MEDIEVAL SOCIALIST ARTEFACTS:
ARCHITECTURE AND DISCOURSES OF NATIONAL
IDENTITY IN PROVINCIAL POLAND, 1945–1960

José M. Faraldo

Many things allow us to recognize that the Poles have a greater and fuller affinity
with the Poznań Land than the Germans, even today. It is interesting, for example,
with what confidence Polish architects, in contrast to their German counterparts,
incorporate historical and regional characteristics in their designs.

Moritz Jaffé

The Archive of the Town Curator of Monuments in the Polish city Poznań contains
material about streets, monuments, Old Town Square, the cathedral, and other
valuable constructions there. A folder labeled Nowy Ratusz (New Town Hall)
attracted my attention, because I knew nothing about such a building. The folder
contained photographs of a large neo-Gothic building. It looked like a typical
Prussian public building, similar to hundreds of other postal, school, and government
offices throughout the Prussian/German state. But what of this building? Had it been
another casualty of the Second World War? The postwar images showed, that
although seriously damaged, the building still stood in the ruins of the Old Town
Square.

This building no longer stood on the square, but what had been constructed in its
place? Another folder [labeled “Waga Miejska” (Town Scale)] provided the solution
to the riddle. This folder contained a series of pictures of the construction of the
Town Scale, a building I had often seen while walking near the Renaissance-style
Town Hall, the pearl of Poznań architecture. The Town Scale, which was constructed
in medieval style, was completed only in the early 1960s, according to the com-
memorative plaque on one wall (see Figure 1).

The folder, however, contained another photograph showing a slightly different
Town Scale with the notation “pre-1890.” It appeared that the old Town Scale had
been demolished sometime after that date. Thus, there was both an Old Town Scale
and a New Town Scale and between them, a New Town Hall. There was, however,
no mention of the New Town Hall, which had stood on the square for more than half
a century, in any of my town guides.

ISSN 0090-5992 print; ISSN 1465-3923 online/01/040605-28 © 2001 Association for the Study of Nationalities
DOI: 10.1080/00905990120102110
Poznań and the Polish National Myth

Poznań/Posen is a city in western Poland with a special historical meaning.² The largest city in the Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) region, it is close to Gniezno, the symbolic first capital of the Polish state. In the usual Polish understanding of the history of the country, it is described as an important medieval town, which in the time of the partitions came under Prussian rule but stood like a fortress of Polish national feelings until the final revolt in 1918–1919 and the restoration of independent Poland.³ So, if we accept this interpretation, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck’s politics of Kulturkampf aimed at germanizing the large Polish population in the former Polish territories.⁴ The residents of Poznań are said to have raised ferocious resistance to these measures. The mythology of this resistance remained alive in the nationalistic element of its Polish inhabitants. This nationalistic activity wrote on the space of city symbols like the monument to Adam Mickiewicz, Poland’s national poet, that was put up in 1859.⁵ It is the first Mickiewicz monument in the Polish Lands.

606
MEDITIVAL SOCIALIST ARTEFACTS

In fact, not only the Poles left their mark on the landscape. As a representation of his power, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II constructed a new castle, in a sort of neo-
Romanesque style which tried to represent proof of German dominion over the East. Between 1904 and 1916 a group of buildings (post, banks, Academy, Colonization Office, etc.) was built, which, together with the Kaiser's Castle, formed a new monumental quarter as Poznań's very entrance. For some Poles, the Kaiser's Quarter was an unwelcome sign of Prussian domination and the architecture and style of its components presented an unpleasant view.6

After the independence of Poland in 1918, Poznań became an important provincial capital, although the country's main weight lay on its east central side, from Warsaw and Łódź to Cracow, Lwów, and Vilnius. Between the world wars, Poznań was both a fortress of National Democracy—a right-wing Polish movement which evolved into a radical nationalist party—and a town that represented a view toward the West, a bridge between the modern countries of northwestern Europe and the Eastern European states.7

Now a Polish city, interwar Poznań, like much of the rest of the country, still had a significant German and Jewish population. Before 1945, Poland was a multinational state with numerous ethnic minorities and concomitant nationalistic conflicts.8

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 brought Poznań again into German hands. Considered originally German by the Nazis, Poznań and its surroundings were annexed to the Reich, and steps were taken to reduce Polish influence and to remodel the town in a German—really a Nazi—manner.9 The Nazi planners' conception of a German Posen/Poznań was, judging from the plans and models, a monumental neoclassical town, with attics, columns, and great open spaces, not very different from Albert Speer's designs for Berlin.10 However, these plans were finally not executed. Their most important practical consequences were the reorganization of the Kaiser's Castle as an occasional home for Hitler and the expulsion of thousands of Poles into the General Government.

A New Beginning

Following a month of fighting, Poznań's Citadel was liberated on 23 February 1945, and the last Nazi resistance in the town destroyed, while the Red Army advanced on Berlin. The remaining inhabitants of Poznań could try to get on with their lives, reconstructing their houses and streets, and organizing the local economy after long years of war and occupation.11

In a sense, Poznań could be considered a symbolic representation of the whole country as well as a good image for the future Poland. The same processes that were occurring elsewhere in Central Europe also took place in the newly liberated city, like fractals that could be repeated again and again along the chain of magnitude from small village to large state. The bayonets of the Soviet troops bringing a new political order, the new power ruling a country greatly changed by war and its after-
muth, ethnic cleansing and large-scale migration, the creation of a new social, economic, and national project, and the reconstruction of the economy and the material buildings themselves were all part of this project.12

The political and social tendencies of Europe at that time were directed toward the recovery of democracy in the sense of traditional socialism, maybe because the U.S.S.R. had shown that a communist-ruled country could become a new great power, capable of defeating fascism. The war led to greater state intervention in the economy and reinforced this perception, not only in the countries liberated by the Red Army but also in the United Kingdom and France. Hence, the concept of democracy was bound to both socialism and statism, at least in the immediate postwar period.

The Polish case was no exception. The reorganization of the economy and the material reconstruction of the country were attached to the particular creation of a new view of the national and social future of the nation and to a new rewriting of its history.13 The form of such creation was the growing centralization of the whole country in the hands of a formally revolutionary party, which took on itself the duty of modernizing society and the economy.

To modernize the country, even in the peculiar sense that the new Poland’s rulers wanted, and because the pre-war Poland failed to become a national state, meant to begin a process of nation building.14 During the interwar period, Poland had been a primarily agrarian country, formed of territories from three defunct empires at very different levels of development, inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups, who spoke a babel of languages and had multiple self-identities and attitudes toward the state. In the postwar era, most of the minorities—although not all—were gone and the Soviet model of development seemed, to most communists, the way to overcome backwardness.15 The urbanization and industrialization processes could be connected to the shape of a nation, a powerful state—like the U.S.S.R.—that neither could be defeated on the battlefield nor would suffer from nationalities problems as the Second Polish Republic had.

