), and then in Kraków, at 5 Grodzka Street (in 1891). After her husband's death, Feigel continued living there until 1912. Saul's grandfather, Moses Morgenbesser, was a commercial agent. Moses Morgenbesser and Chaja Reizel lived in Kraków at 15 Zielona Street (in 1931; the street was later re-named Sarego Street).

Saul Wexner's ancestors had lived in Kraków and Kraków-Podgórze for several generations (III. 2). Saul's grandfather was the tailor Tobiasz Wexner (b. ca. 1817 in Kraków – d. on 4 April 1886 in Kraków), and his grandmother Chaja (Haia) née Waxner (b. on 27 Nov. 1822 in Kraków – d. on 16 July 1855 in Kraków). They lived in Kraków at 27 Stradomska Street (in 1866). His grandfather Lipman (Liebman) Abraham Wexner (b. ca. 1771 – d. on 10 Nov. 1838 in Kraków) was a manual labourer. Saul Wexner's ancestors were members of Kraków-based families: Wexner/Waxner and Morgenbesser. Saul Wexner's family was related by marriage with the ancestors of architect Zygmunt Grünberg.³

Saul Wexner (Fig. 3a) went to the Imperial-Royal Higher Realschule in Kraków, a secondary school with science-oriented curriculum, in the years 1902–1907 (School Administration Report, 1903, 96), and subsequently studied at the Bauschule der Technischen Hochschule in Wien (Faculty of Civil Engineering at Vienna University of Technology) in the academic year 1908/1909, and later at the Ingenieurschule der Technischen Hochschule in Wien (Engineering School of Vienna University of Technology) (Purchla, 1991, 21), upon completion of which he obtained the title of civil engineer. The Kraków Voivodeship Office issued him a licence to practice the profession on 25 August 1924 (ANK, ABM Licences for practicing the profession of architect and builder, ref. no 29/1410, f. 61), and on 27 August 1924, he received an industrial licence to practice the profession (Zbroja, 2024, 265). He was granted a licence for "conducting masonry and carpentry crafts" on 31 December 1937 (ANK IPH Kr I. Survey of the enterprise of S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz, ref. no 29/318/158).

Saul Wexner married Lucya/Lucja (after the war: Lucy) née Finkelstein (b. 22 October 1897 in Kraków) on 20 June 1918, in Kraków-Podgórze. Their daughter Franciszka (after the war: Frances) was born on 12 June 1923, in Kraków. Later, after her marriage in New York, she was known as Frances Fass (My Heritage Frances Fass, 2025). Until the outbreak of World War II, Saul Wexner lived in Kraków, among other places, at 18 Retoryka Street (Address Book 1926, 221) and at 24 Sarego Street (Zbroja, 2013, 166).

S. Wexner was one of the founders of the Union of Jewish Engineers in Kraków. The reason for establishing this association in 1936 was the high unemployment rate among engineers in this



III. 3. Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz: a. photo of Saul Wexner from his application for an identity card, 1933 (source: ANK, Kraków Municipal Starosty, ref. no. 29/218/1033, p. 1149); b. an advertisement of the Eng. S. Wexner's and Arch. Henryk Jakubowicz' construction company, the 1930s (source: ANK Facebook, 2024); c. caricature of Henryk Jakubowicz, drawing by Antoni Wasilewski, the 1930s, source: archives of Jerzy Jakubowicz

community. In January 1937, the engineer became a member of the auditing committee of the union.

S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz started their cooperation at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s. On 1 January 1932, they founded their own construction company, which "performs all construction and reinforced concrete works" (ANK IPH Kr I. Survey of the enterprise of S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz, ref. no 29/318/158). The company had its office at 9 St. Gertruda Street in Kraków (Ill. 3b). Starting from 1934, the company employed about 50 people (including architect Henryk Haber and builder Ignacy Palterer). The Wexner and Jakubowicz enterprise designed and built approximately 30 elegant tenements and houses in Kraków, as well as several public utility buildings.

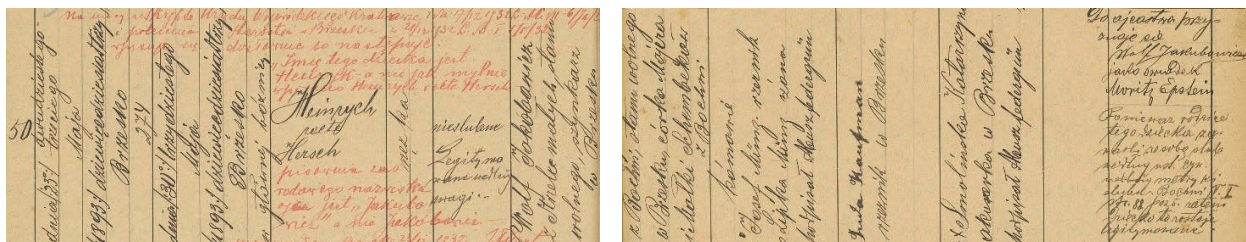
4.B. HENRYK JAKUBOWICZ' FAMILY

Henryk Jakubowicz⁴ came from a Jewish family residing in Strzelce Małe, Bochnia, and Brzesko (Ill. 3c). He was born in Brzesko on 23 May 1893 (Ill. 4). In 1932, by order of the Voivodeship Office in Kraków, a correction was made to his name in his birth certificate, changing his name Heinrich/Hersz to Henryk (annotation in his birth certificate);⁵ however, the name Henryk had already been in use as early as the second decade of the 20th century (Main Catalogues of the State Industrial School, 1913/1914 and 1919/1920). Henryk's parents were Wolf (Wilhelm) Jakubowicz⁶ (b. 13 March 1864, Strzelce Małe – d. 23 December 1927, Bochnia) and Estera Schembek/Szembek, who were married in

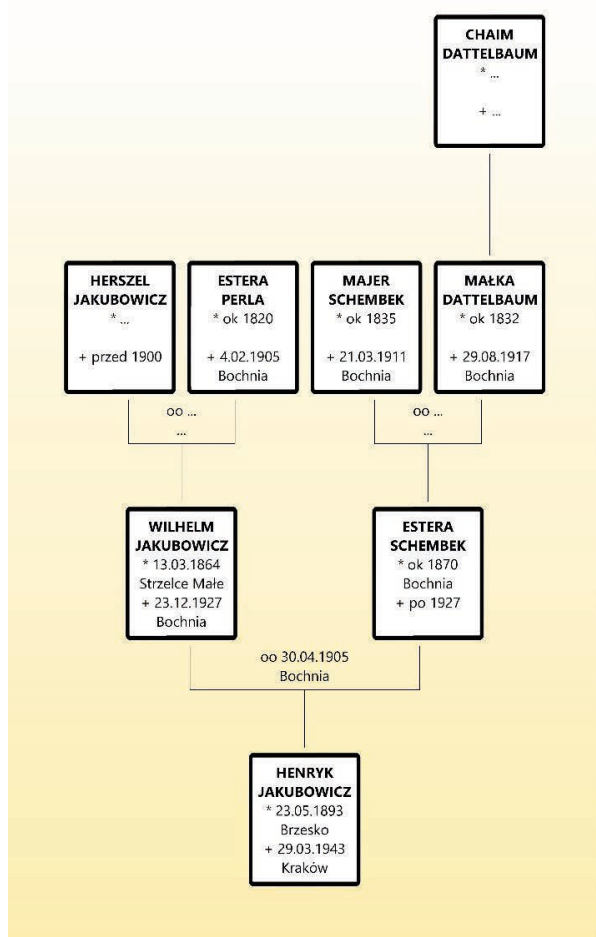
Bochnia on 30 April 1905 (ANK, Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Bochnia, 1905, record no 5, p. 88). They initially lived in Bochnia in the house at no 655 (in 1901). Wolf (Wilhelm) Jakubowicz worked various jobs:⁷ tavern keeper (1893), industrialist (1905), and canteen operator (1907) (Subscriber Directory, 1924, p. 99). Wilhelm Jakubowicz was a long-time member of the Supervisory Board of the Credit and Cooperative Bank and a city councilor in Bochnia (Zawidzka 2021, p. 56). After his death, a newspaper noted that he "(...) was highly respected by the entire community due to his extensive social engagement. (...) A testament to the general esteem for the deceased was the impressive funeral, attended not only by all levels of society but also by the City Council, headed by the mayor, and representatives of the authorities" (Obituary, 1927, p. 8; Zawidzka, 2024, p. 201).

