Nauka

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# Building and Conservation Works in the Castle Church in Malbork (2014–2016) As the Culmination of Half a Century of Its Restoration

# Prace budowlano-konserwatorskie w kościele zamkowym w Malborku w latach 2014–2016 jako zwieńczenie półwiecza jego odbudowy

**Keywords:** Castle in Malbork, Gothic art, war damages, conservation project, protection of monuments

**Słowa kluczowe:** zamek w Malborku, sztuka gotycka, zniszczenia wojenne, projekt konserwatorski, ochrona zabytków

#### Introduction

The first chapel was one of the earliest rooms in Malbork castle. It was the main interior of the oldest building erected here, which, as the castle was extended, became the northern wing of the four-sided structure, called the High Castle from the sixteenth century onwards. It was built in the 1280s at the latest as a three-span, single-nave church covered with a cross-ribbed vault, occupying half the length of the wing, situated according to the Teutonic tradition on its first floor.

The situation changed significantly in 1309 when the main seat of the Grand Master of the Order was moved from Venice to Malbork. Typically, the commander's castle became the main administrative center of the Teutonic state and was therefore subject to a great expansion, which lasted practically throughout the entire fourteenth century.

In the years 1331–1344, the first chapel was also extended, and transformed from a small chapel located in a compact square of the former castle into the main church of the monastic state in Prussia. The single-nave, polygonally enclosed space was extended

twofold to the east, supporting the termination of its new chancel on the outer line of the defensive walls.

The entirety was covered with a stellar vault, supported by decorative angles, the lower parts of which are sculpted in the form of figures of the apostles standing under decorative canopies.

The main element of the external decoration of this religious complex was a huge (about 8 m high) statue of Mary with the Child in her hand in the eastern niche of the presbytery, cast with segments of artificial stone and initially covered with polychrome, and with time covered with a colorful mosaic.<sup>1</sup>

Since its construction, the architecture of the religious complex has remained without major transformations for six centuries. Only the interior design and furnishings were changed. In the early modern period, the Jesuits took care of the church, who founded new equipment in the spirit of the Baroque. At the end of the nineteenth century, during the extensive restoration of Gothic forms of the castle, German conservators, under the supervision of Konrad Steinbrecht, restored the interior consisting mainly of replacing the Baroque equipment with pseudogothic one, as well as the conservation and reconstruction

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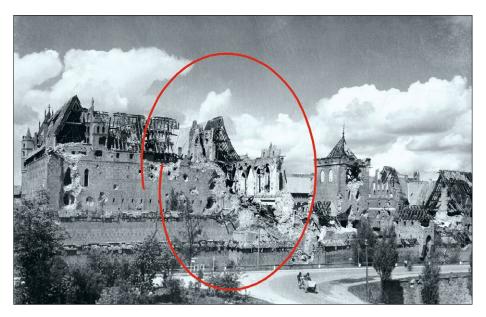


Fig. 1. Panorama of the castle after war damages; photo by W. Hodakowski; the place of the Church and the main tower is marked in red; reprod. by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 1. Panorama zamku po zniszczeniach wojennych; fot. W. Hodakowski; lokalizacja kościoła i głównej wieży oznaczone na czerwono; reprodukcja L. Okoński.

of wall polychromes. At that time, major projects related to the architecture itself included the reconstruction of a high roof in line with the medieval dimensions and the replacement of the limestone floor with a colored ceramic tile with a decorative pattern. The part of the church choir, expanded in the fourteenth century, received decorative crowns on two levels of the facade, which were to add more splendor to the religious complex.

Due to the fact that until 1945 this fragment of the stronghold had preserved—apart from the Palace of the Grand Masters—most of the medieval substance, its destruction in January 1945 was the most painful loss suffered by the castle in Malbork during the last war. Artillery fire caused enormous damage to the entire

eastern facade of the High Castle. Falling fragments of the main tower shattered the vault of the church and the chapel of St. Anne.

The figure of the mosaic Madonna from the outer niche of the presbytery broke up into a dozen or so segments that were buried in the rubble of the church complex together with a number of medieval elements and sculptural details constituting the decor of the castle church.

The remains of wooden roof trusses, hanging over the walls, threatened to collapse at any moment. Damaged roofs and broken windows made it possible to adversely affect the weather on the remnants of the surviving décor and interior equipment (Fig. 1, 2).



