

PIOTR MARCINIAK

ORCID: 0000-0002-4404-1184

Poznan University of Technology, Poland

# RECONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION. TRUTH AND MYTH IN HISTORIC MONUMENT CONSERVATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

## REKONSTRUKCJE I ODBUDOWY. PRAWDA I MIT W POWOJENNEJ KONSERWACJI ZABYTKÓW

### Abstract

The concept of truth and authenticity of matter is a key issue in the preservation of cultural heritage. The complexity and diversity of conservation requires precise terms to describe historic substance. The doctrine of historical reconstruction presented by Jan Zachwatowicz, the reconstruction and restoration of Polish towns, and the work of the Polish School of Conservation in Poland and abroad, have caused numerous dilemmas regarding truth in its traditional meaning. The paper offers a new definition of authenticity based on a phenomenological approach. Thus understood, truth is not so much about the agreement between the original and reality, but rather about its intentionality and the ability to understand the real nature of things.

*Keywords: city, reconstruction, architecture, authenticity, truth, myth*

### Streszczenie

Pojęcie prawdy i autentyczności materii jest jednym z kluczowych zagadnień w ochronie dziedzictwa kulturowego. Złożoność i różnorodność problematyki konserwatorskiej wymaga precyzyjnych używanych określeń w odniesieniu do zabytkowej substancji. Doktryna rekonstrukcji historycznej zaprezentowana przez Jana Zachwatowicza, a także działalność polskiej szkoły konserwacji przyniosły wiele dylematów związanych z omawianymi zagadnieniami. Odbudowa polskich miast, a także działalność polskich konserwatorów poza granicami kraju przyniosły wiele dylematów związanych z prawdą w jej historycznym rozumieniu. W tekście przedstawiono nową definicję autentyczności, opartą na ujęciu fenomenologicznym. Prawda w tym ujęciu to nie tyle absolutna zgodność oryginału z rzeczywistością, ale bardziej jej intencjonalność i zdolność odczytywania prawdziwej natury rzeczy.

*Słowa kluczowe: miasto, odbudowa, architektura, autentyczność, prawda, fałsz*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of truth and authenticity of matter is a key issue in the preservation of cultural heritage. The complexity and diversity of conservation requires precise terms and consideration of the level of its truthfulness. One of the basic indicators of the relevant terminology and description is the authenticity of historic substance. In standard terms, the degree of its preservation qualifies the undertaken work as conservation or restoration (including

reconstruction) or non-conservation work. The latter includes new features that did not exist before the work was initiated, which may display traits of reconstruction or anastylosis. Non-conservation also includes architectural creation based on historic form, for example retroversion and retrospective creation, or entirely contemporary form, for example adaptation, redevelopment, or expansion.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the abovementioned methods were used in the process of rebuilding towns and broadly understood conservation of historic monuments after World War II. They were used in Poland and abroad under the so-called Polish School of Conservation. For many years, there have been doubts as to their authenticity and degree of correspondence to the original methods in the context of reconstructing the cities that were destroyed during the war. Reconstruction was one of the principal conservation goals in the 1940s and 1950s in Poland, given that in many cities (e.g. in Warsaw, Wrocław, Gdańsk and Poznań) the scale of damage reached around 95% of the tangible substance. One of the most ambitious plans was to fully rebuild historic districts, motivated equally by emotional and political considerations, as well as practical residential needs.

In 1946, architect and heritage conservator Jan Zachwatowicz published a text entitled *Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków* (Programme and principles for the conservation of historic monuments), where he wrote about the intentions of the new conservation projects:

Whole pages of our history wrote in stone by architecture were torn out with premeditation [...] The issue of architectural heritage is a basic social matter, a matter of the nation's culture. In this regard, we cannot use a unilaterally abstract theory. We must take into account the needs of today.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently, purpose and pragmatism became key not only in the conservation domain, but also in ethical and moral terms.