Henryk Jakubowicz had brothers: Adolf (b. on 1 December 1894 in Bochnia), Józef (b. on 3 December 1898 in Bochnia), Jan Joachim (b. on 13 June 1901 in Bochnia), and Szymon (b. ca. 1900 – d. 25 November 1907 in Bochnia). The builder's grandparents were (Ill. 5): the industrialist operating in Strzelce Małe, Herszel Jakubowicz, and Estera Perla (b. ca. 1820 – d. 4 February 1905 in Bochnia), and the industrialist operating in Bochnia, Majer Schembek (b. ca. 1835 – d. 21 March 1911 in Bochnia) and Małka (Malwina) Dattelbaum (b. ca. 1832 – d. 29 August 1917 in Bochnia). Majer and Małka lived in Bochnia in the house at no 16

III. 4. Henryk Jakubowicz' birth certificate (source: ANK. Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Brzesko, reference no 29/4337/0/1/3, 1893, record no 50, pp. 254-255)



Tablica przodków HENRYK JAKUBOWICZ



III. 5. Genealogical tree of Henryk Jakubowicz' ancestors – compiled by B. Makowska (source: ANK, Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Bochnia, ref. no 29/4228/0; ANK, Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Brzesko, ref. no 29/4337/0)

(in 1894), no 655 (in 1901), and no 1189 (in 1911 and 1917). Unfortunately, not all Civil Registry Records of the Israelite Vital Records District in Bochnia have been preserved, and there is no genealogical information about this family on genealogy websites. Henryk Jakubowicz probably began his studies around 1911 at the Construction Department of the State Industrial School in Kraków (Main Catalogues of the State Industrial School, 1913/1914 and 1919/1920). He declared adherence to the Jewish faith and identified his nationality as Polish. Among his classmates were, notably, future architects Zygmunt Grünberg (1896–1945) and Tadeusz Zaremba (1895–1964). He completed his education in 1920. In the 1919/1920 school year, he was exempted from tuition fees – possibly indicating that he had served in the military during or shortly after World War I, although an archival search of military records yielded no confirmation. He passed the qualifying examination for licenced builders on 11 June 1923, and on 27 November 1924, he was issued an industrial licence authorizing him to practice professionally. He was officially granted the title of builder on 16 March 1925 (Zbroja, 2023, p. 105), in the same year he commenced his professional practice. H. Jakubowicz was subsequently listed in official

registers of certified builders in Kraków, including those of 1928 and 1934 (Motak, 2021, p. 33).

According to official records from the period of the German occupation, on 14 February 1941, Henryk was living with his wife Franciszka (Fajga) Rottersmann⁸ (born on 14 March 1898 in Niepołomice), son Jerzy Wilhelm (born on 5 December 1928 in Kraków), and brother Jan Joachim at 12/3 Garncarska Boczna Street⁹ in Kraków (Museum KL Płaszów: Jakubowicz Franciszka; Ancestry 2025: Jewish ID Card Applications; ANK, SGCKr 472, Distric Court in Kraków, I.1. Zg. 78/46; ANK, PNN 50, fols. 240–241). According to family accounts, they probably no longer lived in that house at that time, as it had been confiscated by the occupation authorities.¹⁰

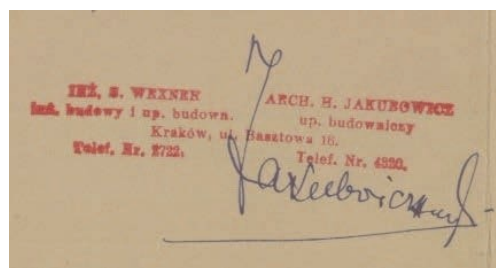
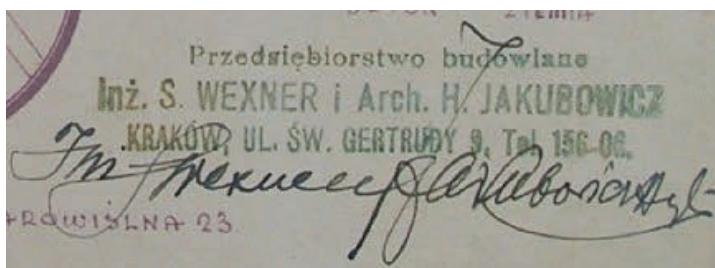
5. SAUL WEXNER'S AND HENRYK JAKUBOWICZ' MAJOR WORKS FROM THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1925 AND 1939

Initially, S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz worked independently or in collaboration with other designers. S. Wexner worked with Bernard Zimmermann (1885–1931), while H. Jakubowicz collaborated with Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz (1883–1948) and Edward Skawiński (1873–1955). In 1926, Jakubowicz' office was located at 10 Librowszczyna Street in Kraków; in 1930, the joint office of S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz was at 16 Basztowa Street; and in 1936, their office was at 9 Sw. Gertruda Street.

Projects designed by Saul Wexner (without the involvement of H. Jakubowicz) include (Zbroja, 2013, pp. 166–167), among others: the new wing for the school run by the Jewish Society for Elementary and Secondary School Education at 8–10 Podbrzezcie Street (designed by B. Zimmermann; S. Wexner – structural design, 1929–1930); the upward extension of the tenement at 3/5 Brzozowa Street (1927) (ANK, ABM Brzozowa 3/5, file 87); a tenement at 49 Mazowiecka Street (1930–1931) (ANK, ABM Mazowiecka 49, file 586); tenement houses at 24 and 26 Sarego Street¹¹, designed for Artur Wohl (1930–1936) (ANK, ABM Sarego 22/24/26, files 792, 792a).

Projects attributed to Henryk Jakubowicz (without S. Wexner's involvement) include, among others:

the villa of Marian Szymański at 60 Mogilska Street (Jakubowicz created the design but withdrew from the project during construction; the building was completed based on a supplemental design by E. Skawiński, 1925) (ANK, ABM Mogilska 60, file 620); the holiday guesthouse "Felicja" at 29 Pułaskiego Street in Krynica (design by A. Szyszko-Bohusz, 1927–1928); the guesthouse "Meran" designed for Jakub and Róża Rabiów at Kościelna Street in Krynica (1928–1931); a house at 7 Kościelna Street in Krynica (1927–1931?); addition of a third floor to a tenement house at 3 Felicjanek Street in Kraków (1929) (ANK, ABM Felicjanek 3, file 217). The works in Kraków designed jointly by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz (III. 6) in the period between 1925 and 1939 include, among others (Zbroja, 2023, pp. 267–268): the "Ada" factory at 64 Grzegórzecka Street (1928–1930) (ANK, ABM Grzegórzecka 64, file 296); addition of a third floor to the tenement house at 12 Potockiego Street (now Westerplatte Street) (1930) (ANK, ABM Westerplatte 12, file 967a); addition of a second floor to the tenement at 7 Bracka Street (1931–1932) (ANK, ABM Bracka 7, file 78); a tenement house at 20 Retoryka Street (1932–1933) (ANK, ABM Retoryka 20, file 742); plans for the renovation of the facade of the tenement at 18 Grodzka Street (1933) (ABM, Grodzka 18, file 277); a tenement at 26 Urzędnicza Street (1933) (ANK, ABM Urzędnicza 26, file 945a); a villa with a garden at 20 Beliny-Prażmowskiego Avenue (1934); a tenement at 24b Krasieńskiego



Ill. 6. Stamps and signatures of Engineers S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz: a. from Sarego 22 documentation (source: ANK, ABM Sarego 22, fasc. 792a); b. from Niewybudowane 18 documentation (source: ANK, ABM Niewybudowane 18, pl. 41-cz. 2_1)

Avenue (1934) (ANK, ABM Krasieńskiego 24b, file 446a); a tenement at 15 Józefitów Street (1934–1936) (ANK, ABM Józefitów 15, file 344); tenement houses at 48 and 50 Konarskiego Street (1935–1936); tenement at 24a Krasieńskiego Avenue (1935–1936) (ANK, ABM Krasieńskiego 24a, file 446a); conversion of the attic into a painter's studio in the Jewish Student Hall of Residence at 3 Przemyska Street (1935–1936) (ANK, ABM Przemyska 3, file 707; Zbroja 2013, p. 77); a tenement at 3 Wenecja Street (1935–1936) (ANK, ABM Wenecja 3, file 965); a tenement at 11 Józefitów / 7 Królewska Street (1936–1937); tenement at 52 Konarskiego Street (1936–1937); tenement at 22 Sarego Street (1936–1937) (ANK, ABM Sarego 22, file 792, 792a; Zbroja 2013, p. 166); a tenement at 7 Wenecja Street (1936–1938) (ANK, ABM Wenecja 7, file 966); tenements at 3 and 5 Tkacka Street (1937–1938) (ANK, ABM Tkacka 3/5, file 925b); a villa at 24 Grottgera Street (1935–1936) (ANK, ABM Grottgera 24, file 289); and house at 5 Karłowicza Street (1938) (ANK, ABM Karłowicza 5, file 352). They also prepared a quantitative survey and cost estimate for the construction of an administrative building on Prądnicka Street in Kraków (1933) (ANK, G. Narutowicz Social Insurance Hospital in Kraków, ref. no 29/2310/0/-/36), and an unrealized design for a tenement house for teacher Anna Skarżeńska at the Market Square of the Urzędnicze Housing Estate (now Kryniczna Street) (1930) (Motak 2022, pp. 145–148).