Fig. 2. The interior of the Church, view of the presbytery after war damages, 1945; reprod. by L. Okoński. Ryc. 2. Wnętrze kościoła, widok prezbiterium po uszkodzeniach wojennych, 1945; reprodukcja L. Okoński.

Only part of the northern wall, up to the height of the defensive porch, and a fragment of the lower part of the southern wall have survived from the body of the temple. Luckily, three Gothic portals survived, protected by a mass of thick walls—the Golden Gate and two portals of the Chapel of St. Anne. A mass of rubble filled the interior of the church to the height of the window-sills and went down to the breach in the defensive wall of the eastern moat.<sup>2</sup>

For several years after the war, the crippled monument was left without protection and exposed to the destructive influence of weather conditions. In August 1945, Branch No. 1 of the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw was created in the castle.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the initial cleaning of some interiors was started, debris was removed from the courtyards and the demining of its available parts was completed. The future fate of the castle remained unclear for years. The development of events was accelerated only by a tragic event in the fall of 1959. A faulty electrical installation, hastily installed for the needs of a summer scouts' rally in the castle, led to a great fire on the night of September 7/8, which destroyed the roofs of the west and north wings of the Middle Castle. It was a peculiar turning point in the history of the castle. The Minister of Culture came to the conclusion that the best form of ensuring proper care for such a large and important monument would be to organize a museum in it and had one established in September 1960.

The first assumptions for the reconstruction of the damaged monument, formulated in 1960 by a team led by Professor Bohdan Guerquin, provided for the preservation of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Chapel of St. Anne—after securing it—in the form of a permanent ruin to commemorate the cataclysm of war. The director of the newly established museum, Henryk Raczyniewski, considered it advisable to develop new assumptions for the reconstruction, which became the basis for the new concept of the future restoration of the castle.<sup>4</sup>

This new program was specified in September 1964 by a team led by Eng. Arch. Zygmunt Wysocki from PKZ Gdańsk, determining the scope of reconstruction and adaptation necessary for the basic functioning of the museum. The new study already provided for the reconstruction of the body of the church and chapel, which was dictated by the permanent protection of the ruins of these valuable religious interiors and the need to organize the silhouette of the building from the city side.<sup>5</sup>

Based on the new assumptions, in 1966, the concept of rebuilding the church itself and building a permanent roof over it was started. On the polygonal closure of the chapel, reconstructed in the years 1958–1961, the walls of the presbytery of the church were erected with four sacristies located in the thickness of the wall. After the main walls were brought out to their full height, they were fastened at the top with the preserved fragments of the former northern



Fig. 3. The Church and the main tower after reconstruction in 1968; reprod. by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 3. Kościół oraz główna wieża po odbudowie w roku 1968; reprodukcja L. Okoński.

wall, with a reinforced concrete rim poured over the crown. The surface of the ceiling above the interior of the church was covered with reinforced concrete slabs. The last element of recreating the body of the church was the erection of a high saddle roof based on a metal truss and covering the roof with monk-nun tiles. The works were completed by 1968. Practically from that moment the church ceased to be practically a war ruin (Fig. 3). At the same time, it must be assumed that a multidirectional conservation project was initiated at that time, aimed not only at the liquidation of war damages, but also to restore the former shape of a unique historical and architectural monument. The project ended in 2016.

In the 1970s and 1980s, various construction and conservation works continued inside the interior. It should be noted, however, that the second half of the 1980s and 1990s was a period in which the problem of the reconstruction and development of the church complex of the Blessed Virgin Mary was not the main subject of interest for the management of the Museum, which had to focus on a different issue. Most of the forces and resources were then involved in the urgent problem of rescuing the western wall of the Middle

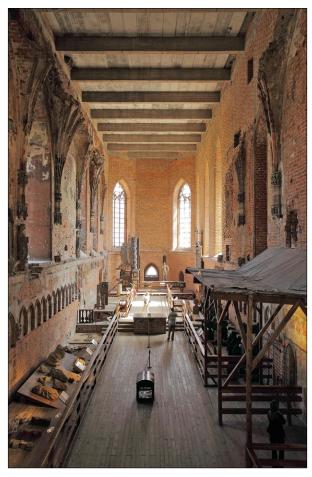


Fig. 4. The interior of the Church, view of the presbytery after temporary restoration and opening to the public, 2001; photo by L. Okoński.