Does the conservation doctrine of the period and the superior role of authentic historic substance really explain how Polish cities were reconstructed and redeveloped? Why was it accepted in terms of authenticity and social significance? Were these works authentic and true? One can ask in the words of Pilate: *Quid est veritas?*<sup>3</sup>

## 2. TRUTH AS A PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT

Truth is one of the basic philosophical categories in the area of cognition theory. It is also a problem of the practical activity of historic monument conservation. The opposites 'true' and 'false' have different contexts and areas of meaning. The philosophic understanding of the terms refers to statements or judgments that are regarded as their authentic characteristic.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf.: *Schemat działań konserwatorskich w architekturze* [in:] E. Małachowicz, *Konserwacja i rewitalizacja architektury w środowisku kulturowym*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, Wrocław 2007, pp. 93–94.

<sup>2</sup> J. Zachwatowicz, *Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków*, Biuletyn Historji Sztuki i Kultury, 1946, no. 1/2., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cóż to jest prawda?' Jan 18:38. *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, Pallotinum, Poznań 1990.

<sup>4</sup> M. Przełęcki, *Prawda*, *Filozofia Nauki*, 1993, vol. 1, no. 2–3, pp. 389–390.

The oldest concept of truth is outlined in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, where the true statement is a statement (judgment) that is in agreement with reality.<sup>5</sup> This definition, which refers to the concept of objectivity, is the most classical, but has, nonetheless, been the subject of numerous attacks and criticisms.<sup>6</sup>

Aristotle's concept was expanded in scholastic terms by Thomas Aquinas, who defined truth as *adequatio rei et intellectus* (truth is the correspondence of the thing and the intellect). In this most cohesive, Thomistic view, truth, together with unity, goodness, and so forth, is seen as 'transcendental' and its conception as interchangeable with being.<sup>7</sup> However, in his famous work *Questiones de veritate*, Thomas also mentioned another definition of truth, which is understood as *manifestatio*, or unveiling (revelation). This definition comes from Saint Augustine and from Hilary of Poitiers. Their writings point to a view that truth refers directly to a revealed being in what it is and the fact that it is. The cognising subject approaches the thing wanting to, if one may say so, 'unite' with it in the intention of pure reference. Truth, in this case, is not brought down to trial, but is the original, non-biased recognition of the thing. The only condition a subject must meet is openness.<sup>8</sup>

Architectural and conservation work also requires a definition of truth understood as and referring to a spatial object. Of particular interest, in the context of preserving and understanding a historic monument, is the objective concept of truth seen as a value in phenomenological terms. Martin Heidegger arbitrarily defined truth as 'Being-uncovering'.

His work *Being and Time* suggests that 'Being-true' ('truth') means 'Being-uncovering [entdeckend-sein]'.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, 'truth has by no means the structure of an agreement between knowing and the object in the sense of a likening of one entity (the subject) to another (the Object)'.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, Heidegger did emphasise that his concept did not undermine or invalidate the traditional definition. He believed that every statement of 'being-uncovering' determined a possible 'relationship of agreement', which was traditionally (since Aristotle) connected to the essence of truth, whereas the very presumption of a given thing had its real rationale in its source. With a certain attitude of openness, the actual reception of a statement transferred itself into being-uncovering aiming towards the being in question (during the reception of the statement).<sup>11</sup>

This type of intentionality seems to be a very important feature of truth: a very useful one in terms of heritage preservation and the authenticity of matter.

### 3. DOCTRINE OF HISTORIC RECONSTRUCTION

In 1945, at the National Conference of Art Historians, Zachwatowicz presented a detailed doctrine for historical reconstruction, saying:

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<sup>5</sup> 'To say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that it is, is false, or of what is that it is, or of what is not that it is not, is true'. Aristoteles, *Metafizyka*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2009.

<sup>6</sup> From the point of view of pragmatism and purpose in architecture, it is particularly interesting to note the relativization of truth in Richard Rorty's pragmatism-solidarity. Cf.: R. Rorty, *Obiektywność, relatywizm i prawda*, Fundacja Aletheia, Warszawa 1999.

<sup>7</sup> W. Stróżewski, *Tak-tak, nie-nie (kilka uwag o prawdzie)*, Instytut Jana Pawła II, Lublin 1988.

<sup>8</sup> After: *ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> M. Heidegger, *Bycie i czas*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1994, p. 309.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 297.

