

Towards modern times. Issues of archeological and architectural research on Warsaw (Poland) in 1936–2009

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Zusammenfassung:

Dieser Beitrag behandelt die archäologischen und baugeschichtlichen Untersuchungen im mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Warschau während der Jahre 1936 bis 2009 und deren Weiterentwicklung vom Standpunkt wissenschaftlicher und konservatorischer Interessen. Weitere Faktoren, die mit diesen Forschungen zusammenhängen, werden ebenfalls angesprochen, etwa der Standort der Stadt am Hochufer der Weichsel, die Änderungen der Stadtgrenzen im Verlauf ihrer Entwicklung und die Schwierigkeiten, mit denen die archäologische Forschung in einem dicht bebauten Zentrum umzugehen hat. Wesentlichen Einfluss auf die Untersuchungen und ihre Auswertung nahmen die soziopolitischen Verhältnisse wie die Zensur von Veröffentlichungen, der begrenzte Vorrat von Papier für die Drucklegung, aber auch die Einstellung der Stadtverwaltung und der Bewohner zu der eigenen Vergangenheit.

Abstract:

The present article is a short discussion of the history of archaeological and architectonic studies on medieval and modern Warsaw conducted in the years 1936 to 2009, as seen through the lens of the boundaries of scientific and conservational interests as they progressed towards modernity. Other conditions under which the research took place are also discussed: the location of the city on a high embankment over the Vistula river, shifting historical and territorial borders of Warsaw, as well as the perils of archaeological activities in the dense and technically complicated urban environs. An important and variable factor that influenced the studies and their conduct were the political and social conditions of the time: the censor, limited publication due to paper unavailability, as well as the attitudes of the city's residents and civic government to the past.

One of the more interesting characteristics of archeology, as a scientific discipline which seeks to get knowledge of the past based on facts, is that it constantly pushes the boundaries of its interests towards the modern times. This starts with prehistory (times that are more mysterious and mystical), where, via excavations, archeology establishes particular facts; and progresses through to historical times, where its tasks mainly revolve around fleshing out the knowledge and verifying the findings of other fields of historical science. As a result, researchers need to break a psychological barrier which, in my opinion, resides in the belief that the older something is, the more exciting it is. As the boundary of what is

deemed interesting changes and moves on, the scope of research issues also expands and becomes more diverse, with archeologists entering many new fields of knowledge. In the context of Polish archeology, those research issues, besides broadly interpreted studies on the history of material culture, concentrate to a big extent on studying the history of towns and various architectural structures made of stones or bricks¹. This short article, based on the history and experience connected with research in Warsaw, a metropolitan city and the capital of Poland, is devoted to those particular issues².

The oldest part of Warsaw, The Old Town, was established in the virgin territory (site), on the

¹ Wyrobisz 1971.

² Pela 2004b.



Fig. 1: A view of Warsaw in the late 16th century from *Civitas orbis terrarum* (by Braun and Hogenberg).

left-hand bank of the Vistula River valley, near the ducal stronghold built over ten years before. The creation of the stronghold and location of the town was due to the initiative of the duke Bolesław II of Mazovia and relates to the period between the years 1294 and 1313. In the following centuries, the next elements of spatial development of Warsaw appeared: The New Town, established in the 15th century later surrounded by private towns (from Latin *iuridicus*, *lawful* or *legal*) which started to be established from the 16th century by the Polish church and magnates (Fig. 1). The town, which was a royal family residence as of the 16th century, was expanding systematically, and in the 19th and the 20th centuries it became one of the largest cities in this part of Europe. After almost 90% of it had been destroyed during and after the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, it was rebuilt after the war ended. In the Old and New Town the former historical structure was reconstructed, a great emphasis being put on maintaining the original parts which had not been destroyed (Fig. 2).

Interest in the relics of the old Warsaw can be observed as early as in the 19th century in the columns of the daily press (“The Warsaw Courier” – *Kurier Warszawski* and “The Warsaw Daily” – *Gazeta Warszawska*) as well as in a multi-volume publication issued starting in 1848 – “Antiquities of Warsaw” (*Starożytności Warszawskie*). They all contained descriptions of interesting discoveries made during construction efforts. One of the more interesting publications was the artic-



Fig. 2: Warsaw at the end of the 16th century (by Wanda Szaniawska).

le by a military engineer, Tomasz Bartmański, „*Aspects of the archeology of Warsaw*” inserted in “The Warsaw Library” (*Biblioteka Warszawska*) in 1855³. The author describes the remains of the old town, uncovered during the excavation of long ditches for new water-supply pipes: old cobblestones, relics of defence walls, the remains of the old town hall demolished in 1817, old wooden water pipes, graves of cemeteries situated near churches and small antiquities found during earthworks.