Polish communists’ nationalism was more than a rhetoric, a political tactic,16 and a contamination of right thinkers.17 It was an assumed correction of the errors of the interwar period (when the Polish Communist Party failed to manage Polish nationalism) and a resultant of the ethnification of wartime.18 Their nationalism evolved in a context of building a sort of welfare state and of systematic modernization and development of the country. Nevertheless such a welfare state was intended not only as a first step in the shaping of a communist world but also as a means to preserve the communists’ power by satisfying people’s hopes and demands. The modernization was achieved, however, employing the Stalinist model of rapid industrialization and (partially) the brutal collectivization of agriculture.

Poland’s new borders produced a special situation: millions of people from the former eastern Polish lands (kresy) had to move to the new western regions, the former German territories.19 The integration of newcomers from diverse parts of the
old Poland—many without national self-identification, speaking languages other than Polish, with varied habits and traditions—into a modern unified nation was a task that the communist government consciously assumed. This included a thoroughgoing process of “repolonization” (really polonization) of the remaining Germanness (the so-called “autochtoni”) of the Lemkos, and the Ukrainians and also the Slovaks in Spisz and Orawa. The process of polonization was well planned and systematically executed. Schools, the mass media, and even the Roman Catholic Church were consciously used to achieve this objective. The new rulers stressed the forming of a “jedność Polski naród” (homogeneous Polish people). Although the means to achieve this were not the same and its effects were diverse, the Gesamtkunstwerk of the new nation was performed in the whole territory of the new state by old inhabitants, new settlers, minorities and re-emigrants.

This complex process caused the rulers to create a new and specific national self-image. In constructing an image of the new nation, they had the choice of incorporating cultural traditions that could fit into their project or of shaping a completely new corpus of images. A peculiar mix of both possibilities was developed along the way of reconstructing the country.

Reconstruction as Mythology

Odbudowa (reconstruction) assumed a special meaning in postwar Poland. All the states that suffered large-scale material damages during the war had “reconstruction” periods, which came into the history books with a more or less heroic and epic flavor. But in Poland, the concept of odbudowa had particularly great significance due to the country’s peculiarities and the form that Nazi occupation had taken. The Nazis had attacked Polish society both in a traditional military sense and in a way that undermined Polish cultural integrity and national self-image.

During the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century an element of the Prussian, then German, academic community—historians, economists, and geographers—had practiced intellectual aggression against the Slavic inhabitants of their state. The rise of a new nationalism founded on allegedly scientific racist theories was united with the new homogenization trend of Prussia on the way to becoming a national state. This culminated in the Nazi designation of Slavs as Untermenschen. This aggression was disguised as Ostforschung and, in general, it tried to prove that the major cultural achievements in Eastern Europe were produced by Germans or German influence. At best, Ostforschung could be accused of merely exaggerating trends or supposing unacceptable extrapolation of contemporary categories to past times. The worst cases show a half-paranoid model of denigration of the Poles and the attribution of every important material or spiritual accomplishment in Poland to ethnic German values. In the fields of architecture and the arts, this tendency produced—among other things—the concept of Deutsche Kolonialkunst (German Colonial Art), which supposedly evolved in towns situated in
ethnic or historic Poland but was the work of German colonists.\textsuperscript{31}

The terrible consequences of this theoretical concern are well known: Nazi ideology became reality during the Second World War. The Polish intelligentsia was decimated; universities and education in general for Poles were prohibited. The Nazis expelled and resettled large numbers of people, tried to repopulate and to germanize a great part of their former Polish territories, plundered cultural and artistic objects, destroyed symbolically important buildings and monuments and sought to change the landscape into a more German one.\textsuperscript{32}

There were a great variety of plans for Poznań, including a total remodeling of the Old Town in the typical Nazi German national style.\textsuperscript{33} Poznań’s Oberbürgermeister in 1940 stressed the necessity of transforming the regional Capital Town into a genuine German landscape, instead of its actual stage as a faceless and devastated landscape.\textsuperscript{34}

The major symbolic event, however, was the devastation of Warsaw, especially toward the end of the war. Poles perceived the well-planned destruction of the King’s Castle, the Old Town, and the cathedral as an attack on Polish identity with the intent to annihilate the Poles’ historical existence.\textsuperscript{35}

Thus, the conception of \textit{odbudowa} acquired a double significance: on the one hand, it expressed the postwar imperatives of reconstructing and reorganizing the ruined economy and the materially desolated land.\textsuperscript{36} This process was increasingly connected to communist domination and after 1948 transmuted into a “socialist reconstruction,” which adopted the Stalinist model of economic modernization.\textsuperscript{37}

Reconstruction also constituted a reaction against the vandalism of the Nazis and their attempt to eliminate representative elements of Polish history and culture.\textsuperscript{38} This nationalist rebuttal assumed the form of an integral rebuilding of the damaged monuments and, more importantly, also of whole residential areas and districts with historical or sentimental value, even if their artistic or architectonic merit was limited.

The resistance to the cited conception of reconstruction had no real effect.\textsuperscript{39} Ksawery Piwocki’s and Kazimierz Wyka’s articles opposing reconstruction initiated no real discussion.\textsuperscript{40} Other efforts too were unsuccessful. In a paper for the Ministry of Information and Propaganda, the National Curator, Jan Zachwatowicz, a convinced supporter of the official line, addressed three principal possibilities.\textsuperscript{41} The first was \textit{resignation}: to demolish the ruins and put up completely new buildings, which, in Zachwatowicz’s opinion, would be a continuation of the task the Germans had began: the destruction “of everything that supposes a document of the national past.” The second was \textit{martyrology applied to the city}: the field of ruins was to remain as a monument of history and “a memorial of the savagery of German barbarism.” The curator opposed this because nature would destroy the ruins, leaving no trace of either the monuments or the German crimes. The last possibility was \textit{odbudowa}: the “reconstruction” of “all important elements crucial to the silhouette and the atmosphere of streets and squares.” It combined sentimental melancholy and
nostalgia for the well-known buildings, streets, and alleys, with the new mission of the—renovated—Old Town as “a living member of the Capital.”

Zachwatowicz tried to find a solution to criticism by some experts who branded the reconstruction—in historical form—as fraudulent imitation. The National Curator found scientific arguments unsatisfactory. He considered the political necessity of keeping the lost “cards of our history” and opposing the German attack on Polish culture more important. He wrote that “in these conditions there is no place for pure conservatory criteria.”