<sup>11</sup> R. Rożdżeński, *Zagadnienie istoty prawdy w rozprawie Martina Heideggera Bycie i czas*, Logos i Ethos, 2014, no. 1 (36), p. 160.

As we cannot accept that our cultural monuments have been forcibly torn from us, we will reconstruct them. We will rebuild them from the foundations to pass on to the future generations, if not in the authentic, then at least in the exact form of these monuments that still lives in memory and is accessible in the materials. [...] Our sense of responsibility towards the future generations demands the restoration of what has been destroyed, a full reconstruction aware of the tragedy of the committed conservation fraud [emphasis added].<sup>12</sup>

Zachwatowicz formulated two main principles concerning the preservation of historic heritage. According to the first, the primary demand and criterion was the need to preserve the characteristic features of Polish culture. In order to prevent the distortion or corruption of these features, it was necessary to extend the conservation framework not only to the most valuable monuments, but also in some instances, to seemingly less valuable and strongly damaged ones. This also determined the scope and priorities of conservation, restoration and even reconstruction of works of art and monuments of the past. The criteria that determined the priority and method of conservation were based on artistic and historical value.<sup>13</sup> The second principle of the Polish approach to conservation formulated by Zachwatowicz was the organic integration of monuments of the past into contemporary life. Within the scope of architectural, technical and economic problems, as well as broadly understood landscaping and town planning issues, '[t]he values of the cultural past must not only be respected, but also used to meet the needs and undertakings of today, as a natural element of modern culture and modern life'.<sup>14</sup> In practice, this meant that the preserved buildings were given new functions, as required by the social and economic needs of the time.

In the face of the deliberate massive destruction of the Polish cultural heritage by the Nazis, and by the Soviet army in the Recovered Territories, the previously applied conservation criterion of authenticity lost its significance. The loss of many invaluable monuments, the destruction of Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań and 250 other cities in the Recovered Territories, made their reconstruction not only a conservation issue, but also an important social, economic, and political priority.

The subsequent reconstruction was based on the conservation doctrine formulated by Zachwatowicz in the aforementioned conservation programme of 1949, where he postulated a departure from pure concepts towards restoration and reconstruction of the destroyed monuments.<sup>15</sup>

In the doctrinal sense, Zachwatowicz referenced Alfred Lauterbach, in particular his texts from the 1930s, where he emphasised the necessary conservation and restoration of architectural heritage after the Great War of 1914–1918. According to Zachwatowicz, the reference to Lauterbach was the only possible measure to counteract the tragic threat towards not only Poland's cultural attainment, but also to its national existence.<sup>16</sup> One of the typical traits of the 'Polish School' was the close integration of planning, architectural and conservation issues, as well as 'the treatment of historical urban complexes as living elements of the modern city'.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> J. Zachwatowicz, *Program...*, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>13</sup> J. Zachwatowicz, *Udział Państwa w opiece nad pomnikami kultury*, *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1948, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, por. W. Kalinowski (ed.), *Zabytki urbanistyki i architektury w Polsce. Odbudowa i konserwacja*, vol. 1, *Miasta historyczne*, Arkady, Warszawa 1986.

<sup>15</sup> The author has discussed these issues in: P. Marciniak, *Konteksty i modernizacje. Studia z dziejów architektury i urbanistyki w PRL*, Wydawnictwo Politechniki Poznańskiej, Poznań 2018, pp. 37–57.

<sup>16</sup> J. Zachwatowicz, *O polskiej szkole odbudowy i konserwacji zabytków*, *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1981, no. 1–2, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

The reconstruction of Polish cities: Warsaw, Gdańsk and Poznań, carried out using methods promoted by Zachwatowicz, prompted international interest. A number of individual projects, for instance the reconstruction of the W-Z Route and the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Cathedral in Wrocław, and the City Hall in Poznań, showcased the functioning of historic monuments in a completely new context.