In the 20th century, the discoveries of Warsaw antiquities were treated more scientifically, when the archaeological and „artistic” analysis of entire structures was performed. During works conducted in one of the town houses situated in the Old Town Market Square 31 (Rynek Starego Miasta 31), architect Jarosław Wojciechowski, carried through an archaeological stratification of the building based on the comparison of wall units and measurement of bricks, relating the conclusions to historical data⁴. He also drew up the documentation on a wooden well which was uncovered in the deepest part of the basement. He described and tried to date antiquities found inside it. Similar works took place during the re-

³ Bartmański 1855.

⁴ Baruch / Wojciechowski 1928.

construction of the Warsaw Castle. Many of these works were possible thanks to the initiative of “The Association for the Care of Monuments of the Past” (*Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*) founded in 1906.

The first scientific documentation relating to Mediaeval and modern Warsaw was drawn up in 1936. The efforts to deepen the moat by the Barbican resulted in a drawing with the exact measurements of uncovered graves, a wooden well and the fragments of stone walls, which were discovered between the town walls and St. Paulin’s Church.

Nevertheless, the ground-breaking moment in the use of archaeological methodology in order to learn about the Medieval and modern history of Warsaw were excavations connected with the post-war reconstruction of the city, which commenced in 1946⁵. Universalizing archaeological research and making it a rule in investigations into the past of the city was neither simple, nor evident. Initially small excavation works were carried on in 1946 on the cemetery near St Mary’s Church in the New Town. However, archaeologists did not participate during the reconstruction of the destroyed St. John’s Cathedral in the Old Town in the years 1947–1952, despite the fact that significant parts of the former church foundation and crypts located in its basement were exposed. Still, the architectonic analyses of the remaining relics of walls were conducted, the supervising architect being Tadeusz Zagrodzki who took a number of photos of excavation profiles where cultural layers are clearly seen. From the spring of 1948 until the fall of 1949, the engineer Tadeusz Żurowski, acting on behalf of the Office for Monument Conservation of the Capital City of Warsaw, fought a lonely battle on the construction site of the East-West highway (Trasa WZ), running near the Warsaw Castle and the Old Town, documenting the exposed foundation of St. Bernardin’s Church and Monastery as well as diverse sewage equipment dating from the 18th and the 19th century. Only by the end of 1949 an organization called „Research Works in the Warsaw Castle” (*Prace Badawcze na Zamku Warszawskim*) financed by the State Archaeological Museum, commenced its activity. In 1951



Fig. 3: A – Aerial photograph of the Old Town in 1944, B – Warsaw from the air. In the foreground is the Royal Castle. Photo: A. Funkiewicz and W. Stępień.

it was transformed into the “Commission for the Research on Old Warsaw” (*Komisja Badań Dawnej Warszawy – KBDW*). It seems that the creation of the Commission to a great extent was the initiative of young researchers representing various fields of science: history, archaeology, architecture and art history, who were interested in the history of the city and the Warsaw Castle. They were the main driving force of the newly created scientific unit. The works were complex, the Commission, divided into various sections, conducted historical (written and cartographic sources), architectonic and archaeological research, and thus realizing common undertakings (Fig. 3). In the undertaken research, the scientists attempted to solve many problems relating to the vast subject of the history of Warsaw. They tried to find its roots, established the date of the foundation of the town, studied the development

⁵ Pela 2001; Pela 2004a.