As Marta Leśniakowska has noted, the program of reconstruction gave to Polish art and architectural historians a unique chance to shape a new reality. But it also supposed a “pure political act,” connected to the new government’s necessity of (re)creating a new nation, a modernized nation that, nevertheless, could maintain a historical legitimation.

So odbudowa came to be not only an economic premise but a requirement of the new national configuration and of the new national self-identity. Initially, this idea presented was chaotic. With the establishment of the socialist—Stalinist—state, the original sentimental and nationalist conception became linked to the rising socio-political model in the shape of socialist realism. The recreation of the old Polish architecture—in historical, not in pre-war forms—fitted perfectly the slogan national in form, socialist in content.

The Reconstruction in Poznań

According to historian Henryk Kondziela, Poznań’s former curator, the reconstruction of the town began even before fighting on the streets had finished. The first works were aimed at preparing the basic conditions for the smooth running of the city after the war and providing the necessities of everyday life.

Today, it is difficult to establish Poznań’s real degree of postwar damage. As in Warsaw, the propaganda concerning war reparations and the need for more credit from the government, could be reasons to overstate the reports. A recent analysis, focusing on Warsaw, may inadvertently contribute to proving this view.

However, judging from the figures of damaged buildings at our disposition, Poznań’s postwar situation was very difficult. Zbigniew Zieliński (1907–1968) was an engineer and architect from Poznań. Before the war he had worked as an urban planner; after 1945 he became director of planning and development in the city’s municipal government. Later, he acted as a consultant for the Bureau for Urban Planning. In 1945 Zieliński estimated the damage as including 4,737 residential buildings, as well as 577 with economic uses, 272 trade and industrial buildings, and 246 public facilities. Kondziela writes that altogether 55–60% of buildings in Poznań’s Old Square were destroyed or damaged beyond repair. Konstanty Kalinowski estimated the destruction of the Old Square at around 45%.

Although reconstructing the town seemed a complex and laborious task which
could not be improvised, at the same time the haste of the moment compelled immediate action. It was necessary to remove rubble from the streets, to make the trams run again, to re-establish communications, telephone, gas, and electricity; and to repair housing and offices. Initially, work on these tasks was voluntary, anarchic, and driven by necessity.

Day by day the new political power assumed increasing responsibility. The communist government in Lublin had sent plenipotentiaries, who tried to control the situation in what they considered the right way. Even the process of reconstruction was coming to terms with the new power. As in Warsaw, a special bureau took over central control and added a particular political connotation. The Poznań Reconstruction Board (P.D.O., Poznańska Dyrekcja Odbudowy) created in October 1945 was the equivalent to the Bureau for Reconstruction of the Capital Town (Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy). A report from June 1945 signed by the director of the Municipal Department of Construction claims the responsibility for setting up a centralized institution for the reconstruction. A letter from the architect Jan Cieśliński (then Poznań’s vice-mayor) to the Minister of Reconstruction in Warsaw mentions a meeting in July between them to talk about the issue. A document of 12 October 1945 from the same ministry gave permission to Cieśliński to organize and direct the P.D.O., which it seems he had already begun to do. Cieśliński (1899–1967), born in Poznań, acted as one of the first organizers of the odbudowa, and was Poznań’s vice-mayor for construction issues and first director of the P.D.O. He later worked at Miastoprojekt, and collaborated on planning the reconstruction of the Poznań city center.

In its first year, the P.D.O.’s main role was “the construction, reconstruction and enlargement of state buildings. By demand of the Municipal Government, also municipal buildings.” In fact, it assumed wide functions of reconstruction, initially often without coordination with other local and regional organizations. The P.D.O. was liquidated in May 1950, probably coinciding with the new centralization process, which affected the whole state administration.

Depending directly on the Ministry of Reconstruction, the P.D.O. also constituted a means for the new state power to penetrate life at the local (town) level. The same concept of reconstruction for the state and for the capital city would be repeated in Poznań, as an intent—conscious or not—to coordinate the new national image with the micro-reality. What is more, everyday activities could also be used to indoctrinate P.D.O. workers, giving them opportunities to learn new forms of ritual in their lives. Hence, although the P.D.O. from the beginning had participated as an organized institution in official celebrations like May Day or its own P.D.O. anniversary, the number of political festivities was increasing with time, to include such commemorations as Stalin’s 70th birthday or the annual commemoration of the Russian Revolution.

Relating to the form of odbudowa, the P.D.O. exhibited the same process of discussion, on a minor scale, that was taking place in Warsaw, at all-Polish levels.
The disputes over the correct way to reconstruct the town and to decide what to do with the more or less destroyed monuments seem to be similar. Possibly, because of Poznań’s smaller size, the situation appeared more concrete, with controversies revolving around particular buildings.

**Destruction and Reconstruction**

In the report of 8 August 1945, Zbigniew Zieliński offered a comprehensive view of the situation in Poznań. After a brief description of the pre-war city—whose representative forums and squares were, in his view, not completely of Polish character—he criticized German urban development during the occupation, recounted wartime losses, and tried to show the damage as a well-planned action of the Nazis. Thus, the German churches and “other characteristic German buildings” still stood, whereas Polish churches, the cathedral, and Polish libraries lay in ruins. The impression the town might give would be false because “the German towers, this artificially grafted German verticality, so alien to the Polish spirit, still stand, and, in contrast, there are no Polish buildings and towers.”

Therefore, Zieliński recommended that “one of the first patriotic and aesthetic postulates of urban planning” be the destruction of a number of buildings: German towers, the entire former Kaiser’s Quarter, a school, and “many German churches.” The town’s architectural face should be completely Polish after the reconstruction, without any vestiges of the former German appearance.

Zieliński predicted a brilliant future for Poznań, which had always been the most Polish of the Polish cities. It was destined to be the capital of the Recovered Lands. The engineer commented on Poznań’s urban and economic prospects in an utopian way, but with a discourse free of socialist or communist language. Quite the opposite: petit bourgeois feeling and local patriotism characterized his comments.

The degermanization of Poznań’s silhouette constituted an important topic at the time. The folders of Poznań’s municipal government contain a list of files, probably from the first half of 1945. The list refers to the Department of Reconstruction and shows how important the issue was: it engaged a special section of the Department in the removal of the rest of the Germaness [niemcyzny]. Also, in addition to the reconstruction of the destroyed buildings and the conservation of monuments, one of P.D.O.’s main tasks was the “degermanization of forms.”