Ryc.4. Wnętrze kościoła, widok prezbiterium po tymczasowej renowacji i otwarciu dla publiczności, 2001; fot. L. Okoński.

Castle, which was threatened with structural failure, with the invaluable Great Refectory. Only after solving the problems in the Middle Castle, it was possible to return to the question of the castle church and its further fate.<sup>6</sup>

### **Preparations**

In 2000—in order to show the scale of the problem of restoring the interior of the church and its conservation complexity to a wide audience—the Museum decided to make the interior of the church available in its contemporaneous state. After carrying out the necessary protection and adaptation works, an exhibition presenting the old, surviving and preserved décor and elements of the church equipment was arranged there (Fig. 4).<sup>7</sup>

The entire project was also prepared with a view to the planned meeting of the body initially called the International Advisory Committee for the Reconstruction of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Malbork, to which the Museum invited the most outstanding specialists in the field of monument protection from various European countries.

The meeting was held in May 2001 and was attended by, among others, professors from Germany: Manfred F. Fischer (chairman of the Association of National Conservators of Germany), Ernst Badstübner from Greifswald, Gottfried Kiesow from Wiesbaden and Dethard von Winterfeld from Mainz, and also Professor Manfred Wehdorn from Austria, Professor André de Naeyer from Belgium, Professor Knut Drake from Finland, and from Poland: Professors Andrzej Tomaszewski, Marian Arszyński, Jan Tajchman, Andrzej Kadłuczka, Szczęsny Skibiński, Stanisław Latour, Edmund Małachowicz and others. In the intention of the management of the Museum, the meeting was to provide information about the preferences of specialists in this particular case as to a future-oriented solution, and on the other hand, to "internationalize" the problem, which could have a positive impact on the subsequent acquisition of external funds. An interesting result of the meeting was the opinion on the future appearance of the interior of the temple, in which the same number of votes supported the full reconstruction of the medieval space, as well as leaving the building in its current state.

Since then, the problem has appeared in numerous discussions both inside the Museum and with representatives of the conservation world during their numerous study visits to Malbork.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile the museum was successively restoring the remains of the pre-war mobilizer and expanding the exhibition of the preserved decorations and equipment of the church.

In 2003, the exhibition inside the church was extended to include dormitory rooms in the eastern and southern wings of the first floor of the High Castle and supplemented with photograms showing the interior of the church before its destruction in 1945. At the same time, intensive research and study works were carried out, aimed at obtaining the maximum information necessary for future decisions regarding further proceedings. Architectural studies of the northern wing were carried out, as well as comprehensive technological analyses of polychromy, mortars, stone elements and ceramic glazes. A photogrammetric survey of the walls prepared earlier was supplemented with 3D laser scanning of the interior of the northern wing, necessary for further action, especially crucial to determining the scope of conservation intervention in the monument.9 The problem was discussed several times in the forum of the Museum Council operating at the Castle Museum. A permanent discussion forum on, among others these issues became the annual meetings of the members of the International Association of Baltic Castles and Museums, bringing together representatives of fifty museum institutions based in monuments in nine countries surrounding the Baltic Sea.<sup>10</sup> Several general meetings of this organization were devoted to their own experiences in dealing with the preserved cultural heritage of the region. Generally speaking, each community that had recently gained independence (mainly

the Baltic states) tried to restore their respective historic seats of government to their former glory (e.g., the residence of the Duke of Courland in Bauska, Latvia, or Lithuanian objects: the Trakai castle and the Grand Ducal Palace in Vilnius). In turn, German colleagues explained the numerous reconstructions of monuments mainly with the pressure of the public opinion (the Church of Our Lady in Dresden, the town hall in Augsburg or the Church of St. George in Wismar).<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime, an additional important element has emerged in the discussion of the future appearance and functions of the castle church. In May 2007, on the initiative of the guides guiding around the castle, the "Mater Dei" Foundation was established with the main goal of recreating the mosaic figure of the Madonna in the outer niche of the presbytery of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Foundation began to promote this idea in various ways and in various environments, and to collect funds to support the work (including by selling specially issued donations, looking for sponsors and donors). Undoubtedly, it became an important forum for the Museum in the social debate on the reconstruction of the castle church and the role of the figure as a symbol of the castle and town of Malbork, defining the spiritual heritage of the creators of the Malbork stronghold. On the Foundation's initiative, in 2010, the outer niche of the presbytery was decorated with a banner with the image of a figure in a 1:1 scale, reproduced from a pre-war photograph, which made viewers aware of what the eastern end of the church looked like prior to 1945.<sup>12</sup>