#### 4. INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION WORK

As noted earlier, the work of the Polish School of Conservation was met with interest on an international level. One of the best-known international projects was the Polish Conservation Mission established by renowned archaeologist Professor Kazimierz Michałowski. The mission operated under a research programme of the Kairo-based Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw. Michałowski made his major discoveries in the area of the former kingdom of Nubia. The excavations were supported by UNESCO and their goal was to protect the historic sites from flooding by the Nile. The threat of sinking numerous archaeological sites and ancient temples was connected to the construction of the Aswan Dam on the Nile and the artificial reservoir known as Lake Nasser, which was to supply water for irrigating fields in Egypt.<sup>18</sup>

In recognition of his merits and extensive research, Michałowski was elected chairman of an international committee of seven experts who oversaw the conservation work at the Temple of Ramses II in Abu Simbel. The unusual undertaking was planned between 1960 and 1963 by experts from the Arabic countries, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom.<sup>19</sup> The final project was implemented in 1964, based on a method proposed by the Egyptian and Swedish teams. The idea was to lift the temple without complicated machinery. This involved cutting it into small blocks that could be moved one by one to the high bank of the Nile, where they would be reassembled facing the same direction and in mutual alignment.<sup>20</sup> As Michałowski commented:

We have always believed that the protection and securing of these monuments [Abu Simbel] should be done 'in situ', without resorting to even the most spectacular, yet extremely risk-involving state-of-the-art measures for separating temples from their natural and historical foundation, which is rock. The experience of recent years, when the problem of conservation and restoration of architecture has become an element of mainstream culture, has taught us that often, despite the best intentions and advanced conservation methods, irreparable damage has, indeed, been caused. We believe that in relation to the unique monuments of the rock temples at Abu Simbel, we must not make any mistake with regard to future generations for whom we must preserve these monuments.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ł. Kościółek, *Z Tarnopola do Faras. Życie i działalność naukowa prof. Kazimierza Michałowskiego*, [in:] J.C. Kałużny (ed.), *Starożytność chrześcijańska. Materiały zebrane*, vol. 4, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, Kraków 2016, p. 202.

<sup>19</sup> L.M. Dąbrowski, *Międzynarodowa akcja zabezpieczenia zabytków w Abu Simbel*, *Ochrona Zabytków* 1965, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> K. Michałowski, *Introduction* [in:] Dąbrowski Ł. (ed.), *Project for the protection of Abu Simbel Temples*, vol. 1, Scientific Society of Civil Engineering Experts in Poland, Warszawa 1962, pp. 1–2.

The intentionality of this approach outweighed the doctrinal paradigm and pointed towards a different view of truth and falsehood of the reconstruction rationalised by the unique value of the preserved site.

Abu Simbel is one of the most spectacular examples of Michałowski's conservation work, and it is hard to ignore the connection with the doctrine previously applied in Poland aiming to preserve major monuments of culture. In this case, however, the doctrine applied to Ancient Egypt, and Michałowski's motivation does not seem one-sided. Apart from their ethical dimension, such projects existed in a political context whereby they formed an 'iron curtain' between the western and eastern spheres of influence in the Middle East. One cannot discount the fact that the Aswan High Dam was built from Soviet funds and was inaugurated in 1964 by Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev and President of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser. This was a clear sign of the friendship between the Soviet Union and Egypt and of the shift of Soviet influence to the African continent.<sup>22</sup> Hence the important role of UNESCO and the participation of experts from many other countries, including Poland, which aimed to create a balance between the involvement of the Eastern and Western Blocs.

## 5. RECEPTION OF THE POLISH SCHOOL OF CONSERVATION

The work of Polish conservators has been described in literature as the 'Polish School of Conservation of Historic Monuments and Sites', and its achievements are still referenced today. Nonetheless, the restoration activities and methods adopted in Poland received mixed reviews from various circles. Some of these were quite critical, and the term 'Polish School' was used in a pejorative sense.<sup>23</sup> Despite this, there was also a considerable number of positive responses concerning its principles, for instance that of Professor Roberto Pane,<sup>24</sup> as well as those which took note of the political context, as did Professor Walter Frodl, an expert in conservation theory. According to Frodl, 'after 1945, the rebuilding of Polish cities and, above all, the capital city of Warsaw, was a strictly political task. The reconstruction of the historic environment gave a nation threatened with extinction a visible and tangible national past'.<sup>25</sup> Even Zachwatowicz believed that the Polish situation was only a 'temporary' departure from the prevailing conservation doctrine. His stance was further confirmed in the Venice Charter.<sup>26</sup>