After the experience of occupation and war, the psychological urgency of eliminating reminders of that terrible suffering is understandable. In response to a journalist’s query, Jan Ciesliński, the Director of the P.D.O., affirmed that this journalist probably didn’t spend the time of occupation in Poznań and that is why he doesn’t understand what moral support was offered to us to see the Polish monuments, showing tenaciously, despite official propaganda, that Poznań was a Polish town. The emotional reaction to the sufferings of the Second World War can explain people’s attitudes to buildings and presumed symbols of foreign rule, but in
the case of Poznań a slightly different design emerges. Henryk Kondziela writes that the decision on the reconstruction contained—as in Warsaw, Gdańsk, or Wrocław—a strong emotional component. It constituted a protest against the barbaric destruction of the war, which had far-reaching implications for Poznań. The protest was not limited to the last conflict but was also directed against Bismarck’s Kulturkampf and the former Prussian occupation. The character of reconstruction had allegedly been decided not only by specialists (architects and curators) but also by Poznań’s inhabitants and their patriotism.

Since the new face of the town was intended to overcome the heritage of the German past, the architectonic style had to be connected to the older and purer Poland of pre-partition times. If the nationalistic inclinations in art before the war had been focused above all on folk and peasant culture, the new theories employed historical and architectonic styles such as Gothic, Renaissance, or classical. Unquestionably it was not a revival of the historicism of the nineties—neo-Gothic, etc.—but a real reconstruction of how buildings were supposed to have been or, even, should have been.

In an article in Skarpa Warszawska, the magazine about odbudowa published by the Bureau for Reconstruction of the Capital Town (B.O.S.) in Warsaw, Zofia Karczewska-Markiewicz praised the now destroyed Old Town of Poznań. For many generations, through maneuvers of savage germanization, [the Old Town] maintained the Polishness of Poznań. The reconstructed New Old Town would come to be a Medieval Monument with the rebuilt Renaissance Town Hall, cleansed of German additions. She explained that the architects working on Poznań’s future profile were determined to erase the German past and thus the Kaiser’s Castle had to vanish.

The author labeled the castle the “Crusader’s Castle”, thus linking it with the hated German Order, the proverbial incarnation of one thousand years of enmity between Germans and Poles. Such symbolism had been used by the Kaiser’s architects who built the castle, and the style of the building was reminiscent of the constructions of the almost mythological “German” warriors who, according to nineteenth-century historians, brought (German) “civilization” to the East. The Crusaders as a mythological enemy were also familiar to every Pole who had read nationalist novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz’s The Teutonic Knights.

Curiously, a Masurian delegation at the first meeting of the Association of Architects of the Polish Republic (S.A.R.P.) in Lublin, in November 1944, had proposed “to destroy, to demolish, to delete from the surface of the earth every Crusader’s Castle, so that any trace would remain, and the reminders would disappear.” It was apparently a Slavic—and Polish nationalist activist—delegation in view of the fact that the former East Prussian region Masuria had a mixed population with very labile identities. Thus, the feeling of bellicosity against a perceived alien architecture was present, though both Poznań’s and Masuria’s populations had grown up in the shades of Prussian architecture. Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that, for example, Hitler had visited and lived in Poznań’s castle
and the famous Crusader castle of Marienburg/Malbork.

The Kaiser's Castle became a centerpiece in the debate about the reconstruction in Poznań. A tourist guide from 1949 describes the discussion which many architects, urban planners and publicists have carried on the press and notes that numerous voices were raised for the complete removal of this gray and ugly German residue. Most Poznań architects wanted the castle—or at least its towers—to be demolished, as a survey of several important architects reveals. Roger Sławski (1871–1963) was a famous Poznań architect who had studied in Charlottenburg and developed his profession in Marburg, Karlsruhe, and Berlin. In Poznań he designed many public and private buildings, making a great contribution to Poznań’s peculiar style. Kazimierz Ulatowski (1884–1975), who studied at Charlottenburg and Stuttgart, formed part of the Supreme Popular Council—a Polish political institution that seized the power in Poznań in 1918—and took part in organizing the new Polish administration.

Perhaps because many of the architects had been born under Prussian rule, the Kaiser’s Castle had a strong meaning for them. They had seen it built during the last years of German rule. Architecture constituted, even before Poland’s independence, a battlefield for the national self-image of both Poles and Germans, and people like Sławski and Ulatowski had taken part in it. Both architects, acting in 1945 as consultants and planners for the municipal government, criticized the reconstruction project for not planning to destroy the castle. Ulatowski even looked for legitimization for his ideas in the feelings of the whole population of Poznań, whose views he thought should be respected. A commission of experts, invited by the Minister of Reconstruction, advised the municipal powers about the reconstruction of the town center. The commission consisted of people working on a national level like the previously mentioned National Curator, Jan Zachwatowicz, some representatives of the B.O.S. and of the Minister of Reconstruction, as well representatives from Poznań. In a report of 17 November 1945, the experts tried to put rationality into the debate. They wanted the castle to stay and they based their decision on a long list of technical considerations rather than on emotions alone. The town's plastic profile had to be cleansed of every disturbing element—but no words about their Germanness were said—and an “eventual plebiscite” would decide the castle’s fate. However, in the first meeting—which took place a few days later, on 19 November—the experts could speak more freely about “this Prussian heritage, which every inhabitant of Poznań wanted to see transformed in a way which had not been reminiscent of its previous aspect, or dismantled at all.”

The dimensions of the building, however, were enormous and its demolition would have been really difficult, an irrational task in a city where the official facilities had, for the most part, been destroyed and where it was necessary to find places to house the diverse elements of administration. Even Poznań University and the municipal government came into conflict over the potential use of the castle. In the end, the
local government won and the castle was transformed into the “New Town Hall.” Since 1963, when it was renamed the Palace of Culture, it has been home to a variety of cultural institutions.

In the end, the necessities of the day prevailed. Ulatowski asked, rhetorically, whether utilitarian, present considerations were to predominate over concepts that would have a strong influence on the future centuries. The still standing castle’s silhouette—in fact, the whole Kaiser’s Quarter—seems to have responded to him with its presence. Practical necessities seem to have been more decisive than nationalist ideology. At least, this time.

Searching For a Style

The discussion about destruction was also supposed to be a debate about construction. A P.D.O. report from 1947—probably written to present in Warsaw to get loans for the reconstruction—affirms that “Poznań does not have too many monuments. Nevertheless, the significance of such monuments lay not only in their artistic value but also in their political-national value, because they suggested evidence of Poznań’s Polishness.” Thus, it was clear that the Old Town had to be rebuilt as in Warsaw. But the problem of how to do it persisted. For many architects the pre-war structure of the quarter did not constitute the best possible solution. The buildings on the market square and the adjacent streets were Gothic in origin—this was hardly perceptible—and further developed in Renaissance, baroque or classical styles, in a form typical of central European Bürgerhäuser. Moreover, the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries had brought modernist department stores, neo-Gothic official buildings, extensive remodeling of the façades and a much criticized renovation of the Renaissance Town Hall. How would it be possible to rebuild such features, which were often so impure, so mixed, so transformed by past years?