The works designed jointly by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in the period between 1925 and 1939 also include:

5.1. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 21 GARNCARSKA STREET, D. IV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1937–1938)

The four-storey tenement house, with a bachelor's lodgings in the attic facing the courtyard, was built in 1937–1938 according to the design by Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz (Ills. 17a and 18a). Its owner was Leopold Rosenzweig. It was constructed on a rectangular plan with projections on the rear façade. The building has a double-bay layout (Danilczyk et al., 2004, 118–119). The staircase in the rear bay is slightly shifted to the right in relation to the entrance and vestibule, which are positioned on the second axis on the left side.

The Building Department of the Kraków Municipal Board approved the plans with several reservations, including: "[...] on the front façade, the frieze above the gate should be removed and replaced with a decorative emblem; [...] additionally, a detailed design of the gate, shopfront portal, and decorative emblem must be submitted for approval prior to execution" (ANK, ABM Garncarska 21, file 255).

The four-bay front façade is divided by lines that extend from the outlines of the windows, imitating stone blocks. The ground floor has been visually distinguished by an ochre-coloured plaster. The entrance portal and shop window have been emphasised

by a shared cornice. The decorative emblem, executed in fine plaster and signed "LW," depicts a woman with birds and twigs.

5.2. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 59 KAZIMIERZA WIELKIEGO STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1937–1938)

The three-storey front house was built between 1937 and 1938. Its designers and owners were Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz (Ills. 17b and 18b). The Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków recommended the addition of a decorative emblem above the gate on the front façade (ANK, ABM Kazimierza Wielkiego 59, file 376a). A detailed drawing by Wexner and Jakubowicz has been preserved in the National Archives. The emblem depicts a dragon¹² and is made of fine plaster. The horizontal articulation on the three-bay façade has been emphasised by windowsills connecting the windows, the framing of the shop windows and the entrance on the ground floor, as well as a cornice separating the ground floor. The entrance, located in the third bay from the left, leads to a vestibule with a short flight of stairs in the front of the building and to a staircase in the rear. The garden-facing façade features a small projection.

5.3. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 55 URZĘDNICZA STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1937–1938)

The three-storey tenement house was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz on commission from the Matias Hendler & Co. Leather Factory 'Ludwika'. It was built between 1937 and 1938. The Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków recommended that the height of the crowning cornice and the roof ridge be strictly aligned with those of the neighbouring building, and that a decorative emblem be placed above the gate on the front façade (ANK, ABM Urzędnicza 55, file 949). On the front façade, horizontal bands have been emphasised by shared window trimmings and a cornice separating the ground floor. The spaces between the windows have been divided into rectangles by grooves in the plaster. The decorative emblem, made of artificial stone in a yellow hue, depicts a rabbit and is signed "L.W." The house has a double-bay layout.

5.4. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 57 URZĘDNICZA STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1937–1938)

The three-storey tenement house was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz on commission from the Matias Hendler & Co. Leather Factory 'Ludwika' (Ills. 17c and 18c). It was built between 1937 and 1938. The Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków recommended that the height of the crowning cornice and the roof ridge be strictly aligned with those of the neighbouring building (ANK, ABM Urzędnicza 57, file 950). Similar to the house at 55 Urzędnicza Street, on the front façade, horizontal bands connecting the windows have been emphasised, and the

spaces between the windows have been divided into rectangles. The ground floor of the building has been separated by a cornice. The decorative emblem, made of artificial red stone, depicts two cravens (Danilczyk et al. 2004, 416-417) and is signed "L.W." The house has a double-bay layout.

5.5. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 5 WENECJA STREET D. IV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1936–1937)

The four-storey tenement house owned by Leopold Rosenzweig was built between 1936 and 1937 according to a design by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz (Ills. 17d and 18d). It was constructed of brick, with reinforced concrete used in the structural components (floor slabs, stairs). The building has a rectangular footprint with a small rear projection. It features a three-bay layout with a central corridor (Danilczyk et al., 2004, 416–417). In the front part, along the central axis, there is a vestibule with a single flight of stairs and a double-flight staircase slightly offset from the axis. The Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków recommended that the roof height, pitch, and covering be adapted to those of the neighbouring buildings; and that a decorative emblem be placed above the entrance gate on the front façade (ANK, ABM Wenecja 5, file 966). The three-bay front façade is symmetrical, and the rear façade features loggias. Fine plaster imitating stone was used on the ground floor and around the windows. The decorative emblem above the entrance, depicting a bird,¹³ has been made of artificial stone.

5.6. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 9 WENECJA STREET D. IV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1937–1938)

The four-storey tenement house owned by Leopold Rosenzweig was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz (Ills. 17f and 18f). It was built between 1937 and 1938 on the site of an earlier building designed in 1923 (by civil engineer and court expert Jan Meyer; at the time, the owners of the house were Zofia and Kazimierz Pochwalski) (ANK, ABM Wenecja 9, file 966). In 1938, an additional design was submitted for changes to the interior layout and the caretaker's flat. The tenement was built of brick with reinforced concrete used in the structural components (floor slabs, stairs). It has a trapezoidal footprint with a small projection on the courtyard side; the wall adjoining the neighbouring building is partly set at a 45° angle. This asymmetry was dictated by the plot's shape. The building features a three-bay layout with a central corridor. In the second bay, on the right side, there is a vestibule with one-flight stairs and a slightly off-axis double-flight stairwell. On the asymmetrical front façade, horizontal divisions were emphasised by continuous window sills running across the façade. The front façade is four-bay, with an additional bay on the left side featuring upper-floor balconies. A flagpole planned along the balcony bay in the design was never built. On the ground floor and around the window frames, fine plaster imitating stone was used. The decorative emblem, made of artificial stone, depicts a gazelle and is signed "L.W." Loggias were designed in the rear façade.

5.7. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 11 WŁÓCZKÓW D. XII (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1937–1938)

The three-story tenement house was built on commission from the Matias Hender & Co. Leather Factory 'Ludwika' (Ills. 17e and 18e). It was constructed in 1937–1938 based on a design by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz. The Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków recommended submitting a detailed design of the decorative emblem as well as the shop and gate closures (ANK, ABM Włóczków 11a, file 985a). In 1938, the roof

structure was changed from reinforced concrete to timber. The ground floor features a rich vertical texture.¹⁴ The windows are framed by horizontal bands of window sills. The side bands on the front elevation are finished with a darker plaster. The decorative emblem depicts a bird¹⁵ and is signed "L.W." The elevation on the courtyard side has a projection.