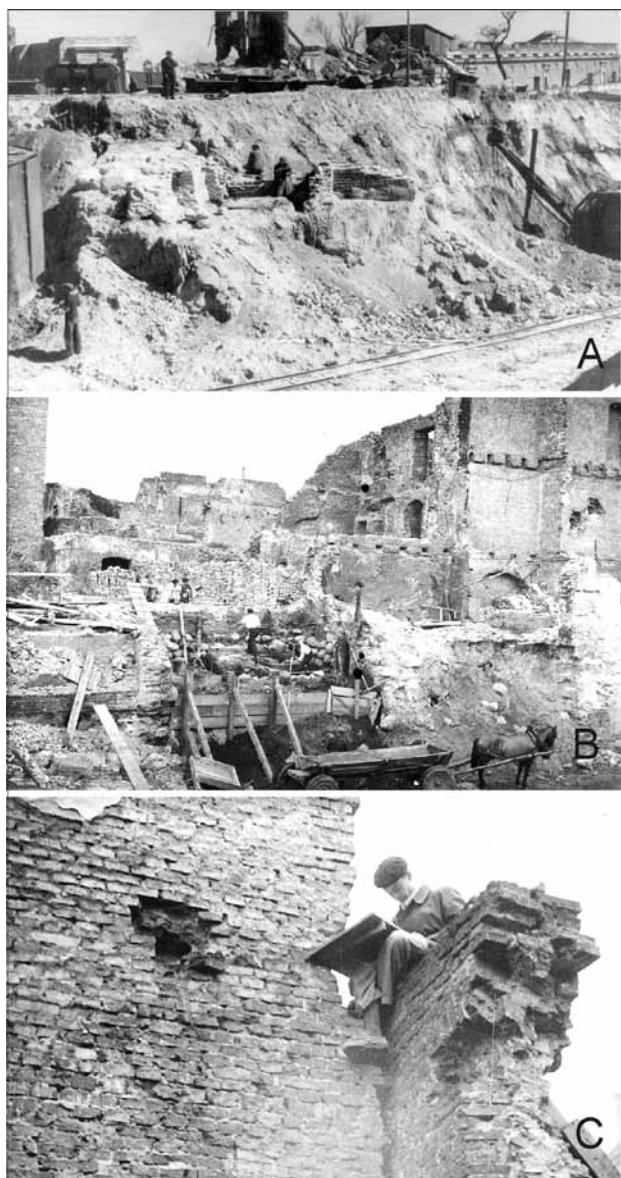


Fig. 4: A – The construction of the East-West highway, the area of archeological investigation in 1948, B – Archeological investigation of the KBDW in 1952, Brzozowa Street 17, C – Architectural investigation of the KBDW in 1952. Documentation of walls in Szeroki Dunaj Street 12. Photo: T. Żurowski and J. Szymborski

of the city organism and the changes in its spatial structure as well as development of various privately owned lots. Much attention was paid to the buildings made of wood, stone and brick and to the defence system of the Old Town. The results of research were presented up to date in the weekly journal “The Capital City” (*Stolica*) and also inserted in two publications after finishing

the main stage of the works: in “The Old Town Sketches” (*Szkice Staromiejskie*)⁶ and in “The new Town Sketches” (*Szkice Nowomiejskie*)⁷. An interesting result of the research was the elaboration of the brick size chart in chronological order from the 14th until the 20th century, the brick being treated as an element helping in dating brick buildings⁸ and the fact of using geological drilling works in order to find out the structure of cultural layers⁹. In the case of archaeology, the research went considerably beyond the scope of academic interests of those times, it being overwhelmed by the “magical” boundary of the mid-12th century. Archeologists tried not to cross it in what they looked for. Only a few saw the need of conducting research on a broader scale research. Among those few was Jerzy Antoniewicz, who suggested the initiation of the investigations, even though only up to the end of the 14th century, into the material culture of the Middle Ages, as well as into the processes of establishing towns¹⁰. The activity of the Commission for the Research on Old Warsaw met with critique by the scientific establishment, especially in the case of research on architectonic structures. The scientists considered that using archaeological methodology in researching the type of structures found in the Old Town was unnecessary and they proposed turning the excavation works over to architects (Fig. 4).

From the very beginning significant limitations in carrying on research were experienced, which related both to excavation works in dense building development, and to the simultaneously ongoing construction. It was a rule that excavation works were started mainly using the opportunity and in places where construction works were carried out. Only at the very beginning were there attempts to realise a more independent research programme. In 1952 this included the search of relics of the Town Hall in the Old Town Market Square and the research on the history of defensive walls (in the years 1952 – 1954 and later). Also, the fact of recognizing several structures of stone and brick architecture (e.g. the New Town Hall or St. George’s Church in the New Town) can be considered as research carried exclusively

⁶ *Szkice Staromiejskie* 1955.

⁷ *Szkice Nowomiejskie* 1961.

⁸ Tomaszewski 1955.

⁹ Tomaszewski 1952.

¹⁰ Antoniewicz 1948.