# The last stage

In 2012, the Museum began developing a program of restoration works for the entire northern wing of the High Castle. Archival iconographic materials were ordered and analyzed. Selected archival photographs were digitally processed. Other sources and literature were systematized. The team of custodians prepared Assumptions for the future function of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, then a group of conservators formulated the assumptions for the program of conservation and construction works in the complex of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the chapel of St. Anne.<sup>13</sup> These studies became helpful materials in the discussion at the Museum Conservation Council, which was to work out a decision on the future of dealing with the interior of the north wing and the church complex of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Fig. 5).14

Regarding the interior of the church itself, four possibilities were considered:

- leaving the interior in its present condition and carrying out only conservation works, possibly with the reconstruction of the floor from before 1945;
- reconstruction of a mock vault in the form of a light suspended structure;<sup>15</sup>
- reconstruction of the old interior in a virtual form using computer-laser techniques;<sup>16</sup>



Fig. 5. The Castle Museum Conservation Council in 2015, seated: Professor Marian Arszyński (University of Toruń—chairman), standing from the left: Mariusz Mierzwiński (Museum's director), Professor Andrzej Kadłuczka (Cracow University of Technology), Professor Michał Wożniak (chairman of the Museum Scientific Council), Marek Rubnikowicz (Museum in Toruń) and Mirosław Jonakowski (Museum's curator for the conservation of architecture); photo by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 5. Rada Konserwatorska Muzeum Zamkowego w roku 2015, siedzą: prof. Marian Arszyński (Uniwersytet Toruński – przewodniczący), stoją, od lewej: Mariusz Mierzwiński (dyrektor Muzeum), prof. Andrzej Kadłuczka (Politechnika Krakowska), prof. Michał Woźniak (przewodniczący Rady Naukowej Muzeum), Marek Rubnikowicz (Muzeum w Toruniu) i Mirosław Jonakowski (kurator Muzeum od spraw konserwacji architektury); fot. L. Okoński.

 reconstruction of the state from before 1945 with the omission of elements of the nineteenth-century restoration or only with their correction.

The intermediate option between the two extreme ones was adopted as the target course of action—it was decided that the historical architectural space of the interior should be restored in the shape it had before its destruction, showing all the richness of architectural details, in a way that does not differ drastically from the form of conservation procedures in the castle over the last fifty years. The argument for the continuation of the previous method of dealing with the castle turned out to be one of the most important when choosing the target procedure.

The increasing number of opinions voiced by representatives of the European cultural world in favor of recreating the old form using traditional methods, as well as the voice of public opinion in favor of such a solution, were also important. It was also in line with the opinion of the legendary conservator of the castle, Maciej Kilarski, expressed back in 1988: "It cannot be said that there is only one, most appropriate solution for the future appearance of the church interior, from the point of view of conservation; a model, correct solution. In general, however, it can be said that what we should aim at is to solve the problem in such a way that those who will enter the renovated church in the future, regardless of the degree of preparation, would not be shocked, that, without taking a disapproving attitude out of hand, they would want to consider why this and that were done the way it was, why it looks like this."17 This meant, inter alia, closing the



Fig. 6. Scaffolding working meeting (from the left: head of the executive consortium Marcin Kozarzewski, Mirosław Jonakowski, Mariusz Mierzwiński and Museum's conservator Bernard Jesionowski), 2015; photo by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 6. Spotkanie robocze w sprawie rusztowania, od lewej: Marcin Kozarzewski (kierownik konsorcjum wykonawczego), Mirosław Jonakowski, Mariusz Mierzwiński, Bernard Jesionowski (konserwator Muzeum), 2015; fot. L. Okoński.

interior to give it integrity (i.e., execution of the vault and flooring).