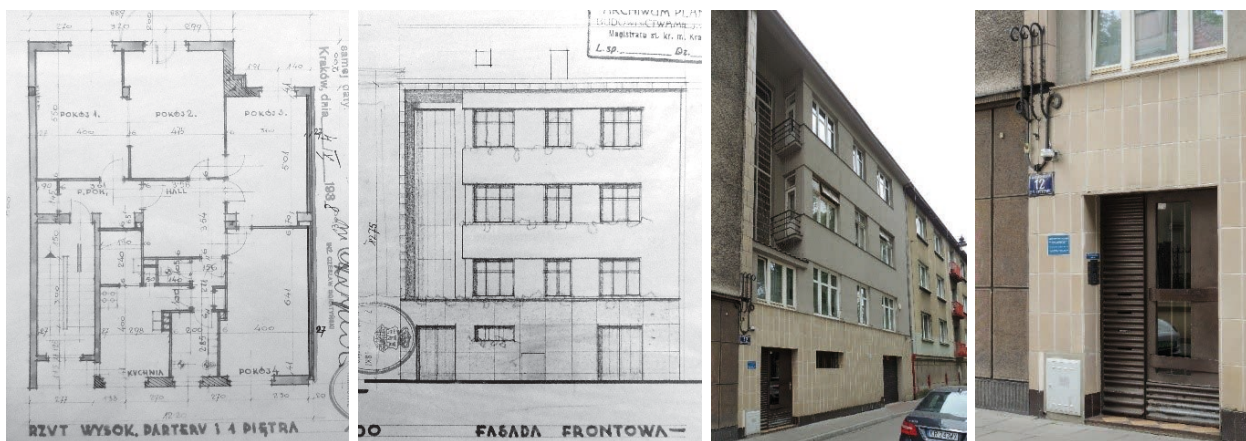
6. SAUL WEXNER'S AND HENRYK JAKUBOWICZ' WORKS FROM THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1939 AND 1945

In 1945, Saul Wexner lived in Kraków at 4/6 Szymanowskiego Street. Together with his wife and daughter, he tried to leave for New York, but they only managed to do so after the war. Fortunately, the civil engineer survived the war (Zbroja, 2024, 267); unfortunately, his brother Tobiasz was killed in the Kraków ghetto around 1942. Henryk Jakubowicz and his family applied for passports to emigrate to El Salvador in 1940, but, unfortunately, without success (ANK, Kraków District Office, ref. no 29/208/74). Their names appeared on a list of people to leave Kraków on January 24, 1941 (ANK, AMK (*the City of Kraków Archives*), Kraków City Starost, ref. no 29/33/SMKr 772, List of Jews designated for deportation on 5–6 December 1941, 24 and 31 January 1941, and 4 and 7 Feb. 1941, item 4600, p. 187). Henryk Jakubowicz, together with his wife Franciszka and son Jerzy Wilhelm, was transported from the prison in Montelupich Street and shot at the KL Płaszów camp (Zbroja, 2024, 106; ANK, SGCKr 472 (District Court in Kraków, I.1. File 78/46); ANK, PNN 50, pp. 240-241; KL Płaszów Museum Jakubowicz Franciszka). The date of Henryk's death is assumed to have been 29 March 1943 (KL Płaszów Museum Henryk Jakubowicz).

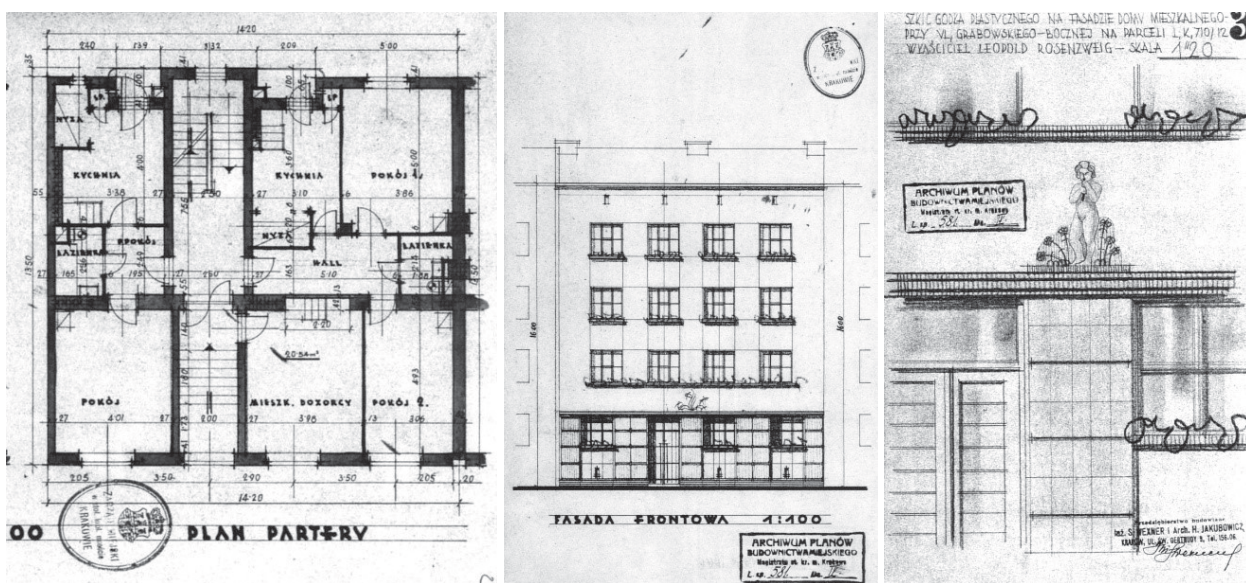
In addition to the Crafts School of the Jewish Society for Elementary and Secondary School Education located at 3 Podbrzezie Street (designed by Wexner & Jakubowicz, 1937–1939) (ANK, ABM Schools 64, Jewish Crafts School, Podbrzezie 3, file 8, item 46), the joint works of S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz from the period between 1939 and 1943 also include the following tenement houses:

6.1. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 12 CYBULSKIEGO STREET D. IV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1939)

The three-storey tenement house was owned by Henryk Jakubowicz and his wife Franciszka. It was also intended to provide housing for Henryk's brothers – Jan and Józef (Zbroja, 2013, pp. 280–281). The building was designed with three four-room flats, each with a kitchen, a servant's room and a bathroom (ANK, ABM Cybulskiego 12, file 115b). Making use of better access to sunlight from the south, three rooms of each flat were situated in the rear bay (one of which featured a large balcony), while the staircase was placed in the front bay. The staircase is glazed and recessed in relation to the façade (Ill. 7). In this recess, small balconies adjacent to the kitchens were designed. The ground floor of the building is tiled. A garage entrance was placed in the right-hand bay. To the left of the entrance, a metal decorative element with geometric motifs was designed. Horizontal divisions on the façade were emphasised by placing the windows within shared shallow recesses. These were contrasted with the vertical accent of the staircase and vertically arranged tiles on the ground floor. Similar directional contrasts were used in the design of the entrance door. The rear bay of the building is one storey higher than the front bay and houses the attic, laundry, and drying room. The house construction logbook has been preserved; the construction was completed on 23 June 1939, and on 28 June 1939, consent (permission) was granted for occupancy. The construction



III. 7. Tenement at 12 Cybulskiego street: a. plan of the raised ground floor, b. façade (source: ANK, ABM Cybulskiego 12, file 115b); c. façade; d. entrance (phot. B. Makowska)



III. 8. Tenement at 8 Pawlikowskiego Street: a. plan of the ground floor, b. façade, c. emblem design (source: ANK, ABM Pawlikowskiego 8, file 671), d. façade (photo M. Motak), e. decorative emblem, f. entrance door (photo B. Makowska)

was supervised by the licensed builder, who also used the title of architect, Adolf Rottersmann (Henryk Jakubowicz' wife's brother). In the ground-floor hall, beautiful floor finishes were executed, depicting, among other things, geometrised figures of exotic animals and initials referring to the owners' surname.

6.2. TENEMENT AT 8 PAWLIKOWSKIEGO STREET D. IV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1939)

The three-storey tenement house¹⁶ with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1938. Its owner was Leopold Rosenzweig. The ground floor was decorated with sand-coloured ceramic tiles. The entrance was designed in the second axis from the left, leading to a vestibule with a short flight of stairs. In the same axis, in the rear bay, a double-flight staircase was designed. The tenement has a double-bay layout, with a corridor between the bays (Danilczyk et al., 2004, 289). The design of a decorative emblem by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz, depicting a girl playing a shepherd's pip,¹⁷ has been preserved in the files of the National Archives (ANK, ABM Pawlikowskiego 8, file 671). The house features a four-bay front façade (Ill. 8). Its horizontal divisions are emphasised by a cornice above the ground floor and by a sill shared by the windows on the first floor.¹⁸

6.3. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 10 PAWLIKOWSKIEGO STREET D. IV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1939)

The three-storey tenement house with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1938. Its owner was Leopold Rosenzweig. The Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków approved the plans with several conditions, including: "[...] the height of the main cornices must be aligned with

the heights of the neighbouring houses currently under construction; [...] before placing a decorative emblem on the front façade, its design must be submitted to the MB Building Department for approval" (ANK, ABM Pawlikowskiego 10, file 671). The design of the emblem, created by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz, has been preserved in the National Archives, and it depicts a boy playing with a dog (Ill. 9).