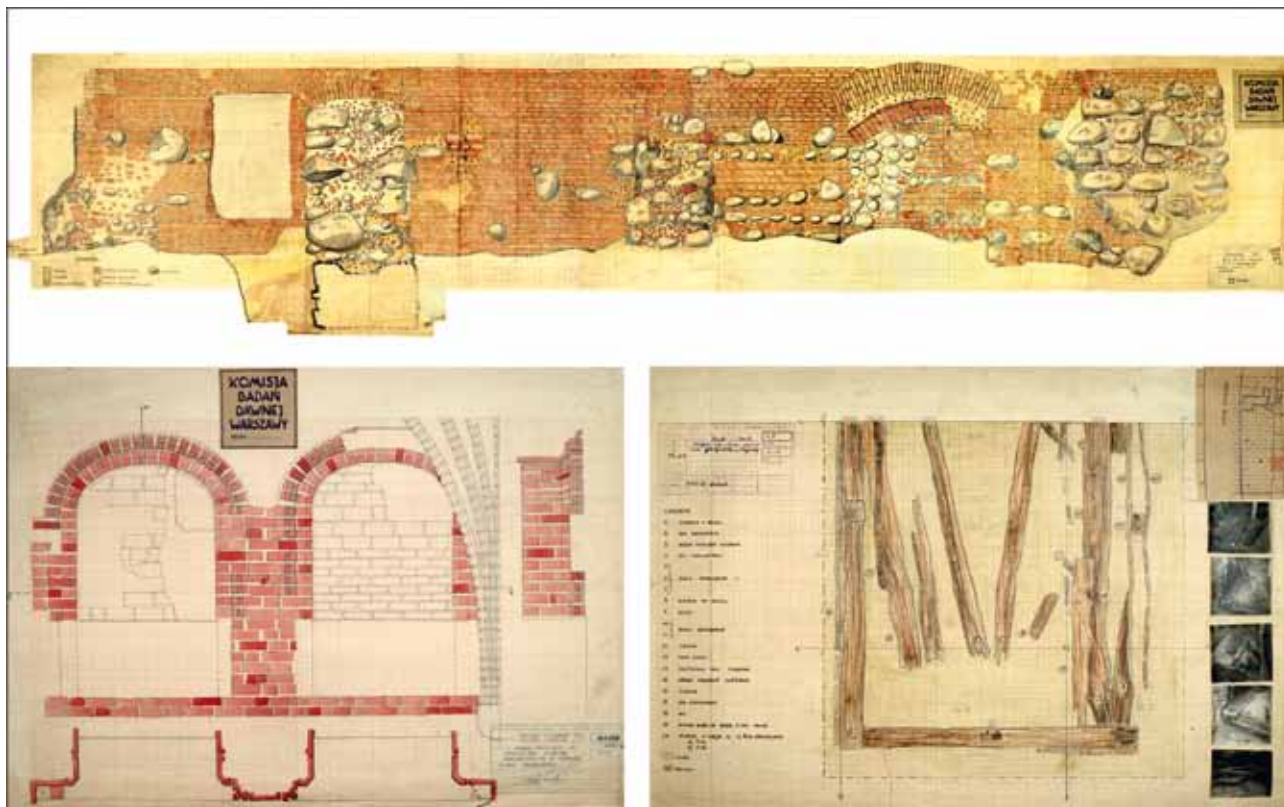


Fig. 5: Documentation from the archives of the Commission for the Research on Old Warsaw (1951–1954).

with the merits of the case in mind. But also in those cases, the works were conducted only in places in which they did not disturb construction sites. At times, excavation works were discontinued before completion, due to technical aspects or the need of keeping up with the construction schedule. It is worth mentioning that the restitution of the Old and New Town was realized hastily, and the deadlines for particular stages most frequently were the dates of official national holidays. On the other hand, cooperation with the „construction site” often made it possible (and continues to make it possible) for humanist sciences, including archaeology, to overcome difficulties of technical nature and also forced the obeisance of work safety requirements.

Still, it is a fact that the scientists conducting research on Warsaw in the years 1948–1955 and even later, in spite of the fact that the period of the mid-12th century hitherto was the boundary of interest for researchers, also did not avoid the mistakes of their predecessors. The research concentrated first of all on searching and documenting the oldest, mediaeval phase of the town, as well as relics of gothic architecture. Less attention was devoted to modern structures [objects], as it

was assumed that many unclear things or secrets connected therewith can be explained based on archival sources and measuring of bricks. A part of the structures was considered the architectural development of the late 19th century and was demolished without any previous research.

After the completion of the main stage of reconstruction of the Old and New Town, at the turn of the year 1954/55, research efforts were reduced. Observations of various excavations in construction sites were continued only in places in which it was probable to come across the remains of the old town (not only its oldest part, although the problem of the beginnings of Warsaw, i.e. the oldest stronghold and the settlements before the establishment of the town was also dominant). Due to political considerations, the excavation works were reduced to the most interesting place for research, which was the territory of the Warsaw Castle, destroyed during the war.

