CONVERSIONS AND REDEFINITIONS
– ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY OF A PLACE

Abstract: Architecture substantially strengthens and supports the identity of a city and its citizens. Buildings are the most easily and commonly available testimony to culture. The political transformation which took place in Poland in 1989, causing a shift in the sociocultural order, contributed to an important transformation of the urban areas. New contexts and discourses are being created not only by new edifices, but also by old architecture which is being converted and redefined. Historical buildings are adapted to the changing times, balancing between the past and the present. A new semantic code is forming: old contents are being replaced with new ones, compounding the meanings originally and secondarily given to architecture. Old identities are being questioned and new ones are appearing, which is accompanied by substantial overlapping and hybridisation.

Keywords: identity, hybridisation, architecture, conversion, Łódź, revitalization.

INTRODUCTION

Urban architecture has been always undergoing transformation. Alterations, additions, conversions or construction of new buildings from scratch gradually introduced new values and meanings within a city, a quarter or particular urban designs. In the past, this process was slow, yet the 20th century brought its rapid acceleration. Prior to it, during the life-span of a single person architectural surroundings remained relatively unaltered; now they are changing much quicker.¹

It is not only the form and the structure of buildings that undergo alterations, but also their function. Since the 1970s, the number of converted, modernised

and reused buildings in Europe has significantly increased. In the 1980s, almost half of the money spent on construction works was allocated to the conversion of existing buildings. Nearly 40 per cent of the investments in Central Europe involve modernisation and conversion. This is so not only for the purpose of conservation (not all of these buildings are of historic value), but also in order to sustain the city’s identity and image, to promote it, and to comply with the demands of economy, ecology and sustainable development (these factors may overlap and merge).

Deindustrialization, which set its stamp on various cities, questioning the raison d’être of numerous buildings and whole post-industrial areas, is an important phenomenon, requiring redefinition of the attitude towards the existing buildings. Post-industrial cities and their heritage have become a challenge for modernity. The collapse of industry has brought about a crisis and made the cities search for the methods of regeneration and restoration of their devastated image.

This process was most pronounced in the cities of Central and Eastern Europe, which the breakdown of Communism additionally put through radical and thorough political and economic transformation. The spatial, social and functional structure of the urban areas also underwent rapid conversion. Many places needed reinterpretation and redefinition resulting from their new context and new functions, as they received new roles within the urban space. A particular form of semantic code alteration affected the buildings and post-industrial areas of relatively new origins, constituting the material manifestation of the industrial revolution.

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ŁÓDŹ

Łódź, situated in the center of Poland, and still the third largest Polish city, is an excellent example of such change. It became prominent in the 19th century thanks to the intense development of industry and a good economic situation. The city became the centre of textile industry, frequently called “Polish Manchester”. Łódź took its opportunity and in less than a hundred years it developed from a small town into one of the most prosperous cities in the Kingdom of Poland. During the later Communist period, Polish economy was driven mainly by the companies established through the nationalization of the former private ‘empires’. They even used most of the original machinery. That is why Andrzej Wajda had no problem in finding 19th-century production equipment when making his film “Ziemia Obiecana” [“The Promised Land”] in Łódź.

After the political transformation of 1989, Łódź faced a rapid collapse of its industry. Because of that, the city needed a complete redefinition of its identity and a revitalization of its building stock, since within a short period vast areas, mainly those situated in the inner city, suffered substantial degradation. The problem was even more serious due to the city’s lack of pre-industrial past. Łódź did not have earlier monuments, which could constitute important components of its identity and essential references to its history. Its whole architectural substance dates back to the 19th century and is based on industrial origins. After 1989, when most of the textile factories closed down, the city had to deal with the problem of their remaining physical substance.