The tenement, designed on a rectangular plan, has a two-bay layout, with a corridor between the bays (Danilczyk et al., 2004, 290–291). The entrance, located in the second axis from the right, leads to a vestibule with a short flight of stairs in the front bay, and a double-flight staircase in the rear bay. The front façade is four-axial. Its horizontal divisions are emphasised by a cornice above the ground floor and a windowsill band shared by the windows on the first floor. The façade features a grid motif rendered in plaster, with finer divisions on the ground floor and larger ones aligning with the window lines on the first, second, and third floors.

6.4. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 2 SZOPENA /1 SZYMANOWSKIEGO STREETS D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1939)

A single-storey house with an attic was built on this plot in 1920, at the address in Płuczki Street (it was the name of the present-day Szopena Street until 1925). Designed by Jan Burzyński for Jan Krzyżanowski, the house was demolished in 1937 and replaced by a four-storey corner tenement designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz, constructed in the years 1938–1939 (ANK, ABM Szopena 2, file 903). At that time, the owners of the house were Izidor Morgenstern and Jakub Schmer. Inside the house, a spacious staircase and a lift were designed

Ill. 9. Tenement at 10 Pawlikowskiego Street: a. plan of the ground floor, b. façade (source: ANK, ABM Pawlikowskiego 10, file 671), c. façade, d. decorative emblem (photo B. Makowska)



Ill. 10. Tenement at 2Szopena /1 Szymanowskiego Streets: a. plan of the second floor, b. façade (source: ANK, ABM Szopena 2, file 903), c. façade, d. entrance portal (photo B. Makowska)





III. 11. Tenement at 25 Szopena Street: a. façade, (ANK, ABM Szopena 25, file 907a), c. façade, d. entrance portal (photo B. Makowska)



III. 12. Tenement at 27 Szopena Street: a. plan of the ground floor, b. façade (ANK, ABM Szopena 25, file 908), c. façade, d. entrance portal (photo B. Makowska)

(III. 10). Each floor contains two four-room flats with kitchens, including servants' rooms, bathrooms, and a large hall. The design of the sculptural emblem, preserved in the National Archives, depicts three miners with pickaxes and a lantern. However, it was never realised. One of the flats was to be occupied by Ignacy Palterer (a builder employed by the Wexner and Jakubowicz company) and his family; they had begun moving in but did not manage to settle in there due to the outbreak of the war¹⁹.

6.5. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 25 SZOPENA STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1942)

The three-storey tenement house with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1938 (Ills. 11b and c). Its owner was Leopold Rosenzweig (ANK, ABM Szopena 25, file 907a). During the war, modifications to the design were made, upon request of the German Housing and Estate Society (*Deutsche Wohnungs- und Siedlungs Gesellschaft*), by engineer Hans Schneider (1941–1942), including replacing the decorative emblem originally recommended by the Building Department in 1938 with an accentuated portal surround (III. 11a).

6.6. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 27 SZOPENA STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1942)

The three-storey tenement house with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1938 (III. 12). Its owner was

Leopold Rosenzweig (ANK, ABM Szopena 27, file 908). An air-raid shelter was designed in the basement of the building. On the ground floor, two one-room flats and the caretaker's lodgings were planned, while the upper floors contained two two-room apartments accessed from the oval landing of the staircase. The design was altered during the war (Deutsche Wohnungs – engineer Hans Schneider, 1941–1942). Similarly to the building at no 25, instead of a decorative emblem recommended by the Building Department in 1938, the portal surround was accentuated.

6.7. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 29 SZOPENA STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938–1942)

The three-storey tenement house with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1938 (III. 13). Its owner was Leopold Rosenzweig (ANK, ABM Szopena 29, file 908). The design was modified during the war (Deutsche Wohnungs – engineer Hans Schneider, 1941–1942). As in the building at no 25, instead of the decorative emblem recommended by the Building Department in 1938, emphasis was placed on the portal surround. Additionally, bathrooms were enlarged at the expense of the servants' rooms, sliding doors were installed to connect the rooms, and on each floor, two flats were combined into one five-room flat.



III. 13. Tenement at 29 Szopena Street: a. façade, (ANK, ABM Szopena 29, file 908), b. façade, c. entrance portal (photo B. Makowska)



III. 14. Tenement at 31 Szopena Street: a. plan of the ground floor, b. façade (ANK, ABM Szopena 25, file 910a), c. façade, d. entrance portal (photo B. Makowska)



III. 15. Tenement at 13 Szymanowskiego Street: a. plan of the ground floor, b. façade (source: ANK, ABM Szymanowskiego 13, file 910a), c. façade, d. corner section with balconies (photo B. Makowska)

6.8. TENEMENT AT 31 SZOPENA STREET D. XV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1939–1942)

The three-storey tenement house with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1939 (III. 14). Its owner was Leopold Rosenzweig (ANK, ABM Szopena 31, file 910a). An air-raid shelter was designed in the basement. The ground floor included two one-room flats and the caretaker's lodgings, and each upper floor contained two two-room flats accessed from an oval landing of the staircase.

The design was modified during the war (Deutsche Wohnungen – engineer Hans Schneider, 1941–1942). As in the building at no 25, instead of a decorative emblem recommended by the Building Department in 1938, the portal surround was emphasised. The bathrooms were enlarged at the expense of the servant's rooms, sliding doors were installed to connect the rooms, and the two flats on each floor were combined into one five-room flat.

6.9. TENEMENT HOUSE AT 13 SZYMANOWSKIEGO STREET D, XIV (DES. WEXNER & JAKUBOWICZ, 1938-1939)

The three-storey tenement house with a basement was designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz in 1938 (ill. 15). Its owner was Jakub Schmer (ANK, ABM Szymanowskiego 13, file 910a). An air-raid shelter and a laundry room were designed in the basement of the house. On the ground floor, there are two flats (a one-room and a two-room unit) with kitchens and servants' rooms, as well as the caretaker's lodgings. Each upper floor contains two flats (a two-room and a three-room unit) with kitchens featuring balconies placed in small recesses, and with servants' rooms. The tenement, designed on a rectangular plan, has a two-bay layout with a corridor between the bays. In the second axis from the right, the entrance leads to a vestibule with a short flight of stairs in the front bay and a double-flight staircase in the rear bay. The façade finish of the building is an original example of the frequent and skilful use of various types of high-quality plasters (Bogdanowska, 2021, 115).

7. SAUL WEXNER'S FATE AFTER 1945

The fate of S. Wexner during the Second World War is unknown; however, he survived the war. In 1946, Saul Wexner left for Paris (Zbroja, 2023, 267), and from that time on, he used the name Paul. In 1951 (Paul was 60 years old at the time), together with his wife Lucia (Lucja/ Lucy) and daughter Franciszka (Frances), he sailed aboard the ship *Liberté* from Le Havre, France, to New York (the voyage took place between 15 Feb.1951 and 22 Feb. 1951) (Ills. 16a and 16b). The surviving documents register the name of the travel sponsor – Max P. Finn (Ancestry. Africa, Asia and Europe, Passenger Lists of Displaced Persons, 1946–1971). Lucia's family, née Finkelstein, lived in New York – her sister Teofila, née Finkelstein Goldberger, and her brother Max Finn²⁰ (Finn 1939: Frenkel 2025).

8. CONCLUSIONS

Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz came from Jewish families who had lived for several generations in Kraków, Kraków-Podgórze, and Bochnia. During their professional careers, they created several dozen built works in Kraków – primarily residential tenements (most of which are discussed above), but also public buildings (including the Crafts School of the Jewish Society for Primary and Secondary Education) and industrial facilities (such as the “Ada” factory). Information about their lives and activities during World War II is scarce, which is understandable given the circumstances of the time.