The Polish experience was, nonetheless carefully observed, as evidenced by the subsequent reconstruction of historic monuments and sites in Italy, Germany and France. For example, the new war-forced doctrine provided the basis for the reconstruction of the historic form of Saint-Malo, a city on the English Channel destroyed during the Allied operations in

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<sup>22</sup> L. Allais, *Integrities: The Salvage of Abu Simbel*, Grey Room, 2013, no. 50, pp. 11–12.

<sup>23</sup> G. Torsten, "Zum Wiederaufbau von Warschau." *On the Reconstruction of Warsaw*, Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege, 1958, no. 16, p. 79.

<sup>24</sup> R. Pane, *Restauro dei monumenti e conservazione dell'ambiente antico* [in:] *Attualità urbanistica del monumento e dell'ambiente antico*, Centro studi della Triennale di Milano, Milano, pp. 10–11.

<sup>25</sup> W. Frodl, *Der Europa, Preis für Denkmalpflege*, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege, 1976, vol. 30, p. 10, quote from: J. Zachwatowicz, *O polskiej szkole...*, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> In fact, Zachwatowicz distanced himself from the doctrine and treated the post-war recovery work as an exception to the principles of conservation. See: *ibidem*, p. 9.

1944.<sup>27</sup> The significance of Polish accomplishments was emphasised during a debate on the heritage preservation law in 1962 by the French Parliament, during which André Malraux said: 'Even with the best intentions in mind, let us not destroy the old streets of Avignon when Poland is rebuilding, stone by stone, the oldest square in Warsaw'.<sup>28</sup>

Starting in the late 1940s, the doctrinal theory and practical achievements of the Polish conservation philosophy (treated in part as propaganda) were presented at international conservation exhibitions and conferences.<sup>29</sup> The most important of these took place in 1964 in Venice, where Zachwatowicz actively contributed to the aforementioned Venice Charter, which set out new trends in monument conservation.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, international experts and researchers visited Poland to see the accomplishments of the Polish conservation circles. Among them was Professor Birchler from Switzerland and Professor Geoffrey Webb of the British Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

Looking for references to truth and its definitions, one cannot ignore the connection between the reconstruction and conservation concepts and politics. The attitude of the contemporary authorities could, in part, be explained by Zachwatowicz's aforementioned dramatic appeal 'to save the characteristic features of Polish culture'. The rebuilding of cities was an effort to preserve as many authentic elements as possible, to reconstruct the missing pieces, and to provide a new function to the finished projects, to satisfy both practical and ideological demands.

The new political ideology inevitably led to the disassembly of the still new pre-war avant-garde approach to town planning. By taking on the investor role, the state took control of the entire system of town planning where public patronage refocused not only on public institutions, museums, and historic buildings, but also on the entire urban space, including its purpose and function. Subsequently, the work of Polish conservators went on to become a technical accomplishment, whilst playing an ideological role in the new political doctrine.

The conversion of many old town areas into residential districts was a political undertaking and was intended to add a 'working-class' feature to historically developed city centres. Indeed, in Poznań, Warsaw and Wrocław, one of the priorities was to convert the old market squares and old town areas into residential neighbourhoods, as opposed to earlier plans of creating 'cultural districts'. Consequently, historic truth was merely a reference to intent in the implementation of the political vision.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The loss of many invaluable monuments and sites, the destruction of Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań and 250 other cities in the Recovered Territories made their reconstruction not only a conservation issue, but also a social, economic, and political priority. The meticulous reconstruction of Polish cities became a manifestation of continuity and a symbol of historic heritage. During the post-war period, it expressed an attachment to traditional town planning and architectural landscapes rooted in the past. Even later, these past activities of Polish conservators were

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> J. Zachwatowicz, *Ochrona zabytków w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Polonia, Warszawa 1965, p. 143.