New large-scale research was commenced only in 1971 after the decision was made concerning the reconstruction of the Royal Castle. The efforts continued until 1978. Before they ended, in 1977, another examination was started in the area of the Warsaw Castle Square (Plac Zam-



Fig. 6: A – Castle courtyard. Archeological investigations in 1974, B – Castle Square, investigations of 1977, general view of uncovered remains of houses and Cracow Gate. Photo: M. Dąbski and Z. Prozowski.

kowy) adjacent to the Castle, which was continued until the final reconstruction of the castle in 1983 (Fig. 5). During the excavations and simultaneous construction, many relics of the former buildings were uncovered and the stratification of this part of the city and castle was identified. Nevertheless, the rate of the research and the fact of it coinciding with the reconstruction of the castle determined the results obtained. On the basis of the documentation and publications, one can draw the conclusion that more attention was still paid to the oldest history of the castle and the town, but also that the remains of 19th century architecture were documented. During the excavation works, material concerning the antiquities

of the 19th and even 20th century was collected (findings of objects left in basements of the houses destroyed during the battles at the time of the Warsaw Uprising).

During the whole discussed period, the attitude of the conservation services towards the research of modern structures changed¹¹. It is worth mentioning that the understanding and realizing the necessity of conducting cataloguing and research efforts of buildings used in the period from the 18th to the 20th century by the Office for Monument Conservation (the decision maker in these issues) was extremely significant in the moment when big investments began in various areas of the city during the last twenty years. We can observe

¹¹ The Polish heritage conservator service is worth mentioning here. It was created after The Regency Council of the Kingdom of Poland declared the independence of Poland with the Decree of 31 October, 1918. The basic act on the protection of cultural assets in Poland was a decree of the President of Poland dated 6 March 1929 about the care of historic monuments. It was valid also after the 2nd World War until the year 1962 r. A new act from 1962 contained the goals and the basis of operation of the heritage conservator. Nevertheless, for archeological research the most important fact was the Archeological Picture of Poland taken in the 1970's.

Thanks to it, a centre of information about the location and chronology of archaeological sites was established, which made it possible to put them in the Register of Historic Monuments. This data was extremely important for general land utilization plans which have been prepared since 1992. They contain conservation recommendations about the basis of operation in archaeological sites. A new act from 23 July 2003 determined the rules of archaeological operation with a new category of monuments, the so-called "immovable monuments". Until 1989 archaeological research in sites of possible new investments was financed by the state, now it is an investor's duty.



Fig. 7: The Wilanów Palace. Excavation in 2006. Photo: K. Gzajowski.

it based on many examples, such as the Theatre Square (Jabłonowski Palace, 18th), the Krasiński Square (Jan Dobrogost Krasiński Palace, 17th), reconstruction of Krakowskie Przedmieście, and recently on the Piłsudzki Square (Saski Palace, 17th), where before the commencement of construction works, archaeological and architectonic research on the relics of the old historical buildings destroyed in 1944 was carried through the full documentation of the uncovered structures and cultural layers (Fig. 6). Unfortunately, modern buildings are often destroyed after executing the necessary research and cataloguing. A drawback of research is also the fact which more and more often becomes a rule, that is it carried through in late-autumn and winter time, which is not the best season to execute this kind of work. Archaeological research conducted in the post-war period aimed first of all to study and verify

facts concerning both the history of the city, mainly its spatial development, and the history of individual historic buildings. Obtaining materials and clues essential for designing works connected with a researched site or a historic building situated there was less important. Relics of old Warsaw discovered during excavation works were rarely exposed. So far, these are mainly parts of old defensive walls dug out or excavated from their surrounding buildings. Most of these excavations took place in the 1950s, when the city was being rebuilt. Later, in the 1980s, only lower parts of the Krakowska Gate were partly reconstructed, i.e. the Gothic Bridge. Lately, during a revalorization, a substantial part of the Wazowski wall from the 17th century and an underground ditch from the 19th century were exposed in the Warsaw Castle. Fragments of the basements of the magnate J. A. Morsztyn dating to the 2nd part of the 17th century were entered in the Monuments Register. They were uncovered during the excavation works in the years 2007–2008 which preceded the demarcation of the Saxon Axis and the intended reconstruction of the Royal Palace by August II of Poland in the Piłsudzki Square. However, because of the necessity of exposing the old walls in a newly constructed building, the construction was discontinued and the relics filled up. Sometimes, in the streets or the surfaces of squares, the route of old walls preserved under the surface of a foundation level is exposed¹².