S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz significantly contributed to shaping the urban fabric of Kraków, through projects they had been able to complete before the outbreak of the war, as well as those finished in the months and years that followed. Many of the examples from the 1939–1945 period discussed in this article were projects begun before the war.²¹ They have survived to this day and constitute a valuable part of the city's architectural heritage. The Wexner and Jakubowicz design firm stood out for its large number of completed projects (approx. 30) compared with the work of other Kraków architects and builders of the period (both Jewish and non-Jewish). It was among the more important and best-known firms in Kraków (Zbroja; 2005, 132–134). Other prosperous companies included, among others, Düntuch and Landsberger, Bachner and Stiel, and Birkenfeld and Silberstein. Wexner (1890–1962) and Jakubowicz (1893–1943) had a particularly significant output (nine completed projects) in the years 1939–1945 compared to the thirty architects and builders of

[illegible]

III. 16. Passengers list of the ship *Liberté*: a. Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1897-1957 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T715, roll 7949); Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85 (source: My Heritage Saul Wexner. Ellis Island); b. International Refugee Organization. International Movement Office. Nominal role of emigrants from Havre on s/s *Liberté* 15.2.51 to U.S.A. (source: Ancestry. Africa, Asia and Europe, Passenger Lists of Displaced Persons, 1946-1971)

Jewish origin active in Kraków at that time (Zabytki architektury i budownictwa, 2007; Zbroja, 2023, 17–18). For example, Fryderyk Tadanier (1892–1960) was the author of eight projects; Szulem (Stanisław) Mehl (1884–after 1946), seven projects (Motak, 2024); Izaak (Ignacy) Bierer (1903–1940), seven projects; Zygmunt Grünberg (1896–1945), seven projects; Leopold Bachner (1905–1962), six projects; Alfred Düntuch (1903–1967) and Stefan Landsberger (1901–1966), six projects; Samuel Manber (1887–1941), five projects; Józef Wetzstein (1904–1964), five projects; Juliusz Eintracht (1897–1946), four projects; Jakub Spira (1902–1979), four projects; Samuel (Aron) Singer (1891–1943), four projects; Izidor Golberqader (1894–1942), three

projects; Salomon Jonkler (1891–1943), three projects; Samuel Nebenzahl (1902–1972), three projects; Lipe (Leon) Lieberman (1897–1943), three projects; Bernard Birkenfeld (1897–1942), two projects; Joachim (Zygmunt) Prokiesz (1876–?), two projects; Jakub Stendig (1891–1952), two projects (Motak, 2024); Józef Taub (1889–1964), two projects; Edward Kreisler (1903–1946), one project (as well as, probably, joint projects with Spira); Ferdynand Liebling (1877–1942), one project; Diana Reiter (1902–1943), one project; Rela Schmeidler (1905–1988), one project; Adolf (Abraham) Siódmak (1879–1944), one project; Ludwik Gintel (1899–1972), one project; Isser Harband (1889–1987), one project; and Tobiasz Wexner (1887–1942), one project.

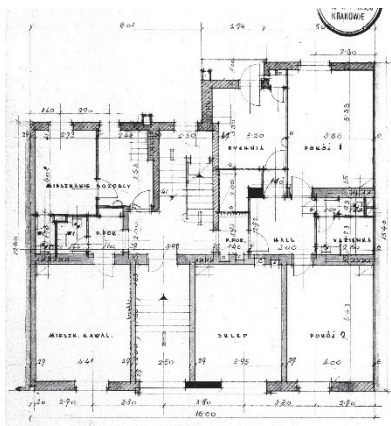
Many of these projects consisted of completing works begun before the war, not always by their original designers, many of whom (thirteen of the above-mentioned thirty) did not survive the war. Architects and builders, who often came from less-affluent backgrounds and had limited professional opportunities, nevertheless managed to achieve so much (education, professional output), only to lose it irretrievably to destructive forces.

The work of Wexner and Jakubowicz also influenced the city's urban development. A particular manifestation of this was their design of several adjacent houses within continuous street frontages, including Szopena Street (five tenement houses), Wenecja Street (four), Sarego Street (three), Urzędnicza Street (three), Józefitów Street (two), Krasińskiego Avenue (two), and

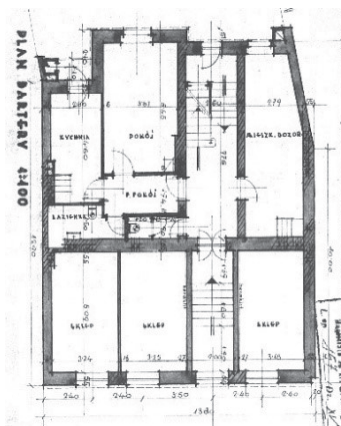
Pawlikowskiego Street (two). These buildings established positive relationships with the historical and urban context (maintaining a similar scale and referring to the rhythms and lines of neighbouring façades), thereby creating a harmonious residential environment and a valuable architectural legacy. It should also be emphasised that the designs of new tenement houses by Wexner and Jakubowicz were always consistent with regulatory plans (which, after 1928, were officially termed development plans) prepared by the Building Department of the Municipal Board (until 1934, the Municipal Building Authority within the Municipality) for specific areas and districts of the city. The number and quality of their completed projects significantly shaped the urban space.

The designs of Wexner and Jakubowicz became a permanent part of the architectural history of Kraków, representing models of well-designed, functional, and aesthetically refined solutions with carefully developed detailing. They did not, however, belong to the most avant-garde trend, generally representing moderate modernism (a dualism of traditionalism and modernity), with simplified detailing and often incorporating decorative emblems referring to local tradition, added following recommendations from the building authorities. It is worth noting that Wexner and Jakubowicz themselves designed such emblems, among others, for the houses at 8 and 10 Pawlikowskiego Street. Among their most comfortable residential solutions was the complex of

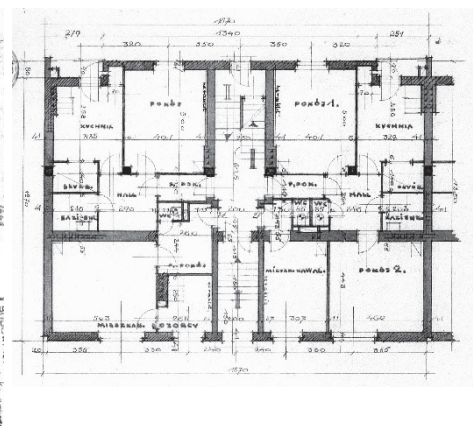
III. 17. Ground floor plans of the tenement houses (shown at a similar scale): a. 21 Garncarska Street (source: ANK, ABM Garncarska 21, file 255), b. 59 Kazimierza Wielkiego Street (source: ANK, ABM Kazimierza Wielkiego 59, file 376a), c. 57 Urzędnicza Street (source: ANK, ABM 57 Urzędnicza Street, file 950), d. 5 Wenecja Street (source: ANK, ABM Wenecja 5, file 966), e. 11a Włóczków Street (source: ANK, ABM Włóczków 11a, file 985a), f. 9 Wenecja Street (source: ANK, ABM Wenecja 9, file 966)



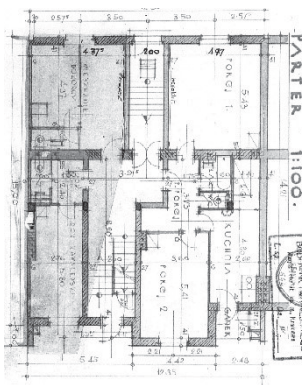
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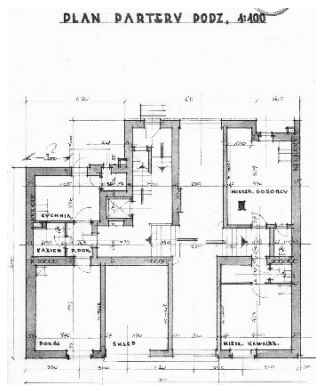
b



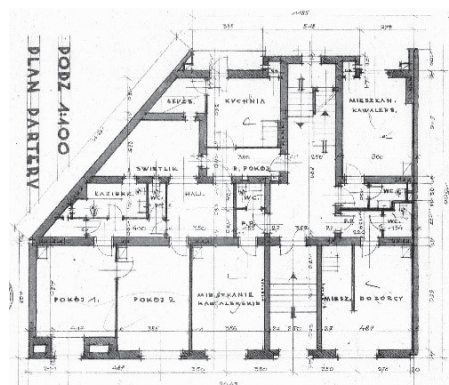
c



d



e



f



a



b



c



d



e



f

Ill. 18. Façades of the tenement houses: a. 21 Garncarska St., b. 59 Kazimierza Wielkiego St., c. 57 Urzędnicza St., d. 5 Wenecja St., e. 11a Włóczków St., f. 9 Wenecja St. (photo B. Makowska)

houses at 22–24–26 Sarego Street, in which the central seven-storey tenement house was one of the tallest buildings in the city at that time (Zbroja, 2013, 166). This was made possible by setting the frontage back 8.88 m from the regulatory street line, in accordance with the requirements of the building authorities (Makowska, 2014, 97). Wide, large windows and balconies, as well as simplified yet often refined detailing (such as fluting and other treatments of exterior finishes), were hallmarks of modernity. Architects designing avant-garde tenement houses at that time included, among others, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, Jakub Jan Spira, Edward Kreisler, Fryderyk Tadanier, Alfred Düntuch and Stefan Landsberger, Wacław Krzyżanowski, and Ludwik Wojtyczko.