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7 In 1821, Łódź had 799 citizens; yet, only nine years later, in 1880, the number had grown to 4343, and by the late 19th century it had reached 330 000 people. In 1939, Łódź was inhabited by 680 000 citizens. 37% of all those employed in Polish industry were Łódź workers. B. Baranowski, J. Fijałek, eds., Łódź: Dzieje Miasta. T. 1, Do 1918 r., PWN, Warszawa 1980; S. Liszewski, ‘The Origins and Stages of Development of Industrial in Łódź and the Łódź Urban Region’, in A Comparative Study of Łódź and Manchester: Geographies of European Cities in Transition, ed. by S. Liszewski and C. Young, Łódź University Press, Łódź 1997), pp. 11-34; W. Puś, ‘The Development of the City of Łódź (1820-1939)’, Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies, 1991, pp. 3-19.
“MANUFAKTURA”

In 1991, the Poltex\(^8\) Cotton Industry Plant located in Izrael Poznański’s former factory was put into liquidation.\(^9\) It meant that an important post-industrial area in the city centre,\(^10\) encompassing ca. 270,000 m\(^2\) [66.7 acres], became a functionally dead space. The former company established by Izrael Poznański was the second biggest and most powerful enterprise in Łódź, after Scheibler and Grohman’s Corporation. A huge complex, founded in the 1870s and 1880s, consisted of a factory, a workers’ housing estate, a church, a hospital, a concert hall and other edifices. A palace with a private garden had been erected in the immediate vicinity of the factory. The whole complex constituted – and it still does – a significant architectural and urban component in the city space. The factory used to be a symbol of the power of Łódź industry. In the first years of World War I, it employed about 7000 people.\(^11\) After 1945, the plant with 12,000 workers was still the second biggest employer of Łódź industry.\(^12\) In 1997, when the factory finally ended production, its physical substance started to decay. The vast area in the centre of Łódź turned into what may be called a post-industrial urban fallow.\(^13\)

After a few years of searching for an investor and for a conception of utilizing the abandoned buildings, a contract was signed with a foreign investor, the Apsys company, which is a global administrator of large-scale multi-functional shopping centres. The transformation of the entire area occupied by the factory took several years, from 1999 to 2006. Its goal was an economic and social revitalization of the important fragment of the city centre.

The area was converted into a huge shopping and entertainment centre called Manufaktura, one of the three greatest investments of that kind in Poland.\(^14\) The old function of the buildings was fully replaced by a new one. In accord with the spirit of the times, the former space of production was taken over by

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\(^8\) After 1945, Izrael Poznański’s Cotton Plant was named The National Cotton Industry Plants No. 2 and later Julian Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plants. In 1970, the name “Poltex” was added and in 1980s the patronage of Julian Marchlewski was abandoned.

\(^9\) By the decision of the Minister of Industry from 1 August 1991.


\(^12\) S. Kaczmarek, op. cit., p. 111.

\(^13\) Ibid., p. 29.

consumption. The centre consists mainly of shops, but there are also restaurants, cafés, cinemas, discos, a climbing wall, etc. The place seems to have gained more sophistication thanks to the presence of the Art Museum (ms²), located in a former so-called high weaving mill from 1895, and the museum devoted to the old factory. The official website of Manufaktura\footnote{O nas. Manufaktura napędza Łódź. 05.06.2013. Available at: http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas.} mentions the museums in the first place, although they occupy a relatively small area. Actually, the contrast between the commercial area and the art space is eagerly exploited today.\footnote{M. Dolistowska, ‘Miasta wielokrotnego zapisu – ikonosfera nowych przestrzeni tożsamości’, Czasopismo Techniczne, 2010, pp. 57-60; G. Makowski, Świątynia konsumpcji. Geneza i społeczne znaczenie centrum handlowego, TRIO, Warszawa 2003, pp. 113-118.} Another important part of the complex is a four-star Andel’s Hotel occupying the building of an old weaving mill from 1878.

In line with the contractual agreement, a considerable part of the extant building stock was preserved during the transformation, which aimed at total functional conversion of the place. This resulted from the fact that the complex of former Izrael K. Poznański’s plant together with the adjoining palace had became a conservation area in 1971.