Interdisciplinary research connected with a revalorization of the palace and intended park in Wilanów (Fig. 7), the residence of the Polish king Jan III Sobieski, conducted in the years 2003–2009, is a total novelty. The results of this archaeological-architectonic research are important not only in a research sense, but also as a basis of the revaluation of the intended historical park. In the choice of an accepted method, it may be meaningful that Paweł Jaskanis (an archaeologist and conservator) is the director of the Wilanów Museum¹³.

The fact that archaeologists are occupied with

¹² The following may be mentioned here: the outline of Łazienka Gate from 14th century visible in the surface of Nowomiejska street or the route of defensive walls with the Krakowska Gate in the surface of the Castle Square. But outlines of walls shown in a different material (brick)

are not marked out on geodesic city plans, neither are they recognised by guides and tourists, and what is worse, designers, who sometimes mark out location of gullies just in a space marked by the brick.

¹³ Gołębniak 2004; Sikora 2004.



Fig. 8: Piłsudski Square (The Saski Palace 17th–20th centuries): A – An aerial photograph before destroyed in 1944, B–C – Archeological and architectural investigations in 2006–2007. Photo: W. Pela and W. W. Stepień.

researching and documenting almost contemporary structures may be surprising (Fig. 8). We know many of these structures from the photographic documentation gathered before the war or from the archival city plans. Still, the observations made during research works extend our knowledge about the history of these places before the construction of buildings destroyed during the 2nd World War, they also provide us with

new detailed information about them: internal partitions and construction technique (building materials, thickness of walls, the type of construction earthworks, passages, basement vaults, floors etc.) which make it possible to make the chronological stratification of old buildings and reconstruct the history of particular buildings. In many cases, discoveries also remind us about the stark reality of everyday life back a few decades



Fig. 9: Is it still archeology? A–B – The relics of a building, yard and stove from the 19–20th century. Archeological investigations of the Old Town (Brzozowa Street 18) in 2002. Photo: W. Pela.

ago, a reality which seems to be so close, but is at the same time almost totally forgotten.

Perhaps it is worthwhile to look at this kind of research not only from the point of view of a researcher, but also from the perspective of a museum worker, whose task it to show to the society material achievements of the old times, not only the ones, as in case of Warsaw, which are 700 years old, but also those that are 50 years old. Of course, one can say that we can see well preserved products of this period in museums of technology. True, but simultaneously we need to remember that due to wartime destruction, relatively few antiquities connected with Warsaw were preserved, and the post-war period was not propitious to their gathering due to the lack of awareness of such a need, particularly those that can be called objects of daily use (paraphernalia). Also, the objects and buildings connected with urban infrastructure (e.g. water and sewage pipes), whose construction started as early as in the 19th century, and which in the first half of the 20th century were modernized and functioned in nearly in all of Warsaw, are now quickly replaced with new technology materials with no traces left behind (Fig. 9).

Of course, the “boundary of interests” may be the most important, but not the only research problem which refers to investigations into old Warsaw. Other issues tackled in the article include the comprehensive nature of studies (from the very beginning they were conducted as a joint effort with historians, specialists in many fields, mainly architects and archaeologists) and the preserving character of the works which were

already mentioned.

Many other issues, such as, for instance, the methodology of excavation works, the type and scope of specialist investigations (e.g. archeogeophysical, anthropological, dendrochronological and paleobotanical investigations) and the related problems perhaps are similar in all research of this kind conducted in other cities.

Still, I would like to tackle the issue of publications. Many a time, the unavailability of the results of research works and documentation on antiquities and monuments, obtained during archaeological research in Warsaw, especially those that were conducted in the post-war period until almost the nineties, is criticized. It seems that one of the reasons for this situation, although probably not the main, was the lack of paper. Now a big change has taken place, but the times to which the article is related, were characterized by their planned economy (state control), the result of which was the doling out of paper by its holder and hoarding it by the ones in need. Everything needed some effort in order to be acquired as well as planning in the few state-owned national printing houses that tasked themselves with this sort of publication. Not incidentally, most scientific sessions concerning the research on Warsaw were organized under the auspices of the city authorities or party government (Party District or Municipal Committees of the Polish United Worker’s Party). Their goodwill and the presence of notables in the Organizational Committee made it much easier to get additional paper and publish the papers presented in spite of a printing house’s long-term plans accepted much earlier.