8.1. PLANS OF THE TENEMENT HOUSES

The tenement houses designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz are characterised by a compositional relationship between the building plans and façades. They often used asymmetrically designed floor plans,²² which were reflected in the placement of the entrance portal on the façade. The designs broke with the

traditional layout, locating living/sitting rooms in the front bay and kitchens and bathrooms in the rear bay. The floor plans were carefully designed, with great attention to functionality (Ill. 17). The interior layout was adapted to the building's orientation (e.g., 12 Cybulskiego). Efforts were made to ensure good lighting conditions (e.g., projections) on courtyard-facing façades and proper ventilation of the interiors. Bathrooms were often designed to be well-lit and ventilated (e.g., mechanical and window ventilation), and separate toilets were also provided.

The designs of S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz contributed to shaping a high-quality residential environment in Kraków. Their buildings featured spacious stairwells and halls, sometimes with lifts (e.g. 2 Szopena / 1 Szymanowskiego). Attention was also paid – within the constraints of location – to ensure contact with nature, which improved the residents' quality of life (e.g. balconies, loggias, terraces, and front gardens). Two of their buildings were located near Krakowski Park (2 Szopena / 1 Szymanowskiego, 13 Szymanowskiego), while Jakubowicz's own

tenement house (12 Cybulskiego) was built near the garden of what is now the Austrian Institute (Österreich Institut Kraków), located at 9 Cybulskiego Street. The houses at 25, 27, 29, and 31 Szopena Street featured small front gardens and a rear garden shared with the neighbouring tenement houses.

8.2. FAÇADES OF THE TENEMENT HOUSES

The tenement houses designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz represent a combination of historical and modernist forms (Ill. 18), with some of them created under a clear influence of functionalism (e.g., 22/24/26 Sarego, 13 Szymanowskiego). Their designs feature elements typical of modernism, such as horizontal strip windows emphasised by cornices, oval balconies, rounded entrance corners, vertically grouped window/balcony recesses, stairwells illuminated by vertical glazing – the so-called *thermometer window* (e.g., 12 Cybulskiego) – and simplified detailing (especially in buildings constructed around 1939).

Elements drawing from tradition include carefully designed bands of the plinth and ground floors of the houses, as well as individually elaborated entrance portals. The façades of the buildings are characterised by simplicity and rhythmic composition. They are enriched with textural effects created by the materials used, including high-quality plaster finishes (*terrabona*). The designers mostly opted for monochromatic combinations in light tones. Decorative emblems on the façades were typically installed at the request of the Building Department.

8.3. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE TENEMENT HOUSES DESIGNED BY S. WEXNER I H. JAKUBOWICZ

In conclusion, the following final observations can be made regarding the characteristics of the buildings:

- the tenement houses are characterised by practicality, functional layout of interiors, and simplicity;
- there is a visible pursuit of unity between form and function, with the layout of the floor plan reflected on the façades, which took on simplified forms;
- the tenement houses retained certain characteristic traditional elements, such as the highlighted ground floor and the distinct entrance portal, as well as the frequent use of intermediate cornices and a crowning cornice;
- the representational aspect of the interior layout was less important than the rational use of functional arrangements in the tenements;
- economic constraints contributed to the frugal use of detailing and decoration (such as the decorative emblems), but through their individualised design, these elements allowed residents to identify with their place of residence;
- H. Jakubowicz' own tenement house (12 Cybulskiego) offered an opportunity for the designer to express his creative beliefs, which contributed to the creation of an original solution; similarly, the forms of the corner buildings were individually designed;
- the buildings were harmoniously integrated into the urban fabric – their height was adapted to the neighbouring structures, and so was the composition of their façades; the façade designs took into account features of Kraków's historical architecture (rhythms, lines and directions, materials), contributing to the creation of aesthetic unity between then contemporary and historic spatial structures;
- the buildings created a distinct and recognisable presence in Kraków's streetscape, forming a set of structures significant

in both quality and quantity.

A comparative list of the sixteen tenement houses discussed in detail in this article, designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz before 1939 (seven buildings) and those completed after 1939 (nine buildings), is presented in Table 1 (Tab. 1).

It is worth emphasising the continuous improvement of the architects' skills. Its effects are particularly visible in the later works of Wexner and Jakubowicz, designed at the end of the 1930s. These projects demonstrate the designers' excellent professional expertise and reflect their pursuit of the technological and civilizational progress taking place at the time, also in Kraków and in Poland. Wexner and Jakubowicz belonged to a group of designers who continuously improved their skills and knowledge through reading professional journals and other forms of continuing professional development (Motak, 2021, 40–45). This is evidenced by the functionalist layouts, the presence of lifts, garages, radio antennas, and air-raid shelters; the use of reinforced concrete structures where appropriate; as well as sophisticated materials (e.g. fine plaster finishes) and aesthetic solutions (emblems, refined façade divisions). Noteworthy are entire clusters of adjacent buildings (ranging from two to four in a single street frontage) designed by Wexner and Jakubowicz, for example, on the Urzędnicza, Tkacka, Pawlikowskiego, Wenecja, and Szopena Streets.

World War II and its tragic consequences meant not only the interruption of a successful architectural practice, the death of one of its founders and the emigration of the other. It also resulted in these architects never building any more structures, and they would surely have created numerous solid works in the years and decades that followed, thus greatly contributing to the urban fabric and residential environment of Kraków.

8.4. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE WORKS OF SAUL WEXNER AND HENRYK JAKUBOWICZ AFTER 1939

In this article, the authors deliberately compare the works of Wexner and Jakubowicz before 1939 and after 1939. This allows observing the versatility and development of specialisation in their tenement house designs (a significant number of approximately 30 buildings), as well as to summarise their characteristic features, highlighting similarities and differences (Tab. 1). The period before the outbreak of World War II was the last period of their highly successful professional activity. Unfortunately, the war ended their further creative work and also the life of Henryk Jakubowicz, who was killed in 1943.

The German authorities interfered with Wexner and Jakubowicz's designs. Architecture was expected to express the ideology of the Third Reich, and it was adapted to the model of the "ancient German city" (*alte deutsche Stadt*), into which Kraków was planned to be transformed. Modernist forms and elements were somewhat limited or weakened, while vernacular elements and forms were somewhat reinforced. Due to economic constraints, the façades of the tenement houses featured restrained forms of detailing and decoration. The houses were intended for German occupants, while Jewish and Polish families were expropriated and displaced.