The solution in Warsaw was to resort to a stylized classicism, although sometimes maintaining the pre-war exterior for the more important monuments—churches or palaces. This solution did not work for Poznań, where there were not many important classical masterpieces and perhaps because classicism had a strong connection with traditional Prussian buildings. Sławski, although not completely in accord with Poznań’s interwar constructions, considered it unnecessary to employ the modern style imported from the big city Warsaw, a style that had its roots in German architectonic publications. It was necessary to look at Poznań’s Old Town for very old, very simple constructions and use them as models. They had to be “150 or 200 year-old buildings with good proportions, rendered walls, tiles on roofs and Polish character.”

However, Polish character was not so easy to define. It seemed inevitable that the constructions of the century under Prussian rule should be ignored, because they could not have had—in the Polish nationalist interpretation of Poland’s history—a true “national” quality. In fact, there were proposals “to buy and to demolish the
constructions of the nineteenth and twentieth century if they did not present adequate (Polish) characteristics for the quarter." The solution to this problem appeared to be to look for architectonic forms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Poznań’s golden age.

The new situation opened with the West and North Lands incorporation and the aim to ideologically legitimate the new borders had consequences for architecture. Poznań could be considered the symbolic capital of the old/new lands, the Ziemie Piastowskie, Lands of the Piasts," the first rulers of Poland." The legendary Piast’s state provided the legitimization for considering Wielkopolska to be the region where the medieval country had had its origin, and hence the region was supposed to maintain the most authentic essence of the Polish culture. Probably because relatively few Piast monuments still remained, it emerged that the style that could fit the real necessities better should be the Gothic. It is possible to find traces of this way of thinking in some buildings on the Old Market Square, for example, in Saint Martin’s Church and, above all, in the cathedral.

St Peter and Paul’s Cathedral was virtually destroyed in fighting during the last days of the occupation. This led to the discovery of basements in the building and provided a chance to research the cathedral’s origins more accurately. It was established that the cathedral was older than had previously been supposed: vestiges of high medieval temples—pre-Romanesque, Romanesque, Gothic—were found. This served to develop the Piast mythology and to substantiate the discourse of self-confidence in the values of “Polish culture,” with words like “in the early Middle Ages our culture and civilization were higher than we ourselves thought.” One writer remarked that the cathedral, “against German theories, was not inspired in the German Gothic, even not in the Prague’s cathedral but had its own model.” Consequently, the decision was made to reconstruct the cathedral as a red-brick Gothic building. Though the pre-war cathedral had had a baroque façade, the new face of the building approximated the buildings of the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic. The re-gothicization of the cathedral took until 1956 (under the Catholic Church’s auspicious, because the P.D.O. had ended its activities there in 1948, when Stalinist tendencies reached their zenith). The cathedral was a strong symbol of Catholicism, and state power, now concentrated in communist hands, probably did not want to endorse it.

The search for a national reconstruction style was long and contested. As late as 1952 or 1954 Zieliński and other collaborators in the Młastoprojekt affirmed that “for all the rebuilding or reconstructing elevations it is necessary ... to go back to the oldest documented architectonic forms, which date, with a few exceptions, from the eighteenth century.” Nevertheless the authors linked the historic reconstruction with the assertion that the Old Market Square should be “one of the elements of socialist Poznań and include all the new technical developments. Moreover, the reconstruction of the polychrome on the façade was to be realized not in historic or pseudo-historic configuration but with contemporary motives and models. So, the
next generation would have the impression that they see, on the façades of Poznań's buildings, pictures of 1955, that they look at art of the middle of the twentieth century, harmonized with elements of Poznań Renaissance, baroque and classicism. So, the socialism in architecture was associated—as in Warsaw or Gdańsk—with technical progress and comfort inside the buildings, and with the superficial approximation of the front walls to the actual fashion style. If in Stalinist times the reconstructions had a touch of socialist realism (above all Stalinist monumentalism), the stylized graphics on the walls reflected more rationalist and avant-gardist models.

**Waga Miejska**

The block in the middle of the Market Place constituted one of the cardinal problems of reconstruction. The Town Hall, the Guardroom, the Arsenal, the New Town Hall and some other old buildings formed an architectonic complex with political meaning. There was a long discussion of the problem and the decision-making process continued for years. Ulatowski's initial plan—to demolish many medieval structures and to construct a classical new building in the center of the square—was rejected. This plan had little chance of realization, even though the city's mayor more or less supported it, accusing other architects of being dreamers in love with the past.

From the beginning, however, it was clear that one particular building in the middle block had to be destroyed: the so-called New Town Hall. Ulatowski himself said that “[during the interwar period] I often walked near the German new Town Hall and I was surprised that Poznań's mayor did not order it demolished.” The war provided the opportunity to carry out this desire. A report on the activities of the P.D.O. for the period between 1 November 1945 and 31 December 1946 notes that the New Town Hall had been demolished. Some residue must have remained, because a municipal government protocol from 25 February 1948 stipulated the demolition of the rest of the New Town Hall (see Figure 2).

To expunge “alien” constructions was conceivable but what would be built in their place? In this case the solution was the rebuilding of the Town Scale, which had been demolished in 1890 to make place for the New Town Hall. This primitive building was put up around 1253, remodeled many times and, in 1563, totally reshaped by Giovanni Baptista Quadro, the Town Hall architect.

It is difficult to say when or who suggested that it be rebuilt, but memories of the lost Town Scale were still living because the idea came up very early on and was not disputed. The project was revised many times, but it was completed.

Again, as in Warsaw, to rebuild—to build anew—the object was a form of amendment of the past. Because “the Germans” had destroyed the primitive “Polish” Town Scale to build a “German” Town Hall, the Polish architects could now (re)create what they thought was necessary to reconstruct the town’s Polish face. Thus, it is
not a surprise that the tourist guide of 1949 had a description of the Town Hall—a building that had been gone for almost 60 years.\textsuperscript{134}

In 1948, Poznań’s municipal government approved the first blueprint of the Town Hall, Roger Sławski’s and Zbigniew Zieliński’s design.\textsuperscript{135} Work began only in 1958
and was completed in 1960. The original plan was to reconstruct the Town Scale from photographs and old pictures, but some new documents, discovered in the National Museum, led to the elaboration of a complete final project in 1956.16

The use of the building remained unclear, reflecting the lack of need to construct it. First it was planned to be a “Soviet library.” Later someone proposed making it a part of the Municipal Museum. Following completion the Waga Miejska housed the Western Institute, but it is presently the Poznań register office.17

A report on the Old Town asserts that sometimes it is doubtful if certain extreme reconstructions make sense, for example, the Town Scale. Still, the author admits that doubts disappear when we look at the objects for themselves.”18 Economic rationalism seems inadequate to understand why the political powers in Poland dedicated so much effort and so many resources to shape not only a whole range of different lost buildings but a completely new nostalgic reality (see Figure 3).