Based on the commission's findings, in 2013 the program that was the basis for the development of the construction design was detailed.<sup>18</sup> The museum prepared an application entitled: Conservation and construction works in the complex of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Castle Museum in Malbork and submitted it to European Funds. The project was approved and implemented under the program entitled Conservation and revitalization of cultural heritage based on the funds of the Financial Mechanism of the European Economic Area for 2009-2014. It must be admitted that already during the implementation, some changes and modifications were made in relation to the original design, aimed at improving some solutions in order to obtain an optimal end result. Let us add that the flexible formula of the program allowed for such a procedure, and all corrections were made upon approval, and sometimes at the request of the aforementioned Conservation Committee. Conservation contractors participated in the works on the modifications to the project from the very beginning, and many solutions were developed after performing tests, which were jointly assessed and adopted (Fig. 6). 19 Attention was focused on four essential elements of the church that require careful consideration and a justified decision: the vault, the floor, the stained glass windows and the statue of the Madonna.

The result of the project carried out in 2014–2016 was the maintenance and partial restoration of the entire northern wing of the High Castle, as well as—as part of tasks carried out in parallel by various teams—the restoration of Klesza Tower and Ringer's House, and the maintenance of movable equipment.

- The following works were then carried out:
- the preserved, original parts of the walls with the remains of vaulted ceilings and the remains of polychrome were subjected to conservative conservation, limiting interference to the necessary minimum;
- the brick stellar vault was reconstructed by removing the ribs from the remains of the original and reconstructed vault caps. The proposal to apply the theoretical concept of Bartel Ranisch regarding the reconstruction of the vault and the method of calculating its geometry was not reflected in the actual condition of the preserved elements of Malbork vaults and could not be used in the reconstruction. The works were carried out following medieval construction techniques, raising the ribs on traditional centrings and filling the vaults manually (Fig. 7);
- the new parts, i.e., those rebuilt in the 1960s and 1970s, and the vault were covered with plaster harmonized in color and features with historical plasters:
- the stone slab floor was reconstructed in the manner of the stone slab demolished by Steinbrecht in 1889, based on the results of tests of Gothic limestone slabs from the castle area (also fragments of those dismantled from the church);<sup>21</sup>
- the structure of the western gallery was reinforced and its polygonal part was secured, next to which the damaged southern wall was reconstructed with the use of original fragments. Modern technical solutions were used to save the original substance as much as possible;
- all the preserved Gothic architectural details, which were subjected to conservation in previous years and kept in the Museum's collection, were put back in their original place. The possible additions to the sculptural forms were limited to the damage affecting the structural stability;
- new stained-glass windows in the form of quarters with a rhombic pattern made of tinted glass framed with lead were designed and installed;
- the preserved fragments of wooden equipment ("post-Jesuit" and from Steinbrecht's times) were preserved and stored in the museum collections;
- the interior was fitted with the necessary utilities, enabling its multifunctional use;
- the facades of the building were jointed.

One key feature of the works was the method, tested earlier during the restoration of the Great Refectory, consisting in the ongoing assessment of the aesthetic effects of the newly created value and its possible immediate correction (Fig. 8).

In the case of the chapel of St. Anne, Klesza Tower and Ringer's House, previous positive experiences were used, tested on the Chapter House, the Convent Refectory, the Infirmary or the Great Refectory, the restoration of which, generally consisting in a return to the nineteenth-century version of Steinbrecht's,



Fig. 7. Installation of centring for the reconstruction of the vault under the existing reinforced concrete ceiling, 2015; photo by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 7. Instalacja krążyn pod rekonstrukcję sklepień pod istniejącym stropem żelbetowym, 2015; fot. L. Okoński.

proved to be a method. Naturally, it was not an exact reconstruction of the state before 1945, but only a general course of action—each element was treated individually. As the restorers who carried out the works put it, the method of reconstruction was adopted, which was an attempt to "remain faithful without being literal." In Klesza Tower, where the pyramidal roof was restored in 2002 and the battlement was preserved, the damaged vaults of two floors were rebuilt and the medieval cellar interiors were restored. Comprehensive conservation work was also carried out on the basements of the entire northern wing of the High Castle.