The place was revitalized both economically and socially.\footnote{F. Choay, P. Merlin, ‘Réanimation’, Dictionnaire de l’urbanisme et de l’aménagement, Presses Universitaires de France – PUF, 2010, p. 752.} The old architecture was discreetly supplemented with modern constructions. Although the new buildings occupy as much as 95,000 m² [ca. 23,48 acres] and the area of the modernized edifices is ca. 90,000 m² [ca. 22,24 acres]\footnote{J. Dzieciuchowicz, Wielkie centrum handlowe w przestrzeni miejskiej i podmiejskiej. Manufaktura i Ptak w Rzgowie, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2012, p. 37.}, the complex is visually dominated by the red brick buildings inspired by medieval defensive constructions, which are typical of Łódź 19th-century industrial architecture. Historical and new architecture was combined to create a coherent and harmonious spatial composition with a central marketplace of 30 000 m² [7,41 acres]. Thanks to the unique features of the historic architecture, the architectural complex seems to be visually consistent. At the same time, the different sizes of the old buildings and their placement contribute to a varied spatial layout, avoiding monotony.

The main shopping area is located in a new building, which is not dominating, since its height does not exceed the height of the other buildings, and its glass façade makes it neutral, almost invisible. Importantly though, the main
shopping centre is situated at the end of the marketplace, at the meeting point of all the main compositional axes. At the opposite end of Zachodnia street is the main “open” entrance to the area of Manufaktura, so naturally the biggest flow of the visitors is in these two directions. The walkway is defined by pavements and, most importantly, by the rows of fountains, reportedly the longest ones in Europe.\(^{19}\) Thanks to its transparency, the glass façade, though physically “closing” the marketplace, opens out to a new space and promises a passage to a new, fully modern world.

In order to make the area interesting, attractive for Łódź citizens and tourists, the historical space has been well-organized and the post-factory buildings – suitably converted.

Manufaktura is regarded as a landmark, an icon of industrial Łódź and at the same time a symbol of its post-industrial revival. However, the conversion of the place has resulted in creating a form of an outstandingly hybrid character. Standing at the Manufaktura’s marketplace, one may feel the atmosphere of old 19\(^{th}\)-century Łódź, yet the space is artificial. It has undergone an extensive and carefully conceived process of contemporary urban spectacularization. Like many revitalized consumer areas, it is well-organized and clean for greater attraction and gentrification.\(^{20}\)

The buildings which used to be part of the former Izrael Poznański’s factory have become attractive scenography. While their façades have been preserved, their interiors completely lost their original character and have been adapted for new functions. The roles of some elements of the buildings have been reduced to those of screens. The brick walls of the former lower weaving mill from 1872 not only host shops and restaurants, but they also hide a parking lot on the roof. Looking carefully, one can see the parked cars through the windows of the last floor. Anyway, the building is only a façade, since it has been deprived of a rear elevation.

The most characteristic building of the whole complex is a massive high weaving mill from 1878. The five-storey monumental edifice, 170.4 m [559 ft] long and 30.50 m [100 ft] wide\(^{21}\), built of characteristic red brick and

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\(^{19}\) O nas. Manufaktura napędza Łódź. 05.06.2013. Available at: [http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas](http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas).


inspired by medieval defensive and early Renaissance architecture, has retained its original character. The intervention into the body of the building has been very discreet and the alterations have not disrupted the general impression or the original form. The only major, but hardly noticeable accent is a glass cube with a swimming pool situated on the roof. However, the role of the internal architectural elements, going back to the times of Izrael Poznański, although emphasized and standing out, such as the rows of cast-iron pillars supporting the steel ceiling beams with binding joists, or the unplastered fragments of the brick shallow Prussian vaulting, has been limited to interesting ornamental elements.

The radical change of purpose has caused complete separation between the exterior and the interior, the form and the function. While originally the functional program of the building was evident both in its construction and its decoration, the slogan that “the form follows the function” has now been abandoned, which is typical of contemporary architecture. On the other hand, there have appeared new contrasts and unexpected combinations characteristic of modern times.

The whole industrial cum residential complex of Izrael Poznański has also lost its coherence. The process of revitalization has encompassed only one part of the former “empire”. A distinct boundary was marked between the two sides of Ogrodowa street. The side of the old factory is a kind of oasis in the degraded urban landscape of Łódź, while the opposite side – that of the workers’ housing estate – is an enclave of poverty. The contrast is visible at first glance, it does not require any in-depth research. The carefully restored red brick weaving mill, now Andel’s Hotel, stands out against the neglected, degraded dirty brick workers’ houses.

This has resulted in the reorganization of the composition of the factory complex. Ogrodowa street, which used to be the main axis of the complex, has lost its function; it currently plays the role of one of Manufaktura’s outer limits. The main axis is defined by the internal marketplace, open toward the city.