Poznań in Polish Context

Poznań, like a great number of towns in Poland, can be considered an early example of Cities of Collective Memory, in M. Christine Boyer’s words; places where the historical imagination uses the architectonic fragments of the past taken “by nostalgic sentiments that fuel their preservation or reconstruction, while our collective memory of public places seems undetermined by historicist reconstruction.”19 The postmodern architecture of the 1980s and 1990s with its architectural references and its return to intimacy and traditions was, in a certain sense, anticipated by the Polish odbudowa. We see this relationship clearly if we consider the reconstruction of some Polish cities in the 1890s, such as Głogów, where the new Old Town looks like a Disneyland-like opus of the New Architecture.

How representative is Poznań? Lying on the borders of the Polish territories and closely connected to German culture and history, it might not seem comparable to other Polish cities. But, perhaps, there is no absolute representative Polish city in this sense. Wrocław has an important German component in its past. The port city of Gdańsk was always linked to the Polish state but inhabited by German-speaking peoples, and Warsaw played an important role in the Polish Kingdom relatively late. Only Cracow can be considered a city that represents more specifically “Polish” culture. Nevertheless— if we neglect Austrian influence there—Cracow was a model for eastern Polish cities, many of which are now a part of Ukraine and connected to the national imagination of Ukrainians too.

Maybe the specificity in Polish culture was the capacity to create effective signs of self-identification in territories and landscapes disputed with other concurrent cultural traditions. This signs were so mighty that they left the communists little space to introduce new ones, although they did. The main role of the communists was to disseminate and generalize signs of identity—the mission of every nation-state—and they performed this task with great zeal, assuming the Plastic view of
Polish history as the best way to connect the national symbolic with their social mission.

Throughout the Polish landscape, many towns and village were reconstructed and re-elaborated to define a new nation, principally employing old signs or, more accurately, projecting their interpretation of the old signs. For the Polish communist the reconstruction of Old Towns was easy to accept because it could be connected to
the state-sponsored style of socialist realism, the heroic historicism of the Stalinist era. Thousands of buildings were not always “reconstructed” as they had been previously, but received their final forms through a long and complicated process in which national images and expectations often played the most important role. Although some buildings were pure fantasy (often because of insufficient technical documentation), the planners tried to employ the most appropriate styles to reflect their national images. As noted previously, neoclassicism dominated reconstruction in Warsaw, whereas in Gdańsk, Baltic or Dutch influences were sometimes emphasized in order to avoid the German past. The degermanization of Wrocław failed and other cities, like Szczecin and Stargard, received a more stylized reconstruction based on completely new—but often archaized—buildings.120

The plastic expression of national images is, of course, not an exclusively Polish phenomenon. In a strong nationalist sense we could name as examples some of the “new villages” in Francisco Franco’s Spain. The partial reconstruction of Dresden, in the former East Germany, has a similar pathos of national resistance to destruction by foreign (and capitalist) hands to that of Warsaw. There is, however, a relevant difference between the search of postwar West Germany for a new national self-image (through an urban reconstruction of modern, light, and open forms) and some forms of (re)invention of an archaic Polish past, which even some contemporaries considered bizarre.121 In this context, the fact that the most hated Stalinist construction in Warsaw (the skyscraper known as PKIN) contains an element of “Polish Renaissance style,” should be not considered a huge Stalinist joke, but as part of the concern for developing communist national visions.

Conclusion

Sometimes at the door of the Town Scale, one can see people coming back from a civil marriage ceremony. In their joy, they do not waste a moment thinking about the origin of the building they have just left. The “Palace of Marriages” or “the Registry,” represents only one part of the monumental Old Town: a usual spot for tourists to take photographs and a fine place to eat—in the restaurant in its basement—very good Polish meals. Reminders of the rebuilding subsist only as a footnote in tourist guides or scholars’ writings (see Figure 4).

Today, the Kaiser’s Castle no longer reminds the people of Poznań of a foreign power’s yoke or a foreign occupier. Serving as a House of Culture, with cinema, theater, exhibition, and concert halls, the Zamek (Castle) represents only a typical post-socialist culture object, a reminder of the time when culture was cheap, state run, and saturated with meaning. The interior of the castle was redesigned and redecorated in the “goulash socialism” style of the late 1960s and 1970s, and it is possible to find vestiges of Gomułka’s nationalistic ideology in such objects as the long frieze about Poznań’s history which celebrates the millennium of the Polish state.122

622
So, in a sense, the intent of Poznań’s—in general, Poland’s—rebuilders to shape a special, concrete reality and to erase all traces of the German past was successful. The new nation born from the ashes of wartime Poland is one of the more homogeneous nation-states in Central Europe. From the beginning, the process of reconstruction—and creation—of monuments and residential quarters was linked to resistance and protest against the occupation and the destruction during the conflict. Just as importantly, the process of reconstruction was also associated with the vision of a new country, free of the errors of the past. In western and northern Poland, reconstruction acted as a means of polonization and of the legitimization of Polish administrators capacities to govern the former German territories.12

In Poznań, perhaps owing to the town’s special tradition and the national friction during the partitions and the interwar period, the urge to erase the alleged German past was very strong. It supposed a particular definition of the image the people had of themselves and of their town and the intent to shape an ideal prototype of a Polish city whose profile standing out against the horizon was truly Polish. The meaning of
“truly Polish” came to be defined through the local and national tradition and according to the needs of the country’s rulers. Thus, some architectural styles were considered more Polish than others and there was an attempt to amend and reform the urban landscape. Perhaps the historical dynamic, in its chaotic development, did not allow this attempt to be realized following completely the designs of the national image that lay in the heads of politicians and architects. It has nevertheless left enduring marks on Poland’s skin.

NOTES

“The research for this article was made possible by a scholarship of the Spanish Foreign Office and Poznań University. I would like to remember the late Professor Edmund Makowski of Adam Mickiewicz University, for his help when I was in Poznań. I also thank Professor Stefan Kowal and Professor Jan Skuratowicz of Adam Mickiewicz University, Gregor Thum, Torsten Lorenz and the anonymous reviewers of Nationalities Papers for their comments.