The pre-1945 appearance of the burial chapel of St. Anne was restored. Using the cardboard of the historical painter Herman Schaper, preserved in the Malbork collection, illustrating the scene of the bowing of Teutonic dignitaries who fell at Grunwald in front of the enthroned Madonna, a painting covering the entire shield area of the western wall of the chapel was recreated using the contour technique. A new passage through the interior was also made, connecting the northern and eastern terraces, in the form of a metal and glass structure, which replaced the existing wooden pier. On the other hand, during the research work under the floor below the aforementioned painting, a tomb crypt known from sources was discovered, hiding the remains of the Jesuits, as well as the last starost of Malbork, Michał Ernest Rexin and his family. After the artifacts found in it were recovered, the interior of the crypt was tidied up and the human remains were reburied in their original place.<sup>22</sup>

The final and one of the most difficult undertakings of the whole program was the reconstruction of the colossal figure of the Madonna with the Child in the outer niche of the church presbytery.<sup>23</sup> The very idea of recreating the figure in its former place resulted from the necessity to both restore the ideological message—resulting from its enormous importance as a symbolic, religious and architectural sign—and the restoration of aesthetic values (obtaining a new artistic



Fig. 8. Interior of the Church, view of the presbytery after the completion of the works, 2016; photo by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 8. Wnętrze kościoła, widok prezbiterium po zakończeniu prac, 2016; fot. L. Okoński.

work with an artistic effect as strong as the original). Let us add that the reactivation of this element was—as in the case of the entire church—a matter of course for our predecessors. Already in 1957, Maciej Kilarski wrote: "The right understanding of the people in managerial positions in the management of the castle and in the PRN will ensure, however, that the recovery of the maximum amount of data for the reconstruction of the figure, a unique sculpture of this size and covered with a mosaic it will not remain only a conservation dream, but it will be fully realized."24 Thus, the reconstruction of the mosaic statue, which from the moment of its creation was the ideological and formal axis of the church's silhouette and the central element of the eastern panorama of the castle, did not raise any doubts from the very beginning of the reconstruction works. The only thing that was debatable was the way in which this project was carried out.

The project accepted for implementation assumed the construction of a figure from a new, light material, and the preserved original fragments were to be shown in the form of an assembly displayed in a display case at the entrance to the castle grounds. Already at the stage of implementation of works on the body of the church, the author of this article expressed the opinion that due to the fact that as much as 60% of the original substance was preserved, all original preserved fragments of the figure should be included in the creation of a new statue in situ. In this way, the image of



Fig. 9. Transport of the finished segments of the Madonna statue to its place in the outer niche of the presbytery, 2015; photo by L. Okoński.

Ryc. 9. Transport ukończonych segmentów figury Madonny na jej miejsce w zewnętrznej niszy prezbiterium, 2015; fot. L. Okoński.

the Madonna, a kind of model—a reconstruction of an old sculpture, will not appear in the presbytery niche, but an object with most of the original substance and thus carrying the ideological value associated with this particular place—the castle-monastery. Despite the fact that it caused complications and the necessity of changes in the implementation itself, with time everyone agreed to this concept. In preparation for this challenge, modern research techniques were implemented, and tests were carried out on historical mortars, stones, paint layers and glass elements. Comparative research was carried out on medieval mosaics in Kwidzyn (St. John's Cathedral) and Prague (St. Vitus Cathedral in Hradčany).

The final position developed by the Museum in the course of numerous discussions assumed the anastyleosis of all the preserved elements of the statue and putting them in appropriate (original) places for the figure to be re-cast in segments. The exception was the original right hand of the Madonna with fragments of the mosaic preserved in situ, which was left in the museum lapidarium for research and exhibition purposes. The remaining original fragments, excavated from the



Fig. 10. View of the Church from the east, 2016; photo by L. Okoński. Ryc. 10. Widok kościoła od wschodu, 2016; fot. L. Okoński.

rubble after the war and surviving to this day, became part of the statue again (Fig. 9). After the statue was assembled on the spot, in the recess of the church, the whole thing was covered with a colorful glass mosaic, the technology and colors of which were developed on the basis of studies of surviving tessers, and which were made in Italian and Polish workshops (Fig. 9). In this way, not only the most important element of the external decoration of the church was restored, but one of its most important elements, necessary for understanding this unique place and the cultural values protected in it, was reclaimed for the castle (Fig. 10).

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- <sup>1</sup> The medieval history of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary is rich in literature, recent entries include: T. Torbus, Architektura zespołu kościoła NMP jako centralnej świątyni państwa krzyżackiego, [in:] Kościół Najświętszej Marii Panny na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku. Dzieje wystrój konserwacja, ed. J. Hochleitner, M. Mierzwiński, Malbork 2016, p. 9–26.
- <sup>2</sup> War damage and the first years of reconstruction were discussed in: M. Kilarski, *Odbudowa i konserwacja zespołu* zamkowego w Malborku w latach 1945–2000, Malbork 2007, p. 36–41.
- The fate of the monument in the fifteen years after the war was discussed here: M. Mierzwiński, Zamek Malborski w latach 1945–1960, "Studia Zamkowe" 2004, vol. 1, p. 7–54.