The marketplace, now an attractive public space, accepted by Łódź citizens and very popular with them, has been created artificially. The area was originally a site of many factory buildings and a network of narrow streets.

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22 Ibid., p. 68.
23 Print from Promyżlennost Rossji w słowach i kartinach, 1896 in ibid., p. 55.
It used to be an enclosed space with the main entrance through a characteristic ornamental red-brick and cast-iron gate. Nowadays, it is still used as one of the side entrances to the complex, yet it serves mainly a decorative function. The carefree atmosphere of the place, perfect for rest and entertainment, has nothing in common with its original character.

The case of Manufaktura’s marketplace, brought to life by a global consortium, becomes an example in the discussion on the disappearance of traditional urban public space, its privatization and thus commercialization and trivialization.24

Although it is a commercial area, designed for mass consumption, Manufaktura seems to defy the anonymity of contemporary “non-places”, including shopping centres.25 It creates a delusion of recreating an authentic fragment of the city. It clearly refers to and founds its image on the local architectural identity. It is not an isolated example, but one of the concepts used in the modern shopping centres of the so-called fourth generation.26

The idea behind the image of the shopping centre draws on the blend of tradition and modernity. The strategy aims at making the visitors subconsciously identify the place with the image of the city. It constitutes a kind of brand mark, easy to accept and ready for on-the-spot consumption.27 In this accumulation of cultural signs and symbols in a modern city, cultural meanings become a commercial artefact. Treating the city, its urban landscape and buildings with their characteristic features and meanings as market assets poses the fundamental threat that they will be deemed attractive as long as they bring profits.28

Making use of the existing buildings, which constitute an integral part of an urban landscape, authenticates and legitimizes a new commercial place in the urban area. Such an image is enhanced by the commercial slogans claiming that Manufaktura, de facto a shopping and entertainment centre, is one of Łódź landmarks, the “beating heart of the city” and a new city centre. How-

27 Jacques, op. cit.
ever, these slogans do not refer to characteristic Łódź architecture, but to a place where “the space of culture and sophisticated entertainment is combined with the world of trade and recreation”. Thinking about architecture is no longer based on form and style, but on events. And it is an event that creates a place.

Offering Łódź citizens and visitors a whole range of attractions – from a vast shopping area, through entertainment, to cultural events and a space for recreation and social life, Manufaktura satisfies different social needs. In the summer the marketplace sports a sandy beach, in the winter – an ice rink, and all the year round one can spend one’s time at the aesthetically tidy and well-(but discretely) guarded space. There are concerts and shows; and even the winners of the competition for the “icon” of Łódź were announced there as well (however, the citizens still believe that icon to be Piotrkowska street).

All those events attract new potential customers and thus increase the profits, becoming part of consumer pop culture. Using revitalized buildings is also a way of producing a tourist attraction for the industrial archaeologists or heritage tourists. Manufaktura is visited yearly by ca. 20 million people.

According to an advertising slogan, Łódź is driven by Manufaktura. However, the multifunctional centre, a hybrid enclave desiring to satisfy various needs in an attractive form, deprives the proper city centre of certain functions. The potential of the place is used to improve the economic situation of the particular area, not Łódź as a whole; in fact what counts is the prosperity of the place, not the whole city. Its usurpation of the role of the new centre of Łódź has considerably contributed to destroying the traditional city centre as the area of consumption and, to a great extent, also of social life. The brand stores in Piotrkowska street have been replaced by second-hand shops. As a matter of fact, the loss of significance of the old city centre seems inevitable. Another “centre” of Łódź is currently being created.

29 O nas. Manufaktura napędza Łódź. 05.06.2013. Available at: http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas.
33 O nas. Manufaktura napędza Łódź. 05.06.2013. Available at: http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas.
34 Makowski, op. cit., pp. 51-52.
slogan behind the revitalization of the area surrounding the former power station EC1 is “Nowe Centrum Łodzi” [“The New Centre of Łódź”]. It is another space meant to play a dominant role in the structure of the city. According to its promotional materials, the EC1 project is going to change Łódź into an attractive and modern metropolis, thanks to its interesting architecture and fascinating cultural events. This is how negative connotations arise, suggesting that the city is currently in ruin or is deprived of interesting city-forming spaces. This is another project of city revitalization, which, though admittedly interesting, employs the rhetoric of usurpation and competition, instead of contributing to the sustainable development of the city. An organism having several “hearts” does not become stronger, but may become inconsistent, non-harmonious, defragmented. Contradictory aims and local strategies come to light, while the city structure gets interspersed with enclaves, peculiar oases of gentrification.