<sup>29</sup> The Polish School of Conservation is also the subject of T. Jakimowicz's text *Polska Szkoła Konserwatorska – mit i rzeczywistość* in *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. 38, no. 3–4.

<sup>30</sup> J. Zachwatowicz, *Ochrona zabytków, op. cit.*, pp. 139–145.

perceived in different ways. In some cases, they were seen as kitsch, and as a romantic illusion in others. According to Gregory Ashworth, the Polish School of Conservation was part of the trend of restoring and reconstructing lost heritage, next to the restored Stoa in Athens, the historic Venetian-styled palace at Disney World, and the Parthenon replica in Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, Charles Jencks in *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* regarded the reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw as a symbol of Poland's restoration, and included it in the postmodern narrative of direct revivalism.<sup>32</sup>



- Ill. 1. Street vendor in the ruins of Warsaw. Source: PAP/ National Digital Archives  
 Ill. 2. War damage in Głównie Miasto in Gdańsk with a view of Mariacki Church. Source: Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk  
 Ill. 3. Jan Zachwatowicz. Source: PAP/ National Digital Archives  
 Ill. 4. War damage in Stary Rynek in Poznań. Phot. Z. Zielonacki. Source: Archiwum Wydawnictwa Poznańskiego

<sup>31</sup> G.J. Ashworth, *Conservation as Preservation or as Heritage: Two Paradigms and Two Answers*, Built Environment, 1997, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 97–98.

<sup>32</sup> C. Jencks, *Architektura postmodernistyczna*, Wydawnictwo Arkady, Warszawa 1987, p. 94 [*The language of post-modern architecture*, Academy Editions, London 1978].



It should be noted that the subsequent second wave of ‘postmodern’ reconstruction in the 1970s and 1980s showed a different approach to the problem of authenticity and understanding of truth in conservation. The projects alluded to former urban layouts (in towns like Szczecin, Elbląg, Głogów and Lubin in the Recovered Territories) and replaced these with new forms that were, quite often, a pastiche of historic architecture. The rationale for the first wave of reconstruction and restoration was the massive scale of war damage, whereas the second may provoke serious doubts of an ethical nature. Both lead to questions about the myth and the limits of truth in heritage preservation and conservation of historical monuments.

In this respect, it is helpful to refer to another understanding of authenticity. Truth, in phenomenological terms, is not so much about the absolute agreement between the original and reality, but rather about its intentionality and the ability to understand the true nature of things. It is also the ability to understand the original intention and the ‘being-discovering’ of reality. It is not so much about relativising the agreement of judgments and statements, but rather about emphatically reaching the essence of the original thing, or in other words, the true thing. Truth is the agreement of spirit and matter, which in the intention of creators is the measure of its truthfulness.



- III. 5. Kazimierz Michałowski in the National Museum in Warsaw. Phot. Harry Weinberg. Source: Wikimedia Commons
- III. 6. Abu Simbel. Assembly of the Great Temple after its transfer, 1967. Source: Wikimedia Commons
- III. 7. Warsaw. Plac Zamkowy and King Sigismund's Column. Phot. W. Echeński, Biblioteka UMK
- III. 8. Stary Rynek and City Hall in Poznań after reconstruction. Phot. David Castor. Source: Wikimedia Commons

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**Author's Note:****Piotr Marciniak, Prof. D.Sc. Ph.D. Arch.**

Architect, urban planner and architecture historian. He is a Professor at the Architecture Faculty of the Poznań University of Technology. Author of a number of buildings and urban complexes. His research interests include the modern architecture of Central-Eastern Europe as well as the cultural heritage, architecture of national and ethnic minorities and theory of architecture. He is the author of about 140 articles and several books, e.g. *Doświadczenia modernizmu. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w czasach PRL* (The Experience of Modernism. Architecture and Urban Planning in Poznan during the People's Republic of Poland, 2010) and *Konteksty i modernizacje. Studia z dziejów architektury i urbanistyki w PRL* (Contexts and modernizations. Studies in the history of architecture and urban planning in the People's Republic of Poland, 2018).

piotr.marciniak@put.poznan.pl