We also need to remember about censorship. When we see maps and sketches inserted in publications, we are surprised with their schematization and lack of precision. Often we can observe a strange, imprecise scale. But it is a well known fact that censors did not allow for publishing updated maps and detailed location plans. Similar difficulties were encountered during the preparation and conduction of excavation works, which, in order to be carried through according to the „rules of art”, required the precise location of the researched site, which often was impossible to fulfill. An example may be a geodesic map of the Royal Castle territory, received from the Office of Geodesy before starting field research in 1971, in which the part with the highway and tunnel, which by the city authorities were perceived to

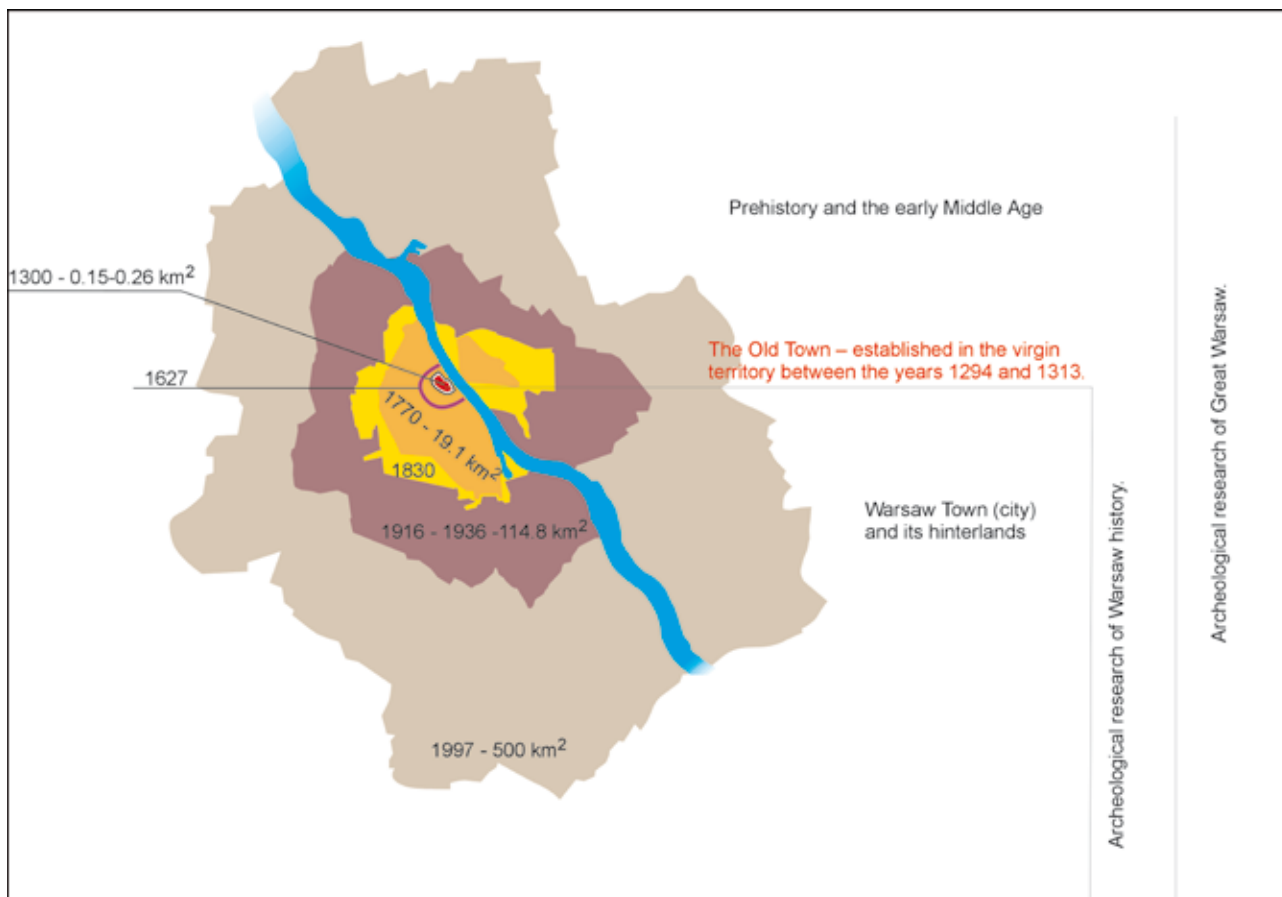


Fig. 10: Territorial development of Warsaw from 13th to 20th centuries.

be strategic and secret facilities, was cut off with scissors. This situation did not entirely change after the political changes which took place in 1989. When, in 2008, it was necessary to take an aerial photograph of Krakowskie Przedmieście street for archeological purposes, the photographers obtained a permit on the condition that they omit the Presidential Palace.