CONCLUSIONS

According to Arian Mostaedi, “Ideally, converting old structures to new uses involves delving into the past, not to rewrite history, but rather to breathe new life into it”.

It remains an open question if this ideal situation can be achieved in the case of industrial objects occupying large areas. Genius loci is mostly preserved in the spaces used as autothematic museums, but then almost the whole city of Łódź would have to become an exhibit. There is no such possibility, or rational need; living in a city-skansen would be impossible.

What has been preserved during the revitalization of the 19th-century factory complex of Izrael Poznański is some of its material substance, acquiring new connotations and semantic codes. Particular buildings, characteristic of the landscape of the industrial Łódź, have been saved from “technical death”. At the same time, the newly-created place responds to and reflects contemporary needs and transformations. Having shifted their functions, the extant edifices are separated from their original context, forming new, unexpected

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37 The issue has been interestingly analyzed in the following article: G. Kähler, op. cit.
combinations. They cross the borderline of their original meaning in the urban area.

In this case, the old architectural objects have been subjected to the hybridization of their historical form and its visual message with the new function and meaning brought by it. At the same time, it was the only way to protect some important elements of urban landscape, such as the monumental red building of the former weaving mill or the gate leading once to the factory, from total destruction. These elements are a physical substance, helping the citizens of Łódź to find their identity. The influence of the image they produce is so powerful because of their unique character constituting part of the local, traditional urban landscape, and of the clarity of their layout.

However, historical continuity is mainly experienced here in an artificial way. The past is limited basically, though not exactly, to the sphere of the aesthetic, since the understanding of the old function and the form associated with it is rather dim. The shift in function, even if the building stock is preserved, results in significant deformations of the comprehensive perception of the complex. The citizens or tourists walking along the marketplace of Manufaktura among the bustling and colorful cafés, playing children and the swoosh of fountains will only see a kind of display of the brick architecture of old Łódź, but they will certainly not experience the “climate” and the character of Poznański’s empire.

The original meaning of a building cannot be preserved (unless in a skansen, which is, on the other hand, also a vision of the past). Each interference is falsifying. What remains is only the building’s “skin” subjected to a lifting, but, as in a human body, not capable of separate existence. That is why a new heart has to be implanted. Yet, while a human being remains him-/herself after such an operation, a building changes its identity.\textsuperscript{38}

This process occurs inevitably, but it can stop at a certain point. There is one more essential question: does the creation of such places as Manufaktura, a historical and civilizational hybrid, make any sense? In the case of the complex as important for the history and architectural landscape of the whole city as Poznański’s factory, the answer has to be positive. This is the only way to create a point of reference, a place which characterizes and defines the city. Even if the rehabilitated tissue is only a reminiscence or memory of the former Łódź architecture, it still contributes to the sustaining of its continuity.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 55.
and to the preservation of the city’s identity, which are necessary for its proper functioning and development. Creating the image of Łódź as a modern European city and trying to reconstruct and consolidate its identity is a return to the references from before Communism and an attempt to recreate the positive image of Łódź from before 1939.  

As stated in the New Charter of Athens from 1998, historical legacy is a basic element which defines European culture in comparison with other regions of the world. For most citizens and tourists, the character of the city depends on the quality of its buildings and its urban areas.

1. The marketplace of Manufaktura in Łódź, photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim


2. Restored buildings of Izrael Poznański’s former industrial complex, photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim

3. The lobby of the four-star Andel’s Hotel Łódź, photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim
TRANSFORMACJE I REDEFINICJE – ARCHITEKTURA I TOŻSAMOŚĆ MIEJSCA
(streszczenie)


Słowa klucze: tożsamość, hybrydyzacja, architektura, transformacja, Łódź, rewitalizacja.