- <sup>4</sup> Polski słownik biograficzny konserwatorów zabytków, Warszawa 2016, No. 5, sv. Raczyniewski Henryk, p. 78–79.
- <sup>5</sup> Założenia projektowe odbudowy i adaptacji zamku, by Z. Wysocki and associates, documentation of PKZ Gdańsk 1964; Polski słownik biograficzny konserwatorów zabytków, Warszawa 2016, No. 5, sv. Wysocki Zygmunt, p. 104–106.
- After the change of management of the Castle Museum in the second half of the 1980s, the new management team immediately took up the problem of the failure of the western wall, which had not been properly emphasized before. This was the largest—so far—technical and engineering project in the history of the Museum, carried out until the second half of the 1990s; see: M. Mierzwiński, Zabezpieczenie zachodniego skrzydła Zamku Średniego w Malborku, "Ochrona Zabytków" 1994, No. 2, p. 123–136; M. Mierzwiński, Prace ratownicze i konserwatorskie w zachodnim skrzydle Zamku Średniego w Malborku w latach 1990–2010 [in:] Wielki Refektarz na Zamku Średnim w Malborku. Dzieje wystrój konserwacja, ed. J. Trupinda, Malbork 2010, p. 169–214.
- The exhibition in the interior of the church and in the dormitories was prepared by a team of employees of the Castle Museum under the supervision of the curator for research and art collections, Professor Michał Woźniak.
- <sup>8</sup> His opinion in favor of the reconstruction of the temple in its former shape, expressed among others Chairman of the International Council for the Protection of Monuments ICOMOS Michael Petzet during his visit to Malbork in 2002. A similar situation was encountered by Professor Udo Arnold, President of the International Commission To Study Of Teutonic Order, which formulated it in the official version to the museum.
- See: A. Kąsinowski, "Zamek Wysoki w Malborku. Badania architektoniczne kaplicy kościoła wraz z rekapitulacją", Poznań 2002 (documentation stored at the Academic Documentation Department of the Castle Museum sign. W/VI/1253; Badania polichromii, zapraw, kamieni naturalnych i sztucznych oraz glazur ceramicznych Kościoła Najświętszej Marii Panny na zamku w Malborku, by. J. Rogóż, J. Gryczewski, J. Stachera, Toruń 2002, documentation stored at the Academic Documentation Department of the Castle Museum, sign.. W/VI/1251; Interdyscyplinarne badania skrzydła północnego, ed. M. Poksińska, Malbork Toruń 2006; A. Kulig, Gwiaździste sklepienie gotyckie w kościele zamkowym. Koncepcja odtworzenia kształtu, [in:] Rewitalizacja zespołu kościoła Najświętszej Marii Panny w Malborku, ed. J. Hochleitner, Malbork 2016, p. 141–181.
- <sup>10</sup> Information on the Association and its activities to date will be found by the Reader, among others in: J. Cygański, Stowarzyszenie Zamków i Muzeów Nadbałtyckich, [in:] Wyzwania turystyki kulturowej w Malborku, ed. J. Hochleitner, Malbork 2016, p. 103–121.
- About the fact that the reconstruction of war ruins of historic buildings is presently not only accepted, but not even an considered an obstacle to the recognition of these objects as world heritage properties, see: M. Arszyński, Kilka refleksji nad problematyką konserwatorską kościoła konwentualnego zamku krzyżackiego w Malborku, [in:] Kościół Najświętszej Marii Panny na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku. Dzieje wystrój konserwacja, ed. J. Hochleitner, M. Mierzwiński, Malbork 2016, p. 287–304.
- <sup>12</sup> A. Panek, Fundacja "Mater Dei", [in:] Monumentalna figura Madonny na kościele NMP w Malborku. Konteksty historyczne, artystyczne i konserwatorskie, ed. J. Hochleitner, Malbork