The buildings were required to include air-raid shelters in accordance with the Regulation of the Council of Ministers of 29 April 1938 on peacetime preparation of air-raid and gas defence in the areas of planning and building housing estates and public and private structures (Dz.U. 1938). This regulation systematically defined the standards for such shelters, including their size and principles for incorporating them into construction designs. The

Table 1. Comparative list of the sixteen tenement houses discussed in detail in this article, designed by S. Wexner and H. Jakubowicz

No.	The tenement house address in Kraków	Years of construction	Building type	Changes over time – intervention in the designs by Polish/German building authorities)	Style, key details, decorations (sculptural emblems)
1	21 Garncarska Street	1937–1938	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for a supplementary design of the gate, shopfront portal, and emblem (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
2	59 Kazimierza Wielkiego Street	1937–1938	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for placing an emblem (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
3	55 Urzędnicza Street	1937–1938	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for placing an emblem (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
4	57 Urzędnicza Street	1937–1938	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for placing an emblem (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
5	5 Wenecja Street	1936–1937	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for placing an emblem (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
6	9 Wenecja Street	1937–1938	In a continuous street frontage	Supplementary design for changes to the internal layout and the caretaker's lodgings (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków); unexecuted flagpole	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, oval balconies, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem), unexecuted flagpole
7	11 Włóczęk Street	1937–1938	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for a supplementary design of the decorative emblem and the closure of the shops and gate; change of the roof structure from reinforced concrete to timber	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
8	12 Cybulskiego Street	1938–1939	In a continuous street frontage	Supplementary plan for changes in the internal layout (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, the staircase in the form of the so-called thermometer, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
9	8 Pawlikowskiego Street	1938–1939	In a continuous street frontage	(the document approving the design has not survived in the National Archives in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
10	10 Pawlikowskiego Street	1938–1939	In a continuous street frontage	Requirement for a supplementary design of a decorative emblem (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor, distinct portal, restrained detailing and decoration (decorative emblem)
11	2 Szopena / 1 Szymanowskiego Street	1938–1939	In continuous street frontages	Supplementary plan for changes in the internal layout (Building Department of the Municipal Board in Kraków)	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor and portal, corner windows, rounded full balconies, restrained detailing and decoration (unexecuted decorative emblem)
12	25 Szopena Street	1938–1942	In a continuous street frontage	Instead of the decorative emblem recommended by the Polish building authorities, the portal framing was emphasised in accordance with the guidelines of the German authorities. (Deutsche Wohnungs und Siedlungs Gesellschaft)	Moderate (reduced) Modernism; emphasised entrance
13	27 Szopena Street	1938–1942	In a continuous street frontage	Instead of the decorative emblem recommended by the Polish building authorities, the portal framing was emphasised in accordance with the guidelines of the German authorities. (Deutsche Wohnungs und Siedlungs Gesellschaft)	Moderate (reduced) Modernism; emphasised entrance
14	29 Szopena Street	1938–1942	In a continuous street frontage	Instead of the decorative emblem recommended by the Polish building authorities, the portal framing was emphasised and changes were introduced into the layout of interiors – in accordance with the guidelines of the German authorities. (Deutsche Wohnungs und Siedlungs Gesellschaft)	Moderate (reduced) Modernism; emphasised entrance
15	31 Szopena Street	1939–1942	In a continuous street frontage	Instead of the decorative emblem recommended by the Polish building authorities, the portal framing was emphasised and changes were introduced into the layout of interiors – in accordance with the guidelines of the German authorities. (Deutsche Wohnungs und Siedlungs Gesellschaft)	Moderate (reduced) Modernism; emphasised entrance
16	13 Szymanowskiego Street	1938–1939	In a continuous street frontage	-	Moderate Modernism; articulated ground floor and portal, corner windows, rounded and oval balconies, restrained detailing

Regulation of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 26 August 1939 on the obligation to provide air-raid shelters in existing residential buildings or outside their outline (Journal of Laws 1939) introduced the absolute requirement to furnish residential buildings exceeding a certain volume (2,500 m³) with air-raid shelters.

8.5. IMPACT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR ON WORKS BY S. WEXNER AND H. JAKUBOWICZ

The war caused a forced change of ownership of tenement houses previously owned by Jews who were murdered in the Holocaust. The German occupation authorities interfered with the designs (modifications were made to buildings designed before the war but constructed during its course) (Broński, 1987), and the war itself led to damage or destruction of buildings and changes in their function. Several examples of such impact are worth mentioning:

- Henryk Jakubowicz and his family never had the chance to live in the tenement house at 12 Cybulskiego Street, which he had designed for himself and his family and which was completed at the end of June 1939;
- the German authorities altered the appearance of façades and modified the layout of building plans (e.g. at 25, 27, and 31 Szopena Street);
- the use of antennas was banned – on 10 October 1939, the occupation authorities prohibited listening to foreign radio stations, and on 15 December 1939, they ordered the confiscation of radio receivers (Czocher, 2007, 20; Motak, 2020, 137).

9. SUMMARY

Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz established a highly successful construction company that designed high-quality buildings. Their output from the years 1925–1939 is extensive, and their contribution from the 1939–1945 period is also significant, especially in comparison with other Jewish architects and builders working in Kraków at that time. Their activities took various forms – designing residential buildings (as authors or co-authors), structural designs, and the remodelling of existing

buildings. The residential architecture designed by Wexner and Jakubowicz helped shape the character of the city. It stands as a testament to a certain continuity of time and place, where links between architectural works from different eras are visible.

Saul Wexner and his wife and daughter were among the few members of Kraków's Jewish community who survived the war. His brother Tobiasz, who was also an engineer, as well as Henryk Jakubowicz, along with his wife and son, sadly did not survive. Recording the history of remarkable individuals and their work under the extremely difficult circumstances of the Second World War seems vital in preserving their memory. The collected data, design and photographic documentation, archival illustrations, and information provided by descendants and relatives (a letter from M. Finn to Lucy Wexner, courtesy of Karen A. Frankel; a conversation with Jerzy Jakubowicz), can support efforts to preserve the architectural heritage of Wexner and Jakubowicz and enrich the knowledge of Kraków's architecture from the period in question. In the authors' view, in light of the research conducted so far, there is no doubt that the creative personalities and works of Saul Wexner and Henryk Jakubowicz deserve further study and a comprehensive monograph in a book form.

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English translation: Alicja Półtorak

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Another version of his first name: Stanisław, after the war: Paul; other versions of his surname: Weksner, Wechsner, Waxner, Wexer and (probably erroneously, on one of the official documents) Werner.
- ² Tobiasz Wexner was, among others, a co-creator of the Jewish Student Hall of Residence in Przemyska Street (1924-1926, together with engineer Adolf Siódmak).
- ³ Ancestors of Grünberg's wife – Frumet Brand – were Lipman Wexner and Fruma.
- ⁴ Other versions of his surname: Jakóbowicz, Jakubowicz.
- ⁵ Information on Henryk's birth certificate from 1893 – child born out of wedlock, legitimized after the wedding in 1905.
- ⁶ The family was not related to Tadeusz Jakubowicz (b. 18 Feb. 1939 in Krakow-Podgórze – d. on 17 Nov. 2024 in Krakow), who served as president of the Jewish Religious Community in Kraków.
- ⁷ His profession is confirmed by the shared telephone number of his private residence and the factory he owned: W. Jakubowicz and K. Pankiewicz, Bochnia, Steam Distillery of Vodka, Liqueurs and Fruit Preserves.
- ⁸ Franciszka was the daughter of Izrael/Israel and Tauba née Popper, originally from Niepolomice.
- ⁹ At present, 12 Cybulskiego Street, where the architect's own house was built in 1939 – probably the recording/reading of the document at the Museum KL Płaszów confused numbers 12 and 17 (there was no number 17 in this street).

- ¹⁰ Information received from Henryk's relative – Jerzy Jakubowicz, interview conducted on 25 June 2025.
- ¹¹ At that time – Zielona Street.
- ¹² The design featured an antithetical composition of geometric lines.
- ¹³ The original design featured a motif in the shape of a bell.
- ¹⁴ In the design, the ground floor featured emphasised rhythmic vertical elements. During the construction of the house, the attic windows were enlarged, and additional ones were added.
- ¹⁵ In the design, instead of an emblem, there was a frieze above the entrance.
- ¹⁶ At present, the house has four storeys.
- ¹⁷ In the original design, it was a geometric motif.
- ¹⁸ The windows were of the Venetian type, with triple-leaf frames divided into six panes.
- ¹⁹ The interview with David Palterer, 12 November 2025.
- ²⁰ Max P. Finn (Maksymilian Paweł Finkelstein), who lived at 65 Hillside Avenue, New York 34, was Teofila's and Lucy's brother. According to Karen A. Frenkel, Max Finn did everything he could to obtain American visas for them in 1939.
- ²¹ Water supply and sewage system designs for some of the tenement houses were approved at the beginning of the war.
- ²² The design of the tenement house at 57 Urzędnicza Street featured a symmetrical plan.

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ANK, ABM Garncarska 21, fasc. 255.
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