2. The richest view of Poznań’s history—although unfinished—is contained in the volumes of Dzieje Poznania, edited by the late Jerzy Topolski. Another useful source is the journal Kronika Miasta Poznania.


4. There is much important literature on Prussian Poland and the resistance of its (Polish nationalist) inhabitants to the Prussian boot. The (German) nationalist movements in Poznań are well studied too. The formation of national consciousness—or the defense of an alleged pre-existing one—the loyalty of Poznań Poles to the King/Kaiser, and the many labile, neutral identities have received little attention. As examples of exceptional treatments of these themes see: Rudolf Jaworski, Handel und Gewerbe im Nationalitätentum; Studen zur Wirtschaftsgesinnung der Polen in der Provinz Posen (1871–1914) (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1986); and Mathias Niendorf, Minderheiten an der Grenze. Deutsche und Polen in den Kreisen Flatow (Złotów) und Zempelburg (Spolno Krajeńska) 1900–1939 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997).


7. Poznań’s International Fair of Industry and Commerce (MTP) played this function before the war in a similar way as it did it in socialist times. See Bohdan Danielewski, Z dziejów Międzynarodowych Targów Poznańskich (1921–1971), Kronika Miasta Poznania, No. 2, 1971, pp. 15–32.

8. Greater Poland’s Jewish population was reduced during the nineteenth century, because Jews moved westward, principally to Berlin. The Jews who stayed increasingly identified themselves with the Germans. During the interwar period Poznań’s Jewish community grew but it remained relatively small. See Ireneusz Kowalski, Poznańska gmina żydowska


11. During the war, Poznań lost between 45,000 and 50,000 Polish residents. See Tadeusz Świąta, ed., Trud pierwszych dni Poznania 1945. Wspomnienia Poznańców (Poznań: Wyd. Poznańskie, 1970), p. 27. The total number of inhabitants before 1939 had been around 275,000.


15. On communism as a form of developmental nationalism, see Marcin Kula, Komunizm (niekiedy) bardzo narodowy. Przegląd Polonijny, No. 2, 2000, pp. 7–24.


17. Western Thought (Myśl Zachodnia), a pre-war Polish nationalist movement that
advocated Poland's expansion to the west, was assumed by the postwar Polish communists (see Madajczyk, *Polskaesyja Zachodnia*). Another example could be Bolesław Piasiecki's postwar activities. Piasiecki, a Polish fascist and anti-Semite, came to terms with the communist rulers after the war and became the leader of a national-catholic legal organization, PAX, which was very active in the 1968 anti-Semitic storm. See Lucian Blit, *The Eastern Pretender* (London: Hutchinson, 1965); and Antoni Dudek and Grzegorz Pytel, *Bolesław Piasiecki. Próba biografii politycznej* (London: Aneks, 1990).


20. An important web of scientific institutes, state institutions, and even grassroots associations worked to “nationalize” the new territories through publications, activities, festivities, and propaganda in every possible form. See, for example, Leopold Gluck, *Od ziem postulowanych do ziem odzyskanych* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1971); and Małgorzata Ujdak, *Udział Polskiego Związku Zachodniego w rozwiązaniu kwestii narodowościowej na ziemiach odzyskanych* (Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1988).


23. See, for example, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa (hereafter AAN), Ministerstwo Administracji Publicznej, 774, pp. 89–90.


25. The church was a nationalistic force by itself but it is interesting to see how a communist government promoted the publication of Polish-language prayer books, as a means to inculcate Polishness. See AAN, Ministerstwo Administracji Publicznej 774, p. 103.


33. For example, Zbigniew Zielinski, an engineer working in 1945 at Poznań’s municipal government, who had also worked there during the occupation, described this work as *znienonzienia* (germanization) and spoke of pseudo-giant works and of the beginning of the restoration of the Old Town with disastrous consequences. See Archiwum Państwowe miasta Poznania [hereafter APP], Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85, p. 2: Uwagi do planu zabudowania m. Poznania. Speer’s monumental neoclassical style remained dominant in Nazi plans for Poznań, but also in the Old Town there were traces of German folk architecture (the so-called *Heimat* style).


35. Hitler has been quoted as saying that a people lives as long as the products of their culture live. See Jan Zachwatowicz, *Przeszłość w służbie nowego życia, Skarpa Warszawska, No. 2, 1945*, p. 7.

36. In the middle of the year 1944, *Wolna Polska*, the newspaper of the *Union of Polish Patriots* (a Polish exiles’ organization in the U.S.S.R.), began dealing with the problem of reconstruction in a context where “Poland can not be as it was in the past if we are not to repeat the experience of 1939 again.” See, for example, *Wolna Polska*, No. 17, 1944, p. 2.

37. “Socialist reconstruction” was the key phrase of the epic Soviet industrialization in the 1930s.

38. See, for example, Zachwatowicz, *Przeszłość*.


41. A recent exhibition catalogue includes interesting biographic and pictorial material on Zachwatowicz. The new official version of history, however, attempts to turn him into a sort of resister of communism, which he was not, and of Warsaw's reconstruction, an epic of national renaisance opposing the "perverse communists" who really wanted to eliminate Old Warsaw. See Jan Zachwatowicz, W stulecie urodzin (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2000). See also "Walka o pomniki kultury," AAN Ministerstwo Informacji i Propagandy, t. 697, pp. 14–20.

42. AAN, Ministerstwo Informacji i Propagandy, t. 697, p. 16. The article deals with Warsaw's reconstruction but it can be understood in a more general sense.

43. Art historian Michał Walicki polemized about this with both Kazimierz Wyka and Edward Osmończyk, a journalist and, before the war, a nationalist activist. See Skarpa Warszawska, No. 1, 1945, pp. 5–6; and Odrodzenie, No. 23, 1945, p. 7.

44. AAN, Ministerstwo Informacji i Propagandy, t. 697, p. 18.


48. On the first days of the new regime in Poznań, see Trud Światła and Ignacy Kaczmarek, Na gruzach Poznania w roku 1945, Kronika Miasta Poznania, No. 2, 1958, p. 49–53.

49. Jerzy Majewicz and Tomasz Markiewicz, Warszawa nie odbudowana (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1998), a book with abundant photographic documentation. This work, however, lacks real understanding of the architectural decisions and priorities of the early postwar moment.

50. For example, an unpublished memoir, housed at the Western Institute in Poznań (Pamiętniki Marianna Rosady, signature P55, p. 3), claims that the situation in Poznań was more difficult than in Cracow.


52. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85, pp 1–12.