The work which have been carried out for several years make it possible to formulate some conditions important for the course and results of archaeological excavation works in Warsaw, namely the following: city's situation on a high escarpment of the valley of the Vistula River, its location on the so called virgin site, territorial expansion and commercial development in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The situation of old Warsaw on the edge of a high escarpment over the valley of the Vistula River facilitated getting rid of waste from the city, which impoverished (mainly for the modern times) the cultural layers, all-important for excavation works, in the area of the market square, streets

and yards, which usually lay as deep as about 1,6 m from the present ground level. It also created hillocks of chronologically mixed layers which slope on the escarpment towards the Vistula River. Additionally, the small thickness of cultural layers facilitated their systematic destruction during town's development, especially in the moment of transformation from the Medieval wooden buildings through Gothic ones with basements and thence to modern, concrete buildings.

The area occupied by the town founded on the so called virgin site expanded several times. In the moment of location at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, the size of a surface occupied by Old Warsaw was from several to several dozen hectares (about 0,15–0,26 km²). Several centuries later, about the year 1770, the town occupied the area as big as 1910 ha (1 km²), and in 1916, by including the suburbs, it was enlarged to 11483 ha (114, 8 km²). At present, it occupies an area of more than 500 km² (Fig. 10). The significance of the development of the city's territory for archaeological research was shown on a map of

archaeological finds of Warsaw surroundings published by Roman Jakimowicz in 1916¹⁴. Many of the finds at that time situated outside the city, now lie within its boundaries. In my opinion, such a situation makes it necessary to use the distinction between *archaeological research of Great Warsaw* and *archaeological research of Warsaw history* in the research conducted in the city. The former one has a bigger scope. It includes documentation of traces of any culture from Palaeolithic period until the early Middle Ages (theoretically almost to present times) drawn up within city's administrative boundaries¹⁵. Their connection with the city's history is mostly insignificant, apart from some links with a city-creation process and these which lay within the Warsaw cultural influence (hinterlands) from the 14th to 20th century. Archaeological research of Warsaw history is directly connected with documenting everything connected with Warsaw, starting from the moment of establishment until present times, everything which can be recognized during excavation works.

The city's development in the 19th and 20th century, the growth of the number of inhabitants within the territorial limits caused by the construction of the citadel (1832) and rings of forts which surrounded the town, the growth and concentration of the population, dense building development in many areas of the city, and construction and reconstruction of the underground infrastructure (water and sewage pipes, changes in street surfaces) caused the degradation of cultural layers which are so precious to an archaeologist. It is especially visible in the Old and New Towns, where narrow streets and small yards are crossed with many excavations which destroy the traits of the old town.

In case of Warsaw, metropolitan city and the capital of Poland, the social factor (inhabitants and local authorities) is extremely important. During the 2nd World War, Warsaw lost a great number of its inhabitants. New ones appeared with different needs and interests, for whom the idea of a "home town" will be established only in future generations. Their attitude towards Warsaw history is surely different from that of people connected with the city for many centuries. Many newcomers are people of power and office, including the heritage conservator, who look at the city's history and relics from different perspective. Very often, they emphasize the importance and necessity to preserve historic monuments in a verbal (political) area, but ultimately submit to pressure from investors who aim to realise their projects at the cost of monuments.

And one must be aware that with little interest in history and relics of the past, the lack of a felt need of their preservation by the city's inhabitants and their chosen local authorities, and mainly a lack of goodwill from the side of the owners of historic buildings, even excellent experts have neither the chance nor the influence to preserve that which is old and most important to exposing the city's history.

In closing my article concerning the problems of research on Warsaw, I wish to underline that, having in mind its form, i.e. a communiqué, many issues related to this subject were tackled very superficially, and sometimes they were barely mentioned. It is also good to remember that we evaluate many issues and problems from a contemporary perspective, having many years of experience in this area. For this reason, our evaluation in many cases may prove not to be completely objective.

¹⁴ Jakimowicz 1916, fig. 1.

¹⁵ In the area of Greater Warsaw in its present administrative boundaries, which are about 500 km², during the last 100 years about 500 archaeological sites have been discovered,

most of them during excavation works in the years 1974-1980 during the Poland-wide scientific-conservation effort called the Archaeological Picture of Poland.

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