- 2015, p. 9–15. After eight years of operation, the foundation raised over PLN 200,000, and solemnly donated it to the Museum in 2015 for the above-mentioned purpose.
- The team developing the assumptions for the function was led by Dr. Barbara Pospieszna (then curator of the Museum for research and art collections), and it consisted of: Bartłomiej Butryn, Monika Czapska, Artur Dobry, Bernard Jesionowski, Justyna Lijka, Ewa Witkowicz-Pałka i Janusz Mikołajewski. The team for the conservation program was led by the then curator of the Museum for the conservation of architecture Mirosław Jonakowski—the project leader, and Bernard Jesionowski cooperated with him.
- <sup>14</sup> They were members of the Museum's Conservation Council at the time: Professor Marian Arszyński (chairman), Professor Andrzej Kadłuczka, Professor Michał Woźniak, Doctor Marek Rubnikowicz and two representatives of the Museum: managing director Mariusz Mierzwiński and curator Mirosław Jonakowski.
- The concept of some type of reversible arrangement of the apparent vault was considered by Professor Andrzej Tomaszewski during the discussion.
- <sup>16</sup> Such a solution was proposed by Professor Andrzej Kadłuczka, see: Opinia na temat odbudowy kościoła NMP na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku, Kraków 2012, Museum Archives.
- <sup>17</sup> M. Kilarski, "Przyszły wygląd wnętrza kościoła zamkowego w Malborku. Refleksje i rozważania", Malbork 1988, typescript stored at the Academic Documentation Department of the Castle Museum, sign. W/VII/1180, p. 2.
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- <sup>20</sup> A. Kulig, op. cit., p. 141–181.
- <sup>21</sup> Petrographic studies of the slabs dismantled by Steinbrecht in 1885 and the copies preserved in situ at the Palace of the Grand Masters to this day allowed to identify the source of their origin from deposits in present-day Estonia (Reval limestone), which were also used in the current works.
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<sup>24</sup> M. Kilarski, "Sprawozdanie z przebiegu prac prowadzonych dla konserwatora wojewódzkiego na terenie kościoła Najświętszej Panny Marii i kaplicy św. Anny na zamku w Malborku w okresie od 20 V do VIII 57", Gdańsk 1957, typescript stored at the Academic Documentation Department of the Castle Museum, sign. W/VII/1176, p. 10.

### **Abstract**

This paper presents the last stage of the reconstruction of the religious complex at the castle in Malbork, consisting of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the burial chapel of St. Anne and Klesza Tower, which suffered significant damage during the Second World War in 1945. First, the post-war history of the religious complex and its reconstruction from the end of the 1950s, through construction activities recreating the body of the temple in the 1960s, to restoration works on the interior design and furnishings in the 1970s, are discussed briefly. The main focus was placed on the final stage of the reconstruction of this important fragment of the Malbork Castle (implemented in 2014-2016), which ended over five decades of efforts to restore it to its proper form. The paper discusses the criteria and reasons that guided the creators of the reconstruction from the point of view of one of them. The final works were carried out thanks to the support of external funds from the European Financial Mechanism. During the reconstruction, the colossal statue of the Madonna with the Child was also reconstructed, standing in an outer niche of the presbytery, which has not existed since 1945.

## Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiony został ostatni etap odbudowy zespołu sakralnego na zamku w Malborku, złożonego z kościoła Najświętszej Marii Panny, kaplicy grzebalnej św. Anny i Wieży Kleszej, w znacznym stopniu zniszczonych podczas II wojny światowej w roku 1945. Najpierw w wielkim skrócie omówiono powojenne dzieje zespołu sakralnego i jego odbudowy, począwszy od końca lat pięćdziesiątych XX wieku, poprzez działania budowlane odtwarzające bryłę świątyni w latach sześćdziesiątych po prace konserwatorskie przy wystroju i wyposażeniu wnętrza w latach siedemdziesiątych. Główną uwagę skupiono na końcowym etapie odbudowy tego ważnego fragmentu zamku malborskiego (zrealizowanym w latach 2014--2016), kończącym półwiecze starań o przywrócenie mu należytej formy. Omówiono powody, jakimi kierowali się twórcy odbudowy, z punktu widzenia jednego z nich. Prace końcowe zostały wykonane dzieki wsparciu funduszy pochodzących z Europejskiego Mechanizmu Finansowego. W trakcie odbudowy odtworzono również kolosalny posąg Madonny z Dzieciątkiem stojący w zewnętrznej niszy prezbiterium, nieistniejący od roku 1945.