54. Kalinowski, Der Wiederaufbau, p. 81.


56. There were five special reconstruction organizations (in Gdańsk, Poznań, Wrocław, Warsaw, and Szczecin) as well as the first special organization, the famous B.O.S. (Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy). See APP, Poznańska Dyrekcja Odbudowy, t. 1a (hereafter PDO).

57. The folder contains a really good report written in 1947 by Witold Maisel—an official in the P.D.O.—about the organization of the whole process of reconstruction.

58. APP, P.D.O, t. 6, p. 27.


61. See APP, PDO, t. 7, p. 66.
62. APP, PDO, t. 20, passim.
63. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85, pp. 1-12.
64. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85, pp. 3-4. That is one of the few mentions I have found of a planned devastation of Poznań. Was Zieliński trying to imitate the discourse about Warsaw, even unconsciously? Or were there Nazi plans to set Poznań on fire?
65. It was possibly very clear for Zielinski, as for the rest of Poznań’s inhabitants, what a German building was: one constructed by Germans, inhabited by Germans, and used by Poznań’s Germans. Surely, differences of style were very marked only in religious buildings, because most of the Germans were Protestants, which meant their churches were different than those of the predominantly Roman Catholic Poles.
66. The verticality of Germanness is again a reference to the churches of the German post-unification style and of historicist (neo-Gothic) constructions. Gothic was considered the “most German” of all styles. See Francastel’s known critical work (published in 1945), “The History of Art, Instrument of German Propaganda,” which was published in 1970 with a new title “Frontiers of Gothic.” Pierre Francastel, L’histoire de l’art, instrument de la propagande germanique (Paris: Libr. de Médicis, 1945).
67. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85, p. 4.
68. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85, pp. 5-6. Recovered Lands or North and West Lands refers to the former German lands that Poland acquired after the Second World War. Poznań was not actually part of them but because of its position between regained Pomerania and Silesia, some intellectuals from Poznań took to the idea.
71. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 42, pp. 47-52.
72. APP, PDO, t. 6, pp. 3-9.
73. APP, PDO, t. 16, p. 7.
75. Kondziela, Stare Miasto, p. 12.
76. A brilliant study of the rich national tendencies in art and design in Poland before the Second World War is David Crowley, National Style and Nation-State. Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
78. This was the title for a planned exhibition in Poznań, which was to present the eternal enmity between the two peoples (the title comes from a book by Zygmunt Wojcie—
chowski, a pre-war nationalist and the Western Institute’s first director). The exhibition never took place but it is considered a precedent to the later, famous Exhibition of the Recovered Lands in Breslau. See Jakub Tyszkiewicz, *Sto wielkich dni Wrocławia. Wystawa Ziem Odszukanych we Wrocławiu a propaganda polityczna Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych w latach 1945–1948* (Wrocław: Arbonetum, 1997) pp. 71–77; and on Wojciechowski, see Marian Mroczko, Zygmunt Wojciechowski jako historyk polskich ziem zachodnich oraz stosunków polsko-niemieckich, *Przegląd Zachodni*, No. 1, 1985, pp. 98–113.

79. The still popular novel was filmed in 1960 and, as a result, the story became even more popular. See José M. Faraldo, “The Teutonic Knights and the Polish Identity. National Narratives, Self-Image and Socialist Public Sphere,” in Gabor T. Rittersporn, Jan C. Behrends and Malte Rolf, eds, *Sphären von Öffentlichkeit in Gesellschaften sowjetischen Typs* (Frankfurt/N.Y.: Peter Lang).


82. See for example, *APP*, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 86, pp. 1–3, 4–8.


84. Skuratowicz, *Architektura*, p. 353 affirms that Sławski’s pre-1914 designs were programmatically different from those of the Germans and this accounted for his popularity.


88. See *AAN*, Urząd Rady Ministrów, t. 5/492, pp. 1–32.


90. *APP*, PDO, t. 54, p. 47.


92. See A. Möller van den Bruck, *Der preußische Stil* (Munich: Korn, 1953).


94. All citations from *APP*, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznania, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 86, pp. 1–3. Although the typical Prussian public facilities had no rendered walls—a consequence of the industrialized use of bricks—the difference between residential buildings of pre-partition times in Greater Poland and, for example, in the “German” neighboring region of Brandenburg was not great.


97. The alleged sarcophagus of the first Piasts, Mieszko I and Bolesław Chrobry, are preserved in the Golden Chapel of the cathedral. The construction of this monument was an early sign of Poznań’s Polish nationalists. See Sven Ekdahl, *Denkmal und Geschichte*.

98. See the article signed W.M.—possibly Witold Maisel, P.D.O.’s chief—Odbudowa katedry Poznańskiej, APP, PDO, t. 16, pp. 17–19.

99. Jerzy Ros, Poznańskie refleksje, Życie Warszawy, 8 April 1948, p. 3.


102. APP, Miastopryjekt, t. 317a.

103. See Kondziela, Stare Miasto, p. 68.

104. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznań, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 92, pp. 1–19.


106. Ibid., p. 13.


108. APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznań, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 113, pp. 1–2.

109. See Kondziela and Jasiecka, Przegląd zabytków, p. 20.

110. Important documents of the Town Curator and of the Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków (Workshop of Conservation of Monuments) are allegedly not completely catalogued or at least not available.

111. The scheme approved by the expert commission in November 1945 did contain a Town Scale’s plan; APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznań, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 85. See also a 1946 report about the Old Town; APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznań, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 86, pp. 20–23. However, Witold Maisel affirms that this idea of rebuilding the Town Scale was victorious only in 1956. See Witold Maisel, Ewolucja planów, p. 16.

112. See the folder on Waga Miejska in the Archiwum Konserwatora Zabytków miasta Poznań.

113. See, for example, Głos Wielkopolski, 23 October 1948, p. 3.

114. Poznań, Przewodnik, p. 81.


117. See the investment plan of 23 September 1946. On other plans, APP, Zarząd Miejski m. Poznań, Wydział Budownictwa, t. 113, pp. 1–2 (protocol of 25 February 1948). On actual use, see Głos Wielkopolski, 18–19 September 1960. The Western Institute is well known; today it is almost exclusively concerned with German studies.


120. See Stanisław Latour, Rozwój architektury i urbanistyki na ziemiach zachodnich po II

121. “We live in a town where the past was reconstructed ... we move in the circle of a copied tradition and a controlled fantasy,” Kazimierz Brandys’s refined and ironic literary exposition of the problem in “Letters to Mrs. Z,” in *Listy do Pani Z* (Warsaw: PIW, 1965), pp. 42–43.

122. After this article was completed, the frieze was covered up with enormous abstract pictures, reflecting another rewriting of history.

123. On Wrocław, see Gregor Thun, *Cleansed Memory*; and Bollwerk